News Summaries, 4/76

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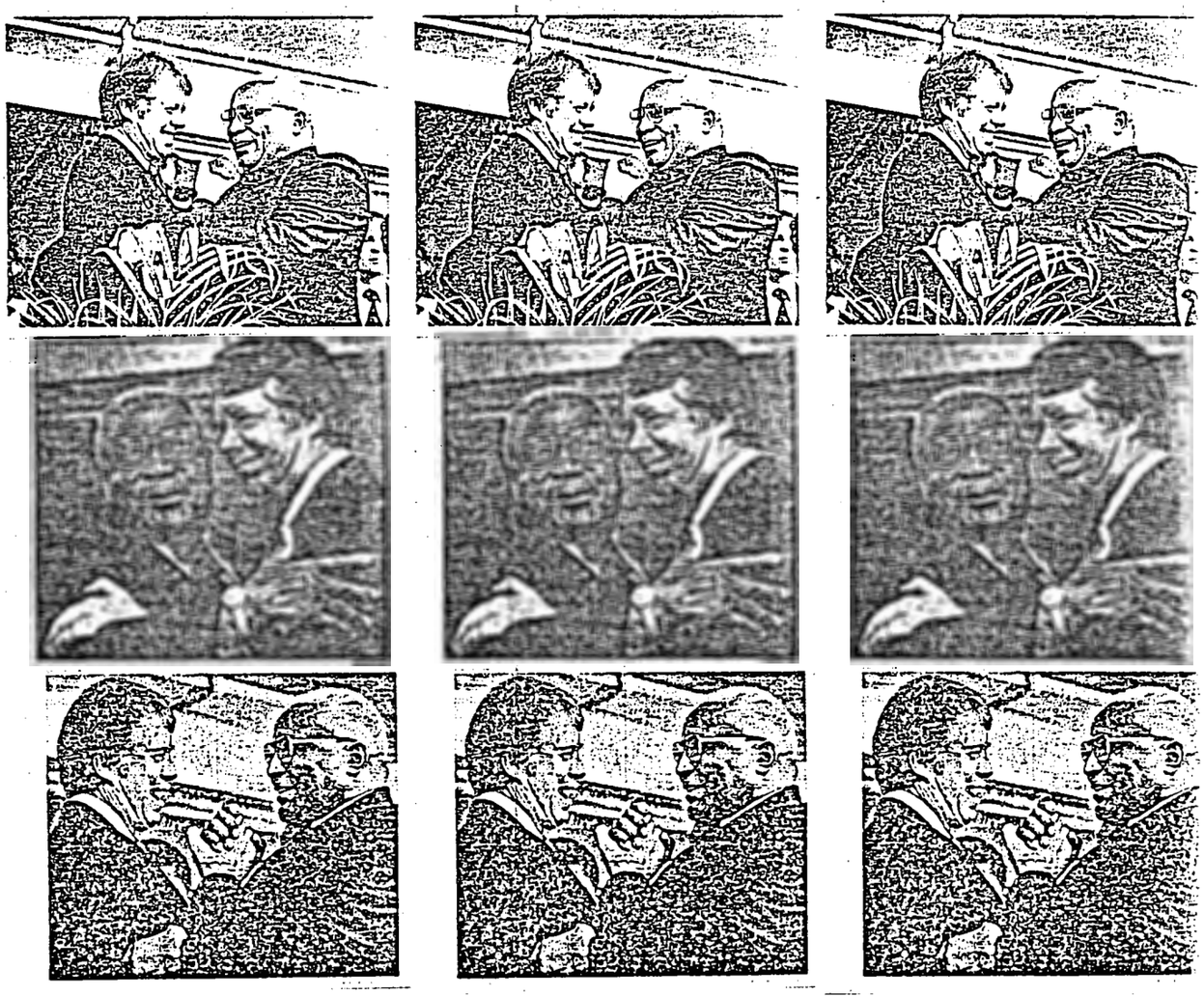
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/11 thru 4/15

Selected Comment,News And

Opinion.



15 A

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,181 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1976 —

Carter's Vote Success With Blacks Assayed

By PAUL DELANEY
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 14—Jimmy Carter's campaign in the Seventh Ward for the Illinois Presidential primary last month consisted of one visit to the Monument of Faith Church on the South Side.

It was an emotional, hymn-singing, hand-clapping, old-time religion session, similar to Sunday service in black churches all over the country.

The former Georgia Governor then carried the heavily black ward with 96.3 percent of the vote.

This occurred before Mr. Carter used the phrase "ethnic purity" in defending the homogeneity of established neighborhoods. Mr. Carter has since apologized for the phrase and reiterated his support for open-housing laws, but he has stood by his position that he would not use the Government's power to change the social makeup of established neighborhoods.

The first opportunity to assess the impact of the "ethnic purity" remark on voters will come in the Pennsylvania primary April 27.

Meanwhile, the question remains: Why have blacks voted for Mr. Carter in such great percentages?

Until last week, he gathered votes with the support of only one national black leader, Representative Andrew Young, a fellow Georgian. Then Mayor Coleman A. Young of Detroit endorsed him despite the "ethnic purity" statement. Other leaders have been either in direct opposition or waiting to ascertain his true strength.

In addition to making effective use of Mr. Young and Martin Luther King Sr., father of the slain civil rights leader, Mr. Carter has garnered black support with his style and his rhetoric.

Style Is Easygoing

"His rhetoric is very appealing to blacks," said Sarah S. Austin, vice president of the National Urban Coalition in Washington.

The style is easygoing in the presence of blacks, the rhetoric suggest close identity with the nation's largest minority group and its history and causes.

"Of all the candidates, Jimmy Carter has been able to project himself as able to understand and relate to black people," said John Lewis, director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project.

"How many blacks are there in Arizona and the State of Washington?" he asked, alluding to Representative Morris K. Udall and Senator Henry M. Jackson.

"He grew up with poor blacks in the South, although he is not poor now. He is used to being around blacks. In Atlanta, he had to deal with some of the most politically astute and aggressive blacks in the nation.

"His effort to defeat Gov. George C. Wallace became symbolic. David against Goliath. He has projected himself as something good and decent coming out of the South."

The Biblical reference was appropriate. Mr. Carter's appeal has been mainly to the churchgoing, God-fearing, working-class blacks in the South and in the North to the blacks with a Southern background.

Mr. Carter's appearance at Monument of Faith Church was typical. The area was once blue-collar white, but is now black working class. Most of the people are first and second generation Northerners, but many are from the rural South. The parishioners said "amen" and "preach, brother" to Mr. Carter as easily as they would have to a black minister.

Howeve, some professional and middleclass blacks are repelled by the candidate's identification with bicks.

"I resent it strongly," said Thomas N Todd, a lawyer and former civil rights aide here.

"I distrust him .I don't think he is sincere. It burns me tob seehim at black churches appealing to blacks on the basis of his charm and the attitufe that 'some of my best friends are colored.'

"Underneath the veneer, on the issues, he is problack only if blacks stay in their place. I think he has played the black community cheap. I'm tired of blacks supporting warmed-over white folks."

Credit Given to Two

Mr. Todd and others credited Mr. Young and Mr. King, both Baptist ministers, with Mr. Carter's success. Mr. King was particularly effective in a radio commercial in which he strongly declared his faith and trust in the former Governor.

Some Democrats felt that Mr. Young used his connections with the preachers in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the organization founded by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King jr., to build support in the church. Mr. Young was criticized by some blacks.

"I'm an admirer of Andy Young," Mr. Todd said, "but it made me angry to see him defending Jimmy Carter. Andy should be running for President, no Jimmy Carter."

Both Mr. Young and Mr. King came to the defense of Mr. Carter after he said last week that he supported the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. Mr. Carter has apologized several times for that remark.

Nevertheless, it has cost Mr. Carter some support already.

Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta was reportedly set to announce for Mr. Carter last Wednesday, the day after the remark, but has held off. Some Southern black mayors who had been warm to Mr. Carter became furious after the remark.

Percy Sutton, the Manhattan Borough President, said that he thought the statement would cause the Carter campaign to lose its momentum in the black community.

"Nobody has to stop him now, he has stopped himself," said Mr. Sutton, a supporter of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, who is not an announced candidate.

Mr. Sutton, along with State Senator Julian Bond of Georgia and other leaders, feels that Mr. Carter has been hurt irreparably, and that this will begin to show in Pennsylvania. In that state, there is a sizable black vote, nearly 10 percent of the 5.5 million total. If the masses of blacks were offended, evidence of that should turn up in some of the heavily black precincts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

"I think the impact will show in Pennsylvania, but, honestly, I'm surprised at the number of people that can take that bitter pill without throwing up," Mr. Bond said in a telephone interview from Hartford, Conn.

Ice on a Hot Stove: II

By Anthony Lewis

DAVIS, Calif.—"You ask him the time, and you get a history of water clocks." That quip, by a liberal critic of Jerry Brown, sums up one complaint about his performance as Governor: that by calling for a deeper look at issues before government acts, as he often does, he fails to meet immediate needs.

Jerry Brown's record is of interest nationally not only because he has made himself a candidate for President. He is trying a new style of politics in a state that has often been ground for political experiment. But precisely because he talks in a different way, it is not so easy to appraise the record.

The Los Angeles Times, playing on Brown's theme that there are "limits" to what government can do, said recently that his record showed he "has been too ready to impose unnecessary limits on himself." It mentioned, for example, that he had not solved the crisis provoked by California's zooming medical malpractice insurance costs.

But those close to Mr. Brown say the malpractice example precisely shows the value of his long-term, questioning technique—what could be called the water-clock approach to governing. The case was argued by Anthony Kline, his legal affairs secretary, who first knew Jerry Brown at the Yale Law School.

The immediate malpractice problem will be dealt with by a special insurance fund, Mr. Kline said, when doctors argue out the details. But in the meantime, he said, Mr. Brown's attitude had opened up larger questions about the reason for the crisis. Why, for example, are the recoveries in tort (civil damage) cases so large out here? Why are millions of dollars paid for noneconomic losses such as pain and suffering? Who bears those costs in society?

All kinds of insurance premiums are climbing in California—lawyers' malpractice rates up 383 percent in a year, even insurance for bars way up because they are now liable for damage done by drunken patrons to third parties. Mr. Kline said that recoveries in suits over defective consumer products had increased so much that 10 percent of a typical item's price now represented the cost of insurance.

And as these facts were discussed with Mr. Brown, there arose the idea of re-examining the whole basis of compensation for injuries. In short, are lawsuits the best way to handle the problem—best for the injured individual, best for the society that eventually pays the costs? The legislature has before it now a proposal to have a legal commission study this large question over the next four years.

The water-clock approach has been used in many other cases. When Mr. Brown was told that he had 70 judicial vacancies to fill, for instance, he asked why so many judges were needed; proposals for major judicial reform are now on the way. But none of these examples would satisfy those who are disappointed in the Brown record.

Some liberal Democrats feel that the Governor they helped elect lacks human compassion. One said: "He talks about equality, but he has done almost nothing for the worst-off people—nothing on health care or tax reform, say. He's temperamentally against affirmative government programs, and you never can move toward equality in a society without them."

A skeptical newspaper reporter said Mr. Brown reminded him of a man who came home and was told by his wife that one of their three children was sick, another was in the juvenile home, the third was upstairs breaking up the furniture. And the man said, "Let's think about this monogomy thing. Where's our marriage going? What are our responsibilities?" Still another critic wondered whether Mr.

ABROAD AT HOME

Brown was really interested in anything more profound than his own ambitions. This person said he thought the Governor focused on long-range questions because any immediate action tends to arouse opposition.

In answer to the charge that he lacks compassion or political courage, Mr. Brown's supporters can point to his tenacious backing of the farm workers—hardly a comfortable group for many Californians. Mr. Brown's device to settle the farm labor battle, a board to hold elections in the field, has been stalled for lack of funds, but that standoff may soon be resolved.

Jerry Brown himself says that he has some reformist programs and will have more in a year or two, when there has been time to examine assumptions—but he says that programs are not everything. He emphasizes the importance of appointments, and he has made highly unusual ones, a large proportion from among minorities and political out-groups. Even liberals who deplore his lack of programs applaud his appointments.

In any case, the California public likes the record—to extraordinary degree. In a Mervin Field poll published this week 53 percent rated him as doing a good job, 32 percent fair, 9 poor, 6 no opinion. That is better than Ronald Reagan ever did in a Field poll. And so the puzzled visitor has to suspect that Jerry Brown is on to something.

The Weather

Today—Sunny, high in the 70s, low in the 40s. The chance of rain is near zero through tonight. Thursday—Sunny, high in the 70s. Yesterday—3 p.m. Air Quality Index, 31; Temperature, 68-37. Details Page B2.

The Washington Post

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By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, April 13—With former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter smiling broadly behind him, the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. today dismissed as "a slip of the tongue that everyone knows does not represent his thinking" Carter's use of the words "ethnic purity" in discussing the preservation of ethnic neighborhoods.

As a crowd of blacks and whites in a downtown Atlanta park cheered lustily, the father of the slain civil rights leader said "it is wrong to jump on a man" for such a slip. King said his long association with Carter and knowledge of the man persuaded him to accept Carter's apology for using the phrase.

"I have a forgiving heart," King said, "so, governor, I'm with you all the way."

Carter stood flanked by black Atlanta businessman Jesse Hill, and Dr. Benja-

See CARTER, A11, Col. 1

President acclaims nation's "ethnic treasure." Page A11.

Blacks Show Solidarity With Carter

CARTER, From A1

min Mayes, the black president of the Atlanta school board. It was a display of solidarity obviously scheduled to combat criticism of the remarks Carter used a week ago to explain his opposition to federal power to racially integrate established ethnic neighborhoods.

Hill brought words of support for Carter from three other prominent black leaders, Ralph David Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rep. Andrew Young of Atlanta, a longtime Carter adviser, and Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit.

Abernathy had been scheduled to attend a press conference prior to the rally with Carter but an aide told Carter at the press conference that the SCLC leader was "running late" and would join him at the rally. Abernathy never showed up there either. Carter told reporters later that Abernathy in a telephone call had reiterated his support and said an SCLC meeting prevented his attending either event.

Also absent from the rally was Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, whose office had told reporters some time ago he expected to announce his endorsement of Carter during today's Atlanta visit. Carter said today Jackson "was planning to endorse me sometime in Pennsylvania," where Carter is running in the April 27 primary. To a report that Jackson was withholding his endorsement because of the "ethnic purity" remark, Carter said the "certainty [of Jackson's endorsement] was never there."

Carter added that he "hadn't seen any deterioration of my black support". And he alluded to a poll he said was taken this past weekend in Pennsylvania that showed "very strong support" among blacks there but Carter refused to release the poll or any figures from it.

As Carter spoke, a group of blacks led by Hosea Williams, president of the Atlanta chapter of the SCLC and a long time Carter foe, formed a picket line on the fringe of the rally.

The silent marchers held signs that said, "Truth comes out; no slip of lip." "Carter's purity or King's open housing," and "Racism must go." Williams told a reporter that "a man who speaks of ethnic purity and open housing is a liar."

In his press conference, Carter said the Pennsylvania primary would be the first "Jimmy Carter against everybody else" contest. Strong and open support for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, not a declared candidate, has already been manifested through the active candidacy of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, Carter said.

If he can win in Pennsylvania, he said, his victory will "eliminate a substantial part of the emphasis on the noncandidacy of Sen. Humphrey."

Later, after a flight by chartered jet to Philadelphia, Carter charged that Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo, a Jackson supporter, and other Democrats are "ganging up" on him, but said he thought that action might backfire and bring him more public support.

Before leaving Atlanta, Carter had been asked when he thought other candidates would start "ganging up" on him. He replied:

"I think there has been evidence of that already. In several places there was evidence. There was some evidence as far back as Iowa. And several of the candidates got together and said, 'You come with us in this district and we'll help you in that district to stop Jimmy Carter.' But it was because the polls had shown I was probably going to win in Iowa."

Asked whether he meant the other candidates had actually gotten together in person to gang up on him, Carter said: "In a couple of districts in Iowa, yes they did. But that didn't hurt." Carter declined, however, to give names. "I'm not accusing any particular person," he said, "but it's a fact."

Six Illinois Delegates Picked Up by Carter

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April 13 (AP) — Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter picked up six additional national convention delegates—for a state total of 59—from Illinois today in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The official figures gave this breakdown for Illinois' 169 - member delegation, which includes 155 elected in the primary and 14 to be chosen at a state convention later:

Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, a favorite-son candidate, 86; Carter, 59; uncommitted, 15; Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, 4; Alabama Gov. George Wallace, 3, and Illinois Gov. Daniel Walker, 2.

In the earlier unofficial count, the breakdown was this: Stevenson 85, Carter 53, uncommitted 18, Humphrey 6, Walker 4 and Wallace 3.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Jimmy Carter's Tactical Problems

The furor over "ethnic purity" has shaken key supporters and advisers of Jimmy Carter more than they admit, not because it reminds them of George Wallace but because it recalls the spectre of McGovernism.

To 1972 McGovern campaign veterans who dominate Carter's 1976 cadre in state after state, the self-inflicted wound brings back nightmare memories. Although George McGovern's reflexive liberalism guarded against any statement with even faintly racist overtones, his political ineptitude has recently reappeared in Carter.

The "ethnic purity" problem, then, is tactical, not substantive. Coming just when Carter had to resume his offensive for the presidential nomination, it knocked him back on the defensive, leaving him thrashing in the political wilderness of neighborhood housing patterns. Carter's supporters now question whether Carter and his Georgia-bred staff are truly capable of sustaining a presidential campaign.

Significantly, it is this tactical question, not fears that Carter might have disclosed secret racism, that worries his liberal backers. Indeed, McGovernites have backed Carter not out of illusion that he was a proven Southern civil rights liberal who never dallied with George Wallace but because they perceived him as a winner who welcomes them aboard his bandwagon. If Carter suddenly looks like an inept loser, his appeal disappears.

That is why this single, tertiary issue so damaged Carter. Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), for weeks has been boosting Carter to dubious colleagues. When the UAW high command met last week in Detroit behind closed doors, the discussion was dominated by "ethnic purity." The result: Neither the UAW (expected) nor Woodcock (believed certain) endorsed Carter for the May 18 Michigan primary.

UAW leaders were not the only liberals stopped dead in their tracks. One nationally prominent McGovernite, singing Carter's praises for weeks prior to expected endorsement, advised friends last weekend he is pulling back indefinitely. Texas liberals about to back Carter against favorite son Sen. Lloyd Bentsen are reconsidering. Black Democrats moving toward Carter in New Jersey have stopped dead.

These setbacks may be short-range, balanced by gains among ethnic voters in Pennsylvania's critical April 27 primary (thanks partly to Sen. Henry M. Jackson's incredibly ponderous and ill-tempered assaults on Carter). Nevertheless, this and other tactical errors by Carter and his staff pose long range problems.

Tactical error No. 1: In taking the perfectly sensible position that the federal government should not break up homogeneous neighborhoods (agreed to by Jackson and Rep. Morris Udall), Carter in his now notorious April 2 interview with the New York Daily News used the formulation "ethnic purity" with no advance preparation at all.

Tactical error no. 2: Neither Carter nor his staff caught the inflammatory aspect of the phrase when it appeared in print April 4. When questioned about it throughout April 6, Carter did not back off—as he then could have without any damage. Instead, he compounded the problem with another dangerous formulation — "Alien groups." Explanations by Carter insiders that these phrases conform to Georgia's freer way of talking about racial problems only indict Carter as a provincial politician.

Tactical error No. 3: Responding to complaints from black politicians, Carter suddenly switched positions and endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill—a seeming effort at appeasing the black vote. In fact, Carter had decided to switch when the bill was amended to his liking but failed to announce it when it might have been politically fruitful.

Even before these blunders, supporters had perceived a decline in Carter's earlier tactical mastery. He lost ground in the Wisconsin primary by permitting himself to be put on the defensive. At the very moment that the "ethnic purity" furor enveloped his campaign, Carter was being advised to resume the offensive by assaulting Jackson and Udall for over-promising.

What has happened to the flawlessly structured campaign which brought the obscure Southern governor to the front of the huge Democratic pack? The answer privately given from within the campaign is the candidate's fatigue (though the recent lengthening of his campaign days and weeks in itself is a deterioration from previously moderate scheduling).

"Carter's supporters now question whether Carter and his Georgia-bred staff are truly capable of sustaining a presidential campaign."

Beyond scheduling, two areas of doubt are raised about the Carter campaign.

First, Carter's general staff, composed mainly of intimates new to national politics, may be inadequate in the new phase of his campaign following the initial breakthrough. Though happily free of the internal feuds that usually plague presidential campaigns, the Carter staff may lack the sophistication vital to win the presidency.

Second, when he departs from his carefully memorized answers, Jimmy Carter may partly share George McGovern's political insensitivity. His early blooper on mortgage tax deductions did no great damage. His gratuitous assault on Sen. Hubert Humphrey probably lost votes, though not a victory, in Wisconsin. But his bungled discussion of neighborhood has, at the very least, now shaken the confidence of his victory-hungry supporters.

B

David S. Broder

The Status of the Democratic Front-Runner

The cartoon in this week's New Yorker shows a quizzical gentleman with a campaign button reading, "Jimmy Carter—I Think." That is a pretty good summary of the equivocal status at the moment of the Democrats' front-runner.

The "ethnic purity" controversy has brought the first major crisis to the former Georgia governor's pursuit of the presidential nomination and caused the first serious waverings among many who were beginning to believe in either the desirability or the inevitability of a Carter victory.

As is often the case in politics, it has also caused some to forget how much Carter has already accomplished. He has changed the nature of the 1976 election, and even if his own campaign were to stop dead in its tracks—which it will not—fundamental aspects of the Democratic Party and the presidential campaign would have been altered.

The first change for which Carter can claim credit is in the relationship of black leaders to others in the Democratic Party hierarchy. Blacks have earned an increasing role in that party ever since the Kennedy campaign of 1960. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey all enjoyed the confidence and benefited from the advice of black Americans. But in every case, it seems fair to say, these Democratic Presidents and presidential candidates enlisted the aid and assistance of black leaders only after they had secured their basic political support in the white community.

Carter's candidacy has been of a different character. The first and, for months, only prominent Georgia politician to support him was Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), a black. Young and State Rep. Ben Brown head a touring group of black politicians who have been perhaps Carter's most indefatigable campaigners. By all odds, Carter's most important endorsement is the one he has received from the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.

Unlike the last four Democratic nominees, who used their strength among whites to cajole backing from blacks, Carter has used his support from black voters and black leaders in an effort to establish his credibility in the eyes of whites—particularly the activist liberals and trade union leaders. The alteration in the relationship—the out-front role for blacks in his campaign—is likely to be remembered and felt by others in the Democratic Party, no matter what happens to Carter himself.

The second thing he has done is to redefine the South for other politicians of both parties. In oversimplified terms, for the past decade the South has been seen by most politicians as George Wallace country.

The belief has been inculcated that the South would give its votes either to the Alabama governor or to the politician who could most effectively echo parts of Wallace's appeal—whether it was Barry Goldwater or Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew or Ronald Reagan.

That was always a distortion and an oversimplification of reality. In the same period that Wallace was claiming to speak for the South, the Confederate states elected other governors and members of Congress from both parties who were moderate in their racial views and progressive in their economic and social philosophies.

"It has remained for Carter... to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South."

Southern politicians were the heroes of the long impeachment ordeal—from Sam Ervin to Barbara Jordan.

But it remained for Carter and his defeats of Wallace in the Florida and North Carolina primaries to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South. And by doing that, he has not only increased the chances of Southerners being on both tickets in 1976, but has changed the kind of appeal all presidential candidates will make to the South—and thus, to the nation.

None of this is offered to mitigate or justify the disturbing, distasteful language Carter used in discussing housing policy—for which he later apologized. But it is part of his record, as much as the words for which he is properly being called to account, and it should not be forgotten.

Mile High
Sunny today and tomorrow, high 72-76. Low tonight 40-48. Details: B-6.

The Washington Star

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'This Is a Big Fuss About Nothing'

A3

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — "You know," says Clarence Parker, "when Gov. Carter talks to the Negro people, he gets a little tremble in his voice because he's nervous and he wants to make a good impression. But there's no need for that because we like him."

Clarence Parker, a black man of 60, is the foreman on a cleaning crew that works in one of the Peachtree Center buildings in downtown Atlanta, and he says proudly that he reads "two or three newspapers every day of my life." And Clarence Parker is not impressed by the controversy over Jimmy Carter and "ethnic purity."

"You know what that is," he tells a visitor. "That's just regular politics, pure and simple. Anybody can see that."

CONVERSATIONS with more than two dozen black people in downtown Atlanta find all but one or two taking a remarkably similar attitude about the controversy that has preoccupied the political community for the last 10 days.

A young man in a conservatively tailored gabardine suit gestures with his attache case to make the same point: "I'm from Detroit and everybody out there understands this thing. Jimmy Carter made a mistake but he's apologized for it and nobody I know thinks he's really against them."

Marabelle Chase, a fashionably dressed mother of twins, is convinced the controversy is a product of Northern bias against the Southern politician. "We all know what they are up to," she says. "It's a different kind of prejudice but that's what it is all right."

A young black secretary named Silly Chapman — "that's what everybody's always called me" — reflects a common attitude about Carter among blacks here. "He understands black people," she says, "I don't know how to explain it but I can feel it, and I don't care about his choice of words. It doesn't really mean a thing."

It is, of course, not surprising that Jimmy Carter gets good marks from blacks in Georgia. This is, after all, his home state and local pride is obviously a factor. But the converrsations with black voters here yesterday suggest that the rhubarb over "ethnic purity" may be one of those things that engrosses the politicians and the press more than the voters.

AND THE RESPONSE also suggests that Carter has some special chemistry with black voters none of his rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination can match.

"I don't know what it is about him," says Earl Harrison, a 48-year-old messenger service manager, "But I think he's a good man. He was the best governor I ever remember in this state and he tried to do things for all the people." Harrison's son, Richard, is similarly enthusiastic. Between bites of an ice cream bar, he boasts of how he will cast his first vote in the May 4 Georgia primary for "the main man and that's Gov. Jimmy Carter, you better believe it."

There is some defensiveness, too, among blacks here who see the criticism of Carter as an attempt to put an upstart in his place. An impatient young woman who refuses to give her name blames the press: "You people came down here trying to get something bad on Jimmy Carter, but you won't get it from me. This is a big fuss about nothing."

HER HUSBAND, somewhat less hostile, adds this qualification: "It isn't the newspapers all by themselves, it's just the way they think in New York. They don't know what to make of Jimmy Carter, but we know him and we know he's going to win."

Clarence Parker, encountering a visitor a second time in an hour, contributes a final thought.

"What you have to understand," he says, "is that he's a home boy and we're going to stick with the home boy all the way."

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H

Politics Today

Udall Is Ready To Forget That One

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — At the dinner of Americans For Democratic Action here last night Morris Udall made a conspicuous effort to be conciliatory toward Jimmy Carter. "What I want to say about Jimmy . . . is that the real opponent is Gerald Ford and the Republicans, and it's important that we play it right."

Carter, he went on, "is a fair and decent man" and for his part, Udall said, he intended to practice "the kind of restraint" that would help the Democrats settle on a nominee without destroying their chances against Ford and the Republicans in November. The message was clear. Udall, for one, was going to stop beating Carter about the head and shoulders on the "ethnic purity" issue.

Like so many things in politics, Udall's statement seemed to grow out of a complex of motives. For one thing, as anyone in politics will tell you, Mo Udall is a nice man who is always more at home practicing restraint. When he tries to talk tough, it comes through strident and hollow.

BUT UDALL is also a savvy politician struggling to survive. Thus, his remarks to Carter last night also may reflect a judgment that the frontrunner from Georgia is riding out the "ethnic purity" storm more successfully than anyone might have anticipated late last week.

There are several pieces of evidence that have developed in the last three days to suggest this is the case. The most obvious is the fact that Carter, although on the defensive, has suffered no serious defection among his black supporters. Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta has delayed an endorsement but still plans to deliver it.

Other blacks who have been prominent in the Carter campaign — such as Martin Luther King Sr. and Andrew Young — are making a point of reaffirming their allegiance. At a rally in Atlanta yesterday, for example, King brushed off "ethnic purity" as just "a slip of the tongue" and told Carter: "I'm with you all the way."

A SECOND ELEMENT in the situation is the fact there is no new raw meat for the paper tigers of the press. When one reporter, after apparently a week of hibernation, started raking Carter over the same grounds at a press conference here yesterday, most of the others stopped taking notes. How many times can the same questions be asked and the same answers given.

Carter also seems capable of riding out the storm because his opponents really don't want to argue with him about the substance of the issue. They may be comfortable suggesting that he was insensitive in his use of language but they are decidedly uncomfortable with the notion of advocating that the federal government be used as an instrument for destroying the special identity of an ethnic neighborhood or — horrors — a suburb. There are no liberals in the suburban foxholes when someone talks about moving public housing projects out of downtown.

Indeed, the controversy underlines the central dilemma for the liberal Democrats in the politics of 1976. There is no issue on which they can be both conspicuously moral and politically successful.

ONE RUB IS, of course, that the targeted voter this year is that Dayton machinist who turned his back on George McGovern and the Democratic party four years ago. He cannot be ignored this time by a party that wants to win. And he is less interested in esoterica than in such practical things as jobs, lower prices, medical care and safe streets.

The liberals themselves are notoriously pragmatic this time around. At the ADA dinner last night, for example, one of the senior spokesmen of the left, former Sen. Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, put it this way, explaining why he had endorsed Carter: "I am sick and tired of getting licked. I want to win, and in my judgment the best candidate to win is Jimmy Carter."

Beyond this, there is the recognition among the liberals that many of their prescriptions for the nation have not worked out the way they intended, no matter how well meaning they seemed at the time. No one boasts these days about the war on poverty, and when someone brings up busing, even the most devout liberals seem to roll their eyes and shift their feet.

INDEED, it is the lack of fuel for the fires of moral fervor that may have caused such an uproar over the "ethnic purity" statement in the first place.

For months now the Democrats have been confined to the mundane business of pledging their support for tax reform and full employement and health insurance, but there has been precious little to get the juices flowing. Carter's gaffe provided an opportunity for the kind of moralizing the ideologues of politics always enjoyed. Here was this Georgian revealing "his true self" and turning out to be very much like that George Wallace who used to be such a favored target.

Some of the liberals can be expected to keep the issue alive as long as possible. But Mo Udall is not one of them. He has decided that the right thing to do, morally and politically, is to let it pass.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

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CANDIDATES HONOR PICKET LINE

Newsmen Talk to Empty Chair

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A panel of newspapermen interviewed an empty chair here Wednesday about the progress of the presidential election campaign.

The occasion was the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). The empty chair was supposed to have been filled by presidential hopefuls Jimmy Carter, Henry Jackson, Morris Udall and Frank Church.

But the contenders refused to appear because of a picket line put up around the convention hotel early Wednesday by striking engineers and writers from NBC.

The union workers were attempting to block coverage of the presidential candidates by NBC news crews.

Their picketing at the hotel was stopped in mid-morning by court order, according to ASNE officals, on the grounds that the picket constituted an illegal secondary boycott.

By the time the candidates were scheduled to speak, no pickets were in evidence at the hotel.

But no presidential contenders were in evidence, either. A group of four newsmen sat on the stage around an empty chair and interviewed the candidates one-by-one over a telephone with a loudspeaker attached.

In addition to the standard campaign questions, each candidate was asked whether it was unfair to assume that his honoring an illegal picket line meant he was choosing political advantage over "support for the rule of law."

Each denied that interpretation of his actions.

"I know absolutely nothing about the pickets," said Carter. "I was told none of the candidates would be there and a decision had been made to do it by phone. I have not made an attempt to assess the legitimacy of the picketing."

Asked whether he would have ap-

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peared at the meeting if he had known the picketing had been stopped by court order, Carter said "I don't know."

Jackson said he would have come if it had been clearly established early Wednesday that the picket line was illegal.

"When you face a picket line, it's pretty hard to say whether or not that is a duly authorized picket line," he said. "I had no way of knowing about the court's ruling, and I would point out the court's ruling is preliminary."

Udall said that had he known the picket lines were down, he would still have "cleared it with the union" before appearing at the hotel. The Arizona congressman made an appearance on an NBC news program last week after union leaders took down the picket lines at NBC and escorted him into the building.

In an unusual twist, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, one of the country's strongest backers of labor, appeared as scheduled to speak to a luncheon meeting of the editors.

"To prove I am a noncandidate," quipped Humphrey after the pickets had been withdrawn in accordance with the court order, "the pickets left when they heard I was coming."

Asked whether he had cleared his appearance with the union, Humphrey said, "Yes." As a murmur ran through the crowd, he went on to explain that he had called union leaders to check with them about his appearance at the hotel.

"They told me not to come," he told the editors.

ASNE officials expressed disappointment at the failure of the presidential candidates to show up for Wednesday's meeting.

One spokesman said the striking union asked ASNE to ban NBC from covering Wednesday's proceedings. "We discussed the possibility," he said, "but the ASNE board was unanimous in its conviction that this society would not and could not let a union dictate how newsmen will cover the news."

He said continued picketing of NBC's efforts to cover candidates' appearances "will pretty much strike at the political process itself" as long as candidates refuse to appear at events where the labor dispute is made an issue.

In other political developments Wednesday:

—Republican Ronald Reagan said in Austin, Tex., that potential enemies should never hear an American leader say there is any weapon in the nation's arsenal that would not be used.

—In California, Carter picked up endorsements from Democratic party benefactor Max Palevsky and four other veteran campaigners. Palevsky, Harold Willens, Dorman Commons, Leo Wyler and Bill Norris, said at a news conference they were backing Carter because of his "qualities of leadership."

—Udall issued a statement calling for televised debates between the major Democratic presidential candidates before the April 27 Pennsylvania primary.

—Udall also issued a report showing he and his wife paid nearly $23,000 in federal income taxes for 1975.

—Alabama Gov. George Wallace said in Texas that Carter is "a candidate who smiles, but you don't know what he stands for. I guess that has been good politics for him."

Brown Supporters Switch to Carter

LOS ANGELES (UPI) — Five former supporters of California Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. said Wednesday they would support Jimmy Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination, claiming Brown is a stand-in for Hubert Humphrey.

At a news conference, the five, including millionaire Max Palevsky who has poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into support of liberal candidates, said the race is between Carter and Humphrey.

The group said it supports the primary process itself and opposes "any favorite son candidacy," which may be an effort to stop a candidate from using the primary process.

Besides Palevsky, the group included Leo Wyler, former Brown for Governor campaign finance director; Harold Williens, western finance chairman for the 1972 George McGovern campaign; Dorman Commons, 1970 campaign chairman for State Superintendent of Schools Wilson Riles; and Bill Norris, 1974 Democratic nominee for attorney general.

Palevsky said he was convinced Brown's candidacy is "wittingly or unwittingly" helping Humphrey by blunting Carter's drive for the nomination.

Palevsky made an estimated $100 million when he sold his data systems company to the Xerox Corp. in 1969. He has given large amounts in the past to campaigns for McGovern and for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

"For Jerry to go around the state campaigning as if anyone expected him to get the presidential nomination is an insult," he said. "He's been governor for a year, he hasn't had another serious job in his life, and he is, in effect, running in only one primary."

Cocaine Found

SANIBEL, Fla. (UPI) — A Coast Guard patrol boat searching for a missing yacht found 48 pounds of cocaine early Wednesday.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Mostly sunny tonight. Fair and warme Temperature range: Tuesday 36-42. Details

L. CXXV.... No. — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1976 — M 20

Ford Says Nation Should Preserve 'Ethnic Treasure'

The New York Times/Teresa Zabala

President Ford replying to questions from editors in the White House Rose Garden

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—President Ford said today that he would never use the phrase "ethnic purity," but he joined Jimmy Carter in saying that the Federal Government should try to preserve the nation's "ethnic treasure."

"Ethnic heritage is a great treasure of this country," the President told members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, "and I don't think that Federal action should be used to destroy that ethnic treasure."

Replying to questions from a panel of editors in the White House Rose Garden, Mr. Ford said that the Pennsylvania primary on April 27 could provide a "real test" of the impact of the "ethnic purity" controversy on Mr. Carter's candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

M.. Carter used the phrase last week in explaining that, as President, he would not use the power of the Federal Government to force intrusions on ethnic enclaves in urban areas. At the same time, the former Georgia Governor said he would fully enforce Federal open-housing

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

Ford Urges U.S. Attempt To Save 'Ethnic Treasure'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

laws, and he apologized for having used the term "ethnic purity."

Even so, a number of leading black Democrats have objected to Mr. Carter's statements. Mr. Ford told several hundred editors and their wives that black voters in Pennsylvania could determine if Mr. Carter would suffer politically as a result.

The President's outline of his own views on open housing was comparable, in scope if not terms, to what Mr. Carter had said.

Referring to the "ethnic purity" term, Mr. Ford said, "In the first place, I would not use that term to describe any of my policies—period."

While paying homage to the heritage of American ethnic groups, he nonetheless said, as Mr. Carter had, that he was sworn to uphold open-housing statutes, "and this Administration will."

Mr. Ford also said he would continue to "stick with my Democratic candidate." He has persistently predicted that Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Minnesotan who is an active aspirant, would emerge as the Democratic nominee.

'Trying Hard'

"I'm trying hard to get him nominated," he said of Mr. Humphrey with a laugh.

Answering questions about his own contest for the Republican nomination, Mr. Ford described Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor, as a "formidable opponent." But he said his 3-to-1 lead over Mr. Reagan in committed delegates should stand up despite difficult primary contests coming up in Texas and elsewhere.

Mr. Ford covered a variety of subjects as he and his guests stood in the diminishing sunlight of the Rose Garden this afternoon. They included the following:

¶Regardless of Mr. Reagan's criticism of detente with the Soviet Union, he said he was "not going to abandon" efforts to obtain an agreement to limit strategic nuclear weapons. He said it was "a responsible action" for a President to try to end the arms race.

¶Mr. Ford criticized Congressional budget committees for preparing to exceed the $394 billion budget outline he proposed for the fiscal year beginning next Nov. 1, and said that he would continue to veto spending measures he considered excessive.

He said his policy toward Eastern Europe continued to be one of encouraging maximum autonomy. He said the policy was not at variance with the views of Helmut A. Sonnenfeldt, a State Department counselor, and that remarks Mr. Sonnenfeldt made last December had been quoted out of context.

¶Mr. Ford said there had been no discussion "in my presence" of the possibility that American military aid would be extended to China. James R. Schlesinger, the former Secretary of Defense, said on Sunday there had been informal discussions of such assistance at unspecified levels of government, but he did not say if they had been under Mr. Ford or former President Nixon.

Just before meeting with the editors, the President had his second private conference in two weeks with John B. Connally, the former Secretary of the Treasury and former Governor of Texas.

The meeting marked a continuation of Mr. Ford's courtship of Mr. Connally, whose support could be useful in the May 1 primary in Texas.

Mr. Ford said, however, that the discussion dealt with politics in broad terms, and that it did not involve either an endorsement or reported willingness of the President to include Mr. Connally in his Cabinet in a new Administration.

"He was not offered a job," Mr. Ford said. "I didn't ask him to support me. He didn't volunteer."

New York Tax Checks Are Behind Schedule

ALBANY, April 13 (AP)—It will take the state an extra week to process many personal income tax returns this year because of a series of layoffs ordered by Governor Carey, a state official said today.

The official, Abraham Cutler, director of the State Income Tax Bureau, said the state had not been this far behind in issuing refund checks since 1971.

The layoffs, which affected nearly eve yrphase of state government, prevented the Department of Taxation and Taxation and Finance from hiring its normal complement of temporary clerks who usually help out at tax time, Mr. Cutler said.

As a rosult a backlog of returns has built up, extending the usual four-to-five week waiting period another week.

"We issue about 80,000 refunds a day, and we're behind last year by about 400,000 returns," Mr. Cutler said.

Carter Seeks to Benefit From Blacks' Good Will

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By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 13—Dipping deep into the reservoir of black sympathy he built as Governor of Georgia, Jummy Carter oun mounted today a concerted effort to win the black vote.

Flanked by some of Georgia's black leaders at an outdoor rally in Central City Square, Mr. Carter beamed as he heard the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the slain civil rights leader, say to him, "I have a forgiving heart, so I'm with you all the way."

"Daddy King," as the elderly minister is known locally, was forgiving the Democratic Presidential candidate for recent remarks defending the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. Mr. Carter has since apologized reveral times for those words.

With the park bathed by a warm Georgia sun, the racially mixed crowd heard Mr. Carter receive the endorsements of such prominent blacks as Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of the Atlanta Board of Education, and Jesse Hill, head of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

Latent Hostility

At the same time, the controversy over his remarks has rekindled a latent hostility to Mr. Carter among some Georgia blacks. At the rally's edge, state Representative Hosea Williams led two dozen or so blacks who sang "We Shall Overcome" with a new refrain: "The black leaders selling you out today!Oh deep in my heart I do believe."

At a news conference yesterday, Mr. Williams called the candidate "a sophisticated racist."

But for the most part, the well-dressed crowd seemed sympathetic to their former Governor. They cheered lustily when Wyche Fowler, the white president of the Atlanta City Council, declared that Mr. Carter had "done more to eliminate prejudice and suspicion of prejudice than any other candidate for public office" in recent years.

Conspicuously missing from the platform were the black Mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson, and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Jackson, according to some accounts, was expected to have endorsed Mr. Carter by now, but may have deferred until the "ethnic purity" controversy cools.

Mr. Abernathy's absence was particularly embarrassing because aides to the candidates had told reports that he would attend both a morning news conference and the rally. He did not show up. "He must have got caught in a traffic jam," suggested a member of the Carter camp.

Meeting Cited

Later, as his chartered jet streaked north to Philadelphia, Mr. Carter said Mr. Abernathy had been tied up at the annual meeting of the S.C.L.C. "He called me and said he was all with me," Mr. Carter said.

When he landed in Philadelphia, the candidate encountered another obstacle, the combined opposition of organized labor and the political bosses in Pennsylvania, where 178 convention delegates are at stake in the April 2 7 primary. The labor leaders are indirectly backing Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who is not an active candidate.

Although he insisted he did not feel "paranoid" about it, the Georgian said there were indications that other candidates were ganging up on him. "There was some evidence as far back as Iowa that several of the candidates got together and said, "You know, you help me in this district and I'll help you in that district.'" He refused to elaborate.

Mr. Carter said he had commissioned a poll of voters in Pennsylvania that was taken last weekend, after the ethnic dispute flared. He declined to give the results, except to say that it "shows very strong support among black people."

Udall Endorsed

PITTSBURGH, April 13 (UPI) —Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, received today the endorsement of the 250,000-member United Dairy Farm Cooperative in his campaign for the Democrat Presidential nomination.

Mr. Udall toured a red-and-white-striped store, one of 65 run by the cooperative of Pennsylvania farmers and consumers, shaking hands, talking prices and stressing his support of the small farmer.

"You can get a square deal for farmers and you can get a square deal for consumers through this kind of cooperative," Mr. Udall told Ernest Hayes, president of the cooperative. "We simply have to protect the farmer. If we're not careful, we'll wake up some day and find out we don't have the family farmer."

At a news conference outside the store, Mr. Udall said he supported a farm policy that would protect the family farm from urban encroachment through local land-use planning, an estate tax credit and 90 percent parity for dairy farmers.

Susan Saxe's Murder Trial To Start May 17 in Boston

BOSTON, April 12 (AP)—The murder trial of Susan Saxe, accused in the slaying of a Boston policeman killed during a bank robbery six years ago, wil begin on May 17, a judge ruled Monday.

Judge Walter McLaughlin, chief justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court, set the date at a hearing on defense motions to suppress evidence in the case.

McGovern Says He Favors Humphrey

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—Senator George McGovern of South Dakota said today that he "can't think of anybody better" to lead a united Democratic party this year than Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who was his strongest rival for the Presidential nomination four years ago.

Mr. McGovern came close to offering the undeclared Humphrey campaign a formal blessing from antiwar liberals, many of whom share some lingering resentment of the former Vice President's ardent defense of the Vietnam war in the late 1960's.

To earn their forgiveness and support, Mr. McGovern told reporters over breakfast this morning, Mr. Humphrey should endorse unconditional amnesty for the protesters who exiled themselves to avoid the draft.

"If those young people are willing to forget the role he played in the war," said Mr. McGovern, "he ought to forget their oppostion to the war. I say that as a friend of Humphrey's."

Speaking as a party reformer, Mr. McGovern also sought to offer the Humphrey forces a new rationale for the sort of "brokered" Democratic convention that may be necessary to nominate a candidate who did not run in the primaries, as Mr. Humphrey has not.

It will be inaccurate and unfair to call Mr. Humphrey a "boss-chosen candidate" if he wins the nomination, Mr. McGovern argued. Under the delegate selection rules that Mr. McGovern helped write, he said, boss rule has been largely eliminated.

"The brokers at the convention are going to be the 3,000 delegates," he said, "and they're an independent crew of people."

In 1968, Mr. McGovern recalled, it was the antiwar, reform wing of the Democratic Party that called for an "open convention," hoping to dissolve the prior commitments of delegates to particular candidates and, in effect, broker the nomination for a liberal Democrat.

Mr. McGovern said he could not condemn Jimmy Carter, the front-runner among active candidates for the Democratic nomination, for his remark last week about the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

He recalled costly gaffes of his own, including his "1,000 percent" support for Senator Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri, whom he subsequently dropped as his running-mate, and said, "I don't think any candidate should be eliminated from the race because of one phrase."

He found several other reasons, however, to doubt Mr. Carter's appeal to liberals. "There are more question marks about him than anything else," Mr. McGovern said. "You don't know whether he'd be the best President since Jefferson or the worst since Grant."

Mr. McGovern was critical of Mr. Carter's "anti-Washington" theme and his attacks on the Federal bureaucracy. "We still have a superb civil service and a good political system," Mr. McGovern said. "I don't want to see us elect a President who's afraid of using the power of the Federal Government."

Mr. McGovern appeared to have dismissed the chances of other active contenders for the nomination. He doubted that he would campaign again for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, whom he supported in the Wisconsin primary. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington "reached his high point in New York" last week, he said, "and it wasn't high enough."

"I'm very high on Frank Church," he added, but he believes the Idaho Senator entered the race too late to have a plausible chance of winning.

Job Equality Head Resigns

WASHINGTON, April 12 (UPI) — Lowell W. Perry has submitted his resignation to President Ford as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Administration officials said Monday. Mr. Perry, 44 years old, has been one of the highest ranking blacks in the Administration since taking charge of the commission less than a year ago.

Rosler
Sunny today, high in mid-60s. Low tonight in low-40s. Sunny tomorrow, high in low 70s. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1976

Ethnic you-know-what

So many lessons about the state of the electioneering arts may be drawn from the flap over Gov. Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" remark that merely to list them would deplete the store of ink and paper. But to touch on two or three:

First, there is the weight and resonance of words. Dr. Freud was not the first to alert us to the deeper significance of verbal lapses, but he probably made our suspicions permanent. We ourselves doubt that Governor Carter wished to associate himself with Adolf Hitler or any other prophet of the mythology of *racial* "purity." And the attempt by Mr. Carter's kneejerk detractors to make this sordid association in the face of the evidence has its own special ugliness.

Yet clearly there are contexts in which the word "purity" is not acceptable and Mr. Carter has wisely retracted it. It was, he agreed in Philadelphia, "ill-chosen . . . a very serious mistake . . . careless." Enough said.

A further lesson, however, is that in heated presidential primary campaigns verbal lapses are not easily shaken off — not even when the original context establishes for any fair-minded reader that Governor Carter's use of the forbidden words carries no racist freightage — and not even, indeed, when the words are qualified or retracted. The political benefits of pretending otherwise are overpowering. This is a familiar phenomenon in our politics, but no less deplorable for being so.

Gov. George Romney's rivals for the GOP nomination some years ago understood that he was not literally "brainwashed" by the briefing of American officials in Vietnam — that he was trying, all too clumsily, to lodge a charge of deception that was not without merit. Similarly, Governor Carter's rivals understand full well by now that he was not entering a brief for exclusionary neighborhoods but answering, with remarkable and dangerous candor, a direct question about "scatter-site housing in the suburbs." Yet they insist on dwelling on the resonances of the ill-chosen words rather than the issue itself.

Why? One reason, which hasn't escaped notice in the clamor of the past weekend, is that both Rep. Morris Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson *agree* with Governor Carter about "scatter-site housing in the suburbs." That's right — they agree. But they also find that there is political mileage in fuzzing over that basic agreement, at least for the nonce. Here is indeed a basic problem in American electioneering — that we cry for candor but leap so disingenuously on unguarded language that candidates learn that it's the better part of candor to fudge when asked sharp questions about sensitive issues.

It may be pointless to quarrel too strenuously with this built-in defect of the electioneering process. Given the broad agreements that exist — happily, we think — in the middle spectrum of American politics, campaigns often necessarily turn on nuances, overtones, subliminal perceptions, the resonances of words, rather than on flat disagreements of principle.

The accurate thing for Messrs. Jackson and Udall to say — and maybe the intellectually honest thing too — is "I have no real quarrel with Governor Carter on this issue." But that wins no votes. And few candidates — including, we suppose, Governor Carter — are immune to the temptation to make much of opportune trivialities. But you can certainly say that presidential campaigns would better serve the voters, would be less productive of noxious sanctimony and hypocrisy, if candidates strove as hard to understand one another as they do to misunderstand when it is advantageous to do so.

A third lesson of the "ethnic purity" flap, succinctly stated by James Reston of The New York *Times*, is that there is a debatable but undebated issue here. The question, he says, is how the others will beat Governor Carter if they beat him. "If they beat him on the fair issue of the use of federal power to compel integration, that is one thing, but if they beat him on the slip of the tongue and on phony charges that his record refutes, they will not only stop Carter but Humphrey as well."

The fair issue, again largely ignored, is whether it should be the role of federal action not just to stop "'discrimination or exclusion" in neighborhoods (which all the candidates, including Governor Carter, agree that it should be) but also to push local communities to scatter high-rise public housing into resisting neighborhoods. It isn't an easy issue. Arguments can be made, wrongheaded arguments, we happen to believe, for just such use of federal power. Here is where the quarrel of, say, the congressional black caucus with Governor Carter lies — if they have one.

But as far as Mr. Carter's announced rivals for the nomination are concerned, there is a huge silence on the other side of the argument. The Pennsylvania primary would give Messrs. Udall and Jackson a splendid chance to raise their voices for "scatter-site housing in the suburbs" and thus to join issue with the former governor of Georgia. Unless they mean to do so, unless they mean to reverse positions they have already announced, the decent thing is to admit that they agree with Mr. Carter and move on to real issues. After all, Messrs. Jackson and Udall can subsist for only so long on imaginary differences and sanctimonious finger-wagging, and in the space of only a few days they have scraped that larder bare.

'He's Not My Choice, So I Can Afford to Be Generous'

McGovern Defends Carter on 'Ethnic Purity'

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern, although increasingly critical of Jimmy Carter's personality-oriented presidential campaign, has come to his defense in the current controversy over Carter's "ethnic purity" remark.

McGovern said yesterday that no presidential candidate should be "condemned on the basis of a single phrase" or isolated incident in the course of a long campaign.

"I personally thought it was very unfortunate and very foolish of Gov. Carter to be using such phrases as 'ethnic purity,' but I also hope he wouldn't be evaluated on the basis of a single phrase," McGovern said.

IN A LUNCHEON speech to the Washington Council of Lawyers, a group of public-service lawyers, McGovern urged all the presidential candidates to clarify their positions on housing and neighborhood integration.

He said the substantive difference between Carter's views and those of his opponents thus far "eludes me."

In downplaying the overall significance of Carter's controversial remark, McGovern joined presidential candidate Frank Church, who said Saturday that Carter shouldn't be "crucified for an unfortunate choice of words."

McGovern, the 1972 Democratic nominee for president, recalled he had suffered from a similar political flap when he voiced "1,000 percent" support for his first vice presidential choice, Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., after disclosures that Eagleton had undergone psychiatric treatment for depression.

McGovern insisted that his famous comment "really was the way I felt — my initial reaction," even though he later dropped Eagleton from the ticket when the controvery threatened to consume his own campaign.

THE SOUTH DAKOTA senator also said he believed the press and other political candidates have unfairly overplayed George Romney's "brainwashing" comment in 1968 and Edmund S. Muskie's tears in the snows in New Hampshire in 1972. McGovern said he "never saw anything wrong with" Romney's acknowledgement that he had been "brainwashed" by U.S. Embassy officials in South Vietnam into thinking the U.S. war effort was going better than it actually was.

"They brainwashed just about everyone who went out there," McGovern said, adding he thought the erstwhile GOP presidential candidate had been "remarkably candid" to admit he had been taken in.

As for Muskie crying in response to attacks made upon his wife by the Manchester Union Leader, McGovern said, "I never understood how he was disqualified from the presidency because he shed a few tears. I know I felt drawn to him at the time."

Notwithstanding his call for balance in the treatment of Carter's housing comments, McGovern left little doubt that he dislikes the type of campaign the former Georgia governor is waging.

"HE'S NOT MY choice for 1976, so I can afford to be generous," the senator said with a grin.

Without mentioning Carter by name, he warned against candidates who "display their personalities but conceal what plans they have in mind for us" if elected.

McGovern, defeated by a landslide after a campaign in which he took controversial positions on a number of sensitive issues, said he would "regret very much if we nominate a candidate who believes the central lesson of 1972 is not to discuss the issues."

McGovern also reiterated criticism he had voiced in a Feb. 23 speech to the Women's National Democratic Club about candidates running an antigovernment theme.

"Those who are skeptical and hostile towards the federal government," he said, "should do themselves and us a favor by staying out of it." Asked who he supports for the Democratic nomination of this year, McGovern said he "leans toward" Morris K. Udall among the active candidates.

IF CHURCH, a long-time friend and Senate colleague, were not in the race, "I'd be out beating the bushes for Udall," McGovern said.

"If one of the active candidates doesn't make it, I suppose I go along with the conventional view that Hubert Humphrey is the most likely — and if he is nominated, he'll have my support," McGovern said.

The senator later said he could support Carter if he is nominated, "maybe with about the same degree of enthusiasm he brought to me in 1972."

McGovern would not comment on whether he would support Henry M. Jackson, but did say he has always backed the Democratic nominee.

Carter

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From Page 1A

and a promise not to work actively for repeal "appears to be a matter of semantics. That seems to be important for some strange reason in this day and time," Lance said.

In 1971, Carter wrote to the National Right-to-Work Committee that he was "not in favor of doing away with the right-to-work law."

Carter told a group of newspaper editors last Feb. 28, "The last two years, I've said, to me the right-to-work law is all right the way it is. I don't have any feelings about it, but if it ever passes the Congress without my help, I'll sign it into law. And I've told the business community the same thing."

Former City Attorney Bowden said Carter also claimed his position had been "misinterpreted" regarding his advocacy of "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

Carter later apologized for using the phrase "ethnic purity," which critics viewed as an endorsement of segregated housing patterns.

"He said he had had some black officials call and tell him to stay with that (ethnic purity) stand because it was correct," Bowden reported. He said Carter did not name the black officials, and the candidate did not mention the matter at the later press conference, when many questions about the controversy were raised.

The business group, which included some former opponents of Carter, "to my way of thinking, was extremely proud of a fellow from Georgia going this far," said construction company president Lawrence L. Gellerstedt.

Carter continued to predict that he will emerge from the final primaries on June 8 with more than 1,000 delegates—enough to create a stampede that would yield the 1,505 delegates needed for the nomination at the Democratic National Convention in July.

Gerry Rafshoon, Carter's media director, said that $157,612 was earmarked for advertising in the key Pennsylvania primary showdown with Udall and Sen. Henry M. Jackson, but so far none of the money has been raised.

Carter said "several hundred" Georgia supporters will stump for him in Pennsylvania and "that will make up for some of the lack of funds."

Carter also complained that "we are behind now about $250,000 in (federal) matching funds which we have earned." The withholding of the funds due to a court-ordered abolition of the Federal Election Commission is a "travesty," he said.

Before the FEC went out of existence last month, it funneled a total of $1,078,467.75 into the Carter campaign.

NADER WANTS A PLAN

Journal 4/13

Carter on Consumers——?

By CHARLES SEABROOK

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader has criticized presidential aspirant Jimmy Carter for not developing a comprehensive consumer protection platform.

"It's time for Carter to develop a consumer protection plan that could be implemented should he be elected President," said Nader, who was in Atlanta Monday to speak at the opening session of a week-long meeting of physicians' assistants.

Nader said Carter is the only presidential hopeful who has not developed such a plan. "We already have seen that President Ford and Ronald Reagan are anti-consumer," said Nader.

The other major presidential contenders — Morris Udall and Henry Jackson — already have a record of supporting consumer bills in Congress, Nader pointed out. "Carter has never been to Congress, so we don't know how he stands on national consumer protection," Nader added.

Nader said a strong consumer protection plan is needed nationally to protect the public in several areas such as health, food-buying, and housing.

RALPH NADER
'It's Time'

On another topic, Nader stressed that Americans should start taking care of themselves to ward off health problems instead of relying totally on the health care system to cure their illnesses when they become sick.

In another address at the physicians' assistants meeting, Rep. Paul Rogers, D-Fla., chairman of the House Public Health and Environmental subcommittee, said his group is concerned that too many doctors are choosing medical specialties instead of entering the primary medical care system.

However, Rogers said, the physicians' assistant and Medix and nurse practitioners programs have provided "uncounted Americans with medical care that would not have been available without the programs."

The Florida Congressman said he is enthused over physicians' assistant programs because "to date 88 per cent of the physcians' assistant graduates are practicing in primary care."

Rogers noted that the physicians' assistant programs have not won universal acceptance. "But I think I can say without qualification that the record which has been built by the physicians' assistant in the field is rapidly overcoming the barriers," he said.

Rogers said his subcommittee has put in provisions in the federal Health Manpower Act to encourage medical schools to train physicians' assistants. "We have authorized $90 million over a three-year period in grants and contracts for training and to identify the needs of physicians' assistants," he said.

Staff Photo—Minia Linn

Kennedy, Nunn at 'Warm-Up' Reception

IF NOMINATED

Teddy Says He'd Support Carter-for-President Ticket

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Sen. Teddy Kennedy came to Atlanta Tuesday night to help raise funds for Democratic senatorial candidates, say some nice things about Jimmy Carter and repeat for the umpteen-hundredth time that he will not seek or accept the 1976 presidential nomination.

"Gov. Carter has made the most impressive impression on all parts of the country," the Massachusetts senator said. "Were he to gain the nomination, I would certainly support him."

Kennedy said he is keeping out of pre- convention presidential politics and will not endorse a candidate before the Democratic National Convention selects a candidate in July.

Sen. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana and Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia accompanied Kennedy to the reception of the Senatorial Democratic Campaign Committee at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

About 150 prominent Democrats attended the function, described by Johnston as a "warm-up" before the main fundraising dinner for Democratic senatorial candidates in Washington May 11.

Many persons in the crowd wore green Carter-for-president buttons and Morris Dees, Carter's chief fundraiser, was among the group.

The Weather

Today—Rain, high in the 60s, low near 30. Chance of rain is 50 per cent today, 40 per cent tonight. Monday—Sunny, high in the 40s. Yesterday—Temperatures ranged from 68 to 38. Further details are on Page B2.

The Washington Post

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99th Year ··· No. 128 · SUNDAY, APRIL 11, 1976 Phone (202) 223-6000 Classified 223-6200 Circulation 223-6100 Weather forecast Metro See Page

'Ethnic Purity' Flap Focuses On Outsider Jimmy Carter

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Whatever it may reveal about the character or convictions of Jimmy Carter, last week's "ethnic purity" incident focused a sharp, clear light on the nature of Carter's challenge for the Democratic presidential nomination and the obstacles it faces.

It showed that, impressive as his popular triumphs have been in the early primaries, Carter faces a tortuous path, mined with booby-traps, as he tries to infiltrate the Democratic Party structure and capture its flag. Like a commando captain worried about reinforcements, Carter remarked to a reporter Thursday night, "I'm stretched very thin."

News Analysis

The explanations for the former Georgia governor's comments on protecting ethnic enclaves from the "intrusion of alien groups" ranged from sympathizers' suggestions that it was a fatigue-induced slip of the tongue to cynics' charges that Carter was making a blatant bid to capture the backlash vote from Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Carter was quick to apologize for what he called "a very serious mistake on my part." Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), the black leader who has been one of Carter's most effective backers, was quoted as calling it "a disaster."

"I think we have time be-

See CARTER, A12, Col. 1

JIMMY CARTER
... faces tortuous path

tween now and July [the month of the Democratic National Convention] to repair the damage," Young said in an interview Friday, "but this is a real stumbling block in his progress."

To understand why this seemingly offhand remark, coming when it did, could have such profound political implications it is necessary to understand the unique character of Carter's challenge for the nomination.

The words were provocative, but the policy of protecting the "character and heritage" of residential communities, as Carter later phrased it, is one which his Democratic rivals, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have also espoused in more carefully chosen language.

But Carter's words created special problems for him because of the special nature of his candidacy.

Although he held the governorship of the nation's 15th largest state for four years and served as chairman of the Democrats' 1974 mid-term campaign committee, Carter is regarded as an outsider by most of the party's major elements and leaders.

Not since Wendell Willkie won the Republican nomination in 1940 has either party seen such an outsider move into the forefront of its presidential fight.

As a leader of a major union said Friday, "I don't know who he is, where he's going, or where he's been."

Among the leading Georgia politicians, only Young has endorsed Carter's candidacy. Among his colleagues in the state capitols, only Oklahoma Gov. David Boren is publicly in his corner.

The number of members of Congress, state party chairmen and union officials backing Carter can be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

"The establishment has tried to oppose me in every respect," Carter said while campaigning in Wisconsin. "I'm not afraid of it, because I've prevailed so far. I've taken my case direct to the people, and I'm going to continue to do that."

The "appeal to the people" is the classic tactic of the nonestablishment candidate, and Carter has exploited it to the full, winning six of the eight primaries so far conducted and more caucus and convention votes than any other contender.

But at the same time that the Georgian has been conducting his successful grassroots campaign, he has been planning his effort to persuade, cajole or coerce support from the leaders of those elements of the Democratic Party structure who first viewed his candidacy with skepticism, if not distaste.

"I didn't know most of those people," Carter said in a recent conversation, "and they didn't know me. For a long time, they wouldn't even return my phone calls. I wasn't important enough to warrant their attention. But lately, it's been easier to establish communication with them, and that's important to me."

Implicit in Carter's remark is the recognition that if he is to win the nomination in a way that will enable him to run successfully in the general election, he must gain the acquiescence of those Democrats whose concurrence has generally been a prerequisite for a successful presidential campaign.

Those groups are the party ofice holders, the leaders of organized labor, the activist liberals or eggheads and the blacks. Each of the four blocs has won a kind of veto power over the nominee, and when that veto has not been exercised in convention hall, it has been used to prevent the election of the convention's choice.

Because the activist liberals were not reconciled to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's nomination in 1968, many of them withheld their support and Humphrey was defeated.

Because much of organized labor's leadership and many officeholders were embittered by the choice of Sen. George McGovern in 1972, he went down to a one-sided defeat.

Carter obviously wants to avoid that fate. But he began his quest with little support from the leaders of any of those four constituencies, most of whom either did not know him at all or knew him in an unfavorable light.

He had clashed often with other governors and other Georgia politicians—many of whom tended to regard him as being rather ambitious and unscrupulous.

In the leadership ranks of organized labor, he was known only as a man who governed a right-to-work state and who once told his fellow Democratic governors that he could not see why one of their political decisions should await the arrival of "a bunch of labor bosses."

The liberal community also knew little of him, and, in candor, was probably skeptical of a Southerner who talked openly of his deep religious faith.

Given this situation, Carter chose to make his point of entree to the Democratic establishment through the black leadership. That may seem, at first, a strange route for a Southern governor. But Carter, during his four years in office, had earned the trust of Atlanta's black community — whose leaders are at the center of the national black political network.

A skilled campaigner with great personal rapport with black audiences, Carter was aided by Young and a group of black Georgia legislators —and an endorsement from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr.—in gaining substantial majorities of the black vote in all the early primary states.

In the Carter battle plan, the demonstration of support from both black leaders and black voters was seen as a major weapon in breaking open access to both the academic liberals and the leaders of the more liberal trade unions.

The white liberals—particularly those Jewish activists

and contributors with a strong sensitivity to issues of civil rights and civil liberties—tend to regard black support as evidence of a candidate's liberalism.

Leaders of such unions as the United Auto Workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Communications Workers of America were susceptible to the same influence, not only because of their concerns for issues but because their membership includes large numbers of blacks.

In Carter's view, if he could continue demonstrating popular support in the primaries and caucuses, while winning increasing allegiance from the leaders of the blacks, the egghead liberals and the liberal trade unions, then the old-line labor leaders and the elected officials would be compelled to acknowledge the legitimacy of his claim to the nomination.

Whether they liked him or not, the George Meanys and Richard J. Daleys of the party would accept Carter's credentials as a potential victor over a Republican candidate or incumbent President rather than risk another defeat by boycotting his campaign.

In recent weeks, there were signs that the Carter strategy was working. He gained early support from Southern white liberals with close ties to the civil rights movement—such people as Morris Dees of Alabama and Hodding Carter III and Patt Derian of Mississippi. More recently, the candidate and his emissaries have persuaded such northern liberals as Theodore Sorensen, Abram Chayes and Frank Mankiewicz to join the Carter ranks.

Similarly, such influential labor figures as Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, and Jerry Wurf, head of AFSCME, appeared to be gravitating toward Carter. Originally backing Carter simply as an anti-Wallace candidate, they found other reasons to look kindly on the Georgian.

Aiding their shift was their distaste for Jackson, based both on his long support of the Vietnam war and on his direct appeal to anti-busing forces in Massachusetts, and their belief that Carter would soon eliminate Udall, as he had previously defeated such other liberals as Birch Bayh, Fred Harris and Sargent Shriver.

As further evidence that the strategy was working, Carter had—after many rebuffs—opened a personal telephone dialogue with Meany, and was beginning to find local officeholders and candidates showing up with increasing frequency to share his campaign crowds and be photographed with him.

But last week's events slowed the momentum Carter was beginning to build. He failed to deliver the knockout blow to Udall he had expected in Wisconsin, barely winning a state where his backers had hoped for a decisive margin.

The Arizonan's near-win in Wisconsin and unexpectedly strong second-place finish in New York persuaded at least some labor leaders that — far from being finished—Udall might offer them a good vehicle for electing labor delegates in Pennsylvania and Michigan, as well.

Second, the "ethnic purity" remark gratuitiously raised a fresh concern of some seriousness in the minds of liberals who had been moving toward Carter.

"The tragedy of this," Rep. Young said Friday, "is that Jimmy was on the verge of pulling all the diverse elements of the Democratic Party together. We had an incredible number of people who were committed to come out for him at the right time—and I'm afraid now even to call them back."

The strongest immediate denunciation of the statement came from the Congressional Black Caucus and from such black leaders as Vernon Jordan, the head of the National Urban League.

But Young said his belief was that "blacks are much less disturbed than the white liberals. Blacks have a

kind of radar about white folks, and somewhere along the line, Jimmy passed the test." The prompt expression of support for Carter from Detroit's black mayor, Coleman Young, supported Andrew Young's thesis.

"But the Northern liberal who struggled through the holocaust period and sees in the United States a potential for the same kind of demagoguery found the words Jimmy used really frightening" the congressman said.

"I'm sure that's not true of Jimmy, but it's hard for me to make the case it was naive and not insidious. The people who have been calling me think this is the real Jimmy Carter who is coming out," he said.

Most Democrats outside the Carter camp said this weekend that they thought it would be several days before the damage from the incident could be fully assessed.

The coalition of liberal trade unions went ahead with a scheduled endorsement of Carter in Connecticut Wednesday—the day the story first drew major media attention.

But when the UAW met in Detroit on Friday, the endorsement Carter had hoped for in the Michigan primary failed to materialize. Instead, the dominant union in that state's politics voted to bar any endorsement at the state or local level, and a close associate said there was now only a "meager" chance that Woodcock would declare his personal support for Carter in the form of an endorsement.

Even more speculative was the widespread discussion in party circles over whether the past week marked a real turning point in Carter's political fortunes —a devastating event like George Romney's "brainwash" statement or George McGovern's "1,000 per cent" remark.

That seemed unlikely to most key party officials, but one former colleague of Carter in the ranks of the Democratic governors pinpointed the potential danger when he said:

"He could have made a gaffe on foreign policy or farm policy and not been hurt much at all. But race is the one issue where he can't be soft without reviving the suspicion that he's really a redneck who just cleaned up his act to run for president."

Implicit also in the incident is the question of Carter's candor and credibility —the focus of a continuing barrage of comment from both media critics and political opponents.

Carter campaign aides were concerned even before he was forced to apologize for his "ethnic purity" remark that the charge that he was deliberately fuzzing his views in order to gain political advantage was beginning to take hold.

Citing a CBS-New York Times survey which showed that a plurality of voters in both Wisconsin and New York believed Carter guilty of such trimming, the campaign staff planned new advertisements in Pennsylvania designed to show him being explicit and outspoken on issues.

How much more Carter must do to recoup the damage is a matter of some disagreement. One major labor union's top political operative said he thought Carter's prompt apology and acknowledgement of error had largely mitigated the damage caused by the original comments. Another disagreed, saying, "There's no way that's going to be quickly erased or forgotten."

Young commented Friday that, "Im not sure he [Carter] knows yet" why the remarks were so upsetting. "I'm not sure how much fatigue may have had to do with it, but I've suggested he take a week off. He has to find a new style of campaigning that will work in urban areas like Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. He needs a good briefing on urban issues, and there's not a person on that staff who grew up in a big city. I think he's got to have a new look at the whole campaign from here."

Few on Carter's staff take that serious a view of the situation. Many neutral Democratic observers still see Carter as holding substantial advantages over his active rivals, Udall and Jackson, in both campaign and organizational ability and breadth of voter support.

But even if that is true, it is of limited consolation to Carter. Increasingly, he and his associates have come to view Udall and Jackson simply as proxies for his real opponent—Hubert Humphrey. In Carter's camp, it is no longer a question of if Humphrey will run, but when and how he will make his candidacy formal.

Unlike Jackson and Udall, Humphrey has strong appeal to the very constituency Carter has used as his launching pad toward the nomination—the blacks. A Harris survey taken in March gave Humphrey a 68-to-26 per cent lead over Carter among black Democrats and independents, while the two men were tied at 46 per cent among whites.

Humphrey is also the personal choice of many of the same liberals and labor leaders Carter has been courting. Their reluctance to join Carter in the wake of this past week's events may, as the Georgian said, truly leave him "stretched thin" for the battle that is yet to come.

For the Record

Jimmy Carter and 'Ethnic Purity'

On April 2, while flying across upstate New York, Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter gave an interview to Sam Roberts, chief political correspondent of the New York Daily News. Mr. Roberts' account of the interview, which appeared in the Daily News on April 4, quoted the former Georgia governor on a variety of subjects in the first 15 paragraphs of a 20-paragraph long story. The 16th paragraph read as follows:

"And, asked about low-income, scatter-site housing in the suburbs, he replied: 'I see nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained. I would not force a racial integration of a neighborhood by government action. But I would not permit discrimination against a family moving into the neighborhood.' "

That paragraph, tucked away on page 134 of the Sunday Daily News, is the genesis of the controversy now embroiling the struggle for the Democratic nomination and confronting Mr. Carter with the first serious crisis of his campaign. Clearly, the New York Daily News did not attach much importance to the phrase "ethnic purity." But it caught the eye of a CBS official in New York who suggested that the network's correspondent Ed Rabel question Mr. Carter further about it in Indianapolis. The resulting storm of questions followed the Carter campaign on through Indiana and into Pennsylvania. Here, for the record, are the highlights of the questioning and Mr. Carter's efforts to put the matter to rest — in press conferences in Indianapolis, South Bend, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia:

Indianapolis

Q. What did you mean by "ethnic purity"?

A: I have nothing against a community that's made up of people who are Polish, Czechoslovakians, French Canadians or blacks who are trying to maintain hood. This is a natural inclination on the part of people . . . I've never, though, condoned any sort of discrimination against, say, a black family or other family from moving into that neighborhood. But I don't think government ought to deliberately break down an ethnically oriented community deliberately by injecting into it a member of another race. To me, this is contrary to the best interests of the community.

South Bend

Q: Would you be opposed to federal or state housing programs that provide low-income housing in some of the suburban neighborhoods or in middle income urban neighborhoods?

A. I would like to make any goverment housing project . . . under the control of local governments. But if housing units are constructed in a neighborhood, I think it best for the neighborhood to have been compatible with the quality of homes already there. To build a highrise, very low-cost housing unit . . . in a suburban neighborhood . . . with relatively expensive homes, I think would not be in the best interests of the people who live in the highrise or the suburban neighborhood . . . I know in my own neighborhood, my two next door neighbors . . . are one white and one black. And if you drew a circle of a 200-yard radius around the nearest corner to my house, you would find encompassed 12 black families and 8 white familes. I have no objection to that at all. But to artificially create within a community that's fairly homogeneous in racial or economic status, a diametrically opposite kind of family, I think is bad for the community on both sides.

Q: Do you believe there is a need in the North generally for affirmative action by the government to overcome discrimination and the effects of past dis-

A: Yes, I do.

Q. The Community Development Act of 1974, the most recent federal housing legislation, places an affirmative duty on the part of the suburban area that applies for federal funds to establish an affirmative plan to bring in low and moderate cost housing. Wouldn't your policy be directly contrary to that?

A: I don't have any objection to that. We have a similar law in Georgia.

Q. What is your notion of a pure ethnic neighborhood?

A: I'm not insisting on the phrase "pure ethnic neighborhood." I'm not trying to keep any neighborhood pure. What I'm saying is that I'm not going to use the federal government's authority deliberately to circumvent the natural inclination of people to live in an ethnically homogeneous neighborhood . . . To deliberately try to tear down the integrity of those neighborhoods is not something that I approve.

Pittsburgh

Q. Are such terms as ethnic purity and alien group almost Hitlerian?

A: If there's a neighborhood that's been in existence a long time that consists primarily of a particular ethnic group, say Czechoslovakian, Polish or black or whatever, I would not favor the government arbitrarily putting a different group into that neighborhood just to create some sort of a mixture. At the same time, as demonstrated by my commitment to open housing legislation at the state level, I would enthusiastically support the elimination of discrimination against anyone who wants to move into a neighborhood, whether they are of the same ethnic group or not. I would fight as a governor or as a President — as I have already demonstrated — to let (a family have) unimpeded access to pur-

not favor any sort of discrimination or exclusion . . . If anyone derived from my statement the connotation that I have an inclination toward racism, then I would resent that because it's certainly not true.

Philadelphia

Carter statement: I think most of the problem has been caused by my ill-chosen agreement to use the word ethnic purity. I think that was a very serious mistake on my part. I think it should have been the word "ethnic character" or "ethnic heritage" . . . I do want to apologize to all those who have been concerned about the unfortunate use of the "ethnic purity." I don't think there are any ethnically pure neighborhoods, but in response to a question and without adequate thought on my part, I used a phrase that was unfortunate . . . I was careless in the words I used . . . I have apologized for it. It was an improper choice of words.

Q: Was it just a poor choice of words and nothing wrong with the thought?

A: That's exactly right . . . If you have an established neighborhood, to use the government itself to change the ethnic character of that neighborhood, I think is improper, but I would insist on the right of any individual to move into that neighborhood on his own initiative.

Q: Was the remark made to send a signal to Wallace supporters?

A: No. My support has been much more from various minority and Spanish-speaking groups . . . and I would hope and believe their support is warranted, and I would never do anything to eliminate justification for their support. If I should ever take a racist attitude or a discriminatory attitude to any ethnic group, I would prefer to drop out of the race. I would hope by my apologies I've eliminated that con-

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Purity Flap

THE CAPACITY of politicians to be "shocked" never ceases to amaze us. It runs second only to their capacity to be "appalled." Sen. Henry M. Jackson, for example, has professed himself to be both in the last few days—shocked *and* appalled by Jimmy Carter's remarks on the value of ethnic neighborhoods and on proper government policy toward them. "It will balkanize our country," the senator warned darkly of the Carter idea as expressed, amended and apologized for in a series of recent interviews excerpted on the opposite page today. But what then are we to make of Sen. Jackson's own previously stated views on the subject? In case you've forgotten them, we will quote briefly from his position paper on school desegregation, issued by the senator in December 1975:

> *If we destroy the various ethnic neighborhoods in our cities, including black neighborhoods, we destroy not only a rich tradition in American life, but an anchor for stability in an increasingly unstable society.*

Well, anchors aweigh—or is it possible that Sen. Jackson, who invoked this argument to support his stand against "social engineering" (i.e. busing for racial balance) that is "antithetical to traditional American views," really hasn't changed his mind at all, but is merely taking an opportunistic clop at Mr. Carter? Does Sen. Jackson support the use of federal government money and pressure to break up ethnic neighborhoods *as a policy irrespective of whether or not discrimination and exclusion are involved?* Does he favor the pursuit of so-called "scatter site" housing or projects on the model of the controversial one in Forest Hills? If he does, we'd surely be surprised — and possibly even shocked, though we will leave being appalled to the politicians.

Rep. Morris Udall has provided clear answers to all those questions, speaking of both ethnic and economic integration which, as a practical matter, are pretty much the same thing. He does not, he has told interviewers Martin Agronsky and Jack Germond, favor projects such as "that large kind of Forest Hills thing that we had in New York that caused all that controversy." And again: "No, I'm not willing to charge in and say to established neighborhoods the federal government is coming in here, friends, and we're going to put high rise, low income things in your neighborhood." And once more: "Well I don't advocate this as a general policy. I would rather see a more natural kind of intermingling that you see in Greenwich Village or Manhattan or places of this kind."

While we are all waiting for Hamtramck to evolve into Greenwich Village, however, Rep. Udall feels keenly that we should pursue our open housing desegregation policies and assist people in achieving mobility that might be thwarted because of discriminatory practices. So of course does Mr. Carter: He made that point again and again from the beginning of his remarks on this subject. Still, Rep. Udall won't let him off the hook, suggesting that Mr. Carter doesn't mean what he said about open housing—never mind that Mr. Carter's record as governor of Georgia doesn't support the Udall insinuation.

We are no happier with former Gov. Carter's original choice of language than he apparently is. The terms were freighted. Their connotations were painful and all wrong. Mr. Carter recognized as much and tried to correct them. Sen. Jackson and Rep. Udall won't let him—they both evidently prefer to see what good they can get from the original statement by pretending that it represents some hideous policy with which they are both in disagreement, when the truth is that they and Mr. Carter are all at the same policy place. The two of them are feigning shock and horror. They are, in other words, having a political good time with a subject that is a sensitive and dead serious one.

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The New York Times

— NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 12, 1976 —

Jackson Concedes Pennsylvania Allies Prefer Humphrey

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington conceded today that many of the persons who are running in Pennsylvania as convention delegates committed to him would rather see Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota win the Democratic Presidential nomination.

But he insisted, in answer to questions in a television interview, that Pennsylvania was a "unique" stronghold for Mr. Humphrey, who is not a declared candidate for the Presidency and thus is not running in any of the primaries.

Pennsylvania "is the strongest state of all 50 states for Hubert Humphrey," especially among union members and leaders, Mr. Jackson said. He predicted that union members in Pennsylvania would vote for him because "they can't vote for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona or Jimmy Carter, former Georgia Governor, "because of their labor record."

Mr. Jackson said he would not ask those running as his delegates in Pennsylvania to

Continued on Page 20, Column 8

JACKSON'S ALLIES PREFER HUMPHREY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

take a "loyalty oath" that they would hold fast in their support of him no matter what happened at the Democratic convention.

He would deal with any threatened shift of his delegates to Mr. Humphrey when that happened. If it did, he said.

Whether such a shift would occur "will, very candidly, depend on our overal strength," he said. "It must be related to the other states and how well I am doing in the other states."

In other highlights of the interview, on the ABC news program "Issues and Answers" Senator Jackson said the following:

¶That he believes the Supreme Court "may have gone too far" in holding, recently, that states may prosecute homosexuals for their private actions with consenting partners.

¶That he thinks Mr. Carter offendde many different ethnic groups, not just blacks, with his recent statement that the Government should not pursue policies that permit "alien groups" to alter the "ethnic purity" of their neighborhoods. Mr. Carter later apologized for use of the term "ethnic purity," but said he remained opposed to the "arbitrary use of Federal force" to change a neighborhood's ethnic character and that he supported open-housing laws.

Mr. Jackson said that his own view of the housing policies that should be followed by the Government was that integration of neighborhoods could be accomplished "on a balanced basis."

"We can preserve an ethnic neighborhood," he continued. "We don't have to turn around and destroy it, because that is part of our culture. But it means that other people can come in that are not of that national origin. You can go out into the suburbs, but you don't need to do all your [subsidized, low-income] housing in the suburbs.

As for the Supreme Court's decision upholding the rights of states to prosecute homosexuals for private, consensual acts, Mr. Jackson said he thought the Court had gone past a reasonable position on the issue of privacy.

"The court is going a long way when you start peeking under the covers," he said.

Senator Jackson has been known as fairly conservative on the issue of homosexuality and said today that "I deplore the very nature of deviation from the norm in sexual terms, because of its obvious adverse impact on the American family."

Task Force Comments

Dr. Bruce Voeller, executive director of the National Gay Task Force, said in New York that his organization "fully agrees with Senator Jackson" that the recent Supreme Court decision concerning homosexuals was "an error and that the Court shoud reconsider intruding into American bedrooms."

CARTER IS RESTING ON FAMILY FARM

20

Returns After Hard Week Caused by Dispute Over 'Ethnic Purity' Remark

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, April 11 — Jimmy Carter went home to the family farm in Georgia last night to rest and regroup after what was probably the most unnerving and difficult week in his three-year quest for the Presidency.

His entourage had spent several days trying to ease the controversy that had arisen over the former Georgia Governor's statements about ethnicity. It was an uncharacteristically defensive stance for the usually self-confident, front-running Democrat.

The controversy began earlier in the week when Mr. Carter defended the preservation of what he called the "ethnic purity" of local neighborhoods against official attempts to diversify them. By midweek, threatened with the loss of his considerable black support, he apologized for his choice of words—in which some saw racist overtones—but not for his position.

Whatever its ultimate impact, the incident seemed by the end of the week to be of little concern to the enthusiastic audiences of elderly, of college students and professors, unionists and Democratic Party workers he met along the way.

A 'Phony Issue'

The popular black Mayor of this industrial city, Coleman A. Young, called the matter a "phony issue." He said that he had been reared in a black neighborhood and was proud of it. Ethnic neighborhoods, he said, were as "American as apple pie."

The black audiences seemed to be moved by words, less noticed than his remarks on ethnic neighborhoods, words that weave through almost all of Mr. Carter's public speeches. They are words with emotional, uplifting and even spiritual overtones not unlike those heard in many black chruches in the South. Words like "compassion," "love," "strength," "justice," "brotherhood," "decency."

Throughout the week as he tried to cope with newspaper headlines, Mr. Carter gave frequent hints about the intellectual and religious origins of his political philosophy. The name that cropped up most often was that of the late Reinhold Neibuhr, the social philosopher and religious thinker who, Mr. Carter said, was his favorite theologian.

"I always wanted to meet him," Mr. Carter told an audience in Cleveland Thursday. "He had a great impact on my life."

"The purpose of politics," he said, describing his understanding of the Niebuhr philosophy, "is to establish justice in a sinful world."

"I can see a great need for the establishment of true justice in our world," Mr. Carter added.

Mr. Niebuhr, whose thinking influenced many public officials, among them a previous Democratic Presidential aspirant, Adlai E. Stevenson, was an exponent of "Christian realism." This is a basically pragmatic attempt to apply Christian philosophy to the solution of political and social problems.

Speaks About Tolstoy

Mr. Carter is a Southern Baptist who underwent a conversion experience a decade ago.

At the same Cleveland spech, after touching on such down-to-earth topics as the structure of the Federal Government and the purchase of ambassadorships, he suddenly turned reflective. He spoke about another social thinker, Leo Tolstoy, the 19th Century Russian author who underwent a conversion to "Christian love."

Mr. Carter said that as a youngster in rural Georgia he read Tolstoy's "War and Peace" several times. Tolstoy was a Russian nobleman who was horrified by the brutality of Russian life and tried to educate and free his serfs. He ultimately renounced worldly goods and preached nonviolence and love and opposed such organizations as the army and the church.

Church Defends Carter

LINCOLN, Neb., April 11 (AP) —Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, said today that too much had been made of Mr. Carter's remark about "ethnic purity."

"I think that was one of those remarks that campaigns bring on, and in all frankness I think that too much has been made of what apparently was an unfortunate phrase," Mr. Church told a news conference. Like Mr. Carter, he is seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Church said that Mr. Carter should be judged "on the basis of his record," rather than on that one phrase. He said that he knew of nothing in Mr. Carter's record as a former Governor of Georgia to indicate that he was a racist.

Soviet Judges Are Elected

MOSCOW, April 11 (AP) — Millions of Soviet citizens turned out today to elect people's judges, who serve five-year terms presiding over trials in all but the most important cases.

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After Worrisome Week for the Carter Campaign a Key Test Looms in Pennsylvania

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—Quite apart from the "ethnic purity" controversy, it was a worrisome week for Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign. Rival Democrats, left gasping for two months by Mr. Carter's spectacular advances, were suddenly breathing easier and wondering if the Carter balloon had not lost some altitude before the difficult test in Pennsylvania on April 27.

Campaign Notes

In Virginia caucuses last weekend, for example, where the other active Presidential candidates did not contest him, Mr. Carter appeared to have won barely a quarter of the delegation against the "uncommitted" movement among the Virginia party leaders. In other words the former Georgia Governor did no better in Virginia than he had done in January against lively competition in Iowa, the first caucus state.

And in Kansas, where the Carter campaign had hoped for a majority of the state's 34 convention votes, it won 14 delegates against 20 uncommitted. The question is said one Democratic party analyst, "If the 'uncommitted' come to the convention as an anti-Carter group, where does he go fishing for the extra delegates he will need to make a majority?"

The Wisconsin and New York primaries were both disappointments for the Carter camp. In Wisconsin, Mr. Carter slipped in the last week from a comfortable lead in his own and other polls to a photo-finish victory. That left Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in the race as a possibly dangerous left-flank distraction in Mr. Carter's battle in Pennsylvania with Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. In New York, Mr. Carter ran fourth in the delegate race—behind Jackson, Udall and the uncommitted slates.

In Oklahoma, where Mr. Carter ran first in the February caucuses and later won Gov. David L. Boren's endorsement, he has gathered only 12 of the state's 37 convention delegates, against 18 uncommitted and seven for Fred R. Harris, the state's native son and former Senator, who withdrew from active campaigning for the Democratic nomination last week.

Leaders of the United Auto Workers, who had a Carter endorsement in the works for the Michigan primary on May 18, decided on Friday to back off. Leonard Woodcock, the U.A.W. president, is still favorably disposed to Mr. Carter, but among the U.A.W. vice presidents, Ken Bannon leans to Senator Jackson, Douglas Fraser prefers Mr. Udall Pat Greyhouse likes Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, and Mr. Woodcock was not inclined to press the mater.

Money, every candidate's headache, is a major problem for the Carter campaign in Pennsylvania. A $1,000-per-person fund raiser planned for Wednesday evening in Philadelphia was canceled for lack of sponsors. "Frankly," said a Carter campaign officer, "we don't have any heavy hitters" in Pennsylvania.

As a result of a Supreme Court ruling on campaign financing, Mr. Carter is now free to spend his own money without limit, and he has been tiding over his campaign with substantial loans, including a $30,000 personal advance to cover the expenses of a mail appeal for funds.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, Mr. Carter's closest ally among black politicians, stands by his tatement, quoted in The New York Times on Friday, that he interpreted Jimmy Carter's remarks about "ethnic purity" as "a disaster for the campaign" and told the candidate as much when they conferred on the phone early Thursday morning.

Mr. Carter publicly disputed on Friday The Times's account of an interview with Mr. Young, but Mr. Young in a follow-up interview yesterday said, "There's no question I did say originally I thought it would be a disaster for the campaign. All I could thinuk of was George Romney and 'brainwashing,'" Mr. Young said, referring the damage that Mr. Romney, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, did to his campaign by saying he had been misled by official propaganda about the American effort in Vietnam.

Mr. Carter was quoted in Friday afternoon's Cleveland Press as having said of the Times article, "Andy assured me he absolutely did not make the quotes attributed to him." But Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, insisted that Mr. Carter never said that sentence in his Friday morning conversation with Roy Meyers of the Cleveland press. And Mr. Meyers acknowledged that he could not find that remark in his notes or in his tape recording of the interview.

Mr. Carter did say that Mr. Young never used the word "disaster" in their Thursday morning telephone conversation; Mr. Young remebers making the general point, though perhaps in somewhat gentler language. By all accounts, Mr. Carter and Mr. Young did not speak to each other on Friday—about The Times article or anything else.

Meanwhile, Mr. Young, surveying reactions among black leaders and white liberal politicians, is no longer so sure that "ethnic purity" was a disaster after all. Mr. Young said today that Coleman Young, the black mayor of Detroit, who has said he prefers Senator Humphrey or Senator Edward M. Kennedy for the Democratic nomination, will still probably endorse Jimmy Carter in the Michigan primary. Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta is also expected to endorse Mr. Carter in the Georgia primary— with an eye to getting Mr. Carter's support for his own re-election campaign next year.

Mr. Young also said today that Representative James Corman of California, co-author of the pending Kennedy-Corman health insurance bill, which Mr. Carter has not yet endorsed, is still inclined to enlist as a Carter delegate in the California primary on June 8. Finally, Willy Brown of San Francisco, a California state assemblyman, is interested in helping Mr. Carter in the black community, Mr. Young said.

While "Stop Carter" has become a watchword in many circles of the Democratic establishment, Willy Brown, Bill Lockyer and Richard Alatorre, fellow liberals in the California Assembly, are more intent on stopping their governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., who is running as a favorite son in the California primary.

●

James MacGregor Burns, Senator Kennedy's latest biographer, believes that despite insistent denials, the Massachusetts Democrat would accept a genuine draft for the Presidential nomination. Mr. Byrnes, a historian and political scientist at Williams College, could be suspected of hoping that a Kennedy candidacy would promote his new book, "Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy," to be published On April 26 by W. W. Norton. But Mr. Burns said, "Much of the reason for writing the book was my feeling that this sort of thing could happen."

While some observers have begun to view Senator Jackson and Rep. Udall as primary-season "stalking horses" for a last-minute Humphrey candidacy, Professor Burns sees Mr. Humphrey as a stalking horse for Mr. Kennedy.

"Once the delegates think of turning to Humphrey, a noncombatant in the primaries, it becomes a truly open convention," Mr. Burns observed in a telephone interview today. "On the question of who's most likely to win the fall, a lot of delegates will feel Kennedy's most electable.

"And delegates concerned about their own local races will be asking, "who will run with the kind of momentum that will bring out a huge Democratic vote in November? Even in polarizing the electorate, Kennedy will reverse the low-turnout, de-polarizing pattern we've been seeing in American voting for the last several years."

The logic of a Kennedy draft was also outlined last week in The Boston Globe by David Farrell, the Senator's closest confidant in journalism, who had been invited to lunch with Mr. Kennedy a few days earlier. Mr. Farrell reported that Senator Kennedy dismisses the talk of a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket.

Mr. Farrell wrote, "Kennedy feels that any move to orchestrate a standoff at the national convention in New York in July and then come up with H. H.-E. M. K. team would smack of a raw political deal that could easily sour the voters and insure a G.O.P. victory in November.

"Intimates of the Massachusetts Senator indicate that there is much more likelihood that Kennedy would seek the Presidential nomination for himself in the event of a truly deadlocked convention, rather than participate in the proposed deal with Humphrey backers."

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Henry Kissinger And the Latest Polls

President Ford's claim that his Wisconsin primary victory over Ronald Reagan "fully justified my faith in Henry Kissinger" has now been refuted by a highly professional private poll for a Democratic congressman in a Midwest farm district that precisely parallels agricultural Wisconsin.

The scientific sample, tapping sentiment of 408 voters of both parties in mid-March, showed the Secretary of State with a hefty 42 per cent "negative" rating, contrasted to the President's 31 per cent negative. Both Kissinger and Mr. Ford had virtually the same "positive" rating: just under 30 per cent, with the balance "neutral."

Congressional Democrats privy to this poll say it reflects latent concern about Kissinger that has not yet shown up in national polls. The last Harris poll gave Kissinger a 58 per cent positive rating — below the spectacular readings he used to get but still respectable.

What is significant about the Democratic poll is that it was not limited to conservative Republicans, the fiercest Kissinger critics, but included *all* voters.

Thus, the poll may strengthen anti-Kissinger operatives within Mr. Ford's political high command who question the President's all-out support of the Secretary. Presidential aides who feel Kissinger is a political liability were dismayed when the President cited his relatively narrow Wisconsin primary win over Reagan as proving Kissinger's rectitude.

But one top-level Ford aide believes that, despite the new evidence showing that Kissinger's political liability goes far beyond the Republican right, nothing will change.

"Like it or not," he told us, "there's no finessing that problem now."

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Close associates are pressing Sen. Hubert Humphrey to jump into the Democratic presidential race in late April—about six weeks earlier than originally intended but late enough to avoid all primary elections.

Humphrey long ago decided he would not again undergo the primary election ordeal. In conversations with intimates, however, he frequently has suggested he might become a candidate on June 9—the day after the last three primaries (California, New Jersey, Ohio)—if the nomination was still open.

But advisers are now telling Humphrey June 9 is much too late. Their target is April 30, three days after the Pennsylvania primary. That would be one day too late for Humphrey to enter any major primaries but soon enough to prevent a *fait accompli* at Madison Square Garden.

•

Sixteen "uncommitted" delegates elected from Erie County (Buffalo) in last Tuesday's New York Democratic primary are in no mood to ride Jimmy Carter's bandwagon, thanks to backstage double-dealing that scarcely comports with Carter's public image of truth and love.

Carter visited Erie County leader Joe Crangle, who was running slates of nominally uncommitted (but actually pro-Hubert Humphrey) delegates, in Buffalo March 26. Carter was cozy and friendly with Crangle, the former state party chairman and one of New York's most influential Democratic figures. In fact, Carter asked, could Crangle take time off to travel the entire country in his behalf?

Pleading the press of other duties, Crangle declined. But later that very day he was stunned when Carter denounced "New York's political bosses" — presumably including Joe Crangle. Crangle asked his colleagues, why would Carter want a party operative stigmatized as a "political boss" to campaign for him?

Slight, soft-spoken and as low-key as Carter himself, Crangle made no public outburst but noted the incident carefully. Those Crangle delegates could be a long time coming to Carter—at Madison Square Garden.

•

Henry Kissinger has bluntly told conservative Republican critics in Congress that the only alternative to negotiating a new and much less advantageous Panama Canal treaty, a step they fiercely oppose, is sending in U.S. paratroopers to protect the Canal Zone.

That is considerably stronger language about the need for a new canal treaty, which would probably end U.S. control of the waterway, than is used by President Ford. He wishes the whole issue would go away, particularly with Ronald Reagan attacking the negotiations and a string of conservative Southern primaries looming.

When Kissinger met with conservative Republican House members March 25 in a private give-and-take session, the Panama Canal issue was naturally raised. Kissinger replied that Latin America sentiment against continuing U.S. control of the canal was so strong that negotiations for a new treaty are essential. The alternative? Send in the 82nd Airborne Division, he said.

That did not please the conservatives, but it did give them a clearer notion of the administration's attitude than the President's fuzziness, understandable only in the light of his effort to defuse a campaign issue for Reagan.

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Carter Campaign Rolls On, Despite Attacks From Left

By CRAIG R. HUME

Jimmy Carter's quest for the presidency continued to pick up steam over the weekend, despite recent attacks by black and white liberal leaders against his statements last week advocating "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

—Detroit Mayor Coleman Young told Carter that he considered his stance on open housing "a phony issue" of the campaign, and advised Carter to put the issue behind him and get back on the "offensive."

—Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, the latest entrant in the Democratic presidential contest, told an audience in Lincoln, Neb., Sunday that there is nothing in Carter's record to suggest that he is a racist.

—Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson began circulating a letter he received from Carter, explaining in detail the former Georgia governor's position on housing, stressing Carter's unequivocal support for the Housing Act of 1968.

—Carter widened the lead in the race for his party's presidential nomination by picking up an additional 17 Democratic delegates at district conventions in Iowa.

—In Michigan, Carter's state deputy campaign manager predicted that the 51-year-old Georgian would receive individual support from a majority of the leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW), even though the union voted Friday not to formally endorse any candidate in the Wolverine State's primary.

In the aftermath of Carter's apology for using the phrase "ethnic purity" in opposing federal efforts to artificially change the character of neighborhoods, he was barraged with criticism from black members of Congress, the National Urban League, black leaders in Georgia and some of his opponents for the Democratic nomination.

And some political writers have characterized Carter's "ethnic purity" remark as reminiscent of George Romney's 1968 campaign blunder in which he claimed that he was "brainwashed" by U.S. military personnel on a visit to Vietnam.

Romney is a former Michigan governor and former secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

But Mayor Young of Detroit, who endorsed Carter for the Democratic primary in Michigan two weeks ago, told him Saturday that he must not be drowned by his "unfortunate" remark, and urged Carter to stop defending himself and to take a positive approach once again.

Young's press secretary, Bob Pisor, said Sunday night that Detroit's first black mayor and Carter talked on the telephone last Thursday, and again Saturday at a Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner in Detroit.

According to Pisor, Young said that his concept of "neighborhood" was very similar to Carter's.

During the two conversations, Young recalled memories of his youth—growing up in a black neighborhood "with considerable pride and togetherness," Pisor said. The mayor said he believed in "that special sense of identity and pride—as long as there are no bars toward moving in"

Young has said on several occasions, according to Pisor, "Jimmy Carter is as American as apple pie."

However, Young termed Carter's phrase as a "poor use of words, but said he understood Carter's position and thought he ought to just move on," the mayor's spokesman said.

Pisor stressed that Young's endorsement of Carter was only for the Democratic primary to be held May 18, noting the mayor's "dream ticket is Humphrey-Kennedy (Humphrey for president, Kennedy for vice president)." But neither Humphrey nor Kennedy are on the Michigan ballot.

Other Democratic presidential hopefuls attending the Detroit dinner Saturday night, which raised more than $100,000 through tickets priced at $75 per couple, included Arizona Rep. Morris Udall and Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

Wallace led the field of Democrats in Michigan's 1972 presidential preference primary, the state's first.

In Nebraska Sunday, Church said Jimmy Carter should not be judged on his "ethnic purity" remark.

"That was one of those tempests that campaigns bring on," the Idaho senator said. "I think too much has been made of what apparently was an unfortunate phrase."

But Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson of Washington, who was campaigning in Philadelphia for Pennsylvania's April 27 primary, said that Carter is "going to be terribly hurt" in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination by his remarks about "ethnic purity."

Carter apologized for his remarks two days after uttering them.

Jackson charged that the apology only added to the damage. "It raises the question of his judgment," he said.

Jackson, who won a landslide victory in New York's April 6 primary, said Carter had insulted not only blacks, "but just about everybody" and in his travels around Pennsylvania he found potential voters indignant.

In Atlanta, Mayor Maynard Jackson said in a statement Saturday that he propounded questions to Carter during a "lengthy" telephone conversation, and was satisfied with Carter's position on open housing, once the peanut farmer from Plains clarified his stance.

Mayor Jackson began circulating a letter, which Carter wrote as a result of the call, explaining in detail his philosophy on homogeniety of neighborhoods.

In the letter, Carter said that he would support a black family that sought to buy a house in an ethnic communiy which did not want them, and stressed that he would use all the resources of the federal government to support their right to purchase such a house.

As a result of a gain of 17 delegates at Democratic district conventions in Iowa

'Welcome Home Jimmy' Rally Set for Central City Park

Jimmy Carter plans to return home Tuesday to kick off his campaign for Georgia's May 4 Democratic presidential primary.

A "Welcome Home Jimmy Carter" rally will be held Tuesday in Atlanta's Central City Park from 10 a.m. through noon, said national press director Rex Granum. Carter is scheduled to speak about 10:45 a.m.

Granum said Carter's Georgia campaign headquarters at 56 Peachtree St. NW will open officially the same morning.

"We haven't done much here, there hasn't been enough time," Granum said.

The campaign schedule will get even rougher: Indiana and Texas hold their primaries May 1. May 4 primaries also will be held in the District of Columbia, Indiana and Alabama.

The next primary is April 24 in Arizona, the home of Rep. Morris Udall. Pennsylvania votes April 27.

On May 11, primaries will be held in Connecticut, Nebraska and West Virginia. Voting in Michigan and Maryland will be May 18, and on May 25 in Arkansas, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Kentucky and Tennessee.

Saturday. Carter's overall total increased to 258 delegates to 177 for Sen. Jackson. The Washington senator did not receive any of the Iowa delegates chosen.

Ten of the delegates went to Udall, bringing his total to 129. Eleven were uncommitted.

Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, who has stopped active campaigning, won two of the delegates to give him a total of 15.

To win the Democratic nomination, a candidate must have at least 1,505 delegates.

In a telephone interview Sunday night, a Carter staffer said that Mayor Young is Carter's strongest endorsement to date in Michigan, but added that all indications point toward heavy support from UAW leaders.

Mrs. Mary Novak Myers, Carter's Michigan deputy campaign manager, said that the former Georgia governor has "scored well" with the labor hierarchy in Detroit.

Mrs. Myers, who lives in Troy, a suburb of Detroit, said that Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, met Carter at the airport Saturday when he arrived in Detroit, "but he made it clear to Gov. Carter that he would not endorse him at this time, but that he is sympathetic to his candidacy."

Before going to the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Cobo Hall, Carter spoke at a UAW rally.

The UAW voted Friday not to endorse any candidate for the Michigan primary, but placed no restrictions on union leaders' endorsing candidates of their choice.

Volunteers have been working for Carter in Michigan since the beginning of the year, she said. "Our statewide campaign headquarters has only been opened for the last two-and-a-half weeks, but we have organizations in all of the state's 19 congressional districts."

Mrs. Myers said Carter's strongest opponent in Michigan is Scoop Jackson.

However, she added that Michigan is lucky to even be having a presidential preference primary this year.

Due to ambiguity in the 1972 statute creating a preference primary in place of delegate conventions, it was not clear which levels of government were responsible for footing the bill of the election.

In order to head off an explosive clash between the state and municipal governments, Gov. William Milliken worked out a compromise with the Senate.

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Mr. Carter's Comments

Jimmy Carter's unfortunate use of the words "ethnic purity" in a discussion of low-income housing is not enough, in our view, to warrant the criticism that, because of his southern background, he is some sort of "closet racist." They cannot negate the clear record of devotion to racial justice that he has compiled in his public life.

Rep. Morris Udall, in a desperate attempt to sandbag the former Georgia governor with the remarks, said in Philadelphia, "A mistake is revealing. There is no place in this land for thinly veiled hints of the politics of racial division." He suggested further that Mr. Carter might have been attempting to win support from the George Wallace faction of the party in Pennsylvania's primary on April 27.

We agree there is no place for the "politics of racial division" in the campaign. We emphatically do not agree with Rep. Udall's snide implication that Mr. Carter is guilty of such politics.

Quite properly, the Georgia Democrat has apologized for using the words in explaining his opposition to federal efforts to change artificially the character of neighborhoods. That action alone puts him one up on many politicians who rarely, if ever, deign to admit their fallibility.

Not having access to a full account of the press conference in South Bend, Ind., where he made his remarks, we can only assume the thrust of his replies. Apparently, Mr. Carter attempted to make a distinction between a federal policy that attempts to change the makeup of a neighborhood, simply for the sake of change, and one that would support the rights of members of any ethnic group to live anywhere they choose. He said he opposes the former and supports the latter.

The difference in the two policies is obvious and it is likely that Mr. Carter will now be called upon to make clear just where he stands on this point; it could have all the potential of a live grenade for his campaign.

Yet his principal opponents, Rep. Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson, must also confront the issue. They cannot impute to Mr. Carter a subtle racism and at the same time dodge the question themselves.

HARRIS POLL

Abortion Not Big Issue in Election 7A

By LOUIS HARRIS

The widespread feeling that it is politically dangerous for a presidential candidate to support legalized abortion turns out to be wrong.

This is the conclusion of a Harris Survey conducted among a national cross section of 1,512 adults to determine, first, where people stand on the abortion issue and, second, whether they would vote against a candidate if he took a stand in favor of legalized abortion.

The results are clear. In the past year, public opinion on the abortion issue has not changed, and a solid 54-39 per cent majority supports the U. S. Supreme Court decision that legalizes abortions up to three months' pregnancy. A year ago, a 54-38 per cent majority took the same position.

In light of these findings, one might ask why most presidential candidates have tried to avoid taking a stand on the issue or have taken positions in opposition to legalized abortion. The reason seems to be that they have reacted to the "right-to-life" movement, which has been highly vocal in this political year, demonstrating in primary states, putting pressure on candidates and even entering an anti-abortion candidate, Mrs. Ellen McCormack, in the early primaries. Mrs. McCormack did not fare well at the polls, however, and has now apparently abandoned her candidacy.

The latest Harris Survey spells out why the anti-abortion movement has less political bite than it seems. It found that 46 per cent of those who oppose the Supreme Court decision would either certainly or probably vote against a candidate they otherwise would support if he took a pro-abortion stand. This means that 18 per cent of the electorate could be swung.

The Harris Survey also asked the 54 per cent majority who favor the court's decision allowing abortions how they would feel if a candidate with whom they agreed on basic issues took an anti-abortion stand. Only 26 per cent of this group said they would either certainly or probably vote against him. This change among the pro-abortion group involves 15 per cent of the electorate.

When the swings of the anti-abortion and pro-abortion votes are weighed against each other, the result is a net advantage of only 3 per cent for the anti-abortion forces.

Statistically speaking, this is not a significant figure and it means that the political dangers of taking a forthright pro-abortion stand have been considerably exaggerated by both the media and the politicians themselves.

Recently, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of adults nationwide:

"In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that state laws making it illegal for a woman to have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy were unconstitutional, and that the decision on whether a woman should have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy should be left up to the woman and her doctor. In general, do you favor or oppose the U.S. Supreme Court decision making abortions up to three months of pregnancy legal?"

MAKING ABORTIONS UP TO THREE MONTHS PREGNANCY LEGAL

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
1976	54%	39%	7%
1975	54%	38%	8%
1973	52%	41%	7%
1972	48%	43%	9%

Here are some breakdowns of the overall national results:

KEY SEGMENT ANALYSIS ON ABORTION ISSUE

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
Nationwide	54%	39%	7%
By Region			
East	61%	32%	7%
Midwest	46%	45%	9%
South	47%	45%	8%
West	63%	32%	5%
By Religion			
Catholic	41%	53%	6%
Protestant	54%	39%	7%
Jewish	84%	9%	7%
By Political Philosophy			
Conservative	48%	46%	6%
Middle of Road	52%	39%	9%
Liberal	71%	25%	4%
By Age			
18-29	62%	30%	8%
30-49	57%	38%	5%
50 and over	44%	47%	9%
By Sex			
Men	55%	37%	8%
Women	52%	41%	7%

The cross section was then asked: "Now suppose for President this year, you found a candidate whose views you agreed with completely on how he would handle inflation, jobs and the economy. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on abortion that you disagreed with completely. Would that make it certain you would not vote for that candidate, or that you probably would not vote for him or that you could still vote for him?"

EFFECT OF ABORTION ISSUE ON THE VOTE

	Pro Abortion (54%)	Anti Abortion (39%)
Certainly not vote for him	10 (6%)	21 (8%)
Probably not vote for him	16 (9%)	25 (10%)
Could still vote for him	64 (34%)	41 (16%)
Not sure	10 (5%)	13 (5%)

(Note: The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of the total public who feel that way.)

JJ

HARRIS POLL

Inflation Is Rated Key Issue

By LOUIS HARRIS

Despite the improvement in the economy, a striking 94 per cent of the American people feel that "keeping inflation under control" is the chief priority for the next president.

Close behind as areas of major concern are "controlling federal spending," "restoring confidence in government" and "working for peace in the world," each singled out by 88 per cent for major attention.

Far down the list are a series of issues that received much attention in the early primaries. Among them are "school busing to achieve racial balance," cited by only 38 per cent, "legalized abortion," mentioned by 34 per cent and "aid to cities," with 43 per cent.

The top issues centered on the economy and the crisis of confidence in government:

—Close behind the concern about inflation and federal spending was "finding jobs for the unemployed," which was mentioned as a presidential priority by 85 per cent of the people. "Not raising federal taxes" was a major concern to 81 per cent.

—Along with "restoring confidence in government," 84 per cent consider "restoring integrity in government" a high priority, while "restoring open government to Washington, D.C." is singled out by 74 per cent for attention. It is obvious that the Watergate issue is high on the minds of voters in 1976.

—Peace and international security also are important public concerns. As always, "working for peace in the world" is a top priority for 88 per cent, while "keeping U. S. military defenses strong" is believed to be very important in the view of 76 per cent of the public. By contrast, only 37 per cent give "foreign economic aid" top billing.

—Domestic violence also ranks relatively high among the public's worries, with 83 per cent singling out "controlling crime" as a high priority. In addition, 78 per cent express high concern over "controlling drug abuse" and 68 per cent over "controlling violence at home."

—Quality-of-life issues also preoccupy the public. A substantial 68 per cent would like to see major attention paid to "controlling air and water pollution";59 per cent give a high priority to "aid to education"; 58 per cent, to "federal health insurance"; 53 per cent to "employment opportunities for minorities"; 58 per cent to "enforcing standards for worker safety on the job." But only 42 per cent cite "building more housing" as a major priority.

—79 per cent of the public also feel strongly that the next president should make "welfare reform" a high priority, while an even higher 85 per cent express major concern with "maintaining Social Security on a sound basis." "Curbing business abuses" draws a substantial 75 per cent response, while 66 per cent give important billing to "giving business incentives to expand and open new jobs."

—The issue of "revenue-sharing with the states" was able to attract no more than 53 per cent who gave it a high priority, while "aid to cities" drew an even lower 43 per cent.

—"Federal gun control," another controversial area, is cited by only 52 per cent as being of major importance. Somewhat behind and at the bottom of the list of those matters that should be of the greatest concern to the next president are "school busing to achieve racial balance" and "legalized abortion," which are mentioned by 38 per cent and 34 per cent respectively.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY

April 5, 1976

Associated Press

Mr. Carter said the near encounter was coincidental and not meant t upstage Mr. Ford. He and his wife, Rosalynn, showed their daughter Amy, the White House. "I look forward to living there," he said.

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News Summary and Index

MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt said yesterday in Paris that he had canceled the Soviet navy's rights to use Egyptian ports and that he believed Moscow might be planning to establish bases in Libya. He disclosed this among other things at a meeting with Egyptian students and other Egyptians living in Paris, and later at a news conference. Mr. Sadat said that Libya had ordered $11 billion in arms from the Soviet Union and said that the accumulation of arms already stocked in Libya was "impressive." He said that Egypt was now turning to France, among other countries, to build its own arms industry, and that Egypt had asked the United States for other weapons besides the six transport planes whose delivery is now being debated in Congress. [Page 1, Columns 1-2.]

Kamal Jumblat, the leader of the Lebanese left, accused Syrian troops of occupying Lebanese ports in what he implied was an effort to keep arms and munitions from reaching his forces. Mr. Jumblat has been sharply at odds with Syria over a political solution of the Lebanese civil war. He said that regular Syrian troops disguised in uniforms of the Saiqa commando organization, which is run by Damascus, had moved into the ports. [1:3-4.]

Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj of Thailand lost his office when he was defeated for reelection to the National Assembly in the second general election in little more than a year. Early returns indicated that the opposition Democratic Party, led by Mr. Kukrit's brother, Seni Pramoj, had won all 28 Assembly seats in Bangkok and was gaining in country districts. [1:1.]

The Social Democratic Party of West Germany, the party of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, was defeated in a state election in Baden-Württemberg, the last test of voter sentiment before the national elections on Oct. 3. The Christian Democratic Union, which ran an aggressively conservative campaign, received 56.7 percent of the vote, a gain of 3.8 percentage points over the 1972 election, and increased its majority with the control of 71 of the 120 seats in the State Parliament in Stuttgart. The Social Democrats received 33.3 percent of the vote, a decline of 4.4 percentage points from the previous election. [1:2.]

National

Daniel P. Moynihan campaigned exuberantly in upstate New York on behalf of the Presidential candidacy of Senator Henry M. Jackson and tested his own potential as a candidate. Wherever he stopped he was urged to seek the Democratic nomination for Senator. He kept saying, "I'm here for Henry Jackson," and quickly changed the subject. But he also made the careful moves of a man thinking seriously about a campaign of his own. [1:5.]

Metropolitan

David L. Yunich, the chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, said that subway and bus fares might have to rise to 65 cents next year if the M.T.A. did not find an equivalent for $125 million in Federal subsidies that the agency expects to lose. He said that the M.T.A. had counted on the Federal funds for the next fiscal year, but whether they would be available was doubtful because the Government had indicated that it would no longer allow the city to convert Federal capital loans into operating-expense cash. [1:8.]

Herbert Bienstock, the regional commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, is optimistic about New York City's future. In an address to the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Congress, he said that while "prophets of doom" were chanting litanies over the city, "the mighty lively corpse" was on threshold of development and expansion. He said the development and expansion of the city's fundamental economy — publishing, advertising, merchandising, art galleries, the theater and dance, health centers and services, and financial and business services—in the early 1980's would produce an upsurge as sharp as the city's decline as a manufacturing center. [1:6-7.]

Federal investigators have found evidence of widespread payments by meat packers and processors to Agriculture Department food inspectors in the New York area—a corrupt practice that apparently has been going on for years. There was no indication that the payofffsf had led to the approval or distribution of tainted or substandard meat. According to sources close to the investigation, the payments, in money or gifts, were made to overlook minor sanitary violations in packing and processing plants. [1:7-8.]

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'ews Print"

The New York Times

CITY

Weather: Sun tonight. Most Temperature Sunday 43-47.

No. 43,171 — NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1976 — M

Udall, Baffled by Carter's Success, Tests His Campaign Style Tomorrow

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, April 4—At times Morris K. Udall has seemed to be annoyed by Jimmy Carter but, even more, the Arizona Congressman is baffled by the former Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Udall is not the most orthodox politician himself: he is prone to use humor more than most, sometimes disregards safe ambiguities and displays an unusual degree of detachment about himself and his chances to win the Democratic Presidential nomination.

But the tall Arizonian began his campaign with, and has clung to, a set of assumptions about how to conduct a campaign that could be called orthodox for liberal Democrats in Congress. Mr. Carter, in the view of Mr. Udall, has ignored or flaunted most of those assumptions and has still prospered politically. In late February, Mr. Udall was saying this could not last long.

Now, as the two men approach a crucial test in the Wisconsin and New York primary elections this Tuesday, Mr. Udall is more ready to acknowledge Mr. Carter's tactical successes. But he still has difficulty understanding how Mr. Carter does it.

'A Good Day's Work'

"In Boston," Mr. Udall told an audience recently, "he [Mr. Carter] got a good part of the antibusing vote, and a mile away in Roxbury he was getting a lot of the black vote. That's a good day's work if you can do it."

As the Wisconsin voting approached, Mr. Udall has increasingly concentrated on an attempt to make Mr. Carter himself the main issue. Mr. Udall often emphasizes assertions that the Georgian is vague and unspecific on major issues.

"It reminds me of an old comedy in which Groucho Marx was playing bridge and Groucho said, 'I bid four.'" Mr. Udall tells his audiences. "His opponents ask, 'Four what?' Groucho says, 'Deal the cards, I'll tell you later.'"

That joke, and others like it, have drawn laughter and in increasing response in the Wisconsin campaign, a possible indication that there are public doubts about Mr. Carter's willingness to be specific on such subjects as government reorganization and national health insurance.

But Mr. Udall has not only scored Mr. Carter on his alleged imprecision, but has also criticized the former Governor for not embracing the liberal Democratic dogma that Mr. Udall espouses and which he asserts represents the "mainstream of Democratic thinking."

For example, the Arizonian has tried to make much of charges that Mr. Carter has not endorsed specific legislation, such as the full employment and balanced growth bill introduced by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins of California. In Wisconsin, a major dairying state, Mr. Udall has also borne down hard on a statement by Mr. Carter that seemed to suggest that he favored milk price supports at 50 percent of parity rather than 90 percent.

There is a serious flaw in Mr. Udall's tactics and the perceptions on which they are based. Chief among these perceptions is the belief that the liberal "consensus" in Congress extends to the voting public at large and that, in seeking the Democratic nomination, a candidate cannot successfully evade commitment to the liberal dogma.

Carter's Technique

Indeed, there is considerable evidence that Mr. Carter's campaign technique is hardly the result of inadvertent lapses in ideology or accidental failures to espouse the programs that Mr. Udall supports.

From the first candidate forum in New Hampshire early this year, Mr. Carter has consistently staked out a position to the right of Mr. Udall and the left wing of the Democratic Party. He seemed quite aware that this would lose him some liberal votes, but was clearly betting that it would win him more votes in the center and on the right.

Mr. Carter has also been emphasizing such matters as reorganization of what he calls a "bloated" Federal bureaucracy, and has emphasized public distrust of Washington.

Mr. Udall, therefore, has been basing his campaign on an accusation that Mr. Carter has failed to do and say things that Mr. Carter apparently never had any intention of doing or saying, and has displayed every intention of avoiding.

Different Campaigns

This means that Mr. Udall and Mr. Carter are running very different campaigns, based on differing assumptions and calculations.

The two campign techniques will be tested Tuesday in Wisconsin and New York. It will be the first time since the Massachusetts primary early last month that Mr. Carter has faced Mr. Udall and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in a major test. It could be the last test of Mr. Udall's assumptions, but he is hoping it will be only the start of a series of primary election successes that will slow Mr. Carter's momentum.

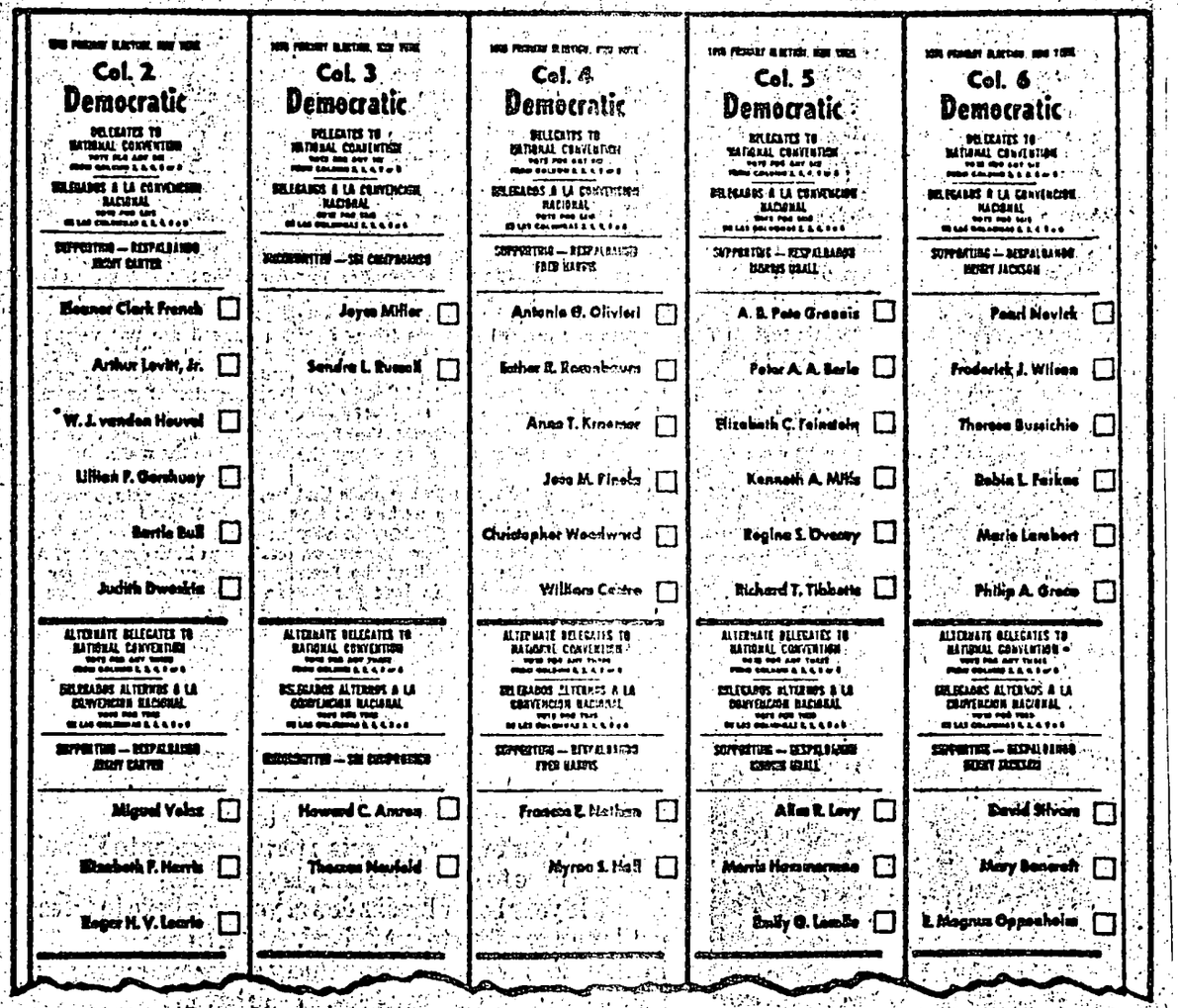
More than ideology, or even political technique, concerns Mr. Udall about his opponent, however. He says he finds it difficult to understand Mr. Carter as a man.

Mr. Udall often says, both in private conversatins and in public speeches, that he is suspicious of "driven" men who feel they "must" be President, a characteristic he attributes to Mr. Carter and to former President Richard M. Nixon.

"There is a harshness about Carter that is hard to understand, particularly when he is the front-runner," Mr. Udall said recently. "How will he behave if he starts to lose? Who are his friends, particularly those who can tell him that he is wrong?"

But to Mr. Udall, perhaps the most baffling thing of all is that, in his opinion, Mr. Carter has no discernible sense of humor.

Candidates on Primary Ballots Tommorrow



Col. 2
Democratic
DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO JIMMY CARTER

- Eleanor Clark French
- Arthur Levitt, Jr.
- W. J. vanden Heuvel
- Lillian P. Genthner
- Bertie Bull
- Judith Dworkin

ALTERNATE DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS ALTERNOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO JIMMY CARTER

- Miguel Velez
- Elizabeth F. Harris
- Roger H. V. Learie

Col. 3
Democratic
DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
UNCOMMITTED — SIN COMPROMISO

- Joyce Miller
- Sandra L. Russell

ALTERNATE DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS ALTERNOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
UNCOMMITTED — SIN COMPROMISO

- Howard C. Amron
- Thomas Neufeld

Col. 4
Democratic
DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO FRED HARRIS

- Antonia G. Olivieri
- Esther R. Rosenbaum
- Anne T. Kraemer
- Jose M. Fincke
- Christopher Woodward
- William Centre

ALTERNATE DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS ALTERNOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO FRED HARRIS

- Frances E. Mathers
- Myron S. Hall

Col. 5
Democratic
DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO MORRIS UDALL

- A. B. Pete Grassis
- Peter A. A. Berle
- Elizabeth C. Feinstein
- Kenneth A. Mills
- Regina S. Dwoskin
- Richard T. Tibbetts

ALTERNATE DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS ALTERNOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO MORRIS UDALL

- Allen R. Levy
- Morris Hexter, Jr.
- Emily G. Lemle

Col. 6
Democratic
DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO HENRY JACKSON

- Pearl Novick
- Frederick J. Wilson
- Theresa Bussichio
- Bobbie L. Farkas
- Marie Lambert
- Philip A. Grace

ALTERNATE DELEGATES TO NATIONAL CONVENTION
DELEGADOS ALTERNOS A LA CONVENCION NACIONAL
SUPPORTING — RESPALDANDO HENRY JACKSON

- David Silvera
- Mary Benerofe
- E. Magnus Oppenheim

This is what Democratic voters in the 18th Congressional District will see on their voting machine tomorrow

Parity Fights of 50's Echo In Carter-Udall Campaigns

By SETH S. KING

MILWAUKEE, April 4—For a time last week it seemed the 1950's were being replayed in Wisconsin and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona was trying to make some hay among this state's politically divided farmers.

He and Jimmy Carter, the two leading Democratic candidates in Tuesday's Presidential primary, began arguing about parity, that old agricultural shibboleth debated so stirringly in the campaigns of the '50's and early '60's.

In what may have been Mr. Carter's only slip in Wisconsin, the Georgia peanut farmer casually suggested that farmers here might have to get by on 80 percent of parity, the level of price supports that the Government now maintains for dairy products in the country's leading dairy state.

Mr. Udall leaped on this immediately. Mr. Carter then scrambled to recover, saying later that his "unchanging attitude" was to have price supports that would cover the cost of production. He added that he had always avoided any commitment to a specific figure, and he would support 90 percent or 83 percent or whatever percent was needed.

But M. rUdall overlooked the Carter attempt to recover and was soon going through this state's many farm communities charging that Mr. Carter "seriously threatened the nation's dairy industry" with his unacceptable 80 percent of parity plan.

He accused Mr. Carter of waffling and said that, in contrast, he had no hesitancy in promising 90 percent of parity.

"Good Lord," he exclaimed Friday to a farm audience in the central Wisconsin community of Wausau, "if a politician won't even promise you 90 percent of parity at election time, what can you expect from him afterward?"

An Arcane Equation

Parity is the Agriculture Department's arcane equation that attempts to establish the relationship between the prices a farmer receives and his production costs.

In the Midwest, only grain, soybeans, and dairy products are included in the parity concept. With today's relatively high grain and soybean markets, the parity system no longer has any meaning for those crops.

But in dairy farming, with its complex marketing regulatiosn, parity continues to be a vital support level that establishes a floor under milk prices.

At the moment, the average Wisconsin price for milk used in making cheese or butter is $8.64 a hundredweight. A support level of 80 percent of parity now equals $8.13 a hundredweight. If the market,whichhas been slipping in the past month, drops below $8.13, a dairy farmer can, in effect, sell his milk to the Government at the parity price.

But production costs, especially for the smaller farmers, have been rising agan. The University of Wisconsin, in a recent study, set them at an average of $9.50 a hundredweight. Which means some dairy farmers are currently losing money.

Ford Vetoed 85 Pct.

In February, Congress passed legislation sponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota and Representative Alvin baidus, Democrat of Wisconsin, setting parity on dairy products at 85 percent. But President Ford yetoed it.

This weekend Mr. Udall's camp sent a letter to leaders of Wisconsin farm organizations, accusing Mr. Carter of deceiving them on parity and urging that they call on their members to support Mr. Udall in Tuesday's voting.

In these days of larger and larger farms, only 6 percent of Wisconsin's voters live on farms. But thousands of other Wisconsin residents earn their livings in farm processing or supply industries, and what makes farmers unhappy here maks them unhappy too.

Asked what effect the Udall attack was having on Mr. Carter, a veteran farm editor in central Wisconsin, where most of the dairy farmers are Democrats, laughed.

On the Roller Coaster

"Look's like we're back on the parity roller coaster again," he said. "Actually, there's a lot of quiet talk in central Wisconsin for Hubert Humphrey and he's not even on the ballot this time. There's certainly no great enthusiasm for Carter around here. He may be a farmer himself, but he doesn't seem to understand the dairy business. The Humphrey supporters may well decide they can do more for the Senator by voting for Udall."

William Tschudy, a large-scale farmer near Monroe in the rich dairy country around Madison, said he still believed Mr. Humphrey would end up with the nomination.

Carter Takes the Lead in Delegate Selections in Kansas Counties

24

TOPEKA, Kan., April 4 (AP) —Jimmy Carter took the lead in the county delegate selections in Yesterday's Democratic caucuses in Kansas counties, but the biggest bloc of delegates elected is uncommitted.

Tm Corcoran of Topeka, a Democratic national committeeman, said that he believed many uncommited delegates were leaning toward Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Six hundred eight of 664 delegates, or 91.6 percent have been reported elected. Of those, Mr. Carter claimed 232, or 38.2 percent. Mr. Jackson had 43 or 7.1 percent.

A total of 286 delegates, or 47 percent, were elected next month's district conventions as uncommitted.

Following Mr. Carter and Mr. Jackson in the delegate voting were Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, 29, or 4.8 percent; Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, 13, or 1.1 percent; Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, 3, or one-half of 1 percent; and Senator Frank Church of Idaho, 2 or three-tenths of 1 percent.

Voting in Virginia

RICHMOND, April 4 (AP)— Mr. Carter, the only Presidential candidate who openly sought delegate support here, got 30 percent of the Democrats who were willing to indicate a preference in yesterday's meetings in 95 counties and 38 cities. About 60 percent of the delegates indicated that they wished to remain uncommitte.

Mr. Udall won 9 percent of the delegate strength and Mr. Wallace 1 percent. There was a scattering of delegates for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, Mr. Harris and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

State Democratic Party officials said that yesterday's caucus results would establish the apportionment of the state's 54 delegates to the national convention along these lines: uncommitted, 36 or 37; Mr. Carter, 14 to 16, Mr. Udall, 3 or 4.

The voting was to choose city and county delegates to Congressional district conventions May 22.

Results in Oklahoma

OKLAHOMA CITY, April 4 (VXAP) — Oklahoma Democrat have completed the apportionment of their delegation to the Democratic National Convention, with Mr.Carter picking up one more delegate than expected.

The former Georgia Governor picked up four of the nine delegates awarded at yesterday's session, giving him 17 sure votes for President.

Jackson and Udall Press Drive for New York Votes

By MAURICE CARROLL

Two of the three major declared candidates in the Democratic race for the Presidential nomination courted support yesterday in New York, one of two states in which primary elections tomorrow could build or break their national campaigns.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who says he will win at least half of the 206 convention delegates that New Yorkers will pick tomorrow—and who needs them to restore some momentum to his campaign—spent most of yesterday with Jewish groups, who make up the single biggest voter bloc in a Democratic primary in New York.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who needs a strong showing in the Wisconsin primary, which will also be held tomorrow, spent yesterday in that state and then flew to New York for a fund-raiser last night and a couple of publicity events today that will stress his ties with the liberal faction of the Democratic Party.

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, who would benefit from a weak Jackson showing in New York or a weak Udall showing in Wisconsin, took most of the weekend off before returning to Wisconsin for a final effort.

Harris to Return

Also in New York today to get in a few last words, perhaps even a picture in the newspapers and on the 6 o'clock television, will be former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma. Although his poverty-level campaign has had its telephones disconnected in this city, there are 101 delegates pledged to Mr. Harris on the New York ballot He is scheduled to meet with some of them in Brooklyn in midday, and in Utica in the evening.

"What does Carter have to do in New York?" asked William J. vanden Heuvel, state co-chairman of the Carter campaign, who knows that his candidate has made no vote claims here against which he could be tested. "He doesn't have to do anything in New York," Mr. vanden Heuvel continued "My belief is that if we get 25 or 30 delegates tomorrow, we'll have 100 in the New York delegation when the convention opens."

There are 141 delegate candidates pledged to Mr. Carter in 29 of the state's 39 Congressional districts. In the vanden Heuvel view, other candidates will fall along the way, freeing some of their people to join Mr. Carter.

"Jackson will get 35 to 40 percent," said his New York campaign manager, Donald Manes, the borough president of Queens. That is less than the Senator has predicting, suggesting an effort by Mr. Manes to understate his hopes so that he can emphasize Mr. Jackson's expected achievements.

"Not so," Mr. Manes said. "That 50 percent was more for a rallying of the troops than a prediction."

'A Five-Way Race'

"It's a five-way race, counting the uncommitted," the borough president continued. "How can any individual get half?"

Mr. Manes predicted that some of the "uncommitted" delegates would vote for Mr. Jackson at the national convention.

Of the 206 Democratic delegates to be elected in New York tomorrow, 192 delegate candidates in 37 districts are pledged to Mr. Udall, and 184 in 35 districts are pledged to Mr. JJackson.

Each candidate's percentage of the district winners will be reflected in the apportionment of 68 at-large candidates to be selectd later by the state committee. The 274-member New York delegation will be the second largest—only California's will be larger—at the Democratic National Convention next July in Madison Square Garden.

Wisconsin will choose 68 delegates tomorrow. All of the maior Democratic candidates will be on the ballot, but the contest is between Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall, who has yet to win a primary.

Support for Humphrey

Off the ballot in Wisconsin because he petitioned to be off, and in New York because he has not authorized delegate candidates to use his name, is Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. In New York, at least 48 of the 218 "uncommitted" delegate candidates are publicizing themselves as Humphrey supporters, partly because of an apparent belief that the party should pick him, and partly because of a desire to get themselves elected.

New Yorkers will vote from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M. in the city, and from noon to 9 P.M. in the rest of the state.

In neither New York nor Wisconsin is there any great interest in the Republican race.

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California is challenging President Ford for the 45 Wisconsin delegates, but the President appears safely ahead, according to local politicians. There are a handful of Reagan slates in New York, running for the party's 117 district delegate posts against "uncommitted" slates of party professionals who are likely to be under the control Vice President

H

A Rite of Spring: Jackson, in a Search For Ethnic Vote, Eats Ethnic Sandwich

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington took part yesterday of the more familiar rites of New York City campaigning.

The 63-year-old Senator, a no-nonsense eater whose tastes run strongly to steak and salad, has eaten fewer pizzas, blintzes, bagels and Polish sausages than have most candidates seeking ethnic votes in tomorrow's New York Democratic Presidential primary election.

But yesterday, after appearing on the CBS "Face the Nation" interview show, he forsook his usual room-service meal and drove to Katz's Delicatessen on East Houston Street on the Lower East Side. There, he was met by Mayor Beame, who on Saturday had announced his support of the Jackson candidacy, and by photographers and reporters.

Walled in at a table near one corner by Secret Service agents, aides, the press and a number of curious diners, he ate a corn beef sandwich on rye bread with mustard and drank a glass of tea under the glare of television lights.

"That's good corn beef," the Senator kept saying.

Keeping up his end of the conversation, Mayor Beame, who has had more than a passing acquaintance with financial problems lately, told the joke about the man who had lost his business "in the crash"—when a stockbroker jumped out of a window and landed on his pushcart.

The Senator laughed.

As they left, the delicatessen manager, who had been hovering nervously on the fringes of the swarming campaign entourage, trying to keep service moving and to help customers squeeze in and out, was asked by an elderly man whether he thought candidates' visits helped his business.

"I can do with them, or I can do without them," the manager replied with agitation. "Are you in business? Then answer it yourself."

After lunch, the campaigners moved around the corner to Orchard Street, so the Senator could shake hands with the crowds milling at the outdoor displays of the old shops.

From there, he went to meet the rabbis at the United Jewish Organization of Williamsburg in Brooklyn. After a private meeting, he stood on the hood of a Secret Service station wagon and briefly addressed 40 or 50 of the Hasidic congregation's members, who had gathered outside.

Aid for Businessmen

"We went to put America back to work again," he told them, "and to help businessmen, especially small-business men, to grow."

Moving across Williamsburg to the Lindsay Park House a low-income cooperative development, the Senator promised his 200 listeners that "when I become President, I'm going to do everything in my power to roll those [oil] prices back."

"They're gouging," he said of the oil companies. "The profits have been obscene."

"Tell it to them, Henry," a man yelled.

"We're going to give them hell," Senator Jackson declared.

"Give them hell, Henry," the man shouted back.

The Senator then went to a private fund-raising event in a railroad car at Grand Central Terminal before attending a dinner at the Yeshiva Building at King's Highway and East 32d Street in Brooklyn and another for the National Council of Young Israel at the New York Hilton.

Districts With Slates In Tomorrow's Voting

The following is a list of the Congressional districts in which candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination have slates of delegates pledged to their candidacy or in which full or partial slates of uncommitted delegates are on the ballot:

JACKSON

1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14, 15,16,17,18,19,20,22 (partial), 23, 24, 26,27,29,31,32,33,34,35, 36,37,38,39

CARTER

1,2,6,7,8,9,10,12,13 (partial), 14,15 (partial), 17,18,19 (partial), 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

UDALL

1,2,3,4,5,6,7 (partial), 8,10, 11,12 (partial), 13, 14, 15 (partial), 16,17,18,19,20,21,22, 23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,32,33, 34,35,36,37,38,39

HARRIS

3 (partial), 6 (partial), 12 (partial), 13 (partial), 14 (partial), 15,16,17,18,19 (partial), 20,22,23 (partial), 25, 26 (partial), 27,28,29 (partial), 30,31,33,37

WALLACE

26,37 (partial), 38

McCORMACK

4

UNCOMMITTED

1,2,3,4,5,6 (partial), 7 (partial), 8 (partial), 9,11,12 (partial), 13 (partial), 14, 15, 16 (partial), 18 (partial), 19 partial), 20 (partial), 21, 22, 23,24,25,26 (partial), 27,28, 29,30,31,32,33,34,35 (partial), 36,37,38,39

REPUBLICAN

Republican regular organization uncommitted delegate slates are unchallenged and thus automatically elected in all except seven districts—7,9,12,15,23,25,36 — where they are challenged by insurgent uncommitted individuals or slates.

Congress Areas Over the State

The following list identifie the location, by counties, of the state's 39 Congressional Districts:

District	
1 and 2	Suffolk
3	Suffolk and Nassau
4 and 5	Nassau
6	Nassau and Queens
7, 8 and 9	Queens
10	Queens and Bronx
11	Queens and Kings
12,13,14, 15 and 16	Kings
17	Richmond and New York
18 and 19	New York
20	New York and Bronx
21 and 22	Bronx
23	Bronx and Westchester
24	Weschester
25	Dutchess, Putnam, Columbia, Westchester and Ulster
26	Orange, Rockland and Ulster
27	Broome, Sullivan, Tioga, Chemung, Delaware, Tompkins and Ulster
28	Albany, Montgomery and Schenectady
29	Greene, Rensselaer, Saratoga, Warren, Washington, Albany, Columbia and Essex
30	Clinton, Franklin, Jefferson, Lewis, St. Lawrence, Essex and Oswego
31	Fulton, Hamilton, Herkimer, Oneida, Scholarie, Montgomery, Otsego and Schenectady
32	Chenango, Cortland, Madison, Delaware, Onondaga and Otsego
33	Cayuga, Schuyler, Seneca, Yates, Onondago, Ontario, Oswego, Steuben and Tompkins
34	Wayne and Monroe
35	Genesee, Livingston, Wyoming, Monroe and Ontario
36	Niagara, Orleans, Erie and Monroe

Issues '76: Cities

Although it lacks the drama of the arson and rioting that focused national attention on the plight of the cities during the 1960's, New York's battle to stave off bankruptcy illuminates a fundamental urban crisis in America that requires priority consideration in this Presidential year.

The fiscal Band-Aid which the Ford Administration has grudgingly applied to New York does not begin to treat basic economic and social problems which are at the root of New York's sickness — problems that afflict nearly every city in the country, particularly the older metropolitan centers of the Northeast and Middle West.

As New York's staggering budget gap continues to widen, despite punitive new taxes and service cuts, it is increasingly apparent that there is little hope for this city—or for many other cities—unless next November's Presidential election ushers in drastic changes in Federal policies.

Many of the problems that confront and threaten to overwhelm urban areas, such as persisting high levels of unemployment, soaring welfare costs and shrinking revenues, are by no means confined to cities. But these national problems and the social ills they breed have increasingly become concentrated in central cities which have become dumping grounds for the disadvantaged while more fortunate citizens have fled to the suburbs.

Whatever the outcome of tomorrow's Presidential primary in New York, the campaign already has produced positive results by compelling the principal contenders to focus on the urban problems. Senator Jackson and Representative Udall have been, on the record, more actively responsive to urban needs than Governor Carter, while President Ford's and Governor Reagan's response has been, in our view, hopelessly inadequate.

The major areas of Federal responsibility where drastic revisions are needed include the following:

• *Jobs*—Cities have been particularly hard hit by the prolonged recession and by Federal economic policies that have given low priority to the creation of jobs. The nation needs a new Federal commitment to the promise of full employment that was made by Congress thirty years ago, but never fulfilled.

In the meantime, such limited measures as the $6.2 billion countercyclical public works bill, which President Ford has vetoed, and the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, which the President would phase out, are desperately needed by New York and other cities to help balance their fiscal and social budgets.

• *Health and Welfare*—An effective full-employment policy would alleviate but not eliminate the heavy welfare burden which currently accounts for one-third of New York City's $12 billion-plus expense budget. Other local governments, urban and rural, also are acutely feeling the pinch of rising health and welfare costs—creating a growing constituency for reform—that should encourage candidates, and Congress, to come to grips with the urgent necessity for full Federal funding of totally new approaches to the problems of helping the sick and needy.

• *Revenue Sharing*—The revenue sharing program has on the whole proved to be a fairly effective means for applying Federal revenue resources to local needs. But as presently constituted, the program is more of a sop to the suburbs than to the concentrated populations of the inner cities where the need is greatest.

The program needs to be extended and to be strengthened to take into account differences in need and to increase citizen participation. Some reduction in bureaucratic controls also is desirable—but not to the point where the Federal Government abrogates all responsibility for seeing that the needs of the neediest are met, as would be the case under President Ford's proposal to move to a blanket block grant system, abolishing all categorical grant programs.

Beyond these broader concerns there is need for fresh thinking in Washington about the role of the city itself in an urbanized society that still clings to the anti-city bias of its agrarian past. Americans have not merely neglected their cities; they have actually fostered urban decline through Federal policies in such areas as housing, taxation and transportation that have encouraged the flight from the cities to chaotic suburban sprawl.

The next President will, we hope, be someone with the imagination and courage to re-examine all Federal policies and programs as they affect the changing urban environment and to institute orderly planning for a more rational, more just, and less wasteful distribution of people and resources. This country, as Felix Rohatyn has observed, "cannot continue half suburb and half slum."

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They Meet—Almost

While Ford Attends Church Nearby, Carter Says He'll Like White House

WASHINGTON (AP) — While President Ford worshipped in church Sunday, Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter stood in front of the White House a block away and said, "I'm going to like living here."

Ford attended services at St. John's Episcopal Church.

Carter, his wife and daughter, who are staying at a hotel nearby, strolled by the church just before Ford's motorcade arrived.

There was momentary confusion in front of the church, with Secret Service agents, reporters and cameramen scrambling around while tourists looked on in puzzlement.

Minutes before the arrival of the President's motorcade, newsmen noted Carter and his wife walking by and reporters and cameramen who had been waiting for Ford clustered around.

"Are you going to services here, too?" reporters asked.

"No, I've just been to the Lutheran church," Carter replied with his characteristic smile.

"The President is on his way. Don't you want to wait and greet him?" he was asked.

"No, I'll let the President worship alone," Carter said.

"We saw the President and Mrs. Ford at the Gridiron Club dinner last night," Mrs. Carter added.

Reporters pointed out the White House just a block away and asked Carter if he had any thoughts about occupying it next year.

"It's a pleasant day," Carter said and smiled.

See CARTER, Page 14-A

1A

Blacks Provide Carter His Margin Over Wallace

By LOUIS HARRIS

The phenomenal rise of former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia to the front ranks of contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination is based on one of the stranger coalitions in modern American politics. Whether this coalition can survive and be effective on the national scene remains to be seen. It faces a series of critical tests in the upcoming primaries, not to speak of the election in November should Carter end up the ultimate nominee.

Until now, Carter has put together a series of primary successes that have been based on support by desperate groups of voters. In the main, these groups backed Carter for tactical reasons, but the result was that he could defeat Alabama Gov. George Wallace in the one region where he seemed invulnerable—the South. Moreover, the latest Harris Survey of 1,079 eligible Democratic and independent voters shows that Carter is now ahead of Wallace in the South by a 55-37 per cent margin, roughly the margin he won by in the North Carolina primary.

The key to the Carter victory over Wallace in the South has been widely overlooked. If the Carter-Wallace pairing is analyzed by race, a fascinating political fact emerges. Among blacks, Carter holds an overwhelming 78-14 per cent edge over Wallace. It is obvious that blacks feel the nomination of Wallace would be a very serious threat to them, and Carter capitalized on this fact in the South, where 44 per cent of all blacks in the country live.

What has not been realized is that the blacks provide Carter with his critical margin of support over Wallace. If the black vote in the South were eliminated, Wallace would be ahead of Carter by a narrow 49-43 per cent. Carter's striking victories over Wallace in the Florida and North Carolina primaries and his ascendancy as the preferred candidate of that region can be traced directly to his overwhelming support among the blacks.

HARRIS POLL

Carter's victory in the Illinois primary, on the other hand, stems mainly from the fact that Wallace is no longer a viable candidate in the North. In that region, the Alabama governor runs behind Carter by a 73-16 per cent margin, behind Washington Sen. Henry Jackson by 71-19 per cent, behind Arizona Rep. Morris Udall by 66-23 per cent and behind Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey by 75-16 per cent. Any of the most prominent Democrats could defeat Wallace in a head-to-head contest.

Because he has all but eliminated Wallace as a serious possibility, Carter has become the favorite son of the white South in the race for the nomination. He wins the South against Humphrey by 55-34 per cent, against Jackson by 58-24 per cent and against Udall by 71-12 per cent.

Without the South, Carter would trail Humphrey by 54-36 per cent nationwide. With the South, he finishes a

See HARRIS POLL, Page 14-A

'UESDAY PRIMARY

Wisconsin Blitzed By the Campaigners

Associated Press Photo
"FACES THE NATION": Sen. Henry Jackson

By ANDREW MOLLISON
Constitution Washington Bureau

MILWAUKEE—Virtually every home in Wisconsin was penetrated over the weekend by pleas from the contestants in next Tuesday's primary.

Hundreds of thousands of leaflets were passed out door-to-door, or included as inserts in the Sunday newspapers, by the campaigns of Democrats Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Henry M. Jackson of Washington, George Wallace of Alabama and Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Wallace returned to Alabama for the weekend, and Jackson campaigned in New York, which also has a primary Tuesday.

But both Jackson and Udall benefitted from free national television press interviews that were broadcast throughout Wisconsin.

Carter, by appearing at the University of Wisconsin's La Crosse campus late Sunday, also guaranteed himself access to free exposure on Sunday night news shows.

The top Republican contenders chose to rely on paid media.

The President Ford Committee distributed almost one million copies of a full-color, eight-page Sunday supplement inside six of the state's largest newspapers.

A tape that Reagan made in Florida, and that was later credited with helping him win in North Carolina, was shown 22 times on various Wisconsin television stations over the weekend.

Noting that Reagan has not been in the state in the last two weeks, his Wisconsin coordinator, Lowell Jackson, said:

"In this campaign we are at last going to be able to check how effective television is as a communication method for a primary, because it has never been used in this way (in half-hour shows rather than with spot commercials) before."

Ford, of course, benefitted from front page coverage of his visit to the state Saturday, where thousands of Fond du Lac and Green Bay residents turned out to see the President.

On the CBS program "Face the Nation," Jackson defended himself against questions implying that he is the most "war-like" of the Democratic contenders.

"I'm neither a hawk nor a dove," Jackson said. "I just don't want my country to become a pigeon."

Saying that the Russians "respect strength and directness," Jackson said, "What disturbs them the most is that they get a signal from our government and it's a false signal."

Jackson said he would strive to get unemployment down to 1 per cent within four years," if he is elected. He also warned a Syrian invasion of Lebanon could force the United States to make an "awesome decision" whether to intervene and that it could wind up causing another oil embargo "and everything that goes with it."

Jackson also did some sidewalk campaigning on the streets of New York City. Mayor Abe Beame walked with the Washington state senator. He gave Jackson an 11th hour endorsement as the active candidate who would to the most for cities.

During a visit to Katz's Deli in Manhattan, Jackson and Beame munched pastrami on rye before the senator went on to campaign in multi-ethnic neighborhoods in Brooklyn.

Meanwhile, Udall was interviewed on NBC's "Meet the Press." He defended himself against questions implying that he was softer than Jackson on defense matters.

"You can't be for the Pentagon on everything they want, and be for the people, and be for doing something about the cities," Udall said. "If the Russians want to spend themselves into bankruptcy on some of these gold-plated systems that don't make them any safer or don't make us any safer, let them go ahead."

Udall did predict he will beat Carter in Wisconsin and give Jackson "a real run for his money in New York." The Arizona congressman received praise from The New York Times, but not an endorsement. In an editorial, The Times said it might be "profoundly healthy for this country to have a president with a sense of humor instead of a sense of destiny."

On Monday, aides for U. S. Sen. Frank Church of Idaho will meet with officials of the three major television networks to discuss the candidate's request to buy 30 minutes of prime TV time.

While this Church effort indicates a pot of money waiting for an invoice, Reagan's expensive TV exposure has caused some belt-tightening. The Reagan campaign has given up its charter airplane and is now asking reporters and Secret Service agents to pay in advance for their place on the Reagan flights.

In his series of taped shows, one scheduled to appear just prior to the National Basketball Association game Sunday afternoon, Reagan also criticized the foreign policy of President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

"All our smiles and concessions have not brought genuine peace any closer," Reagan said in the speech, which contained sentence after sentence that was used in the nationally televised production shown last Wednesday.

"The truth is this nation must trust less in the preemptive concessions we're granting the Soviet Union, and more in the re-establishment of American military superiority," Reagan said.

The former California governor begins his Texas primary campaign Monday.

In remarks prepared for delivery in La Crosse, Carter said that the United States has made foreign policy mistakes largely because of actions "contrary to the basic inclinations of our people—actions based on secrecy, misleading statements and sometimes intentional misstatements of fact."

Earlier, Carter said it was "disgraceful that the Congress has not moved to restore" the Federal Election Commission. Matching funds for presidential candidates were cut off last month under a Supreme Court decision and Congress has not yet corrected the legal problems cited by the court.

The questions surrounding the 1972 presidential race surfaced again Sunday for Carter. State Sen. Julian Bond, a Udall campaign worker, has claimed Carter "begged" him in 1972 to help get Carter selected by George McGovern as the vice presidential candidate.

Carter, meanwhile, has said he never asked Bond to intercede but that some of Carter's friends may have. Carter said he learned in 1972 that McGovern, then the Democratic presidential candidate who had relieved Sen. Thomas Eagleton as the vice presidential candidate, rejected Carter "with some forcefulness and enthusiasm."

By the time Sargent Shriver was named to succeed Eagleton, Carter said, "I had decided to run for president (in 1976) and my plans were predicated on not being associated with the 1972 ticket. I thought it was a hopeless thing and did not pursue it."

Carter Gets 4 More Oklahoma Delegates

OKLAHOMA CITY (UPI) — Oklahoma Democrats completed elections Sunday for the party's national convention lineup of 12 delegates for Jimmy Carter, seven for Fred Harris and 18 uncommitted.

Carter picked up one more delegate than expected in preference votes taken at the state convention Saturday for nine at-large posts, but nearly half the 37-member delegation remained uncommitted.

Carter won four of the at-large posts, Harris two and uncommitted three.

They were added to last month's district selections of 8 for Carter, 5 for Harris and 15 uncommitted.

Elections of the nine persons to fill the at-large posts were conducted Sunday. Seven had to be women to meet party rules on sexual equality.

Gov. David Boren, a delegate seeking immediate commitments to Carter, has predicted a majority will swing to the former governor of Georgia by the time of the first ballot at the New York convention July 12.

'ABSOLUTE SUPPORT'

Jackson Wins Delegates In Puerto Rican Caucus

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico (AP) — Sen. Henry Jackson was the runaway winner in Sunday's Democratic caucus reruns in Puerto Rico, picking up all 11 delegates at stake in his quest for the presidential nomination.

Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon said Jackson's victory meant "he will have the complete and absolute support of all 22 votes in the Puerto Rican delegation to the national convention in New York next July."

A spokesman for the governor said two uncommitted delegates elected in the first round of voting Feb. 22 had promised to vote for Jackson on the first ballot. Jackson won four delegates in the February caucuses.

The final five at-large delegates are to be chosen at an island-wide party convention in late April by the 17 delegates already elected. Local Democratic party chairman Richard Durham said, "Obviously if the 17 are for Jackson, the five they are going to vote for will also be for Jackson."

Hernandez Colon, Puerto Rico's Democratic national committeeman, said the voting "shows our appreciation of Sen. Henry Jackson's many efforts on behalf of this commonwealth and its people."

Jackson's victory was virtually assured after supporters of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter decided not to participate in Sunday's five district caucus reruns for fear of renewed violence.

Fistfights between Jackson and Carter supporters disrupted the February round and left six injured. No incidents were reported in Sunday's voting and witnesses described the five caucuses as "very tranquil."

Carter's backers claim nine delegates pledged to the former governor were legally elected during the first caucuses and have challenged the local party's refusal to certify their victories. They have also challenged the certification of the four Jackson delegates elected Feb. 22.

The challenges to the national Democratic party's credentials committee are not expected to be decided until May or June.

The turnout in Sunday's voting was very large: 5,500 in the island's second largest city of Ponce, 4,321 in the third largest city of Mayaguez, 3,397 in the San Juan suburb of Carolina, 4,899 in the northeast coastal city of Arecibo and 3,600 in the southeast town of Guayama. Virtually all were Jackson supporters.

Among the 11 delegates elected Sunday were Senate President Juan Cancel Rios, Housing Secretary Jose Enrique Arraras, who is a candidate for mayor of San Juan, Mayaguez Mayor Benjamin Cole and Carolina Mayor Manuel Fernandez Corujo.

All 11 delegates are leaders of the local Popular Democratic party headed by Gov. Rafael Hernandez Colon.

Zbigniew Who?

Pg 2 N

He's Rumored To Be Carter's Replacement for Kissinger

By DAVID MORRISON
Constitution Staff Writer

NEW YORK—John Borror, a German-born New York City taxi driver, says he has a basic feeling of warmth for Jimmy Carter, the 51-year-old Georgia governor who is running for president in primaries here and in Wisconsin Tuesday.

"He's a nice fellow," said Borror, who has not made up his mind how he will vote Tuesday. "But," he added, tapping his index finger just above his eyebrow, "does he have it up here enough to be president?"

Borror had picked up his passenger at the United Nations Plaza. Inside the massive complex there are perhaps hundreds of persons who share Borror's concerns about Carter.

But across the wide boulevard separating the U. N. from the Carnegie International Center, in an office on the seventh floor, there is no doubt in the mind of one man: Zbigniew Brzezinski.

The adjective used most to describe Brzezinski is "brilliant."

At 48 years old he is considered one of the foremost authorities on Soviet-United States affairs, having been one of the first to criticize the "domino theory" of world conquest by a massive Communist conspiracy; he heads the privately-endowed Trilateral Commission, which deals in matters of "common concern" to the U.S., Japan and European nations; he is professor of government and research director of the International Institute of Change at Columbia University. And he likes Jimmy Carter.

It is Brzezinski who is given principle credit for tailoring Carter's views on international affairs into a form that could be palatable to the community of intellectuals, diplomats and world leaders to whom those views are addressed.

And Newsweek Magazine reported in its April 5 edition that if Carter is elected president, he probably will appoint Brzezinski to suceed Henry Kissinger as secretary of state.

"That speculation is amusing," Brzezinski said as he talked easily in his office overlooking the U. N. Plaza and the East River while relaxing in a Kennedy-esque rocking chair. "But, if it were true, which it is not, I think it would be counterproductive. But since I don't expect to be secretary of state, I'll just enjoy the publicity. It is ego-gratifying so why shouldn't I enjoy it?"

Brzezinski, who is friendly, chatty and laughs easily, (and who Carter calls "Zbig"—pronounced Sbeeg—because he cannot easily pronounce the man's name), emigrated from Poland in 1938, much in the fashion that Kissinger fled his native Germany. Educated at McGill University and Harvard, he has published a number of books on Soviet and American relations and foreign affairs.

Political campaigns are not new to him. He directed the foreign policy task force advising then Vice President Hubert Humphrey in his 1968 presidential campaign and Brzezinski served as a State department advisor on the Policy Planning Council during the last years of the Johnson administration.

He met Carter through the Georgian's involvement in the Trilateral Commission, an organization formed in 1973 to improve relations among the United States, Japan and European countries. According to one publication, the commission fosters closer relationships among business and goverment leaders in those nations.

Carter never told Brzezinski he intended to run for president. But when the news of Carter's candidacy spread, Brezezinski, like many in his circles, didn't think too much of Carter's chances.

Then in 1975 at a meeting in Tokyo, Brzezinski changed his mind after Carter invited him to attend a press conference. "There were three things I recall having an impression on me," Brzezinski said. "One, I was amazed at how tough the press was on Carter. Two, how cool and confident he was in the face of extremely sardonic questions.

"And three, I was struck by his frankness and sense of direction when he told them he expected to win in Iowa, then attract national attention by winning in the New Hampshire primary and then jolt everyone by beating George Wallace in Florida, which of course he has done. But I walked out of that press conference feeling that this was a man who knew where he was going."

Later, Brzezinski recalled, Carter's speech in Kyoto "touched on something I feel deeply" as the candidate talked about restoring the view of the United States as a nation that stood for certain moral principles as well as deriving its strength in the world order from its wealth and technology.

Carter's ideas are his own, Brzezinski insisted, and they will become more an issue and tested more severely as the campaign progresses. Brzezinski conceded, however, that he suggested that Carter broaden his campaign into the foreign policy arena during last month's Illinois primary campaign at a speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Brzezinski and Columbia professor Richard Gardner, another Carter advisor in New York's intellectual community, outlined the speech. It was then reviewed by Harvard Prof. Milton Katz, sent to Atlanta for drafting by Carter staffers, and reviewed once again by Gardner and Brzezinski before the candidate from Plains, Ga., delivered it in Chicago.

At least one influential reaction after the speech was that Carter's foreign policy views were something comparable to a chamber of commerce position paper on the way things should be in Camelot-revisited.

When Carter talked about America's again exporting its goodness and truth as well as its Pintos, Pacers and peanuts throughout the world while at the same time remaining a major power and avoiding Vietnams, New York Times columnist James Reston called it "a bold but disappointing exercise....an idealistic, almost dreamy view."

On the campaign trail in New York and Wisconsin last week Carter was occasionally reminded that he had switched his views on the Vietnam war while other major candidates had not. Washington Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson still holds to his original conviction that the U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia was justified and Arizona Rep. Morris K. (Mo) Udall gained his national recognition by early opposition to the war in Congress.

Reston's critique, however, was not typical of the general response to the speech, Brzezinski said. The speech was applauded by business and other publications.

Carter's successes in a field that has been quicksand for many of the earlier described "major" candidates is predicated on his feeling that the United States should "redirect its yearning for an idealistic role in world affairs with a hard-nosed recognition that power remains a crucial dimension," Brzezinski said in his textbook terminology.

"His (Carter's) basic theme is that at this stage in history, the United States should be constructively engaged in shaping a world order in which nations can participate cooperatively."

In achieving the goal, a Carter administration would have three priorities, Brzezinski said:

—Closer cooperation with western European nations and Japan, which he said have been largely ignored by President Ford's and Kissinger's foreign policies.

—Room for acceptance of emerging "Third World" nations, which may not be totally friendly toward the U. S. by "not" treating them all as enemies but trying to differentiate between the moderate and radical governments and acting accordingly."

—Finally, a detente that benefits the United States as well as the Soviet Union.

In comparison, Jackson places more emphasis on military spending and a power rivalry with the Soviet Union, while Udall concentrates on domestic affairs in his campaign "almost to the exclusion of foreign affairs," Brzezinski said.

But in response to taxi driver Borror's concerns, has Jimmy Carter—the man who reminds his audiences that he is probably "no better qualified than many of you"—got the intellectual capacity to be a world leader?

A Carter administration in terms of foreign policy, Brzezinski predicted, is likely to be "steady and statesmanlike, not attempting to chart new approaches to world affairs without testing them. He will combine his morality—with moralizing—with a hard-nosed exertion of power."

For a new secretary of state, Brzezinski said Carter will likely choose Cyrus Vance, a former Department of Defense official, or George Ball, a top State department official under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, or Washington attorney Paul Warnke, another former Pentagon official.

In choosing a vice presidential nominee, Brezezinski sees Carter's ignoring the obvious healing tactic within the Democratic party of choosing Udall or Jackson to serve. Rather, he said, Carter would, more likely opt for Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, the son of the U. N. ambassador for President Kennedy during the earth-shaking Cuban missile crisis.

Stevenson would give a Carter ticket strength, Brzezinski said. "He has many of the traits of his father, although he is not as liberal, and is well-respected both at home and abroad."

Stevenson, backed by Chicago Mayor Richard Daley as a "favorite son" candidate, also has 85 convention delegates pledged to him, about one-eighth of the remaining delegates Carter says he needs to assure the Democratic nomination in July.

And a President Carter would be steered, as he has been in his campaign, by a group of "surrounding fathers" like professors Milton Katz and Abraham Chase of Harvard; Richard Gardner of Columbia; Theodore Sorenson, a former Kennedy speechwriter; Henry Owens of the Brookings Institute; Ruth Morganthall of Brandeis; and, of course, Brzezinski.

Crossover Voters May Confuse Results of Georgia's Primary

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Ever since the two-party system came to Georgia—if it ever did—some voters have had fun by crossing over and casting ballots in the opposite party's primary.

In 1966, Republicans thought it would be a huge joke to vote as Democrats and nominate Lester Maddox for governor so that Republican Bo Calloway could knock him off in the general election.

Of course, the joke was on the GOP when Maddox ended up in the governor's office.

Since there is no party registration in Georgia, voters will be able to take their pick between the Democratic and Republican ballots in the state's first-ever presidential preference primary May 4.

Some observers have suggested that Republicans may forego the race between President Ford and Ronald Reagan to vote for George Wallace on the Democratic ticket.

By this logic, Jimmy Carter would be Ford's toughest opponent because the Georgian would carry the South, leaving Ford without a base of electoral votes. So by voting for Wallace in Carter's home state, Republicans could hurt Carter and boost Ford.

Both Mack Mattingly, state GOP chairman, and Matt Patton, state Ford campaign chairman, pooh-poohed the idea of Republican crossovers.

"If there ever was a primary in which Republicans would not be crossing over, it is this one," said Patton, pointing to the dramatic Ford-Reagan contest.

"I don't see how anybody has got enough impact or organization to get the word out to cross over for anybody," said Mattingly.

Patton suggested that some Wallace Democrats may decide that Wallace is a dead duck politically and cross over to vote as Republicans for the conservative Reagan.

The crossover vote—however much there is—surely will confound political analysts as they try to figure out the voting returns in yet another primary in this long election year.

* * *

A sign of the success of Jimmy Carter is the fact that politicos have begun to amuse themselves by speculating on his choice for vice president if he gets the presidential nomination.

One theory is that Carter would toss the second-banana spot to Morris Udall to appease the liberals. There would be a kind of poetic justice to that.

A Carter-Udall ticket would reverse the historic formula under which a Northern liberal—a Roosevelt, a Stevenson, a Kennedy—appeased the South by serving up a Southern veep nominee—a Garner, a Sparkman, a Johnson.

This kept the South voting Democratic, and enabled the party chieftains to forget about doing anything else for the region for another four years.

Whatever the gratifications of turning the tables, if Carter continues his anti-Washington campaign, it would be awkward to pick somebody out of Washington—like Rep. Udall—for his running mate.

What Carter needs is a governor, untainted by wicked Washington, of moderately liberal reputation, known for competence and probity. Such individuals are not numerous.

Florida Gov. Reubin Askew would seem a prime choice. He and Carter detest each other, but that's okay—so did Kennedy and Johnson.

But you can't have two Southerners on the ticket, and that knocks out Askew.

California's monastic Gov. Jerry Brown may be considered, but a Carter-Brown ticket—"Baptist-and-Buddha"—might be a bit heavy on the piety.

If anybody in the country tried more eagerly than Carter to get second place on the ticket in 1972, it was Boston Mayor Kevin White.

George McGovern was ready to take White, but he was vetoed by Sen. Teddy Kennedy. This time around, if Carter gets the nomination, Kennedy may not have much to say about it.

White would seem the ideal ticket-balancer—a Northern liberal urban Catholic with a nice smile.

Yet Carter dislikes White probably more than Askew. In 1974 Carter headed the Democratic National Committee congressional campaign effort and White was vice chairman. Carter complained privately that White and his staff were lazy and unreliable and White tried to hog the publicity.

Joe Timilty, who unsuccessfully challenged White in the mayor's race last year, has endorsed Carter for president. And Timilty's pollster was Pat Caddell, who also worked for McGovern and Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and who now works for Carter.

All of which adds up to several strikes against a Carter-White ticket.

Of course, such speculation is pointless this early in the campaign—but it's a pleasant enough pasttime before the next barrage of primaries hits us—say, on Tuesday when they vote in New York and Wisconsin.

Hal Gulliver

Carter Progressing in Empire State

NEW YORK CITY—The conventional wisdom among political pundits is that presidential candidate James Earl Carter of Plains has little chance to do well in New York City and New York state in the primary election Tuesday.

Some 10 or 12 of Carter's delegate slates have been tossed out on technicalities. He still will have full slates in roughly two-thirds of the New York congressional districts, but Senator Henry Jackson will be the only candidate with close to complete slates in every district. "That's ridiculous, a travesty in my opinion," Carter has said of the New York primary rules.

Congressman Morris Udall, inheritor of much of the liberal left support of Senator Birch Bayh and Sargent Shriver, has strong slates in some districts. He is expected to do well at least in parts of New York City.

And yet there are some impressive signs of Carter strength in New York. Pat Cadell, Carter says, has recently polled throughout the state. Cadell polled with stunning accuracy for Senator George McGovern in 1972. His current polls for Carter, according to the Georgian, indicate Carter running two to one or better ahead of any other candidate in upper New York state and running roughly even with Jackson in New York City.

These figures of course do not translate into delegate votes, and this is where New York's Byzantine selection system comes into play, the system Carter calls a "travesty."

Nonetheless, there are other signs of Carter support as well. Atlanta Congressman Andrew Young has been campaigning for Carter in New York the past week. Carter has seemingly impressed groups of black ministers and community leaders, and it is well to note that Carter has carried black precincts by huge margins in places like Boston and Florida. There are people like Cornbread Givens, who organized black New Yorkers participating in the Poor Peoples March several years ago, currently organizing for the South Georgia peanut farmer from Plains.

At the same time, an impressive list of well-known New Yorkers chose a Carter press conference this past week to announce their endorsement of him. Included were Eleanor Guggenheimer, New York Commissioner of Consumer Affairs; Thomas Finletter, former Secretary of the Air Force, who with Eleanor Roosevelt founded the reform movement of New York state's Democratic Party; Joseph P. Lash, Pulitzer prize winning author, biographer of Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt, Burke Marshall, who was the Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights under Attorney General Robert Kennedy; Theodore Sorenson, speech writer and intellectual alter ego to the late President John F. Kennedy; Howard Samuels, a major leader in the New York Democratic Party and founding chairman of the off-track betting corporation here; and Cyrus Vance, a former Secretary of the Army and Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Most of those endorsing Carter were on the scene of the news conference, and Vance acted as spokesman, calling Carter "a man of intelligence, courage, and integrity." Vance said he had known Carter for several years and was greatly impressed with his knowledge of American foreign policy among other qualifications, no small praise from one who has represented the President in sensitive negotiations in Cyprus, Korea and Vietnam.

"Above all, I think all of us feel that he has the qualities to lead us and bring us together," Vance said of Carter.

In brief conversation afterward, Vance said his first contact with Carter came several years ago when Carter called him to a talk about a foreign policy task force report to be made to the National Conference of Governors.

These various omens of support may still fall well short of overcoming the potholed path of New York primary rules Tuesday, but there are increasing signs that the Carter momentum from earlier primary wins is being felt in this large populous Empire State.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/5 Thru 4/11

Selected Comment, News And

Opinion.

Also Enclosed See:

New Republic, March 20th, '76

Statement on Open Housing

Directed to Vernon Jordan

and Mayor Maynard Jackson.

Quotation of the Day

"You couldn't call it victory because we didn't run that well. But we ran just well enough to keep going so it really wasn't defeat. We didn't know what to call it and we just decided to call it quits."—Fred R. Harris, withdrawing from active campaigning for the Democratic Presidential nomination. [14:1.]

The New York Times/Teresa Zabala

WITHDRAWS FROM ACTIVE CAMPAIGNING: Fred R. Harris at Washington news conference with his wife, LaDonna, and a daughter, Kathryn. He said he would concentrate on shaping Democratic platform in July. Details, page 14.

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How *Not* to Stop Carter

By James Reston

HILLSBOROUGH, N.C., April 10—Ever since Jimmy Carter took the lead in the Presidential election, his opponents have been trying to prove he was all shell and no peanut. If he talks in generalities, he is accused of being "fuzzy," and if he talks in specifics, he's accused of being dizzy.

By an unfortunate choice of words, he seemed at first to be defending the principle and practice of segregated-housing communities, and refusing to use Federal power to interfere with the "purity" of all-white, all-Irish or Polish or Italian districts, but he has now explained time and time again that this was not what he meant and he has apologized for the blunder.

His record in support of open housing—the right of anybody of any race, religion, or nationality to move into any neighborhood he chooses—is clear for everybody to see. "I don't think there are ethnically pure neighborhoods in this country," he said, "and it was a mistake to use that word."

Still, Mr. Carter did not support those who want the Federal Government to force the breakup of homogeneous communities. "I don't think," he insisted, "that Government ought deliberately to break down ethnically oriented communities by injecting into

WASHINGTON

them a member of another race. It seems to me this is contrary to the best interests of the community. It creates disharmony, it creates hatred, it creates an attitude of unwarranted Government intrusion."

This still leaves room for honest disagreement and debate, for there are many experienced people in this country who believe that the housing patterns of the nation will become more and more segregated into checkboard communities unless the Federal Government does use its powers aggressively to create and even to compel integrated communities.

Mr. Carter's opponents, however, are not concentrating on this quite legitimate issue, but are suggesting that Carter is a segregationist after all. Even Mo Udall, who usually plays the political game on the level, has implied that Carter purposely raised this issue, just when George Wallace was fading from the race, in order to pick up the Wallace vote.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, who is Mr. Carter's foremost advocate in the black communities of the North and South, was quick to condemn Mr. Carter's use of the word "purity" because it suggested the right of total exclusion of outsiders, but he was also first to warn of the dangerous issue it was raising.

"A lot of people who said, 'You just can't trust a Southerner,'" Mr. Young observed, "are now going to say, 'See, I told you so.'"

Mr. Carter's reply to this is that he would rather withdraw from the race than introduce racial controversy into the debate, but the stop-Carter movement is gaining strength and losing altitude, particularly in view of the critical Pennsylvania primary election late this month.

If Mr. Carter wins in Pennsylvania against the opposition of powerful labor-union, and pro-Jackson, pro-Humphrey and pro-Udall forces, it will be extremely hard to halt his momentum and deny him the nomination. But if they do beat him badly in Pennsylvania by backing Jackson and Udall, the chances are that Hubert Humphrey will get the nomination.

The question, however, is how they beat Carter. If they revive the "Southern Issue," just when the nation was finally getting rid of it and giving a Southern candidate an honest shot at the Presidency, the Democrats will not regain the South but lose it, and probably the election as well.

If they beat him on the fair issue of the use of Federal power to compel integration, that is one thing, but if they beat him on the slip of the tongue and on phony charges that his record refutes, they will not only stop Carter but Humphrey as well.

Incidently, it would be interesting to hear from Mr. Humphrey himself on this, and Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall as well. Mr. Humphrey has lately been playing the role of the elder statesman, supporting Secretary Kissinger more consistently than many leaders of Mr. Kissinger's own team. But he has also fought all his political life to get rid of the very sort of regional and racial bitterness this new controversy is raising. He should not, it seems here, want to be the beneficiary of a cheap shot at the man who has fairly won most of the Democratic primary elections.

Carter can perhaps help himself by spelling out in detail the policies he would follow on housing and the Federal Government's role on the integration question, but this will have to be done quickly, for strong forces that worry about his independence are determined to keep the ethnic purity issue alive, and particularly to use it to break his momentum in this month's important and perhaps decisive primary.

So far, this has been a fairly clean campaign, but it has taken an accidental and nasty turn and it is in the interest of the Democratic party and the nation that the present issue be debated on the basis of the facts. It would be ironic if "purity" were turned into a dirty word.

The Washington Star

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THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1976

Mr. Carter on neighborhoods

The plea that Sen. Barry Goldwater is said to have made to reporters during the campaign of 1964 — write what I mean, not what I say — may briefly have crossed the mind of Gov. Jimmy Carter the other day in South Bend, Ind., as he struggled to explain some earlier remarks about the racial and ethnic integrity of neighborhoods.

The New York *Times*, whose reporter, Christopher Lydon, was among Governor Carter's interrogators, headlined Mr. Lydon's report: "Carter Defends/All-White Areas." It was no headline writer's slip — the same headline was repeated verbatim on the "jump" that continued the story inside.

Yet if you read Mr. Lydon's story carefully, you learn that Governor Carter did no such thing. He was neither attacking nor defending "all-white areas," and even noted that he himself by no means lives in such an area down in Plains, Ga. He was saying, very sensibly in our view, that government ought to respect the preferences of a race or ethnic group that chooses to live in a homogeneous neighborhood — that it shouldn't be government policy (as it has been, for instance, in the placement of "scattered-site" public housing and to some degree in cross-busing) to sponsor attempts to break up such neighborhoods. "Affirmative" assaults on neighborhood preferences, Mr. Carter observed, create "disharmony," even "hatred." He might have added that they often are self-defeating, actually increasing social, economic and racial isolation.

As he elaborated on this point of view, Governor Carter chose some words that could lend themselves to misunderstanding. So before the lurking sentinels poised to spear candidates on verbal slipups proclaim that there exists an insidious "Carter doctrine" for racial purity in the suburbs it ought to be carefully noted what he actually said — and didn't say.

Mr. Carter said, for example, that he has "nothing against a community that's made up of people who are Polish or Czechoslovakian or French-Canadian, or black, who are trying to maintain the ethnic *purity* (our emphasis) of their neighborhoods." "Ethnic stability" or "ethnic integrity" would have served the same purpose, without untoward overtones.

In any case, we suspect that those who value their neighborhoods will understand, even if the reporters don't. Not that Governor Carter is likely to be unaware that what he says about neighborhoods is attuned to what a great many Americans, of all races and ethnic traditions, think.

He is not, he said, against open-housing laws and has enforced, and would enforce them, "aggressively." What he is against is the familiar brand of social engineering of which we have had a great deal in recent years, especially from Washington bureaus and agencies, which by design or accident destroys the texture of ethnic and racial communities. Not only certain housing policies but various programs of urban development and urban highway construction have devastated livable neighborhoods, leaving nothing in their place.

In short, there is nothing very new, or to most of us very provocative, in what Governor Carter was saying — or trying to say — about the misguided and mindless wrecking of community clusters in the postwar era. Jane Jacobs, for instance, was saying much the same thing 20 years ago in her book, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*. Unfortunately, it often takes decades, if not centuries, for such a message to get through to social planners who have no care or feeling for the texture of communities and only contempt for the preferences of those who choose to live in them. And it is rare to have these things said so clearly by political candidates; such issues are made for waffling.

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Carter's Evangelism Putting Religion Into Politics for First Time Since '60

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS

Jimmy Carter's open espousal of his Christian beliefs in the 1976 Presidential campaign has raised the issue of religion's place in politics more arrestingly than in any Presidential race since John F. Kennedy's in 1960.

In Mr. Kennedy's case the question was whether a Roman Catholic could be elected and what the consequences would be for relations between church and state.

The church-state concern has re-emerged with Mr. Carter's candidacy, and in addition the question for the 51-year-old Southern Baptist is whether a deeply committed evangelical Christian can appeal to an overtly more secular culture with his frank admission of conservative Protestant piety.

Mr. Carter began to speak of his faith in the campaign for the North Carolina primary, on March 23, and remains the only candidate in this Presidential campaign to do so. His showing in the primaries last week in New York and Wisconsin appeared to support the view that his openness on religion has not hurt him.

And the nation's religious climate suggests that the former Georgia Governor's stance of evangelical theology is not only widely shared but is also growing more rapidly than any other Christian perspective.

Evangelical Movement

The current evangelical movement, whose most celebrated spokesman is the Rev. Billy Graham, grew out of earlier stages of fundamentalism. It inherited some of the biblical and moral views of fundamentalism but has generally developed a more relaxed, open spirit toward both religion and the world.

The Southern Baptist Convention, whose ranks include Mr. Carter and Mr. Graham, is the largest single evangelical church, with 12.7 million members and an average yearly growth rate of 250,000.

Though a broad range of churches define themselves as "evangelical," the phenomenon is more a religious state of mind than a strictly identifiable branch of Christianity. Other Christians, including Roman Catholics and some members of main line Protestants groups, embrace basically the same outlook on the need for personal faith, Biblical teaching and evangelism.

The Rev. Dean M. Kelley, author of "Why the Conser-

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Carter's Evangelism Puts Religion Into Campaign

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Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

vative Churches Are Growing," estimated in a telephone interview the number of Christians who readily identify with Mr. Carter's evangelical outlook at 40 million. Others put it as high as 50 million.

In addition, as Mr. Kelley and others point out, millions more Christians and non-Christians are sympathetic to the candidate's theology because it evokes elements of a widely held faith in a personal God and a nation richly blessed.

'Skyrocketing' Trend

"Every indication is that evangelicalism is skyrocketing," says Gerald Strober, who is co-author of a book, "Religion and the New Majority," subtitled "Billy Graham, Fundamentalism and the Politics of the 70s" in 1972. "Nothing is stopping it."

The book contends that Mr. Graham speaks the language of the new or silent" majority of voters, the same group to which Mr. Carter would presumably appeal.

The former Governor's style of subjective, fervent faith has also frequently won enthusiasm among blacks, from whom he has drawn sizable support. His most eloquent testimony to his beliefs during the New York campaign came in a black Methodist church in Buffalo. He is comfortable in such settings.

Mr. Strober cites such indication of the vitality of evangelicalism as upward spiraling enrollments at conservative seminaries and ballooning sales of evangelical books.

Mr. Graham's latest book, entitled "Angels," for example, has astonished its Doubleday publishers. Since being introduced in September, 1.3 million copies have been placed in print. "The Living Bible," a Biblical paraphrase by Kenneth Taylor, has sold 19 million copies in three years.

Dr. Martin Marty, a University of Chicago historian, believes the Carter theology has "a huge constituency" and would prove a possible stumbling block only for a small minority of "semi-secularized" voters.

He divides the nation's religious map into five districts: the Baptist-dominated South, the Methodist-oriented mid-South, the heavily Lutheran upper Midwest, Mormon Utah and the non-geographical urban "pluralist" community. Mr. Carter would presumably have trouble only in the last area because of its secularist tendencies, Dr. Marty believes.

Carter's Decision

Mr. Carter says his decision to talk about his convictions in the midst of the campaign came after prayerful thought.

"When the media began to emphasize my beliefs," he said in an interview on his last day of campaigning in New York, "I did not know how to deal with it; whether to answer the questions or say I didn't have a comment."

"I decided to tell the truth," he continued, "not to conceal it but reveal it. If there are those who don't want to vote for me because I'm a deeply committed Christian, I believe they should vote for someone else."

Like Mr. Kennedy in 1960, Mr. Carter is apparently appealing to the nation's sense of fair play to eliminate religious identification as a negative bias. While it is not at all certain that the subject would come close to raising the same concern that it did in 1960, it has already drawn widespread attention.

Last week President Ford's campaign director, Stuart Spencer, said that Mr. Carter's beliefs could become a factor in a race between the two men. Mr. Ford is an Episcopalian.

Among the other Democratic candidates, Senator Henry M. Jackson is an Episcopalian, Representative Morris K. Udall is a former Mormon and Gov. George Wallace of Alabama is a United Methodist. Ronald Reagan is a member of the Christian Church but has been attending a Presbyterian church, according to an aide.

President's Beliefs

A Carter-Ford race would match two candidates with similar religious beliefs. Mr. Ford is known to have become strongly evangelical in recent years. His son attended Gordon-Conwall Seminary in Massachusetts, a leading evangelical school, and he is a close friend of the Michigan evangelist preacher Billy Zeoli. The difference between the two men thus far is that Mr. Ford's beliefs have been muted to a far greater degree than Mr. Carter's.

However, Mr. Ford shows signs of seeking to keep his religious identity clear. For instance, recently he made a point of stopping at Wheaton College, in Wheaton, Ill., the nation's most prestigious evangelical college and Billy Graham's alma mater, an action regarded by some observers as not at all accidental.

'Conversion Experience'

Many political observers say that Mr. Carter's decision to explicate his faith during the North Carolina primary campaign contributed to his victory. The state is heavily Baptist.

As he explained it, the salient features of Mr. Carter's spiritual biography emerged. Born in the rural community of Plains, Ga., he spent his formative years in a distinctly Baptist culture, a mixture of revivalist religion, traditional folkways and prevailing mores.

But not until after his defeat in his first attempt to become Governor in 1966 did he have what Baptists term a "conversion experience." Mr. Carter has not disclosed details, but he says he came away from it with "an inner peace and inner conviction and assurance that transformed my life for the better."

He began reading the Bible avidly, and still does. Like many evangelical Christains, he balks at a literal view of the Scriptures, an article of faith among the fundamentalists.

Asked on a television interview if he agreed with St. Paul's admonition that wives be "subject to their husbands," Mr. Carter tactfully explained that he had tried to accept that teaching but could not.

He believes in the power of prayer, recalling that he "spent more time on my knees the four years I was Governor in the seclusion of a little private room than all the rest of my life put together." But he disavows all contentions that his prayer life has experienced the miraculous.

There has been no serious challenge to Mr. Carter's sincerity or his spiritual credibility. Most uneasiness appears to stem from a fear that an evangelistically minded President might use his power to advance his beliefs or violate the separation of church and state.

Nixon and Graham

Interest in religion's role in politics was generated during the Nixon Administration when President Nixon held regular Sunday morning services in the White House and frequently consulted with Mr. Graham. Public debate over this and other forms of civil religion has particularly stirred those worried that public officials would manipulate religious symbols and language for personal advancement.

Mr. Carter's supporters say that Baptists have been in the forefront of struggles to maintain a wall of separation between church and state and that the candidate's record shows nothing that could raise any objections on this score.

"I've never tried to use my position as a public official to promote my beliefs, and I never would," Mr. Carter said.

He has said that he believes personal example is the best way to influence others and that matters such as abortion and premarital sex should not be legislated against, though he opposes both personally.

Mr. Carter also rejects any suggestion that he has a messiah complex.

"I don't think God is going to make me President by any means," he said at a recent news conference. "But whatever I have as a responsibility for the rest of my life, it will be with that infinite personal continuing relationship."

In a talk to a Buffalo congregation, he said, "I believe I can be a better President because of my faith." He said he did not ask ask God, "Let me succeed," but, "Let me do the right thing."

Mr. Kelley believes that Mr. Carter, "like Billy Graham, speaks in the inherited idiom that is the closest to a common explanation of the meaning of life that America has."

This view, Mr. Kelley said, "resonates" with the vast majority of the public.

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CONNECTICUT PUSH IS BEGUN BY UDALL

Arizonan, in Four-Hour Tour, Seeks Endorsement of State Liberal Group

WEST HAVEN, Conn., April 10 (UPI)—Representative Morris K. Udtll campaigned in Connecticut today, telling the state's liberal voters that he was their only alternative to a conservative President.

"I'm the only thing standing between a choice for the American people between Gerald Ford, Scoop Jackson and Jimmy Carter," the Arizona Democrat said.

Mr. Udall arrived after second-place finishes in Democratic Presidential primaries this week in New York and Wisconsin. He made three stops on a four-hour tour.

He sought the endorsement of a prominent liberal group, the Caucus of Connecticut Democrats. In New Haven, he opened a campaign headquarters and in Bloomfield, a suburb of Hartford, he attended a fund-raising event...

Mr. Udall told the caucus meeting, which planned to endorse a Presidential candidate, that he was the only progressive with a chance of being nominated.

"Don't give up the flag on the progressive cause," he said. "The Progressives have the balance of power in this party. We can control the nomination."

Seeks Harris Support

He asked supporters of former Senator Fred R. Harris, now an inactive candidate, for their support, saying that such backing had been a major part of his good showing in New York.

At the airport in New Haven, Mr. Udall said that Mr. Carter's remark about not disrupting the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods had hurt the former Georgia Governor.

"He's also hurting from the fact that people are now beginning to see he takes both sides on many questions," Mr. Udall said, adding:

"People now are wondering where he does stand. You can't be on both sides of all issues onthe long haul when you're running for President."

Mr. Udall's hopes in Connecticut's primary on May 11 depend on uniting the state's liberals. His two main rivals, Mr. Carter and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, are apparently firmly entrenched among remnants of the state party organization built by the late John M. Bailey, former chairman of the Democratic Party.

Gov. Ella T. Grasso, one of Mr. Bailey's followers, is supporting Senator Jackson.

Labor Group Muddles Campaign

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By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 10—A little-known alliance of labor unions called the Labor Coalition Clearinghouse is pushing the election of Democratic National Convention delegates with union loyalties—and never mind (almost) their preferences for President.

This is yet another element compounding the confusion of delegates running "uncommitted" but actually prepared to back a certain candidate, and of delegates committed to a specific candidate but actually open to negotiation at the convention.

Of all the candidates for the Democratic nomination, only George C. Wallace has not received the labor group's support somewhere, sometimes — since denial of delegate strength to the Alabama Governor has been a main secondary goal of the coalition.

One staff member of the group, in fact, takes credit for "stopping Wallace" in the Florida primary last month by focusing coalition backing there on Jimmy Carter, the most promising anti-Wallace contender.

By backing the delegate slates of opposing candidates for the Presidential nomination in different localities — even delegates pledged to known losers as long as the delegates themselves look electable—the sponsors of this strategy are hoping to capitalize on the indecision it may bring to the Democratic Convention in July. They could then marshal their delegate bloc behind any acceptable man of the hour with whom they could deal in a brokered convention.

Were there a clear front-runner for the Presidential nomination now, or even a field limited to two leading contenders—perhaps Mr. Carter and Henry M. Jackson—this would diminish the strength of "the union cavalry," as one labor political operative called them.

"Only two contenders would deal among themselves and leave us with no one to talk to," the union official said.

Evidence that the Coalition, as it is called for short, means to be all things to all Democrats — except Governor Wallace — is on the wall near the desk of its director, Mikel K. Miller, 32, who is a former Louisiana newsman, Congressional Fellow, campaign worker for Hubert Humphrey in 1972 and since then political director of the Communications Workers of America.

A spot next to Mr. Miller's desk in Coalition headquarters, a one-room office in the Washington building of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, is covered with the bumper stickers of every announced and unannounced Democratic contender.

In effect, says one staff member, "We are acting as though we are an invisible Presidential candidate, collecting delegate strength for ourselves."

The idea is to get labor-oriented delegates wherever unionists look as though they could win convention seats, and at the same time to let none of the Presidential candidates forge too far ahead, a strategy that enhances the unannounced candidacy of Mr. Humphrey.

Sometimes that means linking up locally with Mr. Carter, Senator Jackson or Morris K. Udall. In New Jersey, the Coalition's member unions will work to win eight of the state's 81 convention delegates by backing for the most part the "uncommitted" slate, whose heart really belongs to Senator Humphrey.

The municipal workers, one of the nine generally iberal unions that formed the Coalition in 1972 when George Meany, the president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., renounced participation in te nominating process by the merged labor movement, will probably support Carter delegates in New Jersey.

In the next big primary, in Pennsylvania on April 27, the Coalition is allied in part with ("stuck with," one staffer says) a group of officers of large unions or union regions who committed themselves early to Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana and Pennsylvania's Gov. Milton J. Shapp, both of whom have withdrawn from the Democratic race.

"It's a survival thing; we have to protect our people who are on the delegate ballot," was one Coalition explanation.

"But it's all excellent for us," said a spokesman. "We'll get them to the convention and that is what we set out to do."

According to Mr. Miller, the Coalition's work in 200 "target" Congressional districts in 16 states, chosen because the group's nine member unions have an average of 20,000 members in each, is expected to yield about the same number of labor-loyal delegates to the 1976 Democratic Convention as were seated at the 1972 convention, or between 400 and 450 of the 3,008.

Without the Coalition's inspiration and political organization of the rank and file, even some labor political directors whose own unions are relatively conservative acknowledge that organized labor's presence at this year's convention might be a good deal smaller. But some unions outside the Coalition suspect it of harboring pro-Carter or pro-Udall biases.

The Coalition was organized in the spring of 1975 by leaders of the International Association of Machinists, one of 35 A.F.L.-C.I.O. unions that had backed the Presidential candidacy of Senator George McGovern of South Dakota in 1972, despite Mr. Meany's disenchantment with him. The Machinists' political director, William Holayter enlisted eight other organizations, which have pro-rated the Coalition's estimated $500,000 cost according to their membership.

The members are the Communications Union; the municipal employees; the Public Employees' Union; the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, which had traditionally stayed outside national politics; the Graphic Arts International Union; the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and three from outside the A.F.L.-C.I.O. — the United Automobile Workers, the United Mine Workers and the National Education Association.

The N.E.A. which contends that it is not a union, is engaged in a bitter struggle to organize teachers against an A.F.L.-C.I.O. union, the American Federation of Teachers.

Democrats Choose Bulk of Delegates In Iowa's Districts

DES MOINES, April 10 (UPI) —Iowa Democrats began selecting today the bulk of the state's delegation to the 1976 Democratic National Convention, and campaign staff members were involved in last-minute maneuvering for convention seats.

The prime target of their efforts was the large group of uncommitted delegates to today's conventions held in each of Iowa's six Congressional districts.

Nearly 41 per cent of the 3,431 district delegates were uncommitted after county conventions last month. Forty of the state's 47 delegates were up for selection by these district conventions. The remaining seven will be elected at large next month.

Some of the uncommitted Democrats were truly undecided or were holding out for noncandidates such as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey or Edward M. Kennedy. Many others found the need to declare themselves to be selected as national delegates.

That was an objective of the viable announced candidates—former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Representative Morris Udall of Arizona and Fred R. Harris, former Oklahoma Senator. Although Mr. Harris withdrew from active campaigning, he asked his supporters to continue seeking national convention seats.

Mr. Carter led the field of candidates through the precinct and county level caucuses and is ultimately expected to win a plurality of Iowa's national convention delegates.

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Divided Jersey Democrats Caucus to Pick Delegates

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

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JERSEY CITY, April 10—With Governor Byrne and the state party sharply divided, New Jersey Democrats caucused throughout the state today to nominate Presidential delegate candidates to run in the June 8 primary.

While Senator Hubert H. Humphrey has refused to allow his name to be entered as a candidate in the local legislative districts, the Minnesota Democrat dominated political sentiment in this Democratic stronghold this afternoon.

With the exception of the Governor, virtually all the leading Democrats in the state have followed the strategy of the state party organization in supporting Senator Humphrey, although they have adopted an uncommitted posture forced upon them by Mr. Humphrey's refusal to become an active candidate.

While party leaders failed this week to persuade Mr. Humphrey to change his mind in time for today's caucus, they indicated they still intended to keep trying before the April 29 filing deadline for statewide slates of delegate candidates.

A Prize Bloc

New Jersey, which is one of the last three states to hold primaries this year, is regarded as a major convention prize. For one thing, it will send 108 delegates, the eighth-largest group at the convention. For another, New Jersey could give its winner a district psychological victory, coming as it would only a month before the convention opens, and in a Northern industrial state that is regarded as crucial to the chances of either party's winning the Presidency in November.

Although Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall are candidates and had delegates pledged to them entered in virtually every local caucus today, the race in New Jersey is believed to have narrowed down to a showdown between Jimmy Carter and Mr. Humphrey.

All told, 91 delegates will be elected in June. Two will come from each of the state's 40 legislative election districts and 10 will be elected at large in statewide voting. The 37th District in Bergen County receives an extra delegate because it produced the biggest Democratic vote in the last two major elections.

The 91 elected delegates will then select 17 more a week later to reflect the proportional vote each of the candidates received in the primary.

For now, the state party and its political allies in the big Democratic organizations in places like Hudson County have become political holding operations for Mr. Humphrey in the hope that former Governor Carter of Georgia will begin losing ground.

Senator Dugan to head the party's uncommitted statewide slate of delegates, and the addition of Senator Williams, along with the presence of the state's two most powerful Mayors, Kenneth A. Gibson of Newark and Paul T. Jordan of Jersey City, makes the uncommitted slate resemble the middle of an old-time New York Yankee batting order, made up of formidable hitters.

In response, the Governor said he rejected the party's uncommitted posture, describing it obliquely as a masked effort in behalf of Senat Humphrey.

There have already been some significant defections from Mr. Carter, with the biggest one involving S. Howard Woodson, the black former Speaker of the State Assembly.

Mr. Woodson had been designated as a member of the Carter state steering committee and was regarded as the most prominent black Carter supporter in New Jersey. However Mr. Woodson, whose Assembly district embraces Trenton, said he was "reconsidering" his support of Mr. Carter and was expected to decline to run as a local Carter delegate.

Similar defections were expressed by a number of other prominent black officials, including Assemblyman Eldridge Hawkins of East Orange and William Perkins of Jersey City.

Conflict Over Carter

In the view of Democratic leaders, Mr. Carter was hurt in this state by his controversial remarks this week involving "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

Governor Byrne broke earlier with party leaders by his covert help in enabling Mr. Carter to establish a campaign organization in the state. The two men met secretly in New York recently and the Governor had been expected to announce his support last Wednesday.

However, Mr. Byrne shied away from endorsing Mr. Carter, offering instead a lukewarm expression of support. Nonetheless, the Governor's move prompted state leaders and Mr. Humphrey to make their first countermove.

After meeting in Washington Wednesday night with Mr. Humphrey, State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman, and Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. announced that he was breaking the political neutrality pact he had signed with Governor Byrne and was going to run as uncommitted delegate, thus openly joining the party leadership in its support of Senator Humphrey.

According to Democratic leaders, Senator Williams's action was prompted as much by Mr. Carter's "ethnic purity" remark, for which he has since apologized, as by the Governor's lukewarm endorsement.

Representative Rodino had already been designated by

His Health Problem Erodes Even Hard-Core Support

For Wallace, It Is All Over But the Exit

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—For the first time in the dozen or so years that he has been on the national political scene, George Corley Wallace is having trouble persuading voters that he is a serious Presidential candidate.

Five straight defeats in Democratic primaries have emptied the Alabama Governor's once-overflowing campaign coffer, have forced him to cut back his once-robust campaign to a shoe-string effort and have left him without his old political verve.

Liberals are no longer scared, or fascinated, by this 20th-century political phenomenon who ran well in 1964, even better in 1968 and was leading the pack in 1972 when Arthur Bremer's bullets left him paralyzed and confined to a wheelchair. Nor are the Wallace faithful—the archconservatives, neo-populists and, yes, diehard racists—as hard-core as in the past.

Other candidates have lured away significant numbers by offering ideological drinks dipped from the same political well that the Governor seems to have approached one time too many. The opposition has stolen his favorite issues, such as busing, crime, welfare and big government, and has left him with little more than the image, televised nightly on network news, of a man pursuing the Presidency in a wheelchair.

The man who cried "Segregation forever!" now grouses that history might forget him. He sometimes speaks of himself and his campaign in the past tense. About all that is left of the old liberal-baiting George Wallace is a gritty refusal to leave the stage.

He has no chance of becoming the Democratic nominee. His potential as a convention broker has been drastically reduced by the primary defeats, particularly those in Florida and North Carolina by a fellow Southerner, former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

And yet, even as the results were rolling in last Tuesday from Wisconsin, where Mr. Wallace ran a poor third with 12 percent of the vote (about half of what he got there in 1972 and a third of his 1964 total), the Governor was making plans to hit the hustings again, albeit on a shoestring.

United Press International

Why? "I've got to stay in to keep the others honest," Mr. Wallace explained. That was not the original plan and probably not the real explanation.

George Wallace, now 56, has never held any real hope of becoming President. He knows his segregationist past—he now claims he was only fighting "big-government interference"—precludes both nomination and election. But his strong showing in the 1972 primaries, before the assassination attempt, left him convinced that he had the potential to be a key convention broker in 1976. He was certain that the Wallace hard core, which the polls had put at 15 to 20 percent of the electorate for more than a decade, would stick with him and finally have its political day.

He laid the 1976 ground work carefully. Other Wallace campaigns had been patchwork affairs, badly financed and amateurishly run. Their success could be traced to his personal appeal. This time the Governor hired professional managers and expert fund raisers.

By the time he officially announced his candidacy in late 1975, he had almost $3 million in his war chest and had qualified delegate slates from coast to coast. He was ready, cocksure that he would be a major factor at the New York nominating convention in July.

In the Massachusetts primary, he ran a strong third and, with the help of a busing issue, carried the city of Boston. "Can you believe that?" he chortled, giving the liberals the willies once again.

Then it all began to come apart.

In Florida, three of every five Democrats leaving voting booths told pollsters that the Governor's health was a major campaign issue, and most of the voters who saw the wheel chair as an issue voted for Jimmy Carter.

In North Carolina, Mr. Carter carried the rural, eastern region of the state—rock-solid "Wallace Country" for years, particularly in 1972. The Wallace hard core was eroding.

Still the Governor hung on, through the disasters of Illinois and Wisconsin. Now he insists he will hang on until the New York convention, absorbing defeat after defeat if necessary, and as seems certain, in order to "keep 'em honest."

He dismisses suggestions that he should withdraw, recoup and run for the Senate in a couple of years. Now and again he talks about the old plan to broker a convention (he has 104 delegates to date) but his heart is not in the discussion. Mostly he talks about how "all the other candidates have come around to preaching what I've been preaching all along," of how it will not be necessary to switch to a third-party candidacy this time as in 1968 "because the Democratic platform is obviously going to be one I can support."

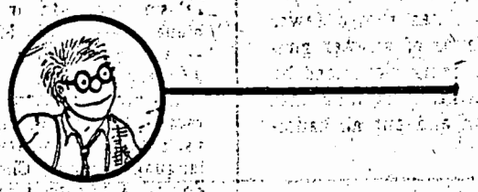
"I'm in the mainstream now," he boasts frequently. "I get invited to all the party conferences, get the best hotel rooms."

Vindication . . . respectability . . . the judgment of history. These thoughts suddenly seem to be heavy on the Governor's mind, the new concerns of a former firebrand who once touted himself as "the bad boy" of American politics.

B. Drummond Ayres Jr. is a New York Times correspondent based in Atlanta.

Writers And Politicians

By E. L. Doctorow



Watching all the candidates compete in the Presidential primaries, I see curious likenesses between politicians and writers. In the first place both normally address themselves to populations rather than individuals. Writers and politicians are one person speaking to many. Of course a difference is that we writers take office first and then we create our constituencies. That is to be a shade more arrogant than the politicians. But we have a saving grace: The power we assume is of no practical use to ourselves. If we are lucky we have our greatest influence when we are dead.

Because he is one person speaking to many, when a politician shakes someone's hand he can make a lasting impression. The ordinary citizen will usually vote for the politician he meets, and probably recall the meeting with pride.

Powered by the media, politicians have an outsized mythological identity, or a capacity to bemuse. Writers however invariably disappoint their constituents when shaking hands, being not in their persons as charged with life as in their books.

Of course there are those outsized personalities in the republic of letters who have had a few media infusions of their own. But they are stars of the aesthetic rather than the real, and so their power is only a kind of mimicry of the practical power that politicians have.

Norman Mailer, a writer who has always been fascinated by political power, actually tried once to be a politician. He ran for Mayor of New York. He failed. Gore Vidal, a writer from a political family, once ran for Congress. He failed. Some years ago Upton Sinclair ran for Governor of California. In all cases these writers failed. The reasons for their failure are worth investigating. Perhaps in this country there is a public conviction that literature is play and that those who practice it cannot be taken seriously. Or that even if literature is serious, it can be taken only before the onset of responsible adulthood. After that there's no time.

The United States is one of the few countries in the history of Western civilization in which writers and artists are not thought to be inherently dangerous to the state.

As a corollary to this idea I find it interesting that when real politicians lose their power they write books.

Words seem to be what politicians profess when they have nothing else. With words politicians can compose for themselves shadow plays of real power. They can remember it. They can try to regenerate it. All Presidents who survive their office write about it. And look at the number of politicians writing today. I think of John Lindsay, Spiro Agnew, John Ehrlichmann —novelists all.

If they pay their dues, politicians can be members of The Authors Guild. Meanwhile the working members of the Guild and Pen sulk about on the borders of this spiritual politic doing their prophesy with fitful effect, known and read by such small percentages of the nation's people that all the bestsellers of a given year do not attract the attention of an audience the size of that which on a sunny Sunday afternoon stays indoors to watch lively Senator Hugh Scott meet the press.

Politics in this country used to have a literary quality, at least insofar as rhetoric was practiced on the campaign trails in the 19th century. An essential part of the politician's being was the orator he could become. Today's politicians are dreary malapropists who have such a low regard for the English language that even when they are demagogues they can't infuriate us. They are instinctive masters of doublespeak, however, of self-serving euphemism.

They use language shrewdly. They employ it most of the time to reaffirm people in their easy sentiments and justify them in their fears. Writers, by contrast, have such high regard for language that they believe it is an instrume for tearing people out of their ordinary p ceptions and forcing them to see and feel ways that are genuinely alarming.

Nevertheless politicians are born knowi exactly what writers know about language: th it can change reality. They know that histo does not exist except as it is composed, th good and evil are construed, that there is outrage, no monstrousness that cannot be ma reasonable and logical and virtuous, and shining act that cannot be turned to disgra

On the face of it there seems to be a great degree of sophistication in American polit than there was thirty or forty years ago. all know that politicians are divorced a married again and we elect them. We know th get drunk and get into trouble, and we el them. We grant them their adulteries and men problems and give them the right to be alwa expedient in their ideas and programs becau like us, they have their careers to think of. if a politician speaks too well we think of h as a writer and we don't elect him. That the fate of Adlai Stevenson, and also of Euge McCarthy, a self-confessed poet.

W. H. Auden complained that poetry ne changed anything, and said that all the an Fascist poems written in the 1930's did nothi to stop Hitler. So our proposition comes focus: Writers and politicians are mirror natic of each other. It may not hold for some co tries of one socialist persuasion or another we can point to the poet Chairman Mao or t poet Ho Chi Minh, for example—but for t most part double citizenship in power and poe will mean treason to one or to the other.

We may subscribe to this, however, and agree completely with Auden that literature have no political effect. Perhaps of the ar Fascist poets of the 1930's too few were Germ Art may never catch life but it might sometim run ahead and create the large invisible shi of consciousness that predict what history going to be.

Joseph Heller's "Catch-22" delineated the m derous absurdities of the war in Vietnam bef the major phase of our adventure there. K Vonnegut's books have probably done more formulate for a generation of young people attitude toward war, technology and the sci tific temperament than all the politicians in the primaries put together. Constituencies novelists and poets do exist—they are studer women and other powerless minorities.

However it is probably unwise for any wri to publish his novel in the autumn of an elect year.

E. L. Doctorow is author of "Ragtime." This an address he delivered to The Authors Gu

The Military-Industrial Complex Grows More So

By JOHN W. FINNEY

WASHINGTON — Shortly after he was severely reprimanded for attending a fishing lodge in the Bahamas run by a major defense contractor, Malcolm R. Currie, director of Defense Research and Engineering, appeared at a dinner sponsored by the National Security Industrial Association, a trade group of military firms.

Among all the Pentagon officials at the head table, Dr. Currie received the loudest applause. It was, in effect, a symbolic vote of confidence. If not a hero, Dr. Currie was at least a martyr in the defense contractors' eyes for having been caught and punished because he had participated in a common practice in the defense industry. Little matter that he had violated a Pentagon "standards of conduct" regulation specifically prohibiting defense officials from accepting hospitallty from defense contractors.

The dinner table sentiment must have been reinforced when last month's reprimand was followed by last week's call on the Senate floor for Dr. Currie's suspension, pending an investigation of possible conflict of interest. For the applause was but the latest echo from the military-industrial complex that President Eisenhower warned about in his farewell speech 15 years ago. "This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience," the general said. He went on:

"In the councils of Government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

The dangers President Eisenhower envisaged were two: That the military-industrial establishment would promote weapons the United States does not really need; and that the cost of that kind of "national defense" would drain money away from the country's other needs. Since his time, within the Pentagon at least, the character of the complex has changed considerably, perhaps in a way that he had not foreseen. Now, the defense establishment and industry are even closer.

In the Eisenhower period, three kinds of people ran the Pentagon. One were the members of an unusually talented class of civil servants who had entered the Government during the Depression and World War II. Then there were well-established lawyers, doing a tour of public service in the tradition of Henry L. Stimson. And there were retired businessmen, such as Charles E. Wilson, former General Motors president.

Today, policy making circles in the Defense Department are largely populated by business executives in mid-career, passing through the Pentagon on the way to bigger and better jobs in industry. In effect, the executives are on leaves of absence, recruited for Government in a technique developed by Deputy Secretary of Defense William P. Clements Jr., a Texas oil millionaire. Faced with an increasingly difficult task of filling Pentagon posts, Mr. Clements has gone to his friends in the business world, asking them what up-and-coming executives they can make available to pass a few years of public service in the Pentagon.

The trend is particularly pronounced in Dr. Currie's research and development office, by far the most important office in the Pentagon for industry because it decides which weapons are to be developed, and so what contracts are obtained. Dr. Currie, a former Hughes Aircraft and Beckman Instruments executive, is the first businessman to hold the research post. The roster of deputy directors is filled with men who used to work for industry and plan to return to it. As in a game of corporate musical chairs, industry executives rotate in and out of what is known in the Pentagon as "the R and D cartel."

No doubt many of these men come to the Pentagon with the purpose of public service. But however laudable their motive, they inevitably are caught in an inherent conflict of interest that can lead to conscious or unconscious abuse.

For one thing, the officials tend to retain their contacts in the business community. One of the explanations Dr. Currie offered for accepting the invitation to the Rockwell International Fishing Lodge was that Robert Anderson, the company president, was a personal friend. For another, while they are in the Pentagon, they frequently are in position to protect the interests of their former employers or take actions that enhance their future employment opportunities.

Concepts Are Changing

Pernaps it is unfair to single out for criticism the businessmen who have become temporary public servants. After all, often at immediate personal financial sacrifice, they have volunteered for public service. They also only reflect the larger society's concept of ethics and public service, and there are indications that those concepts are changing. In the Eisenhower Administration, Howard E. Talbott was summarily fired as Air Force Secretary; in the Johnson Administration, Fred Korth was discharged as Navy Secretary. They had used official stationery to promote their personal business interests. No one ever accused them of using their office to benefit a defense contractor. Now, when a defense official knowingly violates a conflict-of-interest regulation, he is only reprimanded, and occasionally, fined one month's pay.

In all this is an interesting paradox for the Defense Department. Particularly in the post-Watergate period, the Pentagon presumably wants to avoid even the appearance of impropriety. But one reason Dr. Currie was not fired was that industry made it perfectly clear that if he were, the Defense Department would have great difficulty recruiting any more businessmen.

There is no easy solution. One possibility would be to return to the practice of recruiting executives from the Government laboratories and from the universities. But largely because of pressure from the defense industry, the laboratories have been allowed to deteriorate, and the professors are paid well enough to have little interest in the travail of working for $36,000 to $40,000 a year in the Pentagon. Conceivably the enforcement of conflict-of-interest regulations could be tightened.

The ultimate solution, however, was offered by President Eisenhower. "Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry," he said, "can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together."

John W. Finney is a correspondent in the Washington bureau of The New York Times who specializes in military affairs.

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He's Used It 47 Times

For Ford, The Veto Is A Vital Tool Of Office

By PHILIP SHABECOFF

The strength of the Congress consists in the right to pass statutes; the strength of the President in his right to veto them.—James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth"

Jerry Ford uses the veto as if he were still the minority leader voting "Nay."—Anonymous Member of Congress

WASHINGTON—President Ford vetoed last week a bill that would provide $125 million in grants to federally aided day-care centers. It was his 47th veto in just under 20 months in office. Mr. Ford also promised he would veto any extra aid to Israel that Congress might appropriate, and judging from what he and his aides have been saying, still more legislation now being prepared on Capitol Hill faces Presidential veto messages.

For Mr. Ford, a nonelected Republican President who must work with a 2-to-1 Democratic majority in Congress, the veto has become a major instrument—perhaps the major instrument—for implementing the policies of his Presidency. It has also served, so far at least, as an effective tool in his effort to win his party's nomination.

In the name of curbing inflation and reducing the influence of government in American society, Mr. Ford has used the veto to hold down Federal spending. His vetoes have blocked direct Federal help to the needy and the unemployed, and eased regulations on business and industry. They have encouraged the freer play of the private sector and, generally, have reflected the President's conservatism. In sum, Mr. Ford has used his veto power freely.—his critics say promiscuously—to impose his social and economic philosophy on a Congressional majority that has substantially different views of national needs and priorities. In so doing, Mr. Ford has followed a Presidential pattern that has been developing for over a century. It is not the pattern the framers of the Constitution apparently intended. They designed the veto to be used by a President to protect his office from Congress, envisaged then as the stronger branch, rather than to play a major role in the legislative process.

Thus Alexander Hamilton, in No. 66 of the Federalist Papers, asserted that "an absolute or qualified negative [veto] in the Executive upon the acts of the legislative body is admitted, by the ablest adepts in political science, to be an indispensable barrier against the encroachments of the latter upon the former."

Practice has now so far departed from this view that Charles Black, a constitutional scholar and professor of law at Yale University, could make this observation in a recent paper examining the development of the use of the veto: ". . . This veto power, so firmly fixed in the text, could make the President, in the absence of energetic, principled and tactically imaginative resistance in Congress, the most important part of Congress. And that may be what happened, or is happening."

A Variety of Bills

Consistent with his conservative philosophy, Mr. Ford has vetoed a public employment bill, a public works bill and a housing assistance bill, all designed to create jobs. He vetoed a school lunch bill, a veterans' benefits bill and a bill to help the handicapped, intended to provide Federal assistance to large groups of citizens. To get a tax reduction tied to a slowdown in Federal expenditures, he vetoed a tax cut bill. And in order, he said, to let the free price mechanism encourage increased domestic oil production, he vetoed an extension of oil price controls. He has also vetoed strip mining bills, an air pollution control bill and other regulatory legislation, as well as price supports for milk and tobacco.

On the campaign trail, candidate Ford has made much of his use of this Presidential prerogative to prove he is as conservative as Ronald Reagan, the favorite of the Republican right. In many of his stump speeches, Mr. Ford has cited his veto record to support his contention that he has successfullly exercised strong leadership to protect the nation from inflationary spending by an extravagant Congress.

How many times Mr. Ford's vetoes have been overridden is a matter of dispute. The White House says seven, Congress, eight, because the legislators include in their tally a veto the Administration counts as a pocket veto. Most of the overrides involve bills funding programs for special groups, including the school lunch and veterans bills as well as appropriations for health, education, job training and the elderly.

Mr. Ford has boasted of his ability to sustain his vetoes. In fact, the historical record suggests that it is no great trick. A President needs, after all, only a third of one House to sustain his veto, and the ratio of overrides to vetoes has been higher in Mr. Ford's Administration than at any time since that of Andrew Johnson, who was nearly removed from office by a hostile Congress.

Still, there is no doubt that Mr. Ford has been able to make effective use of his veto power, though he is far from being the record-holder for vetoes. That distinction belongs to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who used his veto 635 times, including pocket vetoes, in slightly over 12 years in office. Next in line are Grover Cleveland with 584 vetoes in two terms, Harry Truman, with 250 in just under two terms, and Dwight D. Eisenhower with 181 in two terms. John F. Kennedy with 21 vetoes, Lyndon B. Johnson with 30 and Richard M. Nixon with 42 are fairly far down the list.

But President Ford is together with those high on the list in terms of the rate of vetoes for time in office. Moreover, almost all of Mr. Ford's vetoes have affected substantive legislation that has important policy implications. Many, if not most of the Roosevelt, Cleveland, Truman and Eisenhower vetoes affected private bills—legislation passed for the benefit of individual citizens or business concerns. Only two of Mr. Ford's did.

So far, President Ford has succeeded in being an influential minority of one in furthering his political philosophy. What is still an open question is whether success in that endeavor will mean success in this year's political season as well.

Philip Shabecoff is a New York Times White House correspondent.

On to Pennsylvania

The struggle for the Democratic Presidential nomination increasingly takes on the character of a two-man race between former Gov. Jimmy Carter and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. The Humphrey strategy envisages his choice as the compromise candidate of a deadlocked convention.

Governor Carter's remarkable string of primary successes has already reduced the number of his active rivals to two—Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall. Unless they can show impressive strength in the remaining primaries, Senator Humphrey's candidacy will be transformed from an above-the-battle compromise to a desperate stop-Carter blocking action, a quite different and much less tenable position.

* * *

Senator Humphrey's recent emergence as an articulate and visible candidate notwithstanding his nonparticipation in the primaries undercuts the Jackson candidacy. Some Democrats regard Senator Jackson as a Humphrey advance man rather than as a serious candidate in his own right. This is manifestly unfair to Mr. Jackson who clearly wants to be President and who worked hard for his victories in the Massachusetts and New York primaries.

Yet those victories and his hopes in Pennsylvania on April 27 and in subsequent primaries depend heavily upon the backing of labor union chiefs whose loyalties really lie with Mr. Humphrey. The tumultuous reception accorded Senator Humphrey when he spoke last week to the Pennsylvania A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention is further evidence that much of the support for Mr. Jackson is only nominal.

Unless he can amass a convincing lead in the remaining primaries, Senator Jackson cannot hope to emerge from the convention as the nominee because the Udall delegates, many of the Carter delegates, and many of his own delegates could much more easily come together in support of Senator Humphrey. Conversely, the same is true for Representative Udall. He probably has a somewhat higher enthusiasm quotient among his delegates but he, too, would find it difficult to expand beyond his liberal base at the national convention.

* * *

The Pennsylvania primary is likely to clarify the prospects for Senator Humphrey's unusual candidacy-by-proxy, although the Pennsylvania precedents are not encouraging for him. Four years ago, he won the Pennsylvania primary, but he and Senator Jackson—who was also on the ballot—polled between them a total of only 38 percent of the vote. This was less than the total vote of two unorganized outsiders—Senator George McGovern and Governor George C. Wallace.

Pennsylvania Democrats in 1972 showed a marked tendency to vote for candidates unconnected with the power structure of the urban machines and the union hierarchies. There are two critical questions now. The first is whether Governor Carter appeals to this restless, volatile vote—and how much, if at all, his unfortunate comments last week on the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods (for which he subsequently apologized) have hurt or helped him. The other question is whether Pennsylvania Democrats will show more enthusiasm for Senator Humphrey's nomination than they did four years ago.

Can Jimmy Do It?

Demos Say He'll Be Pre-Convention Favorite

But Humphrey Looms Big in the Background

The Atlanta Journal

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HE ATLANTA CONSTITUTI

★ P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Sunday, April 11, 1976 276 Pages, 16 Sections

By ANDREW GLASS
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—A new confidential survey taken by the Democratic National Committee reveals that Jimmy Carter will be within striking distance of the party's presidential nomination when the convention opens in July.

The committee's state-by-state analysis leaves Carter 135 votes shy of the crucial 1,000-delegate mark—a psychological tipping point that, once achieved, could make it hard to deny the Georgian the right to mount a drive for the White House in the fall.

But the analysis also shows that Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota can stop Carter in a multi-ballot convention should droves of now-uncommitted delegates come over to his side.

"It is apparent in our projections that only Carter and Humphrey have a realistic chance of being the party nominee in 1976," a key official at Democratic headquarters who furnished the analysis to Cox Newspapers said.

The DNC assessment, while based on the most current data, may not fully reflect any long-term damage that Carter may have suffered among blacks and liberals with his statement that the federal government should not take the initiative to change the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods — a phrase Carter has subsequently apologized for using.

On the other hand, the committee's estimate falls some 250 delegates short of the Carter camp's private projections. Hamilton Jordan, Carter's campaign manager, thinks Carter will make more modest gains in April — after an earlier surge, when, as he put it, "expectations got out of control."

But Jordan anticipates that Carter's momentum will revive again in May. "There is no place that makes or breaks anybody," he said in a telephone interview.

The DNC analysis can be no more than an informed estimate, since only about a third of the delegates actually have been chosen in primaries or state conventions thus far. Political battles to come as well as unforeseen events could alter these tabulations.

But, as matters stand, Carter is accorded 865 delegate votes in the survey on the first ballot. That is 57.5 per cent of the 1,505 votes

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THE GALLUP POLL

Public Favors Budget Law

By GEORGE GALLUP
Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N.J. — The mood of the electorate this year is clearly one of fiscal conservatism, with voters' views on government spending likely to assume major importance in the post-convention campaign period.

To probe this new mood, the Gallup Poll asked a representative sample of the public to vote on a proposed constitutional amendment that would require Congress to balance the federal budget each year.

The results show as many as eight in 10 voters in favor of such an amendment.

All but three states currently have laws requiring a balanced budget. The size of the Ford administration's proposed budget is $395.8 billion, with a projected deficit of $44.6 billion. The last time the budget was balanced was 1969, when a surplus of $3.2 billion was realized.

While many economists favor a balanced budget, others would argue that a law to balance the federal budget would be a handicap to the nation in a period of recession, when deficit spending is employed to spur the economy.

As pointed out by Hadley Cantril and Lloyd Free in "Political Beliefs of Americans," the public tends to be conservative on government fiscal matters but liberal on social issues. The election in November will test to a considerable extent which ideology better suits the temperament of the electorate.

In no other presidential election year in recent times has the issue of big government and big spending been so widely debated as it is this year, with the near-bankruptcy of several major U.S. cities undoubtedly contributing to the public's current belt-tightening mood.

Of particular interest is the finding that nearly as large a proportion of Democrats as Republicans favor a law to balance the budget, despite the fact that Republicans have traditionally been more conservative regarding fiscal matters. The crucial bloc of voters who classify themselves as independents hold views similar to Republicans and Democrats.

Following are the questions and results. As the response to the second question indicates, only 6 per cent believe it is not important to balance the budget.

"Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment that would require Congress to balance the federal budget each year — that is, keep taxes and expenditures in balance?"

	Favor	Oppose	No Opinion
National	78 Pct.	13 Pct.	9 Pct.
Republicans	84 Pct.	9 Pct.	7 Pct.
Democrats	78 Pct.	12 Pct.	10 Pct.
Independents	77 Pct.	16 Pct.	7 Pct.

"How important do you think it is to balance the federal budget — very important, fairly important, or not so important?"

	Very	Fairly	Not so	No Opinion
National	69 Pct.	21 Pct.	6 Pct.	4 Pct.
Republicans	74 Pct.	20 Pct.	3 Pct.	3 Pct.
Democrats	69 Pct.	21 Pct.	4 Pct.	4 Pct.
Independents	67 Pct.	20 Pct.	9 Pct.	4 Pct.

The results reported today are based on in-person interviews with a total of 1,582 adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period March 19-22.

Carter-HHH Dogfight Likely for Convention

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needed to nominate a presidential candidate.

Under these projections, Carter will enter the convention well ahead of Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, who is expected to arrive with 650 delegates, 43.2 per cent of those required for the nomination.

Yet the analysis shows that large blocks of uncommitted delegates present Carter and Humphrey with their best chance to develop momentum for a final victory.

The uncommitted or "favorite-son" group amounts to 784 delegates. All but a few hundred of these uncommitted delegates come from seven states: California (150; Illinois (107) Texas (74); New York (65); New Jersey (55); Ohio (41); Virginia (37); West Virginia (33) and Pennsylvania (32).

The analysis gave 285 delegates to Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, 278 to Alabama Gov. George Wallace and 49 to Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, who will contest his first primary in Nebraska on May 11.

The remainder go to Humphrey outright (66) and to two candidates who suspended their campaigns after faring poorly in the early going — former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma (18) and Sargent Shriver (13).

In the wake of the Wisconsin and New York primaries, with Pennsylvania and Texas on the horizon, neutral Washington-based political insiders tend to believe that a Carter nomination is likely but is by no means inevitable.

Even members of Carter's inner circle acknowledge that Carter sustained a hard blow when his remarks about "ethnic purity," "black intrusion" and "alien groups" were widely publicized and then retracted under intense pressure.

On the other hand, even anti-Carter politicians acknowledg that Jackson and Udall — his remaining major rivals in the primaries — have even greater problems to surmount.

Thus, Jackson's victory in New York last week came with a voter turnout of 20 per cent and with a restricted geographic and ethnic base that cannot be duplicated anywhere else. An analysis of the New York returns by CBS News indicates that as many as 89 per cent of Jackson voters were Jews — a reflection of Jackson's anti-Soviet, pro-Israeli stand.

Udall is yet to win a primary, having lost to Carter by a slim margin in Wisconsin — a state where he made a maximum effort while letting others fall away by default. As the heir of the liberal mantle, Udall has been unable to prove he can appeal to a broad constituency and extend his narrow base.

That leaves the exuberant Hubert Humphrey — who wants the nomination but who declines to take the primary road in a bid to win it.

It was learned that a major fund-raising drive will soon be launched on Humphrey's behalf by Robert Short, a longtime Humphrey admirer in Minneapolis. Under a new Supreme Court view of the campaign finance laws, Humphrey won't have to declare his candidacy as long as the Short-led committee keeps its distance from him.

It is likely that the pro-Humphrey forces in the party will urge the 65-year-old senator to enter at lease one late primary, if only to try to take the sting out of charges that he may be annointed in a "smoke-filled room." Humphrey has until April 29 — two days after Pennsylvania — to file for the June 8 primary in New Jersey.

Meantime, Carter has largely learned a bitter lesson that Humphrey had already learned in 1968 — how difficult the road to the presidency can be.

Friday, for example, the United Auto Workers voted not to endorse a candidate — a decision that will undoubtedly prove costly to Carter in the May 18 Michigan primary, where the UAW is a major political power. The non-endorsement means statewide UAW funds won't be available to Carter.

Carter had expected UAW President Leonard Woodcock, who personally favors him, to deliver the union, as he did for Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, a black.

But, Carter believes his fortunes will rise as it becomes increasingly apparent that efforts for Jackson and Udall can lead only to a Humphrey nomination. Hamilton Jordan said: "It's hard to sell intensity for a surrogate. But that's what they have to do."

Jordan maintained that Carter's "ethnic purity" remark would hurt him more among white liberals than among blacks. As he put it:

"Jimmy's unfortunate statement is not going to sift down to the point that people think he's a racist. There's a black network in this country which has put the word out, on the basis of his civil rights record in Georgia, that he's all right."

But there was at least some evidence that Jordan was mistaken and that Carter's strong following among blacks will henceforth be blunted.

In Washington, Israel Brown, a black taxi driver and a native of Augusta, told a passenger:

"I've made up my mind. I'm going for Humphrey. And all my friends are going that way too. Before this, I would have voted for Carter twice. But that (remark) did it and there's nothing he can do to reverse that."

BLACK SUPPORT

Carter Tries to Recoup

By CLIFF GREEN

Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter is still trying to re-solidify his black support, which showed signs of turning to jelly last week in the wake of a campaign statement supporting the "ethnic purity" of American neighborhoods.

A spokesman at Carter campaign headquarters here said the former Georgia governor is answering black leaders who telegraphed their dismay at the remark via return telegram in an attempt to repair the damage in the black community as soon as possible.

In addition, Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson circulated a letter Saturday from Carter in which the candidate explains his position and answers six detailed questions on open housing and the enforcement of federal laws.

In a one-paragraph statement accompanying the letter, Jackson said he put the questions to Carter during a "lengthy" telephone conversation Thursday.

Although Jackson has declined to publicly support Carter's presidential bid, a spokesman for the Carter campaign said Jackson "wanted" to release Carter's letter, which provides the deepest insight yet into Carter's position on housing.

According to the letter, Jackson asked: "If a black family seeks to buy a house in an ethnic community which does not want them, should the federal government support and use its resources to support their right to purchase such a house?"

"Yes," Carter wrote. "The Housing Act of 1968 guarantees a black family that it may purchase a home in any neighborhood. I support this act and will see that it is effectively and fully enforced."

In addition, Carter wrote that he would enforce federal regulations withholding federal funds from communities if local officials failed to meet the housing needs of its poor citizens.

Carter also wrote that property owners do not have the right to decide who will live in a particular area. ". . . It is the family wishing to purchase or rent a home which has the right to (live) where it chooses and can afford," he wrote. "Others cannot make that choice for the family."

Jackson also asked, according to the letter, if Carter as president would "encourage economic heterogeneity and racial integration by using federal initiatives. . . ?"

Carter wrote in reply that he does not believe the government should mandate a particular ethnic or economic mix, but "I have always favored an open, integrated society, where false barriers (do) not separate person from person."

Jackson, who apparently received the undated letter Friday, said in the accompanying statement he intends to "review and study very carefully" the four-page document.

Jackson did not return a reporter's phone calls Saturday, so it is unknown whether the mayor is satisfied with Carter's answers.

In his statement, Jackson said he released the contents of Carter's letter with the candidate's permission, and requested that the press not

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Carter Trying To Regain Black Support

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circulate the contents until 6 p.m. Saturday.

A Carter campaign spokesman said here the letter would be released "everywhere" after that time.

Carter made the controversial statement Wednesday during a campaign stop in South Bend, Ind., and it caused an immediate furor among his Democratic opponents and black leaders across the nation.

The Democratic frontrunner apologized for the remark in Philadelphia Thursday.

"We've had positive feedback," claimed a campaign spokesman. "Carter is one of the few public officials who will come right out and apologize for a prior statement."

Campaigning Friday in Ohio, Carter reminded reporters he had apologized for saying there is nothing wrong with a community "trying to maintain the ethnic purity of its nighborhoods,"

Terming his initial phrase "an unfortunate choice of words," Carter said: "I should have said ethnic character, ethnic heritage."

ACLU Chief Quits, Sticks Up for Carter

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By TOM BAXTER

Charles Morgan Jr., national director of the American Civil Liberties Union and one of the most prominent civil rights leaders to emerge from the South, has resigned from the ACLU in a dispute over his statements about Northern liberal opposition to presidential candidate Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Morgan turned in his resignation Friday, the last in a series of exchanges between him and ACLU executive director Aryeh Neier which followed a March 12 New York Times article in which Morgan complained of prejudice toward the former Georgia governor's candidacy.

In the article Morgan said Northern liberals oppose Carter because "they don't have their hooks in him."

Morgan said he told a Northern liberal who told him he could never vote for anyone "with a Southern accent" that: "That's bigotry and that makes you a bigot."

Morgan said in the article that Washington liberal lawyers and lobbyists have been telephoning clients around the country to warn that Carter must be stopped because they would have no access to him.

Neier wrote Morgan March 29, complaining that, because of his position, Morgan inevitably associated the ACLU in the public mind with any statements he made.

He asked that Morgan seek corrections or write editors offering corrections.

In a series of exchanges that reportedly followed, Morgan refused to do what Neier asked, and resigned Friday.

"I didn't stop being an individual when I joined the ACLU," Morgan told a friend after his resignation. "I still have rights under the First Amendment—that's what ACLU is supposed to be all about," he said.

The resignation caught past associates of Morgan off guard and provided an ironic end to the civil rights lawyer's 13-year association with ACLU.

For instance, Morgan has repeatedly told friends that he favors former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris as a presidential candidate, not Carter.

Even more ironic is the fact that Morgan gained a national reputation—and in many respects became a symbol of ACLU—through his crusading efforts in various civil rights battles in the South over the past several years.

Morgan, 46, is a Kentucky native who attended schools in Birmingham, Ala. and attended the University of Alabama.

The day after four black Sunday School students were killed in the bombing of a Birmingham church in 1963, Morgan made an impassioned speech against racial violence before a local civic club which was widely quoted and was thought to have made a profound impact on the community during those bitter times.

He joined ACLU the next year and in 1964 opened the ACLU Southern regional office in Atlanta.

From that position, Morgan became involved in some of the most famous civil liberties cases of the past decade.

He defended Julian Bond when the youthful black leader was denied a seat in the Georgia General Assembly because of his anti-war statements. He also defended fighter Muhammad Ali when he refused to serve in the armed forces because of his religious convictions.

He later defended Col. Anthony Herbert, a Vietnam soldier who claimed he was being discriminated against by the Army because he reported war crimes, and Dr. Howard Levi, an Army doctor involved in one of the first Vietnam war-resistance cases.

In 1972, Morgan was named to one of the most powerful positions within ACLU—heading the Washington national office.

He represented the Association of State Democratic Chairmen, a group whose telephone had been bugged in the Watergate complex, in the first Watergate trial, and subsequently became deeply involved in the proceedings which led to the resignation of President Richard Nixon.

Since the Nixon resignation, Morgan has been involved in congressional investigations of the CIA, particularly in connection with the case of the Glomar Explorer, a secret "spy ship" built by the Howard Hughes business group for the CIA.

One associate who deals with Morgan on a regular basis expressed surprise at his resignation, but said Morgan did have strong feelings about the prejudice of Northern liberals against Southerners.

"I wouldn't say that he's been dissatisfied with the ACLU, but there has been some dissatisfaction with some of the board members.

Morgan was in New York Saturday, reporting to the ACLU national board on some unfinished business, his wife said. She said no specific date has been set for when he will leave the organization.

5

Are They Listening?

THE HARRIS POLL has reported that Americans are overwhelmingly rejecting what director Louis Harris calls the "old politics" of traditional liberalism.

Just to take a few examples from the survey, the idea of solving problems "by throwing money at them" is rejected by a 62 to 28 per cent margin; by 81 to 12 per cent those sampled believe that benefits from government end up costing us four or five times over in taxes; and by 77 to 14 per cent they believe a candidate who says he can give the unemployed government jobs without increasing federal spending "just isn't being honest."

Can serious professional politicians still be talking about the Democrats nominating Hubert Humphrey, who has only recently reaffirmed his allegiance to precisely that school of politics?

And it's no wonder Gerald Ford is trying to keep alive the idea of Humphrey as his eventual opponent.

Another Taste Of Shoe Leather

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

Jimmy Carter, if he wants to stay on the bus to Pennsylvania Avenue, must either stop addressing himself to nonsensical propositions or stop putting his foot in his mouth when he does.

The former Georgia governor got his first taste of shoe leather a month ago in Florida when he said in response to a question that he would favor eliminating federal income tax deducations homeowners claim for interest paid on their mortgages.

It took Carter several days to explain that he actually intended to reform the entire federal tax structure and that he would eliminate no deductions for middle-class homeowners unless it was more than made up elsewhere.

In the meantime, Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington always managed to be somewhere nearby painting Carter as the arch-villain with the black hat and long black mustache just waiting to throw some widows and orphans off their meager homesteads.

Now Carter, having barely extracated himself from the home mortgage mess, has done it again.

This time Carter has found himself in a pickle over some apparently meaningless remark about the federal government not using its might to mess up the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

"What I say is the government ought not to take as a major purpose the intrusion of alien groups into a neighborhood, simply to establish that intrusion," Carter said.

Morris Udall of Arizona, wounded by a steady string of second place showings in the primary elections and still holding to an undefiled faith that there must be an ethnically pure liberal vote out there somewhere, lost no time seizing that little gem.

"There is no place in this land for thinly veiled hints of the politics of racial division," Udall said of the man who has carried from 80 to 90 per cent of the black vote in every primary.

Udall, his eyes flashing and his long chin elevated in moral indignation, suggested that Carter is out to glean the George Wallace vote.

The Arizona Congressman's attack was as petty as Carter's comment was ludicrous.

Both candidates appear to have forgotten what country they are running for president of, or that there is a Constitution, a Congress and a federal judiciary, all of which would likely frown on any federal effort to make Americans live in neighborhoods where they don't want to live.

Carter may have had visions of trains of cattle cars and a division of storm troopers hidden away in the Maryland mountains just waiting to herd masses of Irishmen at gunpoint into Jewish neighborhoods and force blacks into the suburbs and rednecks into the inner city.

Udall, on the other hand, might fear that "President Carter" would pass a law requiring home mortgage applicants to furnish a family tree along with their credit statements.

The whole burning issue takes on an "Alice in Wonderland" quality.

'A Poor Choice of Words'

The fact is that Udall, in an approach ill-becoming to man of his lofty reputation, has tried every way possible to paint Carter as a racist, possibly because he thinks Carter, as a white Southerner, is automatically vulnerable, possibly because the Georgian has been getting the black votes Udall thinks are rightfully his.

But it is a bum rap for Carter. Whatever he is, he's not a racist. He has publicly endorsed strong enforcement of open housing laws. He has expressed support for the principle of "affirmative action"—taking steps beyond mere guarantees of equal treatment for minorities—and his record as governor has won him support from most of Georgia's politically astute black leaders.

If Congressman Andrew Young doesn't know what a white racist looks like, then nobody does.

The Georgian said later in a public apology that his reference to "ethnic purity" was a poor choice of words. What he meant to say, he explained, was something like "ethnic integrity" or "ethnic quality."

Its hard to determine exactly what he did mean. But a fair guess is that he was trying to say something he thought would go over good in the big cities in Pennsylvania, the site of the next major primary, where citizens tend to be more than commonly proud of their ethnic identities.

A campaign worker in the Udall camp, attempting to convince an Atlantan of the joys of living in Philadelphia, noted recently that one of the best things about the city was the variety offered by the ethnic neighborhoods.

But Southerners, because of their particular heritage, are not suppose to talk about such things lest they find themselves overnight being described as dues-paying members of the Ku Klux Klan.

What the hell is a molasses-mouthed peanut farmer from Plains, Ga., supposed to know about ethnics anyway.

Bond Suffers Near Apoplexy

One of Congressman Udall's Atlanta specialists on the subject of ethnics, City Councilman James Bond, this week was still recovering from a case of near apoplexy brought on by a political subject of a different nature.

Bond almost panicked a few days ago when a front-page article in an Atlanta newspaper declared that he would run against Congressman Young this year.

He saw his whole political career sinking beneath the waves at the mere suggestion he was out to unseat the popular 5th District congressman.

When he had recovered sufficiently, he dashed straight out and rounded up two Andrew Young bumper stickers which he plastered on his car for anyone with doubts to see.

FLIGHT'S THE SAME

BOISE, Idaho (UPI) — A pilot who usually handles the controls of a jet airliner climbed into the open cockpit of a biplane and reenacted the nation's first commercial airmail flight.

"I was frozen up there," said United Airlines Capt. E. E. "Buck" Hilbert after flying 244 miles through a rainstorm from Pasco, Wash., to Boise.

A crowd of 500 watched Hilbert of Union, Ill., take off under cloudy skies at Pasco, and 100 stood in drenching rain in Boise to greet him two hours and 33 minutes later.

Hilbert flew as close as could be calculated the same route taken by Capt. Leon D. Cuddeback of Varney Airlines — United's predecessor — in a swallow biplane when he made the first airmail flight April 6, 1926.

Cuddeback, who saw Hilbert off at Pasco and who flew to Boise to welcome him, said Hilbert had "a rougher trip than I did."

Nevertheless, Hilbert made the flight 19 minutes ahead of schedule and faster than Cuddeback originally flew the route.

Hilbert's tiny, silver and blue swallow, similar to the plane flown by Cuddeback, has a 1942, 220-horsepower engine while the craft piloted by Cuddeback had a 1924 engine.

HAL GULLIVER

Defining Issues, Not Just Personalities

ONLY A FEW weeks ago, the seemingly endless number of presidential candidates made it very difficult for anyone to draw clear lines separating the candidates on specific issues.

That has changed dramatically as the ranks of active candidates faded,

Hal Gulliver's column appears daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

and is likely to change still more in the weeks to come.

It is a little easier on the Republican side. President Gerald Ford has only one active challenger in former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, though there are other Republicans cheerfully waiting in the wings. Either Vice President Nelson Rockefeller or Big John Connally of Texas would make the run for the GOP nomination if Ford and Reagan seemed to cancel each other out in these early primaries, or if Ford at some stage decided that he would not run in 1976.

It has been on the Democratic side where the abundance of candidates made it particularly difficult to draw clear distinctions. That is changing. Those Democratic ranks are now down to three still campaigning active candidates: Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Rep. Morris Udall, and Sen. Henry Jackson. Here too certainly there are figures in the wings. Sen. Hubert Humphrey is the most evident, but there are still those who think a deadlocked convention might draft Sen. Ted Kennedy, or even turn to a completely new face such as that of California Gov. Jerry Brown.

The issues are indeed becoming a bit clearer in definition. Reagan has violated his own "11th commandment" from California days, namely that one Republican should not speak ill of another Republican, and has gone on the attack against President Ford. Reagan charges that Ford's attempts to improve relations with the Soviet Union, usually tied to the word detente (a word Ford himself has now dropped), have failed miserably. Russia benefits, the United States loses, according to Reagan. Moreover, Reagan contends that Ford has permitted the United States defense forces to become weaker than they should become. Ford needless to say denies these things, but it is pretty clear that this will be the shape of much of the Republican partisan debate in weeks to come.

On the Democratic side, it is still hard to draw lines separating the candidates on issues but there seems hope that this is happening. For instance, it seems apparent that Udall and Jackson favor substantially more federal action to end unemployment than does Carter. Carter favors some government action, but he seems to suggest that a massive federal program would lead back to the spiraling inflation of two years ago. Carter also opposed direct federal aid to NYC when that city seemed on the verge of bankruptcy; Udall and Jackson favor such aid.

Other issues are taking shape in the public posture of these Democratic candidates. Jackson is clearly the more hawkish one, both in defense of Israel and in talking of the need of greater defense spending. He is close to Reagan in this regard. Udall and Carter also support Israel but both are more inclined to talk about cutting defense spending in some fashion. Carter contends that the greatest waste and inefficiency in any government agency exists in the Pentagon.

These are only the beginnings of clear profiles of the Democratic candidates on issues. But they are important profiles. Carter, Jackson, and Udall are all in contention in the important Pennsylvania primary at the end of this month. It seems likely —hopefully at least—that this confrontation will serve to sharpen all the issues that ought to be part of a national debate in a presidential year.

ROBERT AKERMAN

Guess Who's Acting Provincial?

IT'S CURIOUS that so far the only two northern states where Jimmy Carter has run behind Morris Udall have been New York and Massachusetts.

Both of these happened to be states where Henry Jackson was strong, so it can be argued that Jackson took some of the centrist votes away from Carter, to the benefit of Udall, who is usually perceived as the most liberal of the three candidates. But there remains the nagging possibility that Carter's greatest handicap in these two states was his southern background, including the matter of his accent and his open allegiance to a fundamentalist Baptist faith of a typically southern sort.

Robert Akerman's column appears in The Atlanta Journal.

To the extent that was a factor, it is ironic to remember that these two states, New York and Massachusetts, each presented the nation in the past with presidential candidates who very strongly displayed the traits of their own regions with respect to accent, religion and such—and contrary to popular myth, the Bible Belt South went along with them.

It's well remembered by anyone who had a "raddio" in 1928 that Gov. Al Smith of New York spoke in a manner consistent with his campaign song, "The Sidewalks of New York." Since several southern states voted Republican in 1928 for the first time since Reconstruction, it has been said for years that the South rejected Smith because of his accent, his stand against prohibition, and his Catholic religion—a reaction supposedly to be expected of the bigoted Bible Belt.

Yet subsequent research has shown that was not the way it happened. Actually Smith lost states like Virginia, Tennessee and Florida which already had something of a Republican base while he carried the more traditionally southern Democratic areas like Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. In his classic analysis "Southern Politics," V. O. Key Jr. proved that Smith won in the rural, Bible Belt precincts and lost in the more sophisticated urban centers which had the highest percentage of newcomers to the South. Surely provincialism and bigotry played a role in the election of 1928, but it was not the decisive factor in the South. Rather there was an incipient Republicanism of quite different origins in some areas of the South in 1928, which the depression of the 1930s long obscured. And when the New Deal buried that incipient Republicanism, the South was voting for Franklin D. Roosevelt, who also had a New York accent albeit one of another social class.

Then there was 1960 when John Kennedy of Massachusetts, also a Catholic and a candidate whose speech was clearly Bostonian, asked for votes in "Florider" and told the South of his policies about "Cuber." Yet Kennedy carried such southern states as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina. The ones he lost were Florida, Tennessee, and Virginia—the border states of incipient Republicanism which Smith also had lost.

Now when Barry Goldwater carried the Old South states in 1964 there was a civil rights issue, but let it be remembered that the candidate he opposed, Lyndon Johnson, was from Texas and was widely believed to have a sort of southern accent. At least it was not a Yankee that failed to do as well in some parts of the South as John Kennedy had done four years before.

In addition to the fact that all parts of the nation should have made some progress in regional tolerance by 1976, as compared with 1928 or 1960, the fact is that in the final crunch most of the presumably provincial South went along with New York and Massachusetts peculiarities in those earlier years even if it didn't like them—but New York and Massachusetts stand out among northern states so far in 1976 as ones which have missed an opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to rise above provincialism.

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The New York Times

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Carter Issues an Apology On 'Ethnic Purity' Phrase

But He Says He Would Not 'Use Federal Force' to Change a Neighborhood —Supporters Fear a Setback

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 8—Jimmy Carter apologized today for using the phrase "ethnic purity" in his pledge two days ago to defend the stability of established neighborhoods. But he stuck to his original basic position, saying he would not "arbitrarily use Federal force" to change a neighborhood's ethnic character.

His apology notwithstanding, the "ethnic purity" reference and two others he had used in the same context—"black intrusion" and "alien groups"—constituted a haunting refrain throughout the Georgia Democrat's first full day of campaigning for the Pennsylvania primary on April 21.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, Mr. Carter's foremost advocate in black communities North and South, told the candidate for the Presidential nomination this morning that his phrasing was "a disaster for the campaign."

In a telephone interview from Washington, Mr. Young said, "Either he'll repent of it or it will cost him the nomination." At best, Mr. Young said, the former Georgia Governor's recovery will require time and an explicit policy statement on housing.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the other active candidates in the Democratic primary here, both seized today on Mr. Carter's remarks in Indiana Tuesday as the kind of mistake they had waited to exploit against the surprise early leader in the race for the nomination.

Senator Jackson said Mr. Carter's statements were "amazing," but did not explain why he thought so.

Mr. Udall, who has high hopes of winning votes in Philadelphia's large black community, said in a written statement: "Much worse than his ambiguity which has become as much a trademark of Jimmy Carter as his grin are some of the words and phrases he used

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

Carter Issues an Apology For 'Ethnic Purity' Term

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

to express himself on this issue. It is disturbing, very disturbing language to hear from a Presidential candidate, whatever he ends up saying he meant to say."

In an important policy shift, Mr. Carter announced today that he could now support the so-called Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill that organized labor and the Congressional Black Caucus have made their top priority Federal legislation.

The bill, sponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and Representative Augustus Hawkins, Democrat of California, would set a three-year goal of reducing unemployment to 3 percent and would guarantee Federal jobs, as necessary, to accomplish that end. Mr. Carter had heretofore made a point of emphasizing the cost to taxpayers of putting the unemployed to work. Today he said the bill has been amended sufficiently to make it acceptable, by adding emphasis to the development of jobs in the private sector, and by making 3 percent the goal of adult unemployment, not of the work force at large, which included teen-agers.

'Unfortunate Choice'

Mr. Carter used his first news conference of the day to volunteer his apology for "an unfortunate choice of words," referring specifically to his use of "ethnic purity."

"I don't think there are ethnically pure neighborhoods in this country," he said. The word "purity," he told a questioner, "bothers me, too."

Mr. Carter reiterated his support of Federal and state open-housing laws and for Government action to enforce equal opportunity in new housing built with Federal assistance.

He restated the position he took on Tuesday, saying, "I would not arbitrarily use Federal force to move people of a different ethnic background into a neighborhood just to change its character."

He acknowledged, at the same time, that he was attacking a kind of "arbitrary action" that had not been proposed or taken, saying, "I don't thing the Congress or anybody else has advocated this."

When a reporter asked whether he was creating "a straw man, something that doesn't exist," Mr. Carter replied, "yes, that's correct." Yet, he insisted that he had not been trying to play politics with the overtones of his words.

"If the phrase had racial connotations," he said, "I've apologized, I hope, to the public, and I've already talked to my supporters."

Mr. Udall praised Mr. Carter for his swift apology, but he commented that the timing of Mr. Carter's earlier words was nonetheless "remarkable" — coming, Mr. Udall said, "when [Gov. George C.] Wallace [of Alabama] is leaving the race and Pennsylvania and Michigan are coming up."

Mr. Carter said he would sooner "withdraw from the race" than use "racist" appeals to win it. "My feelings are quite the opposite of that," he said. Blacks and others who know his record as Governor of Georgia will understand that his words on Tuesday were "careless," Mr. Carter said.

Associated Press

Jimmy Carter greeting a supporter and her children at Philadelphia rally Wednesday

But he was also prepared to pya some political penalty. "If they don't try to to make political hay out of it," he said, referring to Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson, "I would be surprised."

Young Fears Impact

Mr. Young saw the danger of lasting damage, observing: "A lot of people who said 'You just can't trust a Southerner' are going to say, 'See, I told you so.'"

Mr. Young was torn today between defending Mr. Carter and denouncing his language. "This doesn't mean to me he's a racist," he said. "It means he made a terrible blunder that he's got to recover from."

"I just think it's an awful phrase. I don't think he understood how loaded it is with Hitlerian connotations. My theme all along," Mr. Young continued, "has been that white liberals would eventually follow blacks to support him. But this gives them some reason not to. A lot of white liberals will hesitate, and blacks who don't know him personally will wait and see what he means."

"Those of us who do know him know he's had a good record on open housing," Mr. Young said. "He's kind of put himself into this trap. It wasn't Udall, Jackson or Humphrey. Nobody baited this for him. He's got to find a way to get out—and frankly I hope he does."

Many prominent Pennsylvania Democrats, both black and white, saw the "ethnic purity" controversy as a shaping event in their primary.

Chuck Stone, the black strategist and author, used his Philadelphia Daily News column this morning to call Mr. Carter, famous for his toothy smile, a "mandibulary phony."

He praised Mr. Carter as "the only candidate who campaigned aggressively for black votes in all the primaries," but this week, in Mr. Stone's analysis, "Carter quickly moved to reassure white America he was still their 'good ol' boy' and called for a new kind of segregation by homogeneity."

David Richardson, a black Philadelphian, said that Mr. Carter's statement about "ethnic purity" had "damaged him tremendously."

Edgar Cambell, chairman of Philadelphia's 29 black ward leaders, said of Mr. Carter, "I don't wan to condemn him, but he seems to be everything to everybody."

Harris Quits Active Role In Presidential Campaign

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — Fred Harris exited laughing today.

The former Oklahoma Senator told a news conference that he was still a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination but that it was "very unlikely" he could win. He said he would end his "national effort" in primary elections, scale down his staff and campaign headquarters and concentrate on influencing the Democratic platform, and possibly the selection of a nominee, in July.

The news conference was crowded with members of Mr. Harris's staff and political volunteers who had come from all over America to pay tribute to the short, heavy-set man who had inspired tem. Mr. Harris turned the occasion into an unusual—but, for him, characteristic — moment of emotion, warmth and unpretentious retrospection.

Mr. Harris had called his politics the "new populism." He said the overriding issue in the 1976 campaign was privilege, and he attacked concentrated wealth and called for "a widespread diffusion of economic and political power."

The Final Trench

In the New Hampshire primary last Feb. 24, he ran fourth with 11 percent of the vote; in the Massachusetts primary a week later, he was fifth with 8 percent. His campaign coffers empty, he abandoned plans to contest such states as Illinois and Wisconsin and prepared to make a last-ditch stand in Pennsylvania. but today, he said that "lack of money" had forced him to retreat from that final trench.

Of his showing in the early primaries, Mr. Harris said:

"You couldn't call it victory because we didn't run that well. But we ran just well enough to keep going, so it really wasn't defeat. We didn't know what to call it and we just decided to call it quits."

Mr. Harris had one of the largest — and most gifted — staffs in politics, and his staff members worked for nothing or next to it. Except for manpower he ran a spare proletarian campaign, usually staying in private homes rather than hotels. Hundreds of his hosts across the country have certificates entitling them to spend one night in the White House, now probably no longer negotiable.

Potential for Tears

There was considerable potential for tears as Mr. Harris stood before his followers and friends, but he did not let his full-scale campaign end that way.

Recalling that he had finally accepted Secret Service protection last month after declining it for months, Mr. Harris said he was reminded of a man who ran for sheriff in Cotton County, Oklahoma, got almost too few votes to count, but appeared after the election with a pistol strapped to his hip.

"Someone said, 'Woody, why are you wearing that pistol? You didn't get elected sheriff.'

" 'Listen,' he answered, 'anybody who doesn't have any more friends than I do needs protection,'" Mr. Harris said amid laughter.

Mr. Harris, flanked by his wife Ladonna and his daughters, said he would continue to seek uncommitted delegates and do a bit of campaigning in such states as Texas and Connecticut. He said he hoped to have enough delegates to satisfy party rules so that his name could be officially placed in nomination at Madison Square Garden. In a realistic sense, however, his campaign is over.

Lack of Matching Funds

The suspended state of the Federal Election Commission, which is now unable to dispense matching funds to candidates, contributed to his own political suspension, Mr. Harris said. Another factor, with far more primaries and candidates this year than usual, was that failure to pass a threshhold of success in early primaries made it virtually impossible to continue.

"I don't rail against that," Mr. Harris said today, "because I expected to use that very system."

When Mr. Harris began to campaign in the summer of 1974, there seemed to be several possible outcomes. One of the most likely was that, sooner or later, commentators and politicans would begin to denounce him as a radical. Another possiblity was that he would make no significant impact at all and would go unheard.

Instead, something quite different happened. Rather than "excommunicating" Mr. Harris, many liberals in his party embraced his populist doctrines.

Message Is Echoed

Other liberals, such as Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, echoed many of the words and even some of the rhythms of the Harris campaign, particularly his unrelenting attacks on monopolistic power wielded by "giant corporations," his appeals for more equality of opportunity and his demands for social justice. Even more conservative candidates, such as Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, seemed t borrow elements of the Harris gospel.

In Massachusetts last month, Mr. Harris joked: "I'm beginning to feel like a ventriloquist; I sometimes feel I can get these other candidates to say anything I want them to. I just hope the people will begin to notice that I am moving my lips."

Not enough voters did. So Mr. Harris, who likes to say he finds "existential value in struggle itself," told his followers today: "It is enough for now to say that you and I have shared a vision of what kind of country this ought to be, that we did what we could toward making that vision a reality, that we had some effect on our country's thinking and future, and that we may yet have more before we're through."

Further Political Fund Delay Likely

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By WARREN WEAVEK JR.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 8 — Campaign subsidies for Presidential candidates may not be resumei until May, too late to help finance the next half dozen primaries, including key contests in Pennsylvania and Texas.

Senate and House conferees failed today for the seconi consecutive day to agree on a bill to revive the Federal Election Commission:s power to authorize subsidy payments, increasing the likelihood Congress will recess for Easter without sending President Ford a bill.

The attempt to draft a compromise measure before laakers leave for 12 days nextlednesday has been complicated by the personal schedule of Representative Wayne L. Hays, Democrat of Ohio, chairman of the House contingent.

Senate Must Confirm

The conferees cannot meet again until Monday afternoon because ' Ohio today for the weekend. They cannot meet after midday Tuesday because Mr. Hays is getting married that afternoon.

Even if the conferees, who have processed only about half the bill, complete work by Tuesday noon and their bill is accepted by both chambers on Wednesday—both of which are questionable—the Election Commission could not be reconstituted until the last week in April at the earliest.

This is because the commissioners, even if the President simply reappoints the incumbents, must be confirmed by the Senate, which will not go back into session until April 26.

Thus, under the most favorable timetable, which would assume prompt approval of the campaign bill by Mr. Ford, the commission could not authorize pending requests for matching funds for eligible candidates until April 29 or 30.

As a practical matter, candidates must usually make cash commitments at least 10 days to two weeks before a primary date, particularly for advertising expenses, so the failure of Congress to act appears to remove the possibility of subsidies for primaries in Pennsylvania (April 27) Texas (May 1), Alabama, the District of Columbia, Georgia and Indiana (May 4), Tennessee (May 6) and perhaps Nebraska and West Virginia (May 11) as well.

By the most optimistic estimate, the Federal money will become available to permit political planning only for the Michigan and Maryland primaries on May 18 and those later. If there are any further delays in Congress or at the White House, the freeze could go on even longer.

Money Will Not Be Lost

No candidate will lose subsidy money he earned by receiving private contributions, as it will all be paid retroactively by a revived commission. The question is how long and how successfully a candidate can borrow against this expectation while depending on what he can raise privately.

If and when the commission regains its powers, it will certify a new candidate as eligible for subsidies—Senator Robert C. Byrd, Democrat of West Virginia. He is a self-proclaied favorite son, but he has succeeded in raising $5,000 in each of 20 states in amounts of $250 and less and thus qualifies for matching.

An aide to Mr. Byrd said today that the Senator would not apply for the matching funds, the Associated Press reported.

As of this week, nine candidates have submitted requests for almost $1.3 million in subsidies isnce the freeze became effective March 23.

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Unionists Beg Humphrey to Run

PITTSBURGH (UPI) — Hubert Humphrey got a thundering welcome Thursday from 2,000 cheering Pennsylvania labor leaders who begged him to take the plunge into the Democratic presidential race.

His 50-minute address to the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention was repeatedly interrupted by chants of "We want Humphrey, we want Humphrey."

But he told AFL-CIO leaders in private after the speech he has no intention of becoming an active candidate during the primaries.

Humphrey attacked the Nixon and Ford administrations and accused Republicans of "unforgivable immorality."

"We're building jails for our children rather than Job Corps programs," Humphrey said. "That is not only bad economics on the part of the administration, it is unforgivable immorality."

Humphrey acknowledged the cheers of the labor delegates, who carried a giant "Pennsylvanians for Humphrey" banner through the ballroom of the hotel.

But he would only say "Never mind, you'll get around to that later," when they shouted "Humphrey for president."

Humphrey did not discourage his labor supporters. He has said he would accept a draft from the Democratic convention in July, and labor will work to elect convention delegates who would back him in that event.

"I don't intend to let Ford and Reagan set the dimensions of the campaign this year," he said. "The Nixon-Ford team and that movie actor are running around trying to tear down what we spent years building up."

He blamed the White House for high crime rates, high unemployment and inflation, calling the President's economic advisers "witch doctors and devils."

"These free-market pirates, these buccaneers, I wouldn't mind if they were like Robin Hood, at least he knew who to take the money from," he said.

"They are talking about a balanced budget. It kind of makes you wonder what they are smoking. They haven't had a balanced budget since they've been in the White House."

At one point, he quieted the crowd by saying, "I think the person in the White House is a fine fellow. I like the President. He is a decent fellow. So is my Uncle Frank, but he shouldn't be president."

Ford Says Carter Too Vague, Wants Humphrey as Opponent

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Ford would prefer Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey as his opponent in next November's presidential election because Ford believes former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter would not give the voters a clear choice of candidates, Gannett Newspapers reported Thursday.

Ford said of Carter, "He is just not specific enough, not definite enough for the public to know where he stands."

In an interview with Gannett, Ford also said former Treasury Secretary John Connally is a possible vice presidential candidate, among 10 or 15 Republicans under consideration.

At the very least, Ford said, "He certainly would have to have a position of great responsibility ... He is a tremendous advocate of the administration.

"I think he is probably the outstanding political orator in the country now."

Ford said he views himself as the underdog in the May 1 Texas Republican primary election against challenger Ronald Reagan.

Connally is a former Texas governor and a political power in the state.

In the interview, Ford spoke freely about how he views the battle for the Democratic presidential nomination.

If Carter continues to head the pack of declared candidates, it becomes increasingly unlikely that Humphrey can wrest away the nomination, Ford said.

"Every time Jimmy Carter wins and gets more delegates, he makes it more difficult for a non-candidate to step in the breach," the President said.

Only if the candidates running in the primaries have near equal numbers of delegates at the Democratic National Convention in New York in July "will the smoke-filled rooms make the decision" and choose Humphrey, the President said.

"I would like to run against Hubert for this reason," Ford said. "We do have quite different domestic philosophies and I think the American people ought to have an opportunity for a choice."

In contrast, he said, "You don't really know where Carter stands ... He has failed to be specific on many, many issues that are of vital interest to the American people."

News to Print"

The New York Times

..No. 43,174 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1976

The New York Times/Gary Settle

Jimmy Carter displaying an early edition of The Milwaukee Sentinel at 2 A.M. yesterday to supporters in Milwaukee. ABC and NBC, as well as some other newspapers, erroneously reported the result of Wisconsin's Democratic primary on a basis of computer projections.

JACKSON, CARTER AND UDALL TURN TO PENNSYLVANIA

All Three Democrats Claim Victory in New York and Wisconsin Primaries

HARRIS PLANS CUTBACK

Ford Says Republican Vote Is an Endorsement for Kissinger's Policies

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

With the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination wide open, the three principal contenders converged yesterday on Pennsylvania, whose April 27 primary looks to all three like the most important contest of the compaign so ar.

Morris K. Udall, Henry M. Jackson and Jimmy Carter all claimed victory in Tuesday's Wisconsin and New York primaries, although the actual winners were Mr. Carter in Wisconsin and Mr. Jackson in New York. But the consensus among impartial Democrats was that all three had failed to reach their goals and had therefore been hurt.

In New York Senator Jackson built his 38 percent plurality of the primary votes on a narrow geographical and ethnic base, studies of the results showed. [Page 300]

Because he had hoped to build irresistible momentum, they said, Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor, suffered most.

Former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, meanwhile, called a news conference for today to announce his withdrawal as an active candidate in future primaries because of lack of funds. He intends, according to members of his staff, to seek support among uncommitted national convention delegates.

Last-Minute Defeat

After being proclaimed the winner in Wisconsin by two television networks and many newspapers, Mr. Udall, a Representative from Arizona, awoke to find that late-reporting rural precincts had snatched victory from him and given it to Mr. Carter by a margin of 37 percent to 36 percent. He could take solace only from his strong second place in New York.

Mr. Carter was almostgi ddy in victory, holding aloft, in the 1948 style of Harry S. Truman, a copy of The Milwaukee Sentinel reporting that Mr. Udall had won. But the Georgian, who has yet to beat strong opposition in a major industrial state, finished third in New York with 35 delegates, far behind the leaders.

Having won 104 delegates in New York, and captured far more in a single day than any other candidate this year, Mr. Jackson, a Senator from Washington, was nonetheless haunted by a poor fourth in Wisconsin, where he got 7 per-

Continued on Page 31, Column 4

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THREE DEMOCRATS STEP UP EFFORTS

Udall, Jackson and Carter Shift Their Attention To Pennsylvania

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

cent of the vote, and his failure to produce the landslide he had exuberantly forecast in New York.

Although he failed to win a single delegate in Wisconsin and took only three of 117 in New York, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California said he had done far better than expected in the Republican portion of yesterday's balloting.

President Ford said his 55 percent in Wisconsin constituted an endorsement of the foreign policy of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, as both camps looked toward what they consider the Republican showdown—the Texas primary on May 1.

After the first six weeks of the primary season, the noncandidacy of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota appeared healthy. With none of the three leading active competitors able to break into a lasting lead, the possibility of a deadlock was on the lips of political Washington yesterday.

Mr. Humphrey is counting on such a deadlock to open the way for him. Te latent sentiment in his favor was shown in two ways on Tuesday: In the election of 16 pro-Humphrey delegates in the Buffalo area, and in the findings of polls conducted by The New York Times and CBS News showing that the Senator would have won both primaries had he been on the ballots.

Maintaining his cool posture, Mr. Humphrey said in Washington that "Mo Udall should feel greatly encouraged" and that Senator Jackson "got another good boost." He omitted any mention of Mr. Carter, with whom he is reportedly displeased.

"The question now is whether anyone goes to the convention with 1,100 votes or so," the Minnesotan commented. "As of now, that's pretty unlikely."

Senator Frank Church of Idaho, whose first test will come in Nebraska on May 11, read the returns and commented in Providence, R. I., that no Democrat "has developed the kind of momemtum that will win the number of delegates needed for a first-ballot nomination."

With 1,505 delegates needed to nominate, Mr. Carter leads with 241. Mr. Jackson is second with 177, Mr. Udall third with 119. Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who lost his fifth straight primary in Wisconsin, stands fourth with 104.

On the Republican side, where 1,130 delegates constitute a majority, Mr. Ford has 251 and Governor Reagan, 84.

Mr. Carter provided most of the drama on Tuesday night by coming from 16,000 votes behind to win in Wisconsin. The manner of his victory gave him a psychological edge, but he was unable, as he had hoped, to force Mr. Udall out of the race.

"I'm No. 1," he told supporters in Milwaukee.

But within hours, he was in Pittsburgh at a convention of the state labor federation, where he was given a preview of the difficulties he faces in Pennsylvania. Delegates shouted, "We Want Humphrey," and "No peanuts in Pennsylvania." Mr. Carter grows seed peanuts on his farm at Plains, Ga.

Mr. Carter won in Wisconsin even though a near-record turnout in the Second Congressional District, which includes Madison and the University of Wisconsin, gave Mr. Udall a 23,000-vote plurality. Mr. Carter fade up the deficit in thee rural districts and on Milwaukee's heavily ethnic South Side.

As for Mr. Udall, he made the obligatory comments in Detroit about having "stopped the Carter landslide," but his disappointment was reflected in a wry comment to reporters in Milwaukee early yesterday.

"I would ask you," he said, "to amend my statements last night and insert the word 'lose' where I had the word 'win.' "

Still No Victory

The critical question for the Arizonan is how long he can continue without a victory. He has finished second four times, never humiliated but never a winner. It did little good for his aides to argue that, had Mr. Harris not been on the Wisconsin ballot, his 8,000 votes would have won for Mr. Udall.

John Marttila, Mr. Udall's chief strategist, tried at a New York news conference to dampen speculation that his candidate might be forced to the sidelines by money troubles. Although no money is currently on hand, he said, the campaign is raising about $20,000 a day and has $300,000 in matching funds coming if the Federal Election Commission resumes operations.

Mr. Marttila said the campaign would now begin to focus on ideas, particularly economic questions. With that in mind, and because of limited time, he added, the Udall effort in Pennsylvania will emphasize advertising, not organization.

Carter Statement Criticized

Campaigning in Pennsylvania, Mr. Udall criticized Mr. Carter's defense of the "ethnic purity" of some neighborhoods, implying that the Georgian would "enshrine the ghetto forever." Mr. Carter, meantime seemed to retreat a bit on the issue.

The controversy could cost Mr. Carter some of his broad black support. Vernon Jordan, executive director of the Urban League, said in a telegram to the former Governor that he was "deeply disturbed" by what he described as "inflammatory language."

Speaking at a breezy outdoor news conference at the corner of 49th Street and Park Avenue, Mr. Jackson predicted that he would win in Pennsylvania as he had won in the two northern industrial states that have already voted, Massachusetts and New York. He said he was not sorry that he had predicted a majority here, but his staff called it a blunder.

Politicians in Pennsylvania said that Mr. Jackson currently holds the lead in that state's preferential primary, with Mr. Carter probably pressing him most closely.

Humphrey Supporter, Active

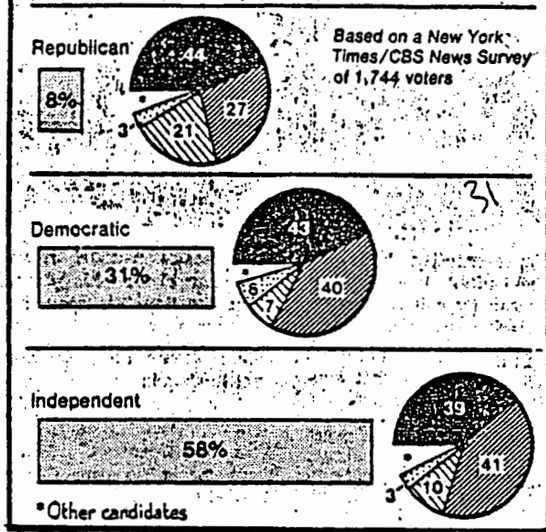
But the delegate contests, which are entirely separate, appear to be another matter. A loose alliance of elected officials, labor leaders and organization Democrats is organizing what one official called "an army in many uniforms" in the home of aiding Mr. Humphrey, an old Pennsylvania favorite.

This group, which reportedly includes Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia as well as Mike Johnson, the most influential labor leader in the state, is backing uncommitted delegates, Jackson delegates and delegates pledged to Gov. Milton J. Shapp, who ended his Presidential campaign in mid-March.

Composition of Vote in Wisconsin Democratic Primary

(Wisconsin allows voters to cross party lines in primary)

Percent voted for: Carter, Udall, Wallace, Jackson



The New York Times/April 8, 1976

The chart shows what proportion of voters in the Wisconsin Democratic Primary identified themselves as Republicans, Democrats and Independents. For example, 8 percent identified themselves as Republicans, and of these, 44 percent voted for Jimmy Carter, 27 percent for Morris K. Udall, and 21 percent George C. Wallace.

Composition of Candidate Support in New York Primary

	All Democrats	Jackson	Udall	Carter	Humphrey
Ideology					
Liberal	40%	30%	64%	31%	41
Moderate	34	46	18	36	37
Conservative	14	16	10	14	13
Religion					
Protestant	18	8	14	35	21
Catholic	32	23	26	45	32
Jewish	36	61	41	5	37
Occupation					
Professional and Managerial	41	43	52	25	39
Other White Collar	13	16	11	13	15
Blue Collar	20	19	17	26	21
Age					
18-29	16	10	23	14	15
30-44	25	22	22	29	25
45-64	41	48	43	33	42
65 and over	14	17	8	18	15
Education					
Less than High School	14	12	6	22	13
High School Grad	32	37	23	38	33
Some College	19	16	25	17	22
College Grad	30	30	43	18	28
Race					
White	85	93	88	71	80
Black	15	7	12	29	20

Based on a New York Times/CBS News Survey of 1,074 Democratic voters

Composition of Candidate Support in Wisconsin Primary (In Percent)

	All Democratic Primary Voters	Carter	Udall	Wallace	Jackson	Humphrey	All Republican Primary Voters	Ford	Reagan
Ideology									
Liberal	27%	21%	40%	15%	16%	25%	11%	12%	10%
Moderate	44	48	40	38	46	48	39	42	35
Conservative	22	24	14	42	31	21	41	35	48
Occupation									
Professional and Managerial	30	28	32	27	21	27	43	44	41
Other White Collar	9	10	8	7	7	8	9	12	6
Blue Collar	34	33	33	35	51	38	23	19	28
Age									
18-29	19	19	23	8	16	12	13	14	13
30-34	28	28	26	38	30	22	31	31	33
45-64	36	38	35	37	31	43	37	34	41
65 and over	13	12	13	14	19	18	15	18	11
Education									
Less than High School	18	22	16	16	5	23	14	15	12
High School Grad	40	39	35	48	58	40	38	31	44
Some College	16	16	16	19	16	14	20	21	18
College Grad	20	16	28	12	11	15	24	26	21
Union									
Yes	41	35	48	39	54	39	26	22	30

Based on a New York Times/CBS News Survey of 1,744 voters.

Delegate Race Standings

Following are the final vote totals in the Wisconsin Presidential primary, the tally of delegate votes in the New York and Wisconsin primaries and the overall total delegate votes thus far in the 1976 campaign:

Ford	326,081 (55%)
Reagan	261,579 (45%)
No preference	1,922 *
*Less than 1%	
Carter	270,456 (37%)
Udall	263,070 (36%)
Wallace	92,393 (13%)
Jackson	47,459 (7%)
McCormack	26,840 (4%)
Harris	8,345 (1%)
No preference	7,363 (1%)
Shriver	5,102 (1%)
Bentsen	1,914 *
Bayh	1,306 *
Shapp	613 *

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

	N.Y.	Wis.	Total
Ford	0	45	251
Reagan	3	0	84
Uncommitted	114	0	166

Needed to nominate: 1130

DEMOCRATS

	New York	Wis.	Total
Carter	35	26	241
Jackson	104	6	177
Udall	70	25	119
Wallace	0	10	104
Stevenson*	0	0	85
Humphrey	16	0	23
Harris	0	0	13
Walker	0	0	4
Church	0	0	2
McCormack	0	1	2
Bayh	0	0	1
Shapp	0	0	1
Uncommitted	49	0	132

*Favorite son in Illinois.

Needed to nominate: 1,505.

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Prediction Pitfalls Shown in Wisconsin

By DEIRDRE CARMODY

The precariousness of forecasting the winner of an election or before all the votes are counted was illustrated in a dizzying succession of conflicting television broadcasts and newspaper headlines in the reporting of the results of Tuesday's race between Jimmy Carter and Morris K. Udall in the Democratic primary in Wisconsin.

At 9:27 P.M., ABC interrupted its program, "The Rookies," to announce that Mr. Udall had won the Wisconsin primary. On the 11:30 P.M. election special on ABC, the Arizona Representative acknowledged the "victory."

Almost an hour later, at 10:22 P.M., NBC reached its own conclusion and said that Mr. Udall had won "by a modest margin."

Finally, at 2:45 A.M. Wednesday, CBS with network television already off the air in the East announced correctly to its West Coast viewers that Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor, had won.

Rewrote Head Lines

About 11 P.M., the Washington Post, The New York Daily News, The Milwaukee Sentinel and uncounted other newspapers, some of them reacting to the erroneous NBC and ABC reports, rewrote headlines and opening paragraphs of earlier editions, which had described the closeness of the race and declared Mr. Udall the winner. Hours later, they rewrote those headlines and those leading paragraphs again for still later editions to say that Mr. Carter had won.

It was as if the modern science of computerized political prediction was as open to error as old-fashioned human judgment.

In fact, most network and newspaper editors and sampling statisticians interviewed yesterday said that despite some very sophisticated computer technology, the final decision about when to declare a winner was in effect a human one. It was the decision that enough information had come in, by whatever means the particular newsgathering service was using, on which to base a reasonable conclusion.

A decision not to make a decision was equally difficult. CBS refused to call the race until that 2:30 A.M. broadcast and The New York Times did not commit itself until about 2:45 A.M. when, i nits final Wednesday edition, it declared Mr. Carter the winner.

Of the victory calls and their reactions, Jane Watkins, press coordinator for the Udall campaign said:

"I can't see that it did us any harm. We had a moment of winning and the staff got all excited and all revved up. It gave us a psychological lift because for a little while he was a winner."

Hero-at-CBS

At CBS:, the hero yesterday was Warren J. Mitofsky, director of the election survey unit. Mr. Mitofsky had spent Tuesday evening and the early hours of Wednesday in a large office at 1775 Broadway with a crew of political analysts, statisticians and others who were entering into the computer data from 80 sample precincts throughout Wisconsin. Reporters in those precincts were calling in results as they were available.

"We just kept looking at that data, and what is was showing in our estimate was a very small Carter margin, but a margin that was not large enough to be reliable," Mr. Mitofsky said.

Meanwhile early returns from the News Election Service, a cooperative that supplies the networks and the wire services with results from all the precincts, were showing Mr. Udall ahead. This was the vote coming in from Miwaukee, Madisonl, the suburbs, smaler cities and larger towns. The outlying areas, where much of the votes are cast on paper hallots and where much of Mr. Carter's strength lay, had not yet begun to report.

Sometime around midnight, someone told Mr. Mitofsky that the two rival networks had declared Mr. Udall the winner.

"Then they have a problem," Mr. Mitosky said.

Mr. Mitosky was also analyzing the results of The New York Times and CBS News poll of 1,744 Wisconsin voters who had been interviewed after they had voted, and ehey showed a very close race. Finally, Mr. Mitofsky, who said that he had no pressure from his superiors to come up with a winner, felt that he was ready to name Mr. Carter.

The NBC news team was sitting in a television studio in Milwaukee, calling in information from its sample precincts to its computer in Cherry Hill, N.J.

"Essentially, we draw a sketch picture through precinct models in the state and we feed those returns into a computer," said Richard C. Wald, president of NBC News. "It is the same thing that politicians have been doing on the backs of envelopes since time immemorial."

The decision to go on the air with Mr. Udall as the winner at 10:22 P.M. was made by three or four of the election analysts, correspondents and consultants.

Richard Scammon, a consultant to NBC, said yesterday morning in the "Today" show that NBC had made its projection on the basis of returns from 100 key precincts but had failed to realize the size of Carter support in areas where votes were counted by paper ballot.

'Error in the Model'

"I suspect we made the error in the original model," Mr. Wald said. "That model says if you get this and this, then you get that. But it was that initial model that was inaccurate."

NBC had had trouble with its computers in the first three primaries, according the Lee Hanna, NBC News vice president. Mr. Hanna said that the computers had not been used for the Florida and North Carolina primaries because they were being adjusted.

John Thompson, manager of the political unit at ABC News, said that ABC used the same system of basing propections on key precincts that it has used for the last decade. He blamed the faulty projection on "human judgment."

He would not specify the number of key precincts but indicated that it was "more than 60." He said that an analysis of these precincts had showed that "Udall had a clear-cut margin and that he would finish first in a very close race."

"We saw that Carter was running ahead in the farm vote and small village vote," he said, "but we did some figuring and it looked safe to project that Udall would come in first.

"I've never had anyone twist my arm to be first on the air," Mr. Thompson said, denying that there had been any pressure to beat the other networks in declaring a winner. "On the other hand, if we come in first it makes my bosses smile."

All Hail to 'All the President's Men'

By VINCENT CANBY

Newspapers and newspapermen have long been favorite subjects for movie makers—a surprising number of whom are former newspapermen, yet not until "All The President's Men," the riveting screen adaptation of the Watergate book by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, has any film come remotely close to being an accurate picture of American journalism at its best.

"All The President's Men," directed by Alan J. Pakula, written by William Goldman and largely pushed into being by the continuing interest of one of its stars, Robert Redford, is a lot of things all at once: a spellbinding detective story about the work of the two Washington Post reporters who helped break the Watergate scandal, a breathless adventure that recalls the triumphs of Frank and Joe Hardy in that long-ago series of boys' books, and a vivid footnote to some contemporary American history that still boggles the mind.

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The film, which opened yesterday at Loews Astor Plaza and Tower East Theaters, is an unequivocal smash-hit — the thinking man's "Jaws."

Much of the effectiveness of the movie, which could easily have become a mish-mash of names, dates and events, is in its point of view, which remains that of its two, as yet unknown reporters. Carl Bernstein (Dustin Hoffman), highly competitive and a little more experienced than his partner, and Bob Woodward (Robert Redford), very ambitious and a dog for details.

It's through their eyes—skeptical, hungry, insatiably curious—that "All The President's Men" unfolds. It begins logically on the night of June 17, 1972, when five men were arrested in an apparent break-in at the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate complex in Washington, and continues through the spectacular series of revelations, accusations and admissions of guilt that eventually brought the Nixon Presidency to its weepy banal conclusion.

Like Bernstein and Woodward in the course of their investigation, the film maintains bifocal vision, becoming thoroughly absorbed in the seemingly unimportant minutiae out of which major conspiracies can sometimes be reconstructed, yet never for long losing sight of the overall relevance of what's going on. Although "All The President's Men" is first and foremost a fascinating newspaper film, the dimensions and implications of the Watergate story obviously give it an emotional punch that might be lacking if, say, Bernstein and Woodward had been exposing corruption in the Junior League.

•

Thus the necessity of the director's use of newsreel footage from time to time—the shots of President Nixon's helicopter making a night landing at the White House, which open the film; the television images of the President entering the House of Representatives, and of other familiar folk including former Attorney General John N. Mitchell, former Vice President Agnew, and, especially, Representative Gerald R. Ford in the course of his nomination of President Nixon at the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Though the film will undoubtedly have some political impact, its strength is the virtually day-by-day record of the way Bernstein and Woodward conducted their investigations, always under the supervision of a kindly avuncular Ben Bradlee (Jason Robards), The Post's managing editor who (in this firm) gives out advice, caution and, occasionally, a "well-done," acting as Dr. Gillespie to their Dr. Kildares.

Mr. Redford and Mr. Hoffman play their roles with the low-keyed, understated efficiency required since they are, in effect, the straight men to the people and the events they are pursuing. The film stays out of their private lives but is full of unexpected, brief, moving glimpses into the private lives of their subjects, including a frightened bookkeeper (Jane Alexander) fo rthe Committee to Re-elect the President, Donald Segretti (Robert Walden), the "dirty tricks" man, and Hugh Sloan Jr. (Stepehn Collins), the committee treasurer, and his wife (Meredith Baxter).

The manners and methods of big-city newspapering, beautifully detailed, contribute as much to the momentum of the film as the mystery that's being uncovered. Maybe even more, since the real excitement of "All The President's Men" is in watching two comparatively inexperienced reporters stumble onto the story of their lives and develop it triumphantly, against all odds.

The Cast

ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN, directed by Alan J. Pakula; screenplay by William Goldman, based on the book by Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward; produced by Walter Coblenz; music, David Shire; director of photography, Gordon Willis; editor, Robert L. Wolfe; a Wildwood production, distributed by Warner Brothers. Running time: 135 minutes. At Loews Astor Plaza, 44th Street west of Broadway, and Loews Tower East, Third Avenue near 79d Street. This film has been rated PG.

Carl Bernstein	Dustin Hoffman
Bob Woodward	Robert Redford
Harry Rosenfeld	Jack Warden
Howard Simons	Martin Balsam
Deep Throat	Hal Holbrook
Ben Bradlee	Jason Robards
Bookkeeper	Jane Alexander
Debbie Sloan	Meredith Baxter
Dardis	Ned Beatty
Hugh Sloan, Jr.	Stephen Collins
Sally Aiken	Penny Fuller
Foreign Editor	John McMartin
Donald Segretti	Robert Walden
Frank Wills	Himself
Bachinski	David Arkin
Barker	Henry Calvert
Mariner	Dominic Chianese
Kay Eddy	Lindsay Ann Crouse
Miss Milland	Valerie Curtin
McCord	Richard Herd
Carolyn Abbot	Allyn Ann McLerie
Angry CRP woman	Nena Patterson
Al Lewis	Joshua Shelley

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Associated Press Photo

Mrs. Jimmy Carter Displays Wisconsin 'Souvenir'

'WE WANT HUMPHREY'

Hecklers Boo Carter At Pittsburgh Hotel

By DAVID MORRISON
Constitution Staff Writer

PITTSBURGH—Jimmy Carter was booed by hecklers as he arrived here Wednesday to wage a major uphill battle for Pennsylvania's 178 delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

As Carter pressed ahead of his cordon of Secret Service agents to shake hands at a hotel where a labor convention is being held, several union men in the crowd booed him and began to chant, "We want Humphrey, we want Humphrey."

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota is not an announced presidential candidate but reportedly is waiting in the wings for Carter and others to falter.

Carter's major opponents in Pennsylvania once again are Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson, who has many friends within the organized labor hierarchy, and Arizona Rep. Morris K. (Mo) Udall.

More than 2,000 delegates from Pennsylvania AFL-CIO affiliate unions were attending the Pittsburgh convention. However, they refused to let Carter, Udall or "any announced political candidate" address the group.

Carter and Udall, fresh from a close primary battle Tuesday in Wisconsin—Carter finally edged Udall after trailing the Arizonan until near-final returns were in—were allowed to speak briefly at a small gathering of delegates who had recessed for lunch.

However, Humphrey was scheduled to address the full convention Thursday.

Carter, appearing tired from his near-24-hour vigil awaiting the Wisconsin and New York primary vote tallies Tuesday, waded into the crowded hotel lobby smiling and shaking hands and saying, "I'm a working man myself."

Later, at a press conference, he described a four-point plan to reduce the nation's unemployment rate to between 3.5 and 4 per cent.

He proposed that government and industry rechannel research and devel-

See CARTER, Page 8-A

Carter

From Page 1A

opment efforts into unexplored areas such as solar energy to create new jobs; a federally funded Civilian Conservation Corps-type organization in inner cities to put underpriviledged youths between 18 and 21 to work; major emphasis on expanded sale of American goods abroad; and curtailment of American industrial expansion into foreign countries until a lower United States unemployment rate is achieved.

In this steel-producing city, Carter said he favored limiting steel imports if they proved to be detrimental to the American economy or work force.

Although Carter said in the news conference in the office of Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty that he had some significant support from organized labor at the convention, one faction circulated a 1971 letter in which Carter as governor had allegedly opposed repeal of the Georgia right-to-work law.

Carter said that as governor he had told labor leaders that he would sign a repeal of the law if it were passed by the legislature but would not push it or actively campaign for repeal.

The statute prohibits "closed shops," in which employes are forced to join labor unions.

Carter, after a cordial telephone chat with AFL-CIO President George Meany, recently hardened his position on the right-to-work law, saying that the federal law authorizing states to enact right-to-work legislation "ought to be repealed."

Mayor Flaherty, who has endorsed Carter, said he thought Carter would do well among labor in Pennsylvania because its leaders are split over who to back.

As Carter launched the Pennsylvania campaign, his actions appeared more workaday than spontaneous. Although he won in Wisconsin, his slim victory margin left Udall still a viable candidate.

Udall also did well in New York, placing second to Jackson and ahead of Carter in that state's delegate selection Tuesday.

Udall had been expected to be knocked out of the running after Wisconsin, and Carter staffers conceded they had hoped to get more delegates in New York.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat April 3-4, 1976

JJ

Democratic tug-of-war for Missouri delegates

By JACK FLACH

'WE'RE NOT LOOKING FOR any arguments with Eagleton or any of the rest of the state Democratic leaders. We're just doing the best job we know how to lineup delegates for our candidate."

The words came from a leader in the presidential campaign of Sen. Henry Jackson, but it might as well have come from supporters of Jimmy Carter or Gov. George C. Wallace.

Missouri supporters of the three presidential hopefuls are paying little attention to suggestions of Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton and other top Democratic leaders who want an uncommitted delegation to the national convention in July to pick the party's presidential nominee.

Missouri will gradually ease itself into the national spotlight this month with its ward, township and county mass meetings as both parties begin their complicated process of naming delegates to their national conventions.

For the Democrats, the Show-Me state is the biggest prize among those states that don't hold presidential preference primaries.

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A TOTAL OF 71 DELEGATES will come from Missouri — the bulk of which state Democratic power brokers want to be elected uncommitted to any presidential candidate so they can be delivered in a bloc at the national convention later. The strategy, of course, would put Missouri in position to extract political favors from the candidate who gets these uncommitted delegates.

There are several ways of looking at this type of strategy. As a party, you naturally gain more if you can go to the convention as a unit if there's still no clear-cut favorite in the first ballot.

But those who oppose such a system argue that the delegate forfeits his or her individual choice of voting for a presidential contender by putting that vote in the hands of the state party leaders who will decide how the votes will be cast.

Just how successful the efforts of Eagleton et al will be remains in doubt at this juncture. The Jackson and Carter camps in Missouri are working full tilt to elect committed delegates in all 10 Congressional districts while Wallace supporters are working in many of them. There are also a few ripples for Morris Udall and Fred Harris.

If Jackson wins big in New York next Tuesday and doesn't get hurt too badly in Wisconsin that same day, his chances will improve to pick up a goodly share of Missouri delegates, his chief backers here believe.

Jackson has organization and money but the early primary victories of Carter have produced a healthy crop of converts in Missouri to the former Georgia governor.

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STATE REP. STEVE VOSSMEYER of St. Louis has some 40 per cent of the Democratic House members pledging their support to Carter on a petition, and that's not bad if this group gives more than lip service to his campaign. Vossmeyer is a close political ally of Eagleton but they have parted ways on the delegate selection process.

Wallace still has a few pockets of strength left in Missouri, but he has been hurt by recent defeats in other states.

Kansas City Democratic leader Charles Curry is leading the drive for Jackson delegates. Nobody, at this stage, is setting any goals, that is, in establishing a number for the delegates they hope to win.

Carter and Jackson backers have one goal in common: They each want to win more delegates than the other.

But the uncommitted strategy of Demo leaders in the state is tossing a klinker in their battle for delegates.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Politics and the Arts—March 20, 1976, 60 cents

Jobs, Inflation and Liberal Politics

The stubborn loyalty of liberal leaders to their own policies, even when pathetically dated, has sorely challenged the loyalty of voters, who were or still are classified as "liberal." The public opinion polls report a swing to the right, a shift that appears to be mirrored in some of the early primary results. Actually, what seems to be a conservative resurgence, or a mindless rejection of "government," is simply popular dismay at the choices that are offered. Pollsters report not a rising enthusiasm for the Republican party but rather "a growing skepticism that traditional liberal programs really provide solutions to the nation's problems."

The unpleasant truth is that the skepticism is well founded. The evidence is most glaring in the key issue of the day, the economy. But it is also hard to miss in the important issues of crime, welfare, busing and affirmative action. The liberal response is in each instance thoroughly predictable, and just as uniformly devoid of the creative thought that festering, unsolved problems ought to warrant. True enough, Republicans give no conspicuous signs of superior wisdom or courage. Yet despite their deserved reputation for standing pat, they are currently less predictable than Democrats. Witness President Nixon's dalliance with mandatory price and wage controls (however devious may have been his motivations), his support for revenue sharing (originally a "liberal" doctrine), and his proposal, though he didn't push it, of a welfare bill materially more imaginative and effective than the one in force now. In contrast, the steadfastness of the conventional liberal position suggests an unwillingness to learn from experience, a deficiency that in animals of most species (but apparently not politicians) would be fatal.

Contemporary liberalism's incapacity to learn from experience, so alien to its historic, pragmatic mission, is most striking in its approach to the central problem of jobs and prices. The heart of that problem lies in a classical conflict: the inability of the usual fiscal and

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monetary measures to secure high employment without intolerable inflation. The result of that failure is a familiar pattern. First there is an economic recovery, typically supported by a tax reduction as is the present upswing. Second comes a period of prosperity, though never actually yielding full employment. Naturally prices rise at an ever increasing pace throughout the first two periods. Third there is a recession with extensive unemployment, deliberately induced to fight inflation. The "inducements" generally are higher taxes and interest rates. This sequence of events is so familiar that even the general public knows it. But not Democratic liberals. Or at least, if they do, they give no overt signs. Where is the leader today who confronts the paradox frankly, and proposes using the democratically conferred powers of government in a credible effort to solve it? The position of Democrats, like Republicans, is to offer the hope, after each cycle, that the next one will somehow cure itself. Instead, the swings have grown steadily wider.

If we grant the Republican party its pejorative reputation of representing the haves, but not the have-nots, its approach to economic instability makes more sense than that of Democrats, though not necessarily good sense. Recessions hurt the lower income classes bitterly; their impact on the middle class and the rich is only modest. Callously—and superficially—it may be reasoned that recessions are therefore a modest price to pay for interrupting and retarding the tides of inflation, which hurt nearly everyone more or less. The facts are incontrovertible. Unemployment during downswings is concentrated on the unskilled and the semi-skilled in general, and disproportionately on blacks. Unemployment rates among skilled workers, professionals, administrators, business people, even teachers as well as other middle class occupations, are only a small fraction of others. Moreover, although profits always drop, the declines are never as great as the publicity given to them. In the last six recessions, starting with that of 1949 and ending with 1974-75, net incomes of corporations declined by 6.7 percent, 5.4 pecent, 10.1 percent, 4.9 percent, 14.8 percent, and 5.1 percent. Not exactly disastrous. Returns from interest and rents were virtually unaffected.

The periodical crushing of the poor, of course, is not a pretty sight, even for so worthy a cause as slowing up inflation. Nor is it without impact on the rest of us. It surely contributes powerfully to crime. It is also economically wasteful. Unemployment cost the nation at least $150 billion last year. Furthermore the situation isn't static. The virulence of inflation is spreading, and not only because of OPEC and the energy crisis, but because of inevitable economic and psychological contagion. More vigorous inflations will require more unrestrained corrective recessions. The trend is already evident. Not too great a distance separates the unemployment rate of 8.9 percent reached in May 1975 from a level that would force us all, finally, to use the word depression. These are some of the broader considerations that might deter a nation, if it would and could, from sticking with the roller coaster pattern of the past.

But meanwhile, the current economic recovery is creating a psychological situation favorable to electing Gerald Ford in November. There is no guarantee that it will stay that way, of course. The ability of economists to forecast is primitive. But right now the trend of economic indices is soothingly conducive to complacency. It also seems to have sufficient momentum to carry through November and later. Partly the result of the last tax cut, incomes have in recent months advanced faster than prices. Retail sales have burgeoned. People are even buying big cars again. Business inventories, once burdensome, have been drawn down and a fresh flood of orders now engulfs manufacturers. Former economic weak spots—business investment and housing—have shown new signs of life. Output of machinery has advanced steadily since last summer, and housing permits recently jumped to 65 percent above a year ago. Employment has been rising since October, and although joblessness remains high at 7.6 percent, it is easing. The stock market, always capricious, seems safely removed from its lows of a year or so ago. In short, the economy appears to be well into the first phase of the pattern earlier described, that is, the recovery that precedes the inflationary prosperity that precedes a corrective recession.

The obvious inclination of an administration eager to succeed itself is to let nature take its course and to hope that it does so slowly. There is some inconclusive evidence that it may, and that a new inflationary takeoff will be postponed until 1977. Last year's bumper crops of grain, vegetables and other farm products have left ample supplies for at least the first half of this year, though for not much longer. Scarcer supplies are in prospect. Most of industry is still operating well below rated capacity, a conditon that might—but no guarantees!—dissuade oligopolistic industry from pushing its prices too promptly forward. While an extraordinarily large number of union contracts will be reopened in the months ahead, after a three-year lull, the bulk of their impact may be deferred until next winter or later. But that there will be a substantial impact cannot be doubted. The United Rubber Workers has already demanded a 25 percent catch-up raise *plus* an unspecified new wage increase and a cost of living formula. With respect to inflation, therefore, the nation rides a razor's edge. As the economic upswing now in progress persists, a new flare-up in prices will sooner or later be ignited, and from a present inflationary level that remains formidable despite a recent improvement over the binge of 1974-75. Ford can only hope that it will be later.

Admittedly the task of defining a credible liberal approach in opposition is not simple. Complicated

economic issues are not meant for the hoopla of the campaign trail. But the traditional, tropistic liberal approach, the only one evident thus far, seems made to order for mass voter rejection. The more "liberal" the campaigner, the more indignantly does he call for more government spending to rescue the unemployed and the other poor. That may *sound* liberal to ears dedicated loyally to the heart-warming formulas of the past, but enthusiasm for spending is growing rarer. A substantial expansion of spending now would doubtless push the economy off its razor edge, send wages and prices skyrocketing, and usher in the next "corrective" recession, or should we say *depression*? The public seems to sense this more accurately than the official economic advisers who now serve Democratic leaders their formulas.

Where is the silver tongue and steady head able to instruct a nation and lead it into the still uncharted world of sustained prosperity? He would require eloquence as well as pedagogical skills to demonstrate that stability requires: 1) a permanent mechanism for mandatory control of wages and prices, not for continuous or universal use, but to guard against the market aggressions of concentrated business and union power whenever they appear; and 2) an ambitious, tax-financed public employment program to absorb the less skilled workers in the labor force, the two or three million who now get jobs only when the economy is excessively inflated. He would have to be an inspiring orator to convince voters that public employment can be useful, and worth their taxes, and an administrator of exceptional skills to ensure that it is. For implementing that objective would entail standards for work discipline and morale that are uncommon in the regular federal bureaucracy today. In all honesty, he would have to stress that useful public works would require federal *planning*, not simply turning money over to city governments with limited capabilities and often limited honesty for temporary, so-called "public service" jobs, as is the present practice.

A successful leader, offering a credible route to full employment without inflation, would have to be politically courageous as well as persuasive. For he would be compelled to insist that public employment programs be approximately 10 times the size of those now in effect, and permanently organized, if they are to be adequate for the task, not merely wasteful, make-work tokens. Most of all, he would have to be a teacher to demonstrate that unless the projects were tax-financed they would be inflationary, and as untenable as any other pie-in-the-sky product of campaign demagoguery. In comparison, the final obligation—to show that there are desperate, unmet needs in the public sector that must be satisfied—would be child's play. Bringing the unmet needs and the unused manpower together is a step so rational that it might seem no one could object. But, still, it requires planning, a willingness to pay taxes for value received, and excellent, hard-nosed administration to make sure the value is there.

Perhaps there is no such leader in or outside the two major parties up to the job. Perhaps if there were, he would have a plan of his own—though in any case he would have to deal with jobs, prices and wages. Right now, liberals are not *dealing* with anything. They are offering well-worn rhetoric, in ritualized cadences, in response to problems for which they know no answers.

Melville J. Ulmer

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The New Republic

Democrats, Delegates and Dollars

Following the Florida primary, the race for the Democratic nomination entered a new phase. It is no longer so important for a candidate to demonstrate that he appeals to voters by running a percentage point or two ahead of an opponent. The field has been narrowed and the contest for convention delegates is on in earnest. Before Florida, only 145 delegates had been chosen, and they were dispersed among a number of contenders. By April 7, the day after the Wisconsin and New York primaries, 864 delegates will have been designated—more than half the number needed to nominate the party's candidate for the presidency. It's safe to say that by then the field will be still smaller.

Progress from now on will be measured in terms of delegates won; and, at least in the short run, ability to compete has been substantially affected by dollars in the bank. From the outset, Henry Jackson and George Wallace and (for a time) Lloyd Bentsen outpaced all their competitors at fundraising. By the beginning of the year, Wallace had amassed over $5 million and Jackson more than $3.5 million. Udall and Carter each had under $1 million, and the rest of the contenders still less. Since then, receipts from federal matching funds have aggravated the disparity; Wallace has drawn $2.5 million, Jackson $1.5, Carter and Udall once again less than $1 million apiece. Bentsen, for all his cash, simply faded away. To date, no candidate has been completely paralyzed by lack of funds; each decided on the states in which to compete, budgeted his available cash and ran the most elaborate campaign he could afford. Carter went to Iowa, New Hampshire and Florida, passing over Massachusetts—or trying to appear to do that—and risking reduced momentum as a result of his fourth-place finish there. Jackson's early strategy was to raise money, bank it, watch the rest of the aspirants spend themselves into penury, then enter late. The fear that someone, somewhere—particularly Jimmy Carter in Florida—might gain so much momentum that catching up would be difficult finally pried open Jackson's vault for the Massachusetts and Florida campaigns. Udall, Fred Harris, Birch Bayh, Sargent Shriver, and, to a slightly lesser extent, Jimmy Carter invested everything they had in the early primaries. Bayh, of course, is through; Shriver has put his staff on no pay in order to afford one final effort this week in Illinois; Harris has finally accepted secret service protection, largely as a means of cutting back on his own travel and scheduling expenses.

For everyone but Jackson and Wallace, money has become the dominant factor in campaign decision-making in much more important ways. Morris Udall was so preoccupied with the early confrontations in New England, and his investment of money there was

so complete, that he passed up some caucus states altogether, filed delegates in only three (of 24) districts in Illinois and has no delegates filed in Texas. Udall's campaign now faces a full month's hiatus; he is sidelined raising money until the Wisconsin and New York primaries April 6. Of more consequence than any other money-related decision in any campaign so far was Udall's decision to downplay New York, a modified winner-take-all primary where 271 delegates are at stake in a narrow field, in favor of an all-out effort in Wisconsin, where only 68 delegates are up for grabs; more men are running, the results are proportional but the costs are more manageable. Similarly, Fred Harris, who made extensive efforts to win an early December endorsement from the liberal New Democratic Coalition in New York and then filed slates in 32 of the state's 39 congressional districts, has decided to pass both New York and Illinois (where he has 80 delegates on the ballot) in favor of husbanding his money and concentrating on Wisconsin.

For Carter, running everywhere (or at least in more places than any other candidate) means running thin in some places. Before his Florida victory, Carter's Illinois managers faced two elections—the statewide presidential preference poll and 16 separate congressional district delegate primaries—on a total budget of $45,000. The federal spending limit for Illinois is $1,336,000. By 11 p.m. on the night of Carter's Florida primary victory, his fundraisers were telephoning every contributor in Georgia who had given $100 or more, asking for immediate additional support to help sustain his momentum. Part of the problem has been a failure by some candidates to institute internal control and audit systems to manage their cash. One candidate's own auditors so badly miscalculated their income that their budgeting for the first two primaries was based on the expectation that the Federal Elections Commission would be paying them nearly $100,000 more than they actually got. After years of defaults and settling debts for pennies on the dollar, the bill-paying records of political campaigns are so bad that about 75 percent of all services must now be paid for in advance, and Ma Bell routinely charges inflated deposits—up to $200 per instrument—for campaign phones.

Probably the most important fact relating to the economic squeeze that Democratic candidates face is the federal limitation of $1000 on individual gifts. In the past, large contributions have been important in getting campaigns off the ground, and in bailing them out later. In 1972, when George McGovern's campaign was broke and languishing 45 days before the New Hampshire primary, two wealthy donors came up with $150,000 to prop it up. Not only are contributions of that size now illegal, but of a candidate's early supporters, those who could afford to give the maximum $1000 were prevailed upon to do so very early. "Those who contributed in the $100,000 range in the past normally wrote out their own checks but never asked anyone else for money," says one veteran campaign fundraiser. "The big producers now are another category—those who give $1000 and go forth and find 10 others to do likewise." Morris Dees, the Alabamian who worked for George McGovern in 1972 and now heads up Jimmy Carter's fundraising effort, adds: "You need a network of hundreds of people asking for contributions. It has to be organized like Revlon would organize a national sales force."

Without the traditional reservoir of big money, fundraising for the large industrial primaries in March, April and May means prospecting for new money from new sources along with returning again and again to "house lists"—small givers whose contributions up to $250 qualify for a federal match. "I am back in touch with every donor on our house list every 21 days," says Dees. So, if you've already given to the candidate of your choice, you are on his "house list."

For a time it appeared that direct mail solicitations would be the best way to garner large numbers of small contributions necessary under the new federal elections law. Most, however, found it difficult to raise the half-million or so dollars needed to finance a large, early direct mailing, then commit that amount to a fundraising program with an uncertain outcome. Direct mail has been no panacea; when the time was right to mail—late in 1975—the field was crowded. No one running except George Wallace was very well known, and each candidate was aware that his pitch for money was going to the same prospective donors as every other candidate's. A problem involved in the current use of mid-primary season direct mail is the time-lag involved. By this time, success in raising money is directly related to successes in early primaries, but days or weeks are needed to design an appeal to potential givers and get it in the mail; it takes three to four weeks before even half of the proceeds come in; and another 14 days to process the contributions through the government in order to lay hands on federal matching funds. For example, Udall could ask for more money, using his strong showings in the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries as a pretext, but he can't expect much usable return before New York and Wisconsin five weeks later.

The new federal elections law was enacted by 535 members of Congress, men and women who as politicians might reasonably be expected to understand the problems of political fundraising. But the law was not designed with an eye on the broadest realities, particularly the timing, of its major test—the presidential nominating sweepstakes that we are now witnessing. The timetable of that contest is such that a candidate must spend large sums early to build an organization and demonstrate support, then somehow be prepared to compete in the ongoing caucuses and the large industrial state middle primaries—places like New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and Indiana

where the combined spending totals could reach $6 million, and still save enough to be around for primaries in Ohio, New Jersey and California where 540 delegates will be chosen on June 8.

It cannot be done. Money will tell in the end. In the Democratic party, dollars have become the prime determinant of who runs where and how well. This year, dollars are just as likely to affect our political choices as they did in the days when there was no public disclosure and no public subsidies.

Ken Bode

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The New York Times

— NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1976 —

CARTER DEFENDS ALL-WHITE AREAS

Says Government Shouldn't Try to End 'Ethnic Purity' of Some Neighborhoods

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

SOUTH BEND, Ind., April 6 — Jimmy Carter said today that the Federal Government should not take the initiative to change the "ethnic purity" of some urban neighborhoods or the economic "homogeneity" of well-to-do suburbs.

If he wins the Presidency, the Georgia Democrat said at a news conference here, "I'm not going to use the Federal Government's authority deliberately to circumvent the natural inclination of people to live in ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods."

Similarly, he said, "To build a high-rise, very low-cost housing unit in a suburban neighborhood or other neighborhoods with relatively expensive homes, I think, would not be in the best interest of the people who live in the high-rise or the suburbs.

"Any exclusion of a family because of race or ethnic background I would oppose very strongly and aggressively as President," he said. "But I think it's good to maintain the homogeneity of neighborhoods if they've been established that way."

Mr. Carter, making his first campaign venture into Indiana, which will hold its Presidential primary May 4, repeatedly declared his support for Federal and state open-housing laws.

"If there is a neighborhood that's homogeneous and if a

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UDALL AND CARTER SEEM TO BE CLOSE IN WISCONSIN RACE

Poll Indicates Ford Leads Reagan in the Republican Presidential Primary

WALLACE, JACKSON LAG

Voting in Unusually Warm Weather Is Very Heavy in Some Sections

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, April 6—Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia appeared to be running very close in the Wisconsin Democratic Presidential primary today, while President Ford was leading Ronald Reagan in the Republican race.

The findings, based on projections from a New York Times/CBS News poll among some 1,400 voters after they had cast their ballots, showed both Mr. Udall and Mr. Carter with more than a third of the total.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, the two other Democrats who campaigned in this state, were far behind the two leaders.

Mr. Wallace, based on the polling, appeared to be receiving about half as many votes as he did in 1972, when he ran second. Senator Jackson also appeared to be receiving fewer votes than his small share of four years ago.

Liberals' Preference

According to the poll, Mr. Udall's greatest strength by far came from Wisconsin's liberal Democrats, while Mr. Carter had more than half of those who consider themselves conservative Democrats. Mr. Carter also attracted far more of the moderate voters than Mr. Udall.

Support in Wisconsin for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who was not on the ballot, was demonstrated when more than a third of the Democratic voters questioned said they would have preferred to vote for the Minnesota Senator.

However, despite Mr. Udall's courtship of these Humphrey supporters, half of them went to Mr. Carter.

The poll showed Mr. Udall gaining heavy support from those with a college education, but far less from those with less schooling. Among white-collar voters, Mr. Udall was the favorite among those whose jobs are managerial or professional; Mr. Carter drew support from clerical employees and other white-collar voters.

The blue-collar vote was heavily pro-Carter.

Today's Wisconsin primary was exceptional in the following aspects:

¶The voting took place in warm sunshine, phenomenal spring weather for the upper Midwest, and the turnout in some sections was unusually heavy.

¶The Ford-Reagan race was

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UDALL AND CARTER SEEM TO BE CLOSE

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the first Republican primary contest since 1952 that had any meaning.

And this year, for the first time in memory, Wisconsin had to share the nation's political spotlight with another state, since New York held its primary on the same day.

In addition, until the Democratic National Committee changed its mind last month and accepted Wisconsin's usual practice of crossover voting, the Democratic race was going to be nothing but a "beauty contest," with that party's convention delegates to be selected later in caucuses.

As a result, Mr. Carter, Governor Wallace, and Senator Jackson started their campaigns late and, with Mr. Udall, had to divide their time between Wisconsin and New York.

Shift on Delegates

But with this special change in Democratic rules, Wisconsin's voters today decided how this state's 68 delegates to the Democratic National Convention would be apportioned among the contestants.

The Republicans, by their votes for President Ford or Mr. Reagan, decided upon the 48 delegates they will send to the Kansas City convention.

Once again, the names of all declared candidates for the Presidential nomination were on their ballot, even though Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas, Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania and Sargent Shriver have already dropped out of the Democratic race and Fred R. Harris, former Senator of Oklahoma, has suspended his campaigning until the Pennsylvania primary later this month.

Confronted by another Reagan challenge, President Ford made two brief but extensive weekend campaign trips through Wisconsin, and his surrogates, including the leaders of the state's dwindling Republican organization, carried on an extensive telephone campaign for him.

Mr. Reagan gave up his personal effort in Wisconsin last week, limiting his campaign to television appearances and radio commercials.

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CARTER DEFENDS ALL-WHITE AREAS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

family of another ethnic group wanted to move in," he said, "I would use the full resources of the Federal Government to enforce their right to do that."

But the emphasis of his remarks—first in an answer to a news conference question in Indianapolis this morning, then in elaborations here—was on the value of sameness in communities and on the costs of change and integration.

In making the point, he used unusually blunt language about social differences—about "black intrusion" into white neighborhoods, for example. He spoke of "alien groups" in communities, and of the bad effects of "injecting" a "diametrically opposite kind of family" or "a different kind of person" in a neighborhood.

One of the most striking aspects of Mr. Carter's success in primaries this year has been his ability in both North and South, to win votes from blacks and simultaneously from many whites who feel that government has done more than it should for racial minorities. Today he seemed to be saying that "affirmative action" by the Federal Government is not the key to political success or social harmony.

'Natural Inclination'

His first comment on the subject today was addressed to a question about an interview he gave in New York last weekend. He said, "I have nothing against a community that's made up of people who are Polish or Czechoslovakian or Franch-Canadian, or blacks who are trying to maintain the ethnic purity of their neighborhoods.

"This is a natural inclination of the part of people, and I made this statement in Milwaukee, where there has been over a period of 100 or 150 years a compatibility among neighborhoods, for the churches, the private clubs, the newspapers, restaurants, all designed to accommodate members of a particuar ethnic group. I see nothing wrong with that as long as it's done freely."

Asked later if Northern ethnic neighborhoods had been preserved "freely," he said, "I can't tell you that."

In Indianapolis this morning, he continued:

"I would never, though, condone any sort of discrimination against, say, a black family, or any other family, from moving into that neighborhood. But I don't think government ought deliberately to try to break down an ethnically oriented community—deliberately by injecting into it a member of another race. This contrary to the best interest of the community. It creates disharmony. It creates hatred."

Mr. Carter showed puzzlement and annoyance when reporters pressed their questions this afternoon. "If you're trying to make something out of nothing," he told one reporter, "I resent that effort. I'm not trying to say I want to maintain with any kind of government interference the ethnic purity of neighborhoods. I didn't say that at all. What I say is the government ought not take as a major purpose the intrusion of alien groups into a neighborhood, simply to establish that intrusion."

He said this afternoon that his first comment this morning had got and merited little attention. "None of you noticed it," he said. "There was nothing notable about it. Now in retrospect, you're trying to make something out of it, and there's nothing to be made of it."

Today, as he frequently does, Mr. Carter explained his racial goal in the context of his native South. Often he has said that the Federal civil rights legislation of the 1950's was "the greatest thing that ever happened to the South in my lifetime."

He is the richest citizen in his rural hometown, Plains, Ga., and, as he said today, an integrated public housing project stands "almost within a stone's throw of where I live."

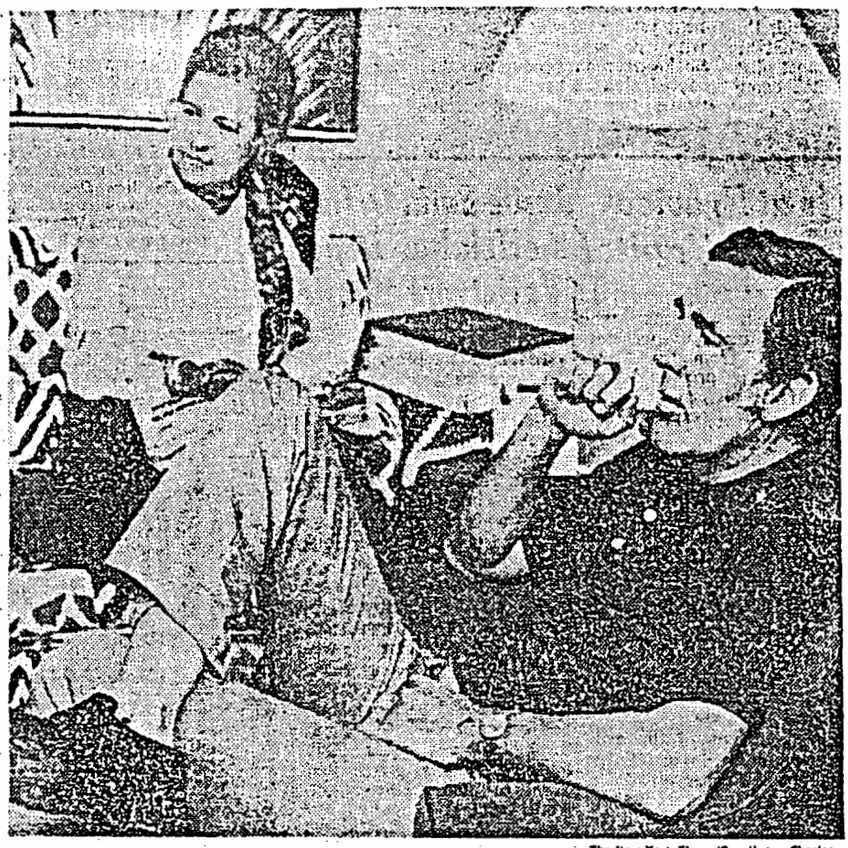
As Governor of Georgia, he sponsored the state's first open-housing law, he said, and enforced it more vigorously than the Nixon Administration was enforcing Federal laws against discrimination in housing. Asked this afternoon whether the rural South was an appropriate model for racial integration in a traditionally but not legally separate communities in the urban North, he hesitated.

"If you refuse to let me use experience that I've had it constrains me a great deal in my ability to answer your questions. I'm not sure it is different," he added, speaking of the Northern and Southern experiences. "In Atlanta, for instance, there was adamant opposition to the intrusion of blacks into those all-white neighborhoods."

Asked further if the South could have been integrated without an aggressive Federal policy, he said, "I see no relationship from your questions to what we've been discussing. I'm not trying to keep blacks and whites apart."

Finally, he was aksed whether the preservation of ethnic and economically uniform neighborhoods would not extend racial seperation in the public schools of the North.

"That may or may not be the case," he replied. "The neighborhoods in Atlanta with which I am familiar have been fairly pure, although they've been much more integrated since I passed my open-housing bill. But the schools are quite thoroughly mixed."



The New York Times/Don Hogan Charles

Representative Morris K. Udall relaxing in his Milwaukee hotel room with his wife Ella yesterday afternoon, after a morning of handshaking outside automobile assembly plants.

Lack of Matching Funds Is Not Felt by Candidates

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By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 6—Nine Presidential candidates would have almost $1.3 million more to spend if Congress had not let the campaign subsidy program lapse two weeks ago, along with most of the powers of the Federal Election Commission.

Finance managers for most of the active contenders reported today, however, that they had not yet felt a serious pinch for lack of matching funds, in part because money for the New York and Wisconsin primaries was largely committed before subsidies were cut off.

But strategists generally agreed that two more weeks was about as long as thy could stretch their resources unaided without what one of them called "serious impairment" of the capacity to conduct an effective campaign.

Even if Senate-House conferees agree on legislation this wek—and they have yet to met—and if Prsident Ford signs the resulting bill, matching fund payments to candidates could probably not be resumed until the end of next week at the earliest.

Data Being Submitted

Although the Election Commission cannot authorize subsidies until it is reconstituted by Congress to conform with a Supreme Court ruling, candidates are still submitting records of private contributions that are eligible for matching, and the agency is processing them so that prompt retroactive payment can be made if the ban is lifted.

On the surface, the candidate most seriously affected by the freeze is President Ford. As of today, the commission has cleared $701,419 in future subsidies for his campaign. Ronald Reagan is due $282,154, Representative Morris K. Udall $127,962 and Jimmy Carter $57,538.

Neither Senator Henry M. Jackson nor Gov. George C. Wallace has filed for additional matching funds for the two weeks since the commission's power to approve them lapsed.

Robert J. Keefe, Mr. Jackson's campaign manager, said that his aides were still "putting together" a filing that he estimated would run to $170,000.

The constrictive impact of the subsidy freeze is materially increased because the new campaign law, in effect in a national election for the first time, limits private contributions to $1,000 from an individual and $5,000 from a political committee. This makes large-scale fund raising much more difficult than it was in the past.

Mr. Keefe said that his financial operation was running "very close to even" without the benefits of subsidies in the last two weeks, largely because $400,000 in contributions was raised in March. This was the second highest monthly total of the Jackson campaign.

The Reagan campaign attempted last week to dramatize the subsidy cut-off by announcing that the freeze had forced the former California Governor to give up his chartered jet for less expensive commercial flights, but some political exaggeration appeared to be involved.

Asked if the subsidy freeze ha seriously affected Mr. Reagan's campaign, John Magnotti, his director of administration, replied, "Not really."

"As long as matching payments can be resumed in about two weeks," he added, Reagan campaign finances should be "in pretty decent shape."

Asked the same question about the Ford campaign, Peter Kaye, its information director, replied, "Not really." He said that the President Ford Committee had a net surplus of $750,000 on April 1 and had not been forced to cut back on any planned political activity.

"We don't have any short-range problem," he said, "but we might have one if this thing went on too long."

Michael K. Deaver, chief of staff of the Reagan campaign, said last Friday that "currently the Federal Government owes Citizens for Reagan approximately $1 million in matching funds," but this also turns out to be a material overstatement.

At that time, the Reagan campaign had submitted subsidy requests for $282,000 and was holding $105,000 in earlier submissions that had been turned down by the commission for lack of documentation but may ultimately prove to be matchable.

Figure Is Explained

Mr. Magnotti explained today that the $1 millipn figure included subsidy requests that the Reagan campaign expected to submit in the next two weeks, plus "a substantial amount" of past private contributions for which documentation was still being assembled.

Under the campaign law, Federal subsidies are available to match the first $250 of any private contribution. This is designed to encourage broad-based support through relatively small donations from a large number of voters.

Robert Lipshutz, treasurer of the Carter campaign, said that the former Georgia Governor had "paid up" the cost of his Wisconsin and New York primaries before the subsidy freeze went into effect and was also not relying on any matching funds for his $50,000 budget for the Pennsylvania primary on April 27. After that, he said, there could be financial problems.

Edward Coyle, administrative director of the Udall campaign, said that availability of the frozen matching money would have made only a "marginal difference" in Mr. Udall's efforts in Wisconsin and New York.

The Arizona Democrat has been able to carry on his scheduled media campaigns in Wisconsin and New York because his advertising agency extended him credit, thus reducing the "practical effect" of not having $130,000 immediately available in cash.

"It's the uncertainty that drives you crazy," Mr. Coyle said. "At least those matching fund checks provided some kind of signposts in this uncharted financial swamp."

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Carter Rallies to Nip Udall; Jackson Wins N.Y. Primary

By ANDREW MOLLISON
and DAVID SCHULTZ
Constitution Washington Bureau

MILWAUKEE—Jimmy Carter apparently defeated Morris Udall early Wednesday after trailing the Arizona congressman in the Wisconsin Democratic primary most of the evening.

Both major news services projected shortly after 2 a.m. that Carter was the winner. Cheering Carter supporters at their Milwaukee campaign headquarters thought so, too.

Carter reappeared at his campaign headquarters after it appeared that he had overcome Udall, grinning broadly and displaying a copy of the Milwaukee Sentinel, the morning newspaper, which featured a headline that said: "Carter Upset By Udall."

Wisconsin

Carter told about 200 supporters, "When you win this close, it's not the candidate or his wife, it's all of you who have come from all over the country to work for me."

With 95 per cent of the vote counted, Carter was leading Udall by more than 5,000 votes after trailing until after midnight.

The Arizona congressman, who had predicted that Wisconsin would start him on the road to the White House, had badly needed a strong win here to retain his claimed title of standard-bearer for the Democrats' liberal wing.

Udall had claimed victory in Wisconsin shortly before midnight EST, but Carter refused to concede defeat.

Both NBC and ABC television networks early in the evening had projected Udall as the winner by a narrow margin. CBS said the race was too close to call.

With 95 per cent of the precincts reporting in the Democratic primary:

Carter, 258,603, or 37 per cent.

Udall, 253,087, or 36 per cent.

George Wallace, 87,588, or 13 per cent.

"How sweet it is," Udall told a cheering crowd at a Milwaukee hotel earlier in the evening.

Carter had hoped to consolidate his previous primary victories with a big win here and establish himself as the upstoppable candidate.

See WISCONSIN, Page 7-A

By ANDREW J. GLASS
and CHARLES OSOLIN
Constitution Washington Bureau

NEW YORK—Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, though falling short of his own predictions, won a decisive victory in the New York Democratic primary Tuesday.

With 93 per cent of the precincts reporting, Jackson's delegate candidates led for 108 of the 274 Democratic convention seats at stake. Jackson had predicted he would win half the seats in a "landslide." But most observers had viewed that claim as unrealistic in view of the crowded delegate field.

The rest of the delegates were split three ways among former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Arizona Rep. Morris

New York

Udall, the liberal standard bearer, and uncommitted slates largely favoring Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

Udall delegates were leading for 68 seats, Carter led in 33 races, and 65 uncommitted delegates were ahead.

Jackson, who invested heavily in time and resources for the New York contest, was looking for a big win here to advance his presidential hopes. Apparently, he got it.

"On to Pennsylvania," said his pleased campaign manager, Robert Keefe, as he prepared for a Jackson showdown with Carter on April in the Keystone State.

"We're going to win by a landslide, but we don't have a majority," Keefe added, in a statement that was about as logical as New York's election laws.

Jackson did not appear at a victory party at a New York hotel after striking NBC technicians threw a picket line around the entrance. His backers, who counted heavily on organized labor support, started another party on the edge of Central Park, where the strains of a Dixieland band blended with the blaring horns of a gigantic traffic jam.

Jackson's win apparently was aided by a low voter turnout—only about 25 per cent of the state's 3.6 million Democrats showed up. Jackson did particularly well among the Jewish voters in New York City and its suburbs, primarily because of his pro-Israeli stand.

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New York

From Page 1-A

New York Jews tend to vote in larger numbers than Democrats in general.

Jackson swept most of the predominantly Jewish districts of New York City, enabling him to beat back a strong challenge by Udall in the city. He held his own against Carter in the conservative suburban and upstate areas.

Udall swept the Harlem and the silk stocking areas of Manhattan's upper Eastside.

But Jackson managed to win two delegates in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section represented by Shirley Chisholm, who headed the Udall effort in her district.

The New York results should enable Jackson to regain some of the momentum achieved by his initial 23 per cent victory in Massachusetts five weeks ago. He has based his challenge to Carter, the surprise Democratic frontrunner, on the claim that Carter has yet to prove his vote-getting ability in the big industrial states of the East.

For the first time in New York history, the names of the Democratic presidential candidates appeared on primary ballots above their delegate slates. Their inclusion resulted from the passing of a last-minute reform law by the legislature—a change that forced the organization-bound Jackson forces to run a more media-oriented campaign than they had planned.

Under the compromise, Republican presidential names were left off the ballot, mainly because the state's GOP hierarchy did not want to encourage a move by Ronald Reagan in the four districts where President Ford was challenged by the former California governor.

Most of the 154 delegates to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City had been selected before Tuesday's voting.

The Democrats elected their second-largest contingent to the national convention—274 delegates—of whom 206 were named directly by the voters. The remaining 68 will be chosen later by state party officials in proportion to the number of delegates captured in the primary.

Wisconsin

From Page 1-A

The neck-and-neck battle with Udall, however, was unlikely to damage seriously his overall campaign, which had chalked up five victories in six previous primaries.

On the Republican side, President Ford won over former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California by a smaller margin than had seemed likely. Reagan limited his campaigning to broadcast advertising in the closing two weeks despite his unexpected victory in North Carolina March 23.

With 95 per cent of the precincts reporting:

Ford, 308,260, or 55 per cent.

Reagan, 248,196, or 44 per cent.

No preference, 2,497, or 1 per cent.

Udall had campaigned in Wisconsin for well over a year.

Jackson virtually ignored Wisconsin, concentrating instead on New York, but his showing here was so poor that his candidacy may have suffered.

He and Alabama Gov. Wallace trailed far behind Udall and Carter.

Wallace's showing was especially poor when compared to his 22 per cent in the 1972 Wisconsin primary. Wallace has lost five straight contested primaries this year.

There was some indication during the campaign that Udall benefited from the support of many Wisconsin Democrats who favor the ultimate nomination of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

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'We're No. 1,' Supporters Scream

By DAVID MORRISON
Constitution Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—An enervated Rosalynn Carter made a dead run back into the hotel ballroom about 12:45 a.m. Wednesday after 200 or so remaining Carter supporters broke out in euphoric shouts when the peanut farmer from Plains surged three votes ahead of Morris Udall with 85 per cent of the vote in.

"We told you, we told you we're No. 1," screamed the loyal hardcore supporters.

Mrs. Carter was on her way to the hotel elevator when she heard her husband was leading by the three-vote margin—the first time he ran ahead of Udall in a close race that would not be decided until almost all the votes were counted.

As the band played "Dixie" for the fifth time, Carter campaign coordinator Hamilton Jordan said, "What can I tell you, we're goin' to win. It's better this way."

A few hours earlier, a haggard Jimmy Carter greeted more than 2,000 supporters at the hotel.

"We'll wait until the final vote comes in before we talk about who comes in first or second," Carter said to the cheering crowd.

With only a fraction of the precincts reporting Tuesday evening, two of the three national TV networks projected Arizona Rep. Udall the winner by a slight margin in Wisconsin.

In the New York primary, Carter was running far behind Washington Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson in delegate tallies in New York's primary.

"Udall already has claimed a victory here, and I'll give him my tentative congratulations," Carter said.

Moments earlier, in two network news interviews, Carter disputed a commentator's statement that the defeats Tuesday proved that the Carter "bandwagon" had been stopped, and that the primaries proved "Carter can be beaten."

"I think it's obvious that Carter is able to be beaten," the 51-year-old former Georgia governor said. However, he added that he had run in every state primary and every delegate selection caucus to date, adding that "it's a good excuse for coming in second, although I don't need one."

Eyes red after a lengthy day of campaigning in Indiana, which began at about 4:30 a.m. CST as Carter rose to get ready to meet a factory shift change, Carter nervously edged into a hotel salon for his obligatory election interview with Walter Cronkite. the

See CARTER, Page 7-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

microphone and earplug, press secretary Jody Powell added to the candidate's miseries by pointing out that he had a cowlick on the part of his hair.

"I've got a comb right here in my pocket," Carter said.

"You might want to do it a little," Powell replied.

"It would help if I had a mirror," the candidate snapped.

"Sorry," said Powell, who has learned to adjust to an occasional Carter crankiness. "I left my compact in my room."

Charles Harris of Ocilla, chairman of the Georgia Board of Regents, one of 92 Georgians who flew at their own expense to campaign for Carter in Wisconsin, said Carter "may have blown this inning, but he hasn't lost the ball game."

"Jimmy Carter is going to be President of the United States," said Harris.

Harris said the loss was not due to Carter's having failed to address the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, which Udall says will put him in the White House, nor due to any surge of liberal sentiment challenging Carter's more moderate views.

"Jimmy Carter didn't spend a third of the money that Udall spent," said Harris. "Udall's been campaigning here for more than a year. Jimmy just got here."

Billy Carter, the candidate's brother who has been working precincts in Green Bay, in the north central part of the state, echoed that old swan song loosers normally sing in Georgia politics when they still look for some phantom precinct returns from north Georgia.

"It ain't over yet," Billy Carter said as early returns were posted. "Just wait 'til Green Bay comes in."

Early Tuesday in South Bend, Ind., Carter said that if elected he would use all the resources of the presidency to enforce open housing laws, but he added that he opposed any federal action to destroy "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

Carter devoted most of two press conferences, one here and one in Indianapolis, to carefully explaining his position on open housing in an attempt to make sure no one read racist overtones into his proposed policies.

Carter flatly denied his statements were intended to subtly infer to white voters that if he is elected president, he will keep blacks out of white neighborhoods.

"I'm not trying to keep any neighborhood pure," Carter said. "What I'm saying is I'm not going to use the federal government's authority to deliberately circumvent the natural inclination of people to live in an ethnically homogeneous neighborhood.

"There is a natural inclination for Czechoslovakians, for Polish people, for French Canadians, for blacks to want to have their own churches, their own schools and their own social clubs and restaurants. To deliberately try to tear down the integrity of the neighborhoods is not something I approve of."

Similarly, he said, "To build a high-rise, very low-cost housing unit in a suburban neighborhood or other neighborhoods with relatively expensive homes, I think, would not be in the best interest of the people who live in the high-rise or the suburbs."

Carter, making his first campaign venture Tuesday to Indiana, which will hold its presidential preference primary on May 4, repeatedly declared his support of open housing laws at federal and state levels.

The Georgian's problems on the issue, at least with the national press corps traveling with him, apparently stemmed from his deliberate use of phrases such as "ethnically pure" and "intrusion" of "alien groups" into an established neighborhood.

But, he said, "If there is a neighborhood that's homogeneous and if a family of another ethnic group wanted to move in, I would use the full resources of the federal government to enforce their right to do that."

However, Carter carefully explained that his major concern was maintaining the value of sameness in communities, citing costs of change and integration.

In the South Bend press conference, Carter was visibly annoyed at the persistence of questions on the subject, stressing periodically that he had answered the same question the third and fourth time.

Uncharacteristically, the normally cool Carter appeared flushed, and perspired heavily under the hot television lights in the airport baggage claim area, where he held his press conference.

"We're having communications problems," one of Carter's staff explained later, "and we've got to clear it up."

Another staffer said that Carter and the press "never got on the same wavelength" on the open housing issue.

The day was not without its high moments for Carter, however, as he anxiously awaited returns from the Wisconsin and New York primaries. In Indianapolis, at the International Harvester foundry, the 51-year-old former Georgia governor was greeted warmly by many of the 3,000 plant employes, who said no other presidential candidate had ever asked to tour the plant since it opened in 1938.

One United Auto Workers official, a black man, asked Carter who he would choose as vice president if he chose a black running mate.

"If I was considering any black for vice president, it would be Andrew Young," Carter said. Young, a Georgia congressman, is actively involved in Carter's campaign.

Carter Group Uses Diplomacy to Report Liberal and Conservative Endorsements

22

Endorsements from different quarters is an important part of any Presidential primary campaign, and getting them often requires the most exquisite diplomacy.

In the case of Jimmy Carter, it took two back-to-back news conferences at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel the other day. Actually, it was billed as only one conference to announce the endorsements of a host of Manhattan liberals, including Eleanor Guggenheimer, the Commissioner of Consumer Affairs; Howard J. Samuels, unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1974, and Joseph Lash, author of "Eleanor and Franklin."

At the end, William J. vanden Heuvel, Mr. Carter's state co-chairman, announced, "That's the end of one press conference an din a moment we'll have another. The liberals were ushered out and then another endorsement was announced—from Peter Flaherty, Pittsburgh's no-frills conservative Mayor.

●

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington is often accused of using exaggerated hand gestures to illustrate his speeches. The other day, the Senator was talking to a Jewish audience in Westchester about rising prices.

"Your bills are going up, up, up," he said, his arm rising as he spoke. "Well, its time they go down, down, down," he added, going into a deep knee bend.

"Mummy," asked one small spectator, "is he playing Jack and Jill?"

●

As the candidates address crowds at political meetings and luncheons, they often end up speaking more for the benefit of the reporters and cameramen than for the people who have gathered to hear them. At a political club dinner honoring Senator Jackson recently in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, an entourage of newsmen rushed up behind the candidate as he mounted the podium and blocked the view of spectators sitting at the tables. One woman, cranning her neck to see Senator Jackson, finally became so exasperated she threw a bun at the head of a cameramen.

●

During a speech to several hundred students at the University of Rochester recently, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona thanked them for their warm and enthusiastic response and then recalled a story about the late Adlai E. Stevenson, who, when running for the Presidency himself, was told by a woman that "every thinking person supports you."

"It is not enough, madam," Mr. Stevenson replied. "I need a majority."

●

Employees of smaller television stations sometimes have to act as "one-man bands." One newsman may operate a film camera, set up the lights and even ask the questions, fulfilling all the functions of a four-man network news crew. The other day in Buffalo, such a newsman asked Mr. Udall to hold the microphone while the newsman adjusted his camera and lights.

Mr. Udall, who has difficulty repressing his sense of humor, began conducting the interview himself.

"Why are you here, Mr. Udall?" he asked.

"I have come to Buffalo with my message of hope as the best qualified of the Presidential candidates and every thinking person will support me," the Congressman replied.

The network camera teams were too slow to get that bit of film on tape.

●

Leaning against the rail of a boat bringing him back from a publicity session at the Statue of Liberty yesterday, Mr. Udall waved—as any harbor tourist will—at a boat passing by.

It was an oil barge with an Exxon sign. Mr. Udall, who is depicting himself as a foe of Big Business nn the New York primary today, grinned and then, almost to himself, said, "Exxon, I'm going to break you up."

●

There was another of those glimpses that say something about a candidate or the tenor of a political campaign during Mr. Udall's brief New York tour, designed to produce pre-election pictures.

Television technicians squashed so close to him and Representative Bella S. Abzug of Manhattan, who were shaking hands with people hurrying into the IRT station at Broadway and 72d Street, that the entrance was totally blocked. Then the television people, in a display of good manners, rare in the much-televised campaign, backed off into a slightly distant half circle.

One cameraman, breaking the tacit arrangement, started to step forward. His sound man, whose gear is attached by wire to the camera, tugged sharply on the wire, as if he were pulling back a frisky dog. The cameraman retreated into position.

●

When Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota came into New York City last week, casually upstaging the three major Democratic candidates who had just been questioned by a panel of mayors, Mayor Beame, in an impish mood, told a luncheon audience that Mr. Humphrey should have been on "one of the earlier panels." One of the panels was questioning mayors, the other answering Presidential candidates. "After all," Mr. Beame said, "he's a former mayor."

●

As the 16-to-20 hour days pile up one on another, sometimes the candidates, like ordinary people, get tired and their tongues get twisted.

The other day in Lido Beach, L. I., Senator Jackson had just finished his usual pledge that he would insure that the country becomes independent in oil so that the United States would never be subject to blackmail by a foreign power.

Winding up his speech, he called on his supporters to "work together with me for a better life for oil."

"I mean for all," he stammered as laughter swept the dining room.

Rockefeller Returns From 6-Nation Tour

Vice President Rockefeller returned from his six-nation tour yesterday, saying that the capitals he visited wondered if they could still count on America.

"The thing that everybody was concerned about is, can they count on the United States," Mr. Rockefeller said after he arrived with his wife at Kennedy International Airport.

"The United States has got a lot of friends who believe in freedom around the world," he said.

His tour included stops in Tunisia, France, Iran, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand.

The Rockefellers planned to stay overnight at their Manhattan apartment and return to Washington tomorrow.

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BEFORE PA. VOTE

Mayor May Endorse Carter

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Mayor Maynard Jackson, one of the last remaining Atlanta black leaders still uncommitted to a presidential candidate, is expected to endorse Jimmy Carter shortly.

It was also learned that Sheila Sugarman, wife of Jackson's top aide, Jule Sugarman, recently became a full-time volunteer for the Carter campaign and may assume a salaried position.

Jackson's support for former Georgia Gov. Carter would further isolate state Sen. Julian Bond, who almost alone among Georgia black leaders supports liberal Arizona Rep. Morris Udall for president.

Pearl Lomax, Jackson's press secretary, said the mayor "is not going to be endorsing anybody for the next couple of days."

However, several sources said Jackson has decided to get behind Carter's candidacy and is conferring with Carter staffers about the most opportune time to do so.

Jackson declined to endorse Carter before the primaries Tuesday in Wisconsin and New York, and is now expected to deliver the endorsement close to the April 27 primary in Pennsylvania.

The mayor may campaign for Carter in Pennsylvania, joining other black leaders including U.S. Rep. Andrew Young, state Rep. Ben Brown, head of the General Assembly black caucus, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr.on the Carter campaign trail.

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Udall, Baffled by Carter's Success, Tests His Campaign Style Tomorrow

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, April 4—At times Morris K. Udall has seemed to be annoyed by Jimmy Carter but, even more, the Arizona Congressman is baffled by the former Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Udall is not the most orthodox politician himself: he is prone to use humor more than most, sometimes disregards safe ambiguities and displays an unusual degree of detachment about himself and his chances to win the Democratic Presidential nomination.

But the tall Arizonian began his campaign with, and has clung to, a set of assumptions about how to conduct a campaign that could be called orthodox for liberal Democrats in Congress. Mr. Carter, in the view of Mr. Udall, has ignored or flaunted most of those assumptions and has still prospered politically. In late February, Mr. Udall was saying this could not last long.

Now, as the two men approach a crucial test in the Wisconsin and New York primary elections this Tuesday, Mr. Udall is more ready to acknowledge Mr. Carter's tactical successes. But he still has difficulty understanding how Mr. Carter does it.

'A Good Day's Work'

"In Boston," Mr. Udall told an audience recently, "he [Mr. Carter] got a good part of the antibusing vote, and a mile away in Roxbury he was getting a lot of the black vote. That's a good day's work if you can do it."

As the Wisconsin voting approached, Mr. Udall has increasingly concentrated on an attempt to make Mr. Carter himself the main issue. Mr. Udall often emphasizes assertions that the Georgian is vague and unspecific on major issues.

"It reminds me of an old comedy in which Groucho Marx was playing bridge and Groucho said, 'I bid four.'" Mr. Udall tells his audiences. "His opponents ask, 'Four what?' Groucho says, 'Deal the cards, I'll tell you later.'"

That joke, and others like it, have drawn laughter and in increasing response in the Wisconsin campaign, a possible indication that there are public doubts about Mr. Carter's willingness to be specific on such subjects as government reorganization and national health insurance.

But Mr. Udall has not only scored Mr. Carter on his alleged imprecision, but has also criticized the former Governor for not embracing the liberal Democratic dogma that Mr. Udall espouses and which he asserts represents the "mainstream of Democratic thinking."

For example, the Arizonian has tried to make much of charges that Mr. Carter has not endorsed specific legislation, such as the full employment and balanced growth bill introduced by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins of California. In Wisconsin, a major dairying state, Mr. Udall has also borne down hard on a statement by Mr. Carter that seemed to suggest that he favored milk price supports at 80 percent of parity rather than 90 percent.

A serious flaw in Mr. Udall's tactics and the perceptions on which they are based. Chief among these perceptions is the belief that the liberal "consensus" in Congress extends to the voting public at large and that, in seeking the Democratic nomination, a candidate cannot successfully evade commitment to the liberal dogma.

Carter's Technique

Indeed, there is considerable evidence that Mr. Carter's campaign technique is hardly the result of inadvertent lapses in ideology or accidental failures to espouse the programs that Mr. Udall supports.

From the first candidate forum in New Hampshire early this year, Mr. Carter has consistently staked out a position to the right of Mr. Udall and the left wing of the Democratic Party. He seemed quite aware that this would lose him some liberal votes, but was clearly betting that it would win him more votes in the center and on the right.

Mr. Carter has also been emphasizing such matters as reorganization of what he calls a "bloated" Federal bureaucracy, and has emphasized public distrust of Washington.

Mr. Udall, therefore, has been basing his campaign on an accusation that Mr. Carter has failed to do and say things that Mr. Carter apparently never had any intention of doing or saying, and has disavowed every intention of avoiding.

Different Campaigns

This means that Mr. Udall and Mr. Carter are running very different campaigns, based on differing assumptions and calculations.

The two campign techniques will be tested Tuesday in Wisconsin and New York. It will be the first time since the Massachusetts primary early last month that Mr. Carter has faced Mr. Udall and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in a major test. It could be the last test of Mr. Udall's assumptions, but he is hoping it will be only the start of a series of primary election successes that will slow Mr. Carter's momentum.

More than ideology, or even political technique, concerns Mr. Udall about his opponent, however. He says he finds it difficult to understand Mr. Carter as a man.

Mr. Udall often says, both in private conversatins and in public speeches, that he is suspicious of "driven" men who feel they "must" be President, a characteristic he attributes to Mr. Carter and to former President Richard M. Nixon.

"There is a harshness about Carter that is hard to understand, particularly when he is the front-runner," Mr. Udall said recently. "How will he behave if he starts to lose? Who are his friends, particularly those who can tell him that he is wrong?"

But to Mr. Udall, perhaps the most baffling thing of all is that, in his opinion, Mr. Carter has no discernible sense of humor.

Carter Takes the Lead in Delegate Selections in Kansas Counties

24

TOPEKA, Kan., April 4 (AP) —Jimmy Carter took the lead in the county delegate selections in Yesterday's Democratic caucuses in Kansas counties, but the biggest bloc of delegates elected is uncommitted.

Tm Corcoran of Topeka, a Democratic national committeeman, said that he believed many uncommited delegates were leaning toward Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Six hundred eight of 664 delegates, or 91.6 percent have been reported elected. Of those, Mr. Carter claimed 232, or 38.2 percent. Mr. Jackson had 43 or 7.1 percent.

A total of 286 delegates, or 47 percent, were elected next month's district conventions as uncommitted.

Following Mr. Carter and Mr. Jackson in the delegate voting were Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, 29, or 4.8 percent; Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, 13, or 1.1 percent; Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, 3, or one-half of 1 percent; and Senator Frank Church of Idaho, 2 or three-tenths of 1 percent.

Voting in Virginia

RICHMOND, April 4 (AP)— Mr. Carter, the only Presidential candidate who openly sought delegate support here, got 30 percent of the Democrats who were willing to indicate a preference in yesterday's meetings in 95 counties and 38 cities. About 60 percent of the delegates indicated that they wished to remain uncommitte.

Mr. Udall won 9 percent of the delegate strength and Mr. Wallace 1 percent. There was a scattering of delegates for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, Mr. Harris and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

State Democratic Party officials said that yesterday's caucus results would establish the apportionment of the state's 54 delegates to the national convention along these lines: uncommitted, 36 or 37; Mr. Carter, 14 to 16, Mr. Udall, 3 or 4.

The voting was to choose city and county delegates to Congressional district conventions May 22.

Results in Oklahoma

OKLAHOMA CITY, April 4 (VXAP) — Oklahoma Democrat have completed the apportionment of their delegation to the Democratic National Convention, with Mr.Carter picking up one more delegate than expected.

The former Georgia Governor picked up four of the nine delegates awarded at yesterday's session, giving him 17 sure votes for President.

The Burden on Carter

By Tom Wicker

The Wisconsin and New York primaries seem to have sent Jimmy Carter of Georgia a little further along the road to the Democratic Presidential nomination. But his remarks on the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods may prove more important than either primary; and although he has apologized for those remarks, they still could destroy his carefully built but exceedingly fragile political position.

For one thing, the apology clearly followed vigorous protests from Mr. Carter's black and some other supporters, raising the question whether it represented sincere repentance or a quick retreat under pressure. That, in turn, lends substance to charges that it is hard to know what Mr. Carter really believes, and what he may say only for campaign purposes.

More importantly, the episode threatens not just the substantial black support that Mr. Carter has been getting in the primaries, and which will be vital to him in campaigns to come; it threatens Mr. Carter's basic acceptability as a possible Democratic Presidential nominee.

That is because Jimmy Carter is a white man from Georgia who made his career in the racially charged politics of the South. To appeal nationally, he needed to show that he could rise above racial politics (not necessarily that he had never, even in Georgia, been tainted by it).

For that necessary demonstration that he had shed regional limitations, nothing was more important than for Mr. Carter to win the support of black voters and black leaders. Until this week, he had done that notably, raising the intriguing political possibility of a Southern candidate who could "hold the South" and win elsewhere, too.

Now Mr. Carter may have to start all over again in demonstrating that kind of national acceptability. Already, his most prominent black supporter, Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, has called the "ethnic purity" remark a "disaster for the campaign." If Mr. Young and other black leaders defect, not just black but many white voters surely will lose their confidence that Jimmy Carter really does transcend his regional environment.

In the remarks that precipitated this crisis, Mr. Carter appeared to be trying to make a subtle distinction between:

¶A Federal policy that would use the power of the Government to force "the intrusion of alien groups into a neighborhood, simply to establish that intrusion"; he said he would oppose such a policy.

¶A Federal policy that would support the right of a family to move into any neighborhood it chose for itself; he said he would support that kind of a policy.

There is a distinction here; Mr. Carter s saying he would not support a policy that allowed a white neighborhood to keep out a black family, but apparently he also would not support, for example, putting low-rent housing in high-rent districts. Nor would he "deliberately . . . try to break down an ethnically oriented community."

No doubt many whites feel the same way—that was roughly the Nixon Administration position—but there are good reasons why the distinction is not fitting for a candidate who aspires to lead all the people. As a Southerner surely knows, the full power of the Federal Government was needed to break down segregation in the South, and it will take no less to break it down where it exists in the North.

IN THE NATION

For one specific example, as industry continues to move to the rim of the city, an active Federal housing policy will be needed to prevent blacks and low-income whites from being shut out of the suburbs and left behind in the ghetto and decaying white neighborhoods. For another, if Mr. Carter opposes pupil busing, as he says he does, and if he will not support Federal efforts to integrate neighborhoods, the certain result will be to legitimate many all-white and all-black "neighborhood schools."

The fear of many black leaders is that Mr. Carter, astute as he has shown himself to be, knows all that and was, in fact, sending out a deliberate signal to the white suburbs and to white city neighborhoods that feel threatened by integration. But his responses to reporters seemed more as if he might have blundered into statements whose import he did not grasp.

Even if the latter interpretation is the correct one, Mr. Carter's use of such loaded phrases as "ethnic purity" and "intrusion" and "alien groups" rather ominously suggests a mistake of the instinct rather than an error of politics. Either way, the burden is on Jimmy Carter—not just to "apologize," not just to retreat, but to make it clear where he really stands, what he really believes.

That may be a peculiarly Southern burden, but it's not sufficient for Mr. Jackson or Mr. Udall simply to accuse Mr. Carter, as Mr. Udall did, of "the politics of racial division." A burden is on them, too, to say what they would do about all-white neighborhoods and how strongly they would use government power to break down patterns of racial and class segregation.

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BBB

Joseph Kraft

Democratic Race Gets Murkier

NEW YORK — Scoop Jackson caught up with Scoop Jackson here in New York. Jimmy Carter almost caught up with Jimmy Carter in Wisconsin.

So Mo Udall, as he said after running a strong second in both states, is still "in business." The Democratic race as a whole is getting murkier and murkier with a decision apt to emerge only at the convention.

Sen. Jackson came to New York predicting a landslide. He played to his strength among Jews and organized labor in New York City with a vengence.

He declared himself the only "liberal" in the race, and cited a voting record 100 per cent partial to the unions. Day after day he appeared in synagogues and before Jewish groups, often sporting a yarmulka. His support for Israel was unrestrained to the point of suggesting that U.S. Marines be dispatched to the Lebanon.

Not suprisingly, the senator did very well in the Jewish and union bastions of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens. As a result he picked up over 100 of the state's 274 convention delegates.

But over-concentration on his own supporters left other voters feeling out in the cold. Jackson ran particularly poorly with Catholics (less than 30 per cent according to the New York Times-CBS poll) though he had shown an ability to win Catholic votes in Massachusetts.

In consequence, Jackson bombed as soon as he left the metropolitan district. He did not win a major upstate city, and lost some to uncommitted slates leaning toward Hubert Humphrey. He ended up with less than half the delegates and less than 40 per cent of the total vote. That unimpressive performance was further dimmed by a fourth-place finish in Wisconsin. Robert Keefe, the honorable man who serves as Jackson's chief political guru, found it hard to stay true to both his boss and the facts. "It was landslide," he said, "but not a majority."

Jimmy Carter had hoped to win a solid victory in Wisconsin, thus knocking Udall out of the race and setting up a head-to-head final against Jackson. He spent the last week of his campaign in the state, riding the momentum of past victories into every corner of Wisconsin.

But he has now been around too long to be all things to all men. The CBS-Times poll showed high sensitivity among the voters to his "fuzziness" on issues. He struck out at Hubert Humphrey, thus showing a disposition to be a sore winner and antagonizing some of the labor leaders who had been in his corner. His stance on aid to cities emerged clearly, with unhappy effects among urban liberals.

In the end, Carter only eked out a victory thanks to rural support in western Wisconsin and a good showing in the smaller cities of Sheboygan, Green Bay, La Crosse and Eau Claire. The narrow win combined with a poor fourth in New York; in his first highly contested run in a big industrial state, Carter ran behind Jackson, Udall and the uncommitted slates. Though still moving forward, Carter is finding the going increasingly tough.

Udall made the most of the openings left by his two adversaries. In Wisconsin, according to the Times-CBS poll, he came across as Mr. Integrity in personality and Mr. Liberal on the issues. He beat Carter in the 2nd District around Madison by nearly 2-to-1. He won more than a third of the vote on the south side of Milwaukee, a white ethnic blue-collar district where busing was an issue. He carried the 1st District with the industrial centers of Racine and Kenosha.

In New York he ambushed Jackson among cosmopolitan Jews whose interests run beyond Israel. He took three districts in midtown Manhattan by substantial margins, and did well in the suburbs, carrying, for example, the 5th District in Nassau County on Long Island.

Dead Heat

Voters in New York and Wisconsin produced a perfectly balanced political result in Tuesday's primaries. Each of the three active Democratic candidates achieved something and so did the fourth, shadow candidate—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Senator Henry M. Jackson won a handsome victory in New York State. If he did not quite achieve the landslide for which he originally hoped, Senator Jackson nevertheless showed here as he did in Massachusetts that he has firm support among voters who are central to the Democratic Party coalition. He was expected to do well and he did.

For Representative Morris K. Udall, these primaries comprised a bittersweet experience. Before all the votes had been counted, he seemed to have won in Wisconsin his first primary, only to have his apparent victory slip away in the final returns. As in previous Wisconsin primaries, the outcome is clouded by the fact that voters there are permitted to cast a ballot in either party's primary. Thus it is impossible to know how many Republican voters may have contributed, if at all, to former Gov. Jimmy Carter's tiny winning margin.

Governor Carter, for his part, can point to the fact that he did not invest anything like the time and money in Wisconsin that Mr. Udall did. In achieving his victory, he not only maintained his remarkable record of success in these early primaries but also demonstrated once again his appeal to a broad cross-section of voters.

Governor Carter failed, however, in his optimum objective, which was to defeat Mr. Udall decisively and thereby convert the Democratic race into a two-man contest between himself and Senator Jackson. Mr. Udall not only made Wisconsin virtually a dead heat but also came in with a notably strong second-place showing in New York.

The Democratic race remains stubbornly three-sided—and that is the way that Senator Humphrey would like to see it remain. He is the second choice of most of the Udall and Jackson delegates if their own candidates fall short. But both candidates have to remain viable until the convention to prevent Governor Carter from achieving a runaway success.

. . . the Harris Diversion

Former Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma meanwhile has apparently decided to abandon his active candidacy because he has not been able to raise sufficient funds. Mr. Harris's candidacy may prove to have been costly to Senator Humphrey's hopes. Surveys of voters in New Hampshire and Massachusetts suggested that if Mr. Harris had not been on the ballot, those who voted for him would have supported Mr. Udall and made him a winner in both states. He, not Governor Carter, would have become the front-runner and the whole pattern of the early primaries would have been altered.

As events actually developed, Representative Udall fought his way to the leadership of the liberal Democrats but an impressive victory continues to elude him. Those Democrats who would like to see their party renominate Senator Humphrey must hope for Mr. Udall to do at least as well in the remaining primaries as he did on Tuesday.

If Mr. Udall should falter, every reading of liberal opinion indicates that most of his supporters would shift to Governor Carter because they distrust Senator Jackson's hawkish views on foreign policy. Such an accession of strength to the already thriving Carter candidacy would almost certainly spell success for the former Georgia Governor and kill Mr. Humphrey's hopes.

The now-defunct Harris candidacy may thus be one of those small, unforeseen but critical contingencies of politics. For Senator Humphrey, it would be a most ironic contingency inasmuch as Mr. Harris is an old friend and was co-manager of the Humphrey campaign of 1968.

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There's No Left Left

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, April 7—When Gertrude Stein bleakly surveyed Oakland, Calif., she announced: "There's no there there." In the same way, the results of the primary elections in New York and Wisconsin this week lead to this conclusion: "There's no Left left."

Most of the aging "New Left" has dropped out of politics; the remainder has joined much of the Old Left in the exodus to the New Right. Think of it: An articulate, attractive candidate like Congressman Udall, taking on Wisconsin's favorite label of "progressive," campaigning hard for many months, receiving help from Humphrey men who wanted to stop Carter, winds up with a third of the Democratic votes against a field generally perceived as conservative.

The message is unmistakable: The McGovernite left of the Democratic Party, so recently in the saddle, is hardly in the stable. Ideologically, the Americans for Democratic Action is down, and the Coalition for a Democratic Majority is up.

But what of the strong Udall showing in New York, where he ran a respectable second behind Senator Jackson, while Jimmy Carter was limping in fourth, behind Nobody? Doesn't that show that there is still a Left left?

Sorry: Nothing more vividly illustrates the rightward march than the Jackson victory in New York. Four years ago, a supporter of a strong defense posture would have been laughed out of a Democratic race. Jackson's win cannot be solely due to his support of Israel: He won in Elmira and in Spanish Harlem, and swept Queens County, which is more Catholic than Jewish.

New Yorkers kept Udall alive as a Vice-Presidential possiblity, even as they gave Mr. Carter the worst trouncing he has suffered. But "strong showings" do not a candidacy make; in Wisconsin, Governor Reagan captured 44 percent of the vote, and it is interpreted as "pretty good, considering." In truth, had the Reagan forces in Wisconsin been better organized months ago, a stunning upset might well have been engineered. Because Mr. Reagan wrote off Wisconsin from the start, he was unable to extend his one-primary winning streak.

Wisconsin may have been the most important primary so far. Governor Reagan played it safe, pleading poverty, but it was not so much a shortage of funds as a shortage of nerve that initially kept him from making his best efforts there. Had he gambled and lost, he could have shrugged it off; had he played to win, as challengers must, he might have turned around 5 percent of the vote and headed South and West with all the momentum.

Wisconsin's Democratic squeaker killed any remote Udall chances for the top spot and virtually ensured Mr. Carter a place somewhere on the Democratic ticket. Unlike Reagan, Carter took his chances; the daring paid off with one of those moments that will be looked back upon as a turning point in a campaign.

If Mr. Carter had lost in Wisconsin, on the same day of his drubbing in New York, he could have been said to have been "stopped"; at least, during the hot-stove-league weeks ahead, he would have taken an analytical beating.

Not only did he win, but he won in such a way as to produce one of those classic we-showed-'em photos: The picture of the political year to date is of Jimmy Carter holding aloft the headline of a newspaper prematurely giving victory to his opponent, recalling the jubilant moment of Harry Truman's upset over Thomas E. Dewey.

With this last note reverberating through the forthcoming intermission,

ESSAY

delegates may get the idea that Mr. Carter has an asset they consider more important than intelligence, stamina, character, integrity or charisma: It could be that he's lucky. Of the last four Presidential elections, two were the biggest landslides and two were the closest squeakers—and in a squeaker, convention delegates reason, it helps to have luck.

Here in Washington, trendier Democrats—particularly the old Kennedy crowd—are gravitating toward Mr. Carter, sensing in him the cool opportunism and apparent outsider's malleability that they find so attractive. (White House joke: Why can't Jimmy Carter lie? Because when he lies, he grows another tooth.)

The reaction to Carter in power-brokerage offices and in Georgetown recalls the legend of Napoleon's return from Elba as it was supposedly reported in Paris newspapers. "Hated Beast Lands in South" was the first headline; a more cautious "Napoleon Advances" was the second; finally, "Beloved Emperor at Gates of Paris."

At this moment the message from Wisconsin has generated a "Napoleon advances" feeling here about Mr. Carter. Meanwhile, the message from New York is that there are some Democrats—perhaps what's left of the Left—who might even stay home rather than vote for the supremely confident man from Georgia.

Invisible Again

By Eddie N. Williams

WASHINGTON—Presidential candidates have traditionally appealed to the black community almost exclusively in terms of civil rights issues—when they have felt the need to appeal at all. Thus in bygone elections the candidates who won our favors stood for equal opportunity in education, employment, housing, public accommodation, voting rights, etc.

Since the advent of the 1970's, however, traditional civil rights issues have been given less and less attention. This year the candidates are not even paying lip service to them. One factor that has caused so-called "black" issues to disappear is the widespread perception that many blatant inequities, once sanctioned by law and custom, have been eradicated —at least in the eyes of the law.

Another factor is new Federalism's successful redistribution of money and political power under the guise of improving program administration. But of equal, if not greater, significance is the fact that blacks today are not as militant and aggressive in pursuit of their interests as in the 1960's.

Consequently, blacks are being taken for granted by policymakers and politicians who feel they do not have to grease wheels that don't squeak. Their perception is based not only on the absence of protests and demonstrations but also on low black voter registration and turnout rates and the absence of public complaints.

Such benign neglect is all the more disturbing because not only do blatant inequities still exist, but they are zapping us with problems that are substantially different from those encountered in the 1960's. These problems are more subtle and less susceptible to legislative or judicial remedy—they are far more dangerous to the nation as a whole.

For example, the question today is not whether we can ride on the front of the bus, but whether the bus comes to our communities and whether we have bus fare. The issue is no longer whether blacks have an equal opportunity to get a job but whether there is a job to get. The issue is not whether there are funds for social programs; rather it is how much of the billions of dollars under general revenue-sharing and community-development legislation will ever reach the poor and the powerless.

In the 1960's, we struggled to get equal employment opportunity. Today, we are struggling to bring our unemployment rate down to that of whites.

Yet the Presidential candidates are deafening us by their silence on these inequities and the problems inherent in them. They are ignoring the special hurts and wants of disadvantaged Americans by proclaiming that their positions and programs are for the greatest good of *all* Americans.

In our democratic matrix of competing interest groups, it is the responsibility of government and political leaders to balance the rights and aspirations of minority groups against those of the majority. Those who assume that they are protecting minority interests by returning certain funds and programs from the Federal Government to the states and localities show little understanding of our political culture. The net effect of such action reminds us of the withdrawal of Federal troops from the South after Reconstruction.

What better time than now, in this Bicentennial year, could there be to begin worrying about factions and the development of a permanent economic underclass? What better time is there for our candidates to sip from the wellspring of our democracy and benefit from James Madison's wisdom?

"The most common and durable source of factions," Madison said in the Federalist Papers, "has been the various and unequal distribution of property. Those who hold and those who are without property have ever formed distinct interests in society. The regulation of these various and interfering interests forms the principal task of modern legislation and involves the spirit of party and faction in the necessary and ordinary operations of government."

Madison warned that "measures are too often decided not according to the rules of justice and the rights of the minor party, but by the superior force of an interested and overbearing majority."

How to protect minority interests is the hard question the Presidential candidates are ducking. Politicians who play politics with so vital a question are laying the groundwork for dangerous factions in our citizenry between the haves and have-nots.

Eddie N. Williams is president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, which is an information, technical assistance and research organization for black and other elected officials from a Center publication, Focus.

EEE

Hal Gulliver

Humphrey and Carter in Last Phase

The Democratic presidential race has become, at this stage, effectively a contest between former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

Carter's momentum continues in the wake of the Wisconsin and New York primaries and the Virginia and Kansas caucus votes last week. He is pulling away as the single Democrat with the most committed delegates, and the scheduled contests in the immediate weeks to come favor the Georgian more than any other candidate.

Pennsylvania is the next major state primary, on the 27th of this month, and many think this may be the final shoot-out at the O.K. Corral for Carter and Sen. Henry Jackson. After that comes Texas, four days later, where Carter stands to win a sizable number of delegates and where his main opposition on the ballot is Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, plus Alabama Gov. George Wallace. Bentsen has withdrawn to the timid role of favorite son, rather than national candidate, and Wallace's campaign falters for lack of money and lack of stronger showings against Carter in earlier primaries.

So the last round is probably going to see Humphrey moving out more and more.

His hope all along has been that a deadlocked convention would soon turn to the ole Minnesota warhorse. The reasoning of that is not bad, there are still believers, but such reasoning presumes at the least that there is a pretty good chance at a deadlocked convention. That notion started fading as James Earl Carter began putting together his winning streak.

One interesting note: the new federal campaign finance law was presumed by most people (me included) to be a factor that would tend to keep a number of candidates afloat for a long time. It provided, after all, for matching federal money for cash raised by the candidates, and the thought was that this was a strong incentive for even a candidate not doing well in the primaries to stay in and keep running. The reverse has proved true.

There is the federal matching money, but there is also the limitation of $1,000 per individual in contributions. That makes it terribly difficult for a faltering candidate to continue to raise money. It really means that, after losing a couple of primaries in a row, the candidate and his advisers have to sit down and look at the campaign deficit, maybe to the tune of $100,000 or more, and make hard decisions.

It is no longer possible for one or two or several wealthy individauls to bail the candidate out with several large contributions. It means that, to continue running actively, the candidate has to face the possibility of ending the campaign deeply in debt, debt for which the candidate may be personally responsible, at least in part.

So, then, these early ballotings in caucus and primary states have been knocking out candidates quickly.

That is why Humphrey must make some decisions quickly. He has a good deal of support within the national party, some of it nostalgic maybe, but a lot of it genuinely preferring Humphrey to Carter or any other candidate.

In Wisconsin, Humphrey tried indirectly to help Morris Udall. In New York, he tried indirectly to help Jackson. As these campaigns showed signs of lagging, it ironically gave Humphrey a certain boost in making him increasingly attractive as an alternative to Carter. But Carter's momentum has also made it less and less likely that the deadlocked convention scenario can occur.

So, as it becomes more and more a Humphrey-Carter race, the senator from Minnesota has to decide whether to enter a late primary or two, whether to go openly on the attack against the Georgian, or whether to hope still that the primary-caucus results will somehow remain just confused enough in later ballotings to give ole Hubert the chance at being a compromise choice.

The Expector-General

By Russell Baker

The papers say Senator Jackson is expected to win the New York primary, but they do not tell us who it is who is doing the expecting. This is a vital omission, as a moment's reflection will illustrate.

Suppose that after the papers say Jackson is expected to win, Jackson doesn't win. Bad news for Jackson. Very bad news. Election night on television and next day in the papers, everybody will say Jackson is a loser because he didn't win where he was expected to win. By having it announced ahead of time that he was expected to win, Jackson loses worse than if he had been expected not to win.

There has been an extraordinary amount of expecting in this campaign, and it would be helpful to know who is doing it. My guess, and it is nothing more, is that each candidate has an Expector-General whose identity is a secret except to a handful of reporters.

If this is correct, the primaries so far have been an elaborate chess game among Expectors-General. Going back to the beginning of the rise of Jimmy Carter, we see signs of the Expectors-General at work in the obscure caucuses held last January in Iowa.

At that time somebody's Expector-General told the press that Representative Udall was expected to win in these local gatherings of Democratic activists. When Carter then finished ahead of Udall, the press seized upon him as a dynamic new figure, a man who could upset expectations.

The question, of course, is who told the press Udall was expected to win in Iowa? Was it Udall's Expector-General trying to create an early bandwagon psychology to drive opponents from the fight? Or could it have been Carter's Expector-General, who saw an easy way to launch his man by mousetrapping Udall with the "expected-to-win" gambit?

Ever since Iowa, both Republican and Democratic primaries seem to have been heavily manipulated by various Expectors-General. Ronald Reagan was hurt in Florida when he lost after he was expected to win, and revived in North Carolina when he won after he was expected to lose.

The Democrats have had an even more bizarre progress. Jackson, who was expected to go nowhere, was proclaimed a heavyweight contender for the title after he took 23 percent of a light vote in Massachusetts. Had he been expected to win in Massachusetts, a mere 23 percent would probably have wiped him out.

The next week in Florida, his Expector-General said Jackson was expected not to win there, and he did not campaign. And so, when he lost very badly indeed, no one bothered to point out that he had lost badly because he had been expected to lose.

If there really are Expectors-General working for the candidates, Udall certainly has the most inept. He either told the press or let somebody else's Expector-General get away with telling the press that Udall was expected to win in Iowa, Massachusetts and Wisconsin. Considering that Udall started his campaign with little more public recognition than Milton Shapp has in the Peloponnesus, this revealed abysmal ignorance of the new art of winning by not losing as badly as you boast you will.

Carter, by contrast, has a masterful Expector-General. He has already announced that Carter can expect nothing better than a third-place finish in New York, and Udall's Expector-General has accepted this without protest. This means that a third-place finish for

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Carter will be interpreted as not too bad, while a third-place finish for Udall will be a disaster.

In Wisconsin Carter's Expector-General has again declared that Udall is expected to win there. If Udall does win Carter will have satisfactorily lived up to expectations. If Carter wins, he will be perceived as an irresistible confounder of expectations whom the convention cannot ignore. In shore, Carter cannot lose, eveh if he loses. Once again Udall's Expector-General has played blandly into the Carter gambit by stating that Udall is expected to win, so that a loss in Wisconsin will be doubly damaging.

If all this political maneuver seems somewhat arcane to the casual reader, it may be because in the primaries winning an election is usually not what it seems to the public. In most primaries, winning is only what the media say it is. (As in Jackson's "winning" Massachusetts with 23 percent of the vote and Carter's "winning" New Hampshire with 29 percent.)

The political reporters, through some mysterious consensual process, establish the definitions of victory and defeat, and the voters, through an even more mysterious process, absorb and adopt them as verities, watching the rise of the "winners" and the fall of the "losers" as a spectator sport until the concentions act.

Then, discovering they have a choice of only two survivors, neither one of whom they care about, the voters shriek curses on the system, and on Election Day half of them stay home. Which is perfectly natural, the Expectors-General might say, since only half of the electorate is expected to vote.

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Jackson On Rights

By Tom Wicker

Senator Henry Jackson campaigned through Queens last week in pursuit of the two-to-one victory he had predicted in the New York Presidential primary. Mr. Jackson was promising to do something about unemployment when a number of demonstrators for homosexual rights began to harass him.

Mr. Jackson, as reported by Douglas E. Kneeland of The New York Times, turned on the hecklers and said:

"Go on and have your own rally. Our people want hard work. We don't want gay work. We don't want gay jobs. You have your gay jobs. You just do your own thing and stay away."

Allowing for Mr. Jackson's probable fatigue in the midst of a hard campaign, and for whatever excesses might be charged to the hecklers, this still seems a rather extreme reaction, signifying a more exclusionary view toward a substantial number of Americans than seems desirable in a President.

I have no idea how many male and female homosexuals there are in the United States. Such figures probably would not be reliable anyway, since attitudes like that expressed by Mr. Jackson keep so many homosexuals "in the closet." But if there are 100,000 or a million or ten million, they are all Americans, all entitled to human dignity, all entitled to jobs, all entitled to express their views to political candidates—even rudely, if the candidates' attention can be attracted in no other way.

As a matter of fact, the issue of jobs for homosexuals—particularly in the public sector, as firemen, policemen, teachers, social workers, etc.—is a political issue in New York and elsewhere. The question whether homosexuals employed in the defense establishment are security risks merely because of their sexual preference has been argued in the courts,

IN THE NATION

and both politically and legally "gay rights" are beginning to be recognized, at least in some jurisdictions.

Mr. Jackson, however, is reported by Americans for Democratic Action to have told a Colorado newspaper on April 12, 1975 (a spokesman for him says the Senator does not remember making the remark): "I am not about to give in to the gay liberation and codify into law the practice of homosexuality. . . . It is the first beginning of a breakdown of a society. . . ."

The Supreme Court took much the same restrictive view, apparently, in upholding last week a state law that made homosexual practices illegal, even between consenting adults in the privacy of a home. "Gay rights," moreover, are certainly not a major issue in the Presidential campaign, even in the New York primary. It may even be that other candidates would not differ all that much from Mr. Jackson on this issue.

Even so, a man who seeks to unify and lead the nation, who proclaims himself a "liberal," who says he is for "human détente," and who makes much of what he modestly calls a "perfect" civil rights record, raises reasonable doubts about his balance and his generosity when he lashes out so intemperately at other Americans, however uncongenial they may be to him.

As for civil rights, how would Mr. Jackson—and the Supreme Court, for that matter—reconcile the view that homosexuals have no legal right to be homosexuals with the "civil right" of every American not to be discriminated against by law, in employment, etc? Do civil rights depend on sexual preference? Or do they apply to the fortunate and the unfortunate, the conventional and the unconventional alike?

That question—how a potential President views the misfits and dissenters from conventional society—is relevant to the campaign and entirely pertinent to put to any candidate and especially to Henry Jackson after his Queens remarks.

Mr. Jackson raised another question about his understanding of things when he remarked in Rochester, N. Y., [illegible] would match his civil rights [illegible] that of former Gov. Jimmy [illegible] of Georgia "any time." Mr. Carter, he said, "remained silent through those long, difficult years when Scoop Jackson had a 100 percent voting record."

In fact, during "those long, difficult years" of the civil rights struggle that Mr. Jackson apparently referred to, Mr. Carter refused to join the White Citizens Council in Plains, Ga., and later told the people of that state in his inaugural address as Governor that "the time for racial discrimination is over." Mr. Carter has his own transgressions to answer for, but if Henry Jackson thinks it was harder and more admirable for him to cast votes in the Senate than for a Southern white to stand up and be counted in Georgia, Mr. Jackson knows very little about civil rights or "those long, difficult years."

In fact, in those years, Mr. Jackson voted as a moderate Democrat from a state where racial issues were not pressing. He compiled a record sound enough to stand on—but not the record of a vigorous leader of the cause, much less one entitled now to criticize others whose risks were real.

CITY OF ATLANTA

MAYNARD JACKSON
MAYOR

April 10,1976

STATEMENT BY MAYOR MAYNARD JACKSON

Because of my deep concern about Governor Carter"s remarks in Indiana I decided that I must demand a fuller explanation of exactly what his views are. After a lengthly telephone conversation with Governor Carter on Thursday I posed six specific questions. Yesterday we received a four page response which I intend to review and study very carefully. Since these matters are of interest to so many Americans who may also wish to know the specifics of Governor Carter's views I am releasing, with his consent, the full text of the reply.

FOR SATURDAY 6:00 p.m. release

JJJ

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

For America's third century, why not our best?

Honorable Maynard Jackson
Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Jackson,

Thank you very much for your expressions of concern about my recent statement regarding housing. I fully appreciate and understand your concern and I welcome the opportunity to clarify remarks which were unfortunate and, as reported, do not accurately express my beliefs.

As you know, in Philadelphia on April 8, I publicly apologized for an unfortunate choice of words which disturbed people whose confidence and trust I value, such as yourself.

My intentions were merely to emphasize the richness that has been added to America by our various racial and ethnic groups, each bringing with them their unique backgrounds and heritages. The black pride movement in the 1960's and 1970's has rekindled the interest of other religious and ethnic groups in their own heritages and histories.

The greatness of the United States has always rested upon the unity which we have achieved without at the same time losing our diverse ethnic backgrounds and heritages. We should simultaneously encourage Americans to maintain their cultural and religious and ethnic backgrounds while seeking common values and beliefs as a nation.

The most important common value we must have as a country is the equality of every American and the right of every American to be treated as an equal -- in the places he may eat, in the right to equal access to a desirable job, and in the location where he chooses to live.

While as President I would obviously feel myself duty bound to support and uphold the laws of this land, I would also lend the

moral force of the Presidency to the enforcement of the Civil Rights laws for which so many worked for so long.

I have stated throughout my campaign, in the North and in the South, before white and black audiences, that the Civil Rights laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1965, were the best thing that happened to the South in my lifetime, and that they have had a liberating effect on both whites and blacks in the South and on America in general.

No one of us can be truly free when freedom is denied to another American on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or national origin.

One of the most basic rights guaranteed to our citizens through the Housing Act of 1968 is the right to rent or purchase housing free of discrimination, in the place of a person's choice. As President, I would fight for the fullest implementation of existing civil rights and open housing legislation, just as vigorously as I did as Governor of Georgia, where, as you are aware, I succeeded in having the General Assembly pass the first state open housing law in the history of Georgia. Furthermore, I would insure that sufficient resources were made available to see that the fair housing law is effectively enforced.

In addition, I support a requirement for affirmative action plans within newly constructed federally funded housing. I also support court rulings that prohibit the construction of public housing exclusively in low-income or predominantly black areas.

As President, I will use the moral forces at my disposal to correct injustices wherever they occur, and to insure that black Americans and other minorities are fully extended the right to purchase or rent housing in any neighborhood they please.

Now please permit me to address the specific questions which you have asked me.

1. QUESTION: If a black family seeks to buy a house in an ethnic community which does not want them, should the federal government support and use its resources to support their right to purchase such a house?

ANSWER: Yes. The Housing Act of 1968 guarantees a black family that it may purchase a home in any neighborhood. I support this Act and will see that it is effectively and fully enforced.

2. QUESTION: If local elected leaders refused to meet the housing needs of the poor within the locality's resources, would they lose eligibility for Community Development and other housing funds?

ANSWER: Yes. The Community Development Act of 1974 already provides in clear terms that certain federal funds will be withheld if local officials fail to assist in meeting the housing needs of the poor within their financial capabilities. Such officials are required to submit plans for

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such housing needs. This Act has been upheld in the federal courts, and I will fully enforce it.

3. QUESTION: Would you put the moral force of the President behind encouraging local communities to open housing areas to all those who wish to live there?

ANSWER: As I have mentioned, the Housing Act of 1968 requires that all Americans be permitted to live where they choose, without discrimination. While I cannot require communities to do that which I have no legal authority to do, I will not hesitate to make clear my conviction that all Americans should be made to feel welcome in all localities.

4. QUESTION: Do you believe that property owners in an area have a right to determine who will be able to buy or rent in their area?

ANSWER: Under the law of the land, as embodied in the Housing Act of 1968, it is the family wishing to purchase or rent a home which has the right to do so where it chooses and can afford. Others cannot make that choice for the family.

5. QUESTION: Would you encourage economic heterogeneity and racial integration by using federal initiatives whether or not federal funds are involved?

ANSWER: While I do not believe the government should mandate a particular ethnic or economic mix, I have always favored an open, integrated society, where false barriers did not seperate person from person. This is a view I hold regardless of whether federal funds are involved or not. I fully support developments such as the Bedford-Pine community in downtown Atlanta, which is planned as a community to which people of all economic, racial, and religious backgrounds will freely move and live. It is an exciting concept which will help break down the barriers which I have mentioned.

6. QUESTION: If local officials refused to accept federal funds for low income housing because of opposition to integrated housing, should the federal government consider financing such housing through other governmental or private organizations?

ANSWER: I would always do my best to assure that state and local officials understand their obligations to all of their citizens. I would work tirelessly and patiently to persuade them that it would be far better for their community if they accepted their local responsibility. If, however, they persistently and wilfully declined to assist, and the needs of low income families were being wilfully ignored, I would use all legal means available to the President to see that those needs are met. If legal, this could include chanelling funds through state agencies or private organizations, because low income people should not suffer through wilfull indifference of officials.

Again, thank you for permitting me to express my views in more detail.

Enclosed is a copy of a telegram I sent to Vernon Jordan in answer to similar questions.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Jimmy

Jimmy Carter

JC:dm

MMM

Jimmy Carter
Presidential Campaign
For America's third century, why not our best?

April 8, 1976

Mr. Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League
500 East 62d Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Mr. Jordan,

I have received your telegram of April 7, 1976.

This morning I publicly apologized for any confusion and concern that I may have caused my supporters and the public through any unfortunate choice of words when addressing the housing issue.

I am totally committed to a policy of open housing for all citizens. As President, I would fight for the fullest implementation of existing civil rights and open housing legislation, just as vigorously as I did as Governor of Georgia.

Furthermore, I support a requirement for affirmative action plans within newly constructed federally funded housing. I also support court rulings that prohibit the construction of public housing exclusively in low-income or predominantly black areas.

I recognize the desire of many members of various ethnic groups to live in neighborhoods predominantly occupied by those of similar cultural and social heritage. I would not favor the federal government's initiating action exclusively aimed at forcing a particular ethnic or economic mix into such a neighborhood. And, as I pointed out in my announcement speech, I believe that one of the greatest sources of strength in this country is our diversity.

Our black citizens were helpful in developing this concept through their consciousness of black pride.

I again apologize for any unfortunate choice of words, which disturbed people, such as yourself, whose confidence and trust

I hope I will always merit your support.

~~Sincerely,~~

Jimmy

Jimmy Carter

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/6/

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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Violent demonstrations, apparently in support of the late Prime Minister Chou En-lai and his associates, were staged yesterday in Peking's Tien An Men Square. After a day of incidents in which demonstrators estimated to number 30,000 tried to break into the Great Hall of the People, and cars and a building were set afire, the rioters were finally subdued by militiamen armed with wooden staves. Long lines of militiamen were seen escorting people, apparently demonstrators, into the Forbidden City, and quiet appeared to have been restored late last night. [Page 1, Column 8.]

The Peking riots received close attention in Washington, where United States officials said they might be a major counterattack by supporters of a moderate political policy against the radicals who seemed to dominate the Government since the death of Chou En-lai in January. The riots started after authorities removed wreaths that had been placed in memory of Mr. Chou. There was disagreement in Washington about the demonstration's spontaneity. [1:6-7.]

James Callaghan, Britain's Foreign Secretary, became the new Prime Minister when the Labor members of the House of Commons gave him a comfortable margin as party leader in the third round of balloting that began March 16 when Harold Wilson unexpectedly announced his resignation. Mr. Callaghan received 176 votes. His closest rival Michael Foot, the Employment Secretary and chairman of the party's left wing, received 137. They were the only candidates who survived the earlier rounds. [1:4-7.]

Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's chief adviser, is said to have told American Ambassadors in Europe that it is in the long-term interest of the United States to encourage East European countries to develop "a more natural and organic" relationship with the Soviet Union, according to an official, but nonverbatim, summary of his remarks. The summary has been the subject of controversy as a result of various versions published in the press. [1:1-2.]

National

Howard R. Hughes, the billionaire recluse, died in a private airplane that was taking him from Acapulco, Mexico, to the Methodist Hospital in Houston for treatment. He was 70 years old. Two physicians and an aide were on the plane with him. [1:1-2.]

Senator Henry M. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall and Jimmy Carter, the three major candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination wound up their drives for the New York primary today with diverse campaigning that reflected their political priorities and strategies. [1:3.]

The Supreme Court, without comment or explanation, refused to review the court-martial conviction of former Army Lieut. William L. Calley Jr. for the murder of 22 civilians in My Lai, South Vietnam, in 1968. Mr. Calley, who has been free on bail pending appeal since late 1974, after serving a little more than three years of what was originally a life sentence, will not be returned to confinement. [1:5.]

The Supreme Court ruled, 6 to 2, that police departments had the right to order police officers to wear their hair short and not to wear beards. The Court reversed a decision by a United States Court of Appeals in New York that said policemen had the constitutional right to wear their hair any way they wished and to have beards. The case involved the Suffolk County Police Department and the Suffolk Patrolmen's Benevolent Association. [1:6-7.]

Metropolitan

Student demonstrators clashed with the police on the upper East Side in a protest against budget cutbacks that would close several colleges. About 1,500 of them marched near a Board of Higher Education building at 430 East 80th Street, but what seemed to be an orderly demonstration turned violent when several hundred of the marchers swarmed into the building with the intention of occupying it. The building was badly damaged before they were ejected. [1:4.]

The prospect of finding oil and gas under offshore sites in the Atlantic Ocean is "very encouraging" according to the first reports of an exploratory well sunk three miles deep by a consortium of petroleum companies off the New Jersey coast. New Jersey officials confirmed that core samples obtained in test drilling suggest that there were large oil and natural gas deposits. [1:6-8.]

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The New York Times

— NEW YORK, TUESDAY, APRIL 6, 1976 —

DEMOCRATS SEEK NEW YORK BACKING IN PRIMARY TODAY

Jackson, Udall and Carter Wind Up Campaigning—Wisconsin Also Voting

By FRANK LYNN

The three major candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination wound up their drives for today's New York primary with diverse campaigning yesterday that reflected their political priorities and strategy.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who must win decisively here to regain momentum in the Presidential race, campaigned across the state from Buffalo to Staten Island.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who has tried to divide his effort between New York and Wisconsin, which also votes today, made a perfunctory appearance designed to attract as much news attention as possible.

Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, who spent the day in Wisconsin, campaigned in absentia in New York with mimeographed announcements of endorsements.

Meanwhile, in Wisconsin, which also holds a primary election today, Mr. Carter and Representative Udall were tying up loose ends in their campaigns. The two men, who are considered the front runners in Wisconsin, scurried across the state in a last-minute hunt for support.

Former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, who had virtually abandoned his campaign here, made rare appearances in the city and upstate to try to salvage some delegates.

The polls in New York City will be open from 6 A.M. to 9 P.M. and outside the city from noon to 9 P.M.

Delegates' Race

A total of 856 Democrats are vying for 206 national convention delegate berths in the state's 39 Congressional districts. The district delegates and 68 delegates-at-large to be appointed by the Democratic state committee and apportioned to each candidate on the basis of his showing today represent 9 percent of the 3,008 delegates who will convene July 12 at Madison Square Garden.

Senator Jackson has repeatedly predicted—and he did so again yesterday—that he will win a majority of the delegates. He has also made a major commitment of manpower, money and his own campaign time here to back up his prediction.

As a result, he needs a decisive victory to fulfill his own prophecy and to regain the momentum he had after his Massachusetts primary victory a month ago.

Mr. Udall, who has been handicapped by a severe short-

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

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Democrats Seek New York Backing

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

age of funds and his decision o split his effort between the New York and Wisconsin primary, needs a solid second in the New York primary to back up his contention that he is the liberal alternative to Mr. Jackson and Mr. Carter.

Mr. Carter contends that he has the least to lose since he has devoted the least effort of the three leading contenders. However, his limited resources, including some $35,000 for television commercials, have been concentrated upstate where he is believed to have considerable appeal.

Many Democratic leaders believe that Mr. Carter may have caught up with Mr Udall. If so, he could claim at least a moral victory here.

Today's Republican Presidential primary is considerably more peaceful, with 101 of 117 delegates already assured of election because they are unchallenged. These delegates and 37 delegates at large already appointed by the Republican state committee are officially uncommitted but loyal to Vice President Rockefeller who is supporting President Ford's nomination.

Jackson Campaign

Sixteen of the uncommitted Republican organization delegates face challenges in seven Congressional districts — the 7th, 9th, 12th, 15th, 23d, 25th, and 36th. The challengers are 12 Ronald Reagan supporters and four uncommitted insurgent Republicans.

In his final day of campaigning before the New York primary, Senator Jackson started out in Manhattan where he had stayed overnight, flew to Washington for a labor meeting and a brief stop for a hamburger and a check of his mail at his Senate office—one of his rare visits there in the last three month.

He then flew to Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo and back to this area for three evening appearances at the Nassau County Coliseum for a Sons of Italy show and speeches at Coop City in the Bronx and on Staten Island.

He conceded at news conferences upstate that he had called Senator Hubert H. Humphrey to inform him of the political implications of a scheduled Humphrey appearance last week in Buffalo where three officially uncommitteed Democratic slates have announced that they will support Mr. Humphrey. Mr. Humphrey canceled the Buffalo appearance ostensibly because of Senate business.

Mr. Udall, who has campaigned here about half time in the last month, used the Statue of Liberty as a photogenic backdrop for his brief appearance here yesterday before a flight to Wisconsin and a final day of campaigning there.

Speaking from a podium at the base of the statue, Mr. Udall reiterated his earlier program for a "national commitment to save this city and to reclaim and restore all the cities of this land."

Mr. Harris, who has left his delegate candidates here to run on their own, spoke at rallies in Manhattan and Brooklyn and later in Utica. The rare appearances were scheduled for areas where Harris delegates, the distinct underdogs today, have at least a fighting chance of winning.

Carter Endorsements

Mr. Carter, who was campaigning in Wisconsin, confined his New York politicking to announcements of endorsements by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., and Francis T. P. Plimpton, the former United States Representative to the United Nations.

In addition, his New York campaign aides unsuccessfully argued in Brooklyn Federal Court for an order invalidating elections in 10 Congressional districts where Carter slates were ruled off the ballot by various boards of elections because of insufficient or invalid designating petitions. A candidate for delegate must obtain the signatures of 1,250 enrolled Democrats to qualify for today's ballot.

Mr. Carter has a total of 141 delegate candidates in 27 Congressional districts; Mr. Udall, 192 in 37 districts; Mr. Jackson, 184 in 35 districts; Mr. Harris, 101 in 21 districts; Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, 16 in three districts and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate, give in her home Fourth Congressional District in Nassau County.

In addition, there are 218 uncommitted delegate candidates, most of them sponsored by the Democratic organizations in the New York City suburbs and upstate. However, 47 of these delegates, mostly upstate, have announce their support of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey who has announced his availability but not as an active candidate for the Presidential nomination.

A strong showing by the Humphrey delegates would cut into Mr. Jackson's strength and give impetus to Humphrey supporters across the nation.

Carter Group Uses Diplomacy to Report Liberal and Conservative Endorsements

22

Endorsements from different quarters is an important part of any Presidential primary campaign, and getting them often requires the most exquisite diplomacy.

In the case of Jimmy Carter, it took two back-to-back news conferences at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel the other day. Actually, it was billed as only one conference to announce the endorsements of a host of Manhattan liberals, including Eleanor Guggenheimer, the Commissioner of Consumer Affairs; Howard J. Samuels, unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1974, and Joseph Lash, author of "Eleanor and Franklin."

At the end, William J. vanden Heuvel, Mr. Carter's state co-chairman, announced, "That's the end of one press conference an din a moment we'll have another. The liberals were ushered out and then another endorsement was announced—from Peter Flaherty, Pittsburgh's no-frills conservative Mayor.

●

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington is often accused of using exaggerated hand gestures to illustrate his speeches. The other day, the Senator was talking to a Jewish audience in Westchester about rising prices.

"Your bills are going up, up, up," he said, his arm rising as he spoke. "Well, its time they go down, down, down," he added, going into a deep knee bend.

"Mummy," asked one small spectator, "is he playing Jack and Jill?"

●

As the candidates address crowds at political meetings and luncheons, they often end up speaking more for the benefit of the reporters and cameramen than for the people who have gathered to hear them. At a political club dinner honoring Senator Jackson recently in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn, an entourage of newsmen rushed up behind the candidate as he mounted the podium and blocked the view of spectators sitting at the tables. One woman, cranning her neck to see Senator Jackson, finally became so exasperated she threw a bun at the head of a cameramen.

●

During a speech to several hundred students at the University of Rochester recently, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona thanked them for their warm and enthusiastic response and then recalled a story about the late Adlai E. Stevenson, who, when running for the Presidency himself, was told by a woman that "every thinking person supports you."

"It is not enough, madam," Mr. Stevenson replied. "I need a majority."

●

Employees of smaller television stations sometimes have to act as "one-man bands." One newsman may operate a film camera, set up the lights and even ask the questions, fulfilling all the functions of a four-man network news crew. The other day in Buffalo, such a newsman asked Mr. Udall to hold the microphone while the newsman adjusted his camera and lights.

Mr. Udall, who has difficulty repressing his sense of humor, began conducting the interview himself.

"Why are you here, Mr. Udall?" he asked.

"I have come to Buffalo with my message of hope as the best qualified of the Presidential candidates and every thinking person will support me," the Congressman replied.

The network camera teams were too slow to get that bit of film on tape.

●

Leaning against the rail of a boat bringing him back from a publicity session at the Statue of Liberty yesterday, Mr. Udall waved—as any harbor tourist will—at a boat passing by.

It was an oil barge with an Exxon sign. Mr. Udall, who is depicting himself as a foe of Big Business nn the New York primary today, grinned and then, almost to himself, said, "Exxon, I'm going to break you up."

●

There was another of those glimpses that say something about a candidate or the tenor of a political campaign during Mr. Udall's brief New York tour, designed to produce pre-election pictures.

Television technicians squashed so close to him and Representative Bella S. Abzug of Manhattan, who were shaking hands with people hurrying into the IRT station at Broadway and 72d Street, that the entrance was totally blocked. Then the television people, in a display of good manners, rare in the much-televised campaign, backed off into a slightly distant half circle.

One cameraman, breaking the tacit arrangement, started to step forward. His sound man, whose gear is attached by wire to the camera, tugged sharply on the wire, as if he were pulling back a frisky dog. The cameraman retreated into position.

●

When Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota came into New York City last week, casually upstaging the three major Democratic candidates who bad just been questioned by a panel of mayors, Mayor Beame, in an impish mood, told a luncheon audience that Mr. Humphrey should have been on "one of the earlier panels." One of the panels was questioning mayors, the other answering Presidential candidates. "After all," Mr. Beame said, "he's a former mayor."

●

As the 16-to-20 hour days pile up one on another, sometimes the candidates, like ordinary people, get tired and their tongues get twisted.

The other day in Lido Beach, L. I., Senator Jackson had just finished his usual pledge that he would insure that the country becomes independent in oil so that the United States would never be subject to blackmail by a foreign power.

Winding up his speech, he called on his supporters to "work together with me for a better life for oil."

"I mean for all," he stammered as laughter swept the dining room.

Rockefeller Returns From 6-Nation Tour

Vice President Rockefeller returned from his six-nation tour yesterday, saying that the capitals he visited wondered if they could still count on America.

"The thing that everybody was concerned about is, can they count on the United States," Mr. Rockefeller said after he arrived with his wife at Kennedy International Airport.

"The United States has got a lot of friends who believe in freedom around the world," he said.

His tour included stops in Tunisia, France, Iran, Malaysia, Australia and New Zealand.

The Rockefellers planned to stay overnight at their Manhattan apartment and return to Washington tomorrow.

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Carter and Udall in Last Wisconsin Push

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, April 5 — It was tying-up-loose-ends day in Wisconsin today for Jimmy Carter and Morris K. Udall, the two Democratic front-runners, who skipped about the state in a last breathless hunt for support in tomorrow's Presidential primary.

The two otheractive Democratic candidates on their party's ballot, Senator Henry M. Jackson and George C. Wallace, chose to be elsewhere.

The Washington Senator was in New York in a last-minute search for voters in tomorrow's other primary. The Alabama Governor was resting at home in Montgomery.

And in the Wisconsin background, supporters of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who is not on the ballot this year, were busy trying to turn his broad following here toward Mr. Udall, the Arizona Representative, as a means of checking the momentum Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, has been building.

Another Reagan Challenge

In addition to the psychological thrust that will go to the statewide winner, there will be 68 Democratic convention delegates from Wisconsin. Fifty-eight of these will be shared proportionately, based on the percentage of a candidate's vote in each of the nine Congressional districts. the remaining 10 will be chosen at large later, again on a proportionate basis.

On the Republican ballot, President Ford was facing another challenge frm Ronald Reagan. Wisconsin Republicans will send 45 delegates to the Kansas City convention. the winner in each Congressional district will get four and the remaining nine, chosen at large, will go to the statewide winner.

Wisconsin polls will close at 9 P.M. New York time. Half of the 3,411 precincts have voting machines, indicating an early count.

It was quieter today among Wisconsin's republicans, who have a chance tomorrow to participate in their first meaningful Presidential primry since 1952.

After a weekend of heavily attended appearances in several cities, President Ford was back in Washington, leaving his campaigning here today to his wife Betty.

But his supporters among what is left of Wisconsin's Republican organization were continuing a massive telephone drive, taking no chances on another upset such as Ronald Reagan managed in North Carolina.

The former California Governor passed up campaigning in Wisconsin for the last two weeks in favor of two 30-minute telecasts and an advertising effort in newspapers and on rado stations.

Ford Victory Indicated

The indicators point to a comfortable victory for President Ford. But among Wisconsin farmers, many of them Republicans, there was considerable resentment over Mr. Ford's veto of a bill raising the price supports on milk as well as unhappiness over his embargo of grain sales to Russia last August. Mr. Reagan could win several delegates as a result.

After a late start, Mr. Carter appears to have narrowed Mr. Udall's early lead and the Arizonan's attacks on the Georgian, abetted by Mr. Udall's core of surrogates, have grown in intensity.

At a rally on the Capitol steps today in the liberal fortress of Madison, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota joined Mr. Udall in accusing Mr. Carter of talking around every issue.

Mr. McGovern, winner of the 1972 Wisconsin primary and obviously still a hero to the largely student audience in Madison, called Mr. Udall the "best Presidential candidate in the primary."

In an oblique reference to Mr. Carter, he declared, "We can't afford leadership that will reveal their charms but not their plans for the country."

Bond Attacks Carter

During a weekend of appearances in behalf of Mr. Udall in the black wards of Milwaukee, State Senator Julian Bond of Georgia called Mr. Carter "a liar, prevaricator, evader and equivocator who does not merit the attention of black voters."

Mr. Carter, confident and relaxed, began his day at dawn with plant-gate appearances at two o fMilwaukee's larger factories. These were followed by speeches and news conferences in Stevens Point and Green Bay.

Aides of Mr. Carter are saying that he should run ahead of Mr. Udall by from 4 to 7 percentage points in the primary.

They are saying that Wisconsin has become increasingly important to Mr. Carter, as a Udall victory here would be a signal to Senator Humphrey, who remains an inactive candidate, that he still has a chance of presenting himself to a deadlocked convention in New York next July.

Harris Sure He 'Can Get Some Delegates' in New York

By MAURICE CARROLL

Fred R. Harris—slightly more subdued than in his previous local appearances as a Presidential candidate but professing optimism that "we can get some delegates" in today's Democratic primary—made a hasty pre-election visit to New York yesterday.

"Because of some of these last-minute favorite-son candidates, I expect there'll be a number of Presidential candidates at Madison Square Garden in July," he told a crowd of 100 drawn to a sunny Manhattan sidewalk by a banjo-based band that played "Bye-Bye Blues."

Mr. Harris, who speaks with the fervence of a country preacher, paused for effect. "And I expect to be one of those candidates," he said. There was a spatter of applause, and his supporters waved their posters, which bore the slogan, "The issue is privilege."

the Harris campaign in New York was virtually suspended some weeks ago. The headquarters telephones were cut off for nonpayment of a deposit.

But there are 101 Harris supdelegate slots that Democrats will fill in today's vote, and Mr. Harris, a former Senator from Oklahoma, said that he expected some of them to win. He would not specify a number.

In a hasty conversation in an elevator ride from the office of Abraham Lindenbaum, a man about Brooklyn politics, where he had borrowed use of the telephone on the way to a rally at Borough Hall, Mr. Harris said that he had been devoting his recent efforts to "catching up and looking toward Pennsylvania."

He said that he had spent no outside money in New York. Someone asked him why not.

"Haven't got it," he said.

After two brief sidewalk rallies in the city, he headed for an evening visit in Utica with some upstate delegate candidates.

At one rally here, his state coordinator, former Assemblyman Antonio Olivieri, introduced him to the crowd outside the World Trade Center, just across Church Street from St. Paul's graveyard, just as the time sign on the East River Savings Bank flashed 12:25 P.M.

"We're going to give a big surprise to a lot of people who have discount this campaign," Mr. Olivieri said.

Mr. Harris bounded up to the temporary platform, echoed Mr. Olivieri's optimism, gave his familiar denunciation of "privilege" and added that under a Harris Presidency, the country would no longer prop up every dictator in the world who can afford a pair of sunglasses."

In Brooklyn, he said that he would cut most people's taxes, and he briefly criticized two of the three main contenders in today's Democratic vote — Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and the former Georgia Governor, Jimmy Carter.

The Jewish Voter In State's Primary

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

More than anything else, what sets the Presidential primary in New York apart from all others is the influence of the Jewish voter. An insignificant ity in most states, the Jews arcial dimension here, like the retired people in Florida, the independents who can vote in either primary in Wisconsin and the highly organized auto workers in Michigan.s ales as many Jews as any other state—2,150,000 of them, according to the latest estimates. Their political leverage is increased because 80 percent of those whoare registered are enrolled Democrats, and 80 percent of those who are registered usually turn out to vote.

As much as a quarter of the vote in the Democratic Presidential primary today may be cast by Jews. That fact has loomed large in the planning of Senator Henry M. Jackson, an arient champion of Israel, for two years. It is the main reason he has made New York the key test of his candidacy.

No Longer a Monolith

But the Jewish vote is no longer the liberal monolith that it once was. Under the pressure of changing racial patterns, generational disagreements, fears for the well-being of Israel and revulsion at some aspects of the counterculture, the solid bloc has broken into two principal pieces.

Both are usually Democratic —that tradition has withstood everything so far—one liberal and one centrist. On occasion, when the Democrats nominate a candidate whom the centrists consider radical, they will vote Republican.

The two divergent tendencies might be characterized by naming two New York political figures who symbolize them: Representative Bella S. Abzug of Manhattan's West Side and Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers.

Senator Jackson, the 35-year Congressional veteran from Washington, hopes that his years of advocacy of Israel will cut across the two and give him an overwhelming victory in the city and the suburbs.

Udall Hopes for Split

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, on the other hand, hopes that the pattern in the Massachusetts primary will be repeated here. In that state, the split appeared. Mr. Jackson carried Brookline, the home of older and more conservative Jews, and Mr. Udall carried Newton, whose population is younger.

Jews play a prominent role in the life of New York City, where they are concentrated. They hold major positions in finance, business, the arts, publishing—and, in recent years, politics as well.

Senator Jacob K. Javits is only the second Jewish Senator from this state. Herbert H. Lehman was the first, as well as the only Jewish Governor.) Mayor Beame is the first Jewish Mayor. For the first time, all three Democratic leaders in the Legislature—Stanley Steingut, the Assembly speaker; Albert Blumenthal, the Assembly majority leader and Manfred K. Ohrenstein the Senate minority leader—are Jews.

don't understand the degree to which even trendy, secularized Jews react to the idea of Jews being wiped out all over again."

Clearly, such thinking benefits Mr. Jackson, who regularly promises to defend Israel at all costs. But there is another view, articulated one evening recently by Sidney Zion, a liberal-to-radical writer and lawyer who dismissed Mr. Podhoretz and others like him as frightened Jews.

"That's the ultimate vulnerability," he said. "You go for Scoop Jackson because he says he'll take care of you. The problem is that when politicians have Jews in their pockets, they leave them there."

Although race is not as salient an issue this year as foreign policy is, the racial tensions of the last two decades have served to push many Jews away from the liberalism they had clung to since Alfred E Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Few Jews became racists; Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and other "backlash" candidates have never enjoyed Jewish support. But such episodes as the teachers' strike of 1968, the Canarsie busing crisis of 1972 and 1973 and the controversy over low-income housing in Forest Hills, Queens, in 1972 led many to believe that the liberals were victimizing them.

A poll of Jewish voters in 1973, sponsored by Nazine, showed that 65 percent supported demonstrations against the Forest Hills project, and 61 percent supported antibusing boycotts in Canarsie; but 90 percent opposed segregation.

Economic Factor Cited

"The truth," says one study of the subject, "is that middle-class Jews, as social conservatives, equate poor blacks, however wrongly, with their worst fears: crime and anti-Semitism."

William Schneider of Harvard University makes the point that those Jews most affected by this phenomenon are those with the least geographical and social mobility—the older, poorer Jews who depend on subways and who cannot move to another neighborhood to escape what they see as the danger of mugging.

Gus Tyler, the political expert of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for decades sees the split in the Jewish vote in largely economic terms. He said last week:

"The lower-class and middle-class Jew wants a stable neighborhood and a steady job and a stable family. They don't have anything else, so they're threatened by long hair and marijuana and scatter-site housing and busing and crime."

As Milton Himmelfarb of the American Jewish Committee likes to point out, the conservatism of poorer Jews as against the views of the richer ones runs counter to the usual American experience. More prosperous Jews, he has written, have the socio-economic status of Episcopalians, but tend to vote like Puerto Ricans.

But economic factors alone are inadequate to explain the two divergent tendencies. Geography counts; Manhattan Jews, even if they are not well off, tend to be more liberal. Religion counts; the most devout Jews tend to be more conservative, surveys have shown, and Orthodox and Conservative Jews are more conservative than Reform or nonaffiliated Jews.

Finally, generational factors count heavily.

"Cut open an older Jew," said Senator Jack E. Bronston of Queens, "and you'll find two ideas inside: Zionism and the New Deal. Neither of those ideas is as powerful among the younger people, especially the ones who have moved into the professions or the arts and away from their families."

The New York magazine survey showed a profound generation gap. Of Jews under 30, 62 percent described themselves as radicals or liberals, and 42 percent of them voted for Mr. Blumenthal for Mayor. Of Jews over 60, 43 percent described themselves as moderate or conservative, and 44 percent of them voted for Mr. Beame for Mayor.

The New York Times/George Tames

Senator Henry M. Jackson eating lunch in his Washington office before returning to New York for campaigning.

But such penetration of the leadership ranks of any society has been extremely rare in the long history of Judaism, and past exclusions are cited by many students of the subject as the main explanation for heavy Jewish voting turnouts.

A 'Precious' Right

"To Jews, the right to vote is precious, because they were shut out of goverment processes for thousands of years," Mr. Ohrenstein said. "Here, you could vote in secret—no ireprisals—and actually influence what the government would do."

The six-day war of 1967, the 1973 war and the current threats to Israel have intensified memories in many Jews of repression and forced them to examine some of their assumptions about American foreign policy.

In an essay in 1971, Norman Podhoretz, the editor of Commentary magazine, wrote that Israel's peril had caused a number of Jews to feel "a certain anxiety," indeed had given most "an ineradicable and inexpungible sense of Jewish vulnerability" that cut across political and social boundries.

Mr. Podhoretz is a supporter of Senator Jackson and, more than that, a spokesman for the centrist Jewish viewpoint. But many who disagree with him on other matters agree with him here. These are the comments of a 29-year-old writer who considers himself part of "a generation that thinks and acts differently from our parents in almost every conceivable way":

"The 1973 war gave me a hollow feeling in the pit of my stomach. Israel's situation really is precarious. Non-Jews

Presidential Challengers Diverge on Foreign Policy

By LESLE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 5—The foreign policy and defense catch-phrases of the Presidential challengers have become virtually identical, but the slogans blur the decidedly different visions each holds of the future role of the United States in the world.

Each man — the former Governors Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, Senator Henry M. Jackson, and Representative Morris K. Udall—also has a very different opinion of the importance of foreign policy issues in the campaign.

When the campaign language is stripped away, their only continuing point of agreement is that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger—the man, his

This is another in a series of articles on issues in the 1976 Presidential campaign that will appear from time to time.

style, and most of his policies—must go and be replaced by more openness in the policy-making process.

It does not appear that foreign policy will be a major factor in the campaign, but the last week of charges by Mr. Reagan that Mr. Kissinger is presiding over the decline of American power, and the vigorous retorts by Mr. Ford and Mr. Kissinger, show that the issue still has an explosive quality—at least in the news. But if foreign policy is an important factor in any of the primaries, it could be expected to be so in the New York primary tomorrow.

How to Deal With Moscow

All of the candidates say that the concept of detente is good ust be a two-way street. From this point, they run Mr. Reagan's implication that detente should be abandoned because the Russians can never be trusted to honor the concept, to Mr. Jackson's and Mr. Carter's charges that it has been badly mismanaged and oversold, to Mr. Udall's contention that it is the best policy, but that it simply means trying to avoid nuclear war.

All urge a strong second-to-none defense. But Mr. Reagan implies that he would increase the proposed $100 billion Pentagon spending bill, Mr. Jackson would maintain it, Mr. Carter would cut it by 5 percent, and Mr. Udall would start by taking away the $7 billion inflation increase and then slash 10 percent more.

On the Middle East, their voices are uniformly strong in support of Israel, but their backgrounds and their advisers indicate varied approaches. Mr. Jackson is regarded as the most certain to stand by Israel, and Mr. Reagan, because his orientation has been more anti-Soviet that pro-Israel, the least predictable. Mr. Udall has a pro-Israel record second only to Mr. Jackson's, while Mr. Carter has been saying "the right things," according to supporters of Israel. Many of his closest advisers are on record as favoring Israel's returning all of the occupied territories.

All avow "no more Vietnams," but the similarity ends there. Mr. Reagan's message seems to be to win the next one fast. On Angola, for example, he has criticized Mr. Ford for not doing enough soon enough to prevent victory by the Soviet-supported faction.

Carter Says 'Never Again'

Mr. Carter's standard positon is that "we have learned that never again should our count become militarily involved in the internal affairs of another nation unless there is a direct and obvious threat to the security of the United States or its people."

Mr. Udall was an early opponent of the Vietnam War. He opposed involvement in Angola, but said that "our willingness for continued progress in detente will depend on changes in current Soviet policy in Angola."

Mr. Jackson's legacies are the most complicated. A supporter of the Vietnam War until late, he voted against military aid inn the long run i f we are patient, the black people of Africa will fight off the new colonialism of the Soviet Union." however, he recommended sending marines into Leganon to serve as a suffer force in the civil war if asked to do by the Lebanese government.

Critics of Kissinger

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Jackson have attacked Mr. Kissinger the most precisely because the world they foresee, like his, continues to center on the Soviet-American balance of power. They charge that Mr. Kissinger's policies are the prime reason the balance is tipping dangerously in Moscow's favor.

The worlds evoked by Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall have less to do with Soviet-American relations than with the importance of relations with Western Europe and Japan and between these industrialized countries and the developing world. Their sense of power has less to do with military might and diplomatic maneuver than with the tugs of economic interests and the influence that derives from doing "what is right."

Mr. Reagan has made national security the centerpiece of his efforts. Mr. Jackson has given international and domestic matters about equal weight. Mr. Carter, just recently, has been getting more into the foreign policy arena, but like Mr. Udall, has put the burden on domestic matters.

Following is a synthesis of what each candidate has been saying about foreign policy:

RONALD REAGAN

"Our nation is in danger, and the danger grows greater with each passing day," Mr. Reagan said the other night. He blames "the Ford-Kissinger policy of trying to buy off the Russians with 'pre-emptive concessions' and with trade and technology that does not work."

Another theme has been that the "United States has failed miserably to uphold its end of the bargain as the senior partner and superpower in the relationship with China." His explanation for this is that the Chinese" seen in Washington today a timid, vacillating, and divided leadership, attempting to sweet-talk th Russians out of their belligerent behavior."

His two other recurrent motifs are Cuba and Panama. He attacks the Administration for "warming up toward Cuba," until recently when it has "taken us from hinting at invasion of Cuba to laughing it off as a rediculous idea." He says that the United States is "the rightful owners" of the Canal Zone and condemns the negotiations on returning sovereignty to the Panamanians as a giveaway.

HENRY M. JACKSON

"I think the Administration really underestimates the strength of this country. We are the most powerful nation on the face of the earth and they go around thinking otherwise, and the Russians understand it." He wants to use this power, he sates, to promote mutual arms control agreements and to advance the cause of human rights.

Long before the others, he began speaking of détente as a "one-way street" and demanded that the Administration bargain with Moscow with more toughness. Like Mr. Reagan, he would draw closer to China.

Alliances have been another central theme. "We should never work arrangements with adversaries which have the effect of weakening our ties with our traditional friends. Our basic alliances are not outmoded." The strength of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has always received his special attention.

Mr. Jackson has been the leader in Congress in getting aid for Israel. On Arab-Israeli negotiations, he favors face-to-face discussions and a settlement worked out by the parties themselves and not imposed from without—positions wholly consistent with Israel's policy.

Like Mr. Udall and Mr. Carter, he opposed the proposal to sell six C-130 transport planes to Egypt.

JIMMY CARTER

"Every time we have made a serious mistake in recent years in our dealings with other nations, the American people have been excluded from the process of evolving and consummating our foreign policy."

Mr. Carter says he would "replace balance of power politics with world order politics." The agenda for this new arrangement would entail turning "our attention increasingly towards these common problems of food, energy, environment, and trade," and preventing the spread the nuclear arms.

He has called United States policy toward the developing world "racist," and like Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall, favors ending support to military dictatorships.

To support his call for a 5 percent cut in defense spending, he has said that "the most wasteful bureaucracy in Washington is undoubtedly in th Pentagon."

In a carefully phrased state ment on the Middle East, h has said that if he were prim minister of Israel, he would no return the Golan Heights t Syria, nor the holy places o Jerusalem to Jordan. As for th Palestinians, he proposes thei own territory "administered b the nation of Jordan."

MORRIS K. UDALL

"The duty of a nation, it has been observed, 'is to discove the limits of its power and t work within them.'"

For Mr. Udall, this mean that "our weight in the worl will be measured by our ca pacity to set our own house i order." Domestic solutions t foreign problems and diplomacy by example have been the cen tral themes for the Arizon congressman.

On the issue of intervention he has said, "the Administra tion beginning to bill Angol as a test of our will agains that of the Soviet Union. I sug gest that it is a test of our sanity."

He has been the most spe cific of the candidates in talk ing about the defense budge and plans to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons.

"Israel is the home of our hearts, and to abandon it would be to abandon our true selves," he has stated in arguing against applying pressure on Israel toward concession... For the Palestinians, he favors a confederated state involving Israel and Jordan.

GEORGE C. WALLACE

The other leading contender for the Democratic nomination he speaks off the cuff about foreign affairs. Governor Wallace has emphasized the need for more respect for the United States and greater military strength.

Defense Policy Debate

Review of Factors Behind Argument Over the Nation's Military Power

By JOHN W. FINNEY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 5—Perhaps it was inevitable in a political year, but what started off as an important policy debate over the nation's basic defense posture has become lost in a largely irrelevant argument over whether the United States or the Soviet Union is No. 1 militarily.

News Analysis

It is an argument that has become one of the major issues between President Ford and Ronald Reagan in the Republican Presidential primaries. And it is an argument that is impelling Congress to approve a $14 billion increase in the defense budget with little or no cuts in the $113 billion requested by the Ford Administration.

In some ways, the argument was devised by the Administration to sell the defense budget to Congress. Now the argument is boomeranging against the President as Mr. Reagan accuses the Administration of letting the United States slip into a position of military inferiority.

"The capacity of election-year politics to simplify the most complex and difficult issue should never be underestimated," Senator Sam Nunn, Democrat of Georgia, who is a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, observed in a statement today. He added:

"This year, for example, the knotty and intricate questions posed by what appears to be a significant shift in the military balance between the United States and the Soviet Union have been served up to the American public as a debate over whether the United States is the No. 1 or No. 2 military power in the world."

The Administration argument originated in a debate over defense policy that James R. Schlesinger tried to stimulate in Congress before he was dismissed as Defense Secretary last November.

Trends in Spending

In his annual presentations to Congress, Mr. Schlesinger dealt at length with the relative trends of Soviet and United States military spending, emphasizing that over the last decade, the Sviet military investment increased whileth at of the United States, in constant or noninflationary terms, declined.

His basic theme was that these trends must be reversed over the long haul if the United States is to fulfill its global responsibilities as a superpower. Mr. Schlesinger carefully avoided such terms as superiority or inferiority as he sought a new national consensus in the post-Vietnam period on what the United States's responsibilities were in the world and what forces were necessary to protect American interests.

The Schlesinger theme was picked up by his successor, Donald H. Rumsfeld, but Mr. Rumsfeld gave it a new, and, as it turned out, highly successful political twist.

'Second to None'

Mr. Rumsfeld continued to emphasize the adverse military trends, but to that basic message he began adding the repeated warning that, if the trends were not reversed, the United States over the next decade would slip into a position of military inferiority. As a former member of Congress, Mr. Rumsfeld knew full well that nothing so arouses Congress to vote money for defense as an appeal that the United States should be "second to none."

Thus, there ensued what Representative Robert N. Giaimo of Connecticut, a senior Democrat on the House Appropriations Committee, describes as a "hard-sell public relations job like I have never seen before in Congress."

Secret defense intelligence agency briefings were arranged for members of Congress, classified secret because that tends to impress Congressmen. The Rumsfeld charts, virtually all showing an upward slope for the Soviet Union and a downward slope for the United States, were distributed widely on Capitol Hill. Selected Congressional groups were invited to the White House for "national security briefings."

The "hard sell" obviously worked. Last year, with his philosophical approach, Mr. Schlesinger saw the defense budget cut by about $7 billion. This year, even the House and Senate Budget Committees, which last year laid down the restrictive guidelines that led to the reductions, have approved the Administration's defense budget virtually intact.

The mood on Capitol Hill has changed drastically, so much so that Pentagon critics will not make a concerted effort to cut the defense budget when the annual military procurement bill reaches the House floor in the next few days. The vast majority in Congress accepts the need for some real increase in the defense budget. The only argument is whether it needs to be as much as the 5 percent increase proposed by the Administration.

While turning around the Congressional mood, the Administration unexpectedly found its arguments being turned against it politically by Mr. Reagan. Using the same charts that Secretary Rumsfeld has been presenting on Capitol Hill, Mr. Reagan began contending that the United States was already Number 2 militarily, blaming the Nixon-Ford Administrations for this situation.

At that point, the Administration was driven into a defensive and sometimes contradictory position of trying to fend off Mr. Reagan and still sell its defense budget to Congress.

The President began emphasizing that the United States was "without equal" in military power, and thus exposed himself to liberal critics who asked that, if the United States was so powerful, why was it necessary to increase the defense budget as much as the Administration proposed.

Undercutting His Argument

On the campaign trail, Mr. Ford began boasting that he had proposed the two largest defense budgets in peacetime history. In the process, he began undercutting the Administration's basic argument that, in constant or noninflated dollars, the defense budget has been declining and is now about 30 percent less than it was a decade ago.

Curiously, some of the most reasoned rebuttal to the Administration's "superiority" argument has come from Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. In recent speeches ostensibly aimed at Mr. Reagan but which apply equally well to some of the statements made by Mr. Ford and Mr. Rumsfeld, Mr. Kissinger has been making the point that "no service is done to the nation by those who portray an exaggerated specter of Soviet power and American weakness."

"Despite the inevitable increase in its power," Mr. Kissinger said, "the Soviet Union remains far behind us and our allies in any overall assessment of ary, economic and technological strength." The inclusion of the allies is agnificant military equation, since t he Administration has tended to make one-on-one military compaons' leaving out the military contributions of European allies.

Soviet Growth Cited

Mr. Kissinger has also been making the point that the Sovgence as a milita ry superpower roughly equivalent to the United States was the inev peri industrial, economic andlitary growth an d that "nothing we could have done would have prevented it" and "nothing we could do now will maisappear."

For all the Administrations talk about retaining military superiority, its policy really is directed at maintaining a rough equnce, if only because superiority would be politically too expensive to achieve. To retain superiority, the United States would have to be devoting aof its gross nationproduct to defense. It would also have to take the politically unacceptable step of returning to te the draft to provide manpower for the armed services, sinen with relatively high unemployment it does not seem possible to maintain much more than the present 2-million-man force on a volunteer basis.

Basically, the debate started off as a discussion of tailoring American defense commitments to the national resources that the Government was willing to devote to defense. Before the superiority argument intruded, a consensus seemed to be developty ire centered in Europe, the Middle East and Japan, a concept that eventually would have permitted some restructuring of the military budget and forces.

At least for this election year, however, that consensus has been aborted, and with it the convergence of national will that everyone agrees is necessary to support a defense policy over the long term.

Labor's Hope for Unity

James Callaghan

By BERNARD WEINRAUB
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, April 5—He is known as Sunny Jim, but his moods are sometimes dark and chilling. He is the only Cabinet official to serve in three key posts—Chancellor of the Exchequer, Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary. But broad success in each job proved elusive. He has wide support in the ideologically divided Labor Party, but few people seem actually enthusiastic about James Callaghan.

Britain's newly elected Labor Party leader and Prime Minister, a robust and burly 64-year-old politician, has spent years solidifying his base within the party, building up a strong middle-of-the-road constituency, sharpening his skills as a tactician who understands, as few do, the nature of power in the Labor Party.

Now, in the aftermath of Harold Wilson's surprise decision to resign as Prime Minister, Mr. Callaghan has endured three ballots among Labor M.P.'s to emerge as Mr. Wilson's successor. His selection came as no surprise.

'Ability to Unite the Party'

"The case for Mr. Callaghan is, in fact, simply that he has the ability to unite the party in a way that no one else can," said the leftist weekly New Statesman. "His choice as leader will certainly not represent a vote of confidence in the party's future; rather will it symbolize a bid to seek reassurance in Labor's past."

The Observer once wrote:

"Callaghan is not an exciting person. Behind the plain-man exterior is a plain man. His political success indeed is partly due to his sense of what plain men think. He could be used as a one-man opinion poll: ask him what he thinks about Picasso or hanging or football hooligans, and you would discover the majority view."

Mr. Callaghan supporters say that he is a blunt, ambitious figure who combines political cunning with a genuine, almost instinctive, yearning to serve as party unifier. Behind his prickly nature, they say, Mr. Callaghan is witty, a bit self-mocking and a gifted politician sensitive to the mood of the people.

Moreover, Mr. Callaghan has a subtle and intimate understanding of the nation's powerful trade unions, an understanding base on his own background of poverty, struggle and scant formal education.

Ironically the party's left wing, which opposed Mr. Callaghan, is led by Oxford-trained Anthony Wedgwood Benn and Michael Foot, who have upper-class credentials.

An Uncertain Touch

Mr Callaghan's critics accuse him of lacking vision, buckling under pressure and showing an uncertain touch in his three major Cabinet posts. His detractors dismiss him as "Wilson writ small—all of Wilson's faults and none of his virtues."

The Daily Mail said acidly last week: "Mr. Callaghan is the arch mediocrity of British politics. Seldom has any man occupied so many high offices of state and made such a hash of them all."

If some of the criticism seems unfair, even Mr. Callaghan's supporters concede that Britain's new Prime Minister is handicapped by lukewarm party support and that the Labor Party and the nation may be moving through an interregnum now before a full-scale, ideological struggle within Labor ranks.

Mr. Callaghan himself has indicated that his taste for political battle may have dimmed and that he has gorwn content spending more time at his 137-acre farm in Sussex, bought with a mortgage several years ago. Nonetheless, Mr. Callaghan has fought zeolously for the leadership role, viewing it as the culmination of a career that has kept him at the pinnacles of power for nearly two decades.

"Not bad," he is fond of saying, "for a boy from an elementary school."

Father Was in the Navy

Leonard James Callaghan was born on March 12, 1912, in a street behind the Ports Royal Navy dockyard at Portsmouth. His father, James, was a chief petty officer, a rank of which his son remains extremly proud, mentioning it in Who's Who. The elder Mr. Callaghan died when the boy was 9 and the family was plunged into poverty.

There was no pension—only a small gratuity—and it was not until 1924 that a little-known Labor M.P., E. G. Roberts, got an allowance of 25 shillings a week for Mrs. Callaghan, and 10 shillings for the boy. "After that we were staunch Labor for life," he says now.

Mr. Callaghan's own education stopped at 16, and he was alone among the senior members of the Wilson Cabinet not to go to a university. At the age of 17, young Callaghan passed a Government exam for a job as an income tax clerk in an inspector's office.

"There was no choice about it," recalled Mr. Callaghan. "After her experience as a widow my mother had only one idea—to get me into an absolutely safe job that guaranteed a pension at 60. And can you blame her?"

Trade Union Aide at 24

At 24 Mr. Callaghan became a full-time trade union official with the Inland Revenue Staff Federation in London, taking arbitration cases and starting to develop his skills at labor negotiations. He began rising within the ranks of the Trades Union Congress, and by 1938 was already under consideration as a potential M.P.

It was at this point that he married Audrey Elizabeth Moulton, a home economics teacher, who was involved in Labor Party politics. The match, he later said, was a pivotal moment in his career. Mrs. Callaghan had been to college and came from a comfortable, settled family. "She added an essential element of middle-class stability to my working class insecurity," he said later. "She's given me a sense of reassurance, a feeling of security."

The couple have three children: Michael Callaghan, an economist; Julia Hubbard, a housewife, and Margaret Jay, who works on Panorama, a weekly television news show. Mrs. Jay's husband, Peter Jay, is economics editor of The Times, and the son of Douglas Jay, a prominent Labor M.P. and former president of the Board of Trade. The Callaghans have eight grandchildren.

ing over his last Cabinet meeting as Prime Minister.

Served in Naval Intelligence

In 1939, Mr. Callaghan joined the navy and served as a lieutenant in naval intelligence in the Far East. In 1945, on the strength of his trade union and Labor Party experience, he became a Labor M.P. for South Cardiff in Wales. Since 1950 he has been M.P. for Southeast Cardiff.

Between 1947 and 1951 he had two junior posts—at the Ministry of Transport and at the Admiralty. It was in the 1950's that Mr. Callaghan began emerging in national politics. Because he had little money, he probably did as much radio, television and free-lance writing as anyone else in the Labor hierarchy. He became an official adviser, or lobbyist, for the Police Federation, a national policemen's group, and, at the same time, developed a reputation for savage needling of Tory ministers in the House of Commons.

After the death in 1963 of Hugh Gaitskell, the Labor Party leader, Mr. Callaghan ran for both the leadership and deputy leadership of the party, but came in a poor third in both contests. One year later, when the Labor Party was returned to power under Harold Wilson, Mr. Callaghan became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Unhappy as Chancellor

By all accounts, Mr. Callaghan's three years as Chancellor were unhappy. He refused to devalue the overvalued pound until forced to in 1967, a delay believed to have badly damaged the nation's economy. Mr. Callaghan viewed devaluation as a bitter personal defeat, and resigned.

Although Mr. Callaghan's relations with Mr. Wilson had turned chilly, the British Prime Minister persuaded Mr. Callaghan to become Home Secretary, a post he held 1967-70. Mr. Callaghan recovered some of his prestige in his handling of the budding Northern Ireland problems.

He sent in British troops to protect the Roman Catholic community, forced the Protestant-dominated Parliament in Northern Ireland to disband the so-called "B" Specials, a police force that the Catholics abhorred, and visited Londonderry where the Catholic community welcomed him as a protector.

In hindsight, moderates in Northern Ireland say that Mr. Callaghan made few efforts to come to grips with the fundamental problems then in Ulster: the power of the Stormont Parliament, which was discredited in the eyes of Catholics, and the political, social and economic leverage that Protestants retained over Catholics. The Parliament was eventually disbanded in March 1972 by Prime Minister Edward Heath.

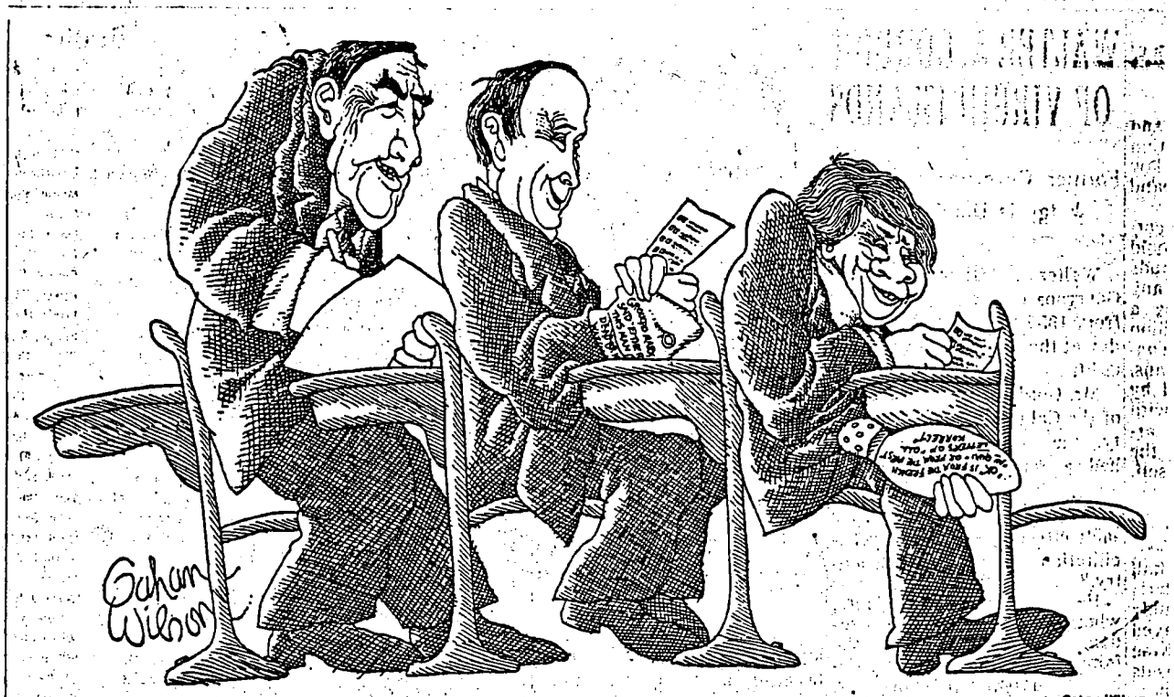
Rankled Immigrants

As Home Secretary, Mr. Callaghan also ranked immigrants and party activists with legislation in 1968 that restricted the right of British passport holders of Asian ancestry to enter Britain. The Government was panicked into emergency action against the Asians by the first emotional speeches on race by Enoch Powell, the M.P. who had campaigned on an anti-immigrant platform.

Since 1974, Mr. Callaghan has served as Foreign Secretary.

"By nature he is deeply conservative, distrusting — even hating — extremes," John Clare, a writer who worked with Mr. Callaghan on his book about Northern Ireland, "A House Divided," said.

He added: "His great strength is absorbing other people's ideas, filtering them through his own considerable common sense, rejecting what he feels public opinion will not wear, and expressing what's left in a plain and confident manner. It is that very considerable talent that has got him where he is today."



Gahan Wilson

What Is An Aardvark?

By Gilbert Sorrentino

Here is a simple test for aspirants to elected office. It is intended to reveal general, as against specialized knowledge. Score two points for each correct answer; a score of 80 is passing. Those candidates who cannot equal or better that grade should immediately fall silent and disappear.

1. In the sense that Edmund Burke understood the term, are there any conservatives in American public life today? Who are they?

2. Name one representative recording by Sonny Rollins, or by Charlie Parker.

3. Mix a Sazerac.

4. What is a bet "across the board"?

5. Describe the infield-fly rule.

6. Quote any five consecutive lines from the corpus of any 20th-century poet's work.

7. Give the precise meaning of the following words: livid, fruition.

8. Pitch a pup tent; ditch it.

9. What are the essential differences in the metamorphoses of the roach and housefly?

10. Give the title of one of Franz Kline's paintings.

11. Tie the following: square knot, slip knot, two half-hitches, sheepshank.

12. Who said, "I am Madame Bovary"?

13. The following terms stand for what points on the dice? Little Joe, Snake Eyes, Big Dick, Boxcars, Johnny Hicks.

14. Sharpen a knife.

15. Give one of the many doubtful etymologies for the term "O.K."

16. What is a skid? a flat? a dolly? a hand truck?

17. What is a "can of corn" as the term is employed in baseball?

18. What is a nesbit? a gouache? an objective correlative?

19. Give the etymology of the word "politics."

20. Build a fire without using paper or any artificial "starter."

21. Give a general, nontechnical definition of analytical cubism.

22. Decline any Latin noun, or conjugate any Latin verb in the present indicative.

23. What is the difference between misprision and misfeasance?

24. Write a short and clear descriptive paper on how to roll a cigarette.

25. What are the symptoms of heat exhaustion? of sunstroke?

26. Solve a simple problem in algebra, or plane geometry, or trigonometry.

27. Cut up a whole chicken for frying.

28. Who was Samuel Greenberg?

29. Roll a pair of socks in military fashion.

30. Bank a coal furnace.

31. Sing one of Harold Arlen's songs, or one of Rube Bloom's songs.

32. What is a Pink Gin? What else is it called?

33. "Semper in Hostis" is the motto of what United States Army division? Its meaning?

34. Press a pair of trousers.

35. Some years ago, before the advent of metal-covered wires, it was possible, with the aid of a safety pin, to make free calls from pay-phone booths. How?

36. Point out the pressure points on the human body.

37. Describe the Ruy Lopez; or describe the meld called "pinochle" in that game.

38. Make a beef stew.

39. What American division first saw action in the Korean war?

40. What is a shotgun flat and why is it so named?

41. Who said, "Either this man is dead or my watch has stopped."

42. Keep perfect score at a baseball game for three innings.

43. Hum a few bars of anything written by Mozart, or by Haydn, or by Purcell.

44. Speak extemporaneously on a subject of your own choice for ten minutes without using more than twenty clichés.

45. When one reaches the counter at an unemployment-insurance office, the clerk behind it invariably asks two questions. What are they?

46. As employed by waitresses and countermen, what does the term "eighty-six" mean?

47. Scan the following line: "His bright and battering sandal." Name its author.

48. Pack a cardboard carton with glassware and seal it properly with packing tape.

49. Make a guess as to the derivation of the phrase, "He knows his p's and q's."

50. Write a brief review of the last book of verse you read.

Gilbert Sorrentino, a poet and novelist, is author of "Splendide-Hôtel."

The Expector-General

By Russell Baker

The papers say Senator Jackson is expected to win the New York primary, but they do not tell us who it is who is doing the expecting. This is a vital omission, as a moment's reflection will illustrate.

Suppose that after the papers say Jackson is expected to win, Jackson doesn't win. Bad news for Jackson. Very bad news. Election night on television and next day in the papers, everybody will say Jackson is a loser because he didn't win where he was expected to win. By having it announced ahead of time that he was expected to win, Jackson loses worse than if he had been expected not to win.

There has been an extraordinary amount of expecting in this campaign, and it would be helpful to know who is doing it. My guess, and it is nothing more, is that each candidate has an Expector-General whose identity is a secret except to a handful of reporters.

If this is correct, the primaries so far have been an elaborate chess game among Expectors-General. Going back to the beginning of the rise of Jimmy Carter, we see signs of the Expectors-General at work in the obscure caucuses held last January in Iowa.

At that time somebody's Expector-General told the press that Representative Udall was expected to win in these local gatherings of Democratic activists. When Carter then finished ahead of Udall, the press seized upon him as a dynamic new figure, a man who could upset expectations.

The question, of course, is who told the press Udall was expected to win in Iowa? Was it Udall's Expector-General trying to create an early bandwagon psychology to drive opponents from the fight? Or could it have been Carter's Expector-General, who saw an easy way to launch his man by mousetrapping Udall with the "expected-to-win" gambit?

Ever since Iowa, both Republican and Democratic primaries seem to have been heavily manipulated by various Expectors-General. Ronald Reagan was hurt in Florida when he lost after he was expected to win, and revived in North Carolina when he won after he was expected to lose.

The Democrats have had an even more bizarre progress. Jackson, who was expected to go nowhere, was proclaimed a heavyweight contender for the title after he took 23 percent of a light vote in Massachusetts. Had he been expected to win in Massachusetts, a mere 23 percent would probably have wiped him out.

The next week in Florida, his Expector-General said Jackson was expected not to win there, and he did not campaign. And so, when he lost very badly indeed, no one bothered to point out that he had lost badly because he had been expected to lose.

If there really are Expectors-General working for the candidates, Udall certainly has the most inept. He either told the press or let somebody else's Expector-General get away with telling the press that Udall was expected to win in Iowa, Massachusetts and Wisconsin. Considering that Udall started his campaign with little more public recognition than Milton Shapp has in the Peloponnesus, this revealed abysmal ignorance of the new art of winning by not losing as badly as you boast you will.

Carter, by contrast, has a masterful Expector-General. He has already announced that Carter can expect nothing better than a third-place finish in New York, and Udall's Expector-General has accepted this without protest. This means that a third-place finish for

OBSERVER

Carter will be interpreted as not too bad, while a third-place finish for Udall will be a disaster.

In Wisconsin Carter's Expector-General has again declared that Udall is expected to win there. If Udall does win Carter will have satisfactorily lived up to expectations. If Carter wins, he will be perceived as an irresistible confounder of expectations whom the convention cannot ignore. In shore, Carter cannot lose, eveh if he loses. Once again Udall's Expector-General has played blandly into the Carter gambit by stating that Udall is expected to win, so that a loss in Wisconsin will be doubly damaging.

If all this political maneuver seems somewhat arcane to the casual reader, it may be because in the primaries winning an election is usually not what it seems to the public. In most primaries, winning is only what the media say it is. (As in Jackson's "winning" Massachusetts with 23 percent of the vote and Carter's "winning" New Hampshire with 29 percent.)

The political reporters, through some mysterious consensual process, establish the definitions of victory and defeat, and the voters, through an even more mysterious process, absorb and adopt them as verities, watching the rise of the "winners" and the fall of the "losers" as a spectator sport until the concentions act.

Then, discovering they have a choice of only two survivors, neither one of whom they care about, the voters shriek curses on the system, and on Election Day half of them stay home. Which is perfectly natural, the Expectors-General might say, since only half of the electorate is expected to vote.

Jackson On Rights

By Tom Wicker

Senator Henry Jackson campaigned through Queens last week in pursuit of the two-to-one victory he had predicted in the New York Presidential primary. Mr. Jackson was promising to do something about unemployment when a number of demonstrators for homosexual rights began to harass him.

Mr. Jackson, as reported by Douglas E. Kneeland of The New York Times, turned on the hecklers and said:

"Go on and have your own rally. Our people want hard work. We don't want gay work. We don't want gay jobs. You have your gay jobs. You just do your own thing and stay away."

Allowing for Mr. Jackson's probable fatigue in the midst of a hard campaign, and for whatever excesses might be charged to the hecklers, this still seems a rather extreme reaction, signifying a more exclusionary view toward a substantial number of Americans than seems desirable in a President.

I have no idea how many male and female homosexuals there are in the United States. Such figures probably would not be reliable anyway, since attitudes like that expressed by Mr. Jackson keep so many homosexuals "in the closet." But if there are 100,000 or a million or ten million, they are all Americans, all entitled to human dignity, all entitled to jobs, all entitled to express their views to political candidates—even rudely, if the candidates' attention can be attracted in no other way.

As a matter of fact, the issue of jobs for homosexuals—particularly in the public sector, as firemen, policemen, teachers, social workers, etc.—is a political issue in New York and elsewhere. The question whether homosexuals employed in the defense establishment are security risks merely because of their sexual preference has been argued in the courts,

IN THE NATION

and both politically and legally "gay rights" are beginning to be recognized, at least in some jurisdictions.

Mr. Jackson, however, is reported by Americans for Democratic Action to have told a Colorado newspaper on April 12, 1975 (a spokesman for him says the Senator does not remember making the remark): "I am not about to give in to the gay liberation and codify into law the practice of homosexuality. . . . It is the first beginning of a breakdown of a society. . . ."

The Supreme Court took much the same restrictive view, apparently, in upholding last week a state law that made homosexual practices illegal, even between consenting adults in the privacy of a home. "Gay rights," moreover, are certainly not a major issue in the Presidential campaign, even in the New York primary. It may even be that other candidates would not differ all that much from Mr. Jackson on this issue.

Even so, a man who seeks to unify and lead the nation, who proclaims himself a "liberal," who says he is for "human détente," and who makes much of what he modestly calls a "perfect" civil rights record, raises reasonable doubts about his balance and his generosity when he lashes out so intemperately at other Americans, however uncongenial they may be to him.

As for civil rights, how would Mr. Jackson—and the Supreme Court, for that matter—reconcile the view that homosexuals have no legal right to be homosexuals with the "civil right" of every American not to be discriminated against by law, in employment, etc? Do civil rights depend on sexual preference? Or do they apply to the fortunate and the unfortunate, the conventional and the unconventional alike?

That question—how a potential President views the misfits and dissenters from conventional society—is relevant to the campaign and entirely pertinent to put to any candidate and especially to Henry Jackson after his Queens remarks.

Mr. Jackson raised another question about his understanding of things when he remarked in Rochester, N. Y., [illegible]uld match his civil rights [illegible]hat of former Gov. Jimmy [illegible] of Georgia "any time." Mr. Carter, he said, "remained silent through those long, difficult years when Scoop Jackson had a 100 percent voting record."

In fact, during "those long, difficult years" of the civil rights struggle that Mr. Jackson apparently referred to, Mr. Carter refused to join the White Citizens Council in Plains, Ga., and later told the people of that state in his inaugural address as Governor that "the time for racial discrimination is over." Mr. Carter has his own transgressions to answer for, but if Henry Jackson thinks it was harder and more admirable for him to cast votes in the Senate than for a Southern white to stand up and be counted in Georgia, Mr. Jackson knows very little about civil rights or "those long, difficult years."

In fact, in those years, Mr. Jackson voted as a moderate Democrat from a state where racial issues were not pressing. He compiled a record sound enough to stand on—but not the record of a vigorous leader of the cause, much less one entitled now to criticize others whose risks were real.

Issues '76: Liberty

"Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override," wrote the Harvard philosopher John Rawls a few years ago. "Therefore in a just society the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interests."

The panoply of individual and institutional rights that is the armor of democracy has been largely ignored thus far in the campaign for the Presidency. In any national election—and surely one that comes during the Republic's Bicentennial—voters should be aware of a candidate's record and stand on the fundamental liberties in the Bill of Rights. They are the root and branch of a just society.

* * *

The trauma of the past few years, and the continuing disclosures of official misconduct underscore the need to question candidates on the fundamental rights. Some of the rights are dissembled or whittled down in current legislation. Party platforms usually offer consoling words, but are largely pro forma, unread and ignored. The candidates must be heard.

The First Amendment remains the capstone of civil liberties. Yet a proposed new Federal criminal code (under the title S-1) requires the closest scrutiny because of its many questionable sections that are incompatible with the First Amendment. Its harsh provisions could abridge freedom of speech, restrict the right of peaceful assembly, and clamp down on the right to publish information of public interest. The scope of the espionage and secrecy provisions of S-1 is so broad that almost anything could be branded "national defense information" by bureaucrats and upheld as statutory violations by the courts. Revelations of cost overruns in weapons development, for example, and publication of such facts would subject individuals and organizations to the hazards of criminal litigation. The critical function of the First Amendment in the operations of government would be negated. Fortunately, S-1 has been blocked in this session; but it is sure to become an issue next year.

The Second Amendment—the "right" to keep and bear arms—must be considered in light of the real problem of today: the easy availability of handguns—"Saturday night specials"—and concealed weapons that are major causes of criminal activity. Even the political assassinations and the attempts on President Ford's life have failed to arouse Congress and the Administration to strong gun-control legislation. The real issue is how Presidential candidates stand on the only means of control—registration of weapons and licensing of dealers and owners.

* * *

The Fourth Amendment, against unreasonable searches and seizures, is one of the safeguards to prevent illegal arrests and invasions of privacy. "Sophisticated" intrusions by electronic surveillance and wiretapping, except where authorized by the courts under certain conditions, can do severe violence to the Fourth Amendment. Law enforcement agencies must use available modern tools but only under court-imposed limitations. Surely candidates should make their views known.

The Fifth and Sixth Amendments, encompassing rights of persons to due process of law in various proceedings and to speedy and public trials in criminal prosecutions, are relevant to the whole notion of fairness and equality in the courtrooms. Obviously, there is a double standard of justice if poor persons are denied the right to counsel or are subjected to preventive detention because they cannot raise bail.

Similarly the Seventh and Eighth Amendments—on the preservation of trial by jury and against cruel and unusual punishment—are major parts of the fabric of justice in a civilized nation. Here, too, it should be pointed out, one section of the proposed Federal criminal code would be retrogressive. Capital punishment would be mandatory not only for treason, espionage and sabotage but for a variety of felony homicide cases. How do the candidates stand on this issue?

* * *

The attitude of the candidates on the liberties in the Bill of Rights is proper subject for debate and discussion. These liberties cut across economic, social and political considerations and classes. How they are to be protected is a relevant question to propound to anyone who aspires to be President of the United States.

The Great Schism

By Leonard Silk

BERKELEY, Calif. — The first great schism in the Communist "church"—a doctrinal split that was to have major political consequences—occurred when Mao Tse-tung broke with Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism as practiced and preached in Moscow. The Maoist vision was of a truly honest, simple, modest and classless society—not one dominated by a "new class" of self-rewarding bureaucrats and superproletarians.

Communism, said Mao, would go through many different phases, experience many revolutions. As Prof. John G. Gurley of Stanford University, a close and sympathetic student of Maoist economics, has observed, Mao does not see Communism as the last stage of world development. Indeed, Mao does not see human beings themselves as the final stage of development, but holds forth the secular and Messianic vision of higher forms of life to come when mankind has died out.

"Mankind will eventually reach its doomsday," Mao prophesied. "When theologians talk about doomsday, it is pessimism used to scare people. When we speak about the destruction of mankind, we are saying that something more advanced than mankind will be produced."

Thus the dialectics of destruction-construction are Mao's beginning and end. But, in the twentieth century, and still close to "the beginning," China's leaders still believe in the necessity of the state and party as the dictatorship and vanguard of the human race. In that respect there is little or no difference between Chinese and Soviet Communism.

Are we now, in Western Europe and Japan, witnessing still a second major schism, with a movement away from the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat that is held in both Peking and Moscow—as well as in the fifteen lesser Communist states?

Enrico Berlinguer, whose Italian Communist Party is in the vanguard of this new movement, has proclaimed his party's commitment to democracy and to civil liberties, and in effect to the reversibility of Communist accession to power if the people so decide in free elections.

Will Rome become the center of alternative Communist ideologies to those of Moscow and Peking? This past November, Berlinguer and Georges Marchais, leader of the hitherto Stalinist Communist Party of France, declared their parties' joint commitment to "liberty of thought and expression, of press, of meeting and association, the right to demonstrate, to travel in and out of the country, the inviolability of private life, religious freedom, total freedom to express diverse ideologies and philosophical, cultural and artistic opinion."

There are reasons for skepticism whether Communists will remain democrats and protectors of freedom once they attain power—and whether their declaration of democratic principles is not simply a ruse to pave their way to power, after which the democratic principles will be jettisoned.

Nevertheless, whatever their sincerity, such declarations dramatize the greatest weakness in Communist systems as they exist in all nations where Communists have actually come to power; the leaders' lack of accountability to the people and the sacrifice of freedom to an alleged commitment to social and economic equality.

In a sense, the cardinal flaw of capitalism is the mirror image of the defects in the Communist states: the failure of capitalist societies to combine a greater degree of social and economic equality with the personal and political freedoms that have been the proudest achievement of the "great bourgeois democratic revolutions," as Berlinguer and Marchais now acknowledge.

Enormous disparities persist in wealth and income within the capitalist countries. The huge increase in total wealth of capitalist societies, far from ending the issue of equality, has intensified it—by removing much of the justification for wide income disparities as the necessary conditioner for high capital formation and economic growth.

In the United States, the struggle over the greater equality takes many forms—not only over wages and income but over how to reform the tax laws, the welfare system, health services, and how to provide more equal access for people of different races and sexes to jobs, education and housing. A new aspect of this issue is how to rescue the decaying cities engulfed by the poor and the desperate.

As Communist Parties seek to correct (or repress) the main causes of trouble within their own system—the need for greater personal and political freedom, a need that will grow as the Communist societies grow more affluent—will the already affluent capitalist nations attack their own greatest weakness, the lack of greater social and economic equality?

Until these mirror-image problems are resolved, the tensions both within and between these two great political systems will continue.

Leonard Silk is a member of the Editorial Board of The Times.

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11th-HOUR CAMPAIGNING

Wisconsinites Meet The 'Peanut Brigade'

By DAVID MORRISON
Constitution Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—Franklin Sutton, the Georgia state senator from Norman Park, thinks he came 1,500 miles "just to get bit by a cat."

Kyle Spencer, president of Trust Company of Columbus, knew there would be hazards in campaigning for Jimmy Carter in a northern city. But one he never counted on was slipping on a walnut.

Luck Gambrell, wife of former U.S. Sen. David Gambrell, was mistaken for a Jehovah's Witness as she knocked on the door of a woman who spoke with a heavy Slavic accent. "No, no," the woman said, refusing the Carter brochure, "I'm a Catholic."

And Charles Harris, chairman of the Georgia Board of Regents, chuckled as he told about his day's work on Sunday: "There's got to be something strange about a Jewish merchant from Ocilla campaigning for Jimmy Carter, a white Southern Baptist, in five black churches in Milwaukee."

How did he handle it? "I read from Ecclesiastes, the part about there being a time for everything. I told them this was the time for Jimmy Carter."

The four were members of the Peanut Brigade, a group of more than 90 Georgians who chartered a plane at their own expense and flew to Wisconsin for four days of 11th-hour campaigning for Carter, whose presidential candidacy will be tested in Tuesday's primaries here and in New York.

The group has been scattered throughout most of the urban areas of the state, visiting neighborhoods that have been identified as having heavy Democratic voter turnout. In Milwaukee, Madison and industrialized cities along the coast of Lake Michigan, the Georgians have been passing out brochures, telephoning and on occasion making speeches.

Carter's principal opponent in the Wisconsin primary, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, has been building a

See GEORGIANS, Page 10-A

• *Large turnouts expected in New York and Wisconsin primaries, Page 9-A*

• *White House denies Henry Kissinger is being eased out, Page 10-A*

• *Mayor Jackson is expected to endorse Jimmy Carter shortly, Page 8-A*

R

Georgians

From Page 1-A

volunteer organization and paid campaign staff in the state for more than a year. The Georgia brigade will try to compensate for Carter's spending more effort and money in Florida and New Hampshire, where he considered early primary victories essential to his campaign.

"We are trying to do in two weeks here what it took us two months to do in Florida," said 21-year-old Linda Solomon of Chattanooga, Tenn. She is a student at Northwestern University in neighboring Illinois, coordinating Carter's ragtag army of volunteers that is working in Kenosha and Racine, just south of Milwaukee.

"This is a complete rush job," Miss Solomon said. "We feel like we have to make contact with the voters in these key Democratic precincts at least once with a call, a leaflet or a brochure."

That's where the Peanut Brigade comes in.

The group arrived Thursday and went immediately to work, walking door to door in neighborhoods, meeting plant shift changes, and attending functions with blacks to assure them that Georgians aren't so bad.

The raid on Wisconsin was not without incident.

"That cat was just rubbing his backside up against my britches legs the way cats do," Sutton continued in his slow, Southern drawl, a stark contrast to the full, fast clip of midwestern accents normally found here.

"I thought he was just playing with me. But he was trying to get a bigger mouthful. I figured we were going to lose that vote anywhow, so I just dropkicked that cat like a football and told the lady I was campaigning for Udall."

The southerners are something of a novelty in Wisconsin, and Sutton brags that he "must have drunk 50 gallons of coffee" supplied by people who just wanted to "get a laugh out of the way I talked.

"One lady told me about all her grandchildren—there was Fritz, Hans, Eric, Greta, I don't know what all," Sutton told a reporter. "You've got the first Anglo-Saxon name I've heard this week."

Surprisingly, residents in Wisconsin for the most part do not view the visit of the Georgians here as meddling in Wisconsin politics.

"They've got a right to back their man for president if they want to," said Larry Jardin, a supporter of Sen. Hubert Humphrey from neighboring Minnesota. Humphrey is not on the ballot here for Tuesday's primary, but is expected to be a candidate later.

"I think it's good that so many people came all the way up here to campaign," said C. C. Jakobowski, of a south Milwaukee neighborhood. "I don't know anything about this guy Carter, and I need to before Tuesday. I haven't made up my mind how to vote yet."

It is the undecided vote and the vote committed to another candidate who is not actively in the race that the Peanut Brigade is aimed at. Phil Wise, Carter's campaign coordinator for Wisconsin, said polls indicate a lot of "soft Carter vote"—people who lean toward Carter, but who have not firmly decided to vote for him.

"I see the race here as somewhat a tossup," said Wise. "It's our momentum (from winning earlier primaries) against Udall's organization.

"They are going to get out some vote, and we have to do the same thing. If it snows on Tuesday, I'll be worried. If it snows, I won't get out of bed."

It wasn't snowing Sunday or Monday in Milwaukee—the air was cold and crisp, but the sky was clear as the Peanut Brigade marched.

The group began early Sunday passing out brochures to people leaving a Knights of Columbus pancake breakfast.

Larissa Rudyck, a nurse at Crawford Long Hospital in Atlanta, caught the first man out. "I wouldn't vote for that creep," he snarled, refusing the brochure.

Others were more receptive.

Karen Pik, 19, a student at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, politely listened to Spencer as the Columbus banker asked for her vote.

"I hate to tell you this after you came all this way," she said, "but most of my friends are for Udall.

In a well-kept neighborhood with older houses and almost-manicured lawns and shrubs, there is a small print shop with an advertisement in the window: "We do wedding invitations in Italian, Greek, German and Polish."

The people in this south Milwaukee neighborhood, as elsewhere in the state, take their voting seriously and apparently welcomed the Carter supporters.

Kasimier Kozminski told Spencer he liked Carter: "You don't come from as far away as he did without earning respect. I heard he was a peanut farmer. Is that true?"

"That's right," said Spencer.

"Well, I'm gonna vote for him," the elderly Kozminski said.

BEFORE PA. VOTE

Mayor May Endorse Carter

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Mayor Maynard Jackson, one of the last remaining Atlanta black leaders still uncommitted to a presidential candidate, is expected to endorse Jimmy Carter shortly.

It was also learned that Sheila Sugarman, wife of Jackson's top aide, Jule Sugarman, recently became a full-time volunteer for the Carter campaign and may assume a salaried position.

Jackson's support for former Georgia Gov. Carter would further isolate state Sen. Julian Bond, who almost alone among Georgia black leaders supports liberal Arizona Rep. Morris Udall for president.

Pearl Lomax, Jackson's press secretary, said the mayor "is not going to be endorsing anybody for the next couple of days."

However, several sources said Jackson has decided to get behind Carter's candidacy and is conferring with Carter staffers about the most opportune time to do so.

Jackson declined to endorse Carter before the primaries Tuesday in Wisconsin and New York, and is now expected to deliver the endorsement close to the April 27 primary in Pennsylvania.

The mayor may campaign for Carter in Pennsylvania, joining other black leaders including U.S. Rep. Andrew Young, state Rep. Ben Brown, head of the General Assembly black caucus, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr.on the Carter campaign trail.

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Big Turnou Expec ed ir New York a id W sco s Today

Reports for this article were filed by David Morrison in Milwaukee, Andrew Glass in New York City and Constitution Political Editor Jim Merriner in Atlanta.

The largest turnout of Democratic voters to date in 1976 is expected Tuesday as Morris Udall tries to keep his presidential campaign alive in Wisconsin and Henry Jackson hopes for a "landslide" victory in New York.

At least 2 million Democrats are expected to vote in the two presidential primaries, with Jimmy Carter angling to deliver setbacks to both of his major competitors.

In Wisconsin, Arizona Rep. Udall has staked the future of his liberal campaign on beating former Georgia Gov. Carter, and has predicted a victory. Carter said during a Green Bay airport press conference that he and Udall will place first and second, but he would not predict the order.

In New York, the campaigning centered in a Brooklyn courtroom instead of on the traditional soapbox.

A federal judge refused Monday to postpone New York's primary in wide areas of the state where Carter's delegates have been forced off the ballot under a complex election law.

The last-minute decision means that Carter will not be represented on some 25 per cent of the ballots in Tuesday's election. It practically insures a New York victory for Washington Sen. Jackson, who has made the state a mainstay of his campaign.

In declining to postpone the election, federal Judge Mark Costantino reserved decision on whether to convene a special three-judge panel to review the primary rules under provisions of the federal Voting Rights Act.

"It is true that...the candidacy of Mr. Carter may be hurt by the failure to grant the requested relief," Judge Costantino observed in his order. "On the other hand, the delegates who have complied with the technical requirements of the election rules would be adversely affected by granting the requested relief."

Carter cited the 1965 legislation—which was directed at opening voting places to blacks in the South—in suing to get his delegates back on the New York ballot in districts where their names were struck. He sought to delay the election in those areas while new ballots which included his slates were prepared.

Meanwhile, Jackson sought to put his presidential drive into high gear by scoring a big victory in the nation's second-largest state over Carter and his other major rival, Udall. Jackson has outorganized, outcampaigned and outspent his opponents in New York at the expense of virtually ignoring the Wisconsin primary.

Paul Rivet, the attorney who argued Carter's case, told the court, "New York has managed to create a political minefield." He told a reporter, "If Mississippi had an election law like this, a federal judge would strike it down without hesitation."

An assistant attorney general arguing for the state, however, countered by calling Carter's suit "a matter of sour grapes."

About 20 per cent of New York's 3.5 million registered Democrats are expected to vote in the primary, while virtually all of the Republican delegates are expected to remain uncommitted. The GOP delegates are expected to remain loyal to Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, who governed New York for 15 years.

As a predicted 1.5 million Wisconsin voters take to the polls, Democratic candidates will vie for 68 delegates to the national convention, and Carter will test his ability to draw voters from the liberal wing of the party.

In Republican voting in Wisconsin, President Ford is expected to beat former California Gov. Ronald Reagan by a two-to-one margin and rebound from his loss to Reagan two weeks ago in North Carolina. Jackson and Alabama Gov. George Wallace are on the ballot with Carter and Udall, but neither is expected to do well. Both have spent money on television and newspaper advertising in Wisconsin, but campaigned only sporadically during the past week.

Anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack is also on the ballot, and although she is essentially a one-issue candidate, she could show strength in predominantly Catholic Wisconsin.

Meanwhile, the track record in primaries and delegate caucuses to date show Ford and Carter in leading positions.

Both Carter and Ford have gone five-for-six in winning primaries as the first one-third of the primary season ends and the second period opens Tuesday in Wisconsin and New York.

Seventeen states have now started choosing delegates to the national conventions through primaries or various party caucus systems. Twenty-two primary elections remain as the complex campaign winds on, including six on one day, May 25, and the final primaries of the year—California, New Jersey and Ohio on June 8.

Perhaps the most significant result of the early primaries has been the swift pruning of the large field of Democratic contenders.

Largely because of the dominance of former Georgia Gov. Carter, U. S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas was knocked out of the race in Mississippi and Oklahoma, Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, Wallace in Florida and Illinois and former Ambassador Sargent Shriver in Illinois. Wallace is the only one still actively campaigning.

If Carter defeats Udall in Wisconsin Tuesday, the active major candidates will in effect be narrowed to Carter and Jackson. But Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota remains in the wings, waiting to pounce if the Carter bid falters. Carter also has been the leading vote-getter so far. His total in six primaries amounts to 1,517,169 votes.

President Ford on the Republican ticket has a total of 1,047,783 votes—less than the second-place Democrat, Wallace, who has garnered 1,075,203.

Over the weekend, the Democratic parties of Virginia and Kansas began their delegation selection, electing county delegates to attend other caucuses for the actual selection of national delegates.

In Virginia, with 92 per cent of the votes counted, Carter seemed assured of 15 national delegates, but officials warned the number could change. Udall apparently will get at least three national delegates from Virginia, which will send a total of 54 representatives to the Democratic convention in New York City.

The caucus balloting, which only gives an indication of the final delegate line-up, showed Carter leading all opponents in Virginia.

Carter was favored by 30 per cent of those participating in the local caucuses, Udall by 9 per cent and Wallace by 1 per cent.

In Kansas, with 91.6 per cent of the local ballots counted, Carter again was ahead of his opponents, but with uncommitted delegates outnumbering Carter's.

The Primaries

Candidates in the grueling presidential sweepstakes will pass two more important mileposts today when voters in New York and Wisconsin cast ballots in primaries to select convention delegates.

When the final tallies are in, the once crowded field of Democratic candidates may again be narrowed. Arizona Rep. Morris Udall's showing in Wisconsin is crucial to his campaign. Observers see the contest there as a neck-and-neck horse race between Jimmy Carter and Udall, although Carter has predicted confidently he will win.

Sen. Henry Jackson is expected to do well in New York, although the primary process in that state is clouded by lawsuits and complex regulations. We may not know for sure just who has won what in New York for several days.

Meanwhile, Carter chalked up two more caucus victories — one in Virginia, the other in Kansas — over the weekend. He also picked up four more delegates in Oklahoma.

Only the uncommitted delegates ran ahead of Carter in Kansas and Virginia. And that is important. In many instances, the "uncommitted" slates are really committed to non-candidate Hubert Humphrey who in the end may stand between the front-running declared candidate and the Democratic nomination.

On the Republican side, President Ford is expected to rack up impressive victories in both Wisconsin and in New York, where his rival, Ronald Reagan, has spent little time.

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The New York Times/Don Hogan Charles

Representative Morris K. Udall and his supporters at the base of the Statue of Liberty. With the candidate, from left, in foreground: Representatives Bella Abzug and Jonathan Bingham; background: City Clerk David Dinkins and Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of the State County, Municipal Employees Union.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/12

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,178 — NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 12, 1976 — M. . 20 CENT

The Weather

Today—Sunny and windy, high in the 40s, low over 30. The chance of precipitation is over one through tonight. Tuesday—Sunny, high in the low to mid 60s. Yesterday's temperature, 44-47. Details Page 82.

The Washington Post

FINAI

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FIFTEEN CENTS

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News Summary and Index

MONDAY, APRIL 12, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Lebanese leftists yesterday decided to extend the 10-day armed truce to the end of April to allow time for a new president to be named and they also demanded the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon. After a five-hour meeting at which Kamal Jumblat, chief of the Progressive Socialist Party, presided, the leftists issued a statement calling to the attention of "our Syrian brothers to the gravity of military involvement through the entry of the Syrian Army in al illegitimate manner." [Page 1, Column 8.)

A recent report on the Israeli radio about frequent Israeli purchases of Arab land on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan has started a political debate about the controversial and often surreptitious ways in which the purchases are made. Israel has been acquiring land on the West Bank for the last eight years, but the purchases are rarely made public, partly because of a Jordanian law that makes it a crime punishable by death for a West Bank Arab to sell land to an Israeli. [1:6-7.]

National

Exploration for oil off the New England coast has begun. A test drill is being made by a consortium of 31 oil companies on the edge of the Georges Bank 100 miles off Massachusetts to determine whether the seabed would yield sufficient amounts of oil and natural gas to merit commercial exploitation. [1:1-2.]

Some questions raised by the disclosure last December that President Kennedy and two major Mafia figures were close friends of Judith Campbell have been examined in interviews with Justice Department officials, sources close to the Central Intelligence Agency, and underworld figures. Among them were whether Mrs. Campbell used her relationship with Mr. Kennedy to benefit the Mafia, and whether the President learned from her that the C.I.A. was working with the Mafia on a plot to kill Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba. [1:1-2.]

Ronald Reagan, trailing far behind President Ford in the primaries, still talks confidently about winning the Republican nomination for President. He said in an interview, "It's now possible to lose states that were once considered essential and still win," and added that for the first time his campaign would demonstrate that the population shift to the South and West has weakened the political power of the Northeast. He is convinced that because of the population shift he will win at least 700 of the 1,000 delegates in the forthcoming primaries in Southern and Western states. [1:5.]

Senator Henry M. Jackson acknowledged in a television interview that many of the persons running in Pennsylvania as Democratic convention delegates committed to him would rather see Senator Hubert H. Humphrey win the Presidential nomination. He said he would not ask his prospective delegates to "take a loyalty oath" to him no matter what happened at the convention. [1:4.]

When the wives of the Presidential candidates are asked why they think both the public and the press have apparently abandoned their kid-glove treatment of candidates' wives, the women generally give three reasons: The women's movement, Watergate and Betty Ford's frankness. Senator Henry M. Jackson's wife, Helen, said "More is expected of wives this year than at any other time in a Presidential campaign. We all discuss cerebral things, in fact, I've only gotten one question about fashion, and that was from a man, and the only recipe request came to 'Scoop.'" [1:3-4.]

Metropolitan

Patrick J. Cunningham, the Democratic state chairman, has fought for several months in closed-door legal proceedings to dismiss several subpoenas for his personal and business records requested by a special grand jury investigating the possible sale of judgeships in the Bronx. The secret battle was going on while he resisted a subpoena to testify before the special grand jury. Last week he changed his mind and is expected to appear this morning. [1:3.]

Housing abandonment—which in the last decade has brought tens of thousands of New York City apartments to ruin—is continuing to ravage slum areas and is spreading into once-stable neighborhoods in the central Bronx and the Crown Heights and northern Flatbush sections of Brooklyn. The devastating effects that abandonment has on neighborhoods are conspicuous near the Bronx Zoo and Fordham University. [1:6-7.]

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The New York Times

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Jackson Concedes Pennsylvania Allies Prefer Humphrey

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington conceded today that many of the persons who are running in Pennsylvania as convention delegates committed to him would rather see Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota win the Democratic Presidential nomination.

But he insisted, in answer to questions in a television interview, that Pennsylvania was a "unique" stronghold for Mr. Humphrey, who is not a declared candidate for the Presidency and thus is not running in any of the primaries.

Pennsylvania "is the strongest state of all 50 states for Hubert Humphrey," especially among union members and leaders, Mr. Jackson said. He predicted that union members in Pennsylvania would vote for him because "they can't vote for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona or Jimmy Carter, former Georgia Governor, "because of their labor record."

Mr. Jackson said he would not ask those running as his delegates in Pennsylvania to

Continued on Page 20, Column 8

JACKSON'S ALLIES PREFER HUMPHREY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

take a "loyalty oath" that they would hold fast in their support of him no matter what happened at the Democratic convention.

He would deal with any threatened shift of his delegates to Mr. Humphrey when that happened. If it did, he said.

Whether such a shift would occur "will, very candidly, depend on our overal strength," he said. "It must be related to the other states and how well I am doing in the other states."

In other highlights of the interview, on the ABC news program "Issues and Answers" Senator Jackson said the following:

¶That he believes the Supreme Court "may have gone too far" in holding, recently, that states may prosecute homosexuals for their private actions with consenting partners.

¶That he thinks Mr. Carter offendde many different ethnic groups, not just blacks, with his recent statement that the Government should not pursue policies that permit "alien groups" to alter the "ethnic purity" of their neighborhoods. Mr. Carter later apologized for use of the term "ethnic purity," but said he remained opposed to the "arbitrary use of Federal force" to change a neighborhood's ethnic character and that he supported open-housing laws.

Mr. Jackson said that his own view of the housing policies that should be followed by the Government was that integration of neighborhoods could be accomplished "on a balanced basis."

"We can preserve an ethnic neighborhood," he continued. "We don't have to turn around and destroy it, because that is part of our culture. But it means that other people can come in that are not of that national origin. You can go out into the suburbs, but you don't need to do all your [subsidized, low-income] housing in the suburbs.

As for the Supreme Court's decision upholding the rights of states to prosecute homosexuals for private, consensual acts, Mr. Jackson said he thought the Court had gone past a reasonable position on the issue of privacy.

"The court is going a long way when you start peeking under the covers," he said.

Senator Jackson has been known as fairly conservative on the issue of homosexuality and said today that "I deplore the very nature of deviation from the norm in sexual terms, because of its obvious adverse impact on the American family."

Task Force Comments

Dr. Bruce Voeller, executive director of the National Gay Task Force, said in New York that his organization "fully agrees with Senator Jackson" that the recent Supreme Court decision concerning homosexuals was "an error and that the Court shoud reconsider intruding into American bedrooms."

CARTER IS RESTING ON FAMILY FARM

Returns After Hard Week Caused by Dispute Over 'Ethnic Purity' Remark

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, April 11 — Jimmy Carter went home to the family farm in Georgia last night to rest and regroup after what was probably the most unnerving and difficult week in his three-year quest for the Presidency.

His entourage had spent several days trying to ease the controversy that had arisen over the former Georgia Governor's statements about ethnicity. It was an uncharacteristically defensive stance for the usually self-confident, front-running Democrat.

The controversy began earlier in the week when Mr. Carter defended the preservation of what he called the "ethnic purity" of local neighborhoods against official attempts to diversify them. By midweek, threatened with the loss of his considerable black support, he apologized for his choice of words—in which some saw racist overtones—but not for his position.

Whatever its ultimate impact, the incident seemed by the end of the week to be of little concern to the enthusiastic audiences of elderly, of college students and professors, unionists and Democratic Party workers he met along the way.

A 'Phony Issue'

The popular black Mayor of this industrial city, Coleman A. Young, called the matter a "phony issue." He said that he had been reared in a black neighborhood and was proud of it. Ethnic neighborhoods, he said, were as "American as apple pie."

The black audiences seemed to be moved by words, less noticed than his remarks on ethnic neighborhoods, words that weave through almost all of Mr. Carter's public speeches. They are words with emotional, uplifting and even spiritual overtones not unlike those heard in many black chruches in the South. Words like "compassion," "love," "strength," "justice," "brotherhood," "decency."

Throughout the week as he tried to cope with newspaper headlines, Mr. Carter gave frequent hints about the intellectual and religious origins of his political philosophy. The name that cropped up most often was that of the late Reinhold Neibuhr, the social philosopher and religious thinker who, Mr. Carter said, was his favorite theologian.

"I always wanted to meet him," Mr. Carter told an audience in Cleveland Thursday. "He had a great impact on my life."

"The purpose of politics," he said, describing his understanding of the Niebuhr philosophy, "is to establish justice in a sinful world."

"I can see a great need for the establishment of true justice in our world," Mr. Carter added.

Mr. Niebuhr, whose thinking influenced many public officials, among them a previous Democratic Presidential aspirant, Adlai E. Stevenson, was an exponent of "Christian realism." This is a basically pragmatic attempt to apply Christian philosophy to the solution of political and social problems.

Speaks About Tolstoy

Mr. Carter is a Southern Baptist who underwent a conversion experience a decade ago.

At the same Cleveland spech, after touching on such down-to-earth topics as the structure of the Federal Government and the purchase of ambassadorships, he suddenly turned reflective. He spoke about another social thinker, Leo Tolstoy, the 19th Century Russian author who underwent a conversion to "Christian love."

Mr. Carter said that as a youngster in rural Georgia he read Tolstoy's "War and Peace" several times. Tolstoy was a Russian nobleman who was horrified by the brutality of Russian life and tried to educate and free his serfs. He ultimately renounced worldly goods and preached nonviolence and love and opposed such organizations as the army and the church.

Church Defends Carter

LINCOLN, Neb., April 11 (AP) —Senator Frank Church, Democrat of Idaho, said today that too much had been made of Mr. Carter's remark about "ethnic purity."

"I think that was one of those remarks that campaigns bring on, and in all frankness I think that too much has been made of what apparently was an unfortunate phrase," Mr. Church told a news conference. Like Mr. Carter, he is seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Church said that Mr. Carter should be judged "on the basis of his record," rather than on that one phrase. He said that he knew of nothing in Mr. Carter's record as a former Governor of Georgia to indicate that he was a racist.

Soviet Judges Are Elected

MOSCOW, April 11 (AP) — Millions of Soviet citizens turned out today to elect people's judges, who serve five-year terms presiding over trials in all but the most important cases.

Conferees to Press for a Campaign Bill

20

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—Money that organized labor spends to promote political candidates among union members would be reported publicly for the first time under the compromise campaign bill being drafted by Senate and House conferees.

But the half-completed measure also contains provisions that threaten to cripple virtually all investigatory power of the Federal Election Commission and to subject to Congressional review much of the day-to-day guidance that the commission gives political candidates.

The conference will resume processing the legislation tomorrow, working toward a deadline of noon Tuesday. If full agreement cannot be reached by then, action will be postponed until late April or early May, after the Congressional Easter recess.

The new requirement on labor reporting, strongly pressed by Republicans, deals with a provision of the existing campaign law that permits unions to use their dues money to "communicate" with their members "on any subject," with no limit on such spending in support of favored candidates.

Corporations' Nights

Since 1974, corporations have enjoyed a similar right to communicate with their stockholders, using corporate funds without any ceiling or requirement to report, but few if any of them have engaged in such open political advocacy.

Unions, however, have been active, particularly on a spot basis in special elections, operating phone banks, conducting mass mailings and convassing on foot to reach their members on behalf of a candidate.

Under the new proposal, this kind of spending would remain legal, but would be reported to the Election Commission when it was "directly attributable to a communication expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate," whether by a union, a corporation or a special interest group.

There are two exceptions. Reports need not be filed where spending runs less than $2,000 per candidate per election or where the communication is "primarily devoted to subjects other than" candidate endorsement of or opposition to. This would exempt otherwise routine union newspapers containing a political editorial.

Sworn Complaints

A major change in the campaign bill made by the conferees last week would bar the commission from any investigation of a suspected violation unless it had received a written, signed, sworn and notarized complaint, with the signer subject to perjury penalties if he proved to be wrong.

Supporters of the Election Commission argue that this would virtually eliminate the possibility of investigating most complaints. Under previous language, the commission could begin an inquiry if it received a complaint, "or if it has reason to believe any person has committed a violation."

The conferees voted to change "or" to "and," making a complaint mandatory. It appears that some committee members were unaware of the impact of the change, and some effort to re-examine the question is expected when the conference resumes this week.

In a curious reversal of position, Republican senators, who argued for weeks for the independence of the Election Commission, turned down a compromise by Representative Wayne L. Hays, Democrat of Ohio, that would have restricted the agency less and then voted for harsher language.

The conferees approved a provision that would require the commission to translate any advisory opinion "of general applicability" into a regulation within 30 days and submit it to Congress for veto or approval. Under present law, advisory opinins are not subject to Congressional scrutiny.

The Hays compromise would have maintained the commission's authority to issue advisory opinions, provided they dealt with "a specific factual situation" and did not "state a general rule of law." When Republicans objected to this, Mr. Hays retreated to the priginal, more restrictive House language.

If the conferees finish the bill by noon Tuesday, [Mr. Hays plans to get married in the afternoon], the Senate and ouse could approve it before the Easter recess begins at the close of business Wednesday.

E

The Status of This Year's Democratic Convention Is More Quo Than Quota

By FRANK LYNN

The George McGovern "revolution" in the Democratic Party four years ago is obviously ebbing. A major characteristic of the 1972 Democratic National Convention was its heavy representation for the first time of women, minorities and youths and its light representation of cigar-chewing middle-aged men.

New York Political Notes

However, times have changed again, judging by the New York Presidential primary returns. Of the 206 Democratic delegates elected last Tuesday, 73 were women, 12 were blacks, nine were of Puerto Rican descent and nine were under 30.

Some of the imbalance, particularly among women, will be redressed by the appointment of 68 delegates at large, half of whom will be women, according to Democratic State Committee officials.

The most "balanced" delegation is the New York contingent pledged to Representative Morris K. Udall. It has the most women, blacks, Puerto Ricans and youths.

Four years ago there was a virtual quota system, with the various minority groups represented in proportion to their share of the population. These controversial guidelines were watered down to a statement calling for affirmative action but not quotas to insure broad-based participation in the convention.

Famous last words. Mayor Lee Alexander of Syracuse leaned over to Governor Carey last Monday, the day before the Presidential primary, and said, according to eavesdroppers, "Tomorrow, you're going to find out who runs this town." The Mayor was heading a slate of delegates pledged to Senator Henry M. Jackson, while his frequent antagonist, Thomas J. Lowery Jr., the Onondega County Democratic chairman, put together an uncommitted slate. The Mayor's crystal ball was cloudy. The uncommitted slate won.

The divided or nonleadership in the state Democratic Party was evident last Friday when the Democratic state chairman, Patrick J. Cunningham, met with his regional vice chairman and several other Democratic leaders to discuss the appointment of 63 Democratic National Convention delegates at large and the election of 16 Democratic national committeemen within the next two months.

Although a Democratic Governor would normally have a major voice in such decisions, several participants said that the Governor's name was not even mentioned at the meeting. "I got the feeling that the Governor isn't going to get involved and might not even be a delegate," said one of those at the meeting.

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The first political fallout from the Co-op City payment strike does not bode well for Mr. Cunningham's Bronx Democratic organization in the area, one of the Democratic bastions in the Bronx.

Two insurgent Democrats allied with the strike group—Eliot Engel and Sandrad Parness—defeated the incumbent Democratic organization district leaders in last Tuesday's primary in the 81st Assembly District East by a better than 2 to 1 margin.

The defeat undoubtedly spells further trouble for the district's assemblyman, Alan Hochberg, who has been indicted for allegedly attempting to bribe Charles Rosen, a potential opponent and a leader of the Co-op City strike. Mr. Hochberg ran in 12th place in the Democratic National Convention delegate contest.

Another target of the striker's is City Councilman Stephen B. Kaufman, Co-op City resident who was paying his maintenance charges sub rosa while publicly siding with the strikers. Mr. Kaufman is president of the incumbent Democratic club that was defeated on Tuesday. Mr. Hochberg is up for re-election tto the Assembly this year and Mr. Kaufman next year.

The strikers are battling the Cunningham machine in retaliation for what they contend is a broken promise by Governor Carey. Mr. Carey, according to the strikers, pledged that he would support legislation to stabilize charges in the vast project, which houses 60,000 residents. Instead, charges have been raised, and many of the residents are depositing their payments in an escrow fund.

•

The normally low voter turnout in black and Puerto Rican areas was particularly noticeable in the Democratic Presidential primary. Only some 7,400 voters turned out in the South Bronx 21st Congressional District and about 8,400 in the Bedford-Stuyvesant 12th in Brooklyn. Most of the state's Congressional districts had votes in excess of 15,000.

The high marks went to the 20th on the West Side, with some 36,000, and the 13th in the East Flatbush-Midwood-Coney Island area of Brooklyn, with nearly 35,000. The statewide turnout was a meager 19.6 percent of the enrollment.

•

Reresentative Morris K. Udall diverted so much of his money from the New York Democratic Presidential primary to his Wisconsin campaign that many of the New York campaign aides have not been paid for a month. Feelings ran so strong over the diversion that at one point a Udall aide in New ork angrily hung up the telephone on a Wisconsin counterpart.

Did the diversion pay Mr. Udall came from considerably behind in Wisconsin but still lost to Jimmy Carter. In New York, he ran well ahead of Mr. Carter and the general expectations.

Washington a City They Hate to Love

2/20/1

By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—It was a typical Capitol Hill scene. A delegation from home was in to see Representative Larry H. Pressler the other day. Flinty, rural-looking people, the kind of rock-ribbed conservatives likely to cite "big goverment" and "government spending" as top national problems.

The Talk of Washington

They had come all the way from South Dakota to see Mr. Pressler, Republican, about a $9 million irrigation project for their part of the state. The Federal Government is going to pay for that project.

If there was irony in that scene, the Dakotans either did not sense it or were not particularly troubled by it. Their visit sums up a paradox that underlies the attitudes of many Americans toward their national capital. They at once vilify it as a center of waste and sloth, and hasten here when they need something, particularly money.

Washington a Target

Not a new American phenomenon, but nearly everybody seems to be running for President against Washington this year. And Washington, whatever that is, does not apppreciate it one bit.

"A lot of people make a career of running against Washington so they can be sent back to spend their time denouncing Washington," said Gaylord Nelson, the Wisconsin Democrat, who is something of a Washington fixture himself after 14 years as a United States Senator.

George C. Wallace says a vote for him is a "message to Washington." Jimmy Carter touts himself as an "outsider" who would shake up the "bloated unmanageable bureaucracy in Washington." He has not even opened a campaign office here.

Ronald Reagan, in his nationally televised speech last week, blamed "Washington" for such evils as welfare abuse, poor housing, inferior schools and gun control. He traced it all to a "self-anointed elite in our nation's capital" and labeled his opponent, President Ford, a member of the "Washington establishment." Not toe outdone, Mr. Ford has denounced Federal employees who administer a "mulligan stew" of regulations.

"Washington" is a vague catchword for much of what Americans, liberal and conservative, perceive as wrong about the country—political corruption, deceit, waste, inflation, costly social programs that do not work.

What is Washington? Is it the 71 percent black majority that makes it the largest black city outside of Africa? Is it the herd — 350,000 strong—of civil servants who migrate downtown every morning to bureaus that honeycomb the city? Is it the legions of lawyers, lobbyists and reporters and who feed on the Government? Is it the "power elite" of publishers, columnists and political insiders who ride the Georgetown party circuit?

While the central city is mostly black, Washington is the quintessence of middle-class America when taken together with its vast suburbs. Feeding on a seemingly invulnerable $6 billion Federal payroll, it is a comfortable middle class that seems largely immune to the inflation and unemployment plaguing other Americans.

Indeed, hard times and trouble seem to fuel Washington. More reporters are needed to tell the story, more lawyers to litigate, more lobbyists to plead, more civil servants to administer aid programs.

People in Washington also know enough about the realities of government to doubt that the national Government will shrivel in the least even if Ronald Reagan wins.

Probably nobody in town is more offended by all the talk of "bigness" and waste than Clyde M. Webber, a huge man built like a seated Buddha but who does not smile much these days. He is national president of the American Federation of Government Employees, the union that represents 700,000 of the 2.8 million civilian employees of the Government.

"There aren't any Government programs carried out by Government personnel that have not been authorized by Congress," Mr. Webber said. "These are programs the populace wants. It's almost shameful these statements about the competence and dedication of the Federal work force."

Mr. Webber has been saving ammunition. He points to statistics showing, despite talk of a bloated bureaucracy, that the Federal work force has scarcely grown in 30 years. It was 2.67 million strong in 1946; today the figure is about 2.8 million. Viewed another way, there were 19 Federal workers for every 1,000 Americans in 1946, and now there are only 13.

"When you think the Federal Government was in complete disarray for a year, the store was kept open," Mr. Webber said alluding to Watergate. "Without a competent and efficient civil service, there could have been chaos in the country."

While others here agree there is much inefficiency in Washington, few seem to think the answer is a smaller, less obtrusive central Government.

Defense of Government

"It's easy to make these anti-Government speeches, you get applause," said Representative Paul Simon, a Democrat who represents a chronically depressed district in southern Illinois. "I am for sensible economies, but when you have seven million unemployed, you better have some programs. The real question is not the size of Government but is it going to be responsive to people who have needs."

Mr. Pressler of South Dakota, who comes from a rather conservative district, ran on an anti-establishment, government-reform platform. But he has doubts about the wisdom of transferring too much responsibility to local governments in this "complicated interdependent society."

Few young people will know the name of Benjamin V. Cohen, but he is one of those most respoonsible, for "big government." A lawyer who was a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "brain trust," he is now 82 years old and retired—in Washington. He was little patience with all the anti-Washington talk. If anything —with economic, transportation, environmental and other problems that cut across local boundaries—he feels that more centralized authority is needed.

If there is to be a new administration, Washington will be ready. Paul Delisle, the Frenchman who came to this "capital of the world" when it was "just a plan provincial city," cares little about whether the new President is for or against Washington as long as members of his administration eat at his restaurant, Sans Souci, which is near the White House.

"Our problem is to learn the eating and reservation habits of the new people," Mr. Delisle said the other morning just before the lunch rush. "President Kennedy was always late. Mr; Humphrey is always late. But I understand that Mr. Carter is always on time."

G

After Worrisome Week for the Charter Campaign a Key Test Looms in Pennsylvania

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 11—Quite apart from the "ethnic purity" controversy, it was a worrisome week for Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign. Rival Democrats, left gasping for two months by Mr. Carter's spectacular advances, were suddenly breathing easier and wondering if the Carter balloon had not lost some altitude before the difficult test in Pennsylvania on April 27.

Campaign Notes

In Virginia caucuses last weekend, for example, where the other active Presidential candidates did not contest him, Mr .Carter appeared to have won barely a quarter of the delegation against the "uncommitted" movement among the Virginia party leaders. In other words the former Georgia Governor did no better in Virginia than he had done in January against lively competition in Iowa, the first caucus state.

And in Kansas, where the Carter campaign had hoped for a majority of the state's 34 convention votes, it won 14 delegates against 20 uncommitted. The question is said one Democratic party analyst, "If the 'uncommitted' come to the convention as an anti-Carter group, where does he go fishing for the extra delegates he will need to make a majority?"

The Wisconsin and New York primaries were both disappointments for the Carter camp. In Wisconsin, Mr. Carter slipped in the last week from a comfortable lead in his own and other polls to a photo-finish victory. That left Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in the race as a possibly dangerous left-flank distraction in Mr. Carter's battle in Pennsylvania with Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. In New York, Mr. Carter ran fourth in the delegate race—behind Jackson, Udall and the uncommitted slates.

In Oklahoma, where Mr. Carter ran first in the February caucuses and later won Gov. David L. Boren's endorsement, he has gathered only 12 of the state's 37 convention delegates, against 18 uncommitted and seven for Fred R. Harris, the state's native son and former Senator, who withdrew from active campaigning for the Democratic nomination last week.

Leaders of the United Auto Workers, who had a Carter endorsement in the works for the Michigan primary on May 18, decided on Friday to back off. Leonard Woodcock, the U.A.W. president, is still favorably disposed to Mr. Carter, but among the U.A.W. vice presidents, Ken Bannon leans to Senator Jackson, Douglas Fraser prefers Mr. Udall. Pat Greyhouse likes Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, and Mr. Woodcock was not inclined to press the mater.

Money, every candidate's headache, is a major problem for the Carter campaign in Pennsylvania. A $1,000-per-person fund raiser planned for Wednesday evening in Philadelphia was canceled for lack of sponsors. "Frankly," said a Carter campaign officer, "we don't have any heavy hitters" in Pennsylvania.

As a result of a Supreme Court ruling on campaign financing, Mr. Carter is now free to spend his own money without limit, and he has been tiding over his campaign with substantial loans, including a $30,000 personal advance to cover the expenses of a mail appeal for funds.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, Mr. Carter's closest ally among black politicians, stands by his tatement, quoted in The New York Times on Friday, that he interpreted Jimmy Carter's remarks about "ethnic purity" as "a disaster for the campaign" and told the candidate as much when they conferred on the phone early Thursday morning.

Mr. Carter publicly disputed on Friday The Times's account of an interview with Mr. Young, but Mr. Young in a follow-up interview yesterday said, "There's no question I did say originally I thought it would be a disaster for the campaign. All I could thinuk of was George Romney and 'brainwashing,'" Mr. Young said, referring the damage that Mr. Romney, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968, did to his campaign by saying he had been misled by official propaganda about the American effort in Vietnam.

Mr. Carter was quoted in Friday afternoon's Cleveland Press as having said of the Times article, "Andy assured me he absolutely did not make the quotes attributed to him." But Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, insisted that Mr. Carter never said that sentence in his Friday morning conversation with Roy Meyers of the Cleveland press. And Mr. Meyers acknowledged that he could not find that remark in his notes or in his tape recording of the interview.

Mr. Carter did say that Mr. Young never used the word "disaster" in their Thursday morning telephone conversation; Mr. Young remebers making the general point, though perhaps in somewhat gentler language. By all accounts, Mr. Carter and Mr. Young did not speak to each other on Friday—about The Times article or anything else.

Meanwhile, Mr. Young, surveying reactions among black leaders and white liberal politicians, is no longer so sure that "ethnic purity" was a disaster after all. Mr. Young said today that Coleman Young, the black mayor of Detroit, who has said he prefers Senator Humphrey or Senator Edward M. Kennedy for the Democratic nomination, will still probably endorse Jimmy Carter in the Michigan primary. Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta is also expected to endorse Mr. Carter in the Georgia primary— with an eye to getting Mr. Carter's support for his own re-election campaign next year.

Mr. Young also said today that Representative James Corman of California, co-author of the pending Kennedy-Corman health insurance bill, which Mr. Carter has not yet endorsed, is still inclined to enlist as a Carter delegate in the California primary on June 8. Finally, Willy Brown of San Francisco, a California state assemblyman, is interested in helping Mr. Carter in the black community, Mr. Young said.

While "Stop Carter" has become a watchword in many circles of the Democratic establishment, Willy Brown, Bill Lockyer and Richard Alatorre, fellow liberals in the California Assembly, are more intent on stopping their governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., who is running as a favorite son in the California primary.

●

James MacGregor Burns, Senator Kennedy's latest biographer, believes that despite insistent denials, the Massachusetts Democrat would accept a genuine draft for the Presidential nomination. Mr. Byrnes, a historian and political scientist at Williams College, could be suspected of hoping that a Kennedy candidacy would promote his new book, "Edward Kennedy and the Camelot Legacy," to be published On April 26 by W. W. Norton. But Mr. Burns said, "Much of the reason for writing the book was my feeling that this sort of thing could happen."

While some observers have begun to view Senator Jackson and Rep. Udall as primary-season "stalking horses" for a last-minute Humphrey candidacy, Professor Burns sees Mr. Humphrey as a stalking horse for Mr. Kennedy.

"Once the delegates think of turning to Humphrey, a noncombatant in the primaries, it becomes a truly open convention," Mr. Burns observed in a telephone interview today. "On the question of who's most likely to win the fall, a lot of delegates will feel Kennedy's most electable.

"And delegates concerned about their own local races will be asking, "who will run with the kind of momentum that will bring out a huge Democratic vote in November? Even in polarizing the electorate, Kennedy will reverse the low-turnout, de-polarizing pattern we've been seeing in American voting for the last several years."

The logic of a Kennedy draft was also outlined last week in The Boston Globe by David Farrell, the Senator's closest confidant in journalism, who had been invited to lunch with Mr. Kennedy a few days earlier. Mr. Farrell reported that Senator Kennedy dismisses the talk of a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket.

Mr. Farrell wrote, "Kennedy feels that any move to orchestrate a standoff at the national convention in New York in July and then come up with H. H.-E. M. K. team would smack of a raw political deal that could easily sour the voters and insure a G.O.P. victory in November.

"Intimates of the Massachusetts Senator indicate that there is much more likelihood that Kennedy would seek the Presidential nomination for himself in the event of a truly deadlocked convention, rather than participate in the proposed deal with Humphrey backers."

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of the women's movement, wives are now expected to be able to talk issues. It takes a lot more energy now than when all we did was drink tea and shake hands with the ladies."

The wives, however, have mixed feelings when it comes to Betty Ford's frankness and its effect on the campaign.

"I admire Betty," said Ella Udall, 47, the husky-voiced, no-nonsense wife of the Arizona Representative who is known as Tiger to friend, foe and husband. "She opened the door for the First Lady to be candid and honest, and the American people are looking for honesty."

But as Bethine Church, 52-year-old wife of the Idaho Senator, sees it, "Candor for candor's sake is not all that great. I think some things are private, such as family things about your children. But I'm not for privacy on things that matter, such as inflation and the way we treat our older people."

Perhaps the major victim of the current campaign's new candor is Cornelia Wallace, wife of the Alabama Governor, who said she was surprised and shocked that reporters and others were constantly asking her about her sex life with the Governor, who has been paralyzed and in a wheel chair since an attempt on his life in 1972.

"I really don't know why they're doing it," she said here recently during a trip to publicize her new book, "C'Nelia" ($7.95, A. J. Holman). "Why don't they ask me how many Sundays I go to church in a month?"

The answer to that question, she said, is "just about every Sunday."

Once a tireless and gregarious campaigner, the 37-year-old Mrs. Wallace said the biggest difference for her between the 1972 and 1976 campaigns was that she had lost her "enthusiasm" for the current campaign. She attributes this to the intimate questions she is asked, her constant fears that someone may try again to take her husband's life, and her husband's poor showings in the primary elections.

"It was more fun when I was a child, honey," she said, sipping on a Coca-Cola. "I had a lot of fun when my uncle ["Big Jim" Folsom] was Governor of Alabama. But nowadays, I find there is a lot of struggle among people who want to feel they're closest to the man in power, and this creates pressures."

To Rosalynn Carter, the shy, slender, 49-year-old wife of the former Georgia Governor, the "Betty Ford question" of the campaign has often been about the Carters' 8-year-old daughter, Amy, born exactly nine months after the Carters went on a retreat to heal the wounds of her husband's first-time-around gubernatorial defeat.

Mrs. Carter is personally opposed to abortion, although she is against a constitutional amendment that would make abortion illegal.

"Amy was a planned child," Mrs. Carter said in an interview here, "and having her was a great experience. Our three sons were growing up and Jimmy had lost the Governorship, and we just decided to have a baby. I didn't even think of the risks of Mongolism because of my being an older mother. But I'm glad I didn't know then what I know now."

Mrs. Carter, a teetota who kept the Georgia Gov nor's mansion dry when husband finally was elec Governor, is also frequen asked whether she wo serve liquor in the Wh House. Her reply: "I do know; I certainly don't obj to a glass of wine guests."

Do personal questi about her life bother M Carter? "I've never b asked a question I could answer," she said with smile. "But I would nev betray a confidence of children."

One way that the curr campaign differs from th past is that almost all the wives are willing to ca paign separately from th husbands. The exception Cornelia Wallace, who sa "I'm exclusively with husband. That's why I m ried the man."

Campaigning on her o has made a noticeably diff ent woman of Helen Jacks In 1972, she was timid, troverted, and reluctant look an interviewer in eye. Nowadays, on the ca paign trail three days a we usually with her own ent rage, she has become s confident and even assert

"Being on my own h given me more self-co fidence," she said he "'Scoop' and I get twice t coverage that way, a speak to twice as ma people. And I enjoy politi ing much more when I on my own, because schedule is more flexil than 'Scoop's' and I ha more time to really visit w people, like at a senior ci zen's center."

Another difference in t campaign is that some wi have openly disagreed w their husbands on cert issues. Morris Udall, for e ample, is against gun reg tration, while his wife, El favors it.

"Mo feels registrati would be too costly," s said. "But we register pe bicycles and automobiles, why not guns?"

Perhaps the most pub cized husband-wife diffe ence is the Jacksons' stan on abortion. He is again it; she favors it.

"He can't change my min and I can't change his." M Jackson said. "I support t Supreme Court decision, a 'Scoop' is absolutely oppos to abortion because he b lieves that life begins at co ception."

Frank and Bethine Chur agree on all the issues no but she remembers in 19 when they used to disag violently on the war in Vi nam. She was a hawk, was a dove.

"Frank finally convinc me to be against it," s said. "But it wasn't easy Washington in those day A lot of persons looked

Wives in '76 Campaign Find the Going Difficult

By JUDY KLEMESRUD

There was a time, as recent as 1968, when all anybody wanted to know about a Presidential candidate's wife were her favorite recipes, her hobbies, whether she bought her clothes off the rack, and the ages of her children.

But that was '68. By 1972, household questions began to go the way of the butter churn, and nowadays the wives are questioned almost as intensely as their husbands are about the issues. They also have become fair game for intimate questions about their personal opinions and lives—a situation that some of them find both distasteful and unfortunate.

When asked why they think both the public and the press have seemingly abandoned their kid-glove treatment of the candidates' wives, the women generally mention three reasons: The women's rights movement, Watergate and Betty Ford's frankness.

"More is expected of wives this year than at any other time in a Presidential campaign," said Helen Jackson, the 42-year-old wife of the Senator from Washington State. "We all discuss cerebral things. In fact I've only gotten one question about fashion, and that was from a man, and the only recipe request came to 'Scoop.'

"I think it's all because of Watergate and the women's movement," she went on. "Watergate made people more concerned about the kind of people elected to public office, and because

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

Why have public and press abandoned kid-glove treatmen of candidates' wives? Women' rights movement, Watergate and Betty Ford's frankness.

me like I'd gotten the plague. It really prepared me for Frank's doing things that the Establishment doesn't agree with, like taking on the C.I.A."

As Nancy Reagan sees it, the biggest change in the '76 campaign has been the burgeoning public interest in the candidates' wives.

"I think it's tied in with the women's movement," she said. "I'm getting more invitations and requests to speak and appear than I ever did before, both with my husband and without my husband."

When the questions get too personal, though, Mrs. Reagan simply refuses to answer. "I believe everybody has a right to a private life," she said.

One thing that hasn't changed in this campaign is the wives' understated way of dressing, which might be called "The Good Old Republican Cloth Coat Still Lives Syndrome." Rosalynn Carter, for example, leaves her new mink wrap at home in Plains, Ga. The general rule is: Nothing flashy. A little makeup, but not too much. Simple but attractive little wool suits and Ultrasuède dresses. And because pants suits are still considered "unfeminine" in some quarters, no one except Ella Udall wears them on the campaign trail.

"Pants suits are very comfortable," said Mrs. Udall, who was wearing one in navy. "I've worn them ever since the New Hampshire primary, when I heard a voter in Manchester say, 'You can always tell a candidate's wife because she wears a dress in New Hampshire.'"

All of the wives know what they want as their special interest if they should make it to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Mrs. Carter wants to get involved with mental health, Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Udall with the elderly, Mrs. Church with projects where the young and the elderly work together, Mrs. Wallace with "all the nonprofit organizations," and Mrs. Reagan with the Foster Grandparents program.

"One thing I know I would not do in the White House is redecorate it," Mrs. Udall said, smiling. "The first thing all the new First Ladies do is yank the wallpaper down. But redecorating is too expensive; I'd be very happy with Betty Ford's hand-me-downs."

Regardless of their degrees of feminism, one thing the 1976 candidates' wives share is the constant use of the word "partnership" to describe their marriage, and the use of the word "we" rather than "he," as in "When we ran for President in 1972 . . ."

"I've always felt I had a complete partnership," said Bethine Church, who cheerfully admits to wearing a size 16 dress and being 20 pounds overweight. "I've often asked Frank, 'Do you ever wish I would bring you your slippers and say, 'You poor dear,' instead of, 'How did you vote today?'"

"And he says, 'If I were looking for that kind of wife, I would have found one in the beginning.'"

Ice On a Hot Stove

By Anthony Lewis

SACRAMENTO, Calif., April 11—He made himself a candidate for President without a press release, a speech or a television appearance. Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. let his intention slip out a couple of weeks ago in the course of a rambling conversation. When I saw him last week I asked him why he had done it so casually.

"How does one run for the Presidency?" he replied. "Prepared statements turn me off. There is no flow to the thought. Robert Frost said it: 'Like a piece of ice on a hot stove, the poem must ride on its own melting.'"

Jerry Brown is different—no doubt about it. His words and his manner are not like other politicians'. But some published descriptions of him give the impression of a mystic—a man facing east and floating three feet off the ground—and that is surely wrong. Governor Brown is not off on any cloud. He is cool, one might even say calculating. He knows what he is about, which is the practice of politics. He just has a new political theme.

"I don't think that one person or ten or a thousand can alter things that much," he said. "I have a more limited view. . . . If people would have a bit more tolerance for what they can do, what government can do and what life can be, then they'd be better off."

Limits: That is the Brown theme. The message is that there are limits on what the earth can produce and what individuals and governments can do, and that people would be better off adjusting their expectations to what is realistically possible. Less is more.

"I think the estrangement or the disconnection between people and institutions, and government in particular, is the overstatement of the

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case. The [political] competition is based on an escalation of promises which are now so far removed from people's ordinary experience of what government gives them that there's very little credibility. . . .

"People in their own heart of hearts know that we are in a limited world. We all sense it in our own personal vibes. I think that if there's any response to what I'm doing, it's that . . . the refashioning of those limits is the work of politics now."

His voice is heavy with irony as he parodies the old politics of promises: "'In a massive assault on urban decay he today proposed a six-point program, including a blue-ribbon commission . . .' I mean I can write these things in my sleep. All it is, it's an illusion. It's the two-page program. I'm turned off by that stuff, and I think the American people are turned off by it, and I'm not going to do it."

If he scorns "programatic" politics, what does he offer? His approach is education by example: his own, much-described frugal life style, tight state budgets, no tax increases, bright new faces in top jobs, including many young or minority persons.

"I get the feeling that people are looking for leadership. They are looking for some statement that has some depth and sustaining power—that isn't just verbal cellophane. They want someone to make decisions. The desire for more certainty can be found among businessmen, environmentalists, building tradesmen . . ."

But did he offer people more certainty? I asked.

"I offer them maybe a reconcilement to the basic uncertainty of life, and that provides a certain form of certainty. Because I think to promise what no one in their gut feels does very little for anybody. For most people politics is very boring. . . . Just to try to speak sensibly and simply and clearly is already an important program. Now how important we're going to find out."

Whether all that amounts to something real—whether Jerry Brown as Governor offers much beyond intriguing talk—requires separate discussion in a future column. But his approach does seem to be working politically in California. In a state poll last November 50 percent rated his performance good and 34 percent fair.

Could he conceivably be serious about running for President? A man who has just turned 38, has been Governor for 15 months and has no long list of accomplishments does not sound exactly like a possibility. But a national poll gave him a remarkable 9 percent support for the Democratic nomination.

Some think Mr. Brown may have in mind trying for the Vice Presidential nomination and setting things up for next time, on the pattern of John F. Kennedy in 1956. But one man who knows him believes he sees the chance that the delegates in New York will end up choosing between Hubert Humphrey and someone else for the Presidency—and just may go for a symbolic opposite to the old Humphrey politics of promises and spending.

When he was talking about how the country needed new, unifying beliefs, I asked how that difficult political task could be done. He interrupted to say: "Now I would ask, who else is going to do it?" Even when he joked about his ambition, it was still there: "This is a campaign that's emerging. It's materializing in the West, and with the will of the people it will spread East. But it is serious."

Mr. Ford's Cover-Up

By William Safire

Whoever, having the custody of any such record . . . willfully and unlawfully . . . removes . . . the same, shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both; and shall forfeit his office. . . .
—18 U.S. Code 2071 (B)

When J. Edgar Hoover ran the F.B.I., he withheld certain highly sensitive files from the bureau's filing system; upon his death, those files were destroyed, frustrating law enforcement officials and historians.

When Henry Kissinger ran the National Security Council, he, too, withheld certain records from the council's computerized retrieval system. Some months ago, I reported that these "dead key scrolls"—typed transcripts of all his telephone conversations, taken down secretly by a secretary on a dead, or silent, extension—were no longer in the National Security Council, where they belonged, but had been taken over to the State Department.

Messrs. Woodward and Bernstein have added another wrinkle to that story: It seems that when these sensitive records were removed from the White House, they were first sent to the private vault of Nelson Rockefeller at his Pocantico, N.Y., estate. After a Federal attorney warned that boxes of top-secret documents could not lawfully be kept in a private home, the Secretary brought them back onto Federal property.

Here is some more information, which the White House refuses to direct the National Security Council or the State Department to confirm or deny:

1. Dr. Kissinger's "inner file," as Security Council staffers refer to the records withheld from the system, is not limited to telephone transcripts. Memoranda of conversations with the President and foreign officials like Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin are included, and in many cases, no other copies of the memos exist.

2. The assignment to withhold material from proper Security Council classification and filing was once one of David Young's functions; when that Kissinger aide went off to head the "plumbers," aides Jonathan Howe and Peter Rodman took over.

3. Individual briefcase-loads of this secret material were taken out of the White House to the Rockefeller estate in the early seventies, culminating in a big move of the remaining files in April 1973. The Kissinger men will claim they were "protecting" the files from the Nixon men, but the files began disappearing from the White House long before Watergate, and they have not yet been restored.

How come? The reason, I think, is that there is material in that "inner file" that Secretary Kissinger does not want anybody in the White House, the Department of Defense, the C.I.A. or certainly the Congress to see. There are certain meetings, particularly with Ambassador Dobrynin, that he wants to be able to expunge from the record. If he can control the "memcons," he can rewrite history.

How does Nelson Rockefeller feel about his complicity in all this? "Henry's a friend," the Vice President told me. "I told him he could have the use of the vault." When? "I don't remember when." Did he just volunteer his vault, or did Henry ask? "I don't remember." Were six filing cabinets filled with secret records stored there? "There's been a small volume of papers stored there." Did he realize his personal vault was being used improperly to store official secrets? "Henry's a friend. I think he said something about papers from Harvard, I don't know anything about classified documents."

Could I see the man who runs his Pocantico vault, to see what was checked in and out, and who was permitted access to the documents? "No, you can't, that's private." And what of his taxpayer-paid aide, a young naval officer named—you guessed it—Jonathan Howe, the same Kissinger hand who operated the Pocantico underground railroad? "No, he's unavailable."

Here is the second highest ranking official in our Government, who was chosen by President Ford to head the commission to restore respect for law in our intelligence community. His home was used as the safe-house for the illegal concealment of the nation's secrets. His stonewalling answer to legitimate inquiry is that he cannot be held responsible because he did not want to know what was going on in his own home.

Behind the stone wall, I suspect, there is an important story—of conversations the public or at least key Government officials are entitled to know, and perhaps of records that have mysteriously disappeared.

President Ford, who ostentatiously offers F.B.I. help to Congress for plugging its leaks, has assigned nobody to look into this major breach of security. But it is Gerald Ford's Vice President who winks at the rule of law in handling intelligence; it is Gerald Ford's National Security Adviser who refuses all comment at an abuse of power he was surely aware of; it is Gerald Ford's Secretary of State who treats the nation's secrets as his personal secrets, and it is Gerald Ford's cover-up that must be exposed.

Doubts on New Towns

By Marshall Kaplan

DALLAS—The Federally-aided program of building new towns is not the panacea for our nation's urban ills. Clearly, the national welfare does not require the encouragement of new communities, as suggested by Congress and argued by many urbanists, Government officials and private developers.

Even if the optimism of most supporters of new communities could be converted into successful projects, such projects would only house a relatively few Americans and consume only a relatively few acres of land. More important, development costs, combined with distant locations, make most new towns off limits to the poor and the middle class.

The attraction of these new towns is difficult to explain. The utopian communities of the mid-19th century and the greenbelt towns of the Depression era offer few success stories. (The European experience is not germane to this country's institutional, social and political fabric.) The incompleteness and recurrent problems of new towns initiated in recent years hardly generate confidence that new communities are the wave of the future.

Certainly the historical relevance of new towns was oversold. The developments assisted by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, such as Riverton, N. Y., Park Forest, Ill., and Flower Mound, Tex., were supposed to constitute a major response to urban sprawl, housing discrimination, the energy crisis and the national maldistribution of income and social services. They were to be rationally planned, heavy on amenities, coordinated, "balanced," innovative—and lo and behold!—profitable and marketable.

Financial problems associated with many of the planned and initiated projects require immediate redirection of Federal assistance. Only as limited demonstrations can new towns offer help to individuals interested in defining effective national urban-growth strategies. Similarly, only as rather narrowly defined demonstrations can they make economic sense to currently strapped developers.

New towns should be used to test several debatable assumptions often seen as central to the success of large land developments and new national land policies, among them the supposed virtues of long-range public and private planning, coordinated private-sector management of the urbanization process, and indeed, large-scale development itself.

Planners have argued for years that long-range planning could help bring about a more efficient, qualitatively better urban environment. Because of weak technical skills and because most public/private decision makers most public and private decision makers were not able to wait for or strategically use the planner's very general plans, their pleas fell on deaf ears.

As a result, we still do not know the real benefits of long-range planning, particularly when compared with more incremental or "muddling-through" processes.

Many urbanists have blamed the building industry for the supposed lack of quality in the urban environment. They suggest that nirvana would be upon us if we could end our reliance on small undercapitalized builders and rely on larger entrepreneurs to develop significant portions of the American landscape.

Bigness, continuity and coordinated management may well improve the development of our urban areas. But the thesis has yet to be proved. The negative experience and impact of several large corporations involved in land development suggest the need to look at possible alternatives. Whether large-scale development of many hundreds or thousands of acres is more economical is not yet clear. Most analyses fail to weigh social and environmental costs along with fiscal ones.

In a similar vein, the relationship between large-scale development and housing opportunities for minorities and the poor is tenuous. Scale and size may well increase the marketing abilities of developers willing to reach out for such residents. But, at the same time, land costs combined with costs related to the construction and operation of basic water and sewer systems may make the price of housing prohibitive to all but the well-to-do or near well-to-do.

Few Federal programs contain the seed of self-reform. Bureaucratic imperialism combined with client-group protectionism make it difficult to change ground rules in midstream. Until the advent of the present Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Carla Hills, Administration indifference further exacerbated the problem with respect to new towns. Unless significant modifications in the program occur soon, it is fated to approximate Marx's observation that certain facts occur "the first time as tragedy, the second as farce."

Marshall Kaplan, who wrote "The Politics of Neglect: Urban Aid from Model Cities to Revenue Sharing," with Bernard J. Frieden, is preparing a book on new towns.

Peking's Nuclear Restraint

By Jonathan D. Pollack

Marshall Arisman

CAMBRIDGE, Mass.—It is now more than eleven years since China exploded its first nuclear device. The almost universal alarm evident a decade ago is now rarely heard, and properly so.

China's emergence as a nuclear-weapon state has reinforced rather than undermined the caution and control long apparent in Peking's conduct of its foreign affairs.

Chinese leaders have not been prone to reckless actions, nor have they used atomic blackmail against nonnuclear states. Peking has not transferred nuclear technology or fissionable material to other countries, and has consistently sought to limit the contingencies under which it might use such weapons.

It is also obvious that China's nuclear program has not proceeded according to United States expectations. The belief that China would engage in widespread weapons testing and rapid deployment of delivery systems was clearly mistaken. China has conducted 18 known tests since 1964. During the same period, according to the public record, the United States has tested weapons of 278 occasions, and the Soviet Union 167 times.

The slow growth in delivery systems is even more striking. As acknowledged by Gen. George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in recent Congressional testimony, a "limited range" intercontinental ballistic missile ready for deployment for several years has yet to become operational. Nor has China deployed any sea-launched ballistic missiles. Chinese strategic forces instead consist of a modest complement of medium-range and intermediate-range bombers and ballistic missiles, based heavily on Soviet technology of the late 1950's and even earlier. Moreover, the growth of these forces has virtually ceased in recent years. No intermediate bombers, for example, are known to have been built or deployed since 1973.

The premises underlying Chinese policy emerge more clearly from these trends. Chinese officials have always insisted that their country's development of nuclear weapons is "solely for the purpose of self-defense." The principal objective is to assure that China acquires an unspecified but survivable retaliatory capability, particularly against the Soviet Union.

Thus, a consensus appears to exist in Peking to avoid the unrestrained growth of Chinese nuclear-delivery systems. Intermediate and medium-range missiles, even if "obsolescent and cumbersome" (General Brown's description), can be dispersed widely, and never clustered in significant numbers. Placing missiles in caves helps compensate for insufficiencies in hardened underground silos. Similarly, what General Brown termed an "old and vulnerable" bomber force can be rotated frequently to different airfields. Such steps help undermine any first-strike calculations that Soviet military planners could have reasonably considered only a few years ago.

Restricting the role of China's nuclear weapons to a strategy of pure deterrence has other advantages, as well. It greatly constrains the technological and economic burdens of attempting to match Soviet and United States delivery systems. There is, moreover, no assurance that China's capacities in high-technology areas such as guidance systems, warhead design and fueling techniques can even approximate the efforts of the superpowers.

The acquisition of a modest but credible second-strike force seems a more realistic objective. Such a limited goal enables China to avoid the endless problem of technology acquisition and modernization of forces that plagues the United States and Soviet Union. And it can be accomplished without any appreciable detriment to Chinese security.

When Peking eventually assembles a fuller array of delivery systems, such capabilities will be attributable to a far less burdensome strategy of incremental weapons development. It will not derive from a frenzied effort to achieve superficial equivalence with Soviet and United States strategic power.

These findings raise serious doubts about any incipient triangularity in the strategic relations among China, the United States and the Soviet Union. The widely accepted view that Peking must emulate Washington and Moscow remains unproved. Indeed, the Chinese situation suggests very much the contrary—that there are paths to great power-status that do not depend upon endless expenditures for armaments.

China, then, has done more than merely voice acceptance of the premises of nuclear deterrence. Unlike Soviet and American élites, its leaders have acted upon such assumptions. What possible gains would accrue to Peking for it to depart from the modest strategic course that now serves China so well?

Jonathan D. Pollack is a research fellow in the Harvard University program for science and international affairs.

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Jackson Questions Carter 'Direction'

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) said yesterday that Jimmy Carter's apologies and "reversals on a whole series of issues" raise questions about the former Georgia governor's "ability . . . to handle many and diverse issues and show some stability and some sense of direction."

While making those charges on "Issues and Answers" (ABC, WMAL), Jackson reversed his own past position on George C. Wallace as a possible running mate and modified a stand he took last week on homosexuals.

In 1974, Jackson was quoted in news stories as saying he would "welcome" the Alabama governor as his running mate.

Yesterday, however, Jackson said it was "not true."

"I have never agreed to that at all . . . I have simply stated that I was not excluding anyone" at that point.

"I don't believe in the politics of exclusion," Jackson continued, "but I have said on several occasions that our positions are so incompatible that I could not have him on the ticket with me."

HENRY M. JACKSON
. . . modifies some views

On the issue of homosexuals, Jackson said a week ago that homosexuality was "bad" and "wrong" and he

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Jackson Voices Doubts About Carter's Ability

JACKSON, From A1

would not be "a party to acquiescing and promoting it."

As for the Supreme Court decision that upheld a Virginia sodomy statute, Jackson said then that it "speaks for itself."

Yesterday he softened his stand on homosexuality. "I of course deplore the very nature of deviation from the norm in sexual terms because of its obvious impact on the American family," he said.

But, Jackson added, "the court may have gone too far in dealing with the problems of, shall we say, consenting adults in terms of privacy . . . There is no offense to the public dignity . . . where matters occur within the confines of a person's home or the bedrooms, so to speak."

Jackson said he hoped the court would reconsider the decision.

Jackson broadened his attack on Carter's "ethnic purity" statement and later apology to include what the Washington senator termed reversals "on a whole series of issues starting with abortion, on right-to-work, situs picketing, full employment legislation (and) farm price supports . . ."

"The question that arises," Jackson said, "is, well, where does he stand?"

Carter's statement favoring maintenance of the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods Jackson said, "shows an insensitivity that I think goes to the question of his overall judgment."

Carving an Economic Platform

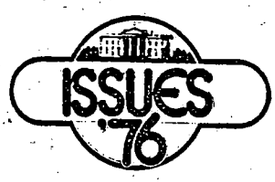
Subtle Differences Divide Carter, Jackson, Udall

By Hobart Rowen
Washington Post Staff Writer

Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter has staked out a distinctly more conservative position on economic issues than the stance taken by his current main opponents for the Democratic nomination, Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall.

The differences are subtle, because each has pledged to follow the traditional Democratic strategy of fighting for greater employment now, and to worry, if need be, about controlling inflation later. The main economic issues, they each say in almost identical language, are more jobs and faster economic growth.

Carter diverges from Jackson and Udall in three main areas: he would push



for growth primarily through the private sector, he would be more cautious on federal government spending, and he would preserve rather than attack the "independence" of the federal reserve system.

Asked last week to differentiate his economic views from Udall's and Jackson's, Carter answered:

"The difference is my commitment to the free enterprise system. I'm a businessman and an engineer, and I believe in scientific principles. I think that's alien to the experience of Jackson and Udall. I would opt for equality of the state and local governments [with the federal government], and would go with the private sector where I could

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before relying on the public sector."

In Philadelphia after Tuesday's New York and Wisconsin primaries, Udall offered this general observation:

"I'd say, by God, while the private sector is to be preferred, the overriding importance to society is to create jobs. If we [government] must create them, then we'll create them." And if this results in inflation, Udall says, "so be it—we'll deal with inflation directly."

Jackson said: "Jobs are central to everything that needs to be done. The President must be the economic as well as the political leader of the country. It's an interventionist role."

Initially, Jackson and Udall could be distinguished from Carter by their total and vigorous commitment to the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill now before Congress, which establishes the legal right of every adult to a job and sets as the "full employment" target a 3 per cent unemployment rate for adults (not defined) within four years.

But last week in Philadelphia, Carter reversed a previous stand and endorsed the bill sponsored by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey and Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins, a step that some observers suggested was an effort to mollify the Black Caucus, which consists of black members of Congress.

In an interview, Carter said that he still prefers to stimulate the economy through the private business sector, "but I have come to a position of being able to endorse the Humphrey-Hawkins bill" because the latest version of the bill "leans toward that approach."

He stressed that the 3 per cent "adult" unemployment goal now in the bill, although undefined, is about equivalent to an unemployment rate of 4 to 4.5 per cent for the economy as a whole, which he says is a reasonable goal. "But even within the framework of the bill," he added, "I'd give first priority to jobs in the private sector."

Prof. Lawrence R. Klein of the Wharton School of Business, a principal adviser on economics to Carter, said:

"Jimmy Carter is committed to full employment, but it needs definition." Klein indicated that while Carter believes in long-range planning, the Georgian has reservations about the specific economic planning requirements of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, fearing the creation of yet another bureaucracy in Washington.

Of the three candidates, Carter is the only one who has assembled a group of economic advisers. Klein, president-elect of the American Economic Association, heads the Carter group, which has been developing position papers since last summer. Udall relies on fellow Rep. Henry S. Reuss (D-Wis.) on monetary and banking issues, and many congressional staffers, especially Dr. Jessica Tuchman of his own office. Jackson likes to pick the brains of economists in a spectrum ranging from Walter W. Heller to Leon H. Keyserling, and professes "great respect" for money-market expert Henry Kaufman of Salomon Brothers.

To some extent, each candidate has his own "thing," an economic issue that he stresses as a symbol of a more general philosophy.

Udall, for example, who represents the most liberal point of view among the three, lays great stress on the evils of economic concentration in American industry and the need to strengthen the antitrust laws.

"I'd like to be remembered for this the way Teddy Roosevelt has been for the way he dealt with the 'robber barons'," Udall said last week. Economic concentration is "un-American, not what we preach to our kids."

Udall says he is in favor of breaking up General Motors Corp. into a number of companies. He told an audience of auto union workers last week that their jobs would be more secure if GM were carved into separate divisions.

Udall feels closer to Jackson than Carter ("Scoop's pretty good on economics"), but criticizes the Washington Democrat for "preaching like an old New Dealer who says, 'We can have more of everything.' I preach a finite planet. That doesn't mean we can't have economic growth—but we have to shift the mix."

As for Carter, Udall said, "He seems to be saying that inflation takes priority, and you should deal with it indirectly by high interest rates, a restrictive budget and no programs for people."

Despite this criticism, it is hard to find anything in Carter's public statements that gives inflation a priority over combating unemployment. He has said that he doesn't regard the economy as the central political issue of the campaign (which is different from the Udall-Jackson view), but affirmed in an interview last week that his "major domestic thrust would be to reduce the unemployment rate."

The problem, he said, "is to see how far down the unemployment rate can be pushed without causing an effect on inflation." His belief is that the present 7.5 per cent jobless rate can be squeezed down to 4 to 4.5 per cent before various ways of putting a lid on prices would have to be considered.

"I've always favored," said Carter, "in highly concentrated jobless areas [use of] federal jobs as a last resort, something like the CCC," or Civilian Conservation Corps. In such jobs, he would "maintain" the minimum wage.

The image that Carter tries to project is that of the scientifically oriented pragmatist who will cut through waste and produce an efficient operation.

"He's not coming to Washington thinking he can cut the budget and total payroll," says Klein, "but he believes he can get more for the social service dollar and can run the government [in a] better [way]."

Jackson has tried to make jobs his special economic issue, insisting that "we've never had full employment and price stability because we've never had the right presidential leadership."

"I wouldn't hesitate to intrude directly to deal with all issues relating to wage and price stability, although I am aware of the political problems," he said.

To induce the increased amount of investment needed to create jobs and reduce inflation, Jackson said in an interview, something "more innovative" than tax write-offs for industry is needed. He mentioned joint government-industry ventures, especially in the field of energy, government guaranteed loans or government construction of prototypes in "high-risk areas," and accelerated public works programs.

Jackson said that if he were now President, he would "err" on the side of economic stimulation at this point, "because there are reasons to believe the recovery is not so healthy as some profess."

He pointed out that "there has been no increase in capital investment on a constant dollar basis [eliminating inflation]," and that surveys of consumer sentiment such as those taken by the University of Michigan showed some improvement in willingness to spend money, "but not enough to show that we're over the hump."

This is how the three leading Democratic presidential candidates view other main economic issues:

Money Policy, Federal Reserve

Jackson and Udall feel that the Federal Reserve Board, which controls the nation's money policy, has grown too powerful, and that its influence should be cut back through congressional surveillance and other reforms. Carter said he would like to "maintain the relative independence of the Fed," noting that the President and Congress have enough ways of influencing the central banks.

"They [the Fed] brought us to the brink in 1974 of the most serious financial crisis since the Great Depression," Jackson charged. "Can we continue to delegate such awesome authority to a board?"

Udall, who said that Fed Chairman Arthur F. Burns is "decent, but very conservative," will "occasionally cooperate with a Ford or a Nixon, but would he cooperate with me?" Udall would cut the federal reserve governors' terms from 14 to 7 years, and subject the Fed to "some kind of an audit."

Carter, Udall and Jackson say that the Fed's monetary policy has been too restrictive in recent years.

Wage and Price Controls

Carter and Udall favor standby wage and price controls, although Carter says, "I don't feel I'm ever likely to impose controls." Asked how effective a bargaining lever he would then have, Carter responded: "I wouldn't commit myself not to use them."

Udall said, "I'd start first with more powers for the Cost of Living Council, then apply vigorous jawboning. I'd point a finger and shout, and if need be, go to controls, but concentrate on selective controls as [John Kenneth] Galbraith recommends." Galbraith argues for controls on selected "administered" industries, those that are said to be able to control prices without regard to competition.

Jackson said he wouldn't hesitate to go all the way to wage and price controls, "although I'm aware of the political problems." He said he would let Congress terminate controls "by a single majority vote." But he stressed that controls can be avoided by an "activist" President who would "meet at least once a month with representatives of business, labor, and banking."

The political problem that Jackson refers to is, of course, labor opposition to controls. Udall said one weakness of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill is its failure to include controls despite the expansionist thrust of the legislation. "I would like to talk labor into standby controls," Udall said. "But I endorse [George] Meany's complaint that in 1971-72, labor was the 'fall guy' on controls."

Government Spending

Carter attacks the "bloated" bureaucracy in Washington and says as President he would take a "conservative" position on federal spending. He declined however to say what the federal budget ought to add up to for fiscal 1977 or to choose between President Ford's $396 billion budget and the proposals of the budget committees of Congress, which run $16 billion to $17 billion higher.

Udall said he thinks the congressional committees are about "on the right track" but insisted "we can do a lot of social things if we cut defense costs." He ridiculed Jackson's demand for boosted defense spending as a discredited "guns and butter" theory.

Carter wants to trim Pentagon waste but accelerate naval spending. His aides say that it must be recognized that in the long run the defense budget must increase or else it will be eroded by higher costs including those for the volunteer Army.

Jackson rejected Udall's critique, saying that defense expenditures are the lowest percentage of the total budget in 25 or 30 years and that there is plenty of room for an increase if the nation gets to full employment "recovering the $100 billion a year we lose because of economic slack."

Tax Reform

All favor tax reform. Udall has the most detailed program and Carter's is promised as part of a general economic policy statement scheduled for April 22. Udall said "the most evil economic development of the past 30 years is a set of tax policies that enable 200 companies to dominate our lives."

Carter said he favors tax reform not to soak the rich but as a program that "would soak the people who don't pay their fair share of taxes. I think many wealthy persons pay their fair shares — I'm a wealthy man myself. But I want a simple equitable tax system that will shift the tax burden away from low- and middle-income groups." Carter adds that he's committed by "honor to make tax reform one of the major early responsibilities of his administration.

Health and Welfare

All three candidates favor ambitious and potentially expensive social welfare programs. None has a good fix on the costs.

Carter favors a nationwide health insurance program, partially paid for by government. Udall and Jackson criticize this as substantially less than the national health insurance bill they have cosponsored with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.).

In the welfare area, Carter proposes a nationwide program that would remove about 10 per cent, or some 1.3 million who can work full time, from the welfare rolls and treat them as temporarily unemployed. The other 90 per cent would stay on welfare and get one payment adjusted to the cost of living with a work incentive built in.

Udall and Jackson favor a phased federal takeover of welfare. Jackson backs the bill sponsored by Rep. Bella S. Abzug and Sen. Jacob K. Javits, which would pay 75 per cent of the costs in the first year, or $4.8 billion. Depending on the economic climate, the Abzug-Javits bill could cost $20 billion a year eventually.

Udall wants "a single, unified income maintenance program," federally financed and keyed to living costs. It would provide "an adequate level of support without an intrusive means test," he said.

ACLU Official Resigns, Cites Freedom of Speech

By Austin Scott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Charles Morgan Jr. says he quit Friday as director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union over what he sees as a far-reaching civil liberties issue — the right of an employee to publicly say things the bosses may not like.

Morgan said in a telephone interview he doesn't think his bosses at the ACLU have come to terms with that issue yet, either inside their own organization, or outside it.

"I do not admit the right of any bureaucracy to grant or deny me my rights as a citizen," he wrote them. 'Organizations, especially our must learn to tolerate those who have a personal point of view."

The immediate dispute that prompted Morgan to resign after four years with the ACLU here was a battle over whether he had the right to voice his personal political views when others might think he was speaking for the ACLU.

Morgan was quoted in a March 12 New York Times article as saying Northern liberals were opposed to former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter's candidacy for President because "they don't have their hooks in him," and might not be able to influence him.

That article prompted a letter from Aryeh Neier, the ACLU's executive director in New York. Neier sent Morgan a copy of the article with a note that read:

"At the March 12 executive committee meeting, a member of the committee asked me whether I would feel free to offer for publication views on political candidates of the sort attributed to you in this article. My response was, 'No.' I would add, though I did not do so at the time, that I think you should feel comparably inhibited."

Morgan replied in a letter dated March 24 that he did not feel "comparably inhibited."

"Whenever there is a possibility that my views differ from the ACLU's," he wrote, "I give a disclaimer. I cannot guarantee that it will be printed. In the article to which you refer, even if there had been no disclaimer [which there was] no one with walking-around sense would believe that my views with respect to [former Oklahoma Sen. Fred] Harris, Carter, the Eastern liberal establishment, and the arrogance and bigotry it often displays could be a position of the ACLU."

CHARLES MORGAN JR.
. . . voiced political views

"As I have told you repeatedly," Morgan's letter continued, "I was asked to surrender no rights, First Amendment or otherwise, when the ACLU asked that I come to work for it. I am a citizen first, and a lawyer-corporate employee-bureaucrat someplace way down the line."

Morgan, a native Alabamian, was practicing law in Birmingham when civil rights sit-ins and freedom rides began in 1960.

The day after the 1963 Birgmingham church bombing in which four black girls were killed, Morgan made a speech placing the blame on "each of us . . . the Southern liberals [who] sigh in fearful silence."

Anonymous bomb threats and ugly telephone calls followed, according to news accounts of the time. From the day he spoke out, his law practice didn't get a single new case. And a month later, he and his family moved to Alexandria where he wrote his first book, "A Time to Speak."

In 1964, he went to Atlanta to open the first Southern regional office of the ACLU. He ran that office until 1972, when he took over the ACLU's Washington office.

Neier, who said he was "quite startled" at Morgan's resignation, said in a telephone interview Saturday, "I had written a mild note to him about participating in political efforts . . . I got back a stiff note and I guess I wrote a stiff note in return."

The "stiff note in return" was dated March 29, and read in part:

". . . You also know very well that it is extremely difficult to get disclaimers printed. You rarely seem to succeed in this.

"Therefore, if you have any concern about not committing the ACLU to stands it does not take, you would refrain from speaking on candidates . . . Please let me know what, if anything, you have done along these lines."

Morgan's reply, dated Friday, was very short:

". . . You ask me what steps I am taking to correct the impression that when I am 'identified' by my employment I 'appear to speak for the organization.' The step I am taking is to resign."

In a separate letter to other ACLU officials, Morgan said he was resigning effective at the adjournment of the present session of Congress or when a replacement is named.

The letter also urged ACLU officials "to issue instructions which will guarantee those who later come to work for you their rights."

Neier said he is inclined to "let matters cool down a bit" before acting on Morgan's resignation. "I'm entirely open to persuasion that he did indeed exercise the proper care," he said.

Neier said he doesn't think the dispute involves a fundamental, long range ACLU philosophy, but Morgan said he thinks otherwise.

"I feel this organization has got to start thinking about rights inside corporations," Morgan said. "Say a sales manager for General Motors takes a position in favor of a presidential candidate. He ought not to have to run around worrying about what GM thinks, but he has to because he doesn't have any job rights . . .

"As long as we live in a society where bureaucrats can tell citizens which rights they can and cannot exercise, for fear that they will not be able to eat tomorrow, then there is no liberty."

Soviet Defectee

LONDON, April 11—Britain has granted political asylum to Soviet oceanographer Lyudmilla Martemyanova, who left the research vessel Argus in the southwest port of Plymouth Wednesday. The Home Office today announced that Martemyanova, 30 was given a preliminary one-year residence permit Friday.

Ford, Carter Find Prospects In Texas Shaky

4

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN Tex.—The national presidential front-runners—Republican Gerald R. Ford and Democrat Jimmy Carter—stand on shaky ground in Texas according to the estimates of their own strategists.

A poll taken for the President Ford Committee shows that Mr. Ford is "substantially behind" in Texas according to Norman (Skip) Watts the committee's coordinator in the primary states.

This private finding contrasts sharply with the public optimism of Sen. John G. Tower, Mr. Ford's chief supporter in Texas who predicted Friday that the President would win a majority of the GOP delegates in the May 1 primary.

On the Democratic side John Pouland, the state coordinator for Carter, says that the former Georgia governor would win only one-fourth to one-third of the Texas delegates if the election were held today. Pouland believes that most of the rest would go to Texas Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen who long ago withdrew from the national presidential race.

These estimates are in accord with those made by Bentsen's and Reagan's strategists.

State agriculture commissioner John White, who directs the Bentsen effort, said last week that his candidate would win the most delegates in Texas.

Texas Democrats will select 98 delegates in the primary and 32 more at the state convention on June 16. In addition to Carter and Bentsen, delegates pledged to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace are on the ballot in all of the state's districts.

A liberal uncommitted slate of delegates headed by Billie Carr of Houston is also on the ballot in 18 of the state's 31 senatorial districts.

Bentsen is the author of the unorthodox first-ever Texas primary which closely resembles New York's. It was designed by the Texas senator to abet his presidential ambitions at a time when Bentsen thought himself a serious candidate.

Actually the Texas primary is a series of separate mini-primaries, 31 for the Democrats and 24 for the Republicans, who will elect their 100 delegates by congressional district.

Voters select delegates individually, giving them the chance to vote for some delegates pledged to one candidate and some delegates pledged to another.

Bensten's delegate list reflects the coalition politics that has been his trademark. It includes an array of locally prominent state legislators, labor leaders, businessmen, farmers, blacks and women, some of whom are campaigning for their own election without particularly emphasizing Bensten.

The Bensten line, as enunciated by White, is that the slate is in reality an uncommitted one that will give Texas influence at the July Democratic convention in New York.

"The decision-making is going to take place in the trailers outside convention hall," said White. "The best thing for Texas is to have delegates who can be a part of it."

The weakness of this argument, from the Carter perspective, is that it concedes that voters who choose the Bensten delegates are likely to be giving their votes to a noncandidate who will use them solely for bargaining purposes.

Pouland believes that Carter can greatly improve his delegate strength in Texas if he decides to campaign here extensively and especially if he does well in the Pennsylvania primary April 27.

Though the presidential primary was designed to help Bentsen, its chief beneficiary is likely to be Republican Ronald Reagan.

Nearly 70 per cent of the state's Republican voters are concentrated in two districts in Houston and Dallas, which means that GOP national delegates in a number of districts may be elected with as few as 1,000 votes.

This would mean that a GOP delegate to the national convention from some Texas districts could represent as few as 250 voters. By contrast a Republican delegate in New Hampshire represents more than 5,100 voters, in Florida more than 9,000 voters.

There have never been more than 147,000 votes in a Republican primary since most of these voters are so-called national Republicans who participate in Democratic primaries in the spring.

The estimates of turnout in the May 1 primary on the Republican side range from 125,000 by Reagan Texas chairman Ray A. Barnhart to more 225,000 by Ray Hutchinson, the Texas GOP chairman and a neutral in the race. Estimates of Democratic turnout range from 1.5 million to 2 million.

In the Republican primary both sides believe that a large turnout would be favorable to their candidate. Reagan is openly appealing for a "new majority" of Democrats, Independents and conservative Republicans and thinks his chances are better in Texas than elsewhere because it is a crossover state where any voter can decide to vote in either primary.

But it is the view of Ford coordinator Roger Wallace and Ford state chairman Beryle Milburn that a large GOP turnout will mean the participation of many "practical" voters who see Mr. Ford as a winner in November and Reagan as a loser.

The Reagan forces are taking advantage of a loophole in the election laws and running all their delegates as "unauthorized," a decision made at a time when there was a question whether Reagan's national committee would have enough funds to mount a statewide campaign.

Ths decision means that any delegate can spend any amount of money he wants in his own behalf and makes meaningless the estimates of statewide spending which is estimated at $175,000 for Reagan and up to $400,000 for President Ford.

But under the law and a Supreme Court decision interpreting it, the "unauthorized" delegates cannot plan their campaigns in concert with the Citizens for Reagan.

There is a belief in the Ford camp that this is likely to mean some wild verbal attacks by individual Reagan delegates that could cast the Californian as an extremist candidate.

In the North Carolina primary, where the delegates were authorized, Reagan firmly rejected efforts by his strategists to raise racial issues in the campaign. He would have no such control over similar efforts in Texas.

The early campaigning in Texas suggests that the primary here is likely to be more divisive and personal than in previous states, raising the possibility that it will produce the kind of political wounds that wrecked Barry Goldwater's presidential campaign in 1964.

Barnhart's opening appeal to Reagan campaign leaders throughout the state was a letter that described Mr. Ford as "an accidental President" who for a quarter century "has been a part of the Washington bureaucracy . . . a spokesman for the professional political and the party line."

United Press International

El Paso crowd reaches out to shake hands with President.

5

Humphrey Tops Democrats

Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humprey is the top choice for the Democratic presidential nomination among delegates who attended the party's 1972 national convention, the National Observer reported.

The weekly newspaper said 203 of the 1972 Democratic delegates who responded to a survey favor Humphrey, who is not a formal candidate.

This was 24.8 per cent of the 819 persons who responded to the Observer's mail poll, in which questionnaires were sent to more than 3,100 of the 1972 delegates.

Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall was favored by 18.2 per cent of those surveyed, with almost all his support coming from liberal delegates who backed Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) at the last convention.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter was named by 15.9 per cent and Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson by 7.5 per cent of the 1972 delegates surveyed.

Mrs. Ford Leads Ford

A poll taken for the Detroit News found that if President and Mrs. Ford ran against each other in their home state on the basis of their job performances, the President would finish a distant second.

The survey found that among 500 adults polled last month, Mrs. Ford got 58 per cent approval for the way she has handled her official duties. Mr. Ford's total was 46 per cent.

Delegates Picked

Jimmy Carter picked up 17 Democratic National Convention delegates over the weekend to widen his lead in the race for his party's presidential nomination.

The gain at district conventions in Iowa on Saturday gave Carter a total of 258 delegates to a total of 176 for Sen. Henry M. Jackson, of Washington, who did not receive any of the 40 Iowa delegates chosen.

Ten of the delegates went to Arizonia Rep. Morris K. Udall, to bring his total to 128, and 11 of those selected were uncommitted.

Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, who has stopped active campaigning, won two of the delegates to give him a total of 15.

In preparation for Washington state's June convention, Jackson won 407 delegates—58.2 per cent—in legislative district caucuses Saturday, according to state Democratic chairman Neale V. Chaney. Uncommitted delegates accounted for 239 positions, or 34.19 per cent, and Udall backers won 53 posts, or 7.58 per cent.

On the GOP side, Mississippi Republicans selected 30 national delegates Saturday, but these were all uncommitted so candidate totals remain unchanged.

President Ford is on top with 252 delegates at the national level, while challenger Ronald Reagan has 84 and 199 are uncommitted.

From staff reports and news dispatches

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	258
Jackson	176
Udall	128
Wallace	104
Stevenson	85
Harris	15
Humphrey	6
Walker	4
McCormack	2
Church	1
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	146
Total chosen to date	926
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Florida, Illinois, North Carolina, South Carolina, Canal Zone, Oklahoma, Wisconsin and New York and partial delegate selection in Puerto Rico and Iowa.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	252
Reagan	84
Uncommitted	199
Total chosen to date	535
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Puerto Rico, D.C., North Carolina, Wisconsin, New York, Guam and Mississippi.

Coming up April 27:
The Pennsylvania primary, with 178 Democratic delegates and 103 Republican delegates.

The Washington Post

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Henry Kissinger And the Latest Polls

President Ford's claim that his Wisconsin primary victory over Ronald Reagan "fully justified my faith in Henry Kissinger" has now been refuted by a highly professional private poll for a Democratic congressman in a Midwest farm district that precisely parallels agricultural Wisconsin.

The scientific sample, tapping sentiment of 408 voters of both parties in mid-March, showed the Secretary of State with a hefty 42 per cent "negative" rating, contrasted to the President's 31 per cent negative. Both Kissinger and Mr. Ford had virtually the same "positive" rating: just under 30 per cent, with the balance "neutral."

Congressional Democrats privy to this poll say it reflects latent concern about Kissinger that has not yet shown up in national polls. The last Harris poll gave Kissinger a 58 per cent positive rating — below the spectacular readings he used to get but still respectable.

What is significant about the Democratic poll is that it was not limited to conservative Republicans, the fiercest Kissinger critics, but included *all* voters.

Thus, the poll may strengthen anti-Kissinger operatives within Mr. Ford's political high command who question the President's all-out support of the Secretary. Presidential aides who feel Kissinger is a political liability were dismayed when the President cited his relatively narrow Wisconsin primary win over Reagan as proving Kissinger's rectitude.

But one top-level Ford aide believes that, despite the new evidence showing that Kissinger's political liability goes far beyond the Republican right, nothing will change.

"Like it or not," he told us, "there's no finessing that problem now."

●

Close associates are pressing Sen. Hubert Humphrey to jump into the Democratic presidential race in late April—about six weeks earlier than originally intended but late enough to avoid all primary elections.

Humphrey long ago decided he would not again undergo the primary election ordeal. In conversations with intimates, however, he frequently has suggested he might become a candidate on June 9—the day after the last three primaries (California, New Jersey, Ohio)—if the nomination was still open.

But advisers are now telling Humphrey June 9 is much too late. Their target is April 30, three days after the Pennsylvania primary. That would be one day too late for Humphrey to enter any major primaries but soon enough to prevent a *fait accompli* at Madison Square Garden.

●

Sixteen "uncommitted" delegates elected from Erie County (Buffalo) in last Tuesday's New York Democratic primary are in no mood to ride Jimmy Carter's bandwagon, thanks to backstage double-dealing that scarcely comports with Carter's public image of truth and love.

Carter visited Erie County leader Joe Crangle, who was running slates of nominally uncommitted (but actually pro-Hubert Humphrey) delegates, in Buffalo March 26. Carter was cozy and friendly with Crangle, the former state party chairman and one of New York's most influential Democratic figures. In fact, Carter asked, could Crangle take time off to travel the entire country in his behalf?

Pleading the press of other duties, Crangle declined. But later that very day he was stunned when Carter denounced "New York's political bosses" — presumably including Joe Crangle. Crangle asked his colleagues, why would Carter want a party operative stigmatized as a "political boss" to campaign for him?

Slight, soft-spoken and as low-key as Carter himself, Crangle made no public outburst but noted the incident carefully. Those Crangle delegates could be a long time coming to Carter—at Madison Square Garden.

●

Henry Kissinger has bluntly told conservative Republican critics in Congress that the only alternative to negotiating a new and much less advantageous Panama Canal treaty, a step they fiercely oppose, is sending in U.S. paratroopers to protect the Canal Zone.

That is considerably stronger language about the need for a new canal treaty, which would probably end U.S. control of the waterway, than is used by President Ford. He wishes the whole issue would go away, particularly with Ronald Reagan attacking the negotiations and a string of conservative Southern primaries looming.

When Kissinger met with conservative Republican House members March 25 in a private give-and-take session, the Panama Canal issue was naturally raised. Kissinger replied that Latin America sentiment against continuing U.S. control of the canal was so strong that negotiations for a new treaty are essential. The alternative? Send in the 82nd Airborne Division, he said.

That did not please the conservatives, but it did give them a clearer notion of the administration's attitude than the President's fuzziness, understandable only in the light of his effort to defuse a campaign issue for Reagan.

Rod MacLeish

Hands Off 'King Kong'

There is something in the American psyche that is obsessed with trying to improve on good things. The Model T, which was designed for the simple purpose of getting you from point A to point B, has evolved into a low-sloped pleasure object rigged out with everything except machine guns. The bath tub used to be something in which you stretched out, washed and read the works of Jane Austen. Now it is a miserable little square of pink porcelain convenient only for those people who have two broken legs.

Simply because evolution is one of the immutable if mysterious rules of the cosmos, trying to improve on good things is at least understandable. Where the American practice of it goes berserk is that point at which we try to improve on the perfect.

The original film of "King Kong" was perfect. It had this immense, stupid but oddly appealing monkey, Fay Wray screeching her head off, Bruce Cabot snorting and throwing himself around in 1932-style heroics. There was the Empire State Building, World War I airplane, jungle drums — everything needed for a lapse into that absorbing sort of fantasy which heals.

Now comes word from Hollywood that two film companies are remaking versions of "King Kong." That is outrageous. It is equivalent to remodelling the Parthenon to include a MacDonald's arch and one-way mirror windows.

Gaudied up in color and technical gimmickery, "King Kong" will lose its principal charm. The original movie had an antique, rickety implausibility (Kong himself changed sizes several times during the film) which kept the audience safe and comfortable.

It wasn't an approximation of horrifying reality like "The Towering Inferno" or "Earthquake." "King Kong" was carefully unreal. It reached nothing in our psychic depths. If you worried about anything you worried that Kong might accidentally sit down on Miss Wray after he threw the winged reptile over the cliff.

The era of the disaster movie is upon us. Reality cranked up to a nerve-shredding pitch. People will, apparently, pay good money to go have the vicarious experience of being trapped in a burning skyscraper or gobbled up by a shark. Just why we enjoy that sort of thing is a mystery. What with nuclear bombs, Big Daddy Amin and war lurking in every dry pothole of the Middle East, you'd think there would be enough terrifying reality around to satisfy us for a month of Sundays.

Presumably the makers of the new "King Kong" will play that charming, healing old story for its real-disaster potential. The premise would be that an immense, stupid but oddly appealing monkey *could* materialize out of nowhere, eat the Treasury Department and then shinny up the Capitol dome clutching Barbara Howar in its right fist only to be shot down by a cruise missile.

Since reality has been pretty fantastic lately, a fantasy of that sort could become reality. But such a possibility begs the real question: Who needs reality?

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Carter Campaign Rolls On, Despite Attacks From Left

By CRAIG R. HUME

Jimmy Carter's quest for the presidency continued to pick up steam over the weekend, despite recent attacks by black and white liberal leaders against his statements last week advocating "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

—Detroit Mayor Coleman Young told Carter that he considered his stance on open housing "a phony issue" of the campaign, and advised Carter to put the issue behind him and get back on the "offensive."

—Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, the latest entrant in the Democratic presidential contest, told an audience in Lincoln, Neb., Sunday that there is nothing in Carter's record to suggest that he is a racist.

—Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson began circulating a letter he received from Carter, explaining in detail the former Georgia governor's position on housing, stressing Carter's unequivocal support for the Housing Act of 1968.

—Carter widened the lead in the race for his party's presidential nomination by picking up an additional 17 Democratic delegates at district conventions in Iowa.

—In Michigan, Carter's state deputy campaign manager predicted that the 51-year-old Georgian would receive individual support from a majority of the leaders of the United Auto Workers (UAW), even though the union voted Friday not to formally endorse any candidate in the Wolverine State's primary.

In the aftermath of Carter's apology for using the phrase "ethnic purity" in opposing federal efforts to artificially change the character of neighborhoods, he was barraged with criticism from black members of Congress, the National Urban League, black leaders in Georgia and some of his opponents for the Democratic nomination.

And some political writers have characterized Carter's "ethnic purity" remark as reminiscent of George Romney's 1968 campaign blunder in which he claimed that he was "brainwashed" by U.S. military personnel on a visit to Vietnam.

Romney is a former Michigan governor and former secretary of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

But Mayor Young of Detroit, who endorsed Carter for the Democratic primary in Michigan two weeks ago, told him Saturday that he must not be drowned by his "unfortunate" remark, and urged Carter to stop defending himself and to take a positive approach once again.

Young's press secretary, Bob Pisor, said Sunday night that Detroit's first black mayor and Carter talked on the telephone last Thursday, and again Saturday at a Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner in Detroit.

According to Pisor, Young said that his concept of "neighborhood" was very similar to Carter's.

During the two conversations, Young recalled memories of his youth—growing up in a black neighborhood "with considerable pride and togetherness," Pisor said. The mayor said he believed in "that special sense of identity and pride—as long as there are no bars toward moving in"

Young has said on several occasions, according to Pisor, "Jimmy Carter is as American as apple pie."

However, Young termed Carter's phrase as a "poor use of words, but said he understood Carter's position and thought he ought to just move on," the mayor's spokesman said.

Pisor stressed that Young's endorsement of Carter was only for the Democratic primary to be held May 18, noting the mayor's "dream ticket is Humphrey-Kennedy (Humphrey for president, Kennedy for vice president)." But neither Humphrey nor Kennedy are on the Michigan ballot.

Other Democratic presidential hopefuls attending the Detroit dinner Saturday night, which raised more than $100,000 through tickets priced at $75 per couple, included Arizona Rep. Morris Udall and Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

Wallace led the field of Democrats in Michigan's 1972 presidential preference primary, the state's first.

In Nebraska Sunday, Church said Jimmy Carter should not be judged on his "ethnic purity" remark.

"That was one of those tempests that campaigns bring on," the Idaho senator said. "I think too much has been made of what apparently was an unfortunate phrase."

But Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson of Washington, who was campaigning in Philadelphia for Pennsylvania's April 27 primary, said that Carter is "going to be terribly hurt" in his bid for the Democratic presidential nomination by his remarks about "ethnic purity."

Carter apologized for his remarks two days after uttering them.

Jackson charged that the apology only added to the damage. "It raises the question of his judgment," he said.

Jackson, who won a landslide victory in New York's April 6 primary, said Carter had insulted not only blacks, "but just about everybody" and in his travels around Pennsylvania he found potential voters indignant.

In Atlanta, Mayor Maynard Jackson said in a statement Saturday that he propounded questions to Carter during a "lengthy" telephone conversation, and was satisfied with Carter's position on open housing, once the peanut farmer from Plains clarified his stance.

Mayor Jackson began circulating a letter, which Carter wrote as a result of the call, explaining in detail his philosophy on homogeniety of neighborhoods.

In the letter, Carter said that he would support a black family that sought to buy a house in an ethnic communiy which did not want them, and stressed that he would use all the resources of the federal government to support their right to purchase such a house.

As a result of a gain of 17 delegates at Democratic district conventions in Iowa

'Welcome Home Jimmy' Rally Set for Central City Park

Jimmy Carter plans to return home Tuesday to kick off his campaign for Georgia's May 4 Democratic presidential primary.

A "Welcome Home Jimmy Carter" rally will be held Tuesday in Atlanta's Central City Park from 10 a.m. through noon, said national press director Rex Granum. Carter is scheduled to speak about 10:45 a.m.

Granum said Carter's Georgia campaign headquarters at 56 Peachtree St. NW will open officially the same morning.

"We haven't done much here, there hasn't been enough time," Granum said.

The campaign schedule will get even rougher: Indiana and Texas hold their primaries May 1. May 4 primaries also will be held in the District of Columbia, Indiana and Alabama.

The next primary is April 24 in Arizona, the home of Rep. Morris Udall. Pennsylvania votes April 27.

On May 11, primaries will be held in Connecticut, Nebraska and West Virginia. Voting in Michigan and Maryland will be May 18, and on May 25 in Arkansas, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Kentucky and Tennessee.

Saturday, Carter's overall total increased to 258 delegates to 177 for Sen. Jackson. The Washington senator did not receive any of the Iowa delegates chosen.

Ten of the delegates went to Udall, bringing his total to 129. Eleven were uncommitted.

Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, who has stopped active campaigning, won two of the delegates to give him a total of 15.

To win the Democratic nomination, a candidate must have at least 1,505 delegates.

In a telephone interview Sunday night, a Carter staffer said that Mayor Young is Carter's strongest endorsement to date in Michigan, but added that all indications point toward heavy support from UAW leaders.

Mrs. Mary Novak Myers, Carter's Michigan deputy campaign manager, said that the former Georgia governor has "scored well" with the labor hierarchy in Detroit.

Mrs. Myers, who lives in Troy, a suburb of Detroit, said that Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW, met Carter at the airport Saturday when he arrived in Detroit, "but he made it clear to Gov. Carter that he would not endorse him at this time, but that he is sympathetic to his candidacy."

Before going to the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner at Cobo Hall, Carter spoke at a UAW rally.

The UAW voted Friday not to endorse any candidate for the Michigan primary, but placed no restrictions on union leaders' endorsing candidates of their choice.

Volunteers have been working for Carter in Michigan since the beginning of the year, she said. "Our statewide campaign headquarters has only been opened for the last two-and-a-half weeks, but we have organizations in all of the state's 19 congressional districts."

Mrs. Myers said Carter's strongest opponent in Michigan is Scoop Jackson.

However, she added that Michigan is lucky to even be having a presidential preference primary this year.

Due to ambiguity in the 1972 statute creating a preference primary in place of delegate conventions, it was not clear which levels of government were responsible for footing the bill of the election.

In order to head off an explosive clash between the state and municipal governments, Gov. William Milliken worked out a compromise with the Senate.

HARRIS POLL

Abortion Not Big Issue in Election

By LOUIS HARRIS

The widespread feeling that it is politically dangerous for a presidential candidate to support legalized abortion turns out to be wrong.

This is the conclusion of a Harris Survey conducted among a national cross section of 1,512 adults to determine, first, where people stand on the abortion issue and, second, whether they would vote against a candidate if he took a stand in favor of legalized abortion.

The results are clear. In the past year, public opinion on the abortion issue has not changed, and a solid 54-39 per cent majority supports the U. S. Supreme Court decision that legalizes abortions up to three months' pregnancy. A year ago, a 54-38 per cent majority took the same position.

In light of these findings, one might ask why most presidential candidates have tried to avoid taking a stand on the issue or have taken positions in opposition to legalized abortion. The reason seems to be that they have reacted to the "right-to-life" movement, which has been highly vocal in this political year, demonstrating in primary states, putting pressure on candidates and even entering an anti-abortion candidate, Mrs. Ellen McCormack, in the early primaries. Mrs. McCormack did not fare well at the polls, however, and has now apparently abandoned her candidacy.

The latest Harris Survey spells out why the anti-abortion movement has less political bite than it seems. It found that 46 per cent of those who oppose the Supreme Court decision would either certainly or probably vote against a candidate they otherwise would support if he took a pro-abortion stand. This means that 18 per cent of the electorate could be swung.

The Harris Survey also asked the 54 per cent majority who favor the court's decision allowing abortions how they would feel if a candidate with whom they agreed on basic issues took an anti-abortion stand. Only 26 per cent of this group said they would either certainly or probably vote against him. This change among the pro-abortion group involves 15 per cent of the electorate.

When the swings of the anti-abortion and pro-abortion votes are weighed against each other, the result is a net advantage of only 3 per cent for the anti-abortion forces.

Statistically speaking, this is not a significant figure and it means that the political dangers of taking a forthright pro-abortion stand have been considerably exaggerated by both the media and the politicians themselves.

Recently, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of adults nationwide:

"In 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that state laws making it illegal for a woman to have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy were unconstitutional, and that the decision on whether a woman should have an abortion up to three months of pregnancy should be left up to the woman and her doctor. In general, do you favor or oppose the U.S. Supreme Court decision making abortions up to three months of pregnancy legal?"

MAKING ABORTIONS UP TO THREE MONTHS PREGNANCY LEGAL

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
1976	54%	39%	7%
1975	54%	38%	8%
1973	52%	41%	7%
1972	48%	43%	9%

Here are some breakdowns of the overall national results:

KEY SEGMENT ANALYSIS ON ABORTION ISSUE

	Favor	Oppose	Not Sure
Nationwide	54%	39%	7%
By Region			
East	61%	32%	7%
Midwest	46%	45%	9%
South	47%	45%	8%
West	63%	32%	5%
By Religion			
Catholic	41%	53%	6%
Protestant	54%	39%	7%
Jewish	84%	9%	7%
By Political Philosophy			
Conservative	48%	46%	6%
Middle of Road	52%	39%	9%
Liberal	71%	25%	4%
By Age			
18-29	62%	30%	8%
30-49	57%	38%	5%
50 and over	44%	47%	9%
By Sex			
Men	55%	37%	8%
Women	52%	41%	7%

The cross section was then asked: "Now suppose for President this year, you found a candidate whose views you agreed with completely on how he would handle inflation, jobs and the economy. Then suppose that same candidate took a position on abortion that you disagreed with completely. Would that make it certain you would not vote for that candidate, or that you probably would not vote for him or that you could still vote for him?"

EFFECT OF ABORTION ISSUE ON THE VOTE

	Pro (54%) Abortion	Anti (39%) Abortion
Certainly not vote for him	10 (6%)	21 (8%)
Probably not vote for him	16 (9%)	25 (10%)
Could still vote for him	64 (34%)	41 (16%)
Not sure	10 (5%)	13 (5%)

(Note: The figures in parentheses represent the percentage of the total public who feel that way.)

Bill Shipp

Jimmy Carter and Ethnic Purity

"Ethnic purity" in the United States is like the Tooth Fairy and the Easter Bunny. It doesn't exist.

It is just a phrase, but an unfortunate one that Jimmy Carter happened to roll out in stating his position on maintaining established neighborhoods. He also said something about "alien groups" in the same context.

Carter, of course, apologized and tried to spell out his position clearly on maintaining stable neighborhoods without federal interference. But it didn't matter.

The Eastern Establishment finally had him. Carter, beneath all that grin and piety, was at heart just another bigoted Southern politician. Too bad he didn't say "racial" instead of "ethnic." That would have been better. Then everyone would have known he was just a new-breed George Wallace.

The liberals who latched on to Carter as a means of combatting Wallace finally had an excuse to jump ship. Wallace is no longer a factor in Democratic presidential politics and hasn't been since the Florida primary. So why hang on to the stop-Wallace candidate?

Of course, if Hubert Humphrey or Henry Jackson had used "ethnic purity," it probably would have whizzed right past the ever-observant reporters and never have made the public prints.

After all, Humphrey and Jackson have proven themselves on the racial or "ethnic" front in the Senate time and again, even if Jackson did out-Wallace Wallace on the busing issue in the Massachusetts primary.

But coming from an ex-Georgia governor, "ethnic purity" had to be recorded and headlined and picked at and analyzed and reacted to, time and again.

Few on the national scene will recall Carter's record as governor in matters racial and/or ethnic. But ask any old segregationist who supported Carter in the 1970 gubernatorial campaigned.

"He stabbed us in the back," the seg will say if he will tell you the truth.

From the day he was sworn in, Carter (though he received less than 5 per cent of Georgia's black vote) pledged to work for racial equality. He appointed more blacks to higher positions in state government than any other governor. A black man joined the Board of Pardons and Paroles for the first time. He appointed black judges and black executive assistants. He desegregated the Georgia Real Estate Commission.

Today Georgia is a less segregated state than many of its northern neighbors.

Part of that is due to Jimmy Carter, whose record of good race relations can be traced back to his childhood and farming days in Sumter County—a time and place where being too friendly with blacks could have very serious consequences. When Carter refused to join the White Citizens Council, his business was boycotted and he was harassed to such an extent that he considered going back into the Navy or moving to another county.

So Carter's great sin may be only in choosing the wrong set of words in his so-far successful "something for everybody" campaign.

Few will smirk more at Carter's stumble now than many of the newsmen assigned to cover his campaign. Some will be made happy for an ulterior reason, because they are consciously trying to help another candidate.

Others will be glad simply because Jimmy Carter finally got egg on his face and they don't especially like him. Many newsmen who are assigned to Carter on a long-term basis generally dislike him. He wears them out with his dawn-to-midnight campaigning. He berates them when they goof. He shifts position from one day to the next so that their stories seem inaccurate, and their editors yell at them.

So there has been a growing tendency of the media men not exactly to cover Carter and try to find out where he stands, but to trick him and make him stumble. And they finally did.

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Mr. Carter's Comments

Jimmy Carter's unfortunate use of the words "ethnic purity" in a discussion of low-income housing is not enough, in our view, to warrant the criticism that, because of his southern background, he is some sort of "closet racist." They cannot negate the clear record of devotion to racial justice that he has compiled in his public life.

Rep. Morris Udall, in a desperate attempt to sandbag the former Georgia governor with the remarks, said in Philadelphia, "A mistake is revealing. There is no place in this land for thinly veiled hints of the politics of racial division." He suggested further that Mr. Carter might have been attempting to win support from the George Wallace faction of the party in Pennsylvania's primary on April 27.

We agree there is no place for the "politics of racial division" in the campaign. We emphatically do not agree with Rep. Udall's snide implication that Mr. Carter is guilty of such politics.

Quite properly, the Georgia Democrat has apologized for using the words in explaining his opposition to federal efforts to change artificially the character of neighborhoods. That action alone puts him one up on many politicians who rarely, if ever, deign to admit their fallibility.

Not having access to a full account of the press conference in South Bend, Ind., where he made his remarks, we can only assume the thrust of his replies. Apparently, Mr. Carter attempted to make a distinction between a federal policy that attempts to change the makeup of a neighborhood, simply for the sake of change, and one that would support the rights of members of any ethnic group to live anywhere they choose. He said he opposes the former and supports the latter.

The difference in the two policies is obvious and it is likely that Mr. Carter will now be called upon to make clear just where he stands on this point; it could have all the potential of a live grenade for his campaign.

Yet his principal opponents, Rep. Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson, must also confront the issue. They cannot impute to Mr. Carter a subtle racism and at the same time dodge the question themselves.

AA

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/14

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News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

A new, militant leadership dominated by Palestinian nationists and Arab radicals has emerged in the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan River following the count in Monday's local elections. Communists, Syrian Baathists and candidates sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization swept to power in many major towns and villages. The extent of the gains over the older, more conservative Arab leadership surprised Israeili authorities. Defense Minister Shimon Peres sought to minimize the political impact but called it a national challenge that must be met. [Page 1, Column 4.]

Addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger warned forcefully that if Italian Communists entered the Italian Government, other European countries would be tempted to move in the same direction. Earlier, three of his possible successors if a Democrat is elected President, George W. Ball, Paul C. Warnke and Zbigniew Brzezinski, attacked his policies, refusing to equate the rise of Communism in Italy with the demise of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. [1:2-3.]

The Securities and Exchange Commission and the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation agreed on a settlement on S.E.C. charges that the company had violated securities laws by paying at least $25 milion secretly to foreign officials between 1968 and 1975. The names of the recipients were not disclosed, under the terms of a continuing court order. The settlement clears the way for Lockheed's recapitalization plan, a key step in assuring the survival of the company. in assuring it's survival. [1:8.]

National

The campaigns of nearly all leading Presidential candidates are slowing since the last Federal matching funds were paid out three weeks ago. All except President Ford have severe money problems. The three leading Democrats in the Pennsylvania primary are barely meeting operating expenses. [1:1.]

Senate and House conferees agreed on extensive changes in the law governing the Presidential election campaign, but acted too late to permit final action before the Easter recess. Federal subsidies for the candidates therefore cannot be restored before mid-May. This could materially assist President Ford, whose challenger for the Republican nomination, Ronald Reagan, is deep in debt. Some believe it will also help the undeclared candidacy of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey by penalizing his active rivals for the Democratic nomination. [20:1-3.]

President Ford told the editors that "ethnic heritage" was a great treasure but said he would never use the phrase "ethnic purity" that Jimmy Carter, a Democratic Presidential candidate, used and then withdrew under criticism. [1:1-3.]

New York's Democratic State Chairman, Patrick J. Cunningham, has refused to sign a waiver of immunity before a special state grand jury, and has challenged in Federal Court the constitutionality of the state election law requiring his removal from office. At issue also is his position as Bronx County Democratic leader. Judge Charles B. Tenney tentatively set a hearing for Friday and temporarily set aside the automatic application of the state law until Monday. He said he hoped by then to convene a special three-judge Federal constitutional panel. [1:5-7.]

Metropolitan

The State Assembly majority leader, Albert H. Blumenthal, won the dismissal of all charges in a perjury and bribery indictment stemming from his relationship with Bernard Bergman, the nursing-home promoter. The opinion of State Supreme Court Justice Aloysius J. Melia was scathingly critical of Charles J. Hynes, the special state prosecutor, who he said had unduly coerced the grand jury. He said Mr. Hynes had summoned Mr. Blumenthal solely to set up a perjury indictment and had failed to provide firm evidence of any crime. [1:8.]

Mayor Beame's special study panel on the city's pension system recommended that an additional total of $208 million be contributed annually to bolster the fund and that this money come from employee pay deductions. The study chairman said the system was in good shape but would become underfinanced without the increase. [1:7.]

Historic drawings that constitute the original plans for the Bridge Bridge, long lost and then in jurisdictional dispute since their rediscovery two years ago, were removed by the Municipal Archives. [1:1.]

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Mostly sunny tonight. Fair and warme Temperature range: t Tuesday 36-62. Details

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Ford Says Nation Should Preserve 'Ethnic Treasure'

The New York Times/Teresa Zabala

President Ford replying to questions from editors in the White House Rose Garden

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—President Ford said today that he would never use the phrase "ethnic purity," but he joined Jimmy Carter in saying that the Federal Government should try to preserve the nation's "ethnic treasure."

"Ethnic heritage is a great treasure of this country," the President told members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, "and I don't think that Federal action should be used to destroy that ethnic treasure."

Replying to questions from a panel of editors in the White House Rose Garden, Mr. Ford said that the Pennsylvania primary on April 27 could provide a "real test" of the impact of the "ethnic purity" controversy on Mr. Carter's candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

M.. Carter used the phrase last week in explaining that, as President, he would not use the power of the Federal Government to force intrusions on ethnic enclaves in urban areas. At the same time, the former Georgia Governor said he would fully enforce Federal open-housing

Continued on Page 21, Column 1

Ford Urges U.S. Attempt To Save 'Ethnic Treasure'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

laws, and he apologized for having used the term "ethnic purity."

Even so, a number of leading black Democrats have objected to Mr. Carter's statements. Mr. Ford told several hundred editors and their wives that black voters in Pennsylvania could determine if Mr. Carter would suffer politically as a result.

The President's outline of his own views on open housing was comparable, in scope if not terms, to what Mr. Carter had said.

Referring to the "ethnic purity" term, Mr. Ford said, "In the first place, I would not use that term to describe any of my policies—period."

While paying homage to the heritage of American ethnic groups, he nonetheless said, as Mr. Carter had, that he was sworn to uphold open housing statutes, "and this Administration will."

Mr. Ford also said he would continue to "stick with my Democratic candidate." He has persistently predicted that Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Minnesotan who is an active aspirant, would emerge as the Democratic nominee.

'Trying Hard'

"I'm trying hard to get him nominated," he said of Mr. Humphrey with a laugh.

Answering questions about his own contest for the Republican nomination, Mr. Ford described Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor, as a "formidable opponent." But he said his 3-to-1 lead over Mr. Reagan in committed delegates should stand up despite difficult primary contests coming up in Texas and elsewhere.

Mr. Ford covered a variety of subjects as he and his guests stood in the diminishing sunlight of the Rose Garden this afternoon. They included the following:

¶Regardless of Mr. Reagan's criticism of detente with the Soviet Union, he said he was "not going to abandon" efforts to obtain an agreement to limit strategic nuclear weapons. He said it was "a responsible action" for a President to try to end the arms race.

¶Mr. Ford criticized Congressional budget committees for preparing to exceed the $394 billion budget outline he proposed for the fiscal year beginning next Nov. 1, and said that he would continue to veto spending measures he considered excessive.

He said his policy toward Eastern Europe continued to be one of encouraging maximum autonomy. He said the policy was not at variance with the views of Helmut A. Sonnenfeldt, a State Department counselor, and that remarks Mr. Sonnenfeldt made last December had been quoted out of context.

¶Mr. Ford said there had been no discussion "in my presence" of the possibility that American military aid would be extended to China. James R. Schlesinger, the former Secretary of Defense, said on Sunday there had been informal discussions of such assistance at unspecified levels of government, but he did not say if they had been under Mr. Ford or former President Nixon.

Just before meeting with the editors, the President had his second private conference in two weeks with John B. Connally, the former Secretary of the Treasury and former Governor of Texas.

The meeting marked a continuation of Mr. Ford's courtship of Mr. Connally, whose support could be useful in the May 1 primary in Texas.

Mr. Ford said, however, that the discussion dealt with politics in broad terms, and that it did not involve either an endorsement or reported willingness of the President to include Mr. Connally in his Cabinet in a new Administration.

"He was not offered a job," Mr. Ford said. "I didn't ask him to support me. He didn't volunteer."

New York Tax Checks Are Behind Schedule

ALBANY, April 13 (AP)—It will take the state an extra week to process many personal income tax returns this year because of a series of layoffs ordered by Governor Carey, a state official said today.

The official, Abraham Cutler, director of the State Income Tax Bureau, said the state had not been this far behind in issuing refund checks since 1971.

The layoffs, which affected nearly eve yrphase of state government, prevented the Department of Taxation and Taxation and Finance from hiring its normal complement of temporary clerks who usually help out at tax time, Mr. Cutler said.

As a result a backlog of returns has built up; extending the usual four-to-five week waiting period another week.

"We issue about 80,000 refunds a day, and we're behind last year by about 400,000 returns," Mr. Cutler said.

Carter Seeks to Benefit From Blacks' Good Will

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By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 13—Dipping deep into the reservoir of black sympathy he built as Governor of Georgia, Jummy Carter oun mounted today a concerted effort to win the black vote.

Flanked by some of Georgia's black leaders at an outdoor rally in Central City Square, Mr. Carter beamed as he heard the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the slain civil rights leader, say to him, "I have a forgiving heart, so I'm with you all the way."

"Daddy King," as the elderly minister is known locally, was forgiving the Democratic Presidential candidate for recent remarks defending the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. Mr. Carter has since apologized reveral times for those words.

With the park bathed by a warm Georgia sun, the racially mixed crowd heard Mr. Carter receive the endorsements of such prominent blacks as Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of the Atlanta Board of Education, and Jesse Hill, head of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

Latent Hostility

At the same time, the controversy over his remarks has rekindled a latent hostility to Mr. Carter among some Georgia blacks. At the rally's edge, state Representative Hosea Williams led two dozen or so blacks who sang "We Shall Overcome" with a new refrain: "The black leaders selling you out today!Oh deep in my heart I do believe."

At a news conference yesterday, Mr. Williams called the candidate "a sophisticated racist."

But for the most part, the well-dressed crowd seemed sympathetic to their former Governor. They cheered lustily when Wyche Fowler, the white president of the Atlanta City Council, declared that Mr. Carter had "done more to eliminate preiudice and suspicion of prejudice than any other candidate for public office" in recent years.

Conspicuously missing from the platform were the black Mayor of Atlanta, Maynard Jackson, and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Jackson, according to some accounts, was expected to have endorsed Mr. Carter by now, but may have deferred until the "ethnic purity" controversy cools.

Mr. Abernathy's absence was particularly embarrassing because aides to the candidates had told reports that he would attend both a morning news conference and the rally. He did not show up. "He must have got caught in a traffic jam," suggested a member of the Carter camp.

Meeting Cited

Later, as his chartered jet streaked north to Philadelphia, Mr. Carter said Mr. Abernathy had been tied up at the annual meeting of the S.C.L.C. "He called me and said he was all with me," Mr. Carter said.

When he landed in Philadelphia, the candidate encountered another obstacle, the combined opposition of organized labor and the political bosses in Pennsylvania, where 178 convention delegates are at stake in the April 2 7 primary. The labor leaders are indirectly backing Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who is not an active candidate.

Although he insisted he did not feel "paranoid" about it, the Georgian said there were indications that other candidates were ganging up on him. "There was some evidence as far back as Iowa that several of the candidates got together and said, "You know, you help me in this district and I'll help you in that district.'" He refused to elaborate.

Mr. Carter said he had commissioned a poll of voters in Pennsylvania that was taken last weekend, after the ethnic dispute flared. He declined to give the results, except to say that it "shows very strong support among black people."

Udall Endorsed

PITTSBURGH, April 13 (UPI) —Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, received today the endorsement of the 250,000-member United Dairy Farm Cooperative in his campaign for the Democrat Presidential nomination.

Mr. Udall toured a red-and-white-striped store, one of 65 run by the cooperative of Pennsylvania farmers and consumers, shaking hands, talking prices and stressing his support of the small farmer.

"You can get a square deal for farmers and you can get a square deal for consumers through this kind of cooperative," Mr. Udall told Ernest Hayes, president of the cooperative. "We simply have to protect the farmer. If we're not careful, we'll wake up some day and find out we don't have the family farmer."

At a news conference outside the store, Mr. Udall said he supported a farm policy that would protect the family farm from urban encroachment through local land-use planning, an estate tax credit and 90 percent parity for dairy farmers.

Susan Saxe's Murder Trial To Start May 17 in Boston

BOSTON, April 12 (AP)—The murder trial of Susan Saxe, accused in the slaying of a Boston policeman killed during a bank robbery six years ago, wil begin on May 17, a judge ruled Monday.

Judge Walter McLaughlin, chief justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court, set the date at a hearing on defense motions to suppress evidence in the case.

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Conferees Agree on Election Reform; No New Subsidies Seen Before May

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By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—Senate and House conferees reached agreement today on extensive changes in the law governing the 1976 political campaign, but their action came too late to permit the restoration before mid-May of Federal subsidies for Presidential candidates.

For a series of mechanical and political reasons, the compromise reached shortly after noon today cannot clear both houses before Congress begins its Easter recess tomorrow. As a result, the Federal Election Commission will remain powerless to authorize campaign subsidies for about three weeks more.

The accumulated subsidies for Presidential candidates will therefore not be effectively available before the last three rounds of primaries in late May and early June.

This delay could materially assist President Ford in his well-financed campaign to turn back the Republican challenge of Ronald Reagan, who is now deep in debt. Some politicans believe it would also help Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's undeclared candidacy by penalizing all the leading Democrats in the primary field.

Disclosure provisions

The final compromise was reached when Senate conferees agreed today to withdraw provisions requiring broad financial disclosure by Federal officials and creating a commission to improve the Presidential nomination process. That concession was made in exchange for House agreement to raise from $5,000 to $25,000 the total speaking fees that Federal officials, notably senators, can earn in a year.

The Senate had voted to eliminate altogether an annual $15,000 ceiling on such honorariums, but the House had voted to retain it. With senators in much more demand than representatives for high-fee speeches, the issue had become central to a compromise campaign bill, though it was unrealted to the measure's substance.

the 1974 campaign law after Congress moved to change the Supreme Court declared in January that the election comission had been unconstitutionally established. Legislation to reconstitute the agency rapidly became a vehicle for many other changes in the new system of subsidies, spending limits and disclosure of political fund-raising and spending.

Among the major provisions of the agreement reached today were the following:

¶New limits would be set on the amount that a political committee—for instance, a committee organized by a union, corporation or special-interest group—could give to a party committee or transfer to a political unit not affiliated with a party. There are no such ceilings now. The bill would limit to $15,000 a gift to a party committee and to $5,000 a transfer to another nonparty committee.

¶Advisory opinions of the election commission—guidance for candidates—would be restricted to those that interpret how "a specific factual situation" is affected by the campaign law and by commission regulations. "General rules of law" would have to be handled in regulations subject to Congressional review.

¶Political action committees set up by unions and corporations would have unlimited solicitation powers among, in the first case, union members and, in the second, corporate stockholders and executive personnel. They would also have a right to appeal by mail twice each year for contributions from the opposite constituency.

¶The election commission would be empowered to investigate violations of campaign law it discovered in reviewing reports or auditing accounts. A notarized complaint would not be required.

¶A candidate who raised money in pursuit of one Federal office could transfer it to a second campaign for another Federal office. This would presumably permit Senator Robert C. Byrd, a Democratic member of the conference committee, to use money raised in his "favorite-son" Presidential candidacy for his re-election campaign in West Virginia in 1978.

The conferees limited this privilege, however, to a Presidential candidate who had not accepted Federal subsidies. Senator Byrd, whose drive for the post of Senate Majority leader apparently has not deterred his Presidential fund-raising, has said he would not apply for matching funds.

Session Canceled

All possibility of Congressional action on the compromise vanished with word of the death of Representative William A. Barrett, Democrat of Pennsylvania. The House immediately canceled its Wednesday working session.

The conferees agreed to reconvene on April 26, after the Easter recess, to put the finishing touches on their report. That document, which will accompany the bill, will contain statements of the conferees' intent that could be important in future court cases.

Approval of the conference report by both houses could come later that week, but it will almost certainly require a week more for President Ford to sign the legislation—assuming that he does so—and appoint six commissioners, who must then win Senate conformation before the agency's powers are restored.

Even assuming the commission could authorize all retroactive subsidies in the second week in May, the money could not be applied by Presidential candidates until the six primaries of May 25—those in Arkansas, Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada, Oregon and Tennessee. After that, there are three primaries on June 1—in Montana, Rhode Island and South Dakota—and three on June 8—in California, New Jersey and Ohio.

Requests Rising

Since the freeze on subsidy payments began March 23, candidates have filed requests for nearly $1.5 million in funds to match private contributions they have raised. By the time payments are resumed, that figure is expected to rise substantially.

Among Democratic candidates, the continued unavailability of matching funds would probably hurt most seriously Representative Morris K. Udall, the least successful of the three major contenders. Senator Henry M. Jackson, who has been more strongly financed, would probably be hurt somewhat less, and Jimmy Carter, the front-runner, would suffer the least.

McGovern Says He Favors Humphrey

20

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—Senator George McGovern of South Dakota said today that he "can't think of anybody better" to lead a united Democratic party this year than Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who was his strongest rival for the Presidential nomination four years ago.

Mr. McGovern came close to offering the undeclared Humphrey campaign a formal blessing from antiwar liberals, many of whom share some lingering resentment of the former Vice President's ardent defense of the Vietnam war in the late 1960's.

To earn their forgiveness and support, Mr. McGovern told reporters over breakfast this morning, Mr. Humphrey should endorse unconditional amnesty for the protesters who exiled themselves to avoid the draft.

"If those young people are willing to forget the role he played in the war," said Mr. McGovern, "he ought to forget their oppostion to the war. I say that as a friend of Humphrey's."

Speaking as a party reformer, Mr. McGovern also sought to offer the Humphrey forces a new rationale for the sort of "brokered" Democratic convention that may be necessary to nominate a candidate who did not run in the primaries, as Mr. Humphrey has not.

It will be inaccurate and unfair to call Mr. Humphrey a "boss-chosen candidate" if he wins the nomination, Mr. McGovern argued. Under the delegate selection rules that Mr. McGovern helped write, he said, boss rule has been largely eliminated.

"The brokers at the convention are going to be the 3,000 delegates," he said, "and they're an independent crew of people."

In 1968, Mr. McGovern recalled, it was the antiwar, reform wing of the Democratic Party that called for an "open convention," hoping to dissolve the prior commitments of delegates to particular candidates and, in effect, broker the nomination for a liberal Democrat.

Mr. McGovern said he could not condemn Jimmy Carter, the front-runner among active candidates for the Democratic nomination, for his remark last week about the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

He recalled costly gaffes of his own, including his "1,000 percent" support for Senator Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri, whom he subsequently dropped as his running-mate, and said, "I don't think any candidate should be eliminated from the race because of one phrase."

He found several other reasons, however, to doubt Mr. Carter's appeal to liberals. "There are more question marks about him than anything else," Mr. McGovern said. "You don't know whether he'd be the best President since Jefferson or the worst since Grant."

Mr. McGovern was critical of Mr. Carter's "anti-Washington" theme and his attacks on the Federal bureaucracy. "We still have a superb civil service and a good political system," Mr. McGovern said. "I don't want to see us elect a President who's afraid of using the power of the Federal Government."

Mr. McGovern appeared to have dismissed the chances of other active contenders for the nomination. He doubted that he would campaign again for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, whom he supported in the Wisconsin primary. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington "reached his high point in New York" last week, he said, "and it wasn't high enough."

"I'm very high on Frank Church," he added, but he believes the Idaho Senator entered the race too late to have a plausible chance of winning.

Job Equality Head Resigns

WASHINGTON, April 12 (UPI) — Lowell W. Perry has submitted his resignation to President Ford as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Administration officials said Monday. Mr. Perry, 44 years old, has been one of the highest ranking blacks in the Administration since taking charge of the commission less than a year ago.

G

U.S. FUND CUTOFF SLOWS CAMPAIGNS

lew Payouts Not Expected Before Mid-May Despite Congressional Action

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 13—Despite the talk of "momentum" in Presidential politics, the campaigns of nearly all the leading candidates have been slowing since the last Federal matching funds were paid out three weeks ago.

Senate and House conferees agreed today on extensive changes in the law governing the 1976 campaign, but the action came too late to permit the restoration before mid-May of Federal subsidies for Presidential candidates. [Page 20.]

The one campaign that appears to be proceeding without severe money problems is that of President Ford, whose approval of new legislation is required before his challengers can again get funds from the Federal Election Commission.

Democrats in Difficulties

With two weeks to go before the Pennsylvania primary, the three leading Democrats are barely meeting operating expenses. None of them have the money to buy significant amounts of television and radio time to influence Pennsylvania voters.

"It's really incredible to think that anyone who can come up with $150,000 now has a good shot at the nomination," said Harold Pearson of Lois Holland Callaway Inc., a New York advertising agency, that

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

Candidates' Drives Slowed By the Cutoff of U.S. Funds

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

handles Senator Henry M. Jackson's account.

But, with the $1,000 limit on campaign contributions by individuals still in force, it is necessary to find a minimum of 150 donors to raise that kind of money. Increasingly, the candidates are being diverted from the campaign trail to help with fund-raising. Senator Jackson's schedule, for instance, calls for him to spend most of Thursday in a hotel room in Philadelphia making appeals to likely contributors.

The Senator once said that his financial resources would enable him to pull ahead of his rivals at this stage of the campaign. But this evening he was scheduled to spend 2 hours 15 minutes traveling by car from Wilkes-Barre to a Philadelphia suburb because he could not afford a chartered plane for his party.

Money problems have also led to a second reorganization in less than three months of Representative Morris K. Udall's campaign. Until this week his campaign was managed by a Boston consulting firm headed by John Marttila. The firm, which also prepares Mr. Udall's television and radio ads, has been urging that the Arizonan concentrate his resources on a media campaign in Pennsylvania.

Its argument is that Pennsylvania is so large a state that a major organizational effort would not be effective in a short campaign.

But Stewart L. Udall, the candidate's brother who holds the title of campaign manager, said today that the extent of the Pennsylvania advertising effort was likely to remain an open question until the campaign's final week.

"If we can't do anything else," he said, "we'll use a radio commercial that Julian Bond has recorded for us." Mr. Bond, a member of the Georgia legislature, has repeatedly questioned the liberal credentials of Jimmy Carter, the state's former Governor who is also seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Cash Needed for Telecasts

The Carter campaign is the only one that has prepared new television commercials for Pennsylvania and set up a schedule for broadcasting them on local stations. But the money to pay for that television time has yet to be raised, and if it is not on hand by the end of the week, the commercials will have tobe canceled, since no stations give credit to candidates.

Gerald Rafshoon, the head of the Atlanta Advertising firm that prepares the Carter material, said that three new 60-second commercials were shot in Atlanta today. Each was designed to give the candidate's detailed stand on an issue to overcome the accusation that his position is fuzzy. Mr. Rafshoon said, that it would cost $160,000 to televise the full schedule he had drawn up.

The campaign spending law removed a umber of options that were available to candidates four years ago. Senators George McGovern and Hubert H. Humphrey both borrowed heavily to sustain their campaigns when funds were short. Now loans from individuals are subject to the same $1,000 limit as contributions; loans from banks, the election commission has ruled, have to meet the standards of ordinary commercial transactions.

Cost of Carter Jet

The Carter campaign obtains a bank loan every month to keep the candidate's chartered 727 jet in the air. The loans are secured by paments anticipated from the news organizations whose correspondents regularly travel with Mr. Carter and from the Secret Service. Further loans would have to be secured by Mr. Carter's own proNerty.

The difference between 2972 and 1976 is seen in a comNarison of the spending by candidates. Senator McGovern spent $440,000 to win the Wisconsin primary in 1972, according to figures compiled by Herbert E. Alexander for a forthcoming book, "financing the 1972 election."

Mr. Udall, who was the big spender in Wisconsin this year, spent $300,000, roughly twice what Mr. Carter swent. Prices have risen about 50 percent in the intervening four Years, so the contrast is even sharper than it awpears at first glance. In all, Senator McGovern sUent $12 million on his waY to the Democratic nomination; it now apNears unlikelY that any of the Democrats will spend even half that amount in 1976.

Friction and Competition

As funds dwindle, plans are canceled and egos hurt, and friction in campaign organizations tends to increase. Yesterday, for instance, the Jackson effort almost came to a standstill as a result of long-simmering personality and policy differences between members of the Senator's campaign staff and members of his Senate staff. After a day of meetings, the campaign staff reportedly won the authority that it had sought, to make the basic decisions on the allocation of scarce resources.

Cuts in advertising budgets force the candidates to compete more aggressively for exposure on local and network TV news shows. The result is that the candidate's time is largely used up in the pursuit of "visuals" —that is, settings —that will attract the TV cameras.

"I think you'll see a lot of people going down coal mines in Pennsylvania next week," a Jackson staff man said.

From the candidate's standpoint, the main difference between a 30-second TV spot and the same amount of time on a news show is that he is able to control the subject matter of the spot. During the final week of the North Carolina primary, for example, Ronald Reagan's appearances on TV news shows were largely taken up with the question of whether he would withdraw from the race if he lost. The impression that was left was largely negative but it was apparently offset by a TV speech shown throughout the state on the final weekend of the campaign.

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Marquis Childs

Candidates And Jobs In Detroit

DETROIT—The big issue the candidates will have to confront here is unemployment.

Henry Ford II admitted in an interview in the Detroit News that this will be a 10-million-plus car year, not the scarcely-more-than-9.5-million-year he had earlier predicted.

But this upsurge in the auto industry has touched "the motor town" little, if at all. One reason, of course, is that the industry—with the exception of Chrysler—is widely dispersed around the country and what was once the center of the machine that transformed the world is today no more than a symbol.

The unemployment rate here is put at 20 per cent. But there is good reason to believe that, as with nationwide unemployment figures, this is a gross underestimate. Those who should know put the unemployment rate in the city's black ghetto at 40 per cent or more. And this includes not only youths but persons of all ages.

Here is the fundamental contradiction of this strange election year. All the economic indicators are slowly rising. The employed, the affluent, are buying new cars and, in a larger proportion, bigger cars. At the same time, the great mass of the unemployed remains little changed. The total of 8 million, more or less, does not include those who have long since given up looking for jobs. They are, as someone has well put it, the invisible men and women who have been screened off from view by the affluent majority.

This is what the candidates will confront in acute form: the fundamental contradiction between the well-off who fear more inflation and the jobless who believe the government must be the employer of last resort.

Busing was the big issue in 1972, and it gave George Wallace the state. Much of his strength came from the men on the assembly line and in the auto parts plant around Michigan.

While the United Auto Workers steered clear of any commitment, UAW men liked Wallace's denunciation of pointy-headed intellectuals who were running Washington.

A knowledgeable guess is that much of the Wallace strength will go this time to Jimmy Carter. He is a moderate Southerner, and that background appeals to men and women who came out of the South in the great rush of the war. Moreover, Carter has shown the appeal he has for the blacks.

As Morris Udall has discovered, full employment with jobs created by the government has only slight pulling power. It should work in this state, where the UAW is out after a new contract with greatly increased fringe benefits and the Teamsters won hefty wage boosts after a short strike.

But gains by labor raise the bogey of inflation and this scares off the conservatives and moderates. The comfortable assumption of well-off Detroiters is that the built-in cushions of unemployment insurance and welfare will work against violence.

In July 1967, large sections of the city were burned and much of this burnt-out area has not been rebuilt. The experience was shattering not only to the city itself but to the outlying suburbs to which a large portion of whites had moved.

The cushions may work even as large numbers go off unemployment insurance and pensions from industry and go on welfare, but the transition is not an easy one, and it seems to relegate the individual to a permanent status outside the system.

Those with some knowledge believe the coming summer will be a severe test for the patience of the dispossessed trying to make a welfare check cover the cost of living, which is still high with food prices likely to continue to rise.

This is a state with as many variations as any in the union. Detroit's city center is as remote from the upper peninsula as though they were on different planets. The presidential candidates here face a truly formidable task.

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The Washington Star

JOE L. ALLBRITTON, *Publisher*
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TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1976

Ethnic you-know-what

So many lessons about the state of the electioneering arts may be drawn from the flap over Gov. Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" remark that merely to list them would deplete the store of ink and paper. But to touch on two or three:

First, there is the weight and resonance of words. Dr. Freud was not the first to alert us to the deeper significance of verbal lapses, but he probably made our suspicions permanent. We ourselves doubt that Governor Carter wished to associate himself with Adolf Hitler or any other prophet of the mythology of *racial* "purity." And the attempt by Mr. Carter's kneejerk detractors to make this sordid association in the face of the evidence has its own special ugliness.

Yet clearly there are contexts in which the word "purity" is not acceptable and Mr. Carter has wisely retracted it. It was, he agreed in Philadelphia, "ill-chosen . . . a very serious mistake . . . careless." Enough said.

A further lesson, however, is that in heated presidential primary campaigns verbal lapses are not easily shaken off — not even when the original context establishes for any fair-minded reader that Governor Carter's use of the forbidden words carries no racist freightage — and not even, indeed, when the words are qualified or retracted. The political benefits of pretending otherwise are overpowering. This is a familiar phenomenon in our politics, but no less deplorable for being so.

Gov. George Romney's rivals for the GOP nomination some years ago understood that he was not literally "brainwashed" by the briefing of American officials in Vietnam — that he was trying, all too clumsily, to lodge a charge of deception that was not without merit. Similarly, Governor Carter's rivals understand full well by now that he was not entering a brief for exclusionary neighborhoods but answering, with remarkable and dangerous candor, a direct question about "scatter-site housing in the suburbs." Yet they insist on dwelling on the resonances of the ill-chosen words rather than the issue itself.

Why? One reason, which hasn't escaped notice in the clamor of the past weekend, is that both Rep. Morris Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson *agree* with Governor Carter about "scatter-site housing in the suburbs." That's right — they agree. But they also find that there is political mileage in fuzzing over that basic agreement, at least for the nonce. Here is indeed a basic problem in American electioneering — that we cry for candor but leap so disingenuously on unguarded language that candidates learn that it's the better part of candor to fudge when asked sharp questions about sensitive issues.

It may be pointless to quarrel too strenuously with this built-in defect of the electioneering process. Given the broad agreements that exist — happily, we think — in the middle spectrum of American politics, campaigns often necessarily turn on nuances, overtones, subliminal perceptions, the resonances of words, rather than on flat disagreements of principle.

The accurate thing for Messrs. Jackson and Udall to say — and maybe the intellectually honest thing too — is "I have no real quarrel with Governor Carter on this issue." But that wins no votes. And few candidates — including, we suppose, Governor Carter — are immune to the temptation to make much of opportune trivialities. But you can certainly say that presidential campaigns would better serve the voters, would be less productive of noxious sanctimony and hypocrisy, if candidates strove as hard to understand one another as they do to misunderstand when it is advantageous to do so.

A third lesson of the "ethnic purity" flap, succinctly stated by James Reston of The New York *Times*, is that there is a debatable but undebated issue here. The question, he says, is how the others will beat Governor Carter if they beat him. "If they beat him on the fair issue of the use of federal power to compel integration, that is one thing, but if they beat him on the slip of the tongue and on phony charges that his record refutes, they will not only stop Carter but Humphrey as well."

The fair issue, again largely ignored, is whether it should be the role of federal action not just to stop "'discrimination or exclusion" in neighborhoods (which all the candidates, including Governor Carter, agree that it should be) but also to push local communities to scatter high-rise public housing into resisting neighborhoods. It isn't an easy issue. Arguments can be made, wrongheaded arguments, we happen to believe, for just such use of federal power. Here is where the quarrel of, say, the congressional black caucus with Governor Carter lies — if they have one.

But as far as Mr. Carter's announced rivals for the nomination are concerned, there is a huge silence on the other side of the argument. The Pennsylvania primary would give Messrs. Udall and Jackson a splendid chance to raise their voices for "scatter-site housing in the suburbs" and thus to join issue with the former governor of Georgia. Unless they mean to do so, unless they mean to reverse positions they have already announced, the decent thing is to admit that they agree with Mr. Carter and move on to real issues. After all, Messrs. Jackson and Udall can subsist for only so long on imaginary differences and sanctimonious finger-wagging, and in the space of only a few days they have scraped that larder bare.

'He's Not My Choice, So I Can Afford to Be Generous'

McGovern Defends Carter on 'Ethnic Purity'

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern, although increasingly critical of Jimmy Carter's personality-oriented presidential campaign, has come to his defense in the current controversy over Carter's "ethnic purity" remark.

McGovern said yesterday that no presidential candidate should be "condemned on the basis of a single phrase" or isolated incident in the course of a long campaign.

"I personally thought it was very unfortunate and very foolish of Gov. Carter to be using such phrases as 'ethnic purity,' but I also hope he wouldn't be evaluated on the basis of a single phrase," McGovern said.

IN A LUNCHEON speech to the Washington Council of Lawyers, a group of public-service lawyers, McGovern urged all the presidential candidates to clarify their positions on housing and neighborhood integration.

He said the substantive difference between Carter's views and those of his opponents thus far "eludes me."

In downplaying the overall significance of Carter's controversial remark, McGovern joined presidential candidate Frank Church, who said Saturday that Carter shouldn't be "crucified for an unfortunate choice of words."

McGovern, the 1972 Democratic nominee for president, recalled he had suffered from a similar political flap when he voiced "1,000 percent" support for his first vice presidential choice, Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton, D-Mo., after disclosures that Eagleton had undergone psychiatric treatment for depression.

McGovern insisted that his famous comment "really was the way I felt — my initial reaction," even though he later dropped Eagleton from the ticket when the controvery threatened to consume his own campaign.

THE SOUTH DAKOTA senator also said he believed the press and other political candidates have unfairly overplayed George Romney's "brainwashing" comment in 1968 and Edmund S. Muskie's tears in the snows in New Hampshire in 1972. McGovern said he "never saw anything wrong with" Romney's acknowledgement that he had been "brainwashed" by U.S. Embassy officials in South Vietnam into thinking the U.S. war effort was going better than it actually was.

"They brainwashed just about everyone who went out there," McGovern said, adding he thought the erstwhile GOP presidential candidate had been "remarkably candid" to admit he had been taken in.

As for Muskie crying in response to attacks made upon his wife by the Manchester Union Leader, McGovern said, "I never understood how he was disqualified from the presidency because he shed a few tears. I know I felt drawn to him at the time."

Notwithstanding his call for balance in the treatment of Carter's housing comments, McGovern left little doubt that he dislikes the type of campaign the former Georgia governor is waging.

"HE'S NOT MY choice for 1976, so I can afford to be generous," the senator said with a grin.

Without mentioning Carter by name, he warned against candidates who "display their personalities but conceal what plans they have in mind for us" if elected.

McGovern, defeated by a landslide after a campaign in which he took controversial positions on a number of sensitive issues, said he would "regret very much if we nominate a candidate who believes the central lesson of 1972 is not to discuss the issues."

McGovern also reiterated criticism he had voiced in a Feb. 23 speech to the Women's National Democratic Club about candidates running an antigovernment theme.

"Those who are skeptical and hostile towards the federal government," he said, "should do themselves and us a favor by staying out of it." Asked who he supports for the Democratic nomination of this year, McGovern said he "leans toward" Morris K. Udall among the active candidates.

IF CHURCH, a long-time friend and Senate colleague, were not in the race, "I'd be out beating the bushes for Udall," McGovern said.

"If one of the active candidates doesn't make it, I suppose I go along with the conventional view that Hubert Humphrey is the most likely — and if he is nominated, he'll have my support," McGovern said.

The senator later said he could support Carter if he is nominated, "maybe with about the same degree of enthusiasm he brought to me in 1972."

McGovern would not comment on whether he would support Henry M. Jackson, but did say he has always backed the Democratic nominee.

Michael Novak

America's Illusions: Carter's Verbal Purity

Mr. Novak is The Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" will appear in this space every Tuesday and Thursday, and in the Comment section on Sunday.

Most of the commentaries on Jimmy Carter's unfortunate slip about "ethnic purity" have missed the point. His fault is not suspected racism but unsuspected innocence.

Tom Wicker speaks about "a peculiarly Southern burden." Andrew Young worried that "a lot of people who said 'You just can't trust a Southerner' are going to say 'See, I told you so.'"

Martin Schram writes in Newsday that Carter, "because he happens to come from the South, was always being forced (outside of the South) to walk the extra mile to show that he is not a racist."

But this is all an error. Carter's words did not reflect racism. What they reflected was lack of experience with Northern problems. He is an intelligent candidate. His remarks have consistently been deft.

This deftness, in fact, is precisely what has irritated the old pros. His celebrated "fuzziness" on issues is an attribute politicians cultivate highly. But Carter has almost superhuman skill in sucking some honey from both sides of almost every issue.

CARTER AVOIDS thinking as a partisan. He sees the argument on both sides, and embraces the positives on each. He neatly stands against the negatives on each.

Hardly any issues are purely "liberal" or "conservative" nowadays. Most intelligent people find partisan definitions as simple-minded as the questions on which pollsters demand a "yes" or "no." Life is not like an opinion poll.

What hurt Carter on "ethnic purity" was the sudden shaft of light that fell upon his area of greatest weakness. The bitter pluralism of the Northern cities is outside his range. His sensitivities have not yet been tutored by the fires of the Northern "melting pot."

Not only was he less prepared than usual; he didn't even recognize, at first, the landmines he had set off. The symbols he violated were not part of his immediate experience. Innocently he waltzed into no-man's-land.

The words rolled carelessly out: About "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods. But, in the North, there isn't any such "purity" — even in "Irish" South Boston, there are many other cultures. He warned about "black intrusion" — but virtually every Northern city neighborhood has some blacks in it.

He would resist "injecting" a "diametrically opposite kind of family" and a "different kind of person." But Northern ethnic pluralism is rather like a mosaic, or a symphony. Not "diametrically opposite" but "complementary;" not "different" but a "unique" kind of person, would be ways of touching Northern ideals.

THE PLURALISM of the Northeastern and North Central states is often bitter and conflicted; even so, it is one of the great triumphs of social history. Peoples who in Europe have warred incessantly for a thousand years, in the Northern states live side by side in conflicting but tolerable consensus, and in combative democratic reasonableness.

So much so that our gravest urban dangers are probably homogenization and rootlessness, rather than "purity" or "diametric oppositeness." The loss of roots frequently undermines gut feelings of morality, loyalty, belongingness, family life and a neighborhood civic sense. Individuals are rendered anemic and naked in face of the all-powerful state. No one cares. Anything goes.

Martin Schram writes that "the scary thing" is that Carter's words "just should not even come to the mind of a decent person." They are words, Schram says, that invoke memories of "Hitler, Bilbo, and Father Coughlin."

The problem was not Carter's verbal impurity or lack of mental decency. The problem was Carter's innocence. These words invoked symbolic worlds Carter did not remotely think of. And that was the shock.

SYMBOLIC WORLDS crucial to others were less salient in his consciousness than they should have been. Carter the Explorer has discovered a part of America, like a sailing ship shuddering aground.

Yet why do we require verbal purity of our candidates? Why did Romney go down on "brainwashed," Agnew on "Fat Jap," McGovern on "1,000 percent" (and others), Muskie on a few tears?

See NOVAK, A-7

NOVAK

Continued From A-3

Our media are in the hands of some of the most extraordinary censors of all time. Censorship of political attitudes has picked up where censorship of sexual attitudes has disappeared. In sexual matters, nowadays, freedoms are almost absolute. One may think, voice, or do almost anything. The violation of traditional taboos is considered "liberation."

The power of political liberalism has grown with the dominance of the college-educated over our national life. This new "enlightened" class has introduced a system of verbal repression, formerly applied to sex, to matters having to do with politics. There are many subjects a politician ought not to talk about directly, for fear of offending liberals. To save their ears, he needs euphemism and "code word."

A chaste model of public decency is not only held firmly in view, but vigorously enforced: Verbal hygiene. Retribution is severe. Most repressions, nowadays, are on the liberal side. That is why conservatives — who have a repression agenda of their own — complain about the media.

JIMMY CARTER violated a liberal taboo. Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, is one of the liberals' main enforcers, at least on matters close to race. Vernon Jordan lowered the boom. Jimmy Carter, as lovers should not have to do, said he's sorry.

But the real error was not where Jordan saw it. It was due to a structural weakness in Jimmy Carter's experience. He has not hitherto had to take the heat in the Hell's Kitchens of Cleveland, Toledo, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Detroit, Youngstown, Gary and other pluralistic cities of the land. (Even in Wisconsin, he did better in the rural areas.)

The weakness in our primary system is that relative innocence can go undetected until August, when the time for acquiring sophistication has passed, and when the vengeance of the censors is unendurable. Consider Jimmy Carter and the Democratic party lucky.

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RALLY IN PARK

'I Need Your Help,' Carter Says Here

By FAY S. JOYCE

The former governor of Georgia came back to Atlanta Tuesday to declare that the United States was founded on slavery and to praise Martin Luther King Jr. for lifting "the yoke of segregation from around our necks."

Jimmy Carter went on to predict that he would beat Alabama Gov. George Wallace in Georgia's Democratic presidential primary May 4.

"You helped me in Iowa where we came in first," Carter told 2,500 supporters and onlookers in Central City Park. "You helped me in Florida where we came in first. You helped me in Wisconsin where we came in first. I'll need your help again."

But if Carter came to inspire the many Georgians who have crossed state lines to venture into the political battlefield, he also came to show off his liberal armor.

"The greatest thing that ever happened to the South in my life is the passage of the civil rights act," he said, as he often has on the campaign trail. But he went on to recite a list of areas that have opened up to blacks since the barriers of segregation were struck down.

"We've seen our black people liberated, but we've also seen our white people liberated," he said to cheers and applause.

Carter reminded the crowd that George Washington had kept slaves and said, "Our nation was founded on slavery. It took almost 100 years to wipe it out."

The peanut processor from Plains jolted some blacks and white liberals last week by backing what he termed "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. Before the rally Tuesday, Carter said at a press conference that his black support in Georgia has not dwindled because of that remark, for which he has since apologized.

Although Carter's speech warmed the crowd, it was praise from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. that appeared to win the doubters over.

Carter is "a man whom I love and believe in," the elderly, gray-haired minister said. "I want to find that man that has lived so perfectly that he's never made a mistake."

The minister pointed out that he has traveled the country "preaching forgiveness. If there is a forgiving heart, if one stands to apologize, then this state and this nation have no choice but to accept."

From the other end of the park drifted the words of "We Shall Overcome" as state Rep. Hosea Williams led about 40 protestors in singing while "Daddy" King spoke.

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Rally

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Bearing signs that read "Truth Came Out—No Slip of Lip" and "Racism Must Go," the protestors held their placards to face King and other speakers, including Atlanta City Council President Wyche Fowler, Atlanta School Board President Benjamin Mays and Lt. Gov . Zell Miller.

Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, the national director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was expected to appear with Carter here to show his support for the former governor.

In a telephone interview, he said that car trouble and an SCLC bvoard meeting had prevented him from making the appearance.

Stressing that he was speaking as an individual and not as the head of SCLC, Abernathy said, "I think Gov. Carter made an unfortunate statement, but he has apologized.

"What he expressed is the thinking of all the presidential candidates, and of the vast majority of white Americans and many black Americans in the middle and elite class.

"My neighbors in Collier Heights want to retain their community. They would be horrified if people from Summerhill or Buttermilk Bottom started moving in."

Abernathy said Carter "must now get off his knees and become the Democratic nominee."

Before launching the rally, Carter stopped by his new state campaign headquarters on Peachtree Street to cut a green-and-white ribbon and step inside to thank his supporters, many of whom have crossed the country as part of his volunteer "peanut brigade."

"Do what you can to help us raise money," he said. "If you have friends and relatives who can give us $5, $10, $100, ask them to do it quickly."

"I've made 120 long distance calls in a day. You can too. Take a week off from work. You can call your friends and ask if they can send in $20, $50. It's just as much your country as it is mine," he reminded them.

The Carter campaign hopes to raise approximately $300,000 to finance its effort in the Pennsylvania primary April 27, a contest which Carter said he regards as "crucial and strategic."

As he finished his plea to workers, Carter was handed a jellybean-studded Easter cake in the shape of a bunny. It was sent by the Georgia Milk Producers Association, the man holding it said.

Over in the park, campaigners handed out "Welcome Home Jimmy" signs. One of them went to Steve Gillham, 20, a Georgia State University student from Mableton who came by during his break from classes.

"I wanted to see Carter, plus I heard Hosea Williams was supposed to be here and we wanted to see if there'd be any trouble," he said, gesturing toward two of his friends.

A bluegrass band from Carrollton named Possum Trot played "Foggy Mountain Breakdown," and Gillham leaned back on the grass.

"I'll vote for him if he's nominated," he said, "because his image is not connected with Washington—that's what people want to get away from."

He said he will vote for Carter in the primary.

"In spite of what he said about ethnic purity," the Mableton resident explained, "he's far from a racist."

Carter Shifting Stance Again on Right-to-Work Laws?

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

While trying Tuesday to replenish his nearly bone-dry campaign coffers by courting wealthy Atlanta businessmen, Jimmy Carter apparently shifted his stance slightly on controversial right-to-work laws.

Carter, however, said that his position has been "misinterpreted" and that he consistently has declined to push repeal of right-to-work laws while agreeing to approve a repealer if passed by Congress.

Speaking to a closed breakfast meeting of about 50 of Atlanta's most influential businessmen, the former Georgia governor asked each of them to raise about $5,000 for his presidential campaign in advance of the crucial Pennsylvania primary April 27.

Carter followed the breakfast in the Commerce Club with a press conference and a rally in Central City Park—the opening shot in the battle among Carter, Alabama Gov. George Wallace and Arizona Rep. Morris Udall for the May 4 Georgia primary.

According to several persons who attended the breakfast of Carter's Atlanta Executive Finance Committee, the candidate said that he had not advocated repeal of section 14-B of the federal Taft-Hartley Act. This provision allows states to enact so-called right-to-work laws, which prohibit union membership as a condition of employment.

Two weeks ago in Waukesha, Wis., Carter said, "I think the 14-B should be repealed, which would permit the abolition of right-to-work laws. And if the Congress passes such legislation, I'd be glad to sign it."

That was Carter's first direct public endorsement of repeal, and it followed friendly overtures toward the candidate by George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, which strongly favors repeal.

However, former Atlanta City Attorney Henry Bowden, who attended the Tuesday breakfast, said Carter claimed that "he had not advocated repeal."

Carter said his stand was "misinterpreted" and "he had not advocated repeal, but if Congress passed it he would not veto it," Bowden said.

"This is not a shifted position," insisted Carter press director Rex Granum. "The Governor has been quite consistent in his stance on right to work."

National Bank of Georgia President Bert Lance, who also attended the breakfast, said, "There has been a great deal of comment that he (Carter) changed his position on right-to-work (in Wisconsin), which he really had not."

Lance said Carter did not voice support for keeping 14-B, but "he would not be active in trying to get it repealed."

The difference between advocacy of repeal—as in the Waukesha statement—

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P

Carter

15A

From Page 1-A

and a promise not to work actively for repeal "appears to be a matter of semantics. That seems to be important for some strange reason in this day and time," Lance said.

In 1971, Carter wrote to the National Right-to-Work Committee that he was "not in favor of doing away with the right-to-work law."

Carter told a group of newspaper editors last Feb. 28, "The last two years, I've said, to me the right-to-work law is all right the way it is. I don't have any feelings about it, but if it ever passes the Congress without my help, I'll sign it into law. And I've told the business community the same thing."

Former City Attorney Bowden said Carter also claimed his position had been "misinterpreted" regarding his advocacy of "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

Carter later apologized for using the phrase "ethnic purity," which critics viewed as an endorsement of segregated housing patterns.

"He said he had had some black officials call and tell him to stay with that (ethnic purity) stand because it was correct," Bowden reported. He said Carter did not name the black officials, and the candidate did not mention the matter at the later press conference, when many questions about the controversy were raised.

The business group, which included some former opponents of Carter, "to my way of thinking, was extremely proud of a fellow from Georgia going this far," said construction company president Lawrence L. Gellerstedt.

Carter continued to predict that he will emerge from the final primaries on June 8 with more than 1,000 delegates—enough to create a stampede that would yield the 1,505 delegates needed for the nomination at the Democratic National Convention in July.

Gerry Rafshoon, Carter's media director, said that $157,612 was earmarked for advertising in the key Pennsylvania primary showdown with Udall and Sen. Henry M. Jackson, but so far none of the money has been raised.

Carter said "several hundred" Georgia supporters will stump for him in Pennsylvania and "that will make up for some of the lack of funds."

Carter also complained that "we are behind now about $250,000 in (federal) matching funds which we have earned." The withholding of the funds due to a court-ordered abolition of the Federal Election Commission is a "travesty," he said.

Before the FEC went out of existence last month, it funneled a total of $1,078,467.75 into the Carter campaign.

NADER WANTS A PLAN

Journal 4/13

Carter on Consumers——?

By CHARLES SEABROOK

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader has criticized presidential aspirant Jimmy Carter for not developing a comprehensive consumer protection platform.

"It's time for Carter to develop a consumer protection plan that could be implemented should he be elected President," said Nader, who was in Atlanta Monday to speak at the opening session of a week-long meeting of physicians' assistants.

Nader said Carter is the only presidential hopeful who has not developed such a plan. "We already have seen that President Ford and Ronald Reagan are anti-consumer," said Nader.

The other major presidential contenders — Morris Udall and Henry Jackson — already have a record of supporting consumer bills in Congress, Nader pointed out. "Carter has never been to Congress, so we don't know how he stands on national consumer protection," Nader added.

Nader said a strong consumer protection plan is needed nationally to protect the public in several areas such as health, food-buying, and housing.

RALPH NADER
'It's Time'

On another topic, Nader stressed that Americans should start taking care of themselves to ward off health problems instead of relying totally on the health care system to cure their illnesses when they become sick.

In another address at the physicians' assistants meeting, Rep. Paul Rogers, D-Fla., chairman of the House Public Health and Environmental subcommittee, said his group is concerned that too many doctors are choosing medical specialties instead of entering the primary medical care system.

However, Rogers said, the physicians' assistant and Medix and nurse practitioners programs have provided "uncounted Americans with medical care that would not have been available without the programs."

The Florida Congressman said he is enthused over physicians' assistant programs because "to date 88 per cent of the physcians' assistant graduates are practicing in primary care."

Rogers noted that the physicians' assistant programs have not won universal acceptance. "But I think I can say without qualification that the record which has been built by the physicians' assistant in the field is rapidly overcoming the barriers," he said.

Rogers said his subcommittee has put in provisions in the federal Health Manpower Act to encourage medical schools to train physicians' assistants. "We have authorized $90 million over a three-year period in grants and contracts for training and to identify the needs of physicians' assistants," he said.

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Staff Photo—Minia Linn

Kennedy, Nunn at 'Warm-Up' Reception

IF NOMINATED

Teddy Says He'd Support Carter-for-President Ticket

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Sen. Teddy Kennedy came to Atlanta Tuesday night to help raise funds for Democratic senatorial candidates, say some nice things about Jimmy Carter and repeat for the umpteen-hundredth time that he will not seek or accept the 1976 presidential nomination.

"Gov. Carter has made the most impressive impression on all parts of the country," the Massachusetts senator said. "Were he to gain the nomination, I would certainly support him."

Kennedy said he is keeping out of pre- convention presidential politics and will not endorse a candidate before the Democratic National Convention selects a candidate in July.

Sen. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana and Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia accompanied Kennedy to the reception of the Senatorial Democratic Campaign Committee at the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

About 150 prominent Democrats attended the function, described by Johnston as a "warm-up" before the main fundraising dinner for Democratic senatorial candidates in Washington May 11.

Many persons in the crowd wore green Carter-for-president buttons and Morris Dees, Carter's chief fundraiser, was among the group.

ACLU Fails to Act on Morgan Resignation

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

The resignation of Charles Morgan Jr. as chief of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) is in limbo this week following failure of the ACLU board to act on the resignation.

The board met in all-day sessions Saturday and Sunday but failed to take a position on the resignation, leaving the matter in the hands of ACLU Executive Director Aryeh Neier.

Neier and Morgan are scheduled to meet in New York Wednesday. Neier said in a telephone interview that he "suspects" that he and Morgan do not differ widely on the issues that were publicly cited as the reasons for Morgan's resignation.

But he said "there may be underlying questions which I need to explore at considerable length, and until I have the opportunity to do that I haven't any idea what I will do (about the resignation)."

Morgan said here that he is reluctant to discuss the situation publicly because "I'm trying desperately to stay out of some personal contest with these people.

"What they want me to do is meet and talk. I'll fly to New York in the morning and we'll talk and I'll listen to see what they have to say," he said.

"I'm trying to stay just where I am with my position," he added. "All my friends want me to negotiate—the problems are their (ACLU's) problems, not my problems. I'm not thinking about what I'm going to do or when I'm going to do it. I've taken action and the rest of them don't like it."

Morgan, who formerly headed the ACLU Southern regional office in Atlanta, submitted his resignation Friday in the midst of a dispute over his right to comment publicly on political matters.

The dispute was sparked by an article in The New York Times which quoted Morgan as saying that Northern liberals oppose former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter's candidacy because "they don't have their hooks in him."

Following the publication of that article, Neier sent Morgan a note saying that he would not feel free to offer his views on political candidates for publication and that he believes that Morgan should "feel comparably inhibited."

Morgan vigorously protested the suggestion that he was not free to express his individual political views. Neier, in a second letter, asked Morgan to detail any steps the Washington ACIU official had taken to demonstrate that his publicly stated views were personal and did not represent the organization.

Morgan's reply on Friday said: "...You asked me what steps I'm taking to correct the impression that when I am 'identified' by employment I 'appear to speak for the organization.' The step I am taking is to resign."

Neier said Monday that Morgan's letter arrived in the midst of an ACLU executive committee meeting Friday.

On Monday, Morgan read sections of his letters to the board which referred to "the depth of my feelings and the finality of my decision."

To illustrate his situation in regard to the meeting with Neier, Morgan said, "It's like when Metternich died at the conference table and they asked him what he really meant."

YOUR TURN

Will 'Ethnic Purity' Slip Hurt Carter's Candidacy?

Presidential candidate Jimmy Carter committed a political faux pas when he referred to the importance of "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods in a speech last week in South Bend, Ind. He has since apologized for his choice of words. Do Atlantans think the remark will hurt Carter politically?

Mitchell Moss, bank teller: I think his opponents will try to make more out of the remark than they should, but Carter's trying now to make excuses, so maybe he's also making too much out of it.

Patricia Kinard, bank employe: I think Carter's attempts to rectify his mistake are a little feeble. His excuses are unacceptable to me. I had planned to vote for him, but now I don't know.

Moss Kinard Quidley Atkinson

Larry Quidley, banker: Everyone is entitled to one mistake. I think Carter just used the wrong choice of words. I think he's explained it very well, and it may hurt him, but it shouldn't.

Richard Atkinson, financial manager: It was just an unfortunate use of words by Carter. Both Carter and (Arizona Rep. Morris) Udall have said just about the same thing in different words during the same time period. Carter has answered the criticism to my satisfaction.

Randolph Green, management consultant: I have no doubt that the remark will hurt Carter politically. It's not what his intentions are or beliefs are, but what the remark will be interpreted to mean by his opponents.

Charles Ambrose, loan manager: Carter made a mistake there. It will hurt him politically. I was not going to vote for him in the primary anyway, but his being a Southerner, that statement can't help but hurt.

Green Ambrose Stallings Morgan

Claudette Stallings, proof machine operator: I didn't like it. Carter can't apologize enough to make up for it. It's out and he can't get it back.

Mrs. Virginia Morgan, computer operator: I don't think the statement will hurt Carter. Most Americans understand what he really meant from the beginning—that the government shouldn't interfere with where a person wants to live.

Hal Gulliver

The Great Ethnic Purity Mini-Flap

Daddy King knows how to put the hay down where the goats are, as the phrase goes, and he was in good form in Central City Park explaining about the "ethnic purity" flap to several thousands of people gathered in support of Jimmy Carter.

"I want to find that man who is perfect and has never made a mistake," the Rev. Martin Luther King said, peering sternly over the crowd. "I've made a mistake. I may make several more mistakes before the day is over." King went on, and he talked about people making mistakes and being big enough to apologize for it, and he talked about the forgiving heart, and he talked about religion and politics, and everybody in that crowd, including Hosea Williams who was by this time leading his band of pickets in song at the far end of the park, understood what Daddy King was really talking about.

He was talking about Jimmy Carter and that foot-in-the-mouth remark in South Bend, Ind., about ethnic purity and the general hurrah it had caused. Even in the context of the interview that started the fuss, it was clear that Carter also said he favored state and federal housing laws, that he did not think anyone should be discriminated against in any neighborhood.

Daddy King said he felt that his religion and his politics worked together as a rule, and he moved those fingers of his still powerful hands together to illustrate, and he said that wherever he went over the country, preaching and teaching, he had a kind word to say for one James Earl Carter of Plains.

King said he had been with Carter when he started, was with him now, and would still be with him when Carter was in the White House.

Oh, there were some good names on that platform. Businessman Jesse Hill read a more formal statement being put out in Rev. King Sr.'s name, and said that several other black leaders not actually present sent their greetings and words of support, notably Congressman Andrew Young and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young and the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy. And there was Dr. Benjamin Mays, looking dapper in a spring-like sports coat, standing up too to say a word for the peanut farmer from Plains.

Some slight bit of the current mini-flap will go on for a time as supporters of other candidates look for any handle to get at the frontrunner from Georgia.

But, as a practical matter, the Great Ethnic Purity Mini-Flap ended Tuesday when Daddy King finished speaking in downtown Central City Park in Atlanta.

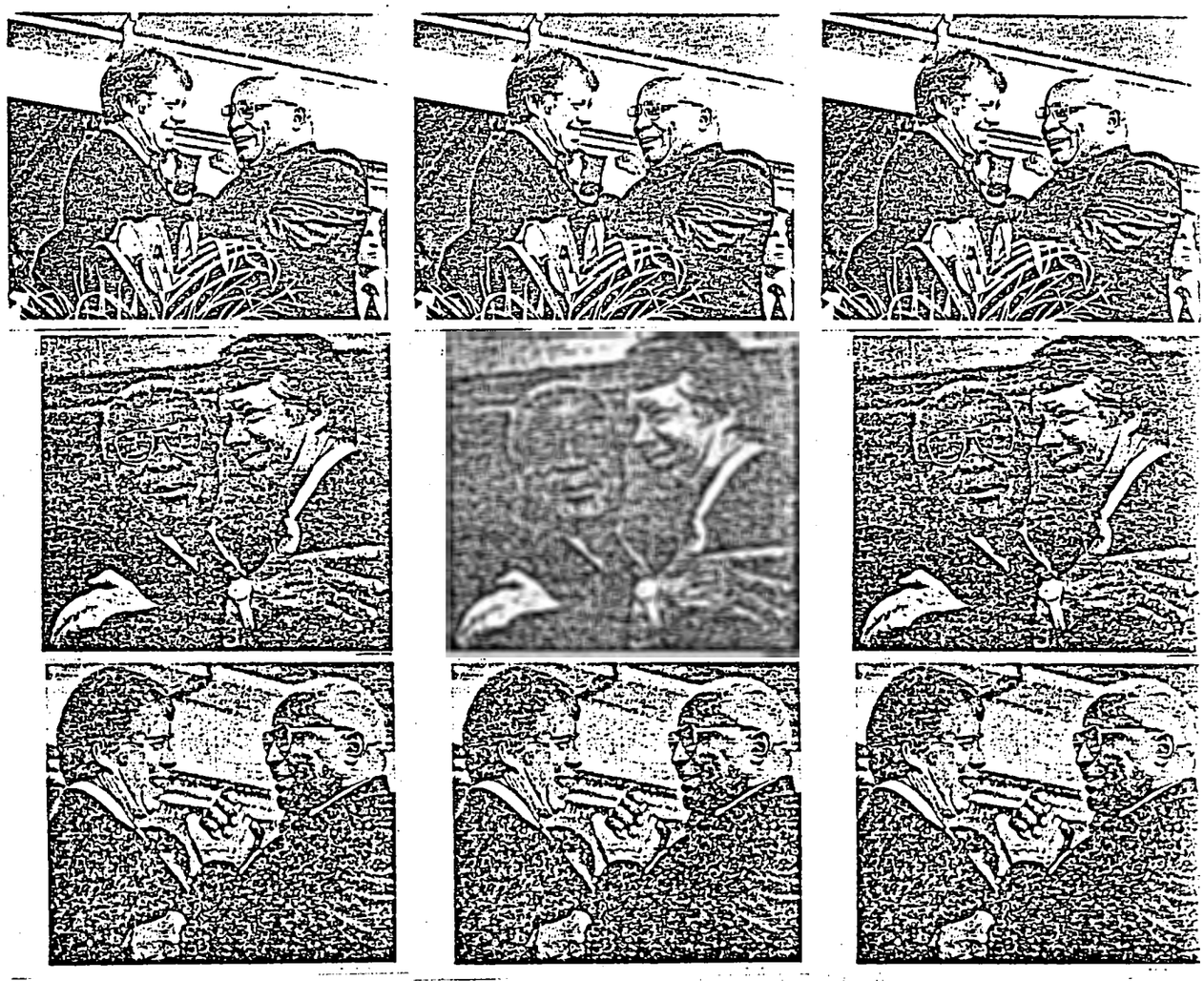
United Press International

Jimmy Carter accepting the support of the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., at rally in Atlanta yesterday. Mr. Carter also received the endorsement of other prominent Georgia blacks, but others, such as Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta and Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, head of Southern Christian Leadership Conference were missing from rally.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/15



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News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger told a Senate Appropriations subcommittee that recent Syrian military movements into Lebanon were getting very close to the borderline of Israeli tolerance. He warned that the situation could blow up despite some political progress in Beirut. Stressing the fragility of the situation in Lebanon, he said "we're walking through a mine field" in seeking to help promote a political solution and prevent a Syrian-Israeli clash. [1:3.]

Italy is deep in a political and economic crisis, and the Communist Party is again benefiting and in line for further enhancement of its image among voters. The Communists have adopted a strategy of moderation and cautious criticism with the lira down and the Christian Democratic Government near collapse. They say they do not want elections now and advocate a political accord of all parties to deal with the crisis. They express willingness to staying outside the government to help solve the country's problems. The Communists seem to be improving their prospects of becoming Italy's largest party and overtaking the Christian Democrats in the next election. [1:4.]

The anti-détente sentiments running through the American Presidential campaign are stimulating shifts in Moscow's mood. Some Soviet insiders predict a new restraint in foreign military involvement during the coming months. They foresee a period of only minor improvements in Soviet-American relations. In their view there are two main reasons for the relationship—prevention of nuclear holocaust and expansion of trade with the West. Other issues, such as rivalry in Indochina, the Middle East and Africa, seem secondary to Moscow. [1:1-2.]

National

A consortium of electric companies announced cancellation of the controversial $3.5 billion Kaiparowits power plant project in a scenic area of southern Utah. The surprise move, attributed to economic, regulatory and environmental reasons, was a major victory for conservationists and a significant setback to the aims of the national energy development program. [1:1-2.]

Patricia Hearst has agreed to testify against William and Emily Harris and other members of the self-styled Symbionese Liberation Army in an apparent move to gain judicial leniency. She began giving Federal officials new information on the S.L.A. immediately after Federal District Judge Oliver J. Carter postponed her final sentencing on bank robbery charges. [1:6-7.]

Roman Catholic clergy and laity are concerned at possible anti-Semitic overtones in a section of the liturgy for Good Friday called the "Improperia," which was overlooked when the church authorities revised other similar references. It is an optional section for singing during the "Veneration of the Cross." The spokesman for the Bishops' liturgical commission in Washington said its advisory council would take up the matter. [1:6-8.]

Batteries of lawyers for the late Howard Hughes's closest associates applied in probate courts in Texas, California and Nevada to act as temporary administrators of his holdings in those states. A spokesman for them said both they and his relatives believe he executed an effective will which has not yet been found. [1:1.]

Metropolitan

Mayor Beame submitted a $12.4 billion austerity expense budget and announced he would go to court to resist the new legislative mandate for spending $150 million more on education that he and the state fiscal monitors said the city could afford. He said substantial thousands of city workers would have to be dismissed if the legislative mandate was upheld in court. [1:8.]

Backers of the Stavisky-Goodman school-aid bill, enacted over Governor Carey's veto, sought amendments to assure more money to schools without necessarily binding New York City to allot a fixed portion of its budget to education. They said its principal purpose was to form a basis for future bargaining over the school-aid formula. [[1:6-7.]

When Mayor John V. Lindsay urged renovation of Yankee Stadium in 1971, the City Council President, Sanford D. Garelik, remarked that it would cost the ctiy "$24 million and six judgeships." The political favors he alluded to as a price for the projcet may never be fully known, although a Bronx grand jury has been studying some of the ramificiations. City officials have consistently understated the financial price tag but now concede it will be near $100 million, exclusive of interest. [1:5.]

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Carter's Vote Success With Blacks Assayed

By PAUL DELANEY
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, April 14—Jimmy Carter's campaign in the Seventh Ward for the Illinois Presidential primary last month consisted of one visit to the Monument of Faith Church on the South Side.

It was an emotional, hymn-singing, hand-clapping, old-time religion session, similar to Sunday service in black churches all over the country.

The former Georgia Governor then carried the heavily black ward with 96.3 percent of the vote.

This occurred before Mr. Carter used the phrase "ethnic purity" in defending the homogeneity of established neighborhoods. Mr. Carter has since apologized for the phrase and reiterated his support for open-housing laws, but he has stood by his position that he would not use the Government's power to change the social makeup of established neighborhoods.

The first opportunity to assess the impact of the "ethnic purity" remark on voters will come in the Pennsylvania primary April 27.

Meanwhile, the question remains: Why have blacks voted for Mr. Carter in such great percentages?

Until last week, he gathered votes with the support of only one national black leader, Representative Andrew Young, a fellow Georgian. Then Mayor Coleman A. Young of Detroit endorsed him despite the "ethnic purity" statement. Other leaders have been either in direct opposition or waiting to ascertain his true strength.

In addition to making effective use of Mr. Young and Martin Luther King Sr., father of the slain civil rights leader, Mr. Carter has garnered black support with his style and his rhetoric.

Style Is Easygoing

"His rhetoric is very appealing to blacks," said Sarah S. Austin, vice president of the National Urban Coalition in Washington.

The style is easygoing in the presence of blacks, the rhetoric suggest close identity with the nation's largest minority group and its history and causes

"Of all the candidates, Jimmy Carter has been able to project himself as able to understand and relate to black people," said John Lewis, director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project.

"How many blacks are there in Arizona and the State of Washington?" he asked, alluding to Representative Morris K. Udall and Senator Henry M. Jackson.

"He grew up with poor blacks in the South, although he is not poor now. He is used to being around blacks. In Atlanta, he had to deal with some of the most politically astute and aggressive blacks in the nation.

"His effort to defeat Gov. George C. Wallace became symbolic. David against Goliath. He has projected himself as something good and decent coming out of the South."

The Biblical reference was appropriate. Mr. Carter's appeal has been mainly to the churchgoing, God-fearing, working-class blacks in the South and in the North to the blacks with a Southern background.

Mr. Carter's appearance at Monument of Faith Church was typical. The area was once blue-collar white, but is now black working class. Most of the people are first and second generation Northerners, but many are from the rural South. The parishioners said "amen" and "preach, brother" to Mr. Carter as easily as they would have to a black minister.

Howeve, some professional and middleclass blacks are repelled by the candidate's identification with blcks.

"I resent it strongly," said Thomas N Todd, a lawyer and former civil rights aide here.

"I distrust him .I don't think he is sincere. It burns me tob seehim at black churches appealing to blacks on the basis of his charm and the attitufe that 'some of my best friends are colored.'

"Underneath the veneer, on the issues, he is problack only if blacks stay in their place. I think he has played the black community cheap. I'm tired of blacks supporting warmed-over white folks."

Credit Given to Two

Mr. Todd and others credited Mr. Young and Mr. King, both Baptist ministers, with Mr. Carter's success. Mr. King was particularly effective in a radio commercial in which he strongly declared his faith and trust in the former Governor.

Some Democrats felt that Mr. Young used his connections with the preachers in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the organization founded by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King jr., to build support in the church. Mr. Young was criticized by some blacks.

"I'm an admirer of Andy Young," Mr. Todd said, "but it made me angry to see him defending Jimmy Carter. Andy should be running for President, no Jimmy Carter."

Both Mr. Young and Mr. King came to the defense of Mr. Carter after he said last week that he supported the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. Mr. Carter has apologized several times for that remark.

Nevertheless, it has cost Mr. Carter some support already.

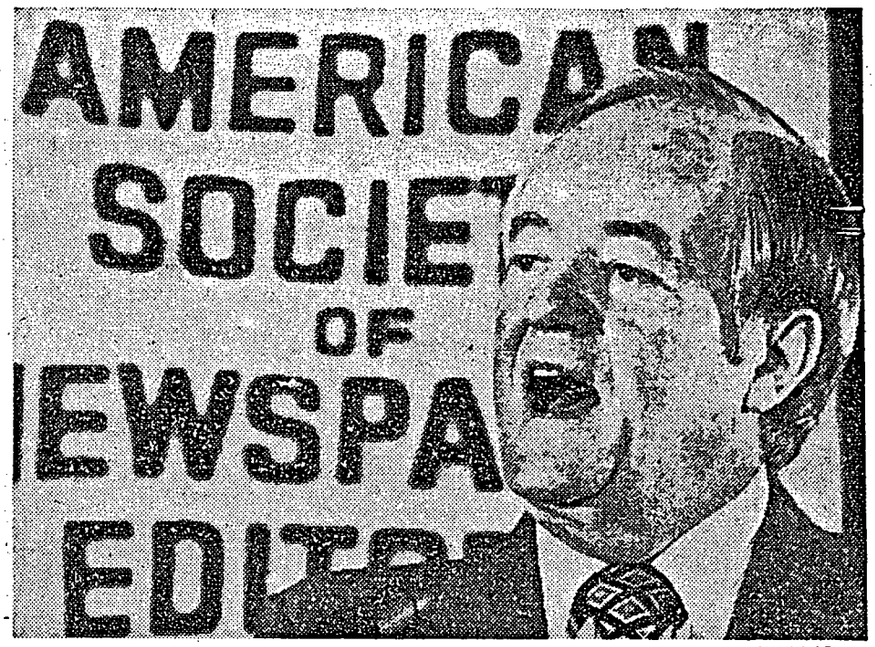
Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta was reportedly set to announce for Mr. Carter last Wednesday, the day after the remark, but has held off. Some Southern black mayors who had been warm to Mr. Carter became furious after the remark.

Percy Sutton, the Manhattan Borough President, said that he thought the statement would cause the Carter campaign to lose its momentum in the black community.

"Nobody has to stop him now, he has stopped himself," said Mr. Sutton, a supporter of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, who is not an announced candidate.

Mr. Sutton, along with State Senator Julian Bond of Georgia and other leaders, feels that Mr. Carter has been hurt irreparably, and that this will begin to show in Pennsylvania. In that state, there is a sizable black vote, nearly 10 percent of the 5.5 million total. If the masses of blacks were offended, evidence of that should turn up in some of the heavily black precincts in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

"I think the impact will show in Pennsylvania, but, honestly, I'm surprised at the number of people that can take that bitter pill without throwing up," Mr. Bond said in a telephone interview from Hartford, Conn.



Associated Press

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey addressing meeting of newspaper editors in Washington

A Picket Line Stops Three Candidates, But Humphrey Discovers Open Door

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey stole a march on the three major active Democratic Presidential candidates today.

Jimmy Carter, Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall broke commitments for a joint morning appearance before the American Society of Newspaper Editors when they heard that a television technicians' union was picketing the convention hotel.

Scheduled to appear at a luncheon two hours later, Mr. Humphrey had time to discover that a Federal district judge had ordered the pickets as away from all but a side entrance. So, he walked through the main entrance, and as a result he was the only candidate to greet the editors in person.

In the question period, an editor asked the Minnesota Democrat whether he had checked with the union before coming.

"Yes," he replied, "and they said 'don't go.'"

Then the Senator added: "There's no picket line. I'm a strong union person. I don't cross picket lines. But I saw no reason not to come here, and here I am."

Court Order Served

The three other Democrats had to make their decisions on attending before 10 A.M. It was at that hour that a court order was served on a half-dozen members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians walking with signs across the main entrance of the Shoreham American Hotel.

They were attempting to keep a National Broadcasting Company television crew from entering the hotel to cover the Democratic candidates' appearances, but the crew was already inside. The union is engaged in a strike against NBC.

Mr. Carter, Senator Jackson and Representative Udall answered questions for the editors' meeting by telephone from separate locations. By that time, Judge Gerhard A. Gesell had granted a temporary restraining order against all picketing except at the service entrance. The order had been sought by attorneys for the editors' association who argued that the picketing constituted an illegal secondary boycott.

Each of the absent Democrats was asked whether honoring an illegal picket line was not placing "political advantage over the rule of law" and whether he would have come if he had known about the court order.

3 Different Answers

All three candidates said that they did not have enough information early this morning to know whether the labor protest was legitimate. To the question of what they would have done with more information, there were these responses:

¶Mr. Carter: "I don't know."

¶Mr. Udall: "I would have cleared it with the union."

¶Mr. Jackson: "I would have been there."

The editors, who were clearly annoyed that the union dispute had deprived them of some of their star guests, gave Mr. Humphrey a standing ovation and roared when he told them, "Just to prove I'm a noncandidate, the pickets left when they heard I was comming."

The Senator, who has said that he will not campaign for the Democratic nomination in the primaries, was asked whether he had ruled out running in New Jersey, one of three late primaries that are still open.

"That's my present judgment," he said, refusing to make a stronger statement. "The word 'never' in politics is a very final word. But I have no intention of entering any primaries."

Meanwhile, the latest Gallup Poll, taken just after the New York and Wisconsin primaries of April 6, showed Senator Humphrey and Mr. Carter running neck and neck in popularity among Democratic voters, as they had the previous month. Mr. Carter had 32 percent ofthe sample, Mr. Humphrey 31.

Senator Jackson, despite his victory in New York, continued to decline, from 15 percent in early March to 11 in mid-March to 7 in late March to 6 in early April. Mr. Udall's strong showing in Wisconsin did not alter his poll figure, which has been either 4 of 5 percent for more than a month.

Asked in his telephone interview, if he was a stalking horse for April 27 Pennsylvania primary, Mr. Jackson said, "There is no agreement, explicit or implicit, between Senator Humphrey and myself anywhere in any of these primaries."

Balanced U.S. Budget Urged

WASHINGTON, April 14 (UPI) — A group of South Carolina business leaders delivered petitions to Congress today with about 120,000 signatures calling for a constitutional amendment to require a balanced Federal budget. The group, which calls itself the Palmetto Business Forum, presented the documents to Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican, and Representative James Mann, Democrat, respective deans of the South Carolina congressional delegations.

Rockefeller Revived as Possible Ford Ticket Mate

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14—Rogers C. B. Morton, the chairman of President Ford's reelection campaign, raised again today the possibility that Vice President Rockefeller might be a running mate for Mr. Ford.

"He's a prominent political leader, a person of tremendous stature and capacity," Mr. Morton said of the Vice President. "Nobody of that caliber ought to be ruled out."

Mr. Rockefeller told the President in a letter last November, "I do not wish my name to enter into your consideration for the upcoming Republican Vice-Presidential nominee."

Even so, Mr. Morton told reporters at a breakfast meeting, the Vice President should be ruled neither into nor out of the 1976 Republican ticket.

"He always has the opportunity of ruling himself out," Mr. Morton said. "But I don't rule him out. I don't think the President ought to rule him out. If he wanted to cange him out. If he wanted to change mind."

Aide Sees No Change

A spokesman for the Vice President said later that there had been no change in what the aide caled a "flat" withdrawal and that "nobody has called him up in the dead of night" to suggest otherwise.

Mr. Morton's comments therefore appeared noteworthy principally as an illustration of the ability of an incumbent President to dangle dreams of the Vice Presidency or a Cabinet position before key political leaders.

In the course of the same breakfast interview, Mr. Morton suggested broadly that it would be difficult to consider Ronald Reagan, Mr. Ford's challenger, as a running mate if he persisted in criticizing the President's leadership capacity.

And when asked about the likelihood that John B. Connally would join the Cabinet, Mr. Morton said that Cabinet positions normally went to those who were "supportive" of the President. Mr. Connally has so far refused to endorse either Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan in the May 1 primary in Texas.

Encouragement

Richard M. Rosenbaum, the Republican chairman in New York State and an ally of Mr. Rockefeller, said in an interview this afternoon that he had encouraged Mr. Morton and other Ford political advisers to consider retaining the Vice President on the ticket.

Mr. Rosenbaum said he thought Mr. Rockefeller might reconsider his withdrawal if three conditions were met—that his inclusion on the ticket not be divisive, that it be clear the party wanted him to run and that Mr. Ford assure him of "substantive and important assignments" in a new term.

But Mr. Rockefeller acknowledged when he removed his name from consideration in November that conservative Republicans who were disenchanted with him were proving a political hindrance to Mr. Ford. The Vice President's spokesman said today that there had been no discernible change in the conditions that led to Mr. Rockefeller's withdrawal.

Mr. Morton did not volunteer his remarks about possible running mates—in fact, he said more than once that there was "no profit" in premature speculation that could focus on one individual and "make 800 mad"—but he did respond readily to questions about Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Connally.

'Real Tornado'

Mr. Morton said that Mr. Reagan's bid for the Presidential nomination seemed unlikely to succeed without "some kind of a real tornado" in the remaining contests.

He said that he was "uncomfortable" with Mr. Reagan's continued criticism of the President on foreign policy and national security matters because "it borders on political irresponsibility — or on irresponsibility for political purposes."

Asked if that criticism might rule out consideration of Mr. Reagan as a Ford running mate, Mr. Morton said it was providing fodder for the Democrats.

"Very frankly," Mr. Morton said, "Governor Regan is getting kind of personal in this campaign, which night make it a little more difficult to achieve" his inclusion on a Ford ticket.

Frequent Invitations

Mr. Ford has been trying for several weeks to woo an endorsement from Mr. Connally before the next major primary contest with Mr. Reagan in Texas. Mr. Connally has been invited to the White House twice in two weeks, and on Monday Mr. Ford nominated a Connally law partner to be a judge of the United State District Court in Houston.

Mr. Morton said today that he had concluded that Mr. Connally would remain neutral through the Texas primary, then yield to the temptation to seek involvement in national politics again.

Asked if Mr. Connally ought to be named to the Cabinet if Mr. Ford wins the election, Mr. Morton replied:

"I don't know. I don't know whether he ought to or not. I think a little of that depends on Connally. If he's going to be supportive and help you in the election this fall, then I think he ought to be considered. But if he's going to go a different route. . . ."

Mr. Morton let the thought die. Then he said that the Cabinet "ought to be made up of competent people who are qualified to do the job but who are totally supportive of the President." He added: "That's the history of cabinets."

Associated Press

Senator Henry M. Jackson reaches up to shake hands with George Schwartz, Philadelphia's City Council president, after addressing the council during campaign tour.

HERSH GETS AWARD FOR C.I.A. ARTICLES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 14—Seymour M. Hersh of The New York Times received the $5,000 Drew Pearson Award today for "general excellence in investigative reporting."

The award in honor of the late Washington columnist went to Mr. Hersh because of his articles exposing domestic spying by the Central Intelligence Agency and American efforts to "destabilize" the Chilean Government of President Salvador Allende Gossens.

The award was made at a luncheon at the National Press Club and was presented to Mr. Hersh by Luvie Moore Pearson, widow of the columnist.

A special award went to Maxine Cheshire, society columnist for The Washington Post, for her articles disclosing that United States officials and members of Congress had illegally kept gifts given to them in their official capacity by foreign officials.

Appeals Judge Named

WASHINGTON, April 14 (AP)—President Ford announced today that he was nominating United States District Judge Harlington Wood Jr. of Springfield, Ill.: to be a judge of the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit to succeed John Paul Stevens, who was elevated to the Supreme Court.

Ice on a Hot Stove: II

By Anthony Lewis

DAVIS, Calif.—"You ask him the time, and you get a history of water clocks." That quip, by a liberal critic of Jerry Brown, sums up one complaint about his performance as Governor: that by calling for a deeper look at issues before government acts, as he often does, he fails to meet immediate needs.

Jerry Brown's record is of interest nationally not only because he has made himself a candidate for President. He is trying a new style of politics in a state that has often been ground for political experiment. But precisely because he talks in a different way, it is not so easy to appraise the record.

The Los Angeles Times, playing on Brown's theme that there are "limits" to what government can do, said recently that his record showed he "has been too ready to impose unnecessary limits on himself." It mentioned, for example, that he had not solved the crisis provoked by California's zooming medical malpractice insurance costs.

But those close to Mr. Brown say the malpractice example precisely shows the value of his long-term, questioning technique—what could be called the water-clock approach to governing. The case was argued by Anthony Kline, his legal affairs secretary, who first knew Jerry Brown at the Yale Law School.

The immediate malpractice problem will be dealt with by a special insurance fund, Mr. Kline said, when doctors argue out the details. But in the meantime, he said, Mr. Brown's attitude had opened up larger questions about the reason for the crisis. Why, for example, are the recoveries in tort (civil damage) cases so large out here? Why are millions of dollars paid for noneconomic losses such as pain and suffering? Who bears those costs in society?

All kinds of insurance premiums are climbing in California—lawyers' malpractice rates up 383 percent in a year, even insurance for bars way up because they are now liable for damage done by drunken patrons to third parties. Mr. Kline said that recoveries in suits over defective consumer products had increased so much that 10 percent of a typical item's price now represented the cost of insurance.

And as these facts were discussed with Mr. Brown, there arose the idea of re-examining the whole basis of compensation for injuries. In short, are lawsuits the best way to handle the problem—best for the injured individual, best for the society that eventually pays the costs? The legislature has before it now a proposal to have a legal commission study this large question over the next four years.

The water-clock approach has been used in many other cases. When Mr. Brown was told that he had 70 judicial vacancies to fill, for instance, he asked why so many judges were needed; proposals for major judicial reform are now on the way. But none of these examples would satisfy those who are disappointed in the Brown record.

Some liberal Democrats feel that the Governor they helped elect lacks human compassion. One said: "He talks about equality, but he has done almost nothing for the worst-off people—nothing on health care or tax reform, say. He's temperamentally against affirmative government programs, and you never can move toward equality in a society without them."

A skeptical newspaper reporter said Mr. Brown reminded him of a man who came home and was told by his wife that one of their three children was sick, another was in the juvenile home, the third was upstairs breaking up the furniture. And the man said, "Let's think about this monogomy thing. Where's our marriage going? What are our responsibilities?" Still another critic wondered whether Mr.

ABROAD AT HOME

Brown was really interested in anything more profound than his own ambitions. This person said he thought the Governor focused on long-range questions because any immediate action tends to arouse opposition.

In answer to the charge that he lacks compassion or political courage, Mr. Brown's supporters can point to his tenacious backing of the farm workers—hardly a comfortable group for many Californians. Mr. Brown's device to settle the farm labor battle, a board to hold elections in the field, has been stalled for lack of funds, but that standoff may soon be resolved.

Jerry Brown himself says that he has some reformist programs and will have more in a year or two, when there has been time to examine assumptions—but he says that programs are not everything. He emphasizes the importance of appointments, and he has made highly unusual ones, a large proportion from among minorities and political out-groups. Even liberals who deplore his lack of programs applaud his appointments.

In any case, the California public likes the record—to extraordinary degree. In a Mervin Field poll published this week 53 percent rated him as doing a good job, 32 percent fair, 9 poor, 6 no opinion. That is better than Ronald Reagan ever did in a Field poll. And so the puzzled visitor has to suspect that Jerry Brown is on to something.

The Weather
Today—Sunny, high in the 70s, low in the 40s. The chance of rain is near zero through tonight. Thursday—Sunny, high in the 70s. Yesterday—3 p.m. Air Quality Index, 31; Temperature, 68-37. Details Page B2.

The Washington Post

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By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, April 13—With former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter smiling broadly behind him, the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. today dismissed as "a slip of the tongue that everyone knows does not represent his thinking" Carter's use of the words "ethnic purity" in discussing the preservation of ethnic neighborhoods.

As a crowd of blacks and whites in a downtown Atlanta park cheered lustily, the father of the slain civil rights leader said "it is wrong to jump on a man" for such a slip. King said his long association with Carter and knowledge of the man persuaded him to accept Carter's apology for using the phrase.

"I have a forgiving heart," King said, "so, governor, I'm with you all the way."

Carter stood flanked by black Atlanta businessman Jesse Hill, and Dr. Benja-

See CARTER, A11, Col. 1

President acclaims nation's "ethnic treasure." Page A11.

Blacks Show Solidarity With Carter

CARTER, From A1

min Mayes, the black president of the Atlanta school board. It was a display of solidarity obviously scheduled to combat criticism of the remarks Carter used a week ago to explain his opposition to federal power to racially integrate established ethnic neighborhoods.

Hill brought words of support for Carter from three other prominent black leaders, Ralph David Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Rep. Andrew Young of Atlanta, a longtime Carter adviser, and Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit.

Abernathy had been scheduled to attend a press conference prior to the rally with Carter but an aide told Carter at the press conference that the SCLC leader was "running late" and would join him at the rally. Abernathy never showed up there either. Carter told reporters later that Abernathy in a telephone call had reiterated his support and said an SCLC meeting prevented his attending either event.

Also absent from the rally was Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, whose office had told reporters some time ago he expected to announce his endorsement of Carter during today's Atlanta visit. Carter said today Jackson "was planning to endorse me sometime in Pennsylvania," where Carter is running in the April 27 primary. To a report that Jackson was withholding his endorsement because of the "ethnic purity" remark, Carter said the "certainty [of Jackson's endorsement] was never there."

Carter added that he "hadn't seen any deterioration of my black support". And he alluded to a poll he said was taken this past weekend in Pennsylvania that showed "very strong support" among blacks there but Carter refused to release the poll or any figures from it.

As Carter spoke, a group of blacks led by Hosea Williams, president of the Atlanta chapter of the SCLC and a long time Carter foe, formed a picket line on the fringe of the rally.

The silent marchers held signs that said, "Truth comes out; no slip of lip." "Carter's purity or King's open housing," and "Racism must go." Williams told a reporter that "a man who speaks of ethnic purity and open housing is a liar."

In his press conference, Carter said the Pennsylvania primary would be the first "Jimmy Carter against everybody else" contest. Strong and open support for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, not a declared candidate, has already been manifested through the active candidacy of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, Carter said.

If he can win in Pennsylvania, he said, his victory will "eliminate a substantial part of the emphasis on the noncandidacy of Sen. Humphrey."

Later, after a flight by chartered jet to Philadelphia, Carter charged that Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo, a Jackson supporter, and other Democrats are "ganging up" on him, but said he thought that action might backfire and bring him more public support.

Before leaving Atlanta, Carter had been asked when he thought other candidates would start "ganging up" on him. He replied:

"I think there has been evidence of that already. In several places there was evidence. There was some evidence as far back as Iowa. And several of the candidates got together and said, 'You come with us in this district and we'll help you in that district to stop Jimmy Carter.' But it was because the polls had shown I was probably going to win in Iowa."

Asked whether he meant the other candidates had actually gotten together in person to gang up on him, Carter said: "In a couple of districts in Iowa, yes they did. But that didn't hurt." Carter declined, however, to give names. "I'm not accusing any particular person," he said, "but it's a fact."

Six Illinois Delegates Picked Up by Carter

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April 13 (AP) — Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter picked up six additional national convention delegates—for a state total of 59—from Illinois today in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The official figures gave this breakdown for Illinois' 169 - member delegation, which includes 155 elected in the primary and 14 to be chosen at a state convention later:

Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, a favorite-son candidate, 86; Carter, 59; uncommitted, 15; Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, 4; Alabama Gov. George Wallace, 3, and Illinois Gov. Daniel Walker, 2.

In the earlier, unofficial count, the breakdown was this: Stevenson 85, Carter 53, uncommitted 18, Humphrey 6, Walker 4 and Wallace 3.

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Ford Fa[illegible]s U.S. 'Ethnic Treasure'

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford, taking a position similar to that of Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter, said yesterday that the powers of the federal government should not be used to destroy the nation's "ethnic treasure."

While specifically rejecting the term "ethnic purity," which Carter first used last week and then retracted with an apology to black groups, the President said the nation's "ethnic heritage is a great treasure.

"I don't think that federal actions should be used to destroy that ethnic treasure," he added.

Like Carter, Mr. Ford also pledged to enforce open-housing laws and other federal statutes that have increased housing opportunities for blacks and other minorities, at times drastically changing the ethnic makeup of urban neighborhoods.

Neither Carter nor the President has specified who has suggested the use of federal powers deliberately to break-up ethnic communities.

Mr. Ford made his comments yesterday in response to a question from a panel of four editors representing the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Several hundred members of the organization and their guests attended the press conference in the White House Rose Garden and a later reception in the White House.

In response to other questions at the press conference, the President also:

• Said he hopes to inform delegates to the Republican National Convention in Kansas City in August of his choice for a vice presidential running mate, or several possible choices, before the convention. This is likely to be the case only if Mr. Ford has clinched the nomination before the convention.

• Denied that there have ever been discussions "in my presence" about giving military aid to the People's Republic of China, although he said such discussions may have taken place "at lower levels." Former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger said Sunday the United States in recent years has considered giving military assistance to China.

• Praised Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger as "one of, if not the finest Secretaries of State" in U.S. history and said that he has passed word that he wants no more suggestions—such as the one made by Ford campaign manager Rogers C. B. Morton—that Kissinger may be nearing the end of his duties with the administration.

In a clear reference to his Republican presidential rival, Ronald Reagan, Mr. Ford added that "constant attacks by some" on Kissinger "might mislead our friends and adversaries aboard," but that public opinion polls consistently show that Kissinger is held in high esteem by the American people.

Asked why Reagan has been able to win close to half the popular vote in the GOP primaries thus far, the President called the former California governor "a formidable opponent."

But he added that he continues to gain delegates needed to win the nomination and said that so long as that is the case "the differences in actual [popular] votes are not significant."

Mr. Ford also defended his resistance to cuts in his defense budget, said there has been no change in U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe and pledged to continue working for a new Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) agreement.

Just before the Rose Garden press conference, the President spent more than a half hour meeting with former Texas Gov. John Connally, whose support he continues to court. The Texas primary is May 1. Connally has remained neutral in the Texas primary, where Reagan is considered the frontrunner.

Mr. Ford said he called Connally Monday night to get his assessment of the President's weekend campaign trip to Texas.

Learning that Connally was in Washington, the President said he invited Connally to the White House, but did not offer him a job in the administration and neither asked for nor received Connally's endorsement in the Texas primary.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Jimmy Carter's Tactical Problems

The furor over "ethnic purity" has shaken key supporters and advisers of Jimmy Carter more than they admit, not because it reminds them of George Wallace but because it recalls the spectre of McGovernism.

To 1972 McGovern campaign veterans who dominate Carter's 1976 cadre in state after state, the self-inflicted wound brings back nightmare memories. Although George McGovern's reflexive liberalism guarded against any statement with even faintly racist overtones, his political ineptitude has recently reappeared in Carter.

The "ethnic purity" problem, then, is tactical, not substantive. Coming just when Carter had to resume his offensive for the presidential nomination, it knocked him back on the defensive, leaving him thrashing in the political wilderness of neighborhood housing patterns. Carter's supporters now question whether Carter and his Georgia-bred staff are truly capable of sustaining a presidential campaign.

Significantly, it is this tactical question, not fears that Carter might have disclosed secret racism, that worries his liberal backers. Indeed, McGovernites have backed Carter not out of illusion that he was a proven Southern civil rights liberal who never dallied with George Wallace but because they perceived him as a winner who welcomes them aboard his bandwagon. If Carter suddenly looks like an inept loser, his appeal disappears.

That is why this single, tertiary issue so damaged Carter. Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), for weeks has been boosting Carter to dubious colleagues. When the UAW high command met last week in Detroit behind closed doors, the discussion was dominated by "ethnic purity." The result: Neither the UAW (expected) nor Woodcock (believed certain) endorsed Carter for the May 18 Michigan primary.

UAW leaders were not the only liberals stopped dead in their tracks. One nationally prominent McGovernite, singing Carter's praises for weeks prior to expected endorsement, advised friends last weekend he is pulling back indefinitely. Texas liberals about to back Carter against favorite son Sen. Lloyd Bentsen are reconsidering. Black Democrats moving toward Carter in New Jersey have stopped dead.

These setbacks may be short-range, balanced by gains among ethnic voters in Pennsylvania's critical April 27 primary (thanks partly to Sen. Henry M. Jackson's incredibly ponderous and ill-tempered assaults on Carter). Nevertheless, this and other tactical errors by Carter and his staff pose long range problems.

Tactical error No. 1: In taking the perfectly sensible position that the federal government should not break up homogeneous neighborhoods (agreed to by Jackson and Rep. Morris Udall), Carter in his now notorious April 2 interview with the New York Daily News used the formulation "ethnic purity" with no advance preparation at all.

Tactical error no. 2: Neither Carter nor his staff caught the inflammatory aspect of the phrase when it appeared in print April 4. When questioned about it throughout April 6, Carter did not back off—as he then could have without any damage. Instead, he compounded the problem with another dangerous formulation — "Alien groups." Explanations by Carter insiders that these phrases conform to Georgia's freer way of talking about racial problems only indict Carter as a provincial politician.

Tactical error No. 3: Responding to complaints from black politicians, Carter suddenly switched positions and endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill—a seeming effort at appeasing the black vote. In fact, Carter had decided to switch when the bill was amended to his liking but failed to announce it when it might have been politically fruitful.

Even before these blunders, supporters had perceived a decline in Carter's earlier tactical mastery. He lost ground in the Wisconsin primary by permitting himself to be put on the defensive. At the very moment that the "ethnic purity" furor enveloped his campaign, Carter was being advised to resume the offensive by assaulting Jackson and Udall for over-promising.

What has happened to the flawlessly structured campaign which brought the obscure Southern governor to the front of the huge Democratic pack? The answer privately given from within the campaign is the candidate's fatigue (though the recent lengthening of his campaign days and weeks in itself is a deterioration from previously moderate scheduling).

"Carter's supporters now question whether Carter and his Georgia-bred staff are truly capable of sustaining a presidential campaign."

Beyond scheduling, two areas of doubt are raised about the Carter campaign.

First, Carter's general staff, composed mainly of intimates new to national politics, may be inadequate in the new phase of his campaign following the initial breakthrough. Though happily free of the internal feuds that usually plague presidential campaigns, the Carter staff may lack the sophistication vital to win the presidency.

Second, when he departs from his carefully memorized answers, Jimmy Carter may partly share George McGovern's political insensitivity. His early blooper on mortgage tax deductions did no great damage. His gratuitous assault on Sen. Hubert Humphrey probably lost votes, though not a victory, in Wisconsin. But his bungled discussion of neighborhood has, at the very least, now shaken the confidence of his victory-hungry supporters.

David S. Broder

The Status of the Democratic Front-Runner

The cartoon in this week's New Yorker shows a quizzical gentleman with a campaign button reading, "Jimmy Carter—I Think." That is a pretty good summary of the equivocal status at the moment of the Democrats' front-runner.

The "ethnic purity" controversy has brought the first major crisis to the former Georgia governor's pursuit of the presidential nomination and caused the first serious waverings among many who were beginning to believe in either the desirability or the inevitability of a Carter victory.

As is often the case in politics, it has also caused some to forget how much Carter has already accomplished. He has changed the nature of the 1976 election, and even if his own campaign were to stop dead in its tracks—which it will not—fundamental aspects of the Democratic Party and the presidential campaign would have been altered.

The first change for which Carter can claim credit is in the relationship of black leaders to others in the Democratic Party hierarchy. Blacks have earned an increasing role in that party ever since the Kennedy campaign of 1960. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey all enjoyed the confidence and benefited from the advice of black Americans. But in every case, it seems fair to say, these Democratic Presidents and presidential candidates enlisted the aid and assistance of black leaders only after they had secured their basic political support in the white community.

Carter's candidacy has been of a different character. The first and, for months, only prominent Georgia politician to support him was Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), a black. Young and State Rep. Ben Brown head a touring group of black politicians who have been perhaps Carter's most indefatigable campaigners. By all odds, Carter's most important endorsement is the one he has received from the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.

Unlike the last four Democratic nominees, who used their strength among whites to cajole backing from blacks, Carter has used his support from black voters and black leaders in an effort to establish his credibility in the eyes of whites—particularly the activist liberals and trade union leaders. The alteration in the relationship—the out-front role for blacks in his campaign—is likely to be remembered and felt by others in the Democratic Party, no matter what happens to Carter himself.

The second thing he has done is to redefine the South for other politicians of both parties. In oversimplified terms, for the past decade the South has been seen by most politicians as George Wallace country.

The belief has been inculcated that the South would give its votes either to the Alabama governor or to the politician who could most effectively echo parts of Wallace's appeal—whether it was Barry Goldwater or Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew or Ronald Reagan.

That was always a distortion and an oversimplification of reality. In the same period that Wallace was claiming to speak for the South, the Confederate states elected other governors and members of Congress from both parties who were moderate in their racial views and progressive in their economic and social philosophies.

"It has remained for Carter... to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South."

Southern politicians were the heroes of the long impeachment ordeal—from Sam Ervin to Barbara Jordan.

But it remained for Carter and his defeats of Wallace in the Florida and North Carolina primaries to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South. And by doing that, he has not only increased the chances of Southerners being on both tickets in 1976, but has changed the kind of appeal all presidential candidates will make to the South—and thus, to the nation.

None of this is offered to mitigate or justify the disturbing, distasteful language Carter used in discussing housing policy—for which he later apologized. But it is part of his record, as much as the words for which he is properly being called to account, and it should not be forgotten.

William Raspberry

The Real Issue of Public Housing

Dear Resident:

The latest official survey taken by this Department reveals that your neighborhood is now . . . per cent . . . and, therefore, out of compliance with Title II of the Anti-Ethnic Purity Act of 1976.

Accordingly, you and your neighbors are hereby informed that no real estate may be leased, transferred or otherwise conveyed to any member of the ethnic group commonly known as . . . until further notice from this office.

No such notice is likely to appear in your mailbox, whether Jimmy Carter, Scoop Jackson, Mo Udall, Jerry Ford or Ronald Clay Kephart III wins the presidential election.

Which is to say that the "ethnic purity" flap, currently the hot test issue in the presidential campaign, is, in fact, a non-issue. Moreover, it obscures what could be an issue of some importance.

His support of "ethnic purity," as Jimmy Carter has been explaining away for a week and more, is based on his feeling that the government shouldn't be in the business of transplanting different ethnic groups into a neighborhood that is primarily "say, Czechoslovakian, Polish or black or whatever . . . just to create some sort of a mixture."

That's Carter's side. There is no other side and, therefore, there is no issue.

Carter also has explained that he does not "favor any sort of discrimination or exclusion" aimed at anyone who wants to (and can afford to) move into any neighborhood of whatever ethnicity.

He would, he said, support fair-housing laws and even affirmative efforts to overcome discrimination and the past effects of discrimination in housing and education.

"I believe that most Americans could be educated into accepting a subsidized family or two in their neighborhoods, but not enough to constitute a threat to security, social equilibrium or property values."

And who is on the other side of that position? Is Scoop? Is Mo?

Granted it was a major political error to embrace the term "ethnic purity," Carter didn't exactly put himself in a minority position by saying he would oppose governmental efforts to "deliberately break down an ethnically oriented community by injecting a member of another race." I don't know anybody who wouldn't oppose it, and there is not the slightest evidence that the government has entertained any notion to the contrary.

But the government has, from time to time, entertained another notion: the notion that is unfair for low-income neighborhoods — low-income *black* neighborhoods, in particular—to bear the whole brunt of public housing, that it is time for middle-class neighborhoods, suburban neighborhoods, white neighborhoods to assume a part of that burden.

Now, *that's* an issue. Public housing, built, managed and assigned by the government, does make it possible for the government to have a say in the ethnic makeup of neighborhoods.

But ethnicity has very little to do with even this issue. Economics is at the core, and while there is some public debate over the location of public or subsidized housing complexes in middle- and upper-income neighborhoods, I promise you there's not a dime's worth of difference among the candidates on this score.

Says Carter: "To build a highrise, very low-cost housing unit . . . in a suburban neighborhood with relatively expensive homes, I think, would not be in the best interests of the people who live in the highrise or the suburban neighborhood."

That can be—has been—interpreted as a signal that Carter would be content to leave the public housing developments in the slums except, perhaps, on a scatter-site subsidy basis. And who is on the other side of that one?

Certainly not those middle-class families, black, white or "ethnic," who have mortgaged their futures not just for a house but for a neighborhood. A lot of us who would find it too delicious for words to have a high-rise public housing complex plopped down in the middle of Spring Valley would be outraged if some housing official proposed locating two low-income families in our own neighborhood.

I believe that public housing complexes—concentration camps of failure—are a mistake wherever they are located, and I favor the scatter-site notion. I also believe that most Americans could be educated into accepting a subsidized family or two in their neighborhoods, but not enough to constitute a threat to security, social equilibrium or property values.

The reason a dinky little rowhouse at 28th and Q will cost ten times its twin at 8th and Q is that you get not just a house but a neighborhood, and neighbors, for your money. That these things are valuable is attested to by the amount of cash people are willing to pay for them, and the government shouldn't play arbitrary and capricious games with their investments.

A low-income, subsidized-housing family at 28th and Q wouldn't wreck Georgetown; a public housing complex in Dumbarton Oaks park might.

But isn't it awfully tricky to argue for economic compatibility and at the same time argue against ethnic, cultural or racial compatibility as a test of who may or may not live in a particular place?

Of course it's tricky, and there are people who would reject compatability notions of any sort as uncharitable, un-Christian or unconstitutional.

But none of these people is running for President.

And unless Udall and Jackson and the others are prepared to declare in favor of "integrating" higher-income neighborhoods by bringing in public housing, or in some other way draw clear distinctions between Carter's position and their own, they ought to shut up about "ethnic purity."

This should not be read, incidentally, as a statement of support for Carter. I'm still taking very much of a wait-and-see attitude toward that political enigma.

It bothers me a little, though, that his rivals, now that he has done them the favor of eliminating George Wallace as a serious contender for the presidency, seem to be ganging up on him.

It bothers me more that they are pretending to do it in the interest of better housing opportunities for black folk.

Mile High
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The Washington Star

CAP
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'This Is a Big Fuss About Nothing'

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — "You know," says Clarence Parker, "when Gov. Carter talks to the Negro people, he gets a little tremble in his voice because he's nervous and he wants to make a good impression. But there's no need for that because we like him."

Clarence Parker, a black man of 60, is the foreman on a cleaning crew that works in one of the Peachtree Center buildings in downtown Atlanta, and he says proudly that he reads "two or three newspapers every day of my life." And Clarence Parker is not impressed by the controversy over Jimmy Carter and "ethnic purity."

"You know what that is," he tells a visitor. "That's just regular politics, pure and simple. Anybody can see that."

CONVERSATIONS with more than two dozen black people in downtown Atlanta find all but one or two taking a remarkably similar attitude about the controversy that has preoccupied the political community for the last 10 days.

A young man in a conservatively tailored gabardine suit gestures with his attache case to make the same point: "I'm from Detroit and everybody out there understands this thing. Jimmy Carter made a mistake but he's apologized for it and nobody I know thinks he's really against them."

Marabelle Chase, a fashionably dressed mother of twins, is convinced the controversy is a product of Northern bias against the Southern politician. "We all know what they are up to," she says. "It's a different kind of prejudice but that's what it is all right."

A young black secretary named Silly Chapman — "that's what everybody's always called me" — reflects a common attitude about Carter among blacks here. "He understands black people," she says, "I don't know how to explain it but I can feel it, and I don't care about his choice of words. It doesn't really mean a thing."

It is, of course, not surprising that Jimmy Carter gets good marks from blacks in Georgia. This is, after all, his home state and local pride is obviously a factor. But the conversations with black voters here yesterday suggest that the rhubarb over "ethnic purity" may be one of those things that engrosses the politicians and the press more than the voters.

AND THE RESPONSE also suggests that Carter has some special chemistry with black voters none of his rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination can match.

"I don't know what it is about him," says Earl Harrison, a 48-year-old messenger service manager, "But I think he's a good man. He was the best governor I ever remember in this state and he tried to do things for all the people." Harrison's son, Richard, is similarly enthusiastic. Between bites of an ice cream bar, he boasts of how he will cast his first vote in the May 4 Georgia primary for "the main man and that's Gov. Jimmy Carter, you better believe it."

There is some defensiveness, too, among blacks here who see the criticism of Carter as an attempt to put an upstart in his place. An impatient young woman who refuses to give her name blames the press: "You people came down here trying to get something bad on Jimmy Carter, but you won't get it from me. This is a big fuss about nothing."

HER HUSBAND, somewhat less hostile, adds this qualification: "It isn't the newspapers all by themselves, it's just the way they think in New York. They don't know what to make of Jimmy Carter, but we know him and we know he's going to win."

Clarence Parker, encountering a visitor a second time in an hour, contributes a final thought.

"What you have to understand," he says, "is that he's a home boy and we're going to stick with the home boy all the way."

Basic View on Issue Is the Same

Ford, Too, Jumps Carter for Remark

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford has added a little to Democrat Jimmy Carter's political woe over the issue of neighborhood integration, even while taking the same basic view.

Answering questions before a well-dressed, predominantly white audience of newspaper editors and their wives, Ford yesterday by implication attacked Carter for using the phrase "ethnic purity" in discussing the issue in the presidential campaign last week.

"I would not use that term to describe any of my policies — period," the President said with emphasis.

Carter used the phrase — and then apologized for it — to describe neighborhoods of an identifiable ethnic background that desire to stay that way.

Ford said he thought the political impact of the remark would be "determined very precisely" in the Pennsylvania primary election April 27. Carter and his two key Democratic opponents — Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall — are competing in that primary.

"THE REAL test of that," the President said, "will come in the Pennsylvania primary — whether that remark had any impact on the support he's heretofore gotten among blacks. There are substantial black populations in Pittsburgh and some other areas."

After seeking to separate himself rhetorically from Carter, Ford offered a phrase of his own — "ethnic heritage" — and said he considered it to be "a great treasure in this country." He said he did not think federal authority "should be used to destroy that treasure."

He did not explain what he meant, but it appeared that his position on policy was not much different from Carter's — that is, that federal laws should not be used to force integration of neighborhoods against the residents' will.

But, like Carter, Ford also said he would enforce the "federal laws that are on the books" — presumably including the 1968 Open Housing Act, which outlaws refusal to sell or rent a house on the basis of race.

IT IS NOT clear, either in Carter's case or Ford's, how those two positions fit together.

Political issues dominanted the questions that Ford answered from a panel of five editors representing the large gathering in the White House Rose Garden of members of the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention here.

Asked if he thought Carter would be nominated by the Democrats, Ford again said he expects his opponent to be Sen. Hubert Humphrey. He said: "I've been trying very hard to get him nominated."

Ford denied a suggestion that he had called Texas political figure John B. Connally to the White House yesterday to offer him a job in the administration.

Because of Connally's presumed influence with Texas Republicans, an endorsement of Ford might aid the President in the close contest he faces there May 1 with former California Gov. Ronald Reagan.

"He was not offered a job. I didn't ask him to support me, and he didn't volunteer. There were no offers and no acceptances," Ford said.

HE SAID HE had summoned Connally to tell him how the President's two-day visit to Texas last week had gone.

Asked if he would give the GOP convention some choice about a vice presidential running mate, Ford said:

"I would hope we could be in a position . . . so there would be an opportunity for the delegates to know further in advance the individual — or several individuals — I would prefer. But it is too late to drastically revise the procedure (of selection)."

When pressed for an explanation of why about half the GOP voters have been voting against him, Ford replied: "I have a formidable opponent." But then he said he was "doing very well in the delegates (selection); that's where the ballgame is won or lost . . . we're winning and we're going to continue winning."

The President again put his political advisers on notice that they are not to suggest publicly that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger is not going to remain on Ford's government team.

ASKED ABOUT campaign manager Rogers C.B. Morton's comment that Kissinger would not remain beyond this year, Ford said he was "surprised" by that, and added: "It's not true."

Praising Kissinger's service as the State Department, and suggesting that Kissinger is popular in public opinion polls, Ford said: "My administration knows — all of them — how I feel, and I don't think we will have that kind of statement in the future."

Politics Today

Udall Is Ready To Forget That One

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — At the dinner of Americans For Democratic Action here last night Morris Udall made a conspicuous effort to be conciliatory toward Jimmy Carter. "What I want to say about Jimmy . . . is that the real opponent is Gerald Ford and the Republicans, and it's important that we play it right."

Carter, he went on, "is a fair and decent man" and for his part, Udall said, he intended to practice "the kind of restraint" that would help the Democrats settle on a nominee without destroying their chances against Ford and the Republicans in November. The message was clear. Udall, for one, was going to stop beating Carter about the head and shoulders on the "ethnic purity" issue.

Like so many things in politics, Udall's statement seemed to grow out of a complex of motives. For one thing, as anyone in politics will tell you, Mo Udall is a nice man who is always more at home practicing restraint. When he tries to talk tough, it comes through strident and hollow.

BUT UDALL is also a savvy politician struggling to survive. Thus, his remarks to Carter last night also may reflect a judgment that the frontrunner from Georgia is riding out the "ethnic purity" storm more successfully than anyone might have anticipated late last week.

There are several pieces of evidence that have developed in the last three days to suggest this is the case. The most obvious is the fact that Carter, although on the defensive, has suffered no serious defection among his black supporters. Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta has delayed an endorsement but still plans to deliver it.

Other blacks who have been prominent in the Carter campaign — such as Martin Luther King Sr. and Andrew Young — are making a point of reaffirming their allegiance. At a rally in Atlanta yesterday, for example, King brushed off "ethnic purity" as just "a slip of the tongue" and told Carter: "I'm with you all the way."

A SECOND ELEMENT in the situation is the fact there is no new raw meat for the paper tigers of the press. When one reporter, after apparently a week of hibernation, started raking Carter over the same grounds at a press conference here yesterday, most of the others stopped taking notes. How many times can the same questions be asked and the same answers given.

Carter also seems capable of riding out the storm because his opponents really don't want to argue with him about the substance of the issue. They may be comfortable suggesting that he was insensitive in his use of language but they are decidedly uncomfortable with the notion of advocating that the federal government be used as an instrument for destroying the special identity of an ethnic neighborhood or — horrors — a suburb. There are no liberals in the suburban foxholes when someone talks about moving public housing projects out of downtown.

Indeed, the controversy underlines the central dilemma for the liberal Democrats in the politics of 1976. There is no issue on which they can be both conspicuously moral and politically successful.

ONE RUB IS, of course, that the targeted voter this year is that Dayton machinist who turned his back on George McGovern and the Democratic party four years ago. He cannot be ignored this time by a party that wants to win. And he is less interested in esoterica than in such practical things as jobs, lower prices, medical care and safe streets.

The liberals themselves are notoriously pragmatic this time around. At the ADA dinner last night, for example, one of the senior spokesmen of the left, former Sen. Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, put it this way, explaining why he had endorsed Carter: "I am sick and tired of getting licked. I want to win, and in my judgment the best candidate to win is Jimmy Carter."

Beyond this, there is the recognition among the liberals that many of their prescriptions for the nation have not worked out the way they intended, no matter how well meaning they seemed at the time. No one boasts these days about the war on poverty, and when someone brings up busing, even the most devout liberals seem to roll their eyes and shift their feet.

INDEED, it is the lack of fuel for the fires of moral fervor that may have caused such an uproar over the "ethnic purity" statement in the first place.

For months now the Democrats have been confined to the mundane business of pledging their support for tax reform and full employement and health insurance, but there has been precious little to get the juices flowing. Carter's gaffe provided an opportunity for the kind of moralizing the ideologues of politics always enjoyed. Here was this Georgian revealing "his true self" and turning out to be very much like that George Wallace who used to be such a favored target.

Some of the liberals can be expected to keep the issue alive as long as possible. But Mo Udall is not one of them. He has decided that the right thing to do, morally and politically, is to let it pass.

A Rejoinder

'Ethnic purity': slip of tongue or code word?

By Tersh Boasberg

I found your lead editorial "Mr. Carter on neighborhoods" one of the most mushy, fatuous, and tenebrious pieces ever encountered. Is this the *Star* of judicious choice of words, of subtle line-drawing, of journalistic perspicacity?

Example 1: The editorial noted "(Carter) was saying, very sensibly in our view (clearly opinion and you're entitled to it) that government ought to respect the preferences of a race or ethnic group that *chooses* to live in a *homogeneous* neighborhood and that it shouldn't be *government policy* (as *it has been*, for instance, in the placement of *'scattered-site' public housing* and to some degree in *cross-busing*) to sponsor attempts to *break up* such neighborhoods (my emphasis)."

Hey, wait a minute. Not so fast.

A. Presumably, we are talking about low-income and blue-collar (maybe middle-class) neighborhoods (hereafter "these" neighborhoods). Do blacks *choose* to live in ghettos? Are low-income blacks or whites in homogeneous neighborhoods by *preference*? Come on. Choice may be part of the reason for neighborhood make-up; but any serious urbanologist (name one?) will tell you that "these" neighborhoods are most often shaped by such factors as resident income, proximity to jobs, historical exclusion by banks and mortgage companies, and common prejudice against outsiders.

Choice? Preference? Nonsense. The Kennedy family no longer resides in South Boston. Somehow the pull of homogeneity wasn't strong enough to keep them in their idyllic Irish neighborhood along with rats, crime, deteriorated housing, poor municipal services, and wretched overcrowding, those minor irritations which are overlooked by those who all of a sudden now "value their neighborhoods."

I can just visualize the ethnic neighborhood pluralism of America's melting pot: Plains, Georgia. And what about the Jews in the lower East Side, Blacks in Bed-Sty; Chicanos in the LA barrio or San Antonio. Lots of choice there.

B. Then, the *Star's* glib attack on "government policy . . . to break up such neighborhoods." Government policy means the law, as passed by Congress (elected, by the way, by 200 million Americans). It requires "scattered-site" public housing because it demands that local housing authorities minimize segregation (as the *Post* article April 9th correctly points out). Cross-busing also is a product of Congressional (and Supreme Court directives) — not the machinations of anonymous Washington bureaucrats. The history of segregation in public housing and public schools is a well documented fact. *Choice often means "no blacks."* If one is to minimize public housing segregation, just where does the *Star's* editorial writer suggest new units be built? What are his or Jimmy Carter's solutions to segregated urban neighborhoods? Heaven knows, the problems are gigantic, intertwined with history, economics, and sociological complexities. But continuing our past urban policies of neighborhood "choice," uninfluenced by federal example (i.e. bust up), gets us only deeper into the most difficult domestic problem of our day.

Mr. Boasberg is a Washington attorney.

Example 2: Carter's use of the term ethnic "purity". The *Star*, admittedly, points this out as a term which could lead to "misunderstanding." (Understatement of the year award for that.) Evidently, there was indeed a misunderstanding at least on the part of Rep. Andrew Young, 16 other black members of Congress, and Vernon Jordan, again, as reported in the *Post* of April 9th.

I wonder how many misunderstood Hitler's use of racial "purity"?

What about other little Carter slips of the tongue in the same speech like "black intrusion," "alien groups," "diametrically opposite kind of family"? Are these, too, just the casual down-to-earth phrases of a good ol' boy peanut farmer or are they, rather, a calculated, "code-word," insidious appeal to the powerful sentiments of racism and prejudice which just might attract a few votes? In what context were they made? How do we know? When George Wallace uses the same terms, I have no trouble understanding him. Where does Carter differ? Can the *Star* really believe Carter's choice of words to be innocuous "verbal slip-ups"?

Example 3: The editorial's dig at Washington bureaus and agencies: ". . . the familiar brand of social engineering." Ouch! Shades of Tricky Dick and all the other cheap pols. Blame the nation's problems on the easiest target of them all — the nameless, the faceless, the *Washington* bureaucrat! In the first place, "Washington bureaus" never act on their own. They merely effectuate the laws passed by an elected Congress. Secondly, what about the local and state bureaus and agencies? How enlightened are the policies of the Alabama housing authorities, the Mississippi school boys, the progressive chaps in Cook County, Cicero, St. Louis, Newark, etc.? Just who is "busting up these neighborhoods"? Who is enforcing exclusionary policies of segregation? Even a cursory study of civil rights cases, EEOC and U.S. Civil Rights Commission reports will show anyone interested enough in ascertaining the truth that local and state officials have been the chief constitutional offenders. And where are the most blatant examples of inefficiency, corruption, vested influence? Look to cities and states for the answers.

Example 4: The ". . . *social planners* who have *no care or feeling* for the texture of communities and only *contempt* for the *preferences* (there's that inverted hypothesis again) of those who *choose* (ditto) to live in them." WOW! Just who are these unidentified, unfootnoted, "social planners"? (No doubt they, too, are stacked high in Washington bureaus and agencies.) Are they sociologists, city planners, architects? Where do they work? What schools do they represent? Name one! Another glib generalization, anti-professional and anti-intellectual.

Hold on here. Jane Jacobs is a social planner. So is Wei Ming Lu — the imaginative city planner in Dallas; Arthur Skolnick, the brilliant historic preservationist in Seattle. What about Richard Weinstein in New York; Larry Houstoun, head of HUD's 701 program; Bob McNulty, head of NEA's environmental arts projects? Are these the guys wrecking our cities? I have yet to meet a city planner or respected "social planner" (whatever that is) who did not know more than I about preserving neighborhoods, urban highways, real estate finance, city tax bases, etc.

Moreover, most of them live in the very same neighborhoods for which the *Star* says they have contempt. Amazing! They are intelligent, diverse, well educated, progressive, and have thought a good deal more about the problems of our cities than has the person who wrote the editorial.

Example 5: "And it is rare to have these things said so clearly by political candidates." This one really hurt. How could this gratuity slip by a wise, discriminating (differentiating) editor? I mean, call Jimmy's speech provocative, sensible, down-to-earth, even realistic; but a model of clarity — that it ain't.

6

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CANDIDATES HONOR PICKET LINE

Newsmen Talk to Empty Chair

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — A panel of newspapermen interviewed an empty chair here Wednesday about the progress of the presidential election campaign.

The occasion was the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE). The empty chair was supposed to have been filled by presidential hopefuls Jimmy Carter, Henry Jackson, Morris Udall and Frank Church.

But the contenders refused to appear because of a picket line put up around the convention hotel early Wednesday by striking engineers and writers from NBC.

The union workers were attempting to block coverage of the presidential candidates by NBC news crews.

Their picketing at the hotel was stopped in mid-morning by court order, according to ASNE officals, on the grounds that the picket constituted an illegal secondary boycott.

By the time the candidates were scheduled to speak, no pickets were in evidence at the hotel.

But no presidential contenders were in evidence, either. A group of four newsmen sat on the stage around an empty chair and interviewed the candidates one-by-one over a telephone with a loudspeaker attached.

In addition to the standard campaign questions, each candidate was asked whether it was unfair to assume that his honoring an illegal picket line meant he was choosing political advantage over "support for the rule of law."

Each denied that interpretation of his actions.

"I know absolutely nothing about the pickets," said Carter. "I was told none of the candidates would be there and a decision had been made to do it by phone. I have not made an attempt to assess the legitimacy of the picketing."

Asked whether he would have ap-

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Politics

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peared at the meeting if he had known the picketing had been stopped by court order, Carter said "I don't know."

Jackson said he would have come if it had been clearly established early Wednesday that the picket line was illegal.

"When you face a picket line, it's pretty hard to say whether or not that is a duly authorized picket line," he said. "I had no way of knowing about the court's ruling, and I would point out the court's ruling is preliminary."

Udall said that had he known the picket lines were down, he would still have "cleared it with the union" before appearing at the hotel. The Arizona congressman made an appearance on an NBC news program last week after union leaders took down the picket lines at NBC and escorted him into the building.

In an unusual twist, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, one of the country's strongest backers of labor, appeared as scheduled to speak to a luncheon meeting of the editors.

"To prove I am a noncandidate," quipped Humphrey after the pickets had been withdrawn in accordance with the court order, "the pickets left when they heard I was coming."

Asked whether he had cleared his appearance with the union, Humphrey said, "Yes." As a murmur ran through the crowd, he went on to explain that he had called union leaders to check with them about his appearance at the hotel.

"They told me not to come," he told the editors.

ASNE officials expressed disappointment at the failure of the presidential candidates to show up for Wednesday's meeting.

One spokesman said the striking union asked ASNE to ban NBC from covering Wednesday's proceedings. "We discussed the possibility," he said, "but the ASNE board was unanimous in its conviction that this society would not and could not let a union dictate how newsmen will cover the news."

He said continued picketing of NBC's efforts to cover candidates' appearances "will pretty much strike at the political process itself" as long as candidates refuse to appear at events where the labor dispute is made an issue.

16A

In other political developments Wednesday:

—Republican Ronald Reagan said in Austin, Tex., that potential enemies should never hear an American leader say there is any weapon in the nation's arsenal that would not be used.

—In California, Carter picked up endorsements from Democratic party benefactor Max Palevsky and four other veteran campaigners. Palevsky, Harold Willens, Dorman Commons, Leo Wyler and Bill Norris, said at a news conference they were backing Carter because of his "qualities of leadership."

—Udall issued a statement calling for televised debates between the major Democratic presidential candidates before the April 27 Pennsylvania primary.

—Udall also issued a report showing he and his wife paid nearly $23,000 in federal income taxes for 1975.

—Alabama Gov. George Wallace said in Texas that Carter is "a candidate who smiles, but you don't know what he stands for. I guess that has been good politics for him."

Brown Supporters Switch to Carter

16A

LOS ANGELES (UPI) — Five former supporters of California Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. said Wednesday they would support Jimmy Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination, claiming Brown is a stand-in for Hubert Humphrey.

At a news conference, the five, including millionaire Max Palevsky who has poured hundreds of thousands of dollars into support of liberal candidates, said the race is between Carter and Humphrey.

The group said it supports the primary process itself and opposes "any favorite son candidacy," which may be an effort to stop a candidate from using the primary process.

Besides Palevsky, the group included Leo Wyler, former Brown for Governor campaign finance director; Harold Williens, western finance chairman for the 1972 George McGovern campaign; Dorman Commons, 1970 campaign chairman for State Superintendent of Schools Wilson Riles; and Bill Norris, 1974 Democratic nominee for attorney general.

Palevsky said he was convinced Brown's candidacy is "wittingly or unwittingly" helping Humphrey by blunting Carter's drive for the nomination.

Palevsky made an estimated $100 million when he sold his data systems company to the Xerox Corp. in 1969. He has given large amounts in the past to campaigns for McGovern and for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

"For Jerry to go around the state campaigning as if anyone expected him to get the presidential nomination is an insult," he said. "He's been governor for a year, he hasn't had another serious job in his life, and he is, in effect, running in only one primary."

Cocaine Found

SANIBEL, Fla. (UPI) — A Coast Guard patrol boat searching for a missing yacht found 48 pounds of cocaine early Wednesday.

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HARRIS POLL

Inflation Is Rated Key Issue

By LOUIS HARRIS

Despite the improvement in the economy, a striking 94 per cent of the American people feel that "keeping inflation under control" is the chief priority for the next president.

Close behind as areas of major concern are "controlling federal spending," "restoring confidence in government" and "working for peace in the world," each singled out by 88 per cent for major attention.

Far down the list are a series of issues that received much attention in the early primaries. Among them are "school busing to achieve racial balance," cited by only 38 per cent, "legalized abortion," mentioned by 34 per cent and "aid to cities," with 43 per cent.

The top issues centered on the economy and the crisis of confidence in government:

—Close behind the concern about inflation and federal spending was "finding jobs for the unemployed," which was mentioned as a presidential priority by 85 per cent of the people. "Not raising federal taxes" was a major concern to 81 per cent.

—Along with "restoring confidence in government," 84 per cent consider "restoring integrity in government" a high priority, while "restoring open government to Washington, D.C." is singled out by 74 per cent for attention. It is obvious that the Watergate issue is high on the minds of voters in 1976.

—Peace and international security also are important public concerns. As always, "working for peace in the world" is a top priority for 88 per cent, while "keeping U. S. military defenses strong" is believed to be very important in the view of 76 per cent of the public. By contrast, only 37 per cent give "foreign economic aid" top billing.

—Domestic violence also ranks relatively high among the public's worries, with 83 per cent singling out "controlling crime" as a high priority. In addition, 78 per cent express high concern over "controlling drug abuse" and 68 per cent over "controlling violence at home."

—Quality-of-life issues also preoccupy the public. A substantial 68 per cent would like to see major attention paid to "controlling air and water pollution";59 per cent give a high priority to "aid to education"; 58 per cent, to "federal health insurance"; 53 per cent to "employment opportunities for minorities"; 58 per cent to "enforcing standards for worker safety on the job." But only 42 per cent cite "building more housing" as a major priority.

—79 per cent of the public also feel strongly that the next president should make "welfare reform" a high priority, while an even higher 85 per cent express major concern with "maintaining Social Security on a sound basis." "Curbing business abuses" draws a substantial 75 per cent response, while 66 per cent give important billing to "giving business incentives to expand and open new jobs."

—The issue of "revenue-sharing with the states" was able to attract no more than 53 per cent who gave it a high priority, while "aid to cities" drew an even lower 43 per cent.

—"Federal gun control," another controversial area, is cited by only 52 per cent as being of major importance. Somewhat behind and at the bottom of the list of those matters that should be of the greatest concern to the next president are "school busing to achieve racial balance" and "legalized abortion," which are mentioned by 38 per cent and 34 per cent respectively.

Hal Gulliver

That Minnesota Non-Candidate

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The "best known druggist" of Huron, South Dakota, as he was introduced, acted as if he felt quite among old friends Wednesday and the assembled several hundred editors responded in kind, giving the best known available non-candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination a standing ovation.

Senator Hubert Horatio Humphrey insisted, more or less straight-faced, that he remains a non-candidate for anything other than reelection to the U. S. Senate.

But no one believed him much, as he good-humoredly understood, and he was more than willing to talk about his noncandidacy.

"I don't know why I came," said Humphrey, peering at a panel of journalists about to question him, "I am a victim of habit. I got the invitation so here I am."

Humphrey was the main speaker at the American Society Of Newspaper Editors meeting here, addressing the group only a couple of hours after active candidates Senator Henry Jackson and former Governor Jimmy Carter and Congressman Morris Udall had shared the same hour's portion of an ASNE program. It is a repeating pattern. At the national mayors' conference in New York City week before last, the active ones, Carter and Udall and Jackson, appeared together on a morning panel. The main luncheon address came from a former mayor, none other than Ole Hubert, the happy Warrior.

Humphrey still puts on quite a show and seems as full of energy as ever. He is in his mid-sixties now and has had some health problems, so the question of his age and health always comes up in relation to any possible White House bid.

Humphrey says convincingly that he is in good shape, full of energy and ideas, and indeed he flows yet with talk. "As I told my fellow Democrats, if you want me, take me as I am, as the old spiritual has it," said Humphrey, and he seemed comfortable with the notion that events somewhat beyond his control will dictate his chances at the Democratic national convention this summer.

"Unless somebody springs out of Pennsylvania with a tremendous urge, I don't see anybody going to the convention with enough votes," he said, and that of course is the very scenario for a deadlocked convention in which the Minnesota senator hopes to move the convention his way.

He has unkind words for the long string of primaries this year. "I consider it political masochism. You can kill yourself drinking water in the name of purity," he noted, and the very word "purity" was like a signal to the panel of journalists who then wanted to know Hubert's views on Jimmy Carter's controversial use of that ethnic purity phrase.

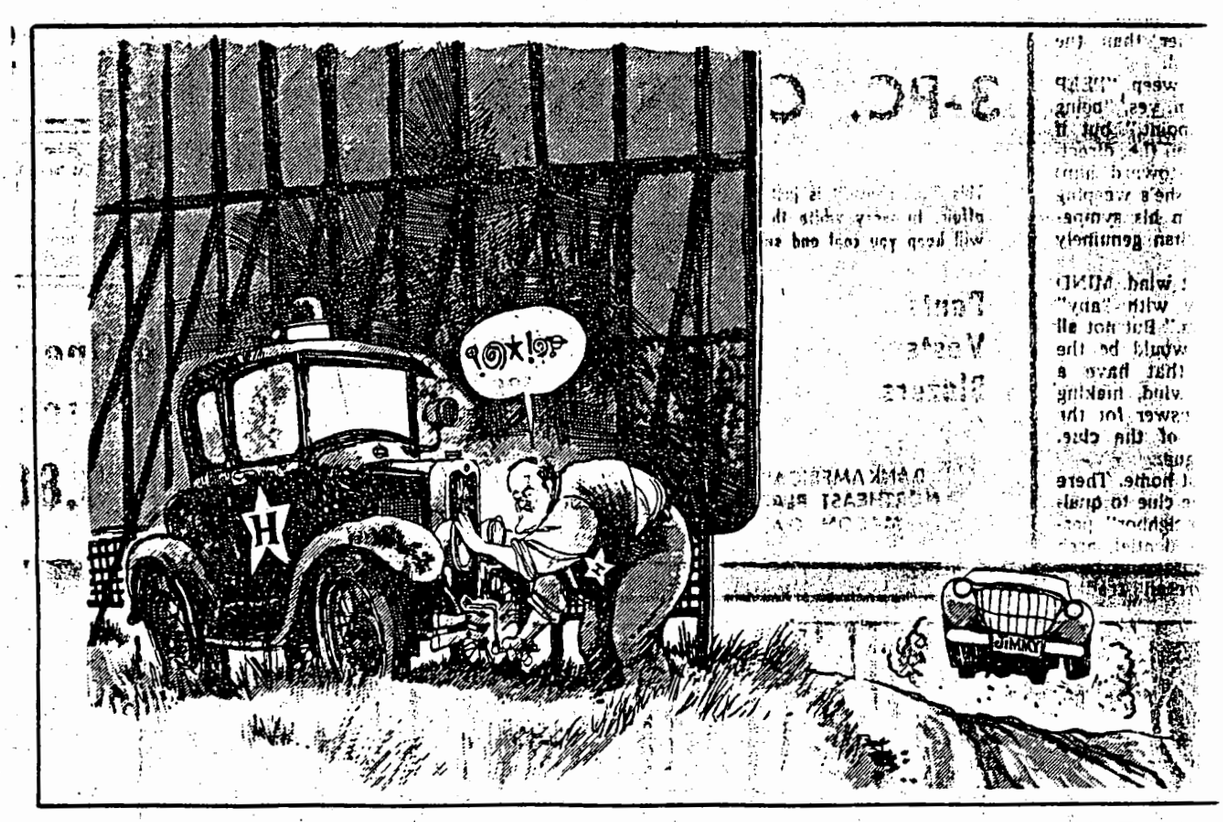
Humphrey would not be drawn into any real discussion of Carter, insisting only that those were Carter's words and that he (Humphrey) had his own words and phrases. "We believe in the right of people to live where they want to live." he said. Then he went on saying, "many people do group together simply because they want to be together," suggesting that this was sometimes for religious reasons or because of ethnic background. He did not use the same phrasing but it was a little difficult to make out how what Humphrey said differed from what Carter had said.

On the whole, it was a vintage Humphrey performance, full of good humor and fast talk and sometimes more answers than there were questions. The Ole Partisan side of the Happy Warrior lives on, too. The senator was asked how much of an issue Watergate might be in this fall's campaign and he said after a pause that it depends on what the other side does. It depends on how "mean and nasty" the other side gets, he said, and when pressed to explain further Humphrey declared, "If they start throwing mud, they're apt to get a ton of concrete dumped on them." The non-candidate from Minnesota would cheerfully take the chance of mud-slinging and concrete-dumping should his fellow Democrats once again turn to him.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/20



22A

News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, APRIL 20, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

India and Pakistan, which broke off diplomatic relations in 1971 during the Bangladesh war of independence, moved closer yesterday to the resumption of normal relations. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent a letter to Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan offering to resume discussions on such matters as air and surface communications and even to "discuss measures for the restoration of diplomatic relations," a spokesman said. Mrs. Gandhi had reached agreement with Mr. Bhutto seven months after diplomatic relations were broken to work to overcome the enmity between their countries, and some progress had been made. Mrs. Gandhi's new letter was the first diplomatic move toward Pakistan in more than a year. [Page 1, Column 6.]

An Arab was shot dead and three were wounded when Israeli soldiers broke up demonstrations against a Jewish march through the West Bank. The 20-mile march, which began Sunday, was completed. Arabs along the route showed hostility but did not interfere with the marchers, some of whom were armed with submachine guns, carbines and revolvers. [1:7.]

Three white South African motorcyclists were killed by black nationalist guerrillas in Rhodesia and a section of Rhodesia's only direct rail link to South Africa had been blown up, the government reported. The police sealed off a 178-mile stretch of the main Fort Victoria-Beitbridge road to South Africa after the killings and the bombing near Nuanetsi in Rhodesia's southwestern ranchlands. Thousands of people had crossed the border in both directions for the Easter weekend. [1:6-8.]

National

The Commerce Department reported that the economy picked up speed in the first quarter after a modest pause in the final quarter of 1975, with a 7.5 percent "real" rise in the Gross National Product from January to March. In addition, preliminary first-quarter figures showed an inflation rate of 3.7 percent, the lowest since the third quarter of 1972. [1:8.]

From now on, the Energy Research and Development Administration announced it will give "the highest priority" to energy conservation putting that on a par with the development of energy sources. This was the principal change in the agency's revision of the comprehensive energy development plan submitted to Congress last June 30. [1:4.]

Defense Department officials said that a multibillion dollar Administration decision about whether to build up to a 600-ship Navy may depend in part on the outcome of the Republican Presidential primary in Texas on May 1. The Pentagon expects that if Ronald Reagan, who has been saying in his campaign that the Administration has allowed the country to slip into an inferior military position, wins decisively the Administration would announce a major program to rebuild the naval fleet. But if President Ford wins the primary, thus effectively neutralizing Mr. Reagan's challenge, the Pentagon believes that the Administration might postpone the decision. [1:1-3.]

Metropolitan

Governor Carey said that it would seem from opinions offered by lawyers who were serving as counsel to the city and state that the current emergency ban on wage increases for public employees might not permit approval of the pending city transit workers agreement. He said that the State Emergency Financial Control Board, overseer of the city's budget, would now seek a ruling from Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz. [1:1.]

Mainly as a result of the curtailment of the open admissions policy at the City University, the number of students in the freshman class next fall will be 40 percent below the number enrolled in September 1975, and, according to the university's admissions data, the decline will affect mostly its senior colleges. University officials estimate there will be 25,000 freshmen next fall, compared with 42,000 last fall. [1:2-3.]

The chief judge on a three-judge Federal panel expressed doubt about the constitutionality of a state law that would require Patrick J. Cunningham to waive immunity from prosecution or lose his job as Democratic state chairman and as party leader in the Bronx. There were many times when the United States Supreme Court found that such statutes were unconstitutional, the judge said. [1:2-3.]

Temperatures set a record for April in New York City and along the Eastern Seaboard for the third straight day. The peak for the day in the city was 92 at 11:50 A.M. The National Weather Service said the temperature would be in the 80's today. [1:5.]

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Sunny, cooler tonight. Cloudy, cooler Temperature range: t Monday 68-92. Details

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Rizzo Backing Jackson in Pennsylvania But Mayor's Problems May Be a Factor

24

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 19—When local Democrats gather here tomorrow night for their annual fund-raising banquet, they will be witnesses to one of the year's unusual political events.

Senator Henry M. Jackson and Mayor Frank L. Rizzo will appear together in public.

The Senator has Mr. Rizzo's enthusiastic support in the Pennsylvania Presidential primary next week, but in all his campaigning in Philadelphia, the Washington Democrat has scarcely mentioned the powerful but controversial mayor's name, and has avoided him like a man who owes him money.

Consequently there are few serious wagers on the outcome of the voting here next Tuesday when Philadelphia, with 40 percent of the state's Democratic vote, plays a critical role in a crucial primary.

Apparent Strength

Senator Jackson would seem to have an edge in the city's wards over Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

After all, he not only has the mayor's support, but also the backing of the local Democratic machine, the local stewards of Gov. Milton J. statewide apparatus, and the support of organized labor as . hl well.

But the Rizzo factor in the voting next week is still uncertain. As one Jackson operative said today, "It could cut either way, for us or against us."

Mr. Jackson's curious liason with Mr. Rizzo stems from what appears to be Mayor's growing unpopularity. He was re-elected last year to a second four-year term, but a vigorous recall movement against him began last Saturday morning in the shadow of Independence Hall and its architects hope to get the bulk of the 141,000 required signatures from the people who will be voting in Tuesday's primary.

First Signature

Joseph Clark, a former Philadelphia Mayor and a former U.S. Senator, was the recall movement's John Hancock, and after placing his signature on the first petition, he urged a large groupof sympathizers to "throw the rascal out."

Much of the movement's antagonism toward Mayor Rizzo stems from the absence in his last campaign of any mention of taxes, and his immediate call for new ones soon after his re-election. Philadelphians already believe themselves to be exorbitantly taxed and there is growing resnetment toward the new levies even among those who have strongly supported Mr. Rizzo in the past.

If that disaffection is strong enough, it might transfer to Senator Jackson in the city and the advantage of Mr. Rizzo's support would be neutralized.

On the other hand, the Mayor has been very popular with many of the city's voters and if that relationship has not been damaged by the tax issue, then Senator Jackson could profit handsomely from his backing.

The effect of Senator Jackson's endorsement by Peter J. Camiel, the chairman of the city's Democratic party, is also uncertain because Mr. Camiel and Mayor Rizzo have been feuding for two years, and Mr. Camiel has barely survived several attempts by the Mayor and his friends to oust him.

As a resit the efficacy of Mr. Camiel's once potent election machinery is questioned by some local observers.

"There was a time when Pete could deliver the vote here for anybody," one veteran of City Hall politics said today, "but that's no longer true—and I don't think even Rizzo has that kind of citywide organization."

One thing is certain, however, and that is the importance of Senator Jackson's endorsement by organized labor here and across the state.

As a sign in the office of James H. J. Tate read when he was the mayor here, "Philadelphia is a labor town." The unions, with an old-fashioned C.I.O. passion, wield a raw sort of power here, delivering their votes come what may, and Senator Jackson is their stated choice in this year's Democratic primary.

But Mr. Jackson must still deal with Mr. Carter's strength as the Democratic front-runner. Mr. Carter's "ethnic purity" statement almost certainly hurt him with the sizable black population in Philadelphia—there are 240,000 registered black Democrats—but there is no sign that they are flocking to Mr. Udall, and clearly no indication that they are turning to Senator Jackson.

Moreover, as a number of letters printed today in The Philadelphia Inquirer might indicate, there could be a considerable positive reaction to Mr. Carter's remarks from white urban dwellers who believe he has stated their case.

D

Voting Panel Deadlocked on New Chief

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Arril 19—The Federal Election Commission, immobilized by Congressional failure to restore its powers, is deadlocked over selection of a new chairman to succeed Thomas B. Curtis of Missouri, who is required by law to step down.

Two Democrats — Neil O. Stabler, now vice chairman, and Thomas E. Harris, a former labor union counsel—reportedly have three votes each among the six members of the bipartisan agency for a one-year term that should have begun last week.

The two contenders were on opposite sides of the most controversial issue decided by the commission last year—setting ground rules for solicitation of campaign funds by corporate and union political action committees—and their rivalry reveals internal strains develope during the commission's stormy first year.

Even if the deadlock persists, however, it appears likely that the commission will be able to authorize campaign subsidies for Presidential candidates as soon as its authority to do so is revived.

Mr. Staebler, a longtime Democratic National Committeeeman from Michigan, is reportedly being backed by two Republicans, both, like him former House members: Mr. Curtis and Vernon W. Thomson, who also served as Governor of Wisconsin.

Mr. Staebler joined the three Republicans on the commission to support the advisory opinion that authorized corporate political committees to solicit contributions from corporation employees, a position that Congress is attempting to reverse in pending legislation.

Mr. Harris, who served as associate general counsel of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, before coming to the commission, is understood to have the votes of Robert O. Tiernan, a former Democratic Representative from Rhode Island, and Joan D. Aikens, former president of the Pennsylvania Council of Republican Women.

The term of Mr. Curtis, who has come under considerable criticism as chairman, ended last Wednesday, but the commission voted 5 to 1, to keep him in office until May 15, or the time when the commission is legally reconstituted, whichever comes first.

Conferees Agree on Bill

Under a January Supreme Court ruling, the commission lost most of its powers. Legislation to restore those powers has been agreed on by Senate-House conferees, but has not yet passed either chamber.

The bill makes all six members appointees of the President. Th Court ruled that a commission with four members named by Congressional leaders violated the separation of powers doctrine of the Constitution.

Commission sources reported that the contest for the chairmanship has been conducted with little acrimony. They said that it might be resolved by Mrs. Aikens switching to Mr. Staebler or Mr. Thomson switching to Mr. Harris.

The principal argument of the Harris forces is that the commission should benefit from leadership by a lawyer with experience in layman whose background has been mainly in politics.

High Court Bars Udall Appeal In Bid to Get on Indiana Ballot

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP)—The Supreme Court declined today to decide by May 1 whether Representative Morris K. Udall is entitled to a place on the balot in the May 4 Indiana Presidential primary.

The Court rejected without dissent and without comment a request by the Arizona Democrat for expedited consideration of his appeal from an April 1 decision by a three-judge Federal court in Indianapolis.

The lower court upheld Indiana's requirement that a statewide candidate submit 500 supporting signatures from each of the state's 11 Congressional districts. Mr. Udall fell 15 signatures short in the Sixth District.

R. Davy Eaglesfield 3d of the Indiana Civil Liberaties Union, representing Mr. Udall and a Sixth District voter, Nancy Salmon, said it would be no hardship for parties to file their briefs on a speeded-up schedule.

He noted that in 1968 the Court held a hearing within 30 days after receiving an appeal challenging an Ohio requirement for new political parties seeking a ballot position. In that case, the Court struck down a law requiring the parties to file signatures equal to 15 per cent of the vote in the last election for Governor.

Under the Court's normal schedule, the Udall appeal wonld not be considered for several weeks and by then the Indiana primary would be over.

Mr. Udall, a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president, first asked Justice John Paul Stevens for an injunction to permit his name to go on the ballot while his appeal was pending. This request was turned down April 6.

The candidate argues that the Indiana requirement "gives the voters in only one Congressional district an absolute veto power over the nomination of a Presidential candidate."

Church Terms Ford Weak President; Scores Intervention in Needless War

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP) —Senator Frank Church of Idaho said today if he were President, he would "stop paying big business to leave the country" and stop United States intervention in "needless foreign wars."

In a five-minute nationally televised address, he said that it is "a week President who pardons Richard Nixon for all the crimes he committed in the White House and then looks the other way while Nixon's lieutenants stand trial."

Mr. Church, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, also termed Mr. Ford a weak President for failing to punish American intelligence agencies that he said were guilty of wrongdoing.

The Senator had origianlly sought a half-hour of network television time in which to present his views. He was able to obtain only five minutes from CBS.

"It's a weak President who fails to use the muscle of his office to punish powerful Government agencies that break the law and bully the people," said Mr. Church, who is chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which has investigated the Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence - gathering agencies.

He cited the opening of mail and telegrams by the C.I.A., the attempts of the F.B.I. to "destroy" the reputation and effectiveness of the late civil rights leader, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the use of tax investigations by the Internal Revenue Service "solely for the purpose of political harassment."

Because of such abuses, Mr. Church said, "the American people and the United States Government are on the verge of divorce."

"The people are so turned off, that in these Presidential primaries only one eligible voter in five has cared enough to vote," he said.

He said that one reason more jobs could not be found more quickly was that Federal tax policies rewarded United States corporations for investing overseas, "at an average loss of 150,000 jobs a year here at home."

"As President, I would stop the export of American jobs by eliminating tax breaks on foreign earnings," he said. "And I would tell big business that from now on they can invest overseas at their risk, not ours."

Mr. Church, who is a ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that other prosperous countries must start sharing the burden of foreign aid and that there was no need "to get involved in every African or Asian war that comes along."

"As a senator, I was one of the first to speak out against Vietnam, he said.

A 'Political Miracle'

BOISE, Idaho, April 19 (UPI) —Mr. Church said today that it would take a "political miracle" for him to win his first Presidential primary May 11 in Nebraska.

Starting a campaign swing into Montana, Oregon and Nebraska, he told a news conference that his late entry into the primaries and the full ballot in Nebraska made his first contest a tough one. But he said that he hoped to gain momentum in the late spring primaries and become the "matinee idol of the closing days" of the campaign.

Ford, Answering Reagan, Says Talks on Panama Will Continue

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP) —Answering Ronald Reagan, President Ford said today that it would be "absolutely irresponsible" to terminate the Panama Canal negotiations, which would turn all of Latin America against the United States.

In a White House interview with the editors of the Harte-Hanks newspapers, Mr. Ford admitted that he was running behind Mr. Reagan for the Texas primary May 1 but remained "still hopeful of closing the gap."

He told the editors that Mr. Reagan's campaign statements indicated that as President he would immediately halt the Panama negotiations that have been going on since 1964-65.

"I think that would be a position of irresponsibility," Mr. Ford said.

Mr. Reagan had said in Texas: "We should tell Panama's tinhorn dictator just what he can do with his demands for sovereignty over the Canal Zone. We bought it, we paid for it and they can't have it."

Mr. Ford said no decisions had been reached but the United States was seeking a treaty that would last for 30 to 50 years, and "we are going to insist, during the period of the treaty, that we have the right to operate, to maintain and defend it."

President Ford also made the following points:

¶He has not offered John B. Connally, the former Texas Governor, the position of Secretary of State if he is elected in November, and "I don't think under any circumstances I should ask him to serve."

¶A campaign against Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota as the Democratic opponent "would be on the issues." Some of the other candidates have not been as definitive."

Electrifying Pollitics

By Russell Baker

Dr. George Trot invented the public opinion poll in 1775 and brought it to Philadelphia the following spring to show it to John Adams. "How does it work?" asked Adams.

"It gives you an instant reading on how the colonists feel about any controversial issue," Dr. Trot said.

"You're spoofing me," said Adams.

"Just watch," said Dr. Trot, and he polled a scientifically selected sample of the population to find how public opinion rated the way King George was handling his job.

Adams examined the results with dismay. They were as follows:

King doing excellent job: 3 percent
King doing good job: 6 percent
King doing fair job: 8 percent
King doing poor job: 6 percent
King doing lousy job: 3 percent
Don't know: 74 percent

"Stay right here, and don't go away," said Adams, locking Dr. Trot in his room. And he went to see Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

"This is extraordinary," Jefferson said. "To think that 26 percent of the population has any interest at all in politics. Incredible!"

Adams said Jefferson had misread the poll. "What's terrible," he said, "is that 74 percent haven't enough interest to have an opinion about that tyrant George. If this gets out, the case for the Revolution is doomed."

Both turned to Franklin for advice. Franklin said it might be a mistake, and they should ask Dr. Trot to conduct another poll.

Thereupon, Dr. Trot asked his scientifically selected sample whether it preferred a monarchic or republican form of government. The results were:

Favor monarchy: 13 percent
Favor republicanism: 14 percent
Undecided: 73 percent

Again Adams locked up Dr. Trot, this time in his closet.

"It looks bad, all right," Jefferson said.

"Bad!" snorted Franklin, "It's disastrous. If these figures get out we'll wind up with Hubert Humphrey again."

At that prospect, they all had a stiff round of hot buttered rum, easy on the butter.

"I suppose," said Jefferson, "if we weren't the Founding Fathers and didn't have to set such high ethical standards for the men destined to come after us, we could doctor the polls."

Adams was infuriated by this suggestion. He said he would never be a Founding Father to a nation whose politicians misrepresented the facts to the people.

Franklin calmed them and ordered another round of hot buttered rums, skip the butter. "It would be but a temporary expedient in any event," he said, "since sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. If we can doctor the polls, so can our opponents."

"My feeling," said Jefferson, "is that there comes a time in the course

OBSERVER

of human events when a decent respect for the opinion of mankind may justify strong measures to ensure that the opinion of mankind corresponds to our own."

Franklin urged him to hush. He said Jefferson was not getting to the heart of the evil. "The true evil," he observed, "is the invention of this public opinion poll. Unless it is crushed in its cradle, it will grow and flourish until no statesman will know what to think until he knows what is being thought by those of his countrymen for whom he is supposed to be doing the thinking."

"The invention must be destroyed?" asked Adams.

"Absolutely," said Franklin. That night he unlocked Dr. Trot's closet and introduced himself as one man of science to another. Dr. Trot was delighted to meet a fellow in human progress. Franklin suggested that Dr. Trot might like to participate in one of his famous experiments.

Dr. Trot was doubly delighted to be so honored. Franklin explained that his newest experiment called for flying a kite into an electrical storm while the kite flyer stood in a pool of water holding a large piece of metal. He asked Dr. Trot to be that kite flyer. Dr. Trot was honored to accept. The experiment was conducted that night and failed tragically.

This is why 1776 later gave us the Declaration of Independence instead of Hubert Humphrey.

The Weather
day—Sunny, high in the 90s, low
r 60. The chance of rain is near
o today, 10 per cent tonight.
esday—Partly cloudy, high near
Yesterday — 3 p.m. AQI, 100;
mp. range, 95-59. Details, B2.

The Washington Post

FIN
72 Pages—4
Amusements C 7
Classified C10
Comics B 8
Editorials A22
Financial D10

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Two Elections

THIS SUMMER, as the election campaign gathers momentum here, the Communists may very well emerge as the dominant party in the Italian government. For the first time in a generation, the presidential candidates in this country will be confronted by a fundamentally new challenge to American policy toward Western Europe. It is the kind of large question that voters can reasonably use as a litmus test of candidates' good sense and their grasp of the job ahead. The rise of Communists to office in a major nation of Western Europe is obviously unwelcome. How ought the United States respond?

Three prominent Democrats—George W. Ball, Paul C. Warnke and Zbigniew Brzezinski—offered an answer last week when they appeared here before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Shortly afterward Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger came before the same meeting to give quite a different view. The three Democrats generally agreed that the United States could not do much about events in Italy over the short term. Rather than squandering American influence on foredoomed attempts to tamper with internal Italian politics now, they suggested, it would be wiser to reserve judgment and conserve influence until later.

Mr. Kissinger, for his part, was unrepentant for his earlier characterization of a government including Communists as "unacceptable." If Italy votes the Communists into office, he said, "we will have to deal with that reality." But as Secretary of State, he argued, he has an obligation to make everyone understand the consequences of their choices—"even if we cannot necessarily influence them." In considering Mr. Kissinger's position, it is useful to keep in mind that, whenever he takes up this subject, he is addressing three quite different audiences.

One audience is the American public. The inclination in this country at the moment is to leave the Italians' troubles to the Italians. But it would be highly incautious to assume that this air of cool detachment would necessarily survive a dramatic surge to the left in Europe. A second audience is the Italian voters. A great many of them are genuinely reluctant to cast off their longstanding ties to the United States. If Mr. Kissinger were now to soften his language regarding Communists in office, it might be interpreted in Italy as a sign that he was reconciled to them. That, in turn, would strengthen the Communists and make more likely the outcome that the administration most wishes to avoid.

Mr. Kissinger also has a third audience in mind: the other Western Europeans. Particularly during the Vietnam war, Europeans were full of high-minded advice to this country regarding its foreign policy. There is a tendency now in Washington to suggest to the Europeans that the Italian affair is, after all, primarily a matter for European initiative. The other European nations are closer to Rome than we, they are more intimately joined by their common institutions and, hardly least important, they will be far more severely affected by the outcome. Whoever the winners may be in the American election, the list is not likely to include the Communists. That cannot be said with any assurance of the next French election. But with the notable exception of the West Germans, the Europeans do not seem to be taking any very active interest in Italian events. Perhaps it is the result of a long tradition of leaving these things to the Americans. Mr. Kissinger is trying to stir them into considering at least their own immediate interests.

But the paralysis in Italian politics has reached a point at which it is hard to see any very promising opportunity for international support of the present crumbling government. When the Portuguese Communists, under unreconstructed Stalinist leadership, tried to seize power last year, other Western Europeans intervened skillfully and successfully. The democratic left throughout the continent came immediatey to the aid of Mario Soares and the Portuguese Socialists. The peculiarly unfortunate thing about Italian political life is that it contains nothing similar to the Portuguese Socialists. Over the years the Italian Socialists and Social Democrats have been reduced to mere satellites of the Christian Democrats. The Communists are gaining strength only because the whole center-left is collapsing.

Mr. Kissinger's voice frequently slips into a minor key in which he compares the rigors of public responsibility to the carefree style of all his critics—Democrats out of office, academics, newspaper writers and the other assorted kibitzers. But his exchange with the three Democrats the other day was an enlightening and useful one. It also illustrated an interesting reversal of roles.

Mr. Ball, Mr. Brzezinski and Mr. Warnke all belong to a generation that designed and ran an intensely activist foreign policy. The rule was to assert an extremely broad responsibility and intervene almost everywhere. Mr. Kissinger is, in contrast, the prophet of limited American power. But in the Italian case he is constrained by circumstance to defend a traditional position in which the three Democrats have accurately seen the pitfalls. There is no real parallel between the present situation and the ravaged Italy of 1948 that Mr. Kissinger cited as a great example of a collective rescue effort. The Common Market countries together are now nearly as rich as the United States, and they are understandably hostile to foreign pressure. The United States can no longer act for them. But neither can it ignore changes of the magnitude that now seem to be taking shape.

The American presidential candidates would evidently prefer to treat foreign policy as a secondary matter in the coming campaign. But if Italy goes ahead with a June election, they may not have that luxury.

G

Network TV Urged For Candidates

Two House subcommittee chairmen yesterday urged the three major television networks to sell prime time to presidential candidates who want to buy it "to keep the American people informed of the views."

Reps. Torbert H. MacDonald (D-Mass.) of Communications, and John E Moss (D-Calif.), of Oversight and Investigations—both subcommittees of the House Commerce Committee—sent identical telegrams to the presidents of ABC, CBS and NBC.

"We are in the midst of a critical election campaign and the people are faced

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with a number of important choices," the chairmen said. They noted major candidates in Britain get free time during the election campaign.

"We are not suggesting, at this stage, that the American networks give the major candidates free time, but that they make time available between now and the nominating conventions to all of the major candidates in this critically important election year."

The networks had no immediate comment.

Carter as Tactician

Poll-taker Louis Harris said that the presidential campaign of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter is much like those run by Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy—tactical rather than inspirational.

Harris said he believes that Carter, now leading the race for the Democratic presidential nomination, has won support more because of his opponents' weaknesses than because of positive support for himself.

And he added that to win the White House in the Novemeber general election, the Georgian would have to win allegiance on his own rather than trying to capitalize on the "anti" vote. His remarks came on the ABC radio interview program "Issues and Answers."

Harris also said the best explanation for the appeal of potential presidential candidate Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) is nostalgia.

He said Humphrey "has become kind of the elder statesman in the Democratic Party" and is virtually every Democrat's alternate choice for the nomination now—an appealing escape hatch, as he put it.

Missouri Delegates

Missouri, the largest state without a primary, starts a two-month delegate selection process this week.

Democratic leaders in Missouri are pushing for an uncommitted delegation. Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton, leader of the movement, says the strategy is designed to allow Missouri's 71 delegates to play a power brokering role at the national convention in New York July 12-16. Supporters of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter say their goal is to place second behind the uncommitted slate.

Tuesday's ward and township meetings are the first phase of a complex delegate selection process employed by the Democrats.

The caucuses will send delegates to county conventions and congressional district meetings. The congressional meetings May 25 will choose 54 delegates to the national convention. The remaining 17 delegates will be selected at the June 12 state convention in Jefferson City.

Missouri Republicans will hold ward, township and county caucuses this week to send delegates to the 10 congressional district conventions May 8-15, where 30 presidential delegates will be chosen. The remaining 19 delegates to the August GOP National Conventoin in Kansas City will be selected at the state convention June 12 in Springfield.

Jackson Gains

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) won about 60 per cent of the delegates to the Washington State Democratic Convention, according to figures supplied by the state organization.

About one-third of the delegates are uncommitted and about 6½ per cent are committed to Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, with a smattering committed to Idaho Sen. Frank Church or Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

The state sends 53 delegates to the national convention, with most of the delegates chosen at congressional district caucuses. Those results are confirmed in June by the state convention, which chooses several at-large delegates to the national convention.

From staff reports and news dispatches

JIMMY CARTER
tactical campaign

The Harris Survey

Backing For Detente Still High

There is mounting evidence that former California Gov. Ronald Reagan made a wrong political move when he drew the line between himself and President Ford over the issue of U.S. cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted in March among a cross section of 1,512 adults nationwide, public backing for detente continues to be high, 59 to 23 per cent, only slightly down from the 62-to-15 per cent who favored it back in December. Among Republicans, support for detente stands at 60-to-28 per cent. Conservative voters are in favor of further cooperation with Russia by 57 to 28 per cent.

These results suggest that conservative spokesmen have vastly overestimated the depth of opposition to Kissinger-Nixon-Ford policies of trying to cooperate with the Soviets.

Indeed, when a cross section of Republicans and independents was recently asked who could do a better job on a variety of foreign policy issues, President Ford's lead over challenger Reagan ran from 18 to 19 per cent:

- On working for peace in the world, Mr. Ford holds a commanding 46-to-27 per cent lead over Reagan.
- On handling relations with Russia, Mr. Ford leads by 46-to-28 per cent.
- On handling relations with China, Mr. Ford leads by 44-to-26 per cent.

Prosecutor Fired After Pa. Probes

By Aaron Epstein
Special to The Washington Post

PHILADELPHIA — As special state prosecutor assigned two years ago to clean up corruption in Philadelphia, Walter M. Phillips Jr. promised to "follow the trail no matter where it leads."

When the trail led Phillips and his investigators to the state capitol in Harrisburg to look into the dealings of several legislators close to Gov. Milton J. Shapp, the prosecutor followed — until he was fired three weeks ago by state Attorney General Robert P. Kane, Shapp's former campaign manager.

Phillips' fellow pathfinder and first assistant, Ben W. Joseph, was also fired by Kane at the same time.

In a recent interview, Phillips said he believed the firings were politically motivated but conceded that "I couldn't prove it."

Kane has denied that he dismissed Phillips — who had been appointed by Kane's predecessor — because the prosecutor was investigating such legislative allies of the governor as Herbert Fineman, speaker of the House; Stephen Wojdak, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, and Edward Zemprelli, chairman of the Senate Banking Committee.

"There's not a shred of evidence to support that, and I defy anyone to produce a grain of evidence to support that," Kane said angrily.

Phillips and Joseph were dismissed, Kane declared because they were insubordinate, leaked confidential grand jury matters to the press, handled their investigations improperly and produced only "60-odd indictments and 20-odd convictions after two years and the expenditure of $2.5 million."

But Phillips retorted that his office had never been supported by Shapp. Phillips' most abrasive clash with Kane followed published stories that Kane was blocking the Fineman investigation by refusing to sign immunity petitions for two witnesses. Kane accused Phillips of leaking the story. Phillips denied it.

Phillips said he needed the witnesses to help him find out whether Fineman had improperly influenced the award of a school design contract for the Philadelphia school system.

Joseph, backing his boss' concern over political intrusion, sent a letter to one of Kane's assistants suggesting that the corruption investigations were being thwarted by a political truce reached early this year by Shapp and Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, who were bitter enemies for years. Kane called the charge "wild, baseless and wholly irresponsible."

Most of the investigations by Phillips' office, which is still in operation under a new director, have been directed at the Rizzo administration.

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The Washington Star

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Mary McGrory

For Carter, Love Is Saying You're Sorry

To Jimmy Carter, love means always having to say you're sorry when something doesn't go down too well.

His apology for his "ethnic purity" remark is a week old now, and he is able to joke about the phrase and turn it just a little to his advantage.

He told one Washington audience of black medical students that he thought there was "ethnic purity" in the medical profession, and that he intended to do something about it.

At a lunch with "opinion leaders," he said, with a slow-breaking grin, that he thought "ethnic purity" was "a standard that lawyers set for themselves and didn't follow."

BUT A RESIDUAL anxiety about the puzzling and disturbing episode hangs over him. White liberals who found a certain titillation in signing up with a born-again Southern Baptist are having second thoughts.

He seemed to them, in his smiling defiance of the powerful and the professional, a born-again Kennedy, and they told themselves he was a winner, too, because he is a superlative politician. Now they wonder if he may be unscrupulous. They wonder if he perhaps took an enormous high-risk gamble, predicting, and it could be correctly, that in the end the blacks would embrace the repentance and the anti-blacks would cling to the original statement.

Whether it was a country boy's inadvertence or a daring throw of the dice, the affair has slowed his remarkable surge. Now, according to the master politician in the White House, Pennsylvania's April 27 primary will be a referendum on Jimmy Carter's ability to get away with it.

IN HIS DAY in Washington — his first since a recent candle-lit inspection by the Georgetown set — Carter showed some signs of being a mildly chastened candidate. Everytime he said his usual "When I am elected," he added a new "If I'm elected." For him, that was diffidence.

He wants now to shift the discussion from his character, which was previously his principal campaign issue, to the issues. He also wants to tone down his anti-Washington rhetoric, which is, of course, less popular in Washington itself than elsewhere.

He made a long and detaile speech about his health care pr gram — "I wrote every word m self." He told the opinion make something not easily proven fro transcripts of earlier campaign a pearances: "I don't believe I eve made an anti-Washington or an ant government statement."

One of his most ebullient backer Charles Morgan, who submitted hi resignation as the American Civ Liberties Union Washington directo in a quarrel over his defense of Ca ter, reminded the candidate that th people love Carter for saying his i not from Washington and not a law yer.

MORGAN ALSO recalled Carter famous pledge, "I will never lie t you."

"That is the most controversi statement I ever made," beam Carter. That was true in pre-"pur ty" days. The "I-will-never-lie-t you" line has maddened the oth candidates. They wish the publi would assume it about them, but rea ize the chances, in light of Watergat — and before — are slight. Whil they privately growl that it is in th "I-am-not-a-crook" class, the understand that it has given Carte the edge with folks who have, as h puts it, "a hunger for precious thing they want to be restored."

Carter did some more apologizin while he was in town. He made Goo Friday amends to his most dangerou "non-active" rival, Hubert Hun phrey. He explained that it was th result of a misunderstanding — a inaccurate local headline — that h had attacked Humphrey unmercifu ly in Wisconsin. He got the impres sion, he said, that Humphrey calle him a racist. He later found out, h said, that Humphrey in criticizin "anti-Washington" candidates as dis guised enemies of minorities, wa referring to some other people.

Carter "regrets" having bee mean to Humphrey and regards hi as "qualified" to be president.

As Pennsylvania approaches Democrats see no light at the end o the tunnel. They are torn betwee Carter, whom they say they don' know well enough, and Humphrey whom they know too well. One of th reasons the regulars prefer Hum phrey, with all his warts, is that h never promised never to lie to them They like their religion and their poli tics at separate tables.

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Carter Campaign Too Rigid?

Gerald Rafshoon's hired-gun television cameras were rolling. The candidate was at his best, back in step after the "ethnic purity" stumble. All was going as planned; the TV networks had been tipped that the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy was about to enter the press conference and absolve Jimmy Carter of sins past and future.

The episode would be filmed and aired before voters in the April 27 Pennsylvania primary in a last-ditch $160,000 media blitz washing away the stain of "ethnic purity" forever.

But there was a problem that has nettled the "Big Green Machine," as insiders call the Carter campaign with its green posters and buttons and so forth. Abernathy, Martin Luther King's successor as chief of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was late as usual. Carter was on schedule as usual.

Atlanta black leader Jesse Hill, pacing like an artillery commander waiting for the arrival of ammunition, moaned, "I just can't understand the man (Abernathy); he told me he'd be here."

The campaign that is so flexible on issues that it allows the candidate to "accept new ideas" and change his mind in the middle of a primary race is inflexible in other matters. If Abernathy was late, it was too bad for him. Carter had other things to do.

Carter left. Rafshoon didn't get his film. And a chance to erase "ethnic purity," Carter's reference to neighborhood housing patterns, as a concern of black voters was missed.

Meanwhile, Carter's people were hassled by one more of the thousands of snafus that beset campaigns. A big rally was set up for Carter to mend his fences with the Georgia black power structure—and a Carter aide practically had to browbeat the Possum Trot bluegrass band to get them to refrain from playing "Dixie."

This concluding article of a two-part series on Jimmy Carter's political blueprint for the White House looks at the campaign operations in various states, the all-important matter of fundraising and the possibility of flaws in the campaign design. The series was written by Constitution Political Editor Jim Merriner and staff writers David Morrison and Fay S. Joyce.

* * *

Black U.S. Rep. Andrew Young of Atlanta, who has won thousands of black votes for Carter in primaries, is alarmed about the kind of organization that doesn't allow his candidate flexibility in style and pace.

Young suggested that Carter, who has been campaigning six days a week for 16 months now, simply stop for a week, rest and develop a new style for large northern industrial cities.

Some observers are speculating that the finely honed Carter outfit which won primaries in New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin may not be up to snuff for large urban states like New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

"He (Carter) has to find a new style of campaigning that will work in the urban areas," said Young. "He needs a good briefing on urban issues, and there is not a person on that staff who grew up in a big city. I think he's got to have a new look at the campaign from here."

"It takes 20 per cent more effort to do anything in a place like New York, and we just have not got that built into the schedule," remarked an aide before that state's April 6 primary—where Carter finished fourth.

In New York City, a Conference of

See CARTER, Page 12-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

Democratic Mayors forum was 45 minutes late waiting for Carter's rival, Sen. Henry Jackson. The former Georgia governor, already smarting from a poor showing on urban problems at a League of Women Voters forum earlier that week, simply handed in his position paper on urban problems and left without making his stands clear.

New York was a model of campaign disorganization, said black state Rep. Bob Holmes of Atlanta, who worked in New York City for Carter.

Holmes blamed the national campaign staff for not wanting Young to campaign in the state at the same time as Carter for fear that Young would siphon press publicity from the candidate.

Also, Holmes grumbled, the campaign all but ignored Spanish-speaking voters, students and intellectuals.

Carter's national staff simply wrote off New York to Jackson, Holmes said. Lack of coordination among the national staff and various state staffs is a recurring complaint.

Carter is committed to run in every state, but he cannot possibly pour equal resources into each.

"We haven't really been running a national campaign," said Carter media director Rafshoon. "We have been taking each state at a time."

The scope of the Carter effort in a particular state depends on the candidate's time, the flow of dollars into the coffers and the recruitment of state volunteers. In some cases, the right hand does not know what the left is doing.

For example, some Minnesota supporters decided to do two final weekends of canvassing in northwestern Wisconsin before the April 6 Wisconsin primary. But they made no contact with the Wisconsin Carter organization to see where they could do the most good.

In Florida, Carter set up perhaps the most elaborate organization for a primary election ever seen. He started 13 months early for the March 9 primary and was organized not only down to the congressional district and county levels, but to the level of most of the precincts.

He got cadres of volunteers, many from the universities. They bought copies of the Democratic voter registration lists from the courthouses and contacted every Democrat in the state with a letter or phone call or both.

In New Hampshire, a professional telephoning outfit was hired for well over $200,000 to call voters and make a pitch a few weeks before the election—then call them back on election day to get out the vote.

By contrast, Wisconsin was a Phil Wise "storm trooper" effort.

Wise, a young Carter organizer from Georgia, took about 100 "Peanut Brigade" Georgia volunteers up to Wisconsin for a last-minute assault before the primary.

There had been virtually no Wisconsin organization prior to the Florida election, and if it hadn't been for the Peanut Brigade, "people in Wisconsin still wouldn't know who Jimmy Carter was. I think that's what put him over in Wisconsin," said a New York political writer.

The Carter organization for the May 4 Georgia primary is a similar ragtag affair. The campaign has formed a steering committee in each of the 10 congressional districts and has told the committees they are basically on their own.

Each committee must raise its own money for advertising and generate its own press coverage, because the candidate does not have enough time to spend more than one more day stumping in the state before the primary.

As May 4 nears, the state organization will supersede the steering committees to concentrate on some key delegate races—like the one against state Sen. Julian Bond, a delegate for Morris Udall in Atlanta.

* * *

The Carter campaign, then, is a disciplined, finely tuned national staff, most of whom have been working together for six years, and an array of decentralized state organizations.

So far, the national staff has been spared the bitter infighting that afflicts many campaigns—but naturally, all is not sweetness and light.

"They (national staffers) all think they're business tycoons or something over there," snapped one headquarters secretary.

Several organizers in other states said they can't get through to the Georgia inner circle for information or guidance.

One staffer said, "The people who are really good at it (organizing) are the people who are willing to make decisions on their own and do something about it. If they sit around and wait for advice from higher up, they won't ever do anything.

"The most important thing is getting things done. Sometimes you're right and sometimes you're wrong, but it must be working because we keep winning."

Besides the campaign staff itself, there is a circle of unofficial advisers. Despite Carter's anti-establishment campaign, his list of policy advisers is straight out of the Ivy League Who's Who.

Many of the advisers touch base with the campaign daily to keep Carter abreast of developments. The information is sent to the candidate via memos, an average of two or three a day, seven when he stopped over in Atlanta last week.

Inside the campaign itself is a kind of junior-grade Ivy League think tank that develops positions on the issues for Carter. National issues director Stuart Eizenstat, at 33, is one of the oldest members of the outfit.

Issues coordinator Steve Stark, 24, graduated from Harvard and worked as a newspaper reporter before joining Carter last summer. Other researchers are Oliver Miller, a senior at Yale; Bob Hanly, a Columbia graduate; David Moran from Harvard; and Charles Cabot, who enters Harvard this fall.

All the advisers and researchers "are in on the process of making an outline which goes to Jimmy," said Stark. "Then we'll draft a speech or a policy statement and it'll be reviewed again by various advisers. Then back to Jimmy."

Stark added, "We're just advising him; he decides what he will say.... In all instances, the final position is determined by the governor."

* * *

A candidate's positions, whatever they are, cannot be put before the voters without a lot of money to keep a campaign rolling. Unfortunately for Carter supporters, the candidate could be as stubborn about not appealing for money as he was about sticking to schedules.

"Rosalynn (Mrs. Carter) and Jimmy were no good at asking for money. Now they've become quite good at it. They appeal on the basis of need. 'We need your money to run,'" said Carter adviser Philip Alston.

"He just would not do it," said a national staffer, referring to personal fundraising by Carter. "Or let's say he was uncomfortable doing it.

"But some of these people who won't respond to the campaign will come around and help us a lot when Jimmy makes the appeal himself.

"And now that he realizes it's not like groveling or begging and that he really doesn't have to promise them anything, he and Rosalynn both have become very good at it."

One of the early Carter coups was enlisting Morris Dees, the fundraiser nonpareil who drummed up $20 million for George McGovern in 1972, largely through direct-mail solicitations.

However, "the direct mail has not proved to be a good way for this candidate. I believe direct mail works better for a candidate running on an emotional issue...or to the far left or far right," said national campaign treasurer Robert Lipshutz.

Carter has mailed more than 1 million direct-mail solicitations. According to Lipshutz, "over 24,000 people have given money in this campaign, mainly in contributions one-on-one (with federal matching) or at $10-a-plate barbecues or $250-a-plate dinners."

Alston said, "Jimmy has less access than anybody (else in the race) to big money. In the balance, I think the (new) election law (limiting personal donations to $1,000) has been in his favor.

"I don't think he could have ever attracted the $100,000, $20,000, $25,000 man. He had an even chance with the $1,000, $250 contributor."

Lipshutz, national campaign director Hamilton Jordan and adviser Charles Kirbo decide how to spend the money.

So far, the Carter campaign has spent roughly $3 million, including $1.08 million in federal tax dollars. The campaign is now so strapped for funds that Carter made a special swing through the Atlanta airport Monday to make renewed appeals to his Georgia fat cats.

Car er Pus ies For Delegates

From Press Dispatches

Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter tried over the weekend to pry some endorsements from Missouri Democratic leaders prior to the start of delegate selection Tuesday.

The former Georgia governor telephoned the leaders from his home in Plains, Ga., Saturday, hoping to shake some leaders loose from their uncommitted strategy.

Carter aides said the Democratic front-runner probably talked to six leaders in the state. Although some said they regarded Carter favorable, none was willing to break from the uncommitted ranks.

"I told him at this point I was going to work for an uncommitted slate on April 20," said Missouri state Treasurer James I. Spainhower.

But he added, "I'm not sure I agree with the Carter people's strategy" of trying to pick up delegates immediately. "I think they've offended some people."

Others Carter tried to call were Jackson County Executive Mike White, Ken Hill of Kansas City, Burleigh Arnold of Jefferson City, Denton Smith of Springfield and state Auditor George W. Lehr.

Meanwhile, about 300 members of Carter's national finance committee met in Atlanta Monday to shake hands with the candidate, map strategy and turn in $108,000 in checks and pledges.

Carter, cast as an "anti-Washington" candidate in his campaign, made some conciliatory remarks about Congress during a luncheon for his fundraisers.

"There is nothing wrong with Washington. You couldn't find a finer bunch of people in the world than the 535 members of the U.S. Congress," Carter said. "Their patriotism runs as deep as ours, and they want to see our government being competent and effective —they want to see the White House and the Congress cooperate, not fight each other all the time."

Carter brought Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., to the luncheon and said his campaign needs money for television spots to help sooth congressional fears that he is an "outsider" who will shake up the government.

Biden said that since he initially endorsed Carter months ago, colleagues who at first scorned him are now asking warily who Carter has in mind for vice president.

After the luncheon, Carter left for campaign stops in Louisiana and Texas.

In Alexandria, La., Carter told students at a Baptist college there is no reason for religion and politics to conflict.

"If there ever was any conflict between my religious beliefs and politics, then I would quit politics immediately," he said.

Carter said he was unwilling to predict how he will fare in Louisiana's May 1 primary, when 32 delegates to the Democratic National Convention will be elected.

Noting that the turnout was only 20 per cent and 10 per cent respectively in Massachusetts and New York, two states where he lost primaries, Carter expressed concern that the Louisiana turnout might be very low because there will be barely 200 polling places, rather than the 2,000 in a normal Louisiana election.

In another development, the president of the National Urban Coalition said in Washington that now that Carter has raised the question of "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods, his black supporters shouldn't try to "put this cat back in the bag.

"What I am very much afraid of," said M. Carl Holman in an interview, "is that we will get a murky, uncertain kind of moratorium, let's not talk about this, which will not so much let Mr. Carter off the hook, but let Mr. Udall and Mr. Ford and Mr. Jackson and the others sort of comfortably take us through another election without discussing some critical issues."

He referred to presidential candidates including President Ford and Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., and Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.

Landrum Throwing Support to Carter

By JIM MERRINER
and DAVID MORRISON

U.S. Rep. Phil M. Landrum, dean of the Georgia congressional delegation, will endorse Jimmy Carter for president at a fundraising dinner in Gainesville Tuesday, joining a small band of state elected officials who formally support the former Georgia governor's candidacy.

However, despite rumors to the contrary, U.S. Sen. Herman Talmadge said he will not attend the dinner or endorse Carter Tuesday, although he said "there is a possibility that I will endorse a candidate at a later date."

U.S. Rep. Robert G. Stephens of Athens will attend the dinner but plans no formal endorsement of Carter.

Gainesville banker James F. Mathis and attorney James Dunlap are sponsoring the $100-a-plate Carter function. They said "some of the senior members" of the Georgia congressional delegation would attend, but would not name them.

Political observers have remarked on the lack of Carter endorsements from home-state elected officials including Talmadge, Sen. Sam Nunn, Gov. George Busbee and the congressional slate.

Lt. Gov. Zell Miller and U.S. Rep Andrew Young of Atlanta actively back Carter, while Reps. Bo Ginn of Millen and Elliot Levitas of Decatur have supported him quietly. Mrs. Talmadge flew to Wisconsin to campaign for Carter in that state's primary.

Landrum said Monday that he "does not intend to make a speech" at the Gainesville dinner but added, "I do prefer Mr. Carter to any of the other Democrats, and I don't mind being quoted on that."

Stephens said he will attend the Gainesville affair "because Jim Mathis invited me," but he does not intend his appearance as an endorsement of Carter.

Sen. Nunn and Gov. Busbee have said they will not endorse a Democratic candidate until after the May 4 Georgia primary.

Mathis said he raised $8,800 for Carter with a similar event last fall, and he expects 50 paid guests to sit on the floor or at card tables to eat oyster pie and have "a good old country dinner."

Crime Figures Called 'Partisan'

WASHINGTON (UPI) — In a bid to strip crime statistics of their sometimes "partisan" flavor, the Justice department plans to set up a neutral agency to handle the FBI's crime reports and statistical work, it was reported Monday.

The second highest ranking official with the Justice department, Deputy Attorney General Harold R. Tyler Jr., has complained that the information gathering is too costly, often "partisan" and many times not available in time to make a decision.

Talmadge May Endorse a Candidate

By FAY S. JOYCE

U. S. Sen. Herman Talmadge said Monday he may break a tradition he has broken only once before and endorse a candidate for political office.

Speaking at a Rotary Club luncheon in Atlanta, the powerful veteran of 19 years in the Senate predicted that if Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter wins the April 27 Pennsylvania primary, "it'll be exceedingly difficult to prevent his nomination."

Asked if he will endorse the former Georgia governor, Talmadge replied, "There's been a multiplicity of candidates in the Senate . . . I thought it would be a mistake to get involved in presidential politics. There is a possibility I will endorse a candidate at a later date."

He said he saw no reluctance among Georgia congressmen to back Carter publicly, adding, "I've only endorsed one candidate in my lifetime, and that was (U. S. Sen.) Sam Nunn after he won in the primary."

He added that he could support Carter for president.

In his luncheon address, Talmadge called on Americans to stop finding fault with the nation's institutions and start feeling proud. He coupled that with an attack on the federal government's incompetence.

"American institutions that once were cherished, and ideals that once were held high, have been taking such a beating that many people have been emotionally knocked off balance and their sense of values knocked out of kilter," he said.

"The past 15 years brought terrible hardship on all Americans. During the 1960s and the first of the 1970s, the American people were eyewitnesses to assassinations, a war that tore this country apart, riots in the streets and political upheaval in the two highest offices in the land," he continued.

The senator noted, "There is nothing inherently wrong with self-criticism. It is, in fact, much to be desired. But when it becomes an obsession, when we unremittingly castigate ourselves for our shortcomings and allow great accomplishments of a great nation and a great people to go unnoticed, then something has gone haywire."

Talmadge declared, "It is time to shed the burden of guilt. Let us seize upon the Bicentennial and the 1976 elections to put bad times behind us, and to put America back on the track to greatness."

Noting that the country's troubles had not produced mature attempts to resolve problems, Talmadge evoked the name of John F. Kennedy and, quoting the late president's inaugural address, said, "Let us begin."

Talmadge, who is speaking around the state while Congress is out of session for an Easter vacation, then said he fears for the future of free enterprise.

TO BREAK TRADITION?
Sen. Herman Talmadge

Carter Tops in Unmatched Campaign Contributions

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter ranks first among presidential contenders in the amount of his campaign money that the Federal Election Commission (FEC) has refused to match.

According to an FEC report released this week, Carter has since Jan. 1, 1976, asked the commission to match a total of $1,229,957.95 that he has received in campaign contributions. The commission has rejected $151,490.20 of that amount, and matched the rest.

Other candidates have submitted more money for matching than Carter, but none has had as high a dollar amount rejected. Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., ranks second to Carter.

The FEC rejected $129,417.47 of the $1,060,403.72 that Udall asked to have matched.

The FEC report said that rejections came on a number of technical grounds, including:

—Checks were signed by someone other than the holder of the account on which the check was drawn.

—Checks were not signed at all or did not include theamount of the contribution.

—Differences appeared between the amount of contributions listed by candidates in reports and amounts on the face of checks.

—Checks or other documentation were not submitted to support contribution reported by a candidate.

—Candidates listed amounts as matchable that were more than the amount shown on checks or other supporting documents.

—Contributors' addresses were missing or incomplete on candidates' lists.

—Contributions were listed more than once in the same submission.

Contributions also were rejected for matching if they were determined to be something other than personal funds of the contributors.

Money rejected for technical reasons may be resubmitted if the technical errors are corrected, but money rejected as representing non-personal funds may not be resubmitted.

FEC spokesman David Fiske said the commission doesn't have a breakdown on the specific types of problems that were found in each campaign's matching requests. The commission doesn't know, he said, exactly what prompted most of the Carter rejections.

Carter spokesman Rex Granum said Monday that the rejectionscame mostly from technical difficulties following changes in the FEC person-nel auditing the Carter accounts and changes in the campaign's method of handling the reporting.

He said the Carter campaign hired a private firm to handle its campaign contribution reporting as a result of the Increased volume of contributions to be processed.

And while the campaign was switching to the flrm from in-house processing of contributions, the FEC changed the auditors who were handling the Carter accounts, Gramum said.

"It's a matter of us changing our style and them changing their checkers," he said. "We feel that there have been some changes in the judgment the FEC is demonstrating as to what should be allowed (for matching) snd what shouldn't be."

He said in many cases contributions were rejected because of typographical errors, misspellings, or changes in the names contributors used (such as Mrs. John Smith on one check, Mary Smith on another).

"A good portion" of the rejected funds will be resubmitted, Granum said, adding that he is "confident" that the bulk of those funds will ultimately be approved for matching

The FEC lost its power to issue matching funds on March 23, following a Supreme Court decision that declared unconstitutional the manner in which the commission's members were selected.

The commission has continued to review matching requests, the report said, in order to be ready to dispense money immediately upon the restoration of its powers.

Since Jan. 1, the commission has rejected a total of $770,750.40 in matching requests from all the candidates, while certifying $12,618,240.88.

Ford, Sen. Henry Jackson and Gov. George Wallace have had more funds rejected since January than Carter, but all three have resubmitted enough of these rejected contributions to bring their total rejections below Carter's level.

Wallace has raised the most money. He submitted $2,895,825.59 for matching, and has had all but $110,629.56 of that matched.

Ford ranks second in total contributions. He has submitted $2,046,371.17 for matching and has had all but $93,755.49 of that amount matched.

Jackson has submitted $1,612,393.27, of which $52,756.09 was rejected by the commission.

TRB From Washington

Vetoes Subject to Attack

WASHINGTON—Nine years ago American cities were turbulent. There were six days of racial violence in Newark with 26 killed. There was disorder in Cincinnati, in Nashville, in Cambridge, Md. The President sent 4,800 troops into Detroit. Congress investigated; was it a Red plot?

The year before, 1966, Sargent Shriver warned that cuts in the Office of Economic Opportunity and similar agencies would have "great and grave" effects. These appeared punctually as the ghettoes erupted.

The always conservative House minority leader, Jerry Ford, smelled Communism. "I can't help but believe that there is in the background some national plan," he observed of the disorders.

Sen. Robert Kennedy said, "Today the army of the dispossessed and disenchanted sits in every major city, in every region and section of the country." Ex-assistant Labor Secretary Pat Moynihan saw the emergence of an "urban lower class" whose upward thrust was a social as well as a racial phenomenon.

Four national black leaders pleaded against the riots: Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young. King, of course, was soon to be shot down, followed by more riots.

Violence is under the surface of public life; always waiting. The curious thing is that economic circumstances during these clashes of the 1960s were better than they are today. Unemployment is now around 7.5 per cent, and the current official estimate of black teen-age unemployment is an almost incredible 35.9 per cent. But where are the riots, the upward pressure?

Cushioned partly, perhaps, by general assistance programs, by unemployment insurance, by food stamps. The country has forgotten what happened a few years back. We hope it will last, that the poor will remain patient.

The presidential candidates generally tiptoe around the sensitive issue, particularly race. When Jimmy Carter stubs his toe on the tabooed subject of "ethnic purity" his rivals rejoice, but few take up the real issue of segregated suburbs around decaying central cities. The silence is as complete and Victorian as it would be if a child at a garden party brightly announced to the hostess, "Ma, that drain is overflowing again!"

Great domestic issues cry for discussion in this election but aren't being discussed; maybe they will be later after the primaries. The Democrats have a big opportunity if they can find a candidate who can put it all together. Curiously enough, so far it is President Ford who comes closest to the vital matters through generally declaring what he won't let Congress do.

Ford is wonderfully benefited by having Ronald Reagan as an antagonist. He makes the President look good. Reagan explained the other day, "There is only one cause for inflation: government spending more than government takes in." A statement like that makes Ford look profound, and after one of his sparring matches with Reagan he appears like a strong, decisive leader.

If and when Reagan is disposed of, the real battle will start, and it will center on the Ford vetoes. They symbolize in 1976 the historic political cleavage between the parties over the role of government in the economy and to the individual. Who will articulate the Democrats' side? It is a complicated subject and Hubert Humphrey, for one, is raring to go.

One reason America's big cities are so quiet is the rather disconcerting one that we are spending enormous sums in general assistance programs to keep them quiet. These jumped 31.4 per cent last year to the startling figure of $27.8 billion. Is it too high?

Of course, it is. It is high because unemployment is high, and for every 1 per cent increase in unemployment there is a corresponding loss of $14 billion in federal tax revenues and an additional cost of $2 billion in unemployment compensation. If we could cut unemployment back to 1967 levels, we could save the government $59 billion and cancel the deficit. As economist Walter Heller said the other day, "We are $150 billion below our output potential; it is just ridiculous not to make faster use of that unused potential.

The economy is improving, at a slow rate, and it should help President Ford in the election, for inevitably the direction of the economy is more important to the voters than the actual level. The difficulty is that the recovery is slow and that Ford has repeatedly seemed to be putting on the brakes. Democrats argue that it is they who stimulated recovery, not the President's vetoes.

The recession isn't over, of course. There have been six post-war recessions and we are still below the trough (low point) of the other five. This Nixon-Ford recession is the deepest in 40 years.

Walter Heller and other liberal economists could be wrong, but they consider the Ford hold-the-line budget inadequate, and warn of continued recession next year with continued extraordinary unemployment. The latter is actually budgeted for in the projections of the Ford stable of conservative economists.

President Ford isn't ashamed of his vetoes; he proclaims them. It has been government-by-veto, often near stalemate, since he took office and it will so continue if he is elected, for he will almost certainly have another Democratic Congress.

"I will veto them again, and again, and again," he tells audiences. As this is written, his score is 48, in 20 short months, and with others in line ahead like advancing telegraph poles. Nixon had only 43 vetoes; Herbert Hoover, 37; and Johnson, 30. This is a new kind of government.

President Ford makes it the issue and rejoices in it, against "those reckless spending bills." Like Reagan, he argues that spending causes inflation, though he doesn't make it the sole cause. He attacks the bureaucrats as do some Democrats. (It would be nice just once to hear somebody recognize the disinterested devotion with which many abused bureaucrats serve their country.)

Vetoes by Ford include school lunch and veterans' bills, strip mining and air pollution controls, federal aid to the indigent and idle, public employment, housing subsidies, public works, aid for the handicapped, tax cuts, job training, and many others.

If ever there was a set-up for a fiery attack by an opposition party, this is it.

(TRB is the pen name of Richard Strout, long-time Washington correspondent for The Christian Science Monitor.)

Hal Gulliver

Carter's Hopes Now in Pennsylvania

An apparently otherwise pleasant lady, friendly in general, wrote in the other day and said that she hoped I would seek to restrain myself the very next time that I sat down to write a column and the word "Carter" came pounding out in any fashion.

I can sympathize. Georgian Jimmy Carter is now the Democratic frontrunner for his party's presidential nomination, and as such he is receiving abundant amounts of public attention, including news coverage and commentary.

Yet it is hard to resist that impulse to strike the typewriter keys, C-A-R-T-E-R, and for one main reason. Jimmy Carter of Plains is the first Southerner, let alone Georgian, in my lifetime who has made a serious from-the-grassroots-up bid for the White House. No Southerner, even those with political clout ranging from the late Sen. Dick Russell to Gov. George Wallace, has been given a real chance to the presidential nomination of any major political party.

So, on this day just one week before the critical Pennsylvania primary, I find myself at it again in writing about that peanut farmer from South Georgia, the one who has set the High Mucky Mucks of the Democratic party nationally on their collective ear because of his stunning campaign victories in Iowa and New Hampshire and Florida and Wisconsin and assorted other places.

The Pennsylvania primary next Tuesday may be the last of great impact; it could give Carter an unstoppable momentum.

His opponents, Congressman Morris Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson, are fighting all out. They know that the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is probably over if Carter beats them both in Pennsylvania.

Beyond that, though, most Democrats see Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Mister Available, as Carter's remaining competition. The labor unions going all out for Jackson in Pennsylvania essentially see Jackson as a holding move, an effort to Stop Carter and later move to Humphrey.

What are the odds?

A hard call. Jackson has Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia and major unions on his side, plus whatever help other Humphrey boosters can give him. Udall is less of a factor. Pennsylvania may be his last primary if he runs a distant third.

Carter's chances? It is hard to say because Pennsylvania is such a large and varied state, fully 12 million people, a great mix of such variety that some politicos say running in Pennsylvania is like running in three or four, or even five or six different states.

But Pennsylvania is not an island. And the Carter momentum is national. "Carter is rolling and the others are floundering," The Wall Street Journal quotes a Pennsylvania Democrat as saying, one described as "one of the few neutral top Democratic politicians in the state."

If that proves true one week from today, Carter's momentum for the Democratic presidential nomination will be hard for anyone to undercut.

Roanoke Times 4/18/76

Religious Appeal Potent

Time for Southern Values in White House?

By NEAL R. PEIRCE

"THE SOUTH shall rise again." Down through a century and more of Confederate nostalgia, years when the race-obsessed and economically depressed Southland was the pariah of American political life, the cry was heard—and seemed to mean little.

It is time for the North to stop snickering. It is true that no candidate from the Deep South has become resident since Louisiana's Zachary Taylor in 1849. But suddenly southern contenders have become a potent force in presidential politics. George Wallace proved it in 1968 and 1972, when he mystified and perplexed northern liberals with his strong runs. And now Jimmy Carter is doing it again—with a far better chance than Wallace ever had to win the presidency.

Have the Wallace and Carter successes been accidental affairs, unrelated to each man's southernness? I would suggest not—each man's southern roots are essential to his appeal, and Wallace, by the very fact of his repeated candidacies and primary victories, set the stage for Carter—a southerner of broader, non-racist appeal—to be accepted in the North.

It's now clear that Wallace's political star is setting, even as Carter's rises. Questions of Wallace's health aside, the Democratic party could never forget the not-so-thinly disguised racism and appeals to people's darker, violent sides, which he embodied, especially in earlier campaigns. Those appeals were quintessential, destined-for-defeat, Old South Dixiecratism.

But there remains the other side to Wallace, his lasting legacy—the "message" that not only his steelworkers and beauticians and cab drivers, but also a great mass of Americans are upset with Washington-based power elites that raised their taxes, meddled with their neighborhood schools, and most importantly never seemed to listen to plain folks.

"For several years now, sensitive southerners have been suggesting that their newly liberated region could make peculiarly valuable contributions to the nation at large: honesty about race questions, direct and openly expressed religious faith, a deep sense of family and of place—all values so often lacking in the more acquisitive and devious North."

So now, when Carter advertises his non-Washington credentials and says he'll return control of their government to ordinary Americans, he's tapping the same vein of broad popular distrust of national leadership first mined by George Wallace.

Charles Morgan, head of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, suggests that vein of distrust has deepened over the past several years, from plain people's concern about the "Washington-knows-best" syndrome into their abhorrences of official lying about the Watergate crisis, Vietnam and other national security issues.

Thus Carter hits an exposed nerve, Morgan notes, when he says he wouldn't tell a lie, he's not from Washington, he's not a lawyer: "Those are Watergate issues, and they're first-rate issues, because they're so elemental, and our government has forgotten them," Morgan said. (Morgan, a leader of the campaign to impeach President Nixon, emphasized he was speaking personally, not for the ACLU, and personally favored Fred Harris for the nomination.)

Beyond popular distrust of Washington, Carter is doing what Wallace never could—to take the positive side of American's common value systems, to speak openly of values such as "love of God, love of land, love of our children," and to turn them into a powerful political thrust.

And it is here, this correspondent suggests, that Carter's essential southernness emerges. During the 1960s, the Southland underwent a dramatic, jarring "second Reconstruction" that freed it from its ancient scourge of racism. Spiritually, economically, politically, all southerners were bound to remain enslaved to a bitter past and bleak present as long as the system of legal segregation persisted.

But now that system has been broken—not only through federal civil rights laws, but also through black and white southerners' own resolve and sometimes heroic actions. There is residual racism, but no worse than in the North. Most southerners, as Martin Luther King Jr. prayed, are "free at last." The South has rejoined the Union as an equal partner.

Wallace represented the rear-guard resistance to the emergence of this new South; Carter has been in its vanguard, not only as a publicized "New South" governor, but, as Morgan points out, also since the early 1950s, when he risked ostracism by refusing to join the racist Citizens Council in south Georgia.

Morgan, it's worth noting, is a native Alabamian who led many of the civil rights battles of the '60s as the ACLU southern director in Atlanta. Now he believes standard national liberalism has "lost its heart, not to mention its gut. But you come from what we've come from in the South, and by God, you know things can be changed."

For several years now, sensitive southerners have been suggesting that their newly liberated region could make peculiarly valuable contributions to the nation at large: honesty about race questions, direct and openly expressed religious faith, a deep sense of family and of place—all values so often lacking in the more acquisitive and devious North.

The message was caught by a great South Carolinian, James McBride Dabbs, writing a few hours before his death in 1970: "We (southerners) have evil and have had evils beyond compare . . . But somehow we've never ceased being haunted by God. Somehow we've remained human. Somehow the stars of kindliness, of integrity, of courage . . . have never gone out."

Against that background, one reads with fascination Richard Reeves diagnosing the Carter phenomenon in New York Magazine. Carter, Reeves writes, has figured out that what others perceive as a political crisis in present-day America "is actually a spiritual crisis," and that "the breakdown of religion, the loss of comprehensible moral framework—or rules—may be the United States' overriding crisis."

Carter appeals to voters, by this analysis, through symbolism—the rural base of a man who can talk of his family farming the same piece of land for 210 years, the religious faith of a man who says unabashedly he belongs to Jesus. "Carter draws on the symbolism of Christianity and the land," Reeves suggests, "and that symbolism touches deep roots in Americans, no matter how irreligious or urban their lives may be now."

Morgan believes the Democrats' Washington-based establishment opposes Carter because "these folks don't have their hooks into him." Also, Morgan suggests, Carter has a corner on "the wholesomeness issue—God, motherhood and country. Some of my liberal friends say he hasn't spoken on the issues. I say, 'Wait a minute, I think he just hit them.'"

We would, of course, be foolish to accept Carter on face value as the embodiment of truthfulness, God, country, or any other value. All professions of love aside, he knows how to strike for an opponent's political jugular. He sometimes exaggerates to the point of embarrassment; like many politicians, he often tailors policy positions to please his listeners of the moment.

But to oppose Carter simply because he is a southerner, as some northerners still do, is to be blind to the South's fantastic transformation in recent years. In a period when there has been so much to discourage and confound us in America, the South has been our one, glowing success story.

Indeed, the time may have come to recall that eight of our first 13 presidents were southerners and to speculate that with the South's "Civil War century" now ended, we might do well to look southward again—if not this year, then sometime soon. It might be a healing, restorative experience in our national life.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/20 thru 4/23.

See Also;

Newsweek, 4/26/76

Announcement of Foreign Policy

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Poll Finds President Strong as Candidate

Doubts Are Fading

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Gerald R. Ford, who seemed unlikely to win even his own party's nomination just a few months ago, seems to have translated the powers of Presidential incumbency into very substantial political strength among the American people.

A new national poll conducted by The New York Times and CBS News, the third in three months, finds that the President has steadily added to his political stock since February when the campaign began in earnest. He also seems to have largely dispelled the many doubts about his competence and abilities as a leader.

The poll of 1,464 Americans of all political persuasions found that the President is viewed more favorably than any other candidate, Republican or Democratic, and is disliked least. Along with other indicators, this improved view, hints that Mr. Ford, the butt of many derisive jokes about his ability, will be anything but a pushover for the Democrats in November.

At the same time, the new survey tends to confirm what the political experts have been

Continued on Page 16, Column 3

2 Lead Democrats

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Something approaching a consensus has been emerging among Democratic Party leaders over the last month, to the effect that only Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia retain significant chances of winning the party's Presidential nomination.

That judgment, whether premature or not, appears to be shared by the average Democratic voter, according to the third national poll by The New York Times and CBS News. Only Mr. Carter, the Democrats' newest face, who made his first national impression in 1970, and Mr. Humphrey, one of the party's oldest faces, a national figure since the 1948 convention, can claim broadly based followings at this point.

The poll showed that, among active candidates, Mr. Carter was the choice of almost half the Democrats. But when the respondants were asked to pick again among a group of possibilities including Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Carter's strength fell off sharply and the Minnesota

Continued on Page 16, Column 5

Two Found Leading Democratic Race

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Senator approached a majority.

Other Democratic candidates were as quickly dismissed by the ters as by the party office-holders and operatives who, at this season, spend their waking hours handicapping the Presidential race.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, the choice of one Democrat in four in the Times/CBS News poll a month ago, a was the choice of only one in five this month. His entire strategy had been based on a winning a sweeping victory in New York on April 6 that would transform him into a front-runner; instead, he won a narrower and more narrowly based victory that was insufficient to prevent slippage in his national support.

New York, in other words, failed to provide the takeoff for Mr. Jackson he had counted upon; if he cannot achieve it in Pennsylvania on Tuesday, his moment of opportunity may have passed.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona has been arguing, in an attempt to explain his inability to win a primary so far, that "when I can become known, I do well." The publilcity accruing from his intensiv campaign increased his standing in the poll, but he is still the choice of fewer than one DemocArat in 10. Only 29 percent of the Democrats say they have heard of the Arizona legislator.

Unknown to a majority of the electorate, low on campaign funds, denied for the moment the matching money owed him by the Federal Treasury, Mr. Udall faces an almost impossible struggle in Pennsylvania and other May primaries.

Mr. Carter has paid dearly for his startingly sudden rise from obscurity—a rise unparalleled in American poilitics since Wendell L. Willkie, a Wall Street utilities lawyer, leaped from anonymity to capture the Republican Presidential nomination 36 years ago.

In March, after victories in the New Hampshire, Florida and Illinois primaries, Mr. Carter was favorably viewed by 40 percent of the voters and unfavorably viewed by only 14 percent—almost a 3-to-1 ratio.

But there followed harsh criticism both of his alleged unwillingness to state his views precisely and of his views a he stated them, particularly his comments opposing Government action to disrupt neighorhood "ethnic purity."

By the time of the April poll, the Georgian's favorable ratio was only 3-to-2, with 37 percent of voters viewing him favorably and 25 percent viewing him unfavorably.

He is not yet so divisive a figure, according to the poll, as Mr. Kumphrey or Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, both of whom offend more voters than they please, according to the poll. But he is much less wellknown than they—four voters in 10 say they lack enough information to make a judgment—and if the pattern of recent weeks continues, Mr. Carter risks becoming a polarizing politician rather than the unifier that he has proclaimed himself.

There is a significant, perhaps pivotal difference in the popularity patterns of Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey.

After three ebullient decades as a party leader, the Minnesotan is a profoundly partisan figure. Among Democrats, only 32 percent view him negatively, but among independents the figure jumps to 50 percent and among Republicans to 58 percent. Mr. Carter's negatives are much more evenly distributed among the three groups, although he, too, is seen in more partisan terms now than he was only a month ago.

When Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey are matched against President Ford in hypothetical runoffs, the differences are dramatically reflected. Neither defeats the President, but Mr. Carter trails by a much smaller margin.

Mr. Carter comes closer precisely because he is better able to appeal across party lines than Mr. Humphrey. Each gets three-fifths of the Democratic vote in the trial heats, but Mr. Carter pulls more than one-third of the independents, while Mr. Humphrey is weaker among that group.

All of this suggests sharply different nomination strategies for the two candidates. Mr. Carter could well argue that if his party turns to Mr. Humphrey it will lose important ground on the crucial independent group, which accounts for 38 percent of the national electorate, according to the poll. Democrats account for 39 percent.

Mr. Humphrey, on the other hand, might well press Mr. Carter—through Mr. Jackson in Pennsylvania and through favorite sons elsewhere, if need be—to accept traditional Democratic viewpoints on major issues. If the Georgian did so, the poll indicates, he would lose much of his independent backing; if he did not, Mr. Humphrey could argue later that Mr. Carter was not "a real Democrat."

In addition, Mr. Humphrey would benefit substantially if Mr. Udal were to withdraw. Of those Democrats who said they supported him, 42 percent said they would actually "prefer a candidate [who is] not running" at the moment.

For Mr. Jackson, no obvious strategy emerges from the tabuations. So strongly do Democratic liberals resent his views on race and on foreign policy that he is unable, in the trial heats with Mr. Ford, to win even among Democrats.

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Poll Finds President a Strong Candidate

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

saying about the confused race for the Democratic nomination. By far the leading choices among the Democrats surveyed were former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. All other aspirants had either remained the same or slipped in standing since the last poll in March.

The new survey, taken by telephone from April 10 to 15, was the latest in a series of five monthly polls being conducted by The Times and CBS News to monitor the race for both Republican and Democratic nominations for the Presidency in 1976. This latest, coming at about the halfway point, showed that both the issues and the candidates were coming into sharper focus in the collective mind of the electorate.

While much could change before November, what is shaping up, an analysis of the issues tested in the poll suggests, is a classic Democratic-Republican face-off dominated by a direct clash over the basic economic issue that have long divided the two major parties.

Ford-Reagan Battle

For the moment, however, the face-off is intramural, and Mr. Ford must still beat off a strong challange from former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. From the first Times/CBS News survey, Mr. Ford held a strong lead over Mr. Reagan, 3 to 2 in February and 2 to 1 in March.

This month, the lead has dropped to 3 to 2 again, but there is no indication that the Californian is making much headway against Mr. Ford with any of the issues, save possibly for his attacks on the performance of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Mr. Reagan showed some new strength in the South and West, strength that may give his campaign a lift in the Texas primary May 1 and in the Southern and Western states that hold primaries in May and June.

There are several signs in the survey results that point to Mr. Ford's new strength, not only among his own party members but also among political independents, who are critical to the election of any Republican nominee.

Most striking, perhaps, are the voters' perception of his personal qualities. Two months ago, more than three-quarters of the Republicans surveyed rated Mr. Reagan as more competent than most, while President Ford was so rated by only about half. This month the tables were turned, with three-quarters finding Mr. Ford competent and only 60 percent giving such credit to Mr. Reagan.

Similarly, though less strikingly, Mr. Ford's standing as a strong leader among Republicans rose from 54 to 59 percent, while Mr. Reagan's dropped from 78 to 70 percent. Similar shifts were observed when the same questions were asked of all respondents, not just Republicans.

Another index to Mr. Ford's relative strength is the ratio between those who had a favorable view of him and those who had an unfavorable view. Back in February, before the first primary, the ratio was about 7 to 5 for both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan. Now it is about 8 to 5 for Mr. Ford, higher than for any other candidate, declared or undeclared. Mr. Reagan's favorable-to-unfavorable ratio has dropped to 6 to 5.

While it is perhaps a bit too early to ask people whom they would support in November, it is possible to speculate on the basis of hypothetical run-offs. According to the Times!CBS poll, Mr. Ford would run ahead of both Mr. Carter and Senator Humphrey. The President does particularly well among independents surveyed, especially in a race against Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Reagan, meanwhile, has been unable to capitalize on the support even of those who regard him well. The poll shows that more than half the Republicans with a favorable view of Mr. Reagan said they actually preferred Mr. Ford for the nomination. Mr. Ford, at the same time, won the support of nearly three-quarters of those favorable to him.

Attitude! What may be even more discouraging to the Reagan camp is that well over one-third of the Republicans thought the Californian had a "very good" chance of beating the Democratic candidate, but they mostly preferred Mr. Ford for the nomination.

Why has Mr. Reagan's effort faltered, given the President's initial weakness?

Analysis of the attitudes of Republicans polled on a broad range of issues suggests that Mr. Reagan simply has not been able to take advantage of the few issues on which he differs with the President. He seldom was chosen by more than 40 percent of the Republicans on his side of the major issues.

For example, Mr. Reagan has often attacked the Administration's efforts to reach detente with the Soviet Union. And 63 percent of Republicans polled opposed detente. Yet Mr. Reagan had the support of only 4 of every 10 of these people, 53 percent of them going to the President. Similarly, the bulk of Republicans felt it important to increase military spending, but only a third of them chose Mr. Reagan.

Indeed, Mr. Reagan scored well on only one of a dozen or so major issues tested—that of the role of Mr. Kissinger. Forty-three percent of Republicans agreed with the statement that the Secretary of State "has made too many concessions which have hurt the American position in the world." Of these, Mr. Reagan was the choice over Mr. Ford, 50 to 42 percent. But 46 percent disagreed with the statement, and they chose Mr. Ford 71 to 22 percent.

Foreign Policy Issues

Why has Mr. Reagan been able to make so little of the foreign policy issues? The polls suggestee that Americans have very little concern for them this year, at least compared with other issues. A heavy majority, even of Republicans, said that they considered such domestic issues as crime, energy and jobs as more important than the detente matter.

While Udall Aide Seeks Fishing Hole, Carter's Looks for a Place in the Sun

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

WILLIAMSPORT, Pa., April 22—The sun had not quite cleared the Allegheny Mountains this morning when Gary T. Mitchell awoke with one thought on his mind—a fishing spot for Morris K. Udall.

Similarly, when Robert B. Robertson climbed out of bed at about the same early hour, his first major concern was whether or not it might rain on Jimmy Carter.

Both young men are staff workers on Presidential campaigns and both have been beating the multitude of bushes here in rural, north central Pennsylvania where their candidates —Representative Udall of Arizona and Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia—are decided underdogs to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in the Democratic primary on Tuesday.

But because Mr. JJackson's schedule-makers omitted Williamsport from his itinerary, the two young aides are directing much of their energies and most of their meager budgets to the premier moment of their assignment here—the appearances of their own candidates here on Saturday.

'Ecological Overtones'

Mr. Udall wants to stage a "media event with ecological overtones," Mr. Mitchell said today as he tried to find just the right spot for such an occurrence. "We don't have it yet, but we're trying to find it and we want to make it a place where the Congressman can go fishing. That's what he said he wants to do."

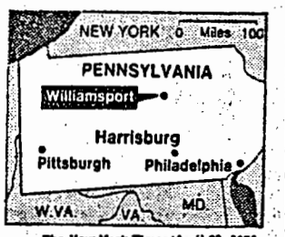
Mr. Robertson's problems are a bit different. He has been unable to find a large indoor setting for his candidate, so a little park has been reserved. "They told me if it rains," he said today, "they're gng to play polo with my head."

Most knowledgeable, local politicians say that neither event will make much difference in the outcome of the voting because Mr. Jackson has not only the energetic support of organized labor but also the tacit backing of Gov. Milton J. Shapp's formidable statewide apparatus as well.

But none of that has made the slightest dent in the enthusiasm of either Mr. Robertson or Mr. Mitchell. In fact, both have been working much harder simply from having heard such rumors.

"It's very simple," Mr. Robertson said today between dozens of phone calls at the storefront Carter headquarters here. "You believe in your man and you just don't believe he's going to be beaten, and that's the way you work."

Mr. Mitchell was equally undaunted. "Listen," he said, as he studied lists of voters from Williamsport's wards, "I worked for McGovern in 1972, and if we had paid any attention to everybody who said he did't have a chance to win the nomination, he wouldn't have won the nomination."



The New York Times/April 23, 1976

Rental Refused Carter

Mr. Mitchell, 24 years old, worked for Mr. Udall in Wisconsin and arrived here a week ago to open Mr. Udall's local office. It also is an old storefront on one of Williamsport's main streets, sandwiched in between Kelly's Bar and Grill and Angelo Paternostro's shoe repair shop. The office, for which the Udall-campaign is paying $75 for one week's use, is owned by Dr. M. J. Hiras, a dentist, who refused to rent the property to Mr. Robertson of the Carter campafgn.

Mr. Mitchell is a first-year law student at Rutgers University and a native of New Jersey, and for his services, he is paid $35 a week and car expenses. "The biggest problem I have is that they won't cash my payroll check here," Mr. Mitchell said today.

Mr. Robertson, 24 also, is a graduate of Lycoming College here in Williamsport but is a resident of Atlanta where he first became acquainted with the Carter campaign. He is paid $300 a month for his services, and he lives with a family he met while he was studying philosophy and theater as an undergraduate.

Williamsport, a cleam town of 100,000, gave birth several years ago to Little League baseball, and it is the scene of the Little League World Series every year. It is also known as the "City of Churches," with more than 100 places of worship. The residents are quietly friendly, but neither Mr. Robertson nor Mr. Mitchell has had much time to enjoy his stay.

"This is a rat race," Mr. Robertson, the Carter aide lamented.

"We never get to stop until after midnight," said Mr. Mitchell.

Still, there is some fun in their lives. Mr. Mitchell parks his car, festooned with Udall-posters, in front of the Carter headquarters, and Mr. Robertson often drops off Carter campaign circulars, in Mr. Mitchell's mailbox.

'We're Not Enemies'

"We don't really know each other that well but we're not really enemies," Mr. Robertson said of his counterpart.

Moreover, both of them have acquainted themselves thoroughly with Williamsport and the vast eight-county region that comprises most of the two state senatorial districts for which they are responsible.

Most of the 200,000 residents in the two districts work in the scores of little plants and factories that dot the many tiny towns in the region. Consequently, although most of them are not members of unions, they are labor-oriented voters whose first choice is a declared noncandidate, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and then Mr. Jackson.

Many of them see in these two men some hope that the 12 percent unemployment rate might be eased in the eight counties.

So, both Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Robertson, in behalf of their candidates, have $struggled to spread the word that their man is willing and able to solve such problems.

"But it's a very difficult place to get that word around," Mr. Robertson said. "Many of the people we call in our phone canvasses don't even know who's running."

Both men are a bit worried as to whether or not they will be retained by the respective campaigns after the primary. But whatever happens to them they have proved to themselves and to others here that in politics, as in war, the momentous battles are usually fought in many small engagements by men the generals do not know.

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Disavowal by Rockefeller Fails to Mollify Jackson

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By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22—Vice President Rockefeller denied today making any "charges" that Communists had infiltrated the staff of Senator Henry M. Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

But the Vice President, in a terse telegram to the Senator, left unsettled whether he had suggested such an infiltration in a private conversation last week with a group of Republicans in Atlanta.

"Your telegram amounts to a 34-word version of your earlier 'no comment,' Senator Jackson responded. He demanded in a letter delivered to Mr. Rockefeller that the Vice President issue an unequivocal "repudiation" of the suggestion.

Aides to both President Ford and the Vice President declined to say whether the matter was discussed when the two met this afternoon. Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said only that "the President assumes that a United States Senator has responsible people on his staff."

Mr. Rockefeller's telegram, made public by his staff, was his first acknowledgment of the controversy, which arose rom a closed meeting last Thursday with 30 or more Georgia Republicans.

The Atlanta Journal, quoting three identified participants, reported yesterday that the Vice President had said a male member of Mr. Jackson's staff was "an avowed Communist who claims to have had a conversion" from Communism.

According to the newspaper's account, Mr. Rockefeller also questioned the background of Dr. Dorothy Fosdick, the staff director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigation, which the Senator heads.

In a telegram he sent to the Vice President yesterday, Mr. Jackson demanded a public apology. A spokesman for Mr. Rockefeller said he sent the following message to the Senator this afternoon.

"In response to your telegram, I regret that public interpretation of conversations in a private meeting caused you and your associates embarrassment. I made no charges and therefore there are none to be withdrawn."

Aides to the Senator said he was furious that Mr. Rockefeller appeared to have acknowledged "conversations" on the matter without explaining them or repudiating the published "interpretation."

Campaigning in Detroit and Cleveland, Mr. Jackson said the Vice President had a duty to submit any evidence of infiltration to the Department of Justice.

"If he's any man at all, he'll stand up and lay it on the line," the Senator said.

At one point, Mr. Jackson told reporters that "Congress may well want to probe" the Vice President's purported remarks.

After learning of Mr. Rockefeller's telegram to him, the Senator dictated a letter stating that the Vice President was "the only person who can dispel" the "innuendo and the malicious implications attributed to you.m... "

'Dishonor to White House'

"I should think," the letter also said, "that you would understand that the allegations attributed to you, so sadly reminiscent of McCarthyism, bring dishonor to your reputation and to that of the White House. If there is any embarrassment here, it is to you and not to me or my associates."

The Atlanta Journal account said that Mr. Rockefeller had said Dr. Fosdick was the chief assistant to Alger Hiss at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Mr. Hiss, who was accused of passing secrets to the Soviet Union, was convicted of perjury in a celebrated case.

Dr. Fosdick, who has the reputation in the Senate of being strongly anti-Communist, was said to have found the allegation ironic but ludicrous. An aide said Miss Fosdick actually had been an assistant in the secretary general of the United States delegation to the founding U.N. conference.

"What ub tgll! - "What in the world is he doing down in Atlanta at a meeting of right-wing Republicans discussing my staff?" Senator JaJckson asked rhetorically in Cleveland.

UDALL STEPS UP TV-RADIO EFFORT

Pennsylvania Campaign to Spend $80,000, Less Than Carter Figure

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 22—Representative Morris K. Udall has contracted for $80,000 worth of television and radio advertising in the closing days of the Pennsylvania Presidential primary election campaign, and may be able to increase the figure to more than $100,000, sources in the Udall campaign organization said today.

However, the Arizona Congressman, frustrated by an inability to throw more funds into the fight, suggested that today that Congressional Democrats who favored Senator Hubert H. Humphrey for the nomination and Republicans who support President Ford had perhaps deliberately delayed passage of legislation to reconstitute the Federal Election Commission, which is now in a state of legal limbo.

If Mr. Udall is able to reach the higher figure of $100,000 for political advertising in Pennsylvania, he would be spending about two-thirds of the expected "media campaign" to be purchased by Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Goergia.

More Udall Money

A recent direct-mail appeal for funds has already begun to bring a modest flow of money into Udall headquarters in Washington, with $8,000 counted on Tuesday and more funds arriving yesterday. These will be added to already budgeted funds.

However, Mr. Udall, a liberal, is less known by name, face and philosophy in this sprawling state, which will hold its primary on Tuesday, than either Mr. Carter or Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, his rivals for the Democratic nomination.

Mr. Udall, hurt by his inability to collect $290,000 in Federal matching funds from the election commission lashed out at Congress twice today for what he called its "irresponsibility" and "shabby" behavior in failing to reconstitute the agency. The commisslon cannot dispense Federal matching funds because of Congress's failure to pass legislation which would meet the Supreme Court standards for the appointment of commission members.

In Washington this morning, Mr. Udall told a breakfast meeting of the Washington Press Club that he was "awfully suspicious" of Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Republican leader of the Senate, and his role in Congressional delay on passing such campaign legislation.

Sees Anti-Reagan Move

He suggested that Senator Scott and others, who backed President Ford, believe that further delay in the allocation of Federal matching funds would hurt Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor, who opposes Mr. Ford.

But Mr. Udall also had criticism for Democrats who had contributed to the delay.

"The Democrats were among those who participated in the delay," he said, adding that Senator Humphrey, an unannounced but available candidate for the nomination, had the most to gain among Democrats by the drying up of Federal matching funds during the primary.

Meanwhile, Mr. Carter stepped up his attacks on Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, one of a number of Democratic leaders in the state who are supporting Senator Jackson in the primary.

While campaigning in western Pennsylvania yesterday, Mr. Carter said he was proud that another Mayor, Peter F. Flaherty of Pittsburgh, was supporting him because Mr. Flaherty "doesn't run up $80 million deficits and close down hospitals and inflate the public payroll with political patronage." "I'm just as happy to do without the endorsement of the Mayor who does all those things, Frank Rizzo," he added.

'Autocratic Nature'

Today, as he moved his campaign into the Philadelphia area, Mr. Carter said Mr. Rizzo "represents the kind of politics I can't deal with." "I think the voters are likely to react and rebel against the autocratic nature of his politics," he added.

He said his campaingn headquarters had received threatening telephone calls from persons who accused the Carter campaign of being a part of a recall movement under way in Philadelphia against Mr. Rizio. Mr. Carter denied he was part of any such movement.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall, appearing together this afternoon in a television debate, clashed on the issue of busing to achieve school desegregation. Mr. Carter said he opposed mandatory ing but favored a voluntary plan.

Mr. Udall, while expressing his own lack of enthusiasm for busing, said it was imrortant to uphold constitutional rights for equal treatment in education and added, "You'll get about as much volunteer busing in South Boston and Dorchester [Mass.] as you'll get volunteer observance of Yom Kippur in Cairo."

H

Electorates View on Selected Issues

(Based on the April New York Times/CBS News Poll of 1,464 People)

The federal government should see to it that every person who wants to work has a job.

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Agree	78 %	65 %	58%
Disagree	18	29	38

Most welfare programs should be eliminated.

Agree	34	38	42
Disagree	54	50	46

It is not in our interest to be so friendly with Russia because we are giving more than we are getting.

Agree	61	55	63
Disagree	26	29	29

In general, the government has paid too much attention to the problems of blacks and other minorities.

Agree	43	47	50
Disagree	47	45	39

The federal government must have a more balanced budget even if that means spending less money on programs for such things as health and education.

Agree	38	44	57
Disagree	53	49	35

We should elect someone who has spent most of his political career outside of Washington.

Agree	38	48	42
Disagree	49	37	42

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has made too many concessions which have hurt the American position in the world.

Agree	55	46	43
Disagree	32	39	46

The New York Times/April 23, 1976

How Election Poll Was Conducted

The New York Times/CBS News survey is based on telephone interviews conducted from April 10 to April 15 with 1,464 adult men and women across the continental United States.

The phone numbers called were selected by a computer from a complete list of United States phone numbers. They were chosen at random in such a way as to insure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its numbers in the population. Each residential phone in the country had an equal chance of being called.

The results shown have been weighted by household size, race, sex, religion, age and education. This weighting procedure safeguards against possible distortion caused by the fact that certain groups are harder to reach than others in surveys of this type.

In theory, a sample of this size is large enough to say with 95 percent certainty that the overall results differ by no more than 3 percent in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Americans of voting age. The results for Democrats or Republicans alone may err by 4 percent. However, the margin of error is probably somewhat larger because of various practical difficulties inherent in taking any survey of public opinion.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of Harvard University.

Changing Composition of Candidate Support

(Based on New York Times/CBS News Polls in February, March and April)

(In Percent)	All Democrats			Carter			Jackson			Udall			Wallace			Humphrey*			All Republicans			Ford			Reagan		
	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
Ideology																											
Liberal	29	29	31	10	58	46	16	22	18	4	7	16	21	6	11	33	46	43	12	13	12	59	82	54	30	17	42
Moderate	42	41	35	17	40	43	19	27	21	2	6	6	21	14	15	27	42	48	35	32	30	58	70	70	28	34	25
Conservative	21	29	28	10	43	52	7	21	18	4	2	5	43	21	13	21	35	48	49	55	51	48	60	51	38	50	39
Religion																											
Protestant	54	55	57	13	46	52	14	24	16	3	5	6	27	14	16	28	36	43	76	74	80	55	64	60	29	29	31
Catholic	32	33	35	7	43	44	14	25	18	3	6	13	29	15	10	30	48	50	17	17	15	57	67	43	31	30	53
Jewish	3	3	5	39	37	15	32	40	52	2	12	12	0	0	4	15	41	39	2	1	1	56	79	78	11	21	22
Occupation																											
Professional and Managerial	**	22	43	**	50	53	**	25	18	**	8	8	**	7	12	**	37	41	**	33	32	**	64	58	**	31	34
Other White Collar		9	21		64	38		13	19		2	2		13	15		40	45		10	37		57	52		40	41
Blue Collar		45	12		42	46		26	14		4	4		14	17		38	58		31	7		66	68		31	30
Age																											
18-29	27	25	35	10	49	48	10	16	14	3	6	15	38	16	11	23	36	34	21	27	20	55	68	66	39	31	31
30-44	31	23	21	11	54	47	11	13	14	2	5	9	30	16	14	30	37	37	28	25	26	47	64	57	40	30	38
45-64	29	34	36	11	43	44	17	26	22	3	4	6	18	15	17	28	45	55	28	29	35	54	59	48	27	34	41
65 and over	13	19	18	19	30	50	17	43	23	2	7	3	30	5	13	35	45	53	22	20	19	61	74	62	21	16	23
Education																											
Less than High School	28	40	43	12	38	52	11	31	18	0	3	2	36	13	18	26	41	44	18	36	29	66	71	51	16	23	34
High School Grad	35	37	36	9	47	44	15	21	21	5	5	10	25	16	12	34	42	50	32	31	38	49	64	62	37	30	34
Some College	20	13	13	11	52	41	18	15	14	1	8	16	21	14	10	27	43	37	22	16	16	49	64	59	35	32	32
College Grad	17	10	9	29	52	40	14	17	15	9	12	22	12	6	7	21	33	46	28	16	17	48	58	53	44	35	40
Race																											
White	85	81	81	12	43	45	15	25	18	3	6	8	28	15	15	26	41	42	96	94	95	55	65	57	31	30	34
Black	12	16	11	16	52	66	14	19	20	1	1	7	11	4	4	42	41	69	2	4	3	62	82	68	38	0	16

*Not an announced candidate, but included in the Presidential preference question not asked in survey **Figures not available

The New York Times/April 23, 1976

Respondents were asked to choose among declared candidates, and then asked to choose again with Senator Humphrey added. Chart uses answers from first question, so figures add up to more than 100 percent.

H. H. H. Underground

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON, April 22 — Maybe Hubert H. Humphrey can win the Democratic Presidential nomination by following his present strategy, but if so it is hard to see how he could unify the Democratic Party and go on to defeat President Ford—if he is the Republican nominee—in the fall campaign.

The Humphrey phenomenon began with the notion that no single leader could emerge from the big Democratic field, under new Democratic rules, so that a divided, deadlocked convention would need to nominate a respected and experienced party elder as a choice acceptable to all factions.

As the campaign has developed, however, two things have gone wrong with that "scenario." First, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, although he has by no means run away from the field, has emerged as enough of a front-runner so that a discernible "stop Carter" movement has formed.

The other development is that Mr. Humphrey, in addition to being the obvious beneficiary of the "stop Carter" movement, is in fact playing the major role in it. In so doing, he is not only helping to "stop" Mr. Carter, if that can be done; he seems to be undercutting the candidacies of Senator Henry Jackson and Representative Morris Udall as well.

Just recently, as reported by R. W. Apple of The New York Times, Mr. Humphrey took his big name and his party connections to Indiana and packed the house for a Democratic Party fund-raiser. That was bound to make the lesser-known Senator Jackson look bad—and it did when he came to Indianapolis the next night and drew only a modest audience. Earlier, in New York, where Jackson had pitched his major effort, he had to intervene personally with Mr. Humphrey to keep the eager "non-candidate" from making a major political appearance in Buffalo—which also could have hurt Mr. Jackson in an area where he needed help instead.

In Wisconsin, where Representative Udall was fighting to stay alive in this campaign, Mr. Humphrey was widely reported to have urged Humphrey backers to help Mr. Udall as part of the "stop Carter" strategy. Mr. Udall played along, and even suggested to those who preferred Mr. Humphrey that their best bet was a Udall vote. Whatever either man intended, the net effect of this collusion was to make Mr. Udall look like a Humphrey stalking-horse rather than a bona fide candidate in his own right.

Now, in Pennsylvania, Senator Jackson's candidacy is undergoing the same process of erosion from underneath. The labor union leaders of that state, heavily committed to Mr. Jackson, openly admit—with no known protest from Mr. Humphrey—that they actually prefer H.H.H. and are supporting Mr. Jackson only as a "stop Carter" expedient. All this may cause some Democrats to remember the complaints by backers of Senator Edmund S. Muskie that Mr. Humphrey never really gave their man the clear shot he had promised him in 1972.

The fact is that Mr. Humphrey now is anything but the benevolent "elder statesman above the battle" who once could be envisioned as a compromise acceptable to all in the event of a deadlocked convention. Instead, he is in the battle up to his ears, albeit clandestinely. He is the man, more than any other, who will have brought about the deadlock, if it should in fact develop; and he will have been instrumental in barring, not just Mr. Carter, but Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall also from a clear chance at victory in the primaries. And he will have done none of this in straight tests of strength with his rivals.

IN THE NATION

If Mr. Humphrey wins the Democratic nomination in such a fashion, supporters of the forthright candidates are not likely to be wildly enthusiastic about supporting him against Mr. Ford. Many of Mr. Carter's backers, in particular, are shown by a New York Times/CBS poll to be potential Ford voters if Mr. Carter is eliminated. A Humphrey nomination without primary competition inevitably will evoke memories of 1968, when he also won without running in the primaries.

Even with the advantages of incumbency, moreover, Mr. Ford has been willing to take his chances in every primary Ronald Reagan has contested. What, then, gives Hubert Humphrey stature to stay out and win by indirection what he might well not be able to win openly? And might not millions of voters remember next fall that it was Gerald Ford who won his nomination through competition and Hubert Humphrey who did it in the backrooms of the "old politics"?

It is still possible, until April 25, to enter the Nebraska and Idaho primaries, and until April 29 to sign up for New Jersey. If Mr. Humphrey were truly "above the battle" and passively awaiting his party's emergency call, he would be obliged to stay out of them as he has all the others. Since he has emerged as an active candidate and a major contender, he might help his party and his name if he put the latter on the line in these last-ditch primaries.

WEATHER
Fair and warm. Details on Page 7B.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Vol. 94, No. 52 ★★★★★ P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Friday Evening, April 23, 1976 C 88 Pages, 5 Sections

PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARY

Carter Win Likely Without Black Vote

By ANDREW J. GLASS

PHILADELPHIA — A tide of black votes that helped Jimmy Carter to several early triumphs does not seem to be running Carter's way in Pennsylvania's presidential primary.

All indications still point to a major Carter victory in this state's pivotal election next Tuesday. Yet, this time, the Georgian is likely to win without in-depth support among Pennsylvania's numerous black Democrats.

Interviews with black leaders and dozens of ordinary voters reveal the shift away from Carter among blacks does not rest on his now-infamous "ethnic purity" statement — although the remark failed to bolster Carter's cause among blacks here.

In previous primaries, Carter has run well ahead of his presidential rivals in black areas. The Joint Center for Political Studies at Howard University in Washington found that in Boston, Carter won 42 per cent of the black vote; in 46 black districts in Florida, Carter won 70 per cent and in seven Chicago black wards, Carter bested his opponent, Sargent Shriver, 48 to 31 per cent.

One reason Carter may not do well among blacks in Pennsylvania is their concerns focus on such matters as jobs, income and gaining political muscle-power. In such a climate, Carter's often-stated themes of love, compassion, decency and brotherhood could hold less sway.

Thus, this city's well-organized civil servants, who are mainly black, are lining up with Mayor Frank Rizzo behind delegate slates friendly to Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington. The alliance is based in part on a handsome wage settlement which the union reached with the mayor shortly before Rizzo's re-election last November.

Many black leaders here view Jackson as the means of bringing Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota into the Democratic nomination race. And Humphrey, in turn, is revered by a lot of blacks in Philadelphia. In 1972, the black vote (40 per cent of Philadelphia Democrats) was mainly responsible, along with labor, for Humphrey's 35 per cent first-place finish in the state.

Mack Walters, a postal union leader who had come to hear Carter speak, said: "Personally, I like the man. But if the choice were between Hubert and Jimmy, I'd have to go with Humphrey because he's a friend of labor. And I must admit that I worry about the wage settlements in (Carter's) peanut plant in Georgia."

Carter, the candidate from the peanut farm and the one-time governor, sought to offset such frequently stated concerns by spending a full three hours Thursday night at a dinner given for him by Samuel Evans, executive director of the American Foundation of Negro Affairs. Evans gathered virtually everyone in the black Philadelphia establishment not already firmly attached to Jackson or to Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona — who is also making a major bid for black support.

The candidate reminded the audience that he had been endorsed earlier in the day by Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson. A letter was read from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. which said, in part, "We are with Jimmy Carter even when the road to the White House has a few bumps in it. It is wrong to jump on a man for a slip of the tongue."

But "Daddy King's" appeal holds little clout with K. Leroy Irvis, majority leader of the Pennsylvania House and one of the most powerful blacks in state politics.

United Press International

PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS JIMMY CARTER (L) AND MORRIS UDALL (R)
Both Feel They Will Finish Ahead of Sen. Henry Jackson in Pennsylvania Primary

Irvis, who was not at the Carter dinner, said while he hadn't made up his mind on how he would vote, one thing was certain: "It won't be Carter." He added:

"I think Carter is personally charming. But we're playing for real stakes. Intellectually, I like Udall. He is a consistent and a decent man. But, realistically, he isn't going anywhere. That means we're left with no horse, unless Hubert Humphrey gets moving.

"I like Humphrey because he was for civil rights and human decency for a long time. He spoke about equality before it became popular to do so. He's a man of courage and charisma."

At the Thursday dinner, Carter did all he could to identify his campaign with the concerns of the predominately black audience. When Richard Nixon assumed the Presidency in 1969, Carter noted, many blacks felt a sense of despair and lost hope "because they felt nobody cared about them."

Carter obviously cares. Yet many Pennsylvania blacks who know little more about Carter than what they have seen on their television sets know that Hubert Humphrey — the man whom Nixon beat that year — had once cared very much for their votes and that he could be seeking their votes again before the 1976 presidential campaign is over.

Carter, Jackson in Contrast

Pittsburgh

THE TOUGH and practical men of big business who slipped unobtrusively from Jimmy Carter's suite in the William Penn Hotel Tuesday evening were barely able to suppress fascination for the onetime peanut farmer.

"We think he's got the best chance of any Democrat to be nominated, and so naturally when you are asked to meet the next possible president you say, yes," one of them told us. "There is plenty we don't like about Jerry Ford," he added.

Saying yes were presidents and executive vice presidents of U.S. Steel, Westinghouse, Allegheny Ludlum, Alcoa, National Steel, the Mellon Bank, Jones & Laughlin, Koppers and other corporate giants — about 20 executives in all, only two of whom were Democrats.

If the invitation for the nonfund-raising chat with a possible future president had come from Sen. Henry M. Jackson — Carter's main rival in next Tuesday's presidential primary — instead of Carter, the hotel suite might have looked empty.

"We wouldn't do this for Scoop," one industrial mogul told us. "He's prostituted himself for labor."

That Carter event, which the former Georgia governor's campaign staff failed to include on his schedule, capsuled some of the political razzmatazz that has marked so much of Carter's daredevil campaign for the presidential nomination. For at 7 a.m. the next morning, there was smiling Jimmy Carter shaking hundreds of hands at the plant gate of U.S. Steel's huge Homestead plant here, handing out literature promising that if elected he would sign the common-situs picketing bill (vetoed by President Ford) and a repeal of Taft-Hartley's right-to-work section. Both are anathema to corporate America.

Moreover, in the face of strong support for Jackson from the entire bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO Steel Workers Union — a dominant political force in this steel capital of the world — Carter's presence at the plant gate seemed to demonstrate conclusively that, in the antiorganization politics and culture of today, rank-and-file, blue-collar workers are taking direction from no one.

"A majority of us here are voting for the man any more, not the politician the union says to vote for," a stamper of steel shapes told us on his way to work. The sentiment became repetitive.

Thus, following his surprising heart-to-heart talk with not unsympathetic titans of industry, Carter went to the workers they pay, over the heads of the union bosses, and doubly verified the political truth on which his camp is based: political office is more vulnerable than ever to capture by a resourceful, imaginative campaigning that exploits the skepticisms and the decay of power in almost all organizations.

But while Carter has designed just such a strategy, Jackson seems inescapably tied to the old. Monday, there was little imagination in a morning of campaigning at the antiquated Frankfurt Arsenal, a federal installation now under death sentence, which he promised to salvage if elected president. Those who saw Jackson were almost certainly already part of his own constituency, and the guide who took him around for the benefit of TV cameras was a uniformed Army colonel — an association Jackson does not need.

Hence, some usually astute politicians are saying that if it weren't for the support of the steel workers, most other unions and virtually all wings of the divided Philadelphia Democratic party, Jackson would not have a chance.

In truth, however, the mere fact that Jackson is so publicly backed by so many once-powerful organizations may prove to be an albatross, not a blessing. That was clearly hinted by Carter's surprising success with both Republican big business and Democratic steel workers here. Indeed, with both Rep. Morris Udall and Gov. George Wallace dropping far off the pace, the contrasting campaigns of Carter and Jackson in the all-important popular vote or "beauty contest" portion of this Tuesday's primary election, threatens to catch Jackson at a dangerous low point.

ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK

The snickers that Jackson is only Humphrey's stand-in are, of course, part of his problem — but a small part. His real problem is the abysmal failure of his campaign to get out of its pedestrian rut, while Carter cavorts on the field with an eye-boggling demonstration of broken-field running. — (c1976.)

Washington Star April 22.

All of the Signs Point to Carter In Pennsylvania

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PITTSBURGH — Barring a sharp reversal of form, Jimmy Carter should win the Pennsylvania primary next Tuesday.

The signs that political scouts use to forecast elections point in that direction.

Carter, riding the momentum of six victories in the first eight primaries, has been gaining prominent adherents daily in the late stages of the primary campaign. Yesterday, for example, as he toured a coal mine with Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. at his side, Carter won the endorsement of Joseph (Chip) Yablonski Jr., a son of the slain leader of the United Mine Workers.

OTHERS SEEMED on the brink of commitment. His traveling party in the last 24 hours included Sander Levin, a premiere leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic party in Michigan and the 1974 gubernatorial candidate there. Levin said he was still weighing a decision on joining Carter, but he was obviously leaning that way.

There were strong indications, too, of self-doubt in the camps of his two opponents here, Henry M. Jackson and Morris K. Udall.

For example, Mary Ann Olson, the western Pennsylvania coordinator for Udall, was telling reporters her candidate still has a recognition problem in Pennsylvania with only six days remaining. "We are just trying to make them aware of Mo," he said.

And, although Jackson's managers still professsed optimism, they were admitting privately that they were concerned about their lack of control over those on whom Jackson is relying — the organization of Mayor Frank L. Rizzo in Philadelphia and organized labor in Pittsburgh and the other population centers of western Pennsylvania.

TERRY O'CONNELL, a highly regarded young professional from Washington, said there were signs Carter has been slipping in the last few days. But the people Jackson has been depending on — from unions to the regular party organizations — were becoming increasingly outspoken in telling one and all that their commitment to the Democrat from Washington is limited.

See CARTER, A-6

CARTER

Continued From A-1

One problem with labor is the internal situation within several key unions. For example, I.W. Abel, the president of the United Steelworkers of America, has endorsed Jackson but is not pushing his candidacy hard within the union because he is also involved in intra-union politics.

Beyond this, the union men are conceding that there are limits on the amount of the vote they can channel to any single candidate.

They were pointing out, for example, that in 1972 the combined vote for George Wallace exceeded that for Hubert Humphrey in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County despite the priority given Humphrey's campaign.

THIS YEAR Humphrey is not on the ballot, but he is still a major factor plaguing Jackson at every turn. Union leaders are saying privately and on national television that their support for Jackson is really intended as a holding action to give the nomination to Humphrey in the end.

Still another factor contributing to the picture of Carter gaining strength is campaign money. The 51-year-old Georgian has raised about $300,000 for the final 120 days here, half of which he is using on media advertising. This is about twice as much as either of his opponents have for that purpose.

Carter also has employed a professional telephone canvassing operation while Jackson and Udall are dependent upon scattered banks of amateurs to make their calls. And neither camp has any genuine control over the telephone operations.

PERHAPS THE single most important element, however, in the growing consensus that Carter will win here is the extraordinary celebrity he has acheived on the strength of his earlier victories and the national attention they have earned from the news media.

Carter is now a candidate who can draw an instant crowd simply by walking through the streets, something neither Jackson nor Udall has yet to achieve.

Udall's position seems particularly tenuous. His campaign managers are writing scenarios that would allow him to survive until the national convention, even if he finishes a weak third here, which is precisely what most professionals expect.

Jackson, who began the Pennsylvania campaign with such great expectations, is now being forced to measure the results here in terms of the 134 delegates that will be chosen next Tuesday rather than by the popular vote that will be cast in the preferential primary, or "beauty contest."

But — privately at least — Jackson's managers are conceding that a loss in the popular vote will be devastating to their hopes of continuing a viable camapign until the July 12 convention in New York.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY. F
Weather: Rain tonight. Sunny. Temperature Wednesday 61.

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,188 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1976 — M

Pennsylvania to Test Carter's Momentum

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 21 — Jimmy Carter has entered the second phase of the Presidential campaign in the anomalous position of a front-runner still searching for a solid base in the Democratic Party.

For the hands-down winner of the first phase in the long nomination race the perils of the second phase are writ large in Pennsylvania—a state where primary politics looks more like a convention than a popularity contest and where the power blocs that like to run Democratic conventions stand shoulder to shoulder against Mr. Carter.

Pennsylvania presents an arena of blue-collar, ethnic politics and massive city and state patronage machines. It is a state where organized labor can put 10,000 election workers in the field next Tuesday. This is where Mr. Carter will face his most concentrated struggle against virtually the whole alliance of established power in this party.

Everywhere but on the ballot it is seen as a contest against the symbol of bloc politics here —Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who has not declared his candidacy.

The immediate questions posed for the Carter campaign in Pennsylvania are fundamental to his entire national effort:

Looking backward, has he been consolidating a firm following or simply moppomg up votes that his early rivals could not win for themselves? And looking ahead, does the "Carter phenomenon" show the stamina to sustain a "Carter move-

Continued on Page 24, Column 2

United Press International

Jimmy Carter carrying his campaign underground on a visit to a coal mine at Finleyville, Pa., yesterday.

Pennsylvania Race on Tuesday to Test Carter Momentum as Front-Runner

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

ment?"

Can Jimmy Carter cope with the heavy infantry of the Democratic Party as effecively as he has managed a Guerricca campaign against divided opposition through the last three months?

Does he understand constituency politics as well as he understands how to use news and promotion?

Can he speak for a coalition of interests as clearly as he has voiced his own spirituality and the popular disaffection with the way government works?

"Brilliant but thin" is still the consensus of professional readings on a campaign that has registered the steepest leap for any candidate's popularity in 40 years of Gallup polling and has brought Mr. Carter's army of gifted followers, (including 11 full-time campaigners in his immediate family) to the gates of the Democratic citadel.

Up From Obscurity

Both the brilliance and the thinness of his position are related to the strangest fact of all in the Carter story: that he moved from obscurity to the head of the pack without ever commanding a political "base," as Democrats use the word.

Georgians still debate whether Mr. Carter was popular dency without a strong claim on Georgia. He has been out of office since 1974 and is far outside the broad band of union-organized Northern industrialized states that Democrats think of as their heartland in Presidential politics. He was, moreover, a racial progressive in a region that many "national" Democrats had virtually conceded to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and the politics of resentment.

Mr. Carter was willing to gamble on Mr. Wallace's vulnerability. He also understood the strengths of his own weakness—including the appeal of an "outsider" in a disillusioned era and the degree to which the implausibility of his quest could produce ripples of surprise at the first sign of success.

Indeed, the Carter campaign has developed a strategic art in the management of surprise. First there was the face-to-face surprise, in his early forays among Northerners, at Mr. Carter's cosmopolitan intelligence.

Last January, the nearly universal surprise at his organizational coup in the Iowa caucuses made him an overnight star in the national news media. Ever since then, the surprise of nearly continuous first-place primary finishes has made it easy to exaggerate his progress toward the goal of 1,504 convention delegates, the bare majority needed to nominate.

North Carolina, his fifth primary victory, was in fact the first in which Mr. Carter won a popular majority. In other primary triumphs, he has had to share large parts of the delegate prize, according to new party rules that give proportional shares of delegates to runners-up.

And in many of the caucus states where Mr. Carter claims to have "won"—including Iowa, Maine, Oklahoma, Virginia and Kansas—he was beating the active candidates but losing majority blocs of delegates that preferred to hold themselves "uncommitted."

For a candidate who ow points to 14 "firsts" in the score of states that have begun to choose delegates, he is assured of barely 25 percent of the convention votes that can be projected so far.

But there has been more than surprise in the Carter strategy and more than boasting in his success.

Ideological Stance

In a party that loves to use ideological labels as weapons, he insisted from the start on dissolving familiar left-right lines, bracketing himself between themes of tough-minded management and tender-hearted compassion.

That wide stance on policy issues has allowed him to adapt to different regions and the changing cast of opponents. Against a crowd of liberals in the New Hampshire primary, voter surveys found Mr. Carter winning the center and right of his party; in Florida, against Mr. Wallace and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, he combined center and left-wing Democrats with a solid majority of black voters.

It was his Florida victory on March 9 that revealed the sketchy map of Mr. Carter's search for a firmer national base. Reversing the customary order in Democratic politics, he seemed to be routing a course from his black and anti-Wallace credentials in the South to white liberal politics in the North.

April 6, four Tuesdays later, was a day of multiple setbacks. Mr. Carter's remarks about "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods, though he later apologized for the phrase, raised hackles among Northern black leaders and at least postponed the liberal labor endorsement that Mr. Carter had been courting.

On the same day Senator Jackson won the lion's share of New York's primary delegate votes, while Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona came close enough to upsetting r. Carter in Wisconsin to survive and go on to the Pennsylvania primary on April 27.

Each of those events contributed to Mr. Carter's awkward strategic position here in Pennsylvania—bereft of organized labor support, beset on the right by Senator Jackson, the state party machinery and Mayor Frank J. Rizzo's ward leaders in Philadelphia and, on the left, by Mr. UdaLl, such independent black leaders as Charles Bowser of Philadelphia and the activist liberals of the metropolitan suburbs.

Situation in Pennsylvania

Classically the man in the middle of such a situation, as Mr. Carter is, could hope to be the compromise choice of his adversaries on either side. In Pennsylvania, on the contrary, many Jackson and Udall supporters—including machine and antimachine blacks, liberal Americans for Democratic Action and conservative labor are all but formally allied in a strategy to stop Mr. Carter and nominate Mr. Humphrey.

Against that wall of leadership resistance, Mr. Carter, a popular favorite in state and national polls of Democrats, can contend as justly as any politician ever did that "only the people" support him. Yet a close reading of the numerous surveys of Mr. Carter's following tends to compound the riddle of his constituency base in the Democratic Party.

Jimmy Carter has run on opponents' weaknesses more than he has on the positive appeal for Jimmy Carter," Louis Harris, the pollster and analyst, commented the other day. "The unorganized voters and the small-town voters, this is Mr. Carter's stren th."

Patrick J. Caddell, the Carter campign's in-house pollster, observes cautiously that Mr. Carter's primary constituency is broad but not intense and tends to be chameleonic. "It's varied from place to place," Mr. Caddell says, "depending on where the other candidates have situated themselves."

Areas of Strength

Regional breakdowns of actual primary votes (not poll data) make the point that Mr. Carter often runs strongest outside the normal cores of the Democratic electorate—in the smaller towns of western Massachusetts, for example, as opposed to Boston or its suburbs; in rural Wisconsin, as opposed to Milwaukee; in upstate New York as opposed to New York City; in downstate Illinois as opposed to Chicago.

The New York Times/CBS-News surveys of primary voters in six states so far suggest further evidence that Mr. Carter attracts both more and less than the usual Democratic bases. He has a stronger appeal that other primary candidates, it appears, along the restless fringes of his party—among Democrats who broke ranks to vote for Richard M. Nixon in 1972, for instance and among Democrats who voted for Mr. Wallace in primaries four years ago.

When primary voters take positions on issues in the Times/CBS-questionnaire, the central strand among the concerns of the Carter constituency turns out to be the size of the Federal Government—

anything but a taditional Democratic worry.

Meanwhile, in the same surveys, Mr. Carter runs behind his overall pace among two large and loyal elements of his party: among white, blue-collar Democrats (except in the New Hampshire), and (except in Florida) among "New Politics" liberals who say that a candidate's commitment to specific polit issues is of vital importance to them.

In the bargaining and brokering sessions that doubtless lie ahead among party leaders and uncommitted convention delegates, Mr. Carter can plausibly argue his personal appeal on a national ticket to voters who have strayed from te the fold in recent years—notably to his fellow Southerners, but also to those independent-minded suburbanites who share his skepticism about Government's performance and say they are tired of older, more familiar faces—like Mr. Humphrey's!

Yet, on the strength of primary returns and voter surveys to date, the counter argument would seem likely to turn on the risk of focusing the party's appeal on the insecure margins of the Democratic electorate, not on its center.

Convention delegates with an eye on state and local races in the fall may also want more evidence that Mr. Carter has given that, as well as broadening their Democratic vote, he can turn out the old core constituencies in depth.

F.B.I. Intensifies Inquiry Into Udall Ballot Petitions

INDIANAPOLIS, April 21 (UPI)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation has intensified an inquiry into the shortage of signatures that knocked Representative Morris Udall of Arizona off the May 4 Indiana Presidential primary ballot.

O. Franklin Lowie, the chief F.B.I. agent in Indianapolis, said yesterday that he had been instructed by the Justice Department to broaden the investigation to determine if any Federal laws had been violated, if there had been sabotage of the Udall campaign or if there had merely been human error in counting names.

When Mr. Udall filed to run in the primary, his petitions were 35 signatures short of the required 500 in one of Indiana's Congressional districts.

Udall officials indicated, however, that the envelope containing the petitions had been marked to show that there were more than the number required.

Because of the shortage of names, Mr. Udall's name was removed from the ballot and court appeals failed to restore it.

The F.B.I. has already reported preliminary findings to the Justice Department.

JACKSON HEDGING ON PENNSYLVANIA

Early Confidence Gives Way to a Concession That Carter Could Win 'Beauty Contest'

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 21—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington conceded today that despite his previous predictions of victory he could lose Pennsylvania's preferential contest in next Tuesday's Democratic Presidential primary to Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Jackson, after winning the New York primary two weeks ago, said without qualification then that he would go on to carry Pennsylvania and would show thereby that he was the preferred candidate of the Northern industrial states.

Today, while he was campaigning in Wilkes-Barre, the Senator was asked at a news conference about reports that he had revised his estimates of the Pennsylvania vote.

'My Wife Will Win'

"The facts I'm going by are the polls," he said. "I think I'm going to win the delegate contest because of a strong slate of delegates and a good organization. The problem I face is the beauty contest, [the preferential vote]. I think my wife will win that."

In the primary, voters will cast ballots both as to their preference for the Presidential nominee and for delegates who will go to the Democratic National Convention in New York July 12 to help select the nominee.

winning the preferential contest, Mr. Jackson said, "is psychological.it's momentum."

"But the name of the game," he added, "is delegates." Asked if he was saying that he would lose the preferential contest, Mr. Jackson said, "It's a very close one."

To bolster his chances in the last few days, the Jackson campaign announced today that it would conduct a $50,000 news media campaign, with $2,000 going to radio advertisements and the rest of television. Previously, Mr. Jackson had not been able to advertise for lack of funds. Last week, he took a few days off from campaigning to raise the money needed for a limited advertising effort.

Dinner Raised Funds

None of the money, however, will be spent in the Philadelphia area, which has 40 percent of the Democratic vote. Here, Mr. Jackson is depending on the Democratic and labor leaders to carry the area for him. Indeed, last night they raised about $300,000 at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner to be spent for getting voters to the polls Tuesday on Mr. Jackson's behalf.

Mr. Carter, who campaigned today in western Pennsylvania, conceded that, even though his own polls showed him to be leading in the preferential contest, he did not have an organization for getting out the vote that would begin to match that put together for Mr. Jackson.

"Public opinion polls show I'm ahead in all parts of the state," he said, "but we have a problem getting people who support me to go to the polls. I don't have an adequate organization in Pennsylvania."

Carter's Disadvantage

Mr. Carter also has a disadvantage in the contest for delegates. This state will elect 134 delegates to the convention. Mr. Jackson, with his support among the party organization and labor leaders, has candidates in all 134 contests while Mr. Carter has candidates in

Yet because Mr. Carter is national front-runner and ould put himself within close ange of the nomination with Pennsylvania victory, the ackson forces and those of epresentative Morris K. Udall f Arizona stepped up their ttacks on him today.

Mr. Jackson visited a sporting oods plant in Old Forge that s in the process of being oved to Alabama. He used he occasion to attack the labor osition of Mr. Carter. Such lants, he said, are moving o the Southern states that rovide cheaper through so-alled "right-to-work" laws, hich ban the union shop.

Speaking from a flatbed truck about 60 workers who had een laid off from the plant, Ir. Jackson said those who upported such laws included Ir. Carter. He said that Mr. arter "only changed his posi-on on right-to-work" after nion spokesmen in Northern ndustrial states had opposed im for supporting the laws.

Mr. Carter has denied any hange of position on legisla-on to repeal right-to-work ws and says as President he ould sign such legislation if he Congress enacted it.

Mr. Udall attacked Mr. Carter t a news conference in Phi-delphia. He said results from he Missouri caucuses, where Ir. carter did not do so well s expected and where there as a preference for uncommit-d delegates, was an indication a stop-Carter movement ross the country.

"I think there is a general eling developing in the coun-ythat we are going toofast," said, "that we really ought slow down and look at Car-r and not simply award him e nomination in some rush judgment.

By Meg Greenfield

Waiting for Hubert

Why are all those people cheering Hubert Humphrey? Is it nostalgia? Repentance for the truly awful way in which they've treated him in the past? A means of expressing their customary discontent with whoever is running at the moment and their heartfelt, if short-lived, desire for whoever is not? What do they want him to do? Should he do it?

If I were Hubert Humphrey, I'd be nervous as a cat and wary as a burglar, looking around that room full of voluble fans. I'd note, among the generality of Democrats, some of the hacks who had served me worst over the years, and some of the self-indulgent, anti-everything left, who, only yesterday, were comparing me unfavorably to Mussolini. I'd wait. I'd make them ask. I would figure that was the only way I could get the Democratic nomination and also the only way it would be worth having. And meanwhile, I would be giving some hard thought to the meaning of this "anti-Washington" kick that, like love, seems to be sweeping the country.

RESISTING PRESSURE

There is evidence that Humphrey is doing the first of these things—though not the second. He has been under pressure from some of his closest friends, such as Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, to get actively into the race while there is still time to win the nomination in outright competition with the other candidates. But so far he has resisted. To be sure, one can sense a tug in the other direction: Humphrey has been turning up for rock-'em sock-'em speeches in critical primary states, and it is no secret that "uncommitted" delegates are being organized in his behalf around the country. Still, Humphrey has refused to provide the formal authorization that would allow funds to be raised for his campaign. And the betting at the moment is that he will also refuse to be coaxed into the New Jersey primary, for which he would have to file by the end of the month.

The practical arguments for his getting into the race now are strong enough to suggest that his resistance represents something more personal and profound than a hardheaded—or wrongheaded—political calculation. They rest on the fact that the script for political 1976 has not played out as expected. Jimmy Carter has more or less "emerged"; others have dropped out ahead of schedule; Wallace has been diminished as a factor at the convention, and the convention itself may not be the inconclusive maelstrom of nonwinning candidacies once supposed. It will be too late by summer, the argument goes, to move against Carter (if he has done well) without inviting the "spoiler's" image, and too late even to make the arrangements necessary to move in on a struggle among candidates at the convention.

Still, Hubert Humphrey is trying to wait—why? Because, I think, a trustworthy instinct has told him something about many of those faces in the cheering crowd, something about himself, something about the only conditions under which he and they can give it another try.

It's not just that Humphrey must know that once he jumps in, some of the desirability and mystery will vanish and that he'll get battered around like everyone else. It's also a perception he shared with Bill Moyers on television the other evening that struck me as extraordinary coming from Humphrey: "... Maybe if you're asking for it you don't get it, maybe if you're scrambling for it you'll lose it, maybe if you're begging for it it'll be denied ... I am not going to scramble, beg or ask. Because I've been doing that a long time in my life. I've asked too many people to help me too long ... I have a sense of inner peace about what I'm doing ... I don't want that office enough to, literally, go on out and destroy myself or destroy what I'm for ... If my party needs me and wants me they know where I am."

DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO

As one who thinks Humphrey is a hell of a fellow—the politician who, when he weeps, weeps for *other* people—and as one who would find the spectacle of another quest and another demeaning defeat just this side of unbearable, this uncharacteristic statement gave me hope. No more standing on tables in litter-strewn campaign rooms watching Hubert Humphrey concede predictable defeat. For me the only problem in his self-restraint—assuming, of course, that it lasts—is that if it does bring a liberated, tranquil Humphrey into the campaign, it is likely also to bring him in as a defender of the Democratic-liberal status quo. For Humphrey gets some of his loudest party and labor-union huzzahs these days for coming on as a die-hard spokesman for the efficacy of very nearly every government program the Democrats have thought of over the past 40 years. He is not being compelled to take seriously the popular experience with many of those programs. And that brings us head to head with Humphrey and the so-called anti-Washington issue.

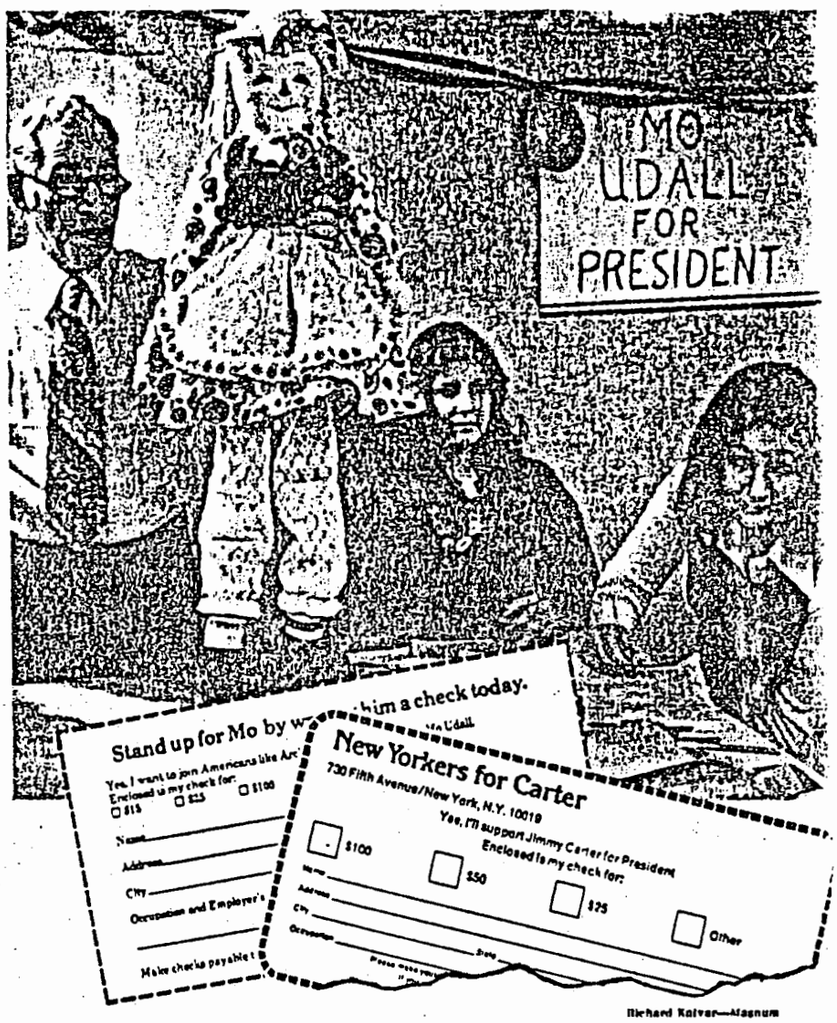
Acute as Humphrey is, he has tended to dismiss as Reaganite or "racist" legitimate questions that have been raised about much of Washington's recent handiwork. The serious complaints are that many of the programs aren't working to help the people they are meant to, that they have overpromised and underproduced, that they have created a government involvement in people's lives that can be as authoritarian and capricious as it is generous, and that, in any event, the money is running out.

MAKING PROMISES

For Humphrey, judging from his speeches, all this seems to represent at best a minor technical malfunction and at worst a reactionary attempt to turn back the clock on Federal responsibilities that were—admittedly—undertaken for good and necessary reasons over the years. The full-employment bill he is sponsoring in the Senate, and which has been espoused by the major Democratic candidates, is an earnest of his belief in the importance of promise, uplift, symbolism—more-of-the-same. It would create some kind of ill-defined "right" of every adult citizen to a job at fair pay (the possible scene in the courts defies imagination), an elaborate web of new institutional arrangements and a pledge virtually to abolish unemployment. When I first looked at the bill I was reminded of a press release that came out of George McGovern's office early in the last campaign: "McGovern proposes to make hunger illegal in America after June 30, 1972."

Does it matter, this Democratic penchant for the big promise, the big program, the big refusal to recognize deficiency or see opposition as anything other than social benightedness? I think it does. That is why although I think Humphrey would be wise to avoid the primaries, I regret that he will not be made to face and test the strength of some of the issues that are animating them. I have a feeling that the party that punished Humphrey over the years for many of the wrong things may end up rewarding him for the wrong things too. That would all but guarantee a rerun election, lots of heat but no light shed on the most interesting and important domestic dilemma of our frazzled time.

Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek



Richard Kalvar—Magnum

Red-ink blues: Jackson on the train, Udall backers auctioning dolls to raise funds

Zero-Budget Campaigning

Jimmy Carter had to shift his attention from the crucial Pennsylvania primary last week to float a $70,000 loan against his now famous peanut farm. Henry Jackson traded in his campaign plane for a series of commercial flights and a handful of Amtrak seats. And Morris Udall at one point had the Secret Service ferry him home to Washington free of charge in a government automobile. "This primary has been heralded as a big showdown," griped Udall campaign administrator Edward Coyle, "but it's likely to end up being a non-primary because no one has any money."

Money—or the lack of it—has always been a main concern of Presidential candidates, but the money problem is emerging as the most critical factor this year in Pennsylvania and other upcoming primaries, forcing all three Democratic hopefuls—and Republican challenger Ronald Reagan—to trim their media budgets, clip their wings and spend hours all but begging for contributions. Ironically, the shortage of cash is directly attributable to the very campaign fund-raising limits enacted by Congress in 1974 to reduce the influence of money on Presidential politics. And recent foot-dragging by Congress after the Supreme Court struck down some of those reforms (NEWSWEEK, Feb. 9) has made matters even worse: shutting off payment of vital campaign matching funds by the Federal Election Commission.

A tentative compromise on a reconstituted FEC was finally reached last week, but not in time to be approved by Congress and signed by President Ford until after the Easter recess. No FEC funds, then, are likely to flow until mid-May at the earliest. Not that candidate Ford should mind; his own well-stocked war chest (chart) is one of the President's greatest assets in a tight Texas primary race with the financially hard-pressed Reagan (page 23). The cash crisis also further muddles the Democratic competition, giving heart only to Hubert Humphrey supporters looking forward to an escalation of his "non-campaign."

Despite all the difficulties, Carter is still holding his lead in Pennsylvania—the first major industrial state where he, Jackson and Udall have had the field largely to themselves. The latest NEWSWEEK voter interviews seem to show Carter recovering well from his "ethnic purity" blooper of a fortnight ago (box, page 21). Polls commissioned by Carter and Udall also give the Southerner a significant lead, although, like the NEWSWEEK survey, they indicate that much of his support is still soft—and could erode rapidly if Carter should trip over his tongue again. Even if Carter should win the Presidential preference vote on April 27, however, he might do much less well in the election of convention delegates. In that race, Humphrey forces are split between Jackson and a variety of uncommitted slates.

Limit: Carter last week decided to press his Pennsylvania advantage by tacking on four more days of stumping in the state (for a total of eleven—including a full week just before the election). But like his opponents, the former governor now finds much of his time taken up with fund-raising efforts around the country,

RICH MEN, POOR MEN

	CAMPAIGN BALANCE SHEET*	MATCHING FUNDS CLAIMED FROM FEC**
Carter	—$184,359	$208,150
Jackson	$154,015	not submitted
Udall	—$247,335	$127,962
Wallace	$243,719	not submitted
Ford	$776,732	$729,199
Reagan	—$1,007,489	$282,154

* as of March 31 ** as of April 16
Source: Federal Election Commission

Fenga & Fraser

The bottom line: Money was still critical

often two or three a day because of the $1,000-per-person limit. And while Carter's front-runner status probably makes it easier for him to raise new funds than his opponents (he collected $16,250 at a Washington eggs-and-bacon buffet breakfast last week), Carter's aides have learned to pinch pennies—chartering campaign jets only week-to-week when they are needed and billing reporters 150 per cent of the normal first-class fare to cover ground transportation as well.

Some of Carter's campaign tactics are inexpensive anyway: he plans to bring in 1,500 volunteers to work in Pennsylvania. But his adman Gerald Rafshoon also hopes to get enough cash to buy air time for a barrage of new TV spots he has prepared to clarify Carter's stand on issues. Among the subjects: employment, tax reforms and national health care—a policy Carter endorsed in a Washington speech last week. Some supporters see a stop-Carter movement behind the freeze on Federal matching funds—with Humphrey the ultimate beneficiary. "We're being asked to run a Presidential campaign . . . on peanuts," complains finance director Morris Dees. "Good thing we've got the right candidate."

Udall, too, has had to shelve plans for a broad media effort that he had hoped would compensate for his woeful lack of organization in Pennsylvania. Beyond that, the fiscal squeeze has pinched Udall's headquarters staff; a squad of younger activists—led by Boston political consultant John Martilla—left the campaign two weeks ago after Udall refused to borrow money for a final media effort that might have meant victory in the close Wisconsin race. Udall's reluctance to borrow has even prompted speculation that he is growing less committed to his Presidential effort.

As Scoop Jackson's people see it, the shortage of funds for all contenders could actually be something of an advantage for their man—he is counting on the unions and much of the state's Democratic machine to get his vote to the polls. "We are not exactly plugging for an exciting race here that will attract a very heavy turnout. The smaller the turnout, the better Jackson will do," admits one Jackson aide. Still, some Pennsylvania Democrats wonder if he even will have enough wherewithal to grease the party machine effectively; in Philadelphia, for example, it is traditional to allocate $100 in "walking-around money" for leaders in each of the city's 1,700 precincts to use in getting people to the polls. Jackson may also be hampered by labor's late start in the campaign and the open secret that many of the union and party leaders supporting him actually prefer Humphrey.

Draft: Humphrey remains ebullient as ever as the other contenders splash about in red ink. Under the Supreme Court's election-law ruling, two of his Washington supporters, Congressmen Paul Simon of Illinois and Bob Bergland of Minnesota, are legally free to revive their independent effort to stir draft-Humphrey support among leading Democrats around the country—including, eventually, convention delegates who are uncommitted or pledged to other candidates only through the first ballot. Their first letter in Humphrey's behalf would likely go out after the Pennsylvania primary. There is also good news from the Gallup poll—which shows Humphrey still running neck and neck with Carter among Democrats—and from New Jersey, where state party co-leader Anne Campbell says the slate of organization delegates is preparing "to cross out the word 'uncommitted,' and write in 'Hubert Humphrey' if we get the word from him."

Humphrey himself still maintains that he does not plan to enter any late primaries "at present." But at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors he reiterated his availability come convention time and at one point drew a standing ovation. Whether Humphrey can afford to wait that long will depend in part on how decisive the next round of primaries and state caucus battles prove to be. That in turn may well depend on how hard the three active but cash-starved candidates can afford to contest them. As of last week, both remained very open questions indeed.

—DAVID M. ALPERN with JAMES DOYLE in Washington, JOHN J. LINDSAY with Jackson, ELEANOR CLIFT with Carter and TONY FULLER on the Udall campaign

PENNSYLVANIA: A WEEK TO GO

Jimmy Carter seemed to gain a bit more ground last week in next Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary. A second round of interviews by NEWSWEEK staffers with prospective voters around the state* showed Carter with a modest increase in support, though he had suffered some losses over his remarks about "ethnic purity." Henry Jackson and Morris Udall also drew additional support from a shrinking block of undecided voters, but with much smaller bases of support on which to build, they have not yet significantly eroded Carter's lead.

Three-quarters of those surveyed had heard about Carter's controversial remarks about "ethnic purity," and it was unclear whether the remark had helped or hurt the Georgian. Some Pennsylvanians favored his stand, some abhorred his choice of words; a majority believed the incident had been blown out of proportion by the other candidates and the media. For some voters, Carter's statement and subsequent apology symbolized a general fuzziness on issues. "You see the flubs," complained Mrs. Elizabeth Barthmaier of Philadelphia, who still favors the Southerner slightly. Other voters were favorably impressed by Carter's speedy apology. "I'll give him the benefit of the doubt and see what develops. People say things they don't mean when they get excited," noted William Morrison, a black lumberyard worker in Philadelphia.

Two-thirds of those questioned were aware that the state's powerful labor establishment was involved in the primary, but they were unclear on whether it was working for Jackson or for noncandidate Hubert Humphrey. And Humphrey supporters were uncertain over how they could best support their man. Fewer than half (40 per cent) of the Humphrey supporters questioned said they would vote for Jackson in the primary. Despite the importance of the Pennsylvania results, few of the voters had been contacted by any candidate's organization—thus providing a theoretical opportunity for any of the three candidates to pick up a large number of votes with a last-minute effort.

*The Newsweek canvassers phoned back slightly fewer than half the 134 Pennsylvanians originally interviewed in eleven diverse districts. Those re-questioned were people who were initially undecided or who favored a candidate (mainly Hubert Humphrey) who was not on the ballot. In addition, to assess the impact of the "ethnic purity" issue, black voters and a sampling of Carter supporters were surveyed again.

UPI

Carter and Martin Luther King Sr. at Atlanta rally: 'Forgiving heart'

Blacks and Politics '76

It was more like a revival meeting than a political rally as a well-integrated crowd of a thousand congregated in Atlanta's Central City Park for the rebaptism of candidate Jimmy Carter. The homefolks had turned out—ignoring three dozen angry black pickets—to testify that the former Georgia governor was still all right with them despite his remarks about "ethnic purity." "I have a forgiving heart, so Governor, I'm with you all the way," preached the venerable Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., who then joined Carter in a soul handclasp that may prove one of the most significant gestures of the Presidential primary season. With that benediction, Carter managed to preserve his support among Southern black religious leaders, increase the pressure on Northern black leaders who want him stopped and to contain the political damage from his verbal stumble. The rally also focused national attention—for the first time in the campaign—on the potential influence of the nation's black vote.

With major civil-rights legislation already passed and sentiment running against big-money liberal programs, issues specially directed at black Americans—most notably jobs and housing—have all but faded from view so far in campaign '76. "Blacks are being taken for granted by politicians who feel they do not have to grease wheels that don't squeak," observes black political analyst Eddie Williams of Washington's Joint Center for Political Studies. There are 7 million registered black voters in the country, most of them Democrats, but their turnout in the primaries has been low. Civil-rights movement veteran Bayard Rustin has organized a project aimed at getting 76 per cent of the black vote out in November—and black leaders are also working to get more blacks registered by then.

The only candidate to pursue the black vote and reap its rewards has been Jimmy Carter. The former Georgia governor won 42 per cent of the black vote in Massachusetts, 70 per cent in Florida and 90 per cent in North Carolina—and used that support to beat back George Wallace and gain credibility with skeptical white liberals in the North. "Carter is the one candidate who's going into the black communities," explains Democratic National Committee Vice Chairman Basil Patterson. "He isn't saying much, but he's going." Carter's success in harvesting black votes is not surprising. He is the only candidate with a large number of blacks on his staff—and as a Southerner and born-again Baptist, Carter enjoys a communion with black audiences that few Northern politicians can match. In black churches, Carter produces a chorus of "amens" as he talks about brotherhood and love, about his mother staying up all night to care for a sick black baby and about the fact that with honorary degrees from two of Atlanta's six black colleges, "I'll be the first Morehouse man in the White House."

Dreams: Northern black politicians, however, remain largely skeptical about Carter. "Many black leaders saw Carter as the man who could stop Wallace," said New York Rep. Shirley Chisholm last week. "I don't think that in their wildest dreams they thought Carter would get this far." Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond—who backed Carter in Florida—has since come out for Udall, as have Chisholm, Rep. John Conyers of Michigan and Rep. Charles Rangel of New York. Some black voters remain stubbornly uncommitted because their favorite candidate is not yet in the running. "If they went for Udall or Carter," says Chisholm, "it's because they had to make a choice and Humphrey wasn't on the ballot."

Meanwhile, a group of black politicians, labor representatives and community activists, under the recently organized Caucus of Black Democrats, hopes to inject a black viewpoint into the campaign. The group will meet in North Carolina next week to debate such issues as full employment and national health care and will present its resolutions to the National Democratic Platform Committee. To make sure its message is carried onto the floor of the convention, the group is also pushing for 25 per cent of the delegates to be black. The black leadership may find it difficult, however, to make any kind of unified strategy work; there no longer seems to be a common agreement among them on how best to solve the problems facing the black community—and, more often than not, those problems affect whites as well as blacks. That diversity of voices in the black community also probably means black voters will have less impact on this year's race than in any other Presidential contest since the movement began.

—DENNIS A. WILLIAMS with HENRY McGEE, in Washington and ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign

Shelly Katz—Black Star

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Cloudy and cooler today; chance of rain tonight, tomorrow. Temperature range: today 58-69; Tuesday 46-59. Details on page 61.

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Democrats Found More Conservative Than 4 Years Ago

By ROBERT REINHOLD

In the absence of such a galvanizing political issue as the war in Vietnam, Democratic voters this year, at least insofar as they are typified by the small minority of voters who have turned out in the early primaries, appear to have a more conservative hue than they did in 1972.

A series of six New York Times/CBS News surveys of primary voters suggests, moreover, that the muddled Democratic Presidential race seems to have been shaped largely by economic and other domestic issues and by an ill-defined yearning for new faces.

The surveys confirm that the kind of divisive foreign issues that created the McGovern candidacy four years ago have largely evaporated. So, too, it seems, has the appetite of Democrats—at least of the small number that vote in pri-

Continued on Page 18, Column 1

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Democrats Found More Conservative Than in 1972

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

maries—for radical social change.

The conshervative mood in the six early primary states surveyed seems all the more significant because there are indications that Democrats nationally are even more conservative. When compared with a national cross section of Democrats polled by The New York Times and CBS News last month after the Illinois primary, the primary voters have more liberal views on a wide range of political issues than do other Democrats in all states except Florida.

The chief beneficiary of the voters' interest in new faces and domestic issues, the studies find, is Jimmy Carter. The Ward-driving former Georgia Governor has managed to elbow his way to the front of the Democratic pack with a constituency unlike that amassed in recent years by any other serious contender for the Democratic nomination.

Apart from the blacks among them, the Carter voters are generally affluent, suburban and rural, and seem, in many respects, like Republicans in disguise. In state after state, they were more likely than other Democratic voters to have voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972 and more likely to desert the party this year to vote for President Ford if their candidate is denied the nomination.

Starting in the first primary in snowy New Hampshire and continuing in five other primaries — Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Wisconsin and New York—The New York Times and CBS News questioned nearly 8,000 voters, in accordance with strict sampling procedures, in an effort to determine what motivated their votes. What issues seemed to benefit one candidate or the other? What qualities in the candidates seemed to influence the voters?

It is hazardous to draw sweeping generalities from the attitudes of these early primary voters. The candidates were little known at first, and the field was very large. Further, different combinations of rivals vied in different states, leaving many voters without the opportunity to pick their first choice.

Tentative Themes

It is, moreover, difficult to say exactly how the complexion of the race would have been altered if Senator Hubert H. Humphrey had been an active candidate. Thus far, the party's traditional majority—the working people and liberals who coalesced behind Presidents like Roosevelt and Kennedy—have found no congenial outlet.

Still, a few tentative themes emerge.

Probably most striking is the waning of foreign policy issues. Four years ago, Senator George McGovern rode to the nomination on a crest of indignation over the war. This year no such compelling issue has emerged, except possibly in New York where Jewish concern over Israel and resentment against the Soviet Union helped to give Senator Henry M. Jackson a victory.

Race Relations Issue

The Times/CBS News surveys have found that Senator Jackson has done extremely will among those who said that they were concerned about relations with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately for the Washington Senator's aspirations, however, scarcely one in fifteen Democratic voters in the six states expressed any worry over this issue.

Similarly, the only remaining liberal in the Democratic race, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, drew rather well among those who wanted to cut military spending. Again, however, only about one of ten persons questioned listed this as a major concern. Mr. Udall, has done exceptionally well among those concerned about pollution and environment, but very few of those questioned are.

A traditionally abrasive and divisive Democratic issue—race relations—appears to be playing little direct role this year. The chief magnet for those hostile to black aspirations, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, has done poorly and has all but dropped out of the race.

About 40 percent of the Democrats interviewed felt, on average, that the Government pays too much attention to the needs of minorities. But these voters have not particularly favored any one of the remaining contenders — Mr. Carter, Mr. Udall or Mr. Jackson.

What then has filled this issue vacuum?

Basically, it appears that economic issues and questions about the size and functions of the central government have played the biggest role so far. Across all six states, voters selected "job guarantees" as the issue that influenced their vote about as often as any other issue.

But all major Democratic contenders feel that the Federal Government should do more to cut unemployment, and this issue has not been a "cutting" one. That is, those who agreed that the Government should guarantee a job to everyone who wants to work have divided their votes about evenly among the three leaders.

What is perhaps more cutting, and it has worked mostly to the benefit of Mr. Carter, is a feeling that government is too big, that it spend too much and administers programs inefficiently.

As the primary season progressed, the number mentioning "size of government" as a source of concern grew perceptibly, much to the advantage of Mr. Carter, who has made a major issue of what he calls the "bloated" Federal bureaucracy.

Personalities a Factor

Moreover, he generally did well among fiscally conservative voters —those who felt it important to balance the budget even at the cost of cutting social services. Mr. Udall drew well among those on the liberal side of this issue, while Mr. Jackson did not seem to be hurt or helped by it.

Of course, issues are not the only factors influencing voting choices. The personalities of the candidates, and whether voters perceive them as good leaders and honest men, also play a role. And some voters may want to vote for the man who has the best chance of beating the Republican candidate in November.

Senator Jackson generally did fairly well among voters citing leadership and competence as important factors, Mr. Udall among those citing consistency and honesty. But it was Mr. Carter who scored best among voters who seem to be playing an increasingly potent role as the campaign progresses — those who feel it important to elect someone who is not part of the Washington establishment and who want someone who has a good chance to win in November.

Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall, who have been in Congress for many years, did not do well among these voters. Mr. Carter, who frequently calls himself an "outsider," did very well. He also scored well among voters wanting a winner. Both Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson generally did poorly among these.

In sum, then, the polls suggest that the race has been dominated by moderately conservative Democrats. No candidate purveying the programmatic liberalism of the New Deal type has emerged as the favorite of the working man and the social liberals.

If such a candidate does emerge—many have mention Senator Humphrey —the surveys suggest that there is a good chance many Carter backers will look elsewhere in November.

The Times and CBS News will continue to trace the path of the campaign in future primaries, including the key Pennsylvania race next week. Assisting The Times in its survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the government department at Harvard University.

Carter Emerging as Indiana Favorite

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Special to The New York Times

INDIANAPOLIS, April 20—When Senator Henry M. Jackson made his first Indiana appearance of the 1976 Presidential ampaign on April 11, fewer than 400 people turned out for a rally in an auditorium at the state fairgrounds that holds about 3,500.

The night before, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the noncandidate who somehow manages to show up in each Presidential primary state just as the ampaign is beginning, drew a sellout audience to a Democratic fund-raising dinner.

"Jackson is trying to appeal to the same people in Indiana as Humphrey does," said Frank Corsaro, Mr. Jackson's local coordinator, "but they like Humphrey better."

In Pennsylvania, where the same situation exists, the Humphrey forces are struggling to turn out a big Jackson vote to stop former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia in the state's pivotal primary on April 27.

But in Indiana, which votes one week later, on May 4, the Jackson campaing seems much less forceful, despite the covert support of the state labor federation and of most of the party organization, headed by William Trisler, the Indiana Democratic chairman.

Control of local offices is what counts in Indiana, one of the last states where party organizations are openly financed by 2 percent kickbacks from the salaries of public officials. So the real muscle of the organization is going into a gubernatorial contest between Larry Conrad, the secretary of state, and Jack New, the state treasurer, and not into Presidential politics.

The Jackson campaign here—hastily organized, as were those of his rivals, after Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana left the race on March 4—has sent letters to each of the 8,990 precinct committeemen and vice committeemen appealing for help. But the committeeman were also asked to turn out crowds for the April 11 rally and they clearly failed.

Not even the close Indiana ties of Robert Keefe, Mr. Jackson's campaign manager, who worked for Mr. Bayh for many years, appear to have helped. Democratic leaders here see no sign that Mr. Bayh has moved a muscle to help Mr. Jackson.

The result is that Mr. Carter, who was virtually unknown in Indiana two months ago, has emerged as the favorite to capture a majority of the state's 75 delegates to the Democratic convention. Private polls show him leading, and even Mr. Trisler has conceded privately in recent days that "barring major upheavals Mr. Carter looks potent."

The Georgian is particularly strong in southern Indiana, the region below interstate 70 that behaves, because of 19th century settlement patterns, as though it were below the Mason-Dixon Line. Mr. Carter is also expected to do well in Indianapolis and in the smaller industrial cities, such as Anderson and Kokomo, where the United Auto Workers hold sway.

The auto workers and their partners in the liberal labor coalition form one of Mr. Carter's main assets.

Although no one will say so for the record, many Democrats here believe that coalition officials were responsible for the elimination of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona from the Indiana race. Negotiations between the coalition and Mr. Udall went an awry just before the filing deadline; it was then discovered that Mr. Udall was short 35 signatures on his nominating petition in

Jackson Appears to Trail in State's May 4 Contest for 75 Delegates

the 6th Congressional District, keeping him off the ballot.

The Supreme Court refused yesterday to consider immediately Mr. Udall's challenge to a state law that requires a candidate to qualify in all districts to run in any of them.

The appeal of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in this state, where he finished second in 1972 with 41 percent of the primary vote, has faded dramatically, by all accounts, leaving a head-on Cater-Jackson fight. Mr. Wallace has canceled several campaign dates, ..-although he still intends to appear here.

Mr. Jackson's assets appear to be his popularity in the heavily industriallzed belt along Lake Michigan, where he has the support of the steelworkers and of Robert Pastrick, the Lake County Democratic chairman; the faint possibility that Mr. Carter's comments here about "ethnic purity" will hurt him with black voters; and the fact that Mr. Jackson will have a week to campaign here while Mr. Carter must also campaign for the Texas, Georgia and Alabama primaries.

"I don't think Jackson can make it," commented one longtime Democratic activist. "'Ethnic purity' doesn't seem to me to have hurt Carter much, and the natural desire for Jackson that was here three years ago has somehow evaporated. I saw him speak to 2,500 people inin 1973 and turn at least 2,000 of them off."

The Republican Presidential contest seems clear-cut, with President Ford considered likely easily beat Ronald Ragan among his Midwestern neighbors just south of the Michigan borders.

A poll taken for the Republican State Committee by Robert Teeter of Detroit between Feb. 7 and 13 found that among 800 respondents, Mr. Ford had 56 percent, Mr. Reagan 32 percent, and an unusually low 12 percent undecided.

"This is not the politics of philosophy, like Wisconsin, or the politics of personality, like California," said Thomas S. Milligan, the state Republican chairman, who backs the President. "Indiana has the politics of party, and except in rare circumstances we go with incumbents."

Mr. Milligan said he expected Mr. Ford to win by 55 percent of the vote and to carry all 11 Congressional districts, which under Republican rules would give him all of the state's 54 delegates.

Charles Black, a national Reagan organizer, concurred in much of Mr. Milligan's assessment. But he held out hope that Mr. Reagan could win a district or two—possibly in the Indianapolis area—if the Californian is able to draw clear distinctions on the issues when the two Republicans open active campaigning in Indiana later this week.

Among the Republicans as well as the Democrats, attention is focused on a statewide primary—the one that pits former Gov. Edgar Whitcomb against former Mayor Richard G. Luger of Indianopolis for the right to oppose Democratic Senator Vance Hartke this fall.

"We're definitely second banana," said J. C. Beck, the Ford coordinator here. "Our worry is that people will think Ford is a shoo-in and neglect to do the work."

Just to remind the sports-mad Hoosiers of their allegiances, Mr. Ford invited the national champion Indiana University basketball team to breakfast at the White House this morning.

President Considers Veto Of Campaign Funding Bill

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 20—President Ford is seriously considering vetoing the campaign bill now awaiting final approval in Congress, on the grounds that it deprives the Federal Election Commission of vital political independence.

Arguing against disapproval are two major factors that have more to do with the 1976 Presidential campaign than with the contents of the legislation.

A veto could make the President appear to be a calculating obstructionist, continuing indefinitely the freeze on primary subsidies to Presidential candidates while his own campaign remains prosperous because of private contributions.

Also, a veto could so arouse Congress as to provide enough votes to override, scoring a point for the Democratic leadership there and casting Congress rather than the White House in the role of political reformer.

In an interview with a group of Texas editors made public today, the President, in discussing the campaign bill, said, "I am not going to sign bad legislation for any reason" and criticized Congress for not getting the bill to his desk before the current Easter recess.

Ford Awaits Bill

Mr. Ford said flatly that he would not reach a final decision on signing or vetoing the bill until he had received "the proper document," late this month or in early May. Some interested parties have urged him to announce his approval now, so that candidates may borrow more readily against subsidies due them.

Simply reconstituting the Election Commission to restore its subsidy powers "would have been the right thing to do," the President declared, adding, "Unfortunately, the Congress apparently has significantly changed some of the very important provisions in that legislation, so that is what we are analyzing at the present time."

The Elecion Commission reported today that the backlog of unpaid subsidy claims rose by more than $1 million this week, to a total of nearly $2.4 million. The lion's share of that money, more than $900,000, will go to President Ford when and if the campaign bill becomes law.

New claims filed yesterday were the first since Ronald Reagan, the President's Republican challenger, made a national telecast that his aides said raised $700,000 in private contributions. But the Reagan campaign filed for only about $154,000 in matching funds, for a total backlog since March 23 of $436,000.

Opponent of the Measure

Among organizations urging the President to veto the campaign bill are the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, despite a conviction among Congressional republicans that the final draft is more generous to corporate political committees than could have been expected.

Alexander Barkan, director of the political arm of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, is reportedly angry that Democrats in Congress gave corporate committees an unrestricted right to solicit contributions from a broad range of middle management employees, in addition to executives and stockholders.

President Ford is said to be seriously concerned about provisions in the pending bill that restrict the power of the commission to make ind ependent rulings on campaign issues, and subject more of their decisions to direct Congressional review.

Should he disapprove the measure on such grounds, however, Mr. Reagan would be sure to charge that the President had actually been motivated by a desire to postpone even longer the payment of badly needed Federal subsidies to his rival.

Democratic critics could be expected to protest that extending the subsidy freeze would hurt all their party's current primary contenders, perhaps to the ultimate benefit of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, an inactive candidate.

President Ford has predicted repeatedly that Senator Humphrey would be his opponent in the general election. Generally, in making such predictions, political candidates single out the opponent they feel most confident of defeating.

The bill expected to reach the White House within the next two weeks is the result of a January Supreme Court decision, declaring the commission improperly constituted because four of his six members were named by the legislative rather than the executive branch.

In correcting that situation, Congress made a number of other important changes in the campaign law.

Jackson Says He Won't Support Any Carter Foe

By JIM GRAY

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson said Tuesday he is "not going to support anyone against Jimmy Carter."

The statement was the closest yet to a formal endorsement of the former Georgia governor's campaign for the presidency, but Jackson warned that an endorsement is "still pending."

"It won't be too long," Jackson said.

Jackson appeared ready to endorse Carter last week but postponed any official announcement after Carter's "ethnic purity" statement aroused concern over his views on open housing.

Jackson demanded a "fuller explanation" of the remarks in a letter to Carter and received detailed answers to six specific questions. But Jackson has not budged from his position of issuing only praise for Carter.

"I have been supportive of Jimmy Carter for a long time," Jackson said. "He never made a promise to me he did not keep.

"In my opinion, Jimmy Carter's going to do quite well, and he'll go all the way if he wins Pennsylvania," Jackson said. The Pennsylvania primary is next Tuesday.

The mayor scoffed at a question as to whether he is awaiting a possible announcement of candidacy by Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, insisting that Carter's concern for urban America far exceeds that of Humphrey or any other candidate.

"I will be very active this year trying to get rid of the Nixon-Ford administration," Jackson said, labelling both presidents' policies "reactionary, backward, low-down and anti-urban."

Jackson has been bitterly critical of President Ford's veto of a $6 billion public works employment bill that would have funnelled up to $70 million to Atlanta.

Jackson also blames Ford for expiration of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Sunny, cooler tonight. Cloudy, cooler Temperatures range: Monday 68-82. Details

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,186 — NEW YORK, TUESDAY, APRIL 20, 1976 — M 20

Rizzo Backing Jackson in Pennsylvania But Mayor's Problems May Be a Factor

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 19—When local Democrats gather here tomorrow night for their annual fund-raising banquet, they will be witnesses to one of the year's unusual political events.

Senator Henry M. Jackson and Mayor Frank L. Rizzo will appear together in public.

The Senator has Mr. Rizzo's enthusiastic support in the Pennsylvania Presidential primary next week, but in all his campaigning in Philadelphia, the Washington Democrat has scarcely mentioned the powerful but controversial mayor's name, and has avoided him like a man who owes him money.

Consequently there are few serious wagers on the outcome of the voting here next Tuesday when Philadelphia, with 40 percent of the state's Democratic vote, plays a critical role in a crucial primary.

Apparent Strength

Senator Jackson would seem to have an edge in the city's wards over Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

After all, he not only has the mayor's support, but also the backing of the local Democratic machine, the local stewards of Gov. Milton J. statewide apparatus, and the support of organized labor as . hl well.

But the Rizzo factor in the voting next week is still uncertain. As one Jackson operative said today, "It could cut either way, for us or against us."

Mr. Jackson's curious liason with Mr. Rizzo stems from what appears to be Mayor's growing unpopularity. He was re-elected last year to a second four-year term, but a vigorous recall movement against him began last Saturday morning in the shadow of Independence Hall and its architects hope to get the bulk of the 141,000 required signatures from the people who will be voting in Tuesday's primary.

First Signature

Joseph Clark, a former Philadelphia Mayor and a former U.S. Senator, was the recall movement's John Hancock, and after placing his signature on the first petition, he urged a large groupof sympathizers to "throw the rascal out."

Much of the movement's antagonism toward Mayor Rizzo stems from the absence in his last campaign of any mention of taxes, and his immediate call for new ones soon after his re-election. Philadelphians already believe themselves to be exorbitantly taxed and there is growing resnetment toward the new levies even among those who have strongly supported Mr. Rizzo in the past.

If that disaffection is strong enough, it might transfer to Senator Jackson in the city and the advantage of Mr. Rizzo's support would be neutralized.

On the other hand, the Mayor has been very popular with many of the city's voters and if that relationship has not been damaged by the tax issue, then Senator Jackson could profit handsomely from his backing.

The effect of Senator Jackson's endorsement by Peter J. Camiel, the chairman of the city's Democratic party, is also uncertain because Mr. Camiel and Mayor Rizzo have been feuding for two years, and Mr. Camiel has barely survived several attempts by the Mayor and his friends to oust him.

As a resit the efficacy of Mr. Camiel's once potent election machinery is questioned by some local observers.

"There was a time when Pete could deliver the vote here for anybody," one veteran of City Hall politics said today, "but that's no longer true—and I don't think even Rizzo has that kind of citywide organization."

One thing is certain, however, and that is the importance of Senator Jackson's endorsement by organized labor here and across the state.

As a sign in the office of James H. J. Tate read when he was the mayor here, "Philadelphia is a labor town." The unions, with an old-fashioned C.I.O. passion, wield a raw sort of power here, delivering their votes come what may, and Senator Jackson is their stated choice in this year's Democratic primary.

But Mr. Jackson must still deal with Mr. Carter's strength as the Democratic front-runner. Mr. Carter's "ethnic purity" statement almost certainly hurt him with the sizable black population in Philadelphia—there are 240,000 registered black Democrats—but there is no sign that they are flocking to Mr. Udall, and clearly no indication that they are turning to Senator Jackson.

Moreover, as a number of letters printed today in The Philadelphia Inquirer might indicate, there could be a considerable positive reaction to Mr. Carter's remarks from white urban dwellers who believe he has stated their case.

Church Terms Ford Weak President; Scores Intervention in Needless War

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP) —Senator Frank Church of Idaho said today if he were President, he would "stop paying big business to leave the country" and stop United States intervention in "needless foreign wars."

In a five-minute nationally televised address, he said that it is "a week President who pardons Richard Nixon for all the crimes he committed in the White House and then looks the other way while Nixon's lieutenants stand trial."

Mr. Church, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, also termed Mr. Ford a weak President for failing to punish American intelligence agencies that he said were guilty of wrongdoing.

The Senator had origianlly sought a half-hour of network television time in which to present his views. He was able to obtain only five minutes from CBS.

"It's a weak President who fails to use the muscle of his office to punish powerful Government agencies that break the law and bully the people," said Mr. Church, who is chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, which has investigated the Central Intelligence Agency and other intelligence - gathering agencies.

He cited the opening of mail and telegrams by the C.I.A., the attempts of the F.B.I. to "destroy" the reputation and effectiveness of the late civil rights leader, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and the use of tax investigations by the Internal Revenue Service "solely for the purpose of political harassment."

Because of such abuses, Mr. Church said, "the American people and the United States Government are on the verge of divorce."

"The people are so turned off, that in these Presidential primaries only one eligible voter in five has cared enough to vote," he said.

He said that one reason more jobs could not be found more quickly was that Federal tax policies rewarded United States corporations for investing overseas, "at an average loss of 150,000 jobs a year here at home."

"As President, I would stop the export of American jobs by eliminating tax breaks on foreign earnings," he said. "And I would tell big business that from now on they can invest overseas at their risk, not ours."

Mr. Church, who is a ranking Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that other prosperous countries must start sharing the burden of foreign aid, and that there was no need "to get involved in every African or Asian war that comes along."

"As a senator, I was one of the first to speak out against Vietnam, he said.

A 'Political Miracle'

BOISE, Idaho, April 19 (UPI) —Mr. Church said today that it would take a "political miracle" for him to win his first Presidential primary May 11 in Nebraska.

Starting a campaign swing into Montana, Oregon and Nebraska, he told a news conference that his late entry into the primaries and the full ballot in Nebraska made his first contest a tough one. But he said that he hoped to gain momentum in the late spring primaries and become the "matinee idol of the closing days" of the campaign.

Ford, Answering Reagan, Says Talks on Panama Will Continue

WASHINGTON, April 19 (AP) —Answering Ronald Reagan, President Ford said today that it would be "absolutely irresponsible" to terminate the Panama Canal negotiations, which would turn all of Latin America against the United States.

In a White House interview with the editors of the Harte-Hanks newspapers, Mr. Ford admitted that he was running behind Mr. Reagan for the Texas primary May 1 but remained "still hopeful of closing the gap."

He told the editors that Mr. Reagan's campaign statements indicated that as President he would immediately halt the Panama negotiations that have been going on since 1964-65.

"I think that would be a position of irresponsibility," Mr. Ford said.

Mr. Reagan had said in Texas: "We should tell Panama's tinhorn dictator just what he can do with his demands for sovereignty over the Canal Zone. We bought it, we paid for it and they can't have it."

Mr. Ford said no decisions had been reached but the United States was seeking a treaty that would last for 30 to 50 years, and "we are going to insist, during the period of the treaty, that we have the right to operate, to maintain and defend it."

President Ford also made the following points:

¶He has not offered John B. Connally, the former Texas Governor, the position of Secretary of State if he is elected in November, and "I don't think under any circumstances I should ask him to serve."

¶A campaign against Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota as the Democratic opponent "would be on the issues." Some of the other candidates have not been as definitive."

AA

The Weather
...day—Sunny, high in the 90s, low ...r 60. The chance of rain is near ...o today, 10 per cent tonight. ...nday—Partly cloudy, high near ... Yesterday — 3 p.m. AQI, 100; ...mp. range, 95-59. Details, B2.

The Washington Post

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72 Pages—...

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Two Elections

THIS SUMMER, as the election campaign gathers momentum here, the Communists may very well emerge as the dominant party in the Italian government. For the first time in a generation, the presidential candidates in this country will be confronted by a fundamentally new challenge to American policy toward Western Europe. It is the kind of large question that voters can reasonably use as a litmus test of candidates' good sense and their grasp of the job ahead. The rise of Communists to office in a major nation of Western Europe is obviously unwelcome. How ought the United States respond?

Three prominent Democrats—George W. Ball, Paul C. Warnke and Zbigniew Brzezinski—offered an answer last week when they appeared here before the American Society of Newspaper Editors. Shortly afterward Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger came before the same meeting to give quite a different view. The three Democrats generally agreed that the United States could not do much about events in Italy over the short term. Rather than squandering American influence on foredoomed attempts to tamper with internal Italian politics now, they suggested, it would be wiser to reserve judgment and conserve influence until later.

Mr. Kissinger, for his part, was unrepentant for his earlier characterization of a government including Communists as "unacceptable." If Italy votes the Communists into office, he said, "we will have to deal with that reality." But as Secretary of State, he argued, he has an obligation to make everyone understand the consequences of their choices—"even if we cannot necessarily influence them." In considering Mr. Kissinger's position, it is useful to keep in mind that, whenever he takes up this subject, he is addressing three quite different audiences.

One audience is the American public. The inclination in this country at the moment is to leave the Italians' troubles to the Italians. But it would be highly incautious to assume that this air of cool detachment would necessarily survive a dramatic surge to the left in Europe. A second audience is the Italian voters. A great many of them are genuinely reluctant to cast off their longstanding ties to the United States. If Mr. Kissinger were now to soften his language regarding Communists in office, it might be interpreted in Italy as a sign that he was reconciled to them. That, in turn, would strengthen the Communists and make more likely the outcome that the administration most wishes to avoid.

Mr. Kissinger also has a third audience in mind: the other Western Europeans. Particularly during the Vietnam war, Europeans were full of high-minded advice to this country regarding its foreign policy. There is a tendency now in Washington to suggest to the Europeans that the Italian affair is, after all, primarily a matter for European initiative. The other European nations are closer to Rome than we, they are more intimately joined by their common institutions and, hardly least important, they will be far more severely affected by the outcome. Whoever the winners may be in the American election, the list is not likely to include the Communists. That cannot be said with any assurance of the next French election. But with the notable exception of the West Germans, the Europeans do not seem to be taking any very active interest in Italian events. Perhaps it is the result of a long tradition of leaving these things to the Americans. Mr. Kissinger is trying to stir them into considering at least their own immediate interests.

But the paralysis in Italian politics has reached a point at which it is hard to see any very promising opportunity for international support of the present crumbling government. When the Portuguese Communists, under unreconstructed Stalinist leadership, tried to seize power last year, other Western Europeans intervened skillfully and successfully. The democratic left throughout the continent came immediatey to the aid of Mario Soares and the Portuguese Socialists. The peculiarly unfortunate thing about Italian polltical life is that it contains nothing similar to the Portuguese Socialists. Over the years the Italian Socialists and Social Democrats have been reduced to mere satellites of the Christian Democrats. The Communists are gaining strength only because the whole center-left is collapsing.

Mr. Kissinger's voice frequently slips into a minor key in which he compares the rigors of public responsibility to the carefree style of all his critics—Democrats out of office, academics, newspaper writers and the other assorted kibitzers. But his exchange with the three Democrats the other day was an enlightening and useful one. It also illustrated an interesting reversal of roles.

Mr. Ball, Mr. Brzezinski and Mr. Warnke all belong to a generation that designed and ran an intensely activist foreign policy. The rule was to assert an extremely broad responsibility and intervene almost everywhere. Mr. Kissinger is, in contrast, the prophet of limited American power. But in the Italian case he is constrained by circumstance to defend a traditional position in which the three Democrats have accurately seen the pitfalls. There is no real parallel between the present situation and the ravaged Italy of 1948 that Mr. Kissinger cited as a great example of a collective rescue effort. The Common Market countries together are now nearly as rich as the United States, and they are understandably hostile to foreign pressure. The United States can no longer act for them. But neither can it ignore changes of the magnitude that now seem to be taking shape.

The American presidential candidates would evidently prefer to treat foreign policy as a secondary matter in the coming campaign. But if Italy goes ahead with a June election, they may not have that luxury.

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Mary McGrory

For Carter, Love Is Saying You're Sorry

To Jimmy Carter, love means always having to say you're sorry when something doesn't go down too well.

His apology for his "ethnic purity" remark is a week old now, and he is able to joke about the phrase and turn it just a little to his advantage.

He told one Washington audience of black medical students that he thought there was "ethnic purity" in the medical profession, and that he intended to do something about it.

At a lunch with "opinion leaders," he said, with a slow-breaking grin, that he thought "ethnic purity" was "a standard that lawyers set for themselves and didn't follow."

BUT A RESIDUAL anxiety about the puzzling and disturbing episode hangs over him. White liberals who found a certain titillation in signing up with a born-again Southern Baptist are having second thoughts.

He seemed to them, in his smiling defiance of the powerful and the professional, a born-again Kennedy, and they told themselves he was a winner, too, because he is a superlative politician. Now they wonder if he may be unscrupulous. They wonder if he perhaps took an enormous high-risk gamble, predicting, and it could be correctly, that in the end the blacks would embrace the repentance and the anti-blacks would cling to the original statement.

Whether it was a country boy's inadvertence or a daring throw of the dice, the affair has slowed his remarkable surge. Now, according to the master politician in the White House, Pennsylvania's April 27 primary will be a referendum on Jimmy Carter's ability to get away with it.

IN HIS DAY in Washington — his first since a recent candle-lit inspection by the Georgetown set — Carter showed some signs of being a mildly chastened candidate. Everytime he said his usual "When I am elected," he added a new "If I'm elected." For him, that was diffidence.

He wants now to shift the discussion from his character, which was previously his principal campaign issue, to the issues. He also wants to tone down his anti-Washington rhetoric, which is, of course, less popular in Washington itself than elsewhere.

"He made a long and detaile speech about his health care pr gram — "I wrote every word m self." He told the opinion make something not easily proven fro transcripts of earlier campaign a pearances: "I don't believe I eve made an anti-Washington or an ant government statement."

One of his most ebullient backer Charles Morgan, who submitted hi resignation as the American Civ Liberties Union Washington directo in a quarrel over his defense of Ca ter, reminded the candidate that th people love Carter for saying his not from Washington and not a law yer.

MORGAN ALSO recalled Carter famous pledge, "I will never lie t you."

"That is the most controversi statement I ever made," beam Carter. That was true in pre-"pur ty" days. The "I-will-never-lie-t you" line has maddened the othe candidates. They wish the publ would assume it about them, but rea ize the chances, in light of Watergat — and before — are slight. Whil they privately growl that it is in th "I-am-not-a-crook" class, the understand that it has given Carte the edge with folks who have, as h puts it, "a hunger for precious thing they want to be restored."

Carter did some more apologizin while he was in town. He made Goo Friday amends to his most dangerou "non-active" rival, Hubert Hum phrey. He explained that it was th result of a misunderstanding — a inaccurate local headline — that h had attacked Humphrey unmercifu ly in Wisconsin. He got the impre sion, he said, that Humphrey calle him a racist. He later found out, h said, that Humphrey in criticizin "anti-Washington" candidates as di guised enemies of minorities, wa referring to some other people.

Carter "regrets" having bee mean to Humphrey and regards hi as "qualified" to be president.

As Pennsylvania approaches Democrats see no light at the end o the tunnel. They are torn betwee Carter, whom they say they don know well enough, and Humphrey whom they know too well. One of th reasons the regulars prefer Hum phrey, with all his warts, is that h never promised never to lie to them They like their religion and their poli tics at separate tables.

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Carter Campaign Too Rigid?

Gerald Rafshoon's hired-gun television cameras were rolling. The candidate was at his best, back in step after the "ethnic purity" stumble. All was going as planned; the TV networks had been tipped that the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy was about to enter the press conference and absolve Jimmy Carter of sins past and future.

The episode would be filmed and aired before voters in the April 27 Pennsylvania primary in a last-ditch $160,000 media blitz washing away the stain of "ethnic purity" forever.

But there was a problem that has nettled the "Big Green Machine," as insiders call the Carter campaign with its green posters and buttons and so forth. Abernathy, Martin Luther King's successor as chief of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was late as usual. Carter was on schedule as usual.

Atlanta black leader Jesse Hill, pacing like an artillery commander waiting for the arrival of ammunition, moaned, "I just can't understand the man (Abernathy); he told me he'd be here."

The campaign that is so flexible on issues that it allows the candidate to "accept new ideas" and change his mind in the middle of a primary race is inflexible in other matters. If Abernathy was late, it was too bad for him. Carter had other things to do.

Carter left. Rafshoon didn't get his film. And a chance to erase "ethnic purity," Carter's reference to neighborhood housing patterns, as a concern of black voters was missed.

Meanwhile, Carter's people were hassled by one more of the thousands of snafus that beset campaigns. A big rally was set up for Carter to mend his fences with the Georgia black power structure—and a Carter aide practically had to browbeat the Possum Trot bluegrass band to get them to refrain from playing "Dixie."

This concluding article of a two-part series on Jimmy Carter's political blueprint for the White House looks at the campaign operations in various states, the all-important matter of fundraising and the possibility of flaws in the campaign design. The series was written by Constitution Political Editor Jim Merriner and staff writers David Morrison and Fay S. Joyce.

* * *

Black U.S. Rep. Andrew Young of Atlanta, who has won thousands of black votes for Carter in primaries, is alarmed about the kind of organization that doesn't allow his candidate flexibility in style and pace.

Young suggested that Carter, who has been campaigning six days a week for 16 months now, simply stop for a week, rest and develop a new style for large northern industrial cities.

Some observers are speculating that the finely honed Carter outfit which won primaries in New Hampshire, Florida and Wisconsin may not be up to snuff for large urban states like New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

"He (Carter) has to find a new style of campaigning that will work in the urban areas," said Young. "He needs a good briefing on urban issues, and there is not a person on that staff who grew up in a big city. I think he's got to have a new look at the campaign from here."

"It takes 20 per cent more effort to do anything in a place like New York, and we just have not got that built into the schedule," remarked an aide before that state's April 6 primary—where Carter finished fourth.

In New York City, a Conference of

See CARTER, Page 12-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

Democratic Mayors forum was 45 minutes late waiting for Carter's rival, Sen. Henry Jackson. The former Georgia governor, already smarting from a poor showing on urban problems at a League of Women Voters forum earlier that week, simply handed in his position paper on urban problems and left without making his stands clear.

New York was a model of campaign disorganization, said black state Rep. Bob Holmes of Atlanta, who worked in New York City for Carter.

Holmes blamed the national campaign staff for not wanting Young to campaign in the state at the same time as Carter for fear that Young would siphon press publicity from the candidate.

Also, Holmes grumbled, the campaign all but ignored Spanish-speaking voters, students and intellectuals.

Carter's national staff simply wrote off New York to Jackson, Holmes said. Lack of coordination among the national staff and various state staffs is a recurring complaint.

Carter is committed to run in every state, but he cannot possibly pour equal resources into each.

"We haven't really been running a national campaign," said Carter media director Rafshoon. "We have been taking each state at a time."

The scope of the Carter effort in a particular state depends on the candidate's time, the flow of dollars into the coffers and the recruitment of state volunteers. In some cases, the right hand does not know what the left is doing.

For example, some Minnesota supporters decided to do two final weekends of canvassing in northwestern Wisconsin before the April 6 Wisconsin primary. But they made no contact with the Wisconsin Carter organization to see where they could do the most good.

In Florida, Carter set up perhaps the most elaborate organization for a primary election ever seen. He started 13 months early for the March 9 primary and was organized not only down to the congressional district and county levels, but to the level of most of the precincts.

He got cadres of volunteers, many from the universities. They bought copies of the Democratic voter registration lists from the courthouses and contacted every Democrat in the state with a letter or phone call or both.

In New Hampshire, a professional telephoning outfit was hired for well over $200,000 to call voters and make a pitch a few weeks before the election—then call them back on election day to get out the vote.

By contrast, Wisconsin was a Phil Wise "storm trooper" effort.

Wise, a young Carter organizer from Georgia, took about 100 "Peanut Brigade" Georgia volunteers up to Wisconsin for a last-minute assault before the primary.

There had been virtually no Wisconsin organization prior to the Florida election, and if it hadn't been for the Peanut Brigade, "people in Wisconsin still wouldn't know who Jimmy Carter was. I think that's what put him over in Wisconsin," said a New York political writer.

The Carter organization for the May 4 Georgia primary is a similar ragtag affair. The campaign has formed a steering committee in each of the 10 congressional districts and has told the committees they are basically on their own.

Each committee must raise its own money for advertising and generate its own press coverage, because the candidate does not have enough time to spend more than one more day stumping in the state before the primary.

As May 4 nears, the state organization will supersede the steering committees to concentrate on some key delegate races—like the one against state Sen. Julian Bond, a delegate for Morris Udall in Atlanta.

* * *

The Carter campaign, then, is a disciplined, finely tuned national staff, most of whom have been working together for six years, and an array of decentralized state organizations.

So far, the national staff has been spared the bitter infighting that afflicts many campaigns—but naturally, all is not sweetness and light.

"They (national staffers) all think they're business tycoons or something over there," snapped one headquarters secretary.

Several organizers in other states said they can't get through to the Georgia inner circle for information or guidance.

One staffer said, "The people who are really good at it (organizing) are the people who are willing to make decisions on their own and do something about it. If they sit around and wait for advice from higher up, they won't ever do anything.

"The most important thing is getting things done. Sometimes you're right and sometimes you're wrong, but it must be working because we keep winning."

Besides the campaign staff itself, there is a circle of unofficial advisers. Despite Carter's anti-establishment campaign, his list of policy advisers is straight out of the Ivy League Who's Who.

Many of the advisers touch base with the campaign daily to keep Carter abreast of developments. The information is sent to the candidate via memos, an average of two or three a day, seven when he stopped over in Atlanta last week.

Inside the campaign itself is a kind of junior-grade Ivy League think tank that develops positions on the issues for Carter. National issues director Stuart Eizenstat, at 33, is one of the oldest members of the outfit.

Issues coordinator Steve Stark, 24, graduated from Harvard and worked as a newspaper reporter before joining Carter last summer. Other researchers are Oliver Miller, a senior at Yale; Bob Hanly, a Columbia graduate; David Moran from Harvard; and Charles Cabot, who enters Harvard this fall.

All the advisers and researchers "are in on the process of making an outline which goes to Jimmy," said Stark. "Then we'll draft a speech or a policy statement and it'll be reviewed again by various advisers. Then back to Jimmy."

Stark added, "We're just advising him; he decides what he will say... In all instances, the final position is determined by the governor."

* * *

A candidate's positions, whatever they are, cannot be put before the voters without a lot of money to keep a campaign rolling. Unfortunately for Carter supporters, the candidate could be as stubborn about not appealing for money as he was about sticking to schedules.

"Rosalynn (Mrs. Carter) and Jimmy were no good at asking for money. Now they've become quite good at it. They appeal on the basis of need. 'We need your money to run,'" said Carter adviser Philip Alston.

"He just would not do it," said a national staffer, referring to personal fundraising by Carter. "Or let's say he was uncomfortable doing it.

"But some of these people who won't respond to the campaign will come around and help us a lot when Jimmy makes the appeal himself.

"And now that he realizes it's not like groveling or begging and that he really doesn't have to promise them anything, he and Rosalynn both have become very good at it."

One of the early Carter coups was enlisting Morris Dees, the fundraiser nonpareil who drummed up $20 million for George McGovern in 1972, largely through direct-mail solicitations.

However, "the direct mail has not proved to be a good way for this candidate. I believe direct mail works better for a candidate running on an emotional issue...or to the far left or far right," said national campaign treasurer Robert Lipshutz.

Carter has mailed more than 1 million direct-mail solicitations. According to Lipshutz, "over 24,000 people have given money in this campaign, mainly in contributions one-on-one (with federal matching) or at $10-a-plate barbecues or $250-a-plate dinners."

Alston said, "Jimmy has less access than anybody (else in the race) to big money. In the balance, I think the (new) election law (limiting personal donations to $1,000) has been in his favor.

"I don't think he could have ever attracted the $100,000, $20,000, $25,000 man. He had an even chance with the $1,000, $250 contributor."

Lipshutz, national campaign director Hamilton Jordan and adviser Charles Kirbo decide how to spend the money.

So far, the Carter campaign has spent roughly $3 million, including $1.08 million in federal tax dollars. The campaign is now so strapped for funds that Carter made a special swing through the Atlanta airport Monday to make renewed appeals to his Georgia fat cats.

EE

Talmadge May Endorse a Candidate

By FAY S. JOYCE

U. S. Sen. Herman Talmadge said Monday he may break a tradition he has broken only once before and endorse a candidate for political office.

Speaking at a Rotary Club luncheon in Atlanta, the powerful veteran of 19 years in the Senate predicted that if Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter wins the April 27 Pennsylvania primary, "it'll be exceedingly difficult to prevent his nomination."

Asked if he will endorse the former Georgia governor, Talmadge replied, "There's been a multiplicity of candidates in the Senate . . . I thought it would be a mistake to get involved in presidential politics. There is a possibility I will endorse a candidate at a later date."

He said he saw no reluctance among Georgia congressmen to back Carter publicly, adding, "I've only endorsed one candidate in my lifetime, and that was (U. S. Sen.) Sam Nunn after he won in the primary."

He added that he could support Carter for president.

In his luncheon address, Talmadge called on Americans to stop finding fault with the nation's institutions and start feeling proud. He coupled that with an attack on the federal government's incompetence.

"American institutions that once were cherished, and ideals that once were held high, have been taking such a beating that many people have been emotionally knocked off balance and their sense of values knocked out of kilter," he said.

"The past 15 years brought terrible hardship on all Americans. During the 1960s and the first of the 1970s, the American people were eyewitnesses to assassinations, a war that tore this country apart, riots in the streets and political upheaval in the two highest offices in the land," he continued.

The senator noted, "There is nothing inherently wrong with self-criticism. It is, in fact, much to be desired. But when it becomes an obsession, when we unremittingly castigate ourselves for our shortcomings and allow great accomplishments of a great nation and a great people to go unnoticed, then something has gone haywire."

Talmadge declared, "It is time to shed the burden of guilt. Let us seize upon the Bicentennial and the 1976 elections to put bad times behind us, and to put America back on the track to greatness."

Noting that the country's troubles had not produced mature attempts to resolve problems, Talmadge evoked the name of John F. Kennedy and, quoting the late president's inaugural address, said, "Let us begin."

Talmadge, who is speaking around the state while Congress is out of session for an Easter vacation, then said he fears for the future of free enterprise.

TO BREAK TRADITION? Sen. Herman Talmadge

TRB From Washington

Vetoes Subject to Attack

WASHINGTON—Nine years ago American cities were turbulent. There were six days of racial violence in Newark with 26 killed. There was disorder in Cincinnati, in Nashville, in Cambridge, Md. The President sent 4,800 troops into Detroit. Congress investigated; was it a Red plot?

The year before, 1966, Sargent Shriver warned that cuts in the Office of Economic Opportunity and similar agencies would have "great and grave" effects. These appeared punctually as the ghettoes erupted.

The always conservative House minority leader, Jerry Ford, smelled Communism. "I can't help but believe that there is in the background some national plan," he observed of the disorders.

Sen. Robert Kennedy said, "Today the army of the dispossessed and disenchanted sits in every major city, in every region and section of the country." Ex-assistant Labor Secretary Pat Moynihan saw the emergence of an "urban lower class" whose upward thrust was a social as well as a racial phenomenon.

Four national black leaders pleaded against the riots: Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young. King, of course, was soon to be shot down, followed by more riots.

Violence is under the surface of public life; always waiting. The curious thing is that economic circumstances during these clashes of the 1960s were better than they are today. Unemployment is now around 7.5 per cent, and the current official estimate of black teen-age unemployment is an almost incredible 35.9 per cent. But where are the riots, the upward pressure?

Cushioned partly, perhaps, by general assistance programs, by unemployment insurance, by food stamps. The country has forgotten what happened a few years back. We hope it will last, that the poor will remain patient.

The presidential candidates generally tiptoe around the sensitive issue, particularly race. When Jimmy Carter stubs his toe on the tabooed subject of "ethnic purity" his rivals rejoice, but few take up the real issue of segregated suburbs around decaying central cities. The silence is as complete and Victorian as it would be if a child at a garden party brightly announced to the hostess, "Ma, that drain is overflowing again!"

Great domestic issues cry for discussion in this election but aren't being discussed; maybe they will be later after the primaries. The Democrats have a big opportunity if they can find a candidate who can put it all together. Curiously enough, so far it is President Ford who comes closest to the vital matters through generally declaring what he won't let Congress do.

Ford is wonderfully benefited by having Ronald Reagan as an antagonist. He makes the President look good. Reagan explained the other day, "There is only one cause for inflation: government spending more than government takes in." A statement like that makes Ford look profound, and after one of his sparring matches with Reagan he appears like a strong, decisive leader.

If and when Reagan is disposed of, the real battle will start, and it will center on the Ford vetoes. They symbolize in 1976 the historic political cleavage between the parties over the role of government in the economy and to the individual. Who will articulate the Democrats' side? It is a complicated subject and Hubert Humphrey, for one, is daring to go.

One reason America's big cities are so quiet is the rather disconcerting one that we are spending enormous sums in general assistance programs to keep them quiet. These jumped 31.4 per cent last year to the startling figure of $27.8 billion. Is it too high?

Of course, it is. It is high because unemployment is high, and for every 1 per cent increase in unemployment there is a corresponding loss of $14 billion in federal tax revenues and an additional cost of $2 billion for unemployment compensation. If we could cut unemployment back to 1967 levels, we could save the government $59 billion and cancel the deficit. As economist Walter Heller said the other day, "We are $150 billion below our output potential; it is just ridiculous not to make faster use of that unused potential.

The economy is improving, at a slow rate, and it should help President Ford in the election, for inevitably the direction of the economy is more important to the voters than the actual level. The difficulty is that the recovery is slow and that Ford has repeatedly seemed to be putting on the brakes. Democrats argue that it is they who stimulated recovery, not the President's vetoes.

The recession isn't over, of course. There have been six post-war recessions and we are still below the trough (low point) of the other five. This Nixon-Ford recession is the deepest in 40 years.

Walter Heller and other liberal economists could be wrong, but they consider the Ford hold-the-line budget inadequate, and warn of continued recession next year with continued extraordinary unemployment. The latter is actually budgeted for in the projections of the Ford stable of conservative economists.

President Ford isn't ashamed of his vetoes; he proclaims them. It has been government-by-veto, often near stalemate, since he took office and it will so continue if he is elected, for he will almost certainly have another Democratic Congress.

"I will veto them again, and again, and again," he tells audiences. As this is written, his score is 48, in 20 short months, and with others in line ahead like advancing telegraph poles: Nixon had only 43 vetoes; Herbert Hoover, 37; and Johnson, 30. This is a new kind of government.

President Ford makes it the issue and rejoices in it, against "those reckless spending bills." Like Reagan, he argues that spending causes inflation, though he doesn't make it the sole cause. He attacks the bureaucrats as do some Democrats. (It would be nice just once to hear somebody recognize the disinterested devotion with which many abused bureaucrats serve their country.)

Vetoes by Ford include school lunch and veterans' bills, strip mining and air pollution controls, federal aid to the indigent and idle, public employment, housing subsidies, public works, aid for the handicapped, tax cuts, job training, and many others.

If ever there was a set-up for a fiery attack by an opposition party, this is it.

(TRB is the pen name of Richard Strout, long-time Washington correspondent for The Christian Science Monitor.)

GG

Hal Gulliver

Carter's Hopes Now in Pennsylvania

An apparently otherwise pleasant lady, friendly in general, wrote in the other day and said that she hoped I would seek to restrain myself the very next time that I sat down to write a column and the word "Carter" came pounding out in any fashion.

I can sympathize. Georgian Jimmy Carter is now the Democratic frontrunner for his party's presidential nomination, and as such he is receiving abundant amounts of public attention, including news coverage and commentary.

Yet it is hard to resist that impulse to strike the typewriter keys, C-A-R-T-E-R, and for one main reason. Jimmy Carter of Plains is the first Southerner, let alone Georgian, in my lifetime who has made a serious from-the-grassroots-up bid for the White House. No Southerner, even those with political clout ranging from the late Sen. Dick Russell to Gov. George Wallace, has been given a real chance to the presidential nomination of any major political party.

So, on this day just one week before the critical Pennsylvania primary, I find myself at it again in writing about that peanut farmer from South Georgia, the one who has set the High Mucky Mucks of the Democratic party nationally on their collective ear because of his stunning campaign victories in Iowa and New Hampshire and Florida and Wisconsin and assorted other places.

The Pennsylvania primary next Tuesday may be the last of great impact; it could give Carter an unstoppable momentum.

His opponents, Congressman Morris Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson, are fighting all out. They know that the campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is probably over if Carter beats them both in Pennsylvania.

Beyond that, though, most Democrats see Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Mister Available, as Carter's remaining competition. The labor unions going all out for Jackson in Pennsylvania essentially see Jackson as a holding move, an effort to Stop Carter and later move to Humphrey.

What are the odds?

A hard call. Jackson has Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia and major unions on his side, plus whatever help other Humphrey boosters can give him. Udall is less of a factor. Pennsylvania may be his last primary if he runs a distant third.

Carter's chances? It is hard to say because Pennsylvania is such a large and varied state, fully 12 million people, a great mix of such variety that some politicos say running in Pennsylvania is like running in three or four, or even five or six different states.

But Pennsylvania is not an island. And the Carter momentum is national. "Carter is rolling and the others are floundering," The Wall Street Journal quotes a Pennsylvania Democrat as saying, one described as "one of the few neutral top Democratic politicians in the state."

If that proves true one week from today, Carter's momentum for the Democratic presidential nomination will be hard for anyone to undercut.

Roanoke Times 4/18/76

Religious Appeal Potent

Time for Southern Values in White House?

By NEAL R. PEIRCE

"THE SOUTH shall rise again." Down through a century and more of Confederate nostalgia, years when the race-obsessed and economically depressed Southland was the pariah of American political life, the cry was heard—and seemed to mean little.

It is time for the North to stop snickering. It is true that no candidate from the Deep South has become resident since Louisiana's Zachary Taylor in 1848. But suddenly southern contenders have become a potent force in presidential politics. George Wallace proved it in 1968 and 1972, when he mystified and perplexed northern liberals with his strong runs. And now Jimmy Carter is doing it again—with a far better chance than Wallace ever had to win the presidency.

Have the Wallace and Carter successes been accidental affairs, unrelated to each man's southernness? I would suggest not—each man's southern roots are essential to his appeal, and Wallace, by the very fact of his repeated candidacies and primary victories, set the stage for Carter—a southerner of broader, non-racist appeal—to be accepted in the North.

It's now clear that Wallace's political star is setting, even as Carter's rises. Questions of Wallace's health aside, the Democratic party could never forget the not-so-thinly disguised racism and appeals to people's darker, violent sides, which he embodied, especially in earlier campaigns. Those appeals were quintessential, destined-for-defeat, Old South Dixiecratism.

But there remains the other side to Wallace, his lasting legacy—the "message" that not only his steelworkers and beauticians and cab drivers, but also a great mass of Americans are upset with Washington-based power elites that raised their taxes, meddled with their neighborhood schools, and most importantly never seemed to listen to plain folks.

"For several years now, sensitive southerners have been suggesting that their newly liberated region could make peculiarly valuable contributions to the nation at large: honesty about race questions, direct and openly expressed religious faith, a deep sense of family and of place—all values so often lacking in the more acquisitive and devious North."

So now, when Carter advertises his non-Washington credentials and says he'll return control of their government to ordinary Americans, he's tapping the same vein of broad popular distrust of national leadership first mined by George Wallace.

Charles Morgan, head of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, suggests that vein of distrust has deepened over the past several years, from plain people's concern about the "Washington-knows-best" syndrome into their abhorrences of official lying about the Watergate crisis, Vietnam and other national security issues.

Thus Carter hits an exposed nerve, Morgan notes, when he says he wouldn't tell a lie, he's not from Washington, he's not a lawyer. "Those are Watergate issues, and they're first-rate issues, because they're so elemental, and our government has forgotten them," Morgan said. (Morgan, a leader of the campaign to impeach President Nixon, emphasized he was speaking personally, not for the ACLU, and personally favored Fred Harris for the nomination.)

Beyond popular distrust of Washington, Carter is doing what Wallace never could—to take the positive side of American's common value systems, to speak openly of values such as "love of God, love of land, love of our children," and to turn them into a powerful political thrust.

And it is here, this correspondent suggests, that Carter's essential southernness emerges. During the 1960s, the Southland underwent a dramatic, jarring "second Reconstruction" that freed it from its ancient scourge of racism. Spiritually, economically, politically, all southerners were bound to remain enslaved to a bitter past and bleak present as long as the system of legal segregation persisted.

But now that system has been broken—not only through federal civil rights laws, but also through black and white southerners' own resolve and sometimes heroic actions. There is residual racism, but no worse than in the North. Most southerners, as Martin Luther King Jr. prayed, are "free at last." The South has rejoined the Union as an equal partner.

Wallace represented the rear-guard resistance to the emergence of this new South; Carter has been in its vanguard, not only as a publicized "New South" governor, but, as Morgan points out, also since the early 1950s, when he risked ostracism by refusing to join the racist Citizens Council in south Georgia.

Morgan, it's worth noting, is a native Alabamian who led many of the civil rights battles of the '50s as the ACLU southern director in Atlanta. Now he believes standard national liberalism has "lost its heart, not to mention its gut. But you come from what we've come from in the South, and by God, you know things can be changed."

For several years now, sensitive southerners have been suggesting that their newly liberated region could make peculiarly valuable contributions to the nation at large: honesty about race questions, direct and openly expressed religious faith, a deep sense of family and of place—all values so often lacking in the more acquisitive and devious North.

The message was caught by a great South Carolinian, James McBride Dabbs, writing a few hours before his death in 1970: "We (southerners) have evil and have had evils beyond compare ... But somehow we've never ceased being haunted by God. Somehow we've remained human. Somehow the stars of kindliness, of integrity, of courage ... have never gone out."

Against that background, one reads with fascination Richard Reeves diagnosing the Carter phenomenon in New York Magazine. Carter, Reeves writes, has figured out that what others perceive as a political crisis in present-day America "is actually a spiritual crisis," and that "the breakdown of religion, the loss of comprehensible moral framework—or rules—may be the United States' overriding crisis."

Carter appeals to voters, by this analysis, through symbolism—the rural base of a man who can talk of his family farming the same piece of land for 210 years, the religious faith of a man who says unabashedly he belongs to Jesus. "Carter draws on the symbolism of Christianity and the land," Reeves suggests, "and that symbolism touches deep roots in Americans, no matter how irreligious or urban their lives may be now."

Morgan believes the Democrats' Washington-based establishment opposes Carter because "these folks don't have their hooks into him." Also, Morgan suggests, Carter has a corner on "the wholesomeness issue—God, motherhood and country. Some of my liberal friends say he hasn't spoken on the issues. I say, 'Wait a minute, I think he just hit them.'"

We would, of course, be foolish to accept Carter on face value as the embodiment of truthfulness, God, country, or any other value. All professions of love aside, he knows how to strike for an opponent's political jugular. He sometimes exaggerates to the point of embarrassment; like many politicians, he oftens tailors policy positions to please his listeners of the moment.

But to oppose Carter simply because he is a southerner, as some northerners still do, is to be blind to the South's fantastic transformation in recent years. In a period when there has been so much to discourage and confound us in America, the South has been our one, glowing success story.

Indeed, the time may have come to recall that eight of our first 15 presidents were southerners and to speculate that with the South's "Civil War century" now ended, we might do well to look southward again—if not this year, then sometime soon. It might be a healing, restorative experience in our national life.

FOCUS

Commentary

Jimmy Carter's Role

By JUAN M. GARCIA PASSALACQUA

(Garcia Passalacqua is a former La Fortaleza aide, attorney and consultant. He is attorney for the pro-Jimmy Carter Democrats in Puerto Rico.)

The dictionary of famous last words will someday definitely include our Resident Commissioner Jaime Benitez's statement of last Feb. 22: "Nobody knows who Jimmy Carter is". Last week, a friend that was visiting the rural areas of Humacao was cornered by a local laborer and told: "Carter won in Wisconsin." My friend, a statehonder, never expected to see a presidential primary candidate to be so well known in the southern slopes of our central mountain range. Yet, it has happened. Tens of thousands know today in Puerto Rico who is Jimmy Carter and why is he running.

Yet, the person itself, the character of the man, deserves to be better known. We do know he visited Puerto Rico several times when stationed in the Navy during World War II. We also know that during the 1972 Governors Conference held here, he left the hotel area and spent some days touring inland, getting to know the agricultural workers of the mountain region. We know he chartered a plane to send home a group of Puerto Rican Little Leaguers that had run out of money in Atlanta some years ago. We have been pleased to have his son and his daughter-in-law here for a few days last month, and learned from them about the candidate. Not enough.

Since he is now the frontrunner in the presidential stakes, it seems advisable to explore more in depth the nature of the man. One good way to do it is by reading his autobiography, published by a religious firm in Tennessee, and called "Why Not the Best?" (Broadman Press, Nashville, 1975).

The man was born from a conservative father and a liberal mother during the Great Depression in the small town of Plains, Georgia. The family was poor and didn't belong to Plains society. Instead, the man was raised in a community where the most important person was a black preacher (Bishop William Johnson) and where the majority of the population was black. His roots are with the poor.

His first important book was Leon Tolstoy's "War and Peace," and the lesson he derived from it —in his own words— was: "The course of human events, even the greatest historical events, is determined ultimately not by the leaders, but by the common, ordinary people. Their hopes and dreams, their doubts and fears, their courage and tenacity, their quiet commitments determine the destiny of the world." In other words, it is the masses that make history.

His formative period was lived in the U.S. Navy, and the strongest influence at this time was Adm. Hyman Rickover. The biography itself gets its title from an incident in which Rickover, Carter's superior, asked him if he had done his best while a student at Annapolis. As any student would know, Carter admitted that he had not. Then, according to Carter himself, Rickover ended the interview with one final question: Why not? Jimmy Carter is driven by the desire to answer that question and, indeed, do his best. That, of course, would be to become president of the United States.

Latin America and the Spanish-speaking minorities in the U.S. are one of Carter's intellectual priorities. He learned Spanish at Annapolis, and lived in a community of Mexican migrants in San Diego in the 1950s. He has taken his family on a study-vacation trip to Mexico, in which they began to learn Spanish and stayed with some local families. One of Carter's religious experiences was to accompany a Latin American preacher in the States called Eloy Cruz, whose favorite saying is: "Nuestro Salvador tiene las manos muy suaves y El no puede hacer mucho con un hombre que es duro." He brought the OAS meeting to Atlanta in 1974, the first ever to be held outside Washington. Sources close to him say Latin America will be "the top priority" in his foreign policy.

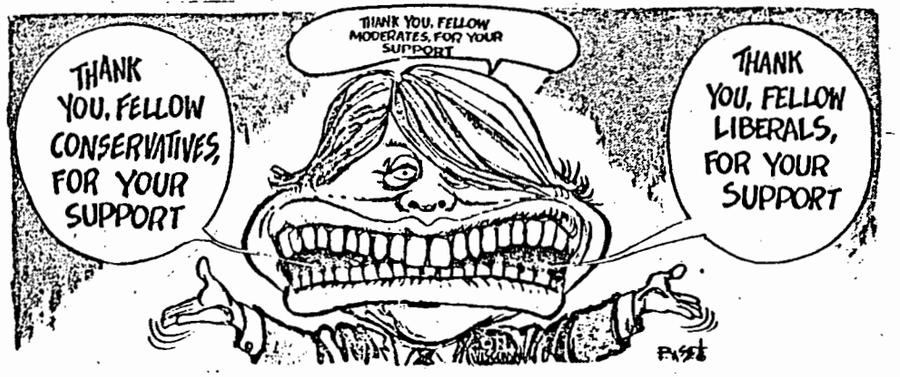
Carter has leaned more towards his mother's liberal ideology on the race issue. He refused to join the White Citizens' Council in his native Georgia. He fought to admit blacks to the services in his church. He announced that "the time for racial discriminations is over" is his 8-minute inaugural address. He ordered a picture of Martin Luther King hung at the State Capitol in Atlanta, as soon as he became governor. He was responsible for the formation of a biracial "civil disorder unit" in his state. It is a good record in a deep South state in the 1960s.

The candidate's whole career has been fighting "regular" Democratic organizations that refuse to recognize the need for mass participation, from Georgetown in Georgia to Washington, D.C. He summarizes it this way: "I began to realize how vulnerable our political system was to an accumulation of unchallenged power. Honest and courageous people could be quieted when they came to realize that outspoken opposition was fruitless . . But there were other lessons I learned, too. The most vital was that people intimidated by corrupt public officials don't necessarily like it; if given some leadership and a chance, they are willing to stand up and be counted on the side of decency and of honest politics and government."

Carter's book reflects his antipathy for special interests, lobbysts and corrupt politicians. His main concerns are the environment, health, criminal justice and education of the poor. He is definitely a populist in the sense of standing for the proposition announced in his short inaugural: "No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever have to bear the additional burden of being deprived of the opportunity of an education, a job, or simple justice."

His position on foreign policy sounds simple but would imply a revolutionary change: he wants to bring "morality" to international relations and stop "secrecy and outright lying." One of his conclusions is heartening: "The time for American intervention in all the problems of the world is over."

I have attempted to give you, in a few brushstrokes, a picture of the man that is the Democratic frontrunner in the 1976 race for president of the United States. I believe that Jimmy Carter's role has been to challenge the old power-structures of the nation with a new moral force and with an appeal to the unknown, poor masses for their own vindication. Washington, the city and its people, are all keyed up about it. A siege mentality can be ascertained in some of its corridors of power. And yet, the view from here, from Puerto Rico, from the frontiers of the fleeting American empire is that —after Vietnam and Watergate— a new moral force may be just what is needed in the White House.



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To say.

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News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 21, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Portugal is caught up in another frenzy of rallies, marches and interparty violence with the approach on Sunday, on the second anniversary of the revolution that threw out the old right-wing dictatorship, of the vote for the first freely elected Parliament in half a century. Only four parties are expected to obtain a significant vote. The Socialists are believed to be in first place, about equal to the liberal Popular Democrats and conservative Centralists combined, with the Communists forming a strong minority. [Page 1, Columns 1-3.]

Queen Elizabeth II, who celebrates her 50th birthday today, remains a symbol of stability after the decline of Britain as a world power and the erosion of its economic strength. Criticism is low-keyed, but there is discussion of the role and relevance of the royal family. The recent breakup of Princess Margaret's marriage underlined the blurred problems of the monarchy. [1:3-4.]

National

The Supreme Court ruled in a Chicago case that Federal courts can order the creation of low-cost public housing for minorities in a city's white suburbs to relieve racial segregation in housing in the city. It said courts can do this even if the suburbs involved are clear of discriminatory housing practices. The decision was viewed as a landmark victory for civil rights groups. [1:8.]

The White House announced that President Ford paid more than $94,000 in Federal income taxes for 1975 and received a refund of $11,600. Press secretary Ron Nessen suggested that Mr. Ford's challenger for the Republican nomination, Ronald Reagan, and the Democratic contenders, match the scope of his disclosures. [1:4.]

Contradictory accounts about the final illness of the late Howard R. Hughes include some evidence that the reclusive billionaire resisted or refused treatment that could have prolonged his life. The question whether he was competent to manage his affairs or was under the control of others could become important if a court battle develops over the disposition of his $1.5 billion estate. [1:1-2.]

This year's Democratic voters—at least the small minority who have turned out in early primary elections—appear to have a more conservative hue than they did in 1972 in the absence of such a galvanizing political issue as the war in Vietnam. A series of surveys of primary voters suggests that the still inconclusive Presidential race has been shaped, mostly by economic and other domestic issues and an ill-defined yearning for new faces. [1:3.]

ABC News has offered Barbara Walters a five-year contract at $1 million a year to become co-anchor of "The Evening News with Harry Reasoner." She said she would decide this week whether to accept the ABC offer or sign a new contract with NBC, the network where she rose to stardom in television journalism. [1:1.]

Metropolitan

District Attorney Robert M. Morgenthau of Manhattan announced a major restructuring of his office under which a single lawyer would be responsible for a case "from the complaint room to the defendant's final day in court." He said the lawyers would do a better job than under the present "conveyor-belt" system in which seven or eight may handle a criminal prosecution. [1:6-7.]

The Board of Education is considering the return of all fifth-grade and sixth-grade classes to the elementary schools, possible cutting costs by nearly $8.2 million a year. This would end a 10-year trend toward what is now called the intermediate school covering the fifth through the eighth grade and replacing the traditional junior high school. Many teachers might be "bumped." [1:5.]

The Beame administration is studying the possibility of removing from rent control all apartments in the city that rent for $300 a month or more. There are about 15,000 such apartments in the city. Real estate interests are planning a legal effort to compel the city to consider removing from the separate rent stabilization program tens of thousands of additional apartments renting for $300 or more. [1:6-7.]

Next month Mayor Beame will formally open the three-building Forest Hills Cooperative, a project that drew angry protests from residents of the Queens neighborhood when work began. It aimed at bringing poor people into a middle-class area. Some who protested are now residents—a reflection of compromises that made it a cooperative instead of a traditional low-rent project. [1:5-8.]

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The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Cloudy and cooler today; chance of rain tonight, tomorrow. Temperature range: today 58-69; Tuesday 68-89. Details on page 61.

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Democrats Found More Conservative Than 4 Years Ago

By ROBERT REINHOLD

In the absence of such a galvanizing political issue as the war in Vietnam, Democratic voters this year, at least insofar as they are typified by the small minority of voters who have turned out in the early primaries, appear to have a more conservative hue than they did in 1972.

A series of six New York Times/CBS News surveys of primary voters suggests, moreover, that the muddled Democratic Presidential race seems to have been shaped largely by economic and other domestic issues and by an ill-defined yearning for new faces.

The surveys confirm that the kind of divisive foreign issues that created the McGovern candidacy four years ago have largely evaporated. So, too, it seems, has the appetite of Democrats—at least of the small number that vote in pri-

Continued on Page 18, Column 1

Democrats Found More Conservative Than in 1972

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

maries—for radical social change.

The conshervative mood in the six early primary states surveyed seems all the more significant because there are indications that Democrats nationally are even more conservative. When compared with a national cross section of Democrats polled by The New York Times and CBS News last month after the Illinois primary, the primary voters have more liberal views on a wide range of political issues than do other Democrats in all states except Florida.

The chief beneficiary of the voters' interest in new faces and domestic issues, the studies find, is Jimmy Carter. The Ward-driving former Georgia Governor has managed to elbow his way to the front of the Democratic pack with a constituency unlike that amassed in recent years by any other serious contender for the Democratic nomination.

Apart from the blacks among them, the Carter voters are generally affluent, suburban and rural, and seem, in many respects, like Republicans in disguise. In state after state, they were more likely than other Democratic voters to have voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972 and more likely to desert the party this year to vote for President Ford if their candidate is denied the nomination.

Starting in the first primary in snowy New Hampshire and continuing in five other primaries — Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Wisconsin and New York—The New York Times and CBS News questioned nearly 8,000 voters, in accordance with strict sampling procedures, in an effort to determine what motivated their votes. What issues seemed to benefit one candidate or the other? What qualities in the candidates seemed to influence the votes?

It is hazardous to draw sweeping generalities from the attitudes of these early primary voters. The candidates were little known at first, and the field was very large. Further, different combinations of rivals vied in different states, leaving many voters without the opportunity to pick their first choice.

Tentative Themes

It is, moreover, difficult to say exactly how the complexion of the race would have been altered if Senator Hubert H. Humphrey had been an active candidate. Thus far, the party's traditional majority—the working people and liberals who coalesced behind Presidents like Roosevelt and Kennedy—have found no congenial outlet.

Still, a few tentative themes emerge.

Probably most striking is the waning of foreign policy issues. Four years ago, Senator George McGovern rode to the nomination on a crest of indignation over the war. This year no such compelling issue has emerged, except possibly in New York, where Jewish concern over Israel and resentment against the Soviet Union helped to give Senator Henry M. Jackson a victory.

Race Relations Issue

The Times/CBS News surveys have found that Senator Jackson has done extremely well among those who said that they were concerned about relations with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately for the Washington Senator's aspirations, however, scarcely one in fifteen Democratic voters in the six states expressed any worry over this issue.

Similarly, the only remaining liberal in the Democratic race, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, drew rather well among those who wanted to cut military spending. Again, however, only about one of ten persons questioned listed this as a major concern. Mr. Udall has done exceptionally well among those concerned about pollution and environment, but very few of those questioned are.

A traditionally abrasive and divisive Democratic issue—race relations—appears to be playing little direct role this year. The chief magnet for those hostile to black aspirations, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, has done poorly and has all but dropped out of the race.

About 40 percent of the Democrats interviewed felt, on average, that the Government pays too much attention to the needs of minorities. But these voters have not particularly favored any one of the remaining contenders — Mr. Carter, Mr. Udall or Mr. Jackson.

What then has filled this issue vacuum?

Basically, it appears that economic issues and questions about the size and functions of the central government have played the biggest role so far. Across all six states, voters selected "job guarantees" as the issue that influenced their vote about as often as any other issue.

But all major Democratic contenders feel that the Federal Government should do more to cut unemployment, and this issue has not been a "cutting" one. That is, those who agreed that the Government should guarantee a job to everyone who wants to work have divided their votes about evenly among the three leaders.

What is perhaps more cutting, and it has worked mostly to the benefit of Mr. Carter, is a feeling that government is too big, that it spend too much and administers programs inefficiently.

As the primary season progressed, the number mentioning "size of government" as a source of concern grew perceptibly, much to the advantage of Mr. Carter, who has made a major issue of what he calls the "bloated" Federal bureaucracy.

Personalities a Factor

Moreover, he generally did well among fiscally conservative voters —those who felt it important to balance the budget even at the cost of cutting social services. Mr. Udall drew well among those on the liberal side of this issue, while Mr. Jackson did not seem to be hurt or helped by it.

Of course, issues are not the only factors influencing voting choices. The personalities of the candidates, and whether voters perceive them as good leaders and honest men, also play a role. And some voters may want to vote for the man who has the best chance of beating the Republican candidate in November.

Senator Jackson generally did fairly well among voters citing leadership and competence as important factors, Mr. Udall among those citing consistency and honesty. But it was Mr. Carter who scored best among voters who seem to be playing an increasingly potent role as the campaign progresses — those who feel it important to elect someone who is not part of the Washington establishment and who want someone who has a good chance to win in November.

Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall, who have been in Congress for many years, did not do well among these voters. Mr. Carter, who frequently calls himself an "outsider," did very well. He also scored well among voters wanting a winner. Both Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson generally did poorly among these.

In sum, then, the polls suggest that the race has been dominated by moderately conservative Democrats. No candidate purveying the programmatic liberalism of the New Deal type has emerged as the favorite of the working man and the social liberals.

If such a candidate does emerge—many have mention Senator Humphrey —the surveys suggest that there is a good chance many Carter backers will look elsewhere in November.

The Times and CBS News will continue to trace the path of the campaign in future primaries, including the key Pennsylvania race next week. Assisting The Times in its survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the government department at Harvard University.

Carter Emerging as Indiana Favorite

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

INDIANAPOLIS, April 20—When Senator Henry M. Jackson made his first Indiana appearance of the 1976 Presidential ampaign on April 11, fewer than 400 people turned out for a rally in an auditorium at the state fairgrounds that holds about 3,500.

The night before, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the noncandidate who somehow manages to show up in each Presidential primary state just as the ampaign is beginning, drew a sellout audience to a Democratic fund-raising dinner.

"Jackson is trying to appeal to the same people in Indiana as Humphrey does," said Frank Corsaro, Mr. Jackson's local coordinator, "but they like Humphrey better."

In Pennsylvania, where the same situation exists, the Humphrey forces are struggling to turn out a big Jackson vote to stop former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia in the state's pivotal primary on April 27.

But in Indiana, which votes one week later, on May 4, the Jackson campaing seems much less forceful, despite the covert support of the state labor federation and of most of the party organization, headed by William Trisler, the Indiana Democratic chairman.

Control of local offices is what counts in Indiana, one of the last states where party organizations are openly financed by 2 percent kickbacks from the salaries of public officials. So the real muscle of the organization is going into a gubernatorial contest between Larry Conrad, the secretary of state, and Jack New, the state treasurer, and not into Presidential politics.

The Jackson campaign here—hastily organized, as were those of his rivals, after Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana left the race on March 4—has sent letters to each of the 8,990 precinct committeemen and vice committeemen appealing for help. But the committeeman were also asked to turn out crowds for the April 11 rally and they clearly failed.

Not even the close Indiana ties of Robert Keefe, Mr. Jackson's campaign manager, who worked for Mr. Bayh for many years, appear to have helped. Democratic leaders here see no sign that Mr. Bayh has moved a muscle to help Mr. Jackson.

The result is that Mr. Carter, who was virtually unknown in Indiana two months ago, has emerged as the favorite to capture a majority of the state's 75 delegates to the Democratic convention. Private polls show him leading, and even Mr. Trisler has conceded privately in recent days that "barring major upheavals Mr. Carter looks potent."

The Georgian is particularly strong in southern Indiana, the region below interstate 70 that behaves, because of 19th century settlement patterns, as though it were below the Mason-Dixon Line. Mr. Carter is also expected to do well in Indianapolis and in the smaller industrial cities, such as Anderson and Kokomo, where the United Auto Workers hold sway.

Jackson Appears to Trail in State's May 4 Contest for 75 Delegates

the 6th Congressional District, keeping him off the ballot.

The Supreme Court refused yesterday to consider immediately Mr. Udall's challenge to a state law that requires a candidate to qualify in all districts to run in any of them.

The appeal of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in this state, where he finished second in 1972 with 41 percent of the primary vote, has faded dramatically, by all accounts, leaving a head-on Cater-Jackson fight. Mr. Wallace has canceled several campaign dates, ..although he still intends to appear here.

Mr. Jackson's assets appear to be his popularity in the heavily industrialized belt along Lake Michigan, where he has the support of the steelworkers and of Robert Pastrick, the Lake County Democratic chairman; the faint possibility that Mr. Carter's comments here about "ethnic purity" will hurt him with black voters; and the fact that Mr. Jackson will have a week to campaign here while Mr. Carter must also campaign for the Texas, Georgia and Alabama primaries.

"I don't think Jackson can make it," commented one longtime Democratic activist. "'Ethnic purity' doesn't seem to me to have hurt Carter much, and the natural desire for Jackson that was here three years ago has somehow evaporated. I saw him speak to 2,500 people inin 1973 and turn at least 2,000 of them off."

The Republican Presidential contest seems clear-cut, with President Ford considered likely easily beat Ronald Ragan among his Midwestern neighbors just south of the Michigan borders.

A poll taken for the Republican State Committee by Robert Teeter of Detroit between Feb. 7 and 13 found that among 800 respondents, Mr. Ford had 56 percent, Mr. Reagan 32 percent, and an unusually low 12 percent undecided.

"This is not the politics of philosophy, like Wisconsin, or the politics of personality, like California," said Thomas S. Milligan, the state Republican chairman, who backs the President. "Indiana has the politics of party, and except in rare circumstances we go with incumbents."

Mr. Milligan said he expected Mr. Ford to win by 55 percent of the vote and to carry all 11 Congressional districts, which under Republican rules would give him all of the state's 54 delegates.

Charles Black, a national Reagan organizer, concurred in much of Mr. Milligan's assessment. But he held out hope that Mr. Reagan could win a district or two—possibly in the Indianapolis area—if the Californian is able to draw clear distinctions on the issues when the two Republicans open active campaigning in Indiana later this week.

Among the Republicans as well as the Democrats, attention is focused on a statewide primary—the one that pits former Gov. Edgar Whitcomb against former Mayor Richard G. Luger of Indianopolis for the right to oppose Democratic Senator Vance Hartke this fall.

"We're definitely second banana," said J. C. Beck, the Ford coordinator here. "Our worry is that people will think Ford is a shoo-in and neglect to do the work."

Just to remind the sports-mad Hoosiers of their allegiances, Mr. Ford invited the national champion Indiana University basketball team to breakfast at the White House this morning.

The auto workers and their partners in the liberal labor coalition form one of Mr. Carter's main assets.

Although no one will say so for the record, many Democrats here believe that coalition officials were responsible for the elimination of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona from the Indiana race. Negotiations between the coalition and Mr. Udall went an awry just before the filing deadline; it was then discovered that Mr. Udall was short 35 signatures on his nominating petition in

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President Considers Veto Of Campaign Funding Bill

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 20—President Ford is seriously considering vetoing the campaign bill now awaiting final approval in Congress, on the grounds that it deprives the Federal Election Commission of vital political independence.

Arguing against disapproval are two major factors that have more to do with the 1976 Presidential campaign than wtih the contents of the legislation.

A veto could make the President appear to be a calculating obstructionist, continuing indefinitely the freeze on primary subsidies to Presidential candidates while his own campaign remains prosperous because of private contributions.

Also, a veto could so arouse Congress as to provide enough votes to override, scoring a point for the Democratic leadership there and casting Congress rather than the White House in the role of political reformer.

In an interview with a group of Texas editors made public today, the President, in discussing the campaign bill, said, "I am not going to sign bad legislation for any reason" and criticized Congress for not getting the bill to his desk before the current Easter recess.

Ford Awaits Bill

Mr. Ford said flatly that he would not reach a final decision on signing or vetoing the bill until he had received "the proper document," late this month or in early May. Some interested parties have urged him to announce his approval now, so that candidates may borrow more readily against subsidies due them.

Simply reconstituting the Election Commission to restore its subsidy powers "would have been the right thing to do," the President declared, adding, "Unfortunately, the Congress apparently has significantly changed some of the very important provisions in that legislation, so that is what we are analyzing at the present time."

The Elecion Commission reported today that the backlog of unpaid subsidy claims rose by more than $1 million this week, to a total of nearly $2.4 millions. The lion's share of that money, more than $900,000, will go to President Ford when and if the campaign bill becomes law.

New claims filed yesterday were the first since Ronald Reagan, the President's Republican challenger, made a national telecast that his aides said raised $700,000 in private contributions. But the Reagan campaign filed for only about $154,000 in matching funds, for a total backlog since March 23 of $436,000.

Opponent of the Measure

Among organizations urging the President to veto the campaign bill are the United States Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, despite a conviction among Congressional republicans that the final draft is more generous to corporate political committees than could have been expected.

Alexander Barkan, director of the political arm of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, is reportedly angry that Democrats in Congress gave corporate committees an unrestricted right to solicit contributions from a broad range of middle management employees, in addition to executives and stockholders.

President Ford is said to be seriously concerned about provisions in the pending bill that restrict the power of the commission to make ind ependent rulings on campaign issues, and subject more of their decisions to direct Congressional review.

Should he disapprove the measure on such grounds, however, Mr. Reagan would be sure to charge that the President had actually been motivated by a desire to postpone even longer the payment of badly needed Federal subsidies to his rival.

Democratic critics could be expected to protest that extending the subsidy freeze would hurt all their party's current primary contenders, perhaps to the ultimate benefit of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, an inactive candidate.

President Ford has predicted repeatedly that Senator Humphrey would be his opponent in the general election. Generally, in making such predictions, political candidates single out the opponent they feel most confident of defeating.

The bill expected to reach the White House within the next two weeks is the result of a January Supreme Court decision, declaring the commission improperly constituted because four of his six members were named by the legislative rather than the executive branch.

In correcting that situation, Congress made a number of other important changes in the campaign law.

Labor Leader Aids Jackson But Likes Humphrey Best

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 20—A week before the Pennsylvania Presidential primary, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington won today an endorsement from a union leader who prefers Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota as the Democratic nominee.

Edward F. Toohey, president of the Philadelphia Council of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, announced his support for Mr. Jackson at a news conference here this afternoon, calling him a "real friend" of organized labor.

But later, Mr. Toohey conceded that Mr. Humphrey, who is not officially seeking the nomination, is his first choice and a favorite of most of his fellow union officials as well.

His endorsement came on a day when Mr. Jackson was vigorously campaigning here in this city and Jimmy Carter, his major opponent in the primary next Tuesday, was seeking votes in Pittsburgh.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who borrowed $30,000 over the weekend to finance campaign efforts in Pennsylvania, spent the day in the Southwest with plans to return to the state tomorrow.

Meanwhile, Gov. George C. Wallace, who finished second to Mr. Humphrey in the 1972 primary here, also arrived in Pittsburgh today to begin two days of rather limited campaigning.

Although he is given little chance of gathering much support in the state—he has no staff workers assigned to Pennsylvania—the Alabamian was scheduled to visit several cities for television appearances and news conferences, but no rallies, once the trademark of his Presidential pursuit.

In this city, for instance, he will not even leave the airport on his visit tomorrow.

Mr. Jackson, on the other hand, left the airport here on the run this morning after a fund-raising breakfast in Hartford, attended by Connecticut Governor Ella T. Grasso, one of his most energetic supporters.

In Philadelphia, after a walking tour of a men's clothing plant he paused to reiterate his views on low-income public housing, about the closest thing to an issue that the 1976 campaign has thus far produced.

He suggested that Mr. Carter had simply erected a "straw man" in his remarks about high-rise public housing in suburban neighborhoods. Senator Jackson said such facilities were already antiquated and the question therefore was moot.

But, like Mr. Carter, Senator Jackson said he believed the Federal Government should act "when the local government fails to let people live where they want to live."

Yesterday, the Senator broadened his criticism of Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, by saying his proposals to recognize and consolidate Federal agencies showed little promise of the financial benefits he claims would ensue.

Senator Henry M. Jackson with Gov. Ella T. Grasso of Connecticut and Henry Parker, state treasurer, at breakfast in Hartford. Senator Jackson is campaigning in the state.

Mr. Carter was in Houston earlier today for a fund-raising breakfast and he told supporters there that he was in financial trouble in Texas. But he said he had no intention of "keeping a low profile" there in the days before the state's primary on May 1.

The Texas voting will be crucial, he said, to his goal of a first-ablot nomination at the Democratic convention in July.

Mr. Carter's schedule will bring him to Philadelphia tomorrow while Senator Jackson will be campaigning in the Scranton and Wilkes-Barre areas before flying out to Evansville, Ind., for a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner there.

The Senator, in remarks he had prepared for delivery here tonight at th ePhiladelphia version of that traditional Democratic fund-raising banquet, took both Mr. Carter and President Ford to task for criticizing Washington.

"Why, Washington hasn't been under such heavy attack since it was burned by the British in 1812," he said.

Actually, that took place in 1814, but with the primary election just a week away, Philadelphia's Democratic leaders aren't likely to notice a mistake like that from the candidate they are supporting.

Despite Self-Deprecating Remarks Udall Remains Optimistic

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M., April 20—Representative Morris K. Udall told an audience this eek that if he continued to run just behind the winner in each Democratic Presidential primary, he may ask Barbra Streisand to sing "Second Hand Rose from Second Avenue" as his official campaign song.

The remark was characteristic of the lanky Arizona Representative and of his self-deprecating, realistic, and perhaps destructive vision of himself and the political world around him.

However, Mr. Udall still has hopes and a vision of a future that he thinks holds some possibility of his winning the Democratic Presidential nomination in New York in July.

Touring the Southwest and Colorado this week seeking delegates in the area's upcoming party caucuses, he has been doing more than making light of his unbroken string of second-place finishes in the primaries.

To audiences in Phoenix, his hometown of Tucson, and cities scattered across New Mexico and Colorado, the Congressman has been arguing that no one, including Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, can lock up the nomination before the convention in Madison Square Garden. And Mr. Udall says that, in an open convention, he still has a chance to win because of his ideological acceptability to liberal Democrats.

Thus, Mr. Udall has been combining self-deprecation with a modest form of optimism. He joked in Phoenix that "I almost lost my amateur status by winning in Wisconsin." But Mr. Udall also told a group of citizens in Tucson, "We stopped Jimmy Carter at the pass at Wisconsin and New York. There is now not going to be any stampede to Carter."

In an interview today Mr. Udall said that his staff had combined computation with prediction to conclude that "there is no way Jimmy Carter can go over 900 delegates" by the end of the primary elections on June 8. It will take 1,505 delegate votes to gain the nomination.

"Carter's bandwagon has really slowed," Mr. Udall argued, citing developments in nonprimary caucus states such as Iowa, where the precinct caucuses that Mr. Carter won on January 19 have been followed by a series of county and Congressional districts conventions that will be followed by a state convention on May 29.

Mr. Udall asserted that the present outlook in Iowa is that Mr. Carter can be sure of only 17 of that state's 4Y delegates; Mr. Udall said 10 are sure for him and 20 are still uncommitted.

"The uncommitteds haven't panicked in Iowa," Mr. Udall said, "and they aren't going to panic elsewhere."

He argued that caucus results in Virginia, South Carolina and Oklahoma had been disappointing to Mr. Carter and his supporters because no overwhelming move to the former Governor had taken place.

However, Mr. Udall has been telling audiences that Mr. Carter is ahead in Pennsylvania and is likely to win the "beauty contest" there—so called because it is unrelated to the contest for the state's delegates. Mr. Udall has been arguing that attention should be focused primarily on the delegate contest, which is based on races in Pennsylvania's 50 state senatorial districts.

Mr. Udall said that his own polls and those of other politicians indicate that while Mr. Carter is ahead in the popularity contest in Pessylvania, his support is still soft and that it could be eroded, as happened in Wisconsin earlier this month.

Meanwhile, Mr. Udall today attacked Mr. Carter on new grounds.

Mr. Udall, who has said recently that the failure to reconstitute the Federal Election Commission is "crippling" the Udall campaign through the withholding of about $225,000 in Federal matching funds, asserted in a news conference in Denver that Mr. Carter was using his higher public recognition a sa weapon to hurt the Udall camapaign in Pennsylvania.

He charged that Mr. Carter had "decided to duck all efforts to arrange joint appearances" with Mr. Udall and with Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington to discuss election issues.

"So far this week he has ducked a debate on Thursday in Philadelphia arranged by Governor Shapp; he is ducking a joint appearance arranged by the Young Democrats on Friday in Scranton; and I have just learned in the past few hours he will duck a joint interview on ABC's 'Issues and Answers' program on Sunday."

Mr. Udall does not seem personally optimistic about his chances in the Pennsylvania primary, although he is now predicting a second-place finish.

One factor which Mr. Udall finds encouraging is his belief that Senator Jackson is a weak national candidate, despite Mr. Jackson's victories in Massachusetts and New York.

As guarded and qualified as Mr. Udall's optimism may be, many observers who would argue that he has almost no cause for optimism at all.

But Mr. Udall said that while early primary elections eliminated seven Democratic candidates, the period of elimination is over.

"The middle and late primaries do not eleminate candidates, but are contests for delegates," Mr. Udall said. "I ame one of the big three and we are all going all the way to the convention with delegates. I hope to have 500 to 600 delegates."

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DISGUISED GOP?

Carter Constituency Unique Vote Bloc

NEW YORK (NYT) — Jimmy Carter, the hard driving former Georgia governor, has managed to move to the front of the Democratic presidential race with a constituency unlike that amassed by any serious contender in recent years, a series of surveys of primary voters suggests.

Apart from the blacks among them, the Carter voters are generally an affluent, suburban and rural lot who seem, in many respects, like Republicans in disguise.

In state after state, they were more likely to have voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972 and more likely to desert the party to vote for President Ford in November if Carter is denied the nomination.

The surveys also indicated that, in the absence of a galvanizing issue such as the war in Vietnam, Democratic voters have taken on an uncharacteristically conservative hue.

Moreover, the muddled Democratic race seems to have been shaped mostly by inward-looking issues, such as the economy and an ill defined yearning for new faces and new approaches to national problems.

The chief beneficiary of this mood, the studies find, hasbeen Carter.

Starting in the first primary in snowy New Hampshire and then again in five subsequent primaries — Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Wisconsin and New York — The New York Times and CBS News questioned a total of nearly 8,000 voters, in accordance with strict sampling procedures, in an effort to fathom what motivated their votes. What issues seemed to benefit one candidate or the other? What qualities in the candidates seemed to color the vote?

It is hazardous to draw many sweeping generalities from the attitudes of these early primary voters. The candidates were little known at first, and the field very large. Further, different combinations of rivals vied in different states, leaving many voters without the opportunity to pick their first choice.

It is difficult to say exactly how the complexion of the race would have been altered had Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey been an active rather than a phantom candidate. Thus far the party's traditional majority — the working people and liberals who coalesced behind Presidents like Roosevelt and Kennedy — have found no congenial outlet.

See POLL, Page 15-A

Poll

From Page 1-A

Still, a few tentative themes condense from all this vapor.

Probably most striking is the waxing of foreign policy issues. Four years ago, Sen. George McGovern rode a crest of indignation over the war to the nomination. This year no such compelling issue has emerged — except possibly in New York where Jewish concern over Israel and resentment against the Soviet Union helped give Sen. Henry M. Jackson a victory.

The Times-CBS News surveys have found that Jackson has done extremely well among those who said they were concerned about relations with Russia. Unfortunately for his aspirations, scarcely one in 15 Democratic voters in the six states expressed any special worry over this issue.

Similarly, the only remaining liberal, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona drew rather well among those on the opposite side of the issue — those who wanted to cut military spending. Again, however, only about one of 10 questioned listed this as a major concern. Udall has done exceptionally well among those concerned about pollution and environment, but very few are.

A traditionally abrasive and divisive Democratic issue — race relations — appears to be playing little direct role this year. The chief magnet for those hostile to black aspirations, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, has done poorly and has all but dropped out.

About 40 per cent of Democrats interviewed, on average, felt that the government pays too much attention to the needs of minorities. But these voters have not particularly favored any one of the remaining contenders — Carter, Udall or Jackson.

What then has filled this issue vacuum? As so often happens when one attempts to explain human behavior — whether it is voting or buying habits — one must pe through much murk.

Basically, it appears th economic issues and questio about the size and role of t central government ha played the biggest role so f Across all six states, vote selected "job guarantees" the issue that influenced the vote about as often as a other issue.

But all major Democrat contenders feel the feder government should do more cut unemployment, and th issue has not been a "cuttin one. That is, those who agre the government should gua antee a job to everyone wl wants to work have dispers their votes about even among the three leaders.

What is perhaps more cu ting, and it has worked most to the benefit of Carter, is latent feeling that gover ment is too big, that is spen too much and administe programs inefficiently.

As the primary seas progressed, the number me tioning "size of governmen as a source of concern gre perceptibly, much to th advantage of Carter, who h made a major issue of wh he calls the "bloated" feder bureaucracy.

UPCOMING PRIMARIES

Carter, Jackson Seeking Money

By United Press International

Henry Jackson and Jimmy Carter appealed Tuesday for more money to see them through the Pennsylvania and Texas primaries next week. Morris Udall appealed for votes from Hubert Humphrey supporters.

Money was the dominant theme among Democrats as the temporarily toothless and cashless Federal Election Commission reported $2.4 million in requests for matching funds piled up at its office waiting for congressional action.

Democrats in Missouri, the largest state without a primary, began the process of selecting 54 national convention delegates, meeting in 580 local caucuses to choose representatives to 10 congressional district conventions next month. Carter hoped to come in a strong second behind uncommitted delegates backed by state leaders.

Jackson told supporters at a fund raising event in Hartford, Conn., before returning to Pennsylvania, he wants to put another $50,000 into advertising in the Pittsburgh area to counteract growing Carter strength in the western part of the state.

Asked if the extra spending was an indication he is hedging his predictions of an outright victory in both the delegate and popular vote contests, Jackson said:

"No. I'm not pulling back. I still think we can do it, we're in a hard fight and we made the decision to go ahead and spend the money that's aimed at the beauty contest ... We're going to win in the delegate contest, beyond any question. I think most anyone concedes that fact.

"But we're working hard on the beauty contest at this point and that will be helped by the margin that we come out of greater Philadelphia with."

Carter, before resuming his Pennsylvania campaign, appealed to supporters in Houston for money with which to mount an effort in the May 1 Texas primary.

"We are in trouble financially," he said. "We don't have any money at this point to mount a media effort in Texas. I'm not trying to lay off or yield in any respect."

Udall, speaking to Albuquerque, N.M., Democrats, appealed to Humphrey backers to vote for him so there could be three strong candidates at the national convention.

If "progressive" Democrats don't support him now, Udall said, "they may find themselves at the Democratic convention in New York supporting a nominee who does not have the same long-standing dedication to progressive issues as Sen. Humphrey and myself."

Because of congressional inaction on a bill to reconstitute the FEC to make it conform with a Supreme Court ruling, there is a pile of requests for matching funds totaling $2.4 million and no prospect of their distribution until some time next month.

President Ford, with a surplus of more than $750,000, leads the list of applicants for matching funds, asking for $909,979. Ronald Reagan, in debt nearly $1 million, has asked for $436,134. Carter has asked for $372,492, Udall for $290,587 and Jackson for $155,367. George Wallace has not yet filed a spending report and has not yet requested any further matching funds.

Neither Ford nor Reagan was in Texas, the site of their next battle. But First Lady Betty Ford continued her campaigning in San Antonio, and presidential press secretary Ron Nessen volunteered comment on a matter relating to the Texas primary.

Nessen called "utter nonsense and totally untrue" a New York Times report that a decision on whether to build up naval strength depends on the outcome of the Texas primary—that a Reagan victory would cause Ford to emphasize defense spending.

Associated Press Photo

Raising Money: Carter In Houston

Scraping Along

Penny-Pinching Democratic Candidates Try For Media Exposure in Pennsylvania Race

By ANDREW J. GLASS
Constitution Washington Bureau

PITTSBURGH — The most likely place to find a presidential candidate these days is near the roar of a newspaper press or in the shadow of a television transmitter.

The first place Jimmy Carter went after his chartered jet landed here Tuesday was to the offices of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. His next stop was the Pittsburgh Press. Three television and radio tapings and a "live" call-in program followed.

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama arrived a few hours earlier — seeking to refurbish his fading image in the pivotal April 27th Pennsylvania Democratic primary. The Wallace visit here consisted entirely of five telvision and radio interviews and an airport news conference.

Pennsylvania, the nation's third-largest state, is an expensive place to campaign. Since all the candidates are sorely pressed for cash, they are doing all they can to win free exposure on television and in print.

Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., is gambling that strong labor support and the political infantry of Democratic machines in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh will pull him through to a much-needed victory. Jackson has no money for television time in Pennsylvania.

However, Jackson is trying to compensate for his lack of ads by scheduling as many enticing "media events" as possible. The other day, for example, he took his 10-year-old son, Peter, to inspect the crack in the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia as TV cameras rolled.

Carter, the former Georgia governor and the current frontrunner, seems to be in the best financial shape. He is the only primary candidate who still flies in a chartered jet. The United Airlines 727 is being kept at Carter's disposal by means of a revolving monthly bank loan, secured by payments from the Secret Service and from newspaper and network reporters. The reporters, who fly in the coach section, are assessed 50 per cent more than regular first-class air fare.

Neither Jackson nor Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, the other contender in this primary, has been able to attract sufficient press interest in his campaign to underwrite the cost of a jet. They travel either on scheduled commercial flights or are ferried in cars furnished (at government expense) by the Secret Service.

A major reason for all this Democratic penny-pinching is the failure of Congress to put new life into the Federal Election Commission. Without such legislation, the commission can no longer distribute Treasury matching funds that the candidates previously earned through their own campaign fundraising efforts.

Udall recently borrowed $150,000 to keep his Pennsylvania campaign afloat. Half the money will be used to buy television ads. His bank loan is secured by the expectation that Congress will clear the log-jam and let the matching money flow again by mid-May.

But Carter's campaign style, which relies heavily on volunteers, appears to be the least vulnerable to the money drought.

Volunteers handle all of Carter's telephone canvassing. There are 1,000 such volunteers currently working for Carter in Pennsylvania—100 from Georgia. For the most part, they are housed in the homes of backers, rather than in hotels or motels.

Bond Risking His Future?

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

NEWS ANALYSIS

One of the most interesting contests in the May 4 Georgia primary is a race between white labor leader Herb Mabry and black civil rights leader Julian Bond in metro Atlanta.

Bond is perhaps risking his political future by running as a delegate pledged to liberal U.S. Rep. Morris Udall—who has yet to win a primary.

Mabry, president of the Georgia AFL-CIO, was chosen by the Jimmy Carter campaign as apparently the strongest delegate to field against Bond out of the six Carter delegates running in the Fifth Congressional District.

State Sen. Bond, who almost alone among Georgia black leaders is a vocal critic of Carter, said he is not concerned about his political fortunes if Mabry wins the delegate post and Carter eventually wins the White House.

"I can't understand the perspective of people who say you should not go into an election because you might lose," he said.

Said Mabry, "I did not volunteer to run against Julian."

There are two whites and four blacks running as Carter delegates in the Fifth District, Mabry said. He said the Carter campaign did not want to pit black state Rep. Ben Brown or black state Sen. Horace Tate against Bond or his brother, Atlanta City Councilman James Bond, another Udall delegate.

"That would have been kind of unfair," Mabry said.

So he is running against Julian and Lottie Watkins is running against James, he said.

Tate is running against state Rep. Gerald Horton—a Udall delegate—and two unpledged delegates. Brown is running against eight unpledged delegates and a Udall delegate, Janet L. Douglas.

Alabama Gov. George Wallace has no delegates pledged to him in the district.

Mabry said he is running personally as someone who has been "a supporter of Carter for a number of years," and that the state AFL-CIO is not endorsing a candidate.

Voters in the May 4 Georgia primary will indicate their choices of presidential candidates in a nonbinding "beauty contest" and then will vote separately for delegates to the Democratic National Convention in July.

In the Fifth District, which includes most of Atlanta, Sandy Springs and Roswell, candidates for delegate seats will run against each other in six separate posts.

The district is about 45 per cent black, and Bond's Atlanta state Senate district, where he faces an election this fall, is about 40 per cent black.

The next primary is in Pennsylvania Tuesday, and if Udall finishes third behind Carter and Sen. Henry Jackson, "I question whether or not he (Udall) will stay in" the campaign, said Mabry.

A poor Udall showing could leave his Georgia delegates politically stranded, but Bond insisted, "I choose my candidates for president based on what I think is right."

If he were frozen out of a Carter White House for his opposition, Bond said, "that has been the case for the last eight years. I would not be able to tell any difference."

Bond said some local black supporters of the former Georgia governor tell him, "I personally don't care for him (Carter), but he would be good for Georgia."

Bond also said he is baffled by the question of Carter's commitments to black programs.

"I do sincerely want to know what (Carter's) so-called 'black agenda' is," Bond said. "It's obviously secret, but in some mysterious fashion it's being well translated to black voters in the states where primaries have been held to date."

Bond added, "Liberal voters who are long tired of losing election battles may want to lay down their liberalism and convert to Carter. I'll stick with Morris Udall of Arizona."

Carter Picks Up Georgia Support

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

GAINESVILLE—U.S. Rep. Phil Landrum, Georgia's senior congressman, delivered a curiously left-handed endorsement of presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter at a fund raising dinner here Tuesday night.

U. S. Rep. Robert Stephens of Athens held back from a specific endorsement of Carter, but said, "I believe we have got a golden opportunity for a Southerner to get to be a president of the United States."

And in Griffin, U.S. Rep. John J. Flynt issued a warm endorsement of Carter. "I know all the Democratic candidates and he's my choice," Flynt told a civic club. "He's a fellow Georgian, he's my personal friend, and I take pleasure in endorsing him and hope he will be successful in Madison Square Garden."

Landrum told 104 Carter supporters who attended a $100-a-plate dinner here that Carter "is in front today because he has learned the trick of campaigning."

The "trick," Landrum said, is to deliver "platitudes without fear or favor" and "straight-from-the-shoulder generalities all the way through."

Landrum continued, "You can't beat him for that."

Landrum, who has been the northeast Georgia congressman since 1953 and is retiring this year, added, "While I am not sure he (Carter) is the smartest person in the world, I believe he is able to carry the banner of the Democratic party in a successful and admirable way."

Landrum also made slighting remarks about Carter's presidential campaign rivals, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Sen. Henry Jackson and Rep. Morris Udall.

"The American people who are being chosen as delegates (to the Democratic National Convention) are not going to be brokered, so to speak, into supporting any has-beens," Landrum said in referring to Humphrey, an announced non-candidate who is supported by many party regulars.

As for Jackson, Landrum said, "I don't know what he thinks because he does not know how to say it."

Repeating an old Washington joke, Landrum said that when Jackson "starts to make a fireside chat, the fire goes out."

Concerning liberal Arizona Rep. Udall, Landrum said, "All I have been able to find out about Mo is that he is a (former professional) basketball player, and the last thing we need in the White House is a damn basketball player."

Asked later about the lukewarm manner of his belated endorsement of Carter, Landrum, who represents Gainesville in Congress, said, "These folks are my folks."

Among the persons who attended the fundraiser were Lt. Gov. Zell Miller and his wife and Atlanta black community leaders Jesse Hill and Herman Russell.

Carter spoke to the group briefly from Pennsylvania via a telephone hookup over a public address system. Told that the group had raised $10,400, Carter said, "You ought to see the big smile on my face."

Carter said he is the Democratic frontrunner because of the "superb support, politically, personally and financially from the people of my own home state."

Jackson Says He Won't Support Any Carter Foe

By JIM GRAY

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson said Tuesday he is "not going to support anyone against Jimmy Carter."

The statement was the closest yet to a formal endorsement of the former Georgia governor's campaign for the presidency, but Jackson warned that an endorsement is "still pending."

"It won't be too long," Jackson said.

Jackson appeared ready to endorse Carter last week but postponed any official announcement after Carter's "ethnic purity" statement aroused concern over his views on open housing.

Jackson demanded a "fuller explanation" of the remarks in a letter to Carter and received detailed answers to six specific questions. But Jackson has not budged from his position of issuing only praise for Carter.

"I have been supportive of Jimmy Carter for a long time," Jackson said. "He never made a promise to me he did not keep.

"In my opinion, Jimmy Carter's going to do quite well, and he'll go all the way if he wins Pennsylvania," Jackson said. The Pennsylvania primary is next Tuesday.

The mayor scoffed at a question as to whether he is awaiting a possible announcement of candidacy by Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, insisting that Carter's concern for urban America far exceeds that of Humphrey or any other candidate.

"I will be very active this year trying to get rid of the Nixon-Ford administration," Jackson said, labelling both presidents' policies "reactionary, backward, low-down and anti-urban."

Jackson has been bitterly critical of President Ford's veto of a $6 billion public works employment bill that would have funnelled up to $70 million to Atlanta.

Jackson also blames Ford for expiration of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/22

United Press International

Jimmy Carter carrying his campaign underground on a visit to a coal mine at Finleyville, Pa., yesterday.

25A

B

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Egypt and China signed a military protocol in Peking, saying it heralded a new phase in their relations. A toast was drunk at the final dinner of Egyptian Vice President Husni Mubarak's visit, hailing the closer cooperation since Cairo scrapped its friendship treaty with the Soviet Union last month. The protocol was understood to cover spare parts for Egypt's Soviet-supplied MIG fighters. The Soviet-Egyptian rift has been greeted with thinly disguised delight in Peking, and Mr. Mubarak's delegation received an unusually lavish welcome. [Page 1, Column 3.]

Giovanni Theodoli, president of the Italian Oil Producers Association and of Chevron Oil Italiana, was shot and seriously wounded in Rome. The attack, for which an extreme left-wing group claimed responsibility, underscored the rising level of political violence that is generating social tensions on top of governmental troubles and the monetary crisis. Acts of violence have intensified with the increasing prospect of national elections this summer. [1:4.]

The Spanish Government is sending eight paintings by Francisco de Goya from the Prado collection in Madrid for exhibition in the National Gallery of Art in Washington early next month to honor the United States Bicentennial. The loan serves as an overture for the state visit of King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia, starting on June 2. Only two of the paintings have ever left Spain before —the "Naked Maja" and "Clothed Maja" which were shown at the New York World's Fair in 1939. [1:4-6.]

National

The Labor Department reported that the Consumer Price Index rose only two-tenths of 1 percent in March, continuing the nation's much slower inflation pace. Once again, falling food prices played a key role, along with a dip in gasoline prices, but these trends are unlikely to continue and the index will probably go up more in the months ahead. [1:8.]

Jimmy Carter has entered the second phase of the Presidential campaign in the anomalous position of a front-runner still searching for a solid base in the Democratic Party. The perils are writ large for him in Pennsylvania, where primary politics are more like a convention than a popularity contest, with power blocs standing shoulder to shoulder against him as the Tuesday vote approaches. [1:5-6.]

President Ford accused Ronald Reagan of "preposterous" and "demagogic" statements in saying that the United States was slipping behind the Soviet Union in military preparedness. In an address to the annual congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Washington, Mr. Ford suggested that Mr. Reagan was seizing on the defense issue because "a grab bag of other issues has been tried and failed." The sharpness of Mr. Ford's response indicated concern that his challenger was making it the key issue in the Republican primary in Texas which will take place May 1. [1:7.]

Executives of the Summa Corporation, the umbrella corporation of the late billionaire Howard R. Hughes, are preparing to extend their search for his will to 40 American cities where he was known to have lived or stayed. One source said that the company's investigators would soon canvass banks in New York and elsewhere looking for a safe deposit box that might contain the document. This was presaged by classified newspaper advertisements asking information, a legal prerequisite for such a search. [1:1-2.]

Metropolitan

A test case challenging the state's use of the property tax to finance public education went to trial in State Supreme Court in Mineola, L.I. Twenty-five suburban and rural school districts and the state's four largest cities brought the action. It is the latest in many parts of the country following a California Supreme Court ruling in 1971 that this kind of school funding discriminates invidiously against the poor by making the quality of a child's education a function of his parents' and neighbors' wealth. [1:1-2.]

Governor Byrne of New Jersey indicated pessimism for the first time over the fate of the graduated income tax bill. He expressed doubt that the State Senate would pass the measure until the New Jersey Supreme Court delineated exactly what it would do to finance public schools if the Legislature failed to act. The Legislature is under court mandate to change the system of financial aid to the public schools, and has already enacted a measure setting new school standards and containing a new school-aid formula. [1:7-8.]

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY R

Weather: Rain tonight. Sunny. Temperature Wednesday 61

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Pennsylvania to Test Carter's Momentum

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 21 — Jimmy Carter has entered the second phase of the Presidential campaign in the anomalous position of a front-runner still searching for a solid base in the Democratic Party.

For the hands-down winner of the first phase in the long nomination race the perils of the second phase are writ large in Pennsylvania—a state where primary politics looks more like a convention than a popularity contest and where the power blocs that like to run Democratic conventions stand shoulder to shoulder against Mr. Carter.

Pennsylvania presents an arena of blue-collar, ethnic politics and massive city and state patronage machines. It is a state where organized labor can put 10,000 election workers in the field next Tuesday. This is where Mr. Carter will face his most concentrated struggle against virtually the whole alliance of established power in this party.

Everywhere but on the ballot it is seen as a contest against the symbol of bloc politics here —Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who has not declared his candidacy.

The immediate questions posed for the Carter campaign in Pennsylvania are fundamental to his entire national effort:

Looking backward, has he been consolidating a firm following or simply moppomg up votes that his early rivals could not win for themselves? And looking ahead, does the "Carter phenomenon" show the stamina to sustain a "Carter move-

Continued on Page 24, Column 2

United Press International

Jimmy Carter carrying his campaign underground on a visit to a coal mine at Finleyville, Pa., yesterday.

Pennsylvania Race on Tuesday to Test

Carter Momentum as Front-Runner

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

ment?"

Can Jimmy Carter cope with the heavy infantry of the Democratic Party as effecively as he has managed a Guerricca campaign against divided of position through the llast three months?

Does he understand constituency politics as well as he understands how to use news and promotion?

Can he speak for a coalition of interests as clearly as he has voiced his own spirituality and the popular disaffection with the way government works?

"Brilliant but thin" is still the consensus of professional readings on a campaign that has registered the steepest leap for any candidate's popularity in 40 years of Gallup polling and has brought Mr. Carter's army of gifted followers, (including 11 full-time campaigners in his immediate family) to the gates of the Democratic citadel.

Up From Obscurity

Both the brilliance and the thinness of his position are related to the strangest fact of all in the Carter story: that he moved from obscurity to the head of the pack without ever commanding a political "base," as Democrats use the word.

Georgians still debate whether Mr. Carter was popular dency without a strong claim on Georgia. He has been out of office since 1974 and is far outside the broad band of union-organized Northern industrialized states that Democrats think of as their heartland in Presidential politics. He was, moreover, a racial progressive in a region that many "national" Democrats had virtually conceded to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and the politics of resentment.

Mr. Carter was willing to gamble on Mr. Wallace's vulnerability. He also understood the strengths of his own weakness—including the appeal of an "outsider" in a disillusioned era and the degree to which the implausibility of his quest could produce ripples of surprise at the first sign of success.

Indeed, the Carter campaign has developed a strategic art in the management of surprise. First there was the face-to-face surprise, in his early forays among Northerners, at Mr. Carter's cosmopolitan intelligence.

Last January, the nearly universal surprise at his organizational coup in the Iowa caucuses made him an overnight star in the national news media. Ever since then, the surprise of nearly continuous first-place primary finishes has made it easy to exaggerate his progress toward the goal of 1,504 convention delegates, the bare majority needed to nominate.

North Carolina, his fifth primary victory, was in fact the first in which Mr. Carter won a popular majority. In other primary triumphs, he has had to share large parts of the delegate prize, according to new party rules that give proportional shares of delegates to runners-up.

And in many of the caucus states where Mr. Carter claims to have "won"—including Iowa, Maine, Oklahoma, Virginia and Kansas—he was beating the active candidates but losing majority blocs of delegates that preferred to hold themselves "uncommitted."

For a candidate who ow points to 14 "firsts" in the score of states that have begun to choose delegates, he is assured of barely 25 percent of the convention votes that can be projected so far.

But there has been more than surprise in the Carter strategy and more than boasting in his success.

Ideological Stance

In a party that loves to use ideological labels as weapons, he insisted from the start on dissolving familiar left-right lines, bracketing himself between themes of tough-minded management and tender-hearted compassion.

That wide stance on policy issues has allowed him to adapt to different regions and the changing cast of opponents. Against a crowd of liberals in the New Hampshire primary, voter surveys found Mr. Carter winning the center and right of his party; in Florida, against Mr. Wallace and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, he combined center and left-wing Democrats with a solid majority of black voters.

It was his Florida victory on March 9 that revealed the sketchy map of Mr. Carter's search for a firmer national base. Reversing the customary order in Democratic politics, he seemed to be routing a course from his black and anti-Wallace credentials in the South to white liberal politics in the North.

April 6, four Tuesdays later, was a day of multiple setbacks. Mr. Carter's remarks about "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods, though he later apologized for the phrase, raised hackles among Northern black leaders and at least postponed the liberal labor endorsement that Mr. Carter had been courting.

On the same day Senator Jackson won the lion's share of New York's primary delegate votes, while Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona came close enough to upsetting r. Carter in Wisconsin to survive and go on to the Pennsylvania primary on April 27.

Each of those events contributed to Mr. Carter's awkward strategic position here in Pennsylvania—bereft of organized labor support, beset on the right by Senator Jackson, the state party machinery and Mayor Frank J. Rizzo:s ward leaders in Philadelphia and, on the left, by Mr. UdaLl, such independent black leaders as Charles Bowser of Philadelphia and the activist liberals of the metropolitan suburbs.

Situation in Pennsylvania

Classically the man in the middle of such a situation, as Mr. Carter is, could hope to be the compromise choice of his adversaries on either side. In Pennsylvania, on the contrary, many Jackson and Udall supporters—including machine and antimachine blacks, liberal Americans for Democratic Action and conservative labor are all but formally allied in a strategy to stop Mr. Carter and nominate Mr. Humphrey.

Against that wall of leadership resistance, Mr. Carter, a popular favorite in state and national polls of Democrats, can contend as justly as any politician ever did that "only the people" support him. Yet a close reading of the numerous surveys of Mr. Carter's following tends to compound the riddle of his constituency base in the Democratic Party.

"Jimmy Carter has run on opponents' weaknesses more than he has on the positive appeal for Jimmy Carter," Louis Harris, the pollster and analyst, commented the other day. "The unorganized voters and the small-town voters, this is Mr. Carter's stren th."

Patrick J. Caddell, the Carter campign's in-house pollster, observes cautiously that Mr. Carter's, primary constituency is broad but not intense and tends to be chameleonic. "It's varied from place to place," Mr. Caddell says, "depending on where the other candidates have situated themselves."

Areas of Strength

Regional breakdowns of actual primary votes (not poll data) make the point that Mr. Carter often runs strongest outside the normal cores of the Damocratic electorate—in the smaller towns of western Massachusetts, for example, as opposed to Boston or its suburbs; in rural Wisconsin, as opposed to Milwaukee; in upstate New York as opposed to New York City; in downstate Illinois as opposed to Chicago.

The New York Times!CBS-News surveys of primary voters in six states so far suggest further evidence that Mr. Carter attracts both more and less than the usual Democratic bases. He has a stronger appeal that other primary candidates, it appears, along th restless fringes of his party—among Democrats who broke ranks to vote for Richard M. Nixon in 1972, for instance and among Democrats who voted for Mr. Wallace in primaries four years ago.

When primary voters take positions on issues in the Times!CBS - questionnaire, the central strand among the concerns of the Carter constituency turns out to be the size of the Federal Government—

anything but a taditional Democratic worry.

Meanwhile, in the same surveys, Mr. Carter runs behind his overall pace among two large and loyal elements of his party: among white, blue-collar Democrats (except in the New Hampshire), and (except in Florida) among "New Politics" liberals who say that a candidate's commitment to specific polic issues is of vital importance to them.

In the bargaining and brokering sessions that doubtless lie ahead among party leaders and uncommitted convention delegates, Mr. Carter can plausibly argue his personal appeal on a national ticket to voters who have strayed from te the fold in recent years—notably to his fellow Southerners, but also to those independent-minded suburbanites who share his skepticism about Government's performance and say they are tired of older, more familiar faces—like Mr. Humphrey's!

Yet, on the strength of primary returns and voter surveys to date, the counter argument would seem likely to turn on the risk of focusing the party's appeal on the insecure margins of the Democratic electorate, not on its center.

Convention delegates with an eye on state and local races in the fall may also want more evidence that Mr. Carter has given that, as well as broadening their Democratic vote, he can turn out the old core constituencies in depth.

F.B.I. Intensifies Inquiry Into Udall Ballot Petitions

INDIANAPOLIS, April 21 (UPI)—The Federal Bureau of Investigation has intensified an inquiry into the shortage of signatures that knocked Representative Morris Udall of Arizona off the May 4 Indiana Presidential primary ballot.

O. Franklin Lowie, the chief F.B.I. agent in Indianapolis, said yesterday that he had been instructed by the Justice Department to broaden the investigation to determine if any Federal laws had been violated, if there had been sabotage of the Udall campaign or if there had merely been human error in counting names.

When Mr. Udall filed to run in the primary, his petitions were 35 signatures short of the required 500 in one of Indiana's Congressional districts.

Udall officials indicated, however, that the envelope containing the petitions had been marked to show that there were more than the number required.

Because of the shortage of names, Mr. Udall's name was removed from the ballot and court appeals failed to restore it.

The F.B.I. has already reported preliminary findings to the Justice Department.

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Democrats in Missouri Avoiding Choices

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., April 21—Missouri's Democratic leaders hope to go to their national convention with a largely uncommitted delegation and, after the first round of party caucuses, they were getting what they wanted today.

Based on the voting in last night's precinct and county caucuses, at least 40 of this state's 71 delegates will be uncommitted. Most of the rest are still to be selected at later caucuses.

These numbers were expected to change next month in the second round of caucus voting in the Congressional districts, with more of them expected to go to the uncommitted column.

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia had hoped to carry off many of Missouri's delegates last night. But under the party's new and complex system of proportional representation, he did not receive enough caucus votes in the first round to assure him any of the 54 delegates that will finally be chosen from the 10 districts. He appears to have at least two of the 17 at-large delegates to be chosen at the state convention.

Neither Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona nor Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington came as close as Mr. Carter. However, a shift of a few votes at the district caucuses could give Mr. Carter seven more delegates, Mr. Udall three and Senator Jackson two.

Although last night's voting was only preliminary, it clearly demonstrated the following:

¶Members of the Missouri Democratic organization, who did most of the voting, accepted the arguments of Senator Thomas F. Eagleton and State Treasurer James I. Spainhower, the top statewide party leaders, that an uncommitted delegation would be the most effective force at the national convention.

¶There was clearly no overt enthusiasm among Missouri Democrats for any of the announced Presidential candidates.

Senator Eagleton insisted that uncommitted delegates would be truly uncommitted and not fronting for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

"I myself have not yet been able to arrive at any judgment on which Democrat to support," he said. "But if we go to the national convention uncommitted, the Missouri delegation could play a much more effective role in selecting a candidate who can win in November."

Republicans in Missouri have precinct and county caucuses scheduled for the rest of this week to start selecting 30 delegates in the congressional districts and 19 others at-large.

Only a few Republican caucuses have been held. In the rural areas, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California appeared to have got a handful of delegates, but President Ford was winning the bulk of them and was expected to do even better in the final voting at the district caucuses.

Missouri Democrats will send the largest caucus-selected delegation of any state to the national convention opening July 12 in New York. This was the first time the national party's proportional representation rules have been applied here.

Barely 20,000 out of this state's 2.2 million registered Democrats showed up at last night's caucuses. Participants, like those at the West Elementary School here, split into groups supporting one of the candidates or were labeled uncommitted. In each caucus, a formula —prescribed number— had to be in support of a candidate or be uncommitted to select delegates to their district conventions May 25.

Among the 69 who gathered in the scool's gymnasium here, enough favored Mr. carter to give him four delegates to the district caucus,while the remainder chose to be uncommitted and will send 10 such delegates.

At the district caucuses, after any switching of support, a candidate will have to exceed a minimum support number before he can share in that district's delegate total. If he fails to get that number, his precinct and county delegates can switch to another candidate who has a qualifying number, or join the uncommitted group.

This afternoon, with 99 percent of the 839 district caucus delegates chosen last night already counted, there was at least an indication of how those who had participated viewed the candidates.

There were 547 choosing to be uncommitted. Of the remainder, 111 will go to their district caucuses favoring Mr. Carter, 43 for Mr. Udall and 18 for Senator jackson. The remainder will support other candidates.

But none of the delegates are bound to their preferences and may change support at the district caucuses, at the state convention on June 12, when the 17 at-large delegates will be chosen and even at the national convention.

Campaign coordntors for Mr. Carter, the only candidate to make even brief appearances in Missouri, said today that any of last night's uncommitted delegates were actually Carter supporters who had stayed uncommitted toplease party officials, but would switch in later rounds. A similar claim was made by Mr. Jackson's supporters.

JACKSON HEDGING ON PENNSYLVANIA

Early Confidence Gives Way to a Concession That Carter Could Win 'Beauty Contest'

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 21—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington conceded today that despite his previous predictions of victory he could lose Pennsylvania's preferential contest in next Tuesday's Democratic Presidential primary to Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Jackson, after winning the New York primary two weeks ago, said without qualification then that he would go on to carry Pennsylvania and would show thereby that he was the preferred candidate of the Northern industrial states.

Today, while he was campaigning in Wilkes-Barre, the Senator was asked at a news conference about reports that he had revised his estimates of the Pennsylvania vote.

'My Wife Will Win'

"The facts I'm going by are the polls," he said. "I think I'm going to win the delegate contest because of a strong slate of delegates and a good organization. The problem I face is the beauty contest. [the preferential vote]. I think my wife will win that."

In the primary, voters will cast ballots both as to their preference for the Presidential nominee and for delegates who will go to the Democratic National Convention in New York July 12 to help select the nominee.

winning the preferential contest, Mr. Jackson said, "is psychological,it's momentum."

"But the name of the game," he added, "is delegates." Asked if he was saying that he would lose the preferential contest, Mr. Jackson said, "It's a very close one."

To bolster his chances in the last few days, the Jackson campaign announced today that it would conduct a $50,000 news media campaign, with $30,000 going to radio advertisements and the rest of television. Previously, Mr. Jackson had not been able to advertise for lack of funds. Last week, he took a few days off from campaigning to raise the money needed for a limited advertising effort.

Dinner Raised Funds

None of the money, however, will be spent in the Philadelphia area, which has 40 percent of the Democratic vote. Here, Mr. Jackson is depending on the Democratic and labor leaders to carry the area for him. Indeed, last night they raised about $300,000 at a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner to be spent for getting voters to the polls Tuesday on Mr. Jackson's behalf.

Mr. Carter, who campaigned today in western Pennsylvania, conceded that, even though his own polls showed him to be leading in the preferential contest, he did not have an organization for getting out the vote that would begin to match that put together for Mr. Jackson.

"Public opinion polls show I'm ahead in all parts of the state," he said, "but we have a problem getting people who support me to go to the polls. I don't have an adequate organization in Pennsylvania."

Carter's Disadvantage

Mr. Carter also has a disadvantage in the contest for delegates. This state will elect 134 delegates to the convention. Mr. Jackson, with his support among the party organization and labor leaders, has candidates in all 134 contests while Mr. Carter has candidates in

Yet because Mr. Carter is the national front-runner and could put himself within close range of the nomination with a Pennsylvania victory, the Jackson forces and those of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona stepped up their attacks on him today.

Mr. Jackson visited a sporting goods plant in Old Forge that is in the process of being moved to Alabama. He used the occasion to attack the labor position of Mr. Carter. Such plants, he said, are moving to the Southern states that provide cheaper through so-called "right-to-work" laws, which ban the union shop.

Speaking from a flatbed truck to about 60 workers who had been laid off from the plant, Mr. Jackson said those who supported such laws included Mr. Carter. He said that Mr. Carter "only changed his position on right-to-work" after union spokesmen in Northern industrial states had opposed him for supporting the laws.

Mr. Carter has denied any change of position on legislation to repeal right-to-work laws and says as President he would sign such legislation if the Congress enacted it.

Mr. Udall attacked Mr. Carter at a news conference in Philadelphia. He said results from the Missouri caucuses, where Mr. carter did not do so well as expected and where there was a preference for uncommitted delegates, was an indication of a stop-Carter movement across the country.

"I think there is a general feeling developing in the country that we are going toofast," he said, "that we really ought to slow down and look at Carter and not simply award him the nomination in some rush of judgment.

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LIST GROWS

Rep. Brinkley Backing Carter

From Press Dispatches

Rep. Jack Brinkley, D-Ga., joined several other Georgia congressmen Wednesday in endorsing Jimmy Carter in his race for the Democratic nomination for president.

"The positive campaign of my friend and fellow Georgian...is worthy of respect and admiration," Brinkley said at ceremonies opening Carter's campaign headquarters in Columbus, Ga.

"His emphasis on moral values and the work ethic commends itself to all Americans, and I endorse him for the presidency of the United States," Brinkley declared.

Carter, campaigning in Finleyville, Pa., predicted Wednesday that union members will defy state labor leaders who are urging them to vote for Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington in next week's Pennsylvania presidential primary.

Carter said union members would not be "led by their noses" and added, "I have never failed to get the support of those who work."

The 51-year-old former Georgia governor made his first trip into a coal mine and came back with the endorsement of Joseph A. Yablonski Jr.

Yablonski, son of the slain United Mine Workers reformer, said, "When the ballots are counted, you will find the working men and women of this state responding warmly to your candidacy."

In Missouri, the state coordinator for Carter's campaign said the candidate's second-place finish to uncommitted delegates in Missouri Democratic caucuses is no setback and he will eventually win the state.

"We will end up with the lion's share of the Missouri delegation, after they stop being uncommitted and go for the candidate of their choice," said Bill Daniel of St. Louis.

Arizona Rep. Morris Udall finished third with 6 per cent. Sen. Jackson and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace each picked up 2 per cent.

Alaska Airlines Hit by Strike

SEATTLE (AP)—Alaska Airlines managed to send one flight from Seattle to southeast Alaska Wednesday despite a strike that began at midnight involving 310 mechanics and ground personnel.

Airline spokesman Duayne Trecker said negotiations were continuing between the airline and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

Last week the mechanics rejected a proposed contract that had been recommended for approval by negotiators. Neither side has revealed the current wage, what was jju offered, nor what they are demanding.

HARRIS POLL

Carter, Humphrey Both Trail Kennedy

By LOUIS HARRIS

Although many believe that the Democratic choice for the presidential nomination will finally be made between former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, the latest Harris Survey shows that Massachusetts Sen. Edward Kennedy defeats both frontrunners.

In direct pairings among Democrats and independents, Kennedy wins over Humphrey by 47-42 per cent and holds a 49-43 per cent edge over Carter. Just among Democrats, Kennedy runs 49-42 per cent ahead of Humphrey and 54-39 per cent ahead of Carter.

When Carter and Humphrey are pitted against each other, Humphrey wins by a 48-43 per cent margin. This marks no change from last month. Among Democrats alone, however, Humphrey increases his lead to 53-39 per cent over the former Georgia governor.

Of course, the three Democrats tested each have a different status in this campaign. Carter not only is a declared candidate, but also is out running hard for delegates in all the primaries. Humphrey has been an active nondeclared candidate who has made his availability for the Democratic nomination widely known. Kennedy has not been active and has declared time and again that he will not be a candidate this year.

However, in a deadlocked Democratic convention in New York City next July, there would undoubtedly be strong pressures on Kennedy to change his mind. Because of this possibility, the Harris Survey chose to put Kennedy into this latest test, as much as this might complicate an already confused and unclear Democratic contest for the nomination.

Between April 9 and 15, a cross-section of 1,062 Democrats and independents interviewed in person in their homes was asked:

"Suppose for the Democratic nomination for president this year it came down to a choice between former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. If you had to choose, would you prefer Carter or Humphrey as the Democratic nominee for President?"

HUMPHREY VS. CARTER
(Democrats and Independents)

	Humphrey Per cent	Carter Per cent	Not Sure Per cent
Nationwide	48	43	9
By Region			
East	56	31	13
Midwest	53	41	6
South	35	58	7
West	54	35	11
By Race			
White	46	44	10
Black	59	35	6
By Party			
Democratic	53	39	8
Independent	38	50	12

Humphrey leads Carter as the preferred choice in every region except the South, where the former Georgia governor holds a convincing 58-35 per cent lead. The vote among whites is very close, but Humphrey fashions his lead by winning the votes of blacks by 59-35 per cent. However, in last month's comparable pairing, Humphrey held an even wider 68-26 per cent lead among blacks over Carter.

Significantly, when the Humphrey and Carter vote is broken down by other potential candidates in the race, it is clear that Humphrey is nearly everyone's second choice. For example, among people who prefer Kennedy, Humphrey wins over Carter by 60-35 per cent. Among those who prefer Jackson, Humphrey also wins by 66-28 per cent.

The cross section was also asked:

"Suppose for the Democratic nomination for president this year it came down to a choice between Sen. Edward Kennedy and former Gov. Jimmy Carter. If you had to choose, would you prefer Kennedy or Carter as the Democratic nominee for President?"

KENNEDY VS. CARTER
(Democrats and independents)

	Kennedy Per cent	Carter Per cent	Not Sure Per cent
Nationwide	49	43	8
Democrats	54	39	7
Independents	39	51	10

Then the cross-section of Democrats and independents was asked:

"Now suppose for the Democratic nomination for President it came down to a choice between Sen. Hubert Humphrey and Sen. Edward Kennedy. If you had to choose, would you prefer Humphrey or Kennedy as the Democratic nominee for President?"

HUMPHREY VS. KENNEDY

	Kennedy Per cent	Humphrey Per cent	Not Sure Per cent
Nationwide	47	42	11
Democrats	49	42	9
Independents	45	42	13

The key to Sen. Kennedy's strength is his abillty to win the support of the blacks, the young people and union members against either Carter or Humphrey. For example, among young people, Kennedy wins over Carter by 56-38 per cent. Among blacks, Kennedy defeats Humphrey by 68-26 per cent. Among union members, Kennedy edges out Humphrey by 47-45 per cent.

The Democratic contest in the primaries is only part of the total story of this nomination process. Both Humphrey and Kennedy cast long shadows over Carter's presidential hopes. Obviously, as far as the rank and file of Democratic voters are concerned, both Kennedy and Humphrey are formidable elemente in this presidential race and likely will be heard from before the final decision is made in July at Madison Square Garden.

By Meg Greenfield

Waiting for Hubert

Why are all those people cheering Hubert Humphrey? Is it nostalgia? Repentance for the truly awful way in which they've treated him in the past? A means of expressing their customary discontent with whoever is running at the moment and their heartfelt, if short-lived, desire for whoever is not? What do they want him to do? Should he do it?

If I were Hubert Humphrey, I'd be nervous as a cat and wary as a burglar, looking around that room full of voluble fans. I'd note, among the generality of Democrats, some of the hacks who had served me worst over the years, and some of the self-indulgent, anti-everything left, who, only yesterday, were comparing me unfavorably to Mussolini. I'd wait. I'd make them ask. I would figure that was the only way I could get the Democratic nomination and also the only way it would be worth having. And meanwhile, I would be giving some hard thought to the meaning of this "anti-Washington" kick that, like love, seems to be sweeping the country.

RESISTING PRESSURE

There is evidence that Humphrey is doing the first of these things—though not the second. He has been under pressure from some of his closest friends, such as Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota, to get actively into the race while there is still time to win the nomination in outright competition with the other candidates. But so far he has resisted. To be sure, one can sense a tug in the other direction: Humphrey has been turning up for rock-'em sock-'em speeches in critical primary states, and it is no secret that "uncommitted" delegates are being organized in his behalf around the country. Still, Humphrey has refused to provide the formal authorization that would allow funds to be raised for his campaign. And the betting at the moment is that he will also refuse to be coaxed into the New Jersey primary, for which he would have to file by the end of the month.

The practical arguments for his getting into the race now are strong enough to suggest that his resistance represents something more personal and profound than a hardheaded—or wrongheaded—political calculation. They rest on the fact that the script for political 1976 has not played out as expected. Jimmy Carter has more or less "emerged"; others have dropped out ahead of schedule; Wallace has been diminished as a factor at the convention, and the convention itself may not be the inconclusive maelstrom of nonwinning candidacies once supposed. It will be too late by summer, the argument goes, to move against Carter (if he has done well) without inviting the "spoiler's" image, and too late even to make the arrangements necessary to move in on a struggle among candidates at the convention.

Still, Hubert Humphrey is trying to wait—why? Because, I think, a trustworthy instinct has told him something about many of those faces in the cheering crowd, something about himself, something about the only conditions under which he and they can give it another try.

It's not just that Humphrey must know that once he jumps in, some of the desirability and mystery will vanish and that he'll get battered around like everyone else. It's also a perception he shared with Bill Moyers on television the other evening that struck me as extraordinary coming from Humphrey: "... Maybe if you're asking for it you don't get it, maybe if you're scrambling for it you'll lose it, maybe if you're begging for it it'll be denied ... I am not going to scramble, beg or ask. Because I've been doing that a long time in my life. I've asked too many people to help me too long ... I have a sense of inner peace about what I'm doing ... I don't want that office enough to, literally, go on out and destroy myself or destroy what I'm for ... If my party needs me and wants me they know where I am."

DEFENDING THE STATUS QUO

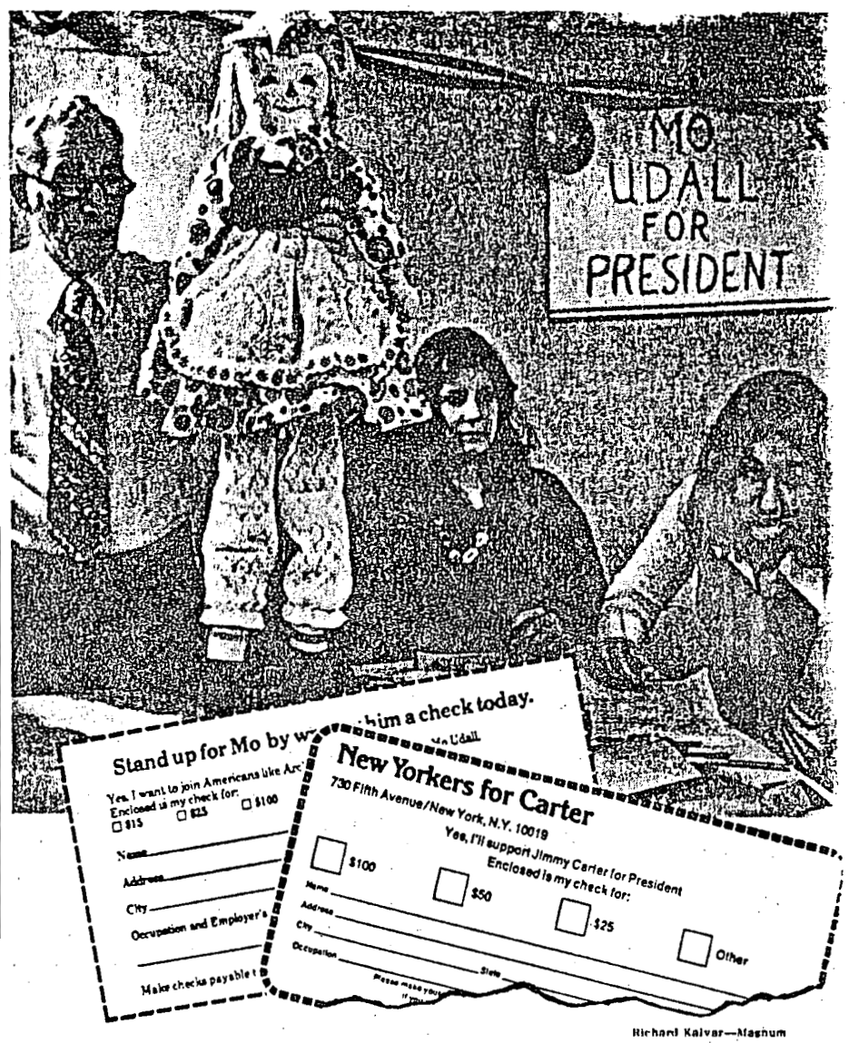
As one who thinks Humphrey is a hell of a fellow—the politician who, when he weeps, weeps for *other* people—and as one who would find the spectacle of another quest and another demeaning defeat just this side of unbearable, this uncharacteristic statement gave me hope. No more standing on tables in litter-strewn campaign rooms watching Hubert Humphrey concede predictable defeat. For me the only problem in his self-restraint—assuming, of course, that it lasts—is that if it does bring a liberated, tranquil Humphrey into the campaign, it is likely also to bring him in as a defender of the Democratic-liberal status quo. For Humphrey gets some of his loudest party and labor-union huzzahs these days for coming on as a die-hard spokesman for the efficacy of very nearly every government program the Democrats have thought of over the past 40 years. He is not being compelled to take seriously the popular experience with many of those programs. And that brings us head to head with Humphrey and the so-called anti-Washington issue.

Acute as Humphrey is, he has tended to dismiss as Reaganite or "racist" legitimate questions that have been raised about much of Washington's recent handiwork. The serious complaints are that many of the programs aren't working to help the people they are meant to, that they have overpromised and underproduced, that they have created a government involvement in people's lives that can be as authoritarian and capricious as it is generous, and that, in any event, the money is running out.

MAKING PROMISES

For Humphrey, judging from his speeches, all this seems to represent at best a minor technical malfunction and at worst a reactionary attempt to turn back the clock on Federal responsibilities that were—admittedly—undertaken for good and necessary reasons over the years. The full-employment bill he is sponsoring in the Senate, and which has been espoused by the major Democratic candidates, is an earnest of his belief in the importance of promise, uplift, symbolism—more-of-the-same. It would create some kind of ill-defined "right" of every adult citizen to a job at fair pay (the possible scene in the courts defies imagination), an elaborate web of new institutional arrangements and a pledge virtually to abolish unemployment. When I first looked at the bill I was reminded of a press release that came out of George McGovern's office early in the last campaign: "McGovern proposes to make hunger illegal in America after June 30, 1972."

Does it matter, this Democratic penchant for the big promise, the big program, the big refusal to recognize deficiency or see opposition as anything other than social benightedness? I think it does. That is why although I think Humphrey would be wise to avoid the primaries, I regret that he will not be made to face and test the strength of some of the issues that are animating them. I have a feeling that the party that punished Humphrey over the years for many of the wrong things may end up rewarding him for the wrong things too. That would all but guarantee a rerun election, lots of heat but no light shed on the most interesting and important domestic dilemma of our frazzled time.



Red-ink blues: Jackson on the train, Udall backers auctioning dolls to raise funds

Richard Kalvar—Magnum

Zero-Budget Campaigning

Jimmy Carter had to shift his attention from the crucial Pennsylvania primary last week to float a $70,000 loan against his now famous peanut farm. Henry Jackson traded in his campaign plane for a series of commercial flights and a handful of Amtrak seats. And Morris Udall at one point had the Secret Service ferry him home to Washington free of charge in a government automobile. "This primary has been heralded as a big showdown," griped Udall campaign administrator Edward Coyle, "but it's likely to end up being a non-primary because no one has any money."

Money—or the lack of it—has always been a main concern of Presidential candidates, but the money problem is emerging as the most critical factor this year in Pennsylvania and other upcoming primaries, forcing all three Democratic hopefuls—and Republican challenger Ronald Reagan—to trim their media budgets, clip their wings and spend hours all but begging for contributions. Ironically, the shortage of cash is directly attributable to the very campaign fund-raising limits enacted by Congress in 1974 to reduce the influence of money on Presidential politics. And recent foot-dragging by Congress after the Supreme Court struck down some of those reforms (NEWSWEEK, Feb. 9) has made matters even worse: shutting off payment of vital campaign matching funds by the Federal Election Commission.

A tentative compromise on a reconstituted FEC was finally reached last week, but not in time to be approved by Congress and signed by President Ford until after the Easter recess. No FEC funds, then, are likely to flow until mid-May at the earliest. Not that candidate Ford should mind; his own well-stocked war chest (chart) is one of the President's greatest assets in a tight Texas primary race with the financially hard-pressed Reagan (page 23). The cash crisis also further muddles the Democratic competition, giving heart only to Hubert Humphrey supporters looking forward to an escalation of his "non-campaign."

Despite all the difficulties, Carter is still holding his lead in Pennsylvania—the first major industrial state where he, Jackson and Udall have had the field largely to themselves. The latest NEWSWEEK voter interviews seem to show Carter recovering well from his "ethnic purity" blooper of a fortnight ago (box, page 21). Polls commissioned by Carter and Udall also give the Southerner a significant lead, although, like the NEWSWEEK survey, they indicate that much of his support is still soft—and could erode rapidly if Carter should trip over his tongue again. Even if Carter should win the Presidential preference vote on April 27, however, he might do much less well in the election of convention delegates. In that race, Humphrey forces are split between Jackson and a variety of uncommitted slates.

Limit: Carter last week decided to press his Pennsylvania advantage by tacking on four more days of stumping in the state (for a total of eleven—including a full week just before the election). But like his opponents, the former governor now finds much of his time taken up with fund-raising efforts around the country,

RICH MEN, POOR MEN

	CAMPAIGN BALANCE SHEET*	MATCHING FUNDS CLAIMED FROM FEC**
Carter	—$184,359	$208,150
Jackson	$154,015	not submitted
Udall	—$247,335	$127,962
Wallace	$243,719	not submitted
Ford	$776,732	$729,199
Reagan	—$1,007,489	$282,154

*as of March 31 **as of April 16
Source: Federal Election Commission

Fenka & Freyer

The bottom line: Money was still critical

often two or three a day because of the $1,000-per-person limit. And while Carter's front-runner status probably makes it easier for him to raise new funds than his opponents (he collected $16,250 at a Washington eggs-and-bacon buffet breakfast last week), Carter's aides have learned to pinch pennies—chartering campaign jets only week-to-week when they are needed and billing reporters 150 per cent of the normal first-class fare to cover ground transportation as well.

Some of Carter's campaign tactics are inexpensive anyway: he plans to bring in 1,500 volunteers to work in Pennsylvania. But his adman Gerald Rafshoon also hopes to get enough cash to buy air time for a barrage of new TV spots he has prepared to clarify Carter's stand on issues. Among the subjects: employment, tax reforms and national health care—a policy Carter endorsed in a Washington speech last week. Some supporters see a stop-Carter movement behind the freeze on Federal matching funds—with Humphrey the ultimate beneficiary. "We're being asked to run a Presidential campaign . . . on peanuts," complains finance director Morris Dees. "Good thing we've got the right candidate."

Udall, too, has had to shelve plans for a broad media effort that he had hoped would compensate for his woeful lack of organization in Pennsylvania. Beyond that, the fiscal squeeze has pinched Udall's headquarters staff; a squad of younger activists—led by Boston political consultant John Martilla—left the campaign two weeks ago after Udall refused to borrow money for a final media effort that might have meant victory in the close Wisconsin race. Udall's reluctance to borrow has even prompted speculation that he is growing less committed to his Presidential effort.

As Scoop Jackson's people see it, the shortage of funds for all contenders could actually be something of an advantage for their man—he is counting on the unions and much of the state's Democratic machine to get his vote to the polls. "We are not exactly plugging for an exciting race here that will attract a very heavy turnout. The smaller the turnout, the better Jackson will do," admits one Jackson aide. Still, some Pennsylvania Democrats wonder if he even will have enough wherewithal to grease the party machine effectively; in Philadelphia, for example, it is traditional to allocate $100 in "walking-around money" for leaders in each of the city's 1,700 precincts to use in getting people to the polls. Jackson may also be hampered by labor's late start in the campaign and the open secret that many of the union and party leaders supporting him actually prefer Humphrey.

Draft: Humphrey remains ebullient as ever as the other contenders splash about in red ink. Under the Supreme Court's election-law ruling, two of his Washington supporters, Congressmen Paul Simon of Illinois and Bob Bergland of Minnesota, are legally free to revive their independent effort to stir draft-Humphrey support among leading Democrats around the country—including, eventually, convention delegates who are uncommitted or pledged to other candidates only through the first ballot. Their first letter in Humphrey's behalf would likely go out after the Pennsylvania primary. There is also good news from the Gallup poll—which shows Humphrey still running neck and neck with Carter among Democrats—and from New Jersey, where state party co-leader Anne Campbell says the slate of organization delegates is preparing "to cross out the word 'uncommitted,' and write in 'Hubert Humphrey' if we get the word from him."

Humphrey himself still maintains that he does not plan to enter any late primaries "at present." But at a meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors he reiterated his availability come convention time and at one point drew a standing ovation. Whether Humphrey can afford to wait that long will depend in part on how decisive the next round of primaries and state caucus battles prove to be. That in turn may well depend on how hard the three active but cash-starved candidates can afford to contest them. As of last week, both remained very open questions indeed.

—DAVID M. ALPERN with JAMES DOYLE in Washington, JOHN J. LINDSAY with Jackson, ELEANOR CLIFT with Carter and TONY FULLER on the Udall campaign

PENNSYLVANIA: A WEEK TO GO

Jimmy Carter seemed to gain a bit more ground last week in next Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary. A second round of interviews by NEWSWEEK staffers with prospective voters around the state* showed Carter with a modest increase in support, though he had suffered some losses over his remarks about "ethnic purity." Henry Jackson and Morris Udall also drew additional support from a shrinking block of undecided voters, but with much smaller bases of support on which to build, they have not yet significantly eroded Carter's lead.

Three-quarters of those surveyed had heard about Carter's controversial remarks about "ethnic purity," and it was unclear whether the remark had helped or hurt the Georgian. Some Pennsylvanians favored his stand, some abhorred his choice of words; a majority believed the incident had been blown out of proportion by the other candidates and the media. For some voters, Carter's statement and subsequent apology symbolized a general fuzziness on issues. "You see the flubs," complained Mrs. Elizabeth Barthmaier of Philadelphia, who still favors the Southerner slightly. Other voters were favorably impressed by Carter's speedy apology. "I'll give him the benefit of the doubt and see what develops. People say things they don't mean when they get excited," noted William Morrison, a black lumberyard worker in Philadelphia.

Two-thirds of those questioned were aware that the state's powerful labor establishment was involved in the primary, but they were unclear on whether it was working for Jackson or for noncandidate Hubert Humphrey. And Humphrey supporters were uncertain over how they could best support their man. Fewer than half (40 per cent) of the Humphrey supporters questioned said they would vote for Jackson in the primary. Despite the importance of the Pennsylvania results, few of the voters had been contacted by any candidate's organization—thus providing a theoretical opportunity for any of the three candidates to pick up a large number of votes with a last-minute effort.

*The Newsweek canvassers phoned back slightly fewer than half the 134 Pennsylvanians originally interviewed in eleven diverse districts. Those re-questioned were people who were initially undecided or who favored a candidate (mainly Hubert Humphrey) who was not on the ballot. In addition, to assess the impact of the "ethnic purity" issue, black voters and a sampling of Carter supporters were surveyed again.

UPI

Carter and Martin Luther King Sr. at Atlanta rally: 'Forgiving heart'

Blacks and Politics '76

It was more like a revival meeting than a political rally as a well-integrated crowd of a thousand congregated in Atlanta's Central City Park for the rebaptism of candidate Jimmy Carter. The homefolks had turned out—ignoring three dozen angry black pickets—to testify that the former Georgia governor was still all right with them despite his remarks about "ethnic purity." "I have a forgiving heart, so Governor, I'm with you all the way," preached the venerable Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., who then joined Carter in a soul handclasp that may prove one of the most significant gestures of the Presidential primary season. With that benediction, Carter managed to preserve his support among Southern black religious leaders, increase the pressure on Northern black leaders who want him stopped and to contain the political damage from his verbal stumble. The rally also focused national attention—for the first time in the campaign—on the potential influence of the nation's black vote.

With major civil-rights legislation already passed and sentiment running against big-money liberal programs, issues specially directed at black Americans—most notably jobs and housing—have all but faded from view so far in campaign '76. "Blacks are being taken for granted by politicians who feel they do not have to grease wheels that don't squeak," observes black political analyst Eddie Williams of Washington's Joint Center for Political Studies. There are 7 million registered black voters in the country, most of them Democrats, but their turnout in the primaries has been low. Civil-rights movement veteran Bayard Rustin has organized a project aimed at getting 76 per cent of the black vote out in November—and black leaders are also working to get more blacks registered by then.

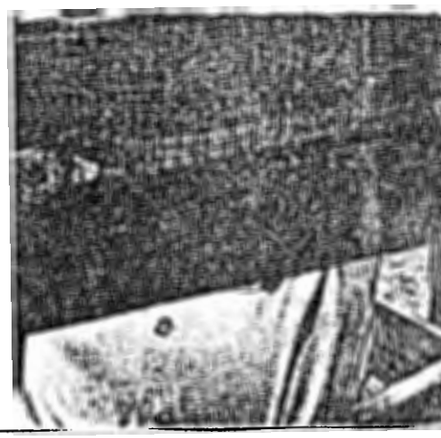
The only candidate to pursue the black vote and reap its rewards has been Jimmy Carter. The former Georgia governor won 42 per cent of the black vote in Massachusetts, 70 per cent in Florida and 90 per cent in North Carolina—and used that support to beat back George Wallace and gain credibility with skeptical white liberals in the North. "Carter is the one candidate who's going into the black communities," explains Democratic National Committee Vice Chairman Basil Patterson. "He isn't saying much, but he's going." Carter's success in harvesting black votes is not surprising. He is the only candidate with a large number of blacks on his staff—and as a Southerner and born-again Baptist, Carter enjoys a communion with black audiences that few Northern politicians can match. In black churches, Carter produces a chorus of "amens" as he talks about brotherhood and love, about his mother staying up all night to care for a sick black baby and about the fact that with honorary degrees from two of Atlanta's six black colleges, "I'll be the first Morehouse man in the White House."

Dreams: Northern black politicians, however, remain largely skeptical about Carter. "Many black leaders saw Carter as the man who could stop Wallace," said New York Rep. Shirley Chisholm last week. "I don't think that in their wildest dreams they thought Carter would get this far." Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond—who backed Carter in Florida—has since come out for Udall, as have Chisholm, Rep. John Conyers of Michigan and Rep. Charles Rangel of New York. Some black voters remain stubbornly uncommitted because their favorite candidate is not yet in the running. "If they went for Udall or Carter," says Chisholm, "it's because they had to make a choice and Humphrey wasn't on the ballot."

Meanwhile, a group of black politicians, labor representatives and community activists, under the recently organized Caucus of Black Democrats, hopes to inject a black viewpoint into the campaign. The group will meet in North Carolina next week to debate such issues as full employment and national health care and will present its resolutions to the National Democratic Platform Committee. To make sure its message is carried onto the floor of the convention, the group is also pushing for 25 per cent of the delegates to be black. The black leadership may find it difficult, however, to make any kind of unified strategy work; there no longer seems to be a common agreement among them on how best to solve the problems facing the black community—and more often than not, those problems affect whites as well as blacks. That diversity of voices in the black community also probably means black voters will have less impact on this year's race than in any other Presidential contest since the movement began.

—DENNIS A. WILLIAMS with HENRY McGEE, in Washington and ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign

Shelly Katz—Black Star



THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE Apr. 26, 1976 Vol. 107, No. 17

TIME

OLD CAMPAIGN MEMENTOS

AMERICAN NOTES

Return to Growth

In its famous doomsday treatise four years ago, the Club of Rome depicted a world consuming its resources and polluting itself at a rate that —if continued—would ensure its early destruction. The only hope for global salvation was suggested in the report's title: *The Limits to Growth*.

Last week the businessmen and professors who belong to the Club met again in Philadelphia and rejected the notion of no-growth (*see* ECONOMY & BUSINESS). If world poverty is to be conquered and world peace attained, the Club now agrees, further selective growth is not just desirable but essential.

Some of the Club's new proposals for global controls and planning were highly questionable, but its basic turnabout was laudable. A world threatened by starvation and widening economic imbalance between nations must have development, not stagnation, of industrial and natural resources. Moreover, in an economically shrinking world without growth, political freedom would almost certainly disappear, giving way to regimes that ration not only goods but people's lives.

The Button Bottoms Out

In election year 1976, the campaign button is becoming an endangered species, set back by high costs (up to a nickel a button) and competition from other forms of political advertising. "Television has made the biggest cut into our business," laments Frank Boston, a button manufacturer in Illinois. Now orders are 5,000 to 10,000 a whack, compared with as high as 100,000 in better button days. Another manufacturer, William Crookston of Los Angeles, is pinning his own hopes on producing buttons for fast food chains to distribute to youthful customers. Future generations may well ponder what turned the nation from preserving expressions like TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO to BUY ME—I'M A CARROT CAKE.

The Porsche Liberals

What kind of car people drive has long been considered a clue to their psyche, including their sexual fantasies. Now, would you believe it's a tip-off to their political fantasies as well?

That notion comes out of a survey of 3,500 college teachers by two political scientists, Stanford's Seymour Martin Lipset and the University of Connecticut's Everett C. Ladd Jr. After asking a series of questions about issues and candidates, they conclude that the more conservative faculty members choose U.S. cars (with General Motors autos favored by the most conservative of the conservative). Liberals have a greater tendency to buy foreign models.

Almost three-fifths of the foreign-car owners in the survey favored détente, but only one-third of the U.S.-auto owners did. Virtually all the Saab drivers—98%—voted for George McGovern in 1972; so did 82% of the Mercedes drivers, 80% of those with Volvos, 76% of the Porsche owners, 74% of the Volkswagen owners. By contrast, 49% of the professors with G.M. cars voted for Richard Nixon; he had been less favored by owners of Fords (40%) and Chrysler products (37%).

Lipset and Ladd observe in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that they cannot apply the same yardstick to the entire population—highly educated voters tend to be much more fixed and consistent than other groups in their beliefs. But, says Lipset, "If I were a Democratic precinct worker and wanted to get people to the polls who are sympathetic to my candidate, I'd pick houses with foreign cars in front."

Adolf Who?

When two members of Milwaukee's lunatic fringe Nazi Party were brought to trial for ambushing a local Jewish leader, Judge Patrick J. Madden and lawyers for both sides were determined to find a jury that would not be prejudiced against Nazis. They need not have worried. Of 23 people asked if they were aware of the bitter enmity between Nazis and Jews, none referred to World War II or any of its horrors. Declared one woman: "I've heard of Nazis, but I don't listen to the news that much." Another said that she knew Nazism "was a dictatorship," but she "really couldn't say more about it." Still another juror figured that "Nazi means Communist."

The venire's ignorance of Nazi atrocities made jury selection easy. The guilty verdict that followed plainly was rooted in the misdeeds of the men on trial, not those of the Hitler followers they would emulate. Which is as it should be. Yet quite apart from the case itself, the ability of many Americans to forget, or never to know of, such a recent and outrageous chapter in history is cause for dismay. Sighed Judge Madden: "Other than the term Nazi, they didn't know anything about it."

MARK PERLSTEIN

UDALL SUPPORTER IN WISCONSIN

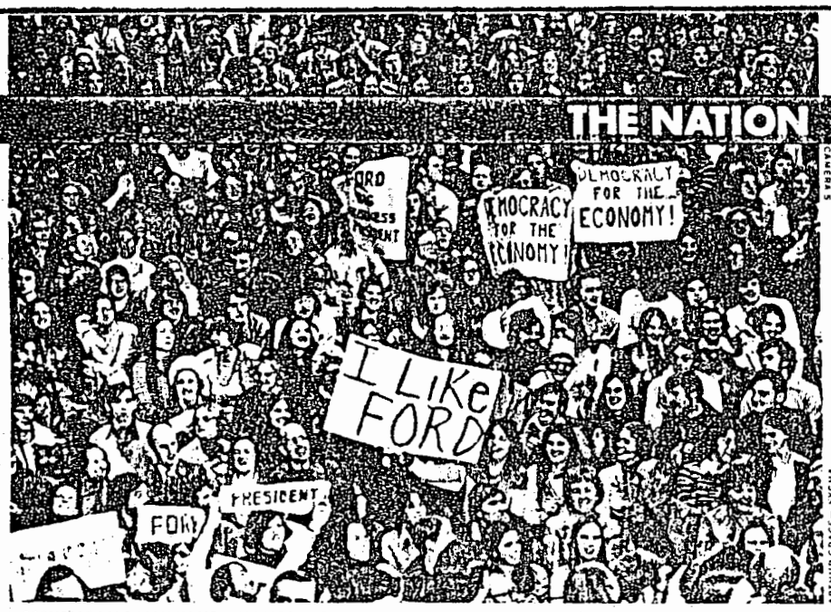
THE MOOD

The Search

Some apathy. Considerable cynicism. A restless quest for serenity. A rising concern over spiritual and moral values. Continuing distrust of institutions, but increasing confidence in the future.

Those are among the crosscurrents revealed by the presidential primaries. Bedeviling as they may be for the candidates, the primaries serve a function beyond winnowing presidential contenders: they probe and test the American mood. There is in that mood a disturbing negative attitude toward politics and politicians. Princeton's Opinion Research Corp. finds that only 30% of those polled express "high trust and confidence" in "the office of the presidency," and only 20% have high trust in Congress. "We've got a disbelieving mood," observes Harry O'Neill, executive vice president of Opinion Research Corp. "People are upset about a lot of problems, and they don't give very good grades to the institutions that are supposed to be grappling with them."

To many analysts, however, the sourness is less a matter of outright hostility toward Government, politics and institutions than an impatience with turmoil in American life. After years of fighting over race, drugs, sex, Viet Nam, Watergate and recession, voters are seeking some kind of normality. "There is a hunger to get away from crisis, stridency, hysteria, a rejection of any kind of extremism," reports TIME's public opinion analyst Daniel Yankelovich. Agrees Alan Baron, a liberal Washington Democrat: "This country wants an overall amnesty. Everybody wants to rest." To Frank Mankiewicz, a director of George McGovern's emotional campaign in 1972, the attitude toward Government now is "not so much like 'Bring



REPUBLICAN RALLY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT FORD

CARTER FAN IN FLORIDA

for Someone to Believe In

us together' as it is 'Leave us alone.' "

As voters seek to escape fevered controversy, there are also positive qualities in the prevailing mood. Even though only a third of the voters tell Gallup pollsters that they are thinking "a lot" about the election, the primary voting turnout is only slightly down from 1972. Rather than abandoning politics, voters seem to be demanding more from the candidates.

The "Metaissue." "People are very much searching for someone they can believe in," observes Joe Grandmaison, the 1972 McGovern campaign director in New Hampshire. This quest puts a new emphasis on intangible qualities of leadership. Contends George Reedy, the astute former press secretary to Lyndon Johnson: "The real issues in the campaign are spiritual rather than economic and social. The average American today is lost. He doesn't know what to believe, where to go, what to do." Marquette University Sociologist Wayne Youngquist calls these spiritual concerns collectively a "metaissue—an issue above issues. It involves tone, honesty, decency, truthfulness, morality, religion."

Though there is still great worry over the economy, the TIME–Yankelovich surveys show a remarkable increase this year in the percentage of voters who expect that the economy will get better rather than worse. This, explains Yankelovich, helps those candidates who "have something positive to offer" and hurts those who "articulate discontent" and project "the gloom issue."

There are inner conflicts in a mood that rejects politics-as-usual, yearns for something new but also seeks a quiescent normality. Yet some generalizations can be drawn about which candidates so far have benefited most from the emerging mood:

▸ President Ford is doing well because he does not incite strong feelings, seems unlikely to revive the old schisms, and represents normality. The economic recovery works in his favor, and Yankelovich's surveys show that he has won heavy support from people who are optimistic about the nation's future. He is, moreover, seen as an honest, undevious, trustworthy man. A Ford handicap in the current anti-Washington mood is that he is considered one of the run-of-the-mill, "institutional" politicians.

▸ Ronald Reagan, by contrast, gains from his freshness on the national political scene. He has done unusually well for a challenger to an incumbent President. Reagan has benefited from a trend by more moderate Republicans to consider themselves independents, leaving the party more conservative than it was in 1972. Yet his pitch may well be too strident for what is widely seen as a year of moderation. He also gains his strong support from the discontented and the fearful, whose numbers are declining. The movie-star background and polished delivery have a stagy quality ill fitting the current accent on candor.

▸ Among the Democrats, the shrillest voices are not finding much of an echo. On the left, Fred Harris has all but dropped out; on the right, George Wallace is virtually eliminated. Challenged by Jimmy Carter in North Carolina and Florida, he has failed to win even in the South. Part of the change must be attributed to his health, but it also has to do with the new mood that no longer responds to Wallace's old appeal of discontent. Henry Jackson won in both Massachusetts and New York, but his pugnaciousness may not wear well nationally as the debate sharpens. The easygoing Mo Udall fits the nation's low-key leaning, and he is widely seen as one of the most likable and honest of all the candidates. His problem is that he remains relatively little known, is tagged as too liberal for the current voter mood and is a 15-year veteran of the unpopular Congress.

▸ Carter has either adroitly capitalized on the electorate's mood—or come along with natural qualities at just the right time to meet its demands. The TIME–Yankelovich surveys show that Carter, like Ford, draws most of his support from voters who are confident about America's future. The soft accent, the moderation on issues, the emphasis on "Trust me," even his fundamentalist religiosity, seem attuned to the times. "Jimmy Carter is a positive and upward and loving candidate," observes former Mississippi Republican Gubernatorial Candidate Gil Carmichael. "His spiritual issue is probably one of the best gut issues." Yet Carter's course is also hazardous. He has so stressed his honesty, freshness and reasonableness that any slip into a clear deception or another heated controversy might seem a betrayal. His "ethnic purity" remark was a precarious slip, but he seems to have weathered that mistake *(see story page 16)*.

▸ Hubert Humphrey, of course, has not yet faced a fresh test in the current mood. Always ranking high on decency and personal warmth, he is now seen as a rather comfortable old shoe—which fits the desire for serenity but not the search for new leadership. However, Humphrey is also seen as experienced in world affairs. If international concerns should arise to overshadow the economic issues amid continued recovery, the national mood would favor the most experienced veterans: Humphrey among the Democrats and Ford among the Republicans.

DEMOCRATS

Pennsylvania's Guerrilla War

Stumping the hardscrabble ethnic precincts and the fashionable ballrooms of Pennsylvania, the three most active Democratic candidates last week at times seemed peckish and anxious. All have drastically had to chop their spending and personally phone likely contributors for more aid. Congress had put them in the bind by unconscionably taking off for an Easter recess before a law reviving federal campaign subsidies could be passed (TIME, April 12). And all three were worried that they faced varying degrees of loss in the state.

Morris Udall, whose candidacy may not survive another disappointment, was most severely handicapped by the money crimp. "Pennsylvania," he complained, "may turn out to be a busted play for me because of it." Last week he had to give up his chartered plane and his hopes of coming from behind with a TV blitz, but he did not surrender his candor. For the first time he acknowledged that the ubiquitous noncandidate, Hubert Humphrey, "has a real chance."

Scoop Jackson was desperately trying to persuade voters that he is more than a stand-in for H.H.H. Straining to discredit his chief competitor on the ballot, he even tried to suggest that Jimmy Carter's indifferent stand on the right-to-work law when he was Georgia's Governor was somehow responsible for unemployment in Philadelphia. Big labor and most of the state's party sachems were pushing for Jackson in hopes of stalling Carter and making the Pennsylvania outcome so indecisive that the real winner would be Humphrey. Locals of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Union of Operating Engineers and other unions were sending out mailings for Jackson, canvassing by phone and planning to field thousands of people to get out the vote on election day. Still, Jackson's early lead in Pennsylvania was becoming shaky.

Carter said he viewed the Pennsylvania contest as "Jimmy Carter against the world." He has yet to prove he can win in a big industrial state, but he hoped for a clear victory—an upset that could finish Jackson. Udall's polls showed Carter ahead. Carter's own private polls indicated that he was the most popular candidate among the three in Pennsylvania, but the voters were so ambivalent that his recently won advantage could vaporize by primary day.

Even if Carter ekes out a plurality in the statewide popular vote, as seemed likely last week, Jackson stands an excellent chance of gaining first place in the quite separate vote for delegates. Reason: the delegates are elected in 50 local races, each of which is crowded and confused; but Jackson's labor and machine allies can steer voters to the "right" choices. (Of Pennsylvania's 178 delegates, 134 will be elected next Tuesday and the balance appointed later.) Thus the primary that had been billed as a dramatic Armageddon was becoming more of a diffuse guerrilla war that could yield split results.

The hand-to-hand combat was being conducted not so much by the candidates but by their infantry—the 1,102 people who are vying for the delegate seats. Day after dogged day, these contestants were hard at work in buttonholing, doorbell-ringing, coffee-klatching campaigning. New York Bureau Chief Laurence I. Barrett followed three Pennsylvanians as they scoured for votes:

SAHM DOHERTY

BENJAMIN WOODS (LEFT) PASSING OUT CAMPAIGN CARDS AND SIGN IN PITTSBURGH BAR

OMITTING THE CANDIDATE

Pittsburgh's Benjamin Woods, 34, works as business agent of Local 12, Sheet Metal Workers, but now he labors several hours a day for Jackson. "I get tired," he says, "of seeing the same guys getting elected to the same jobs all the time. All they do is go down there and wheel and deal." He met Jackson last June, liked him and circulated petitions in February to get on the ballot as a pledged candidate. "I agree with Jackson about nationalizing welfare. He has a fine labor record. And he's against busing. So am I."

Jackson's emphasis on reducing unemployment goes down well in Woods' local—30% of the 1,700 members are jobless—and throughout the heavily Catholic, working-class 42nd State Senate District where Woods grew up (he played violin in the high school orchestra before becoming a sheet-metal apprentice). But Jackson is less popular than the things he stands for, and Woods realizes it.

In taverns, bingo parlors and shopping centers, he greets voters: "Hi, I'm Ben Woods. Running for delegate to the Democratic Convention. Appreciate your support on April 27." He does not even mention Jackson's name unless asked. The palm card he hands out carries his own handsome picture but not Jackson's—the Senator's name appears only in fine print. At a V.F.W. post, an acquaintance tells Woods, "I'll vote for you because I know you, but I'm for Humphrey." Woods has a ready response: "The way to stop Carter is to vote for Jackson."

Crisscrossing the district of mills and aging, tiny houses in his new white Catalina, Woods has learned that Carter is no more popular there than Jackson, and Udall is virtually unknown. Twenty-one people are contending for the 42nd's three delegate posts, but Woods has many friends. Bartenders, shopkeepers and others take his literature for display and distribution.

In the town of McKees Rocks on Pittsburgh's northern boundary, Woods listens sympathetically as Nellie King, a women's club leader, disparages all the candidates. She ends up saying she may be for Jackson, and she agrees to give out Woods' handbills. At a Giant Eagle supermarket, a woman who seems uninterested in the presidential election tells Woods he looks like a tall Kirk Douglas. Benjamin Woods (6 ft. 3 in.)

also looks like a winner in the 42nd, and if Jackson ultimately is a loser, Woods will be with Humphrey in July.

SELLING THE PERSONA

In the 40th District in Pittsburgh, where the collars are whiter and the houses larger, Charles Kolling Jr., 25, an assistant buyer for the Thrift Drug chain, is having a ball. Says he: "I've always wanted to get involved, and after '72 I was looking for a candidate I could trust, someone who would really turn us on. And I found him."

He had read about Jimmy Carter a few years ago and became fascinated. Last November he watched a TV interview with him, called his wife Lou Anne to take a look and announced that he was sold by "Carter's sincerity and intelligence." He wrote a letter offering his services. Volunteers were scarce then, and Kolling found himself both a candidate for delegate and Carter's district coordinator.

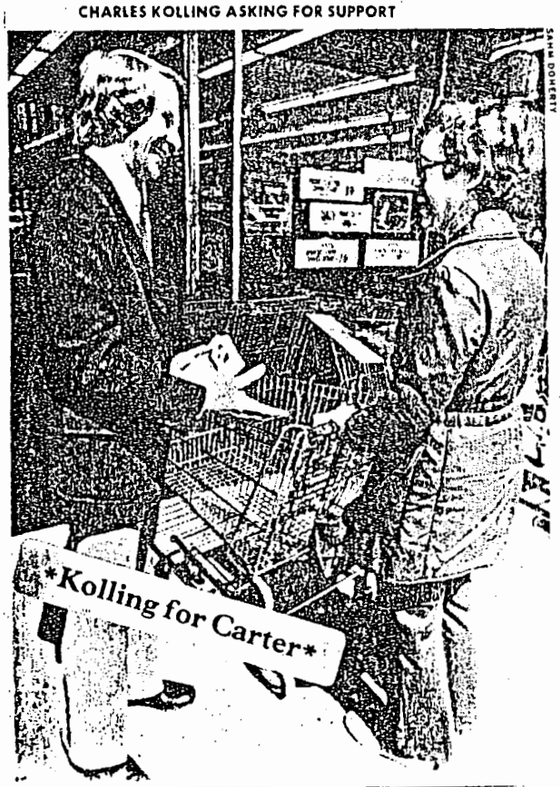
Since February politics have consumed the Kollings' evenings and weekends. They have organized primary-night parties and appeal for contributions as the results come in. On another occasion, with a few friends, they once got up at 3 a.m. and made 265 hero sandwiches that they sold for $1.25 each to neighbors and fellow employees.

At twilight in 30° weather, Kolling stands coatless at the Northway Mall, distributing flyers that play up Jimmy Carter's picture and name over those of his delegates because the candidate's persona is the strongest selling point. "Excuse me, sir," he says. "My name is Chuck Kolling, and I'm running as a delegate in the April 27th primary, committed to Jimmy Carter. Appreciate your consideration."

One of the few people willing to stop and talk in the chill says she likes Carter "because he's not part of any machine," but she was upset by controversy over the "ethnic purity" statement. Kolling gives a terse paraphrase of Carter's explanation and offers to send the woman Carter literature. He points out that not only is Carter independent, but his Pennsylvania workers are too. Many, in fact, are like Kolling—young, enthusiastic and inexperienced in politics.

Later at an open house, Kolling gives a quick definition of Carter's zero-base budgeting plan: "We have to reduce some of the confusion and waste of Government by making agencies justify their spending every year." When specific answers do not satisfy a voter, Kolling falls back on the general: "We have to have a President who can set a tone, someone who can point the country in the right direction and appeal to a lot of different groups." One by one, his listeners nod in agreement.

CHARLES KOLLING ASKING FOR SUPPORT



MARY HURTIG & PAMELA REID WORKING FOR VOTES IN PHILADELPHIA SHOPPING CENTER

FIGHTING CITY HALL

Across the state in the 7th District (Philadelphia's western end), Mary Hurtig is angry. A former first-grade teacher in New York City, Hurtig, 34, divides her time among her family (she and her husband, a physician, have two small children), modern dance and reform politics. The oppressive political machine run by Mayor Frank L. Rizzo switched its support to Jackson after Governor Milton J. Shapp dropped out. Now such Udall backers as Hurtig and her running mate, Pamela Reid, 30, a college psychology teacher, are not even permitted to speak at ward meetings.

"It's offensive," says Hurtig. "We believe in primaries, not in brokered conventions. Why should Humphrey be allowed to take it without running? Why should people give their votes blind to Frank Rizzo?"

Hurtig first heard Udall last year at an Americans for Democratic Action dinner. "He was witty, so human," she recalls. "He gave me an awareness that the '60s were really over, things have changed, and the times of plenty are gone." Conveying that affection in her sprawling district is difficult. The area is more than 60% black, and many of the blacks seem committed to no one.

Hurtig and Reid campaign together. The pictures on their campaign flyer feature Udall with Charles Bowser, a black political leader who is opposed to Rizzo and supports Udall. But as Hurtig and Reid approach shoppers at a supermarket, it becomes clear from the response that Udall would need months, rather than days, to make a dent in Philadelphia. Moreover, the Udall apparatus in the city is tiny and contentious.

Each night Hurtig and Reid call at least five friends, asking each to call five others. They use lists from the 1972 McGovern campaign, in which they met. They give neighborhood children quarters for distributing leaflets. When they consider their prospects realistically, they console themselves with the knowledge that every vote they get is a blow against the local machine and an assist to Udall's survival beyond the Pennsylvania primary.

CANDIDATE CARTER GETTING THE RENEWED SUPPORT OF MARTIN LUTHER KING SR.

Back from a Blunder

The remark was beginning to look more and more like an embarrassing gaffe than a fatal mistake. All last week Jimmy Carter was charmingly convincing as he reassured his many black supporters that he was still in favor of open housing—indeed that he would "fight for the right of people to move where they choose, even though they might not be welcome in the neighborhood when they attempt to move there." It was just that he did not want the Federal Government forcing a particular "economic or ethnic" mix on well-established neighborhoods.

Forgiving Heart. But more important than Carter's apologies for his careless words about preserving "ethnic purity" was the fact that none of his rivals knew how to exploit the issue that he had raised. In 1976 there is one quick way for a politician to trip up on the way to the White House: call upon the Government to use federal powers to get the minority groups out of the big city ghettos and into white neighborhoods.

Carter was publicly embraced by Martin Luther King Sr.; who declared: "I have a forgiving heart, so, Governor, I'm with you all the way." Detroit Mayor Coleman Young said that Carter's apology was "satisfactory" and that the furor over his remarks was "a phony issue." Echoed Paul Parks, Massachusetts' secretary of educational affairs and a black civil rights veteran: "The majority of black people across the country are staying with Carter. Some of them are shaky, but they're willing to forgive him. He's got a kind of thing about him that says to them, 'I don't hate you. I'm not aloof from you.' But there is suspicion. People are just waiting to see—is this a pattern? If it is, he could lose them overnight."

White liberals appeared to be more put off by Carter's remarks than the blacks. Says one Midwestern liberal leader: "The question is whether or not 'ethnic purity' is a code word, and if so, is it calculated to lose 5% of the black vote and pick up 12% of Wallace's support? Or was it just a blunder?"

Neither Scoop Jackson nor Mo Udall was making much of the issue last week. Udall called Carter "a fine and decent man." When all the hairsplitting was done, the views of Udall and Jackson were so similar to Carter's as to be virtually indistinguishable.

So far Carter is apparently having it both ways: keeping his black supporters while telling nervous whites that he would not crack their neighborhoods with forced integration. That stand could win him support next week from the many white ethnic groups in Pennsylvania.

FOREIGN POLICY

Panama Theatrics

The Panama Canal is one of those emotional foreign policy issues on which reckless politicians can sound ringingly certain about a simplistic solution—so long as they do not have to face the consequences if their rhetoric is translated into policy. Time after time in Texas last week, Ronald Reagan thundered about the canal: "We bought it. We paid for it. We built it. And we are going to keep it." As President, Reagan vowed, he would say just that to any "tinhorn dictator" in Panama who sought to gain control over the waterway. The Reagan theatrics, designed to win him support in his dead-even showdown with Gerald Ford in the Texas primary on May 1, drew strong applause.

The fact is, of course, that Panamanians have grown increasingly angry over the 73-year-old treaty giving the U.S. ownership of the 51-mile-long canal and control of the adjoining ten-mile-wide zone that splits Panama. With much justice, they consider the treaty a vestige of outdated colonialism.

Recognizing that "the big ditch" is now more of a commercial convenience

than a military necessity, the Ford Administration agreed last year to renegotiate the treaty. The aim was a gradual relinquishing of the present total domination of the canal and its zone by the U.S. Reagan in effect wants the U.S. to break off those negotiations. But Presidential Press Secretary Ron Nessen warned last week of the possibility of a repetition of the rioting and bloodshed that in 1964 erupted in Panama over this issue.

Lack of Candor. Diplomatic realities aside, Reagan was on solid ground in claiming that Ford's public position does not square with the Administration's private bargaining stance. Publicly, Ford insisted two weeks ago that "the U.S. will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned." Reagan cited testimony given by Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, who is negotiating the new treaty, before a congressional subcommittee on April 8. Bunker conceded that he was under written directives from Ford that the U.S. will agree to "give up" the canal zone "after a period of time" and to yield the canal itself "over a longer period of time."

Ford may not have wished to tip off Panama to the eventual U.S. negotiating position, and he clearly did not want to confront the issue in an election year. If Ford lacked some political candor, his attitude nevertheless was much more sensible than Reagan's jingoistic refusal even to consider that outright, unyielding ownership of the canal may no longer serve any vital U.S. interest. Indeed, insistence upon that ownership may produce only needless hostility between the U.S. and its remaining friends in Latin America and the Third World.

RONALD REAGAN IN FORT WORTH, TEX.

STEVE NORTHUP

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/23

Jimmy Carter, left and Representative Morris K. Udall during TV debate in Philadelphia yesterday. They clashed on the issue of busing to achieve school desegregation.

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News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Italian newspapers, citing United States documents, asserted yesterday that an unidentified former Prime Minister was involved in the scandal over bribes by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation. They named as prime suspects Giovanni Leone, now Italy's President; Aldo Moro, who is also Prime Minister now, and Mariano Rumor, now Foreign Minister. Each man issued a strong denial of the allegations. The Christian Democratic Party, in which the three men are leading figures, was stunned. The newspaper reports arose from documents sent to Italy last week by the Senate subcommittee on multinational corporations. [Page 1, Column 4.]

The Volkswagen company in West Germany was reported to have decided to invest $250 million in an automobile assembly plant in the United States. [1:2-3.]

Ingmar Bergman, who has been having tax problems, announced that he could no longer live in Sweden and was leaving the country to continue his movie work abroad. The film director said that he had been harassed and humiliated by "prestige-ridden poker players" in the tax bureaucracy. He said they had tried to blackmail him to save face in a highly publicized tax case. [1:6-7.]

National

Documents and other evidence obtained by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence show that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, at least through the end of 1973, maintained a network of confidential informers in major news organizations, universities and charitable foundations. Sources familiar with the panel's report on domestic intelligence operations, which will be made public next week, said that none of the news reporters or other confidential sources would be named in the document. [1:1.]

President Ford who appeared unlikely even to win his party's nomination only a few months ago, seems to have gained very substantial political strength. A new national poll by The New York Times and CBS News, the third in three months, finds that Mr. Ford has steadily added to his political stock since the campaign began in February. [1:2.]

The third national poll by The Times and CBS News also found that a consensus has been emerging among Democratic party leaders over the last month to the effect that only Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Jimmy Carter have a good chance of winning the party's Presidential nomination. The average Democratic voter appears to share that view. [1:3.]

Boston's Suffolk County Courthouse was damaged by a bomb explosion that injured 21 persons, seven of them seriously. The police and other officials quickly issued statements that the bombing appeared to be unrelated to conflicts over court-ordered busing and recent racial incidents, but tension in the city increased the day before a march against violence called by the Mayor. [1:5.]

Barbara Walters who has been co-host of the NBC "Today" show, accepted an offer of $1 million a year over the next five years to become a major personality of ABC News and to be co-anchor there with Harry Reasoner of "The Evening News." She will become the world's highest paid newscaster and the first woman ever to present the evening news over a major TV network. [1:5-7.]

Metropolitan

A special three-judge Federal panel declared unconstitutional a state election law that would have removed Patrick J. Cunningham from his leadership posts in the Democratic Party. The disputed law provided for automatically depriving party officers of their posts if they refused to waive their right to immunity from prosecution and failed to testify when summoned by a grand jury. Mr. Cunningham had challenged the law's constitutionality. He is expected to be re-elected today as the state Democratic chairman. [1:8.]

John J. Whalen, a Bronx district leader, was indicted on charges of destroying records a special grand jury had subpoenaed to determine whether he and Patrick J. Cunningham, the Democratic state chairman and Bronx County leader, had accepted a bribe from a judge for his seat on the criminal court bench. [1:6-7.]

The 10 academic chairs endowed by the state since 1964 at public and private universities will end in June as a result of budget cuts by the State Legislature. The chairs, named in honor of Albert Einstein and Albert Schweitzer, were supported with a total of $500,000 in the 1975-76 fiscal year. Current distinguished scholars will retain their titles, but there will be no money for staff or research. [1:8.]

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY
Weather: Sun cool tonight. Temperature Thursday 50-6

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Poll Finds President Strong as Candidate

Doubts Are Fading

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Gerald R. Ford, who seemed unlikely to win even his own party's nomination just a few months ago, seems to have translated the powers of Presidential incumbency into very substantial political strength among the American people.

A new national poll conducted by The New York Times and CBS News, the third in three months, finds that the President has steadily added to his political stock since February when the campaign began in earnest. He also seems to have largely dispelled the many doubts about his competence and abilities as a leader.

The poll of 1,464 Americans of all political persuasions found that the President is viewed more favorably than any other candidate, Republican or Democratic, and is disliked least. Along with other indicators, this improved view, hints that Mr. Ford, the butt of many derisive jokes about his ability, will be anything but a pushover for the Democrats in November.

At the same time, the new survey tends to confirm what the political experts have been

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2 Lead Democrats

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Something approaching a consensus has been emerging among Democratic Party leaders over the last month, to the effect that only Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia retain significant chances of winning the party's Presidential nomination.

That judgment, whether premature or not, appears to be shared by the average Democratic voter, according to the third national poll by The New York Times and CBS News. Only Mr. Carter, the Democrats' newest face, who made his first national impression in 1970, and Mr. Humphrey, one of the party's oldest faces, a national figure since the 1948 convention, can claim broadly based followings at this point.

The poll showed that, among active candidates, Mr. Carter was the choice of almost half the Democrats. But when the respondants were asked to pick again among a group of possibilities including Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Carter's strength fell off sharply and the Minnesota

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D

Two Found Leading Democratic Race

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Senator approached a majority.

Other Democratic candidates were as quickly dismissed by the ters as by the party office-holders and operatives who, at this season, spend their waking hours handicapping the Presidential race.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, the choice of one Democrat in four in the Times!CBS News poll a month ago, a was the choice of only one in five this month. His entire strategy had been based on a winning a sweeping victory in New York on April 6 that would transform him into a front-runner; instead, he won a narrower and more narrowly based victory that was insufficient to prevent slippage in his national support.

New York, in other words, failed to provide the takeoff for Mr. Jackson he had counted upon; if he cannot achieve it in Pennsylvania on Tuesday, his moment of opportunity may have passed.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona has been arguing, in an attempt to explain his inability to win a primary so far, that "when I can become known, I do well." The publilcity accruing from his intensiv campaign increased his standing in the poll, but he is still the choice of fewer than one DemocArat in 10. Only 29 percent of the Democrats say they have heard of the Arizona legislator.

Unknown to a majority of the electorate, low on campaign funds, denied for the moment the matching money owed him by the Federal Treasury, Mr. Udall faces an almost impossible struggle in Pennsylvania and other May primaries.

Mr. Carter has paid dearly for his startingly sudden rise from obscurity—a rise unparalleled in American politics since Wendell L. Willkie, a Wall Street utilities lawyer, leaped from anonymity to capture the Republican Presidential nomination 36 years ago.

In March, after victories in the New Hampshire, Florida and Illinois primaries, Mr. Carter was favorably viewed by 40 percent of the voters and unfavorably viewed by only 14 percent—almost a 3-to-1 ratio.

But there followed harsh criticism both of his alleged unwillingness to state his views precisely and of his views a he stated them, particularly his comments opposing Government action to disrupt neighorhood "ethnic purity."

By the time of the April poll, the Georgian's favorable ratio was only 3-to-2, with 37 percent of voters viewing him favorably and 25 percent viewing him unfavorably.

He is not yet so divisive a figure, according to the poll, as Mr. Kumphrey or Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, both of whom offend more voters than they please, according to the poll. But he is much less wellknown than they—four voters in 10 say they lack enough information to make a judgment—and if the pattern of recent weeks continues, Mr. Carter risks becoming a polarizing politician rather than the unifier that he has proclaimed himself.

There is a significant, perhaps pivotal difference in the popularity patterns of Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey.

After three ebullient decades as a party leader, the Minnesotan is a profoundly partisan figure. Among Democrats, only 32 percent view him negatively, but among independents the figure jumps to 50 percent and among Republicans to 58 percent. Mr. Carter's negatives are much more evenly distributed among the three groups, although he, too, is seen in more partisan terms now than he was only a month ago.

When Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey are matched against President Ford in hypothetical runoffs, the differences are dramatically reflected. Neither defeats the President, but Mr. Carter trails by a much smaller margin.

Mr. Carter comes closer precisely because he is better able to appeal across party lines than Mr. Humphrey. Each gets three-fifths of the Democratic vote in the trial heats, but Mr. Carter pulls more than one-third of the independents, while Mr. Humphrey is weaker among that group.

All of this suggests sharply different nomination strategies for the two candidates. Mr. Carter could well argue that if his party turns to Mr. Humphrey it will lose important ground on the crucial independent group, which accounts for 38 percent of the national electorate, according to the poll. Democrats account for 39 percent.

Mr. Humphrey, on the other hand, might well press Mr. Carter—through Mr. Jackson in Pennsylvania and through favorite sons elsewhere, if need be—to accept traditional Democratic viewpoints on major issues. If the Georgian did so, the poll indicates, he would lose much of his independent backing; if he did not, Mr. Humphrey could argue later that Mr. Carter was not "a real Democrat."

In addition, Mr. Humphrey would benefit substantially if Mr. Udal were to withdraw. Of those Democrats who said they supported him, 42 percent said they would actually "prefer a candidate [who is] not running" at the moment.

For Mr. Jackson, no obvious strategy emerges from the tabuations. So strongly do Democratic liberals resent his views on race and on foreign policy that he is unable, in the trial heats with Mr. Ford, to win even among Democrats.

Poll Finds President a Strong Candidate

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

saying about the confused race for the Democratic nomination. By far the leading choices among the Democrats surveyed were former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. All other aspirants had either remained the same or slipped in standing since the last poll in March.

The new survey, taken by telephone from April 10 to 15, was the latest in a series of five monthly polls being conducted by The Times and CBS News to monitor the race for both Republican and Democratic nominations for the Presidency in 1976. This latest, coming at about the halfway point, showed that both the issues and the candidates were coming into sharper focus in the collective mind of the electorate.

While much could change before November, what is shaping up, an analysis of the issues tested in the poll suggests, is a classic Democratic-Republican face-off dominated by a direct clash over the basic economic issue that have long divided the two major parties.

Ford-Reagan Battle

For the moment, however, the face-off is intramural, and Mr. Ford must still beat off a strong challange from former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. From the first Times/CBS News survey, Mr. Ford held a strong lead over Mr. Reagan, 3 to 2 in February and 2 to 1 in March.

This month, the lead has dropped to 3 to 2 again, but there is no indication that the Californian is making much headway against Mr. Ford with any of the issues, save possibly for his attacks on the performance of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Mr. Reagan showed some new strength in the South and West, strength that may give his campaign a lift in the Texas primary May 1 and in the Southern and Western states that hold primaries in May and June.

There are several signs in the survey results that point to Mr. Ford's new strength, not only among his own party members but also among political independents, who are critical to the election of any Republican nominee.

Most striking, perhaps, are the voters' perception of his personal qualities. Two months ago, more than three-quarters of the Republicans surveyed rated Mr. Reagan as more competent than most, while President Ford was so rated by only about half. This month the tables were turned, with three-quarters finding Mr. Ford competent and only 60 percent giving such credit to Mr. Reagan.

Similarly, though less strikingly, Mr. Ford's standing as a strong leader among Republicans rose from 54 to 59 percent, while Mr. Reagan's dropped from 78 to 70 percent. Similar shifts were observed when the same questions were asked of all respondents, not just Republicans.

Another index to Mr. Ford's relative strength is the ratio between those who had a favorable view of him and those who had an unfavorable view. Back in February, before the first primary, the ratio was about 7 to 5 for both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan. Now it is about 8 to 5 for Mr. Ford, higher than for any other candidate, declared or undeclared. Mr. Reagan's favorable-to-unfavorable ratio has dropped to 6 to 5.

While it is perhaps a bit too early to ask people whom they would support in November, it is possible to speculate on the basis of hypothetical run-offs. According to the Times!CBS poll, Mr. Ford would run ahead of both Mr. Carter and Senator Humphrey. The President does particularly well among independents surveyed, especially in a race against Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Reagan, meanwhile, has been unable to capitallze on the support even of those who regard him well. The poll shows that more than half the Republicans with a favorable view of Mr. Reagan said they actually preferred Mr. Ford for the nomination. Mr. Ford, at the same time, won the support of nearly three-quarters of those favorable to him.

Attitude! What may be even more discouraging to the Reagan camp is that well over one-third of the Republicans thought the Californian had a "very good" chance of beating the Democratic candidate, but they mostly preferred Mr. Ford for the nomination.

Why has Mr. Reagan's effort faltered, given the President's initial weakness?

Analysis of the attitudes of Republicans polled on a broad range of issues suggests that Mr. Reagan simply has not been able to take advantage of the few issues on which he differs with the President. He seldom was chosen by more than 40 percent of the Republicans on his side of the major issues.

For example, Mr. Reagan has often attacked the Administration's efforts to reach detente with the Soviet Union. And 63 percent of Republicans polled opposed detente. Yet Mr. Reagan had the support of only 4 of every 10 of these people, 53 percent of them going to the President. Similarly, the bulk of Republicans felt it important to increase military spending, but only a third of them chose Mr. Reagan.

Indeed, Mr. Reagan scored well on only one of a dozen or so major issues tested—that of the role of Mr. Kissinger. Forty-three percent of Republicans agreed with the statement that the Secretary of State "has made too many concessions which have hurt the American position in the world." Of these, Mr. Reagan was the choice over Mr. Ford, 50 to 42 percent. But 46 percent disagreed with the statement, and they chose Mr. Ford 71 to 22 percent.

Foreign Policy Issues

Why has Mr. Reagan been able to make so little of the foreign policy issues? The polls suggestee that Americans have very little concern for them this year, at least compared with other issues. A heavy majority, even of Republicans, said that they considered such domestic issues as crime, energy and jobs as more important than the detente matter.

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While Udall Aide Seeks Fishing Hole, Carter's Looks for a Place in the Sun

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

WILLIAMSPORT, Pa., April 22—The sun had not quite cleared the Allegheny Mountains this morning when Gary T. Mitchell awoke with one thought on his mind—a fishing spot for Morris K. Udall.

Similarly, when Robert B. Robertson climbed out of bed at about the same early hour, his first major concern was whether or not it might rain on Jimmy Carter.

Both young men are staff workers on Presidential campaigns and both have been beating the multitude of bushes here in rural, north central Pennsylvania where their candidates —Representative Udall of Arizona and Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia—are decided underdogs to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in the Democratic primary on Tuesday.

But because Mr. JJackson's schedule-makers omitted Williamsport from his itinerary, the two young aides are directing much of their energies and most of their meager budgets to the premier moment of their assignment here—the appearances of their own candidates here on Saturday.

'Ecological Overtones'

Mr. Udall wants to stage a "media event with ecological overtones," Mr. Mitchell said today as he tried to find just the right spot for such an occurrence. "We don't have it yet, but we're trying to find it and we want to make it a place where the Congressman can go fishing. That's what he said he wants to do."

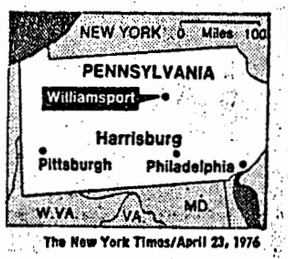
Mr. Robertson's problems are a bit different. He has been unable to find a large indoor setting for his candidate, so a little park has been reserved. "They told me if it rains," he said today, "they're gng to play polo with my head."

Most knowledgeable, local politicians say that neither event will make much difference in the outcome of the voting because Mr. Jackson has not only the energetic support of organized labor but also the tacit backing of Gov. Milton J. Shapp's formidable statewide apparatus as well.

But none of that has made the slightest dent in the enthusiasm of either Mr. Robertson or Mr. Mitchell. In fact, both have been working much harder simply from having heard such rumors.

"It's very simple," Mr. Robertson said today between dozens of phone calls at the storefront Carter headquarters here. "You believe in your man and you just don't believe he's going to be beaten, and that's the way you work."

Mr. Mitchell was equally undaunted. "Listen," he said, as he studied lists of voters from Williamsport's wards, "I worked for McGovern in 1972, and if we had paid any attention to everybody who said he did't have a chance to win the nomination, he wouldn't have won the nomination."



The New York Times/April 23, 1976

Rental Refused Carter

Mr. Mitchell, 24 years old, worked for Mr. Udall in Wisconsin and arrived here a week ago to open Mr. Udall's local office. It also is an old storefront on one of Williamsport's main streets, sandwiched in between Kelly's Bar and Grill and Angelo Paternostro's shoe repair shop. The office, for which the Udall-campaign is paying $75 for one week's use, is owned by Dr. M. J. Hiras, a dentist, who refused to rent the property to Mr. Robertson of the Carter campafgn.

Mr. Mitchell is a first-year law student at Rutgers University and a native of New Jersey, and for his services, he is paid $35 a week and car expenses. "The biggest problem I have is that they won't cash my payroll check here," Mr. Mitchell said today.

Mr. Robertson, 24 also, is a graduate of Lycoming College here in Williamsport but is a resident of Atlanta where he first became acquainted with the Carter campaign. He is paid $300 a month for his services, and he lives with a family he met while he was studying philosophy and theater as an undergraduate.

Williamsport, a cleam town of 100,000, gave birth several years ago to Little League baseball. and it is the scene of the Little League World Series every year. It is also known as the "City of Churches," with more than 100 places of worship. The residents are quietly friendly, but neither Mr. Robertson nor Mr. Mitchell has had much time to enjoy his stay.

"This is a rat race," Mr. Robertson, the Carter aide lamented.

"We never get to stop until after midnight," said Mr. Mitchell.

Still, there is some fun in their lives. Mr. Mitchell parks his car, festooned with Udall-posters, in front of the Carter headquarters, and Mr. Robertson often drops off Carter campaign circulars, in Mr. Mitchell's mailbox.

'We're Not Enemies'

"We don't really know each other that well but we're not really enemies," Mr. Robertson said of his counterpart.

Moreover, both of them have acquainted themselves thoroughly with Williamsport and the vast eight-county region that comprises most of the two state senatorial districts for which they are responsible.

Most of the 200,000 residents in the two districts work in the scores of little plants and factories that dot the many tiny towns in the region. Consequently, although most of them are not members of unions, they are labor-oriented voters whose first choice is a declared noncandidate, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and then Mr. Jackson.

Many of them see in these two men some hope that the 12 percent unemployment rate might be eased in the eight counties.

So, both Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Robertson, in behalf of their candidates, have $struggled to spread the word that their man is willing and able to solve such problems.

"But it's a very difficult place to get that word around," Mr. Robertson said. "Many of the people we call in our phone canvasses don't even knov who's running."

Both men are a bit worried as to whether or not they will be retained by the respective campaigns after the primary. But whatever happens to them they have proved to themselves and to others here that in politics, as in war, the momentous battles are usually fought in many small engagements by men the generals do not know.

Disavowal by Rockefeller Fails to Mollify Jackson

16

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22—Vice President Rockefeller denied today making any "charges" that Communists had infiltrated the staff of Senator Henry M. Jackson, a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

But the Vice President, in a terse telegram to the Senator, left unsettled whether he had suggested such an infiltration in a private conversation last week with a group of Republicans in Atlanta.

"Your telegram amounts to a 34-word version of your earlier 'no comment,' Senator Jackson responded. He demanded in a letter delivered to Mr. Rockefeller that the Vice President issue an unequivocal "repudiation" of the suggestion.

Aides to both President Ford and the Vice President declined to say whether the matter was discussed when the two met this afternoon. Ron Nessen, the White House press secretary, said only that "the President assumes that a United States Senator has responsible people on his staff."

Mr. Rockefeller's telegram, made public by his staff, was his first acknowledgment of the controversy, which arose rom a closed meeting last Thursday with 30 or more Georgia Republicans.

The Atlanta Journal, quoting three identified participants, reported yesterday that the Vice President had said a male member of Mr. Jackson's staff was "an avowed Communist who claims to have had a conversion" from Communism.

According to the newspaper's account, Mr. Rockefeller also questioned the background of Dr. Dorothy Fosdick, the staff director of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigation, which the Senator heads.

In a telegram he sent to the Vice President yesterday, Mr. Jackson demanded a public apology. A spokesman for Mr. Rockefeller said he sent the following message to the Senator this afternoon.

"In response to your telegram, I regret that public interpretation of conversations in a private meeting caused you and your associates embarrassment. I made no charges and therefore there are none to be withdrawn."

Aides to the Senator said he was furious that Mr. Rockefeller appeared to have acknowledged "conversations" on the matter without explaining them or repudiating the published "interpretation."

Campaigning in Detroit and Cleveland, Mr. Jackson said the Vice President had a duty to submit any evidence of infiltration to the Department of Justice.

"If he's any man at all, he'll stand up and lay it on the line," the Senator said.

At one point, Mr. Jackson told reporters that "Congress may well want to probe" the Vice President's purported remarks.

After learning of Mr. Rockefeller's telegram to him, the Senator dictated a letter stating that the Vice President was "the only person who can dispel" the "innuendo and the malicious implications attributed to you.m... "

'Dishonor to White House'

"I should think," the letter also said, "that you would understand that the allegations attributed to you, so sadly reminiscent of McCarthyism, bring dishonor to your reputation and to that of the White House. If there is any embarrassment here, it is to you and not to me or my associates."

The Atlanta Journal account said that Mr. Rockefeller had said Dr. Fosdick was the chief assistant to Alger Hiss at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Mr. Hiss, who was accused of passing secrets to the Soviet Union, was convicted of perjury in a celebrated case.

Dr. Fosdick, who has the reputation in the Senate of being strongly anti-Communist, was said to have found the allegation ironic but ludicrous. An aide said Miss Fosdick actually had been an assistant in the secretary general of the United States delegation to the founding U.N. conference.

"What ub tg!!! - "What in the world is he doing down in Atlanta at a meeting of right-wing Republicans discussing my staff?" Senator JaJckson asked rhetorically in Cleveland.

G

UDALL STEPS UP TV-RADIO EFFORT

Pennsylvania Campaign to Spend $80,000, Less Than Carter Figure

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 22—Representative Morris K. Udall has contracted for $80,000 worth of television and radio advertising in the closing days of the Pennsylvania Presidential primary election campaign, and may be able to increase the figure to more than $100,000, sources in the Udall campaign organization said today.

However, the Arizona Congressman, frustrated by an inability to throw more funds into the fight, suggested that today that Congressional Democrats who favored Senator Hubert H. Humphrey for the nomination and Republicans who support President Ford had perhaps deliberately delayed passage of legislation to reconstitute the Federal Election Commission, which is now in a state of legal limbo.

If Mr. Udall is able to reach the higher figure of $100,000 for political advertising in Pennsylvania, he would be spending about two-thirds of the expected "media campaign" to be purchased by Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Goergia.

More Udall Money

A recent direct-mail appeal for funds has already begun to bring a modest flow of money into Udall headquarters in Washington, with $8,000 counted on Tuesday and more funds arriving yesterday. These will be added to already budgeted funds.

However, Mr. Udall, a liberal, is less known by name, face and philosophy in this sprawling state, which will hold its primary on Tuesday, than either Mr. Carter or Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, his rivals for the Democratic nomination.

Mr. Udall, hurt by his inability to collect $290,000 in Federal matching funds from the election commission lashed out at Congress twice today for what he called its "irresponsibility" and "shabby" behavior in failing to reconstitute the agency. The commission cannot dispense Federal matching funds because of Congress's failure to pass legislation which would meet the Supreme Court standards for the appointment of commission members.

In Washington this morning, Mr. Udall told a breakfast meeting of the Washington Press Club that he was "awfully suspicious" of Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, Republican leader of the Senate, and his role in Congressional delay on passing such campaign legislation.

Sees Anti-Reagan Move

He suggested that Senator Scott and others, who backed President Ford, believe that further delay in the allocation of Federal matching funds would hurt Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor, who opposes Mr. Ford.

But Mr. Udall also had criticism for Democrats who had contributed to the delay.

"The Democrats were among those who participated in the delay," he said, adding that Senator Humphrey, an unannounced but available candidate for the nomination, had the most to gain among Democrats by the drying up of Federal matching funds during the primary.

Meanwhile, Mr. Carter stepped up his attacks on Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, one of a number of Democratic leaders in the state who are supporting Senator Jackson in the primary.

While campaigning in western Pennsylvania yesterday, Mr. Carter said he was proud that another Mayor, Peter F. Flaherty of Pittsburgh, was supporting him because Mr. Flaherty "doesn't run up $80 million deficits and close down hospitals and inflate the public payroll with political patronage." "I'm just as happy to do without the endorsement of the Mayor who does all those things, Frank Rizzo," he added.

'Autocratic Nature'

Today, as he moved his campaign into the Philadelphia area, Mr. Carter said Mr. Rizzo "represents the kind of politics I can't deal with." "I think the voters are likely to react and rebel against the autocratic nature of his politics," he added.

He said his campaingn headquarters had received threatening telephone calls from persons who accused the Carter campaign of being a part of a recall movement under way in Philadelphia against Mr. Rizzio. Mr. Carter denied he was part of any such movement.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall, appearing together this afternoon in a television debate, clashed on the issue of busing to achieve school desegregation. Mr. Carter said he opposed mandatory ing but favored a voluntary plan.

Mr. Udall, while expressing his own lack of enthusiasm for busing, said it was imrortant to uphold constitutional rights for equal treatment in education and added, "You'll get about as much volunteer busing in South Boston and Dorchester [Mass.] as you'll get volunteer observance of Yom Kippur in Cairo."

Electorates View on Selected Issues

(Based on the April New York Times/CBS News Poll of 1,464 People)

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
The federal government should see to it that every person who wants to work has a job.			
Agree	78%	65%	58%
Disagree	18	29	38
Most welfare programs should be eliminated.			
Agree	34	38	42
Disagree	54	50	46
It is not in our interest to be so friendly with Russia because we are giving more than we are getting.			
Agree	61	55	63
Disagree	26	29	29
In general, the government has paid too much attention to the problems of blacks and other minorities.			
Agree	43	47	50
Disagree	47	45	39
The federal government must have a more balanced budget even if that means spending less money on programs for such things as health and education.			
Agree	38	44	57
Disagree	53	49	35
We should elect someone who has spent most of his political career outside of Washington.			
Agree	38	48	42
Disagree	49	37	42
Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has made too many concessions which have hurt the American position in the world.			
Agree	55	46	43
Disagree	32	39	46

The New York Times/April 23, 1976

How Election Poll Was Conducted

The New York Times/CBS News survey is based on telephone interviews conducted from April 10 to April 15 with 1,464 adult men and women across the continental United States.

The phone numbers called were selected by a computer from a complete list of United States phone numbers. They were chosen at random in such a way as to insure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its numbers in the population. Each residential phone in the country had an equal chance of being called.

The results shown have been weighted by household size, race, sex, religion, age and education. This weighting procedure safeguards against possible distortion caused by the fact that certain groups are harder to reach than others in surveys of this type.

In theory, a sample of this size is large enough to say with 95 percent certainty that the overall results differ by no more than 3 percent in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Americans of voting age. The results for Democrats or Republicans alone may err by 4 percent. However, the margin of error is probably somewhat larger because of various practical difficulties inherent in taking any survey of public opinion.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of Harvard University.

Changing Composition of Candidate Support

(Based on New York Times/CBS News Polls in February, March and April)

(In Percent)	All Democrats			Carter			Jackson			Udall			Wallace			Humphrey*			All Republicans			Ford			Reagan		
	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.
Ideology																											
Liberal	29	29	31	10	58	46	16	22	18	4	7	16	21	6	11	33	46	43	12	13	12	59	82	54	30	17	42
Moderate	42	41	35	17	40	43	19	27	21	2	6	6	21	14	15	27	42	48	35	32	30	58	70	70	28	34	25
Conservative	21	29	28	10	43	52	7	21	18	4	2	5	43	21	13	21	35	48	49	55	51	48	60	51	38	50	39
Religion																											
Protestant	54	55	57	13	46	52	14	24	16	3	5	6	27	14	16	28	36	43	76	74	80	55	64	60	29	29	31
Catholic	32	33	35	7	43	44	14	25	18	3	6	13	29	15	10	30	48	50	17	17	15	57	67	43	31	30	53
Jewish	3	3	5	39	37	15	32	40	52	2	12	12	0	0	4	15	41	39	2	1	1	56	79	78	11	21	22
Occupation																											
Professional and Managerial	**	22	43	**	50	53	**	25	18	**	8	8	**	7	12	**	37	41	**	33	32	**	64	58	**	31	34
Other White Collar		9	21		64	38		13	19		2	2		13	15		40	45		10	37		57	52		40	41
Blue Collar		45	12		42	46		28	14		4	4		14	17		38	58		31	7		66	68		31	30
Age																											
18-29	27	25	35	10	49	48	10	16	14	3	6	15	38	16	11	23	36	34	21	27	20	55	68	66	39	31	31
30-44	31	23	21	11	54	47	11	13	14	2	5	9	30	16	14	30	37	37	28	25	26	47	64	57	40	30	38
45-64	29	34	36	11	43	44	17	26	22	3	4	6	18	15	17	28	45	55	28	29	35	54	59	48	27	34	41
65 and over	13	19	18	19	30	50	17	43	23	2	7	3	30	5	13	35	45	53	22	20	19	61	74	62	21	16	23
Education																											
Less than High School	28	40	43	12	38	52	11	31	18	0	3	2	36	13	18	26	41	44	18	36	29	66	71	51	16	23	34
High School Grad	35	37	36	9	47	44	15	21	21	5	5	10	25	16	12	34	42	50	32	31	38	49	64	62	37	30	34
Some College	20	13	13	11	52	41	18	15	14	1	8	16	21	14	10	27	43	37	22	16	16	49	64	59	35	32	32
College Grad	17	10	9	29	52	40	14	17	15	9	12	22	12	6	7	21	33	46	28	16	17	48	58	53	44	35	40
Race																											
White	85	81	81	12	43	45	15	25	18	3	6	8	28	15	15	26	41	42	96	94	95	55	65	57	31	30	34
Black	12	16	11	16	52	66	14	19	20	1	1	7	11	4	4	42	41	69	2	4	3	62	82	68	38	0	16

*Not an announced candidate, but included in the Presidential preference question not asked in survey **Figures not available

The New York Times/April 23, 1976

Respondents were asked to choose among declared candidates, and then asked to choose again with Senator Humphrey added. Chart uses answers from first question, so figures add up to more than 100 percent.

H. H. H. Underground

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON, April 22 — Maybe Hubert H. Humphrey can win the Democratic Presidential nomination by following his present strategy, but if so it is hard to see how he could unify the Democratic Party and go on to defeat President Ford—if he is the Republican nominee—in the fall campaign.

The Humphrey phenomenon began with the notion that no single leader could emerge from the big Democratic field, under new Democratic rules, so that a divided, deadlocked convention would need to nominate a respected and experienced party elder as a choice acceptable to all factions.

As the campaign has developed, however, two things have gone wrong with that "scenario." First, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, although he has by no means run away from the field, has emerged as enough of a front-runner so that a discernible "stop Carter" movement has formed.

The other development is that Mr. Humphrey, in addition to being the obvious beneficiary of the "stop Carter" movement, is in fact playing the major role in it. In so doing, he is not only helping to "stop" Mr. Carter, if that can be done; he seems to be undercutting the candidacies of Senator Henry Jackson and Representative Morris Udall as well.

Just recently, as reported by R. W. Apple of The New York Times, Mr. Humphrey took his big name and his party connections to Indiana and packed the house for a Democratic Party fund-raiser. That was bound to make the lesser-known Senator Jackson look bad—and it did when he came to Indianapolis the next night and drew only a modest audience. Earlier, in New York, where Jackson had pitched his major effort, he had to intervene personally with Mr. Humphrey to keep the eager "non-candidate" from making a major political appearance in Buffalo—which also could have hurt Mr. Jackson in an area where he needed help instead.

In Wisconsin, where Representative Udall was fighting to stay alive in this campaign, Mr. Humphrey was widely reported to have urged Humphrey backers to help Mr. Udall as part of the "stop Carter" strategy. Mr. Udall played along, and even suggested to those who preferred Mr. Humphrey that their best bet was a Udall vote. Whatever either man intended, the net effect of this collusion was to make Mr. Udall look like a Humphrey stalking-horse rather than a bona fide candidate in his own right.

Now, in Pennsylvania, Senator Jackson's candidacy is undergoing the same process of erosion from underneath. The labor union leaders of that state, heavily committed to Mr. Jackson, openly admit—with no known protest from Mr. Humphrey—that they actually prefer H.H.H. and are supporting Mr. Jackson only as a "stop Carter" expedient. All this may cause some Democrats to remember the complaints by backers of Senator Edmund S. Muskie that Mr. Humphrey never really gave their man the clear shot he had promised him in 1972.

The fact is that Mr. Humphrey now is anything but the benevolent "elder statesman above the battle" who once could be envisioned as a compromise acceptable to all in the event of a deadlocked convention. Instead, he is in the battle up to his ears, albeit clandestinely. He is the man, more than any other, who will have brought about the deadlock, if it should in fact develop; and he will have been instrumental in barring, not just Mr. Carter, but Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall also from a clear chance at victory in the primaries. And he will have done none of this in straight tests of strength with his rivals.

IN THE NATION

If Mr. Humphrey wins the Democratic nomination in such a fashion, supporters of the forthright candidates are not likely to be wildly enthusiastic about supporting him against Mr. Ford. Many of Mr. Carter's backers, in particular, are shown by a New York Times/CBS poll to be potential Ford voters if Mr. Carter is eliminated. A Humphrey nomination without primary competition inevitably will evoke memories of 1968, when he also won without running in the primaries.

Even with the advantages of incumbency, moreover, Mr. Ford has been willing to take his chances in every primary Ronald Reagan has contested. What, then, gives Hubert Humphrey stature to stay out and win by indirection what he might well not be able to win openly? And might not millions of voters remember next fall that it was Gerald Ford who won his nomination through competition and Hubert Humphrey who did it in the backrooms of the "old politics"?

It is still possible, until April 25, to enter the Nebraska and Idaho primaries, and until April 29 to sign up for New Jersey. If Mr. Humphrey were truly "above the battle" and passively awaiting his party's emergency call, he would be obliged to stay out of them as he has all the others. Since he has emerged as an active candidate and a major contender, he might help his party and his name if he put the latter on the line in these last-ditch primaries.

WEATHER
Fair and warm. Details on Page 7D.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Vol. 94, No. 52 ★★★★★ P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302. Friday Evening, April 23, 1976 C 88 Pages, 5 Sections

PENNSYLVANIA PRIMARY

Carter Win Likely Without Black Vote

By ANDREW J. GLASS

PHILADELPHIA — A tide of black votes that helped Jimmy Carter to several early triumphs does not seem to be running Carter's way in Pennsylvania's presidential primary.

All indications still point to a major Carter victory in this state's pivotal election next Tuesday. Yet, this time, the Georgian is likely to win without in-depth support among Pennsylvania's numerous black Democrats.

Interviews with black leaders and dozens of ordinary voters reveal the shift away from Carter among blacks does not rest on his now-infamous "ethnic purity" statement — although the remark failed to bolster Carter's cause among blacks here.

In previous primaries, Carter has run well ahead of his presidential rivals in black areas. The Joint Center for Political Studies at Howard University in Washington found that in Boston, Carter won 42 per cent of the black vote; in 46 black districts in Florida, Carter won 70 per cent and in seven Chicago black wards, Carter bested his opponent, Sargent Shriver, 48 to 31 per cent.

One reason Carter may not do well among blacks in Pennsylvania is their concerns focus on such matters as jobs, income and gaining political muscle-power. In such a climate, Carter's often-stated themes of love, compassion, decency and brotherhood could hold less sway.

Thus, this city's well-organized civil servants, who are mainly black, are lining up with Mayor Frank Rizzo behind delegate slates friendly to Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington. The alliance is based in part on a handsome wage settlement which the union reached with the mayor shortly before Rizzo's re-election last November.

Many black leaders here view Jackson as the means of bringing Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota into the Democratic nomination race. And Humphrey, in turn, is revered by a lot of blacks in Philadelphia. In 1972, the black vote (40 per cent of Philadelphia Democrats) was mainly responsible, along with labor, for Humphrey's 35 per cent first-place finish in the state.

Mack Walters, a postal union leader who had come to hear Carter speak, said: "Personally, I like the man. But if the choice were between Hubert and Jimmy, I'd have to go with Humphrey because he's a friend of labor. And I must admit that I worry about the wage settlements in (Carter's) peanut plant in Georgia."

Carter, the candidate from the peanut farm and the one-time governor, sought to offset such frequently stated concerns by spending a full three hours Thursday night at a dinner given for him by Samuel Evans, executive director of the American Foundation of Negro Affairs. Evans gathered virtually everyone in the black Philadelphia establishment not already firmly attached to Jackson or to Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona — who is also making a major bid for black support.

The candidate reminded the audience that he had been endorsed earlier in the day by Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson. A letter was read from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. which said, in part, "We are with Jimmy Carter even when the road to the White House has a few bumps in it. It is wrong to jump on a man for a slip of the tongue."

But "Daddy King's" appeal holds little clout with K. Leroy Irvis, majority leader of the Pennsylvania House and one of the most powerful blacks in state politics.

United Press International

PRESIDENTIAL HOPEFULS JIMMY CARTER (L) AND MORRIS UDALL (R)
Both Feel They Will Finish Ahead of Sen. Henry Jackson in Pennsylvania Primary

Irvis, who was not at the Carter dinner, said while he hadn't made up his mind on how he would vote, one thing was certain: "It won't be Carter." He added:

"I think Carter is personally charming. But we're playing for real stakes. Intellectually, I like Udall. He is a consistent and a decent man. But, realistically, he isn't going anywhere. That means we're left with no horse, unless Hubert Humphrey gets moving.

"I like Humphrey because he was for civil rights and human decency for a long time. He spoke about equality before it became popular to do so. He's a man of courage and charisma."

At the Thursday dinner, Carter did all he could to identify his campaign with the concerns of the predominately black audience. When Richard Nixon assumed the Presidency in 1969, Carter noted, many blacks felt a sense of despair and lost hope "because they felt nobody cared about them."

Carter obviously cares. Yet many Pennsylvania blacks who know little more about Carter than what they have seen on their television sets know that Hubert Humphrey — the man whom Nixon beat that year — had once cared very much for their votes and that he could be seeking their votes again before the 1976 presidential campaign is over.

Carter, Jackson in Contrast

Pittsburgh

THE TOUGH and practical men of big business who slipped unobtrusively from Jimmy Carter's suite in the William Penn Hotel Tuesday evening were barely able to suppress fascination for the onetime peanut farmer.

"We think he's got the best chance of any Democrat to be nominated, and so naturally when you are asked to meet the next possible president you say, yes," one of them told us. "There is plenty we don't like about Jerry Ford," he added.

Saying yes were presidents and executive vice presidents of U.S. Steel, Westinghouse, Allegheny Ludlum, Alcoa, National Steel, the Mellon Bank, Jones & Laughlin, Koppers and other corporate giants — about 20 executives in all, only two of whom were Democrats.

If the invitation for the nonfund-raising chat with a possible future president had come from Sen. Henry M. Jackson — Carter's main rival in next Tuesday's presidential primary — instead of Carter, the hotel suite might have looked empty.

"We wouldn't do this for Scoop," one industrial mogul told us. "He's prostituted himself for labor."

That Carter event, which the former Georgia governor's campaign staff failed to include on his schedule, capsuled some of the political razzmatazz that has marked so much of Carter's daredevil campaign for the presidential nomination. For at 7 a.m. the next morning, there was smiling Jimmy Carter shaking hundreds of hands at the plant gate of U.S. Steel's huge Homestead plant here, handing out literature promising that if elected he would sign the common-situs picketing bill (vetoed by President Ford) and a repeal of Taft-Hartley's right-to-work section. Both are anathema to corporate America.

Moreover, in the face of strong support for Jackson from the entire bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO Steel Workers Union — a dominant political force in this steel capital of the world — Carter's presence at the plant gate seemed to demonstrate conclusively that, in the antiorganization politics and culture of today, rank-and-file, blue-collar workers are taking direction from no one.

"A majority of us here are voting for the man any more, not the politician the union says to vote for," a stamper of steel shapes told us on his way to work. The sentiment became repetitive.

Thus, following his surprising heart-to-heart talk with not unsympathetic titans of industry, Carter went to the workers they pay, over the heads of the union bosses, and doubly verified the political truth on which his camp is based: political office is more vulnerable than ever to capture by a resourceful, imaginative campaigning that exploits the skepticisms and the decay of power in almost all organizations.

But while Carter has designed just such a strategy, Jackson seems inescapably tied to the old. Monday, there was little imagination in a morning of campaigning at the antiquated Frankfurt Arsenal, a federal installation now under death sentence, which he promised to salvage if elected president. Those who saw Jackson were almost certainly already part of his own constituency, and the guide who took him around for the benefit of TV cameras was a uniformed Army colonel — an association Jackson does not need.

Hence, some usually astute politicians are saying that if it weren't for the support of the steel workers, most other unions and virtually all wings of the divided Philadelphia Democratic party, Jackson would not have a chance.

In truth, however, the mere fact that Jackson is so publicly backed by so many once-powerful organizations may prove to be an albatross, not a blessing. That was clearly hinted by Carter's surprising success with both Republican big business and Democratic steel workers here. Indeed, with both Rep. Morris Udall and Gov. George Wallace dropping far off the pace, the contrasting campaigns of Carter and Jackson in the all-important popular vote or "beauty contest" portion of this Tuesday's primary election, threatens to catch Jackson at a dangerous low point.

ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK

The snickers that Jackson is only Humphrey's stand-in are, of course, part of his problem — but a small part. His real problem is the abysmal failure of his campaign to get out of its pedestrian rut, while Carter cavorts on the field with an eye-boggling demonstration of broken-field running. — (c1976.)

Washington Star April 22

All of the Signs Point to Carter In Pennsylvania

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PITTSBURGH — Barring a sharp reversal of form, Jimmy Carter should win the Pennsylvania primary next Tuesday.

The signs that political scouts use to forecast elections point in that direction.

Carter, riding the momentum of six victories in the first eight primaries, has been gaining prominent adherents daily in the late stages of the primary campaign. Yesterday, for example, as he toured a coal mine with Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. at his side, Carter won the endorsement of Joseph (Chip) Yablonski Jr., a son of the slain leader of the United Mine Workers.

OTHERS SEEMED on the brink of commitment. His traveling party in the last 24 hours included Sander Levin, a premiere leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic party in Michigan and the 1974 gubernatorial candidate there. Levin said he was still weighing a decision on joining Carter, but he was obviously leaning that way.

There were strong indications, too, of self-doubt in the camps of his two opponents here, Henry M. Jackson and Morris K. Udall.

For example, Mary Ann Olson, the western Pennsylvania coordinator for Udall, was telling reporters her candidate still has a recognition problem in Pennsylvania with only six days remaining. "We are just trying to make them aware of Mo," he said.

And, although Jackson's managers still professsed optimism, they were admitting privately that they were concerned about their lack of control over those on whom Jackson is relying — the organization of Mayor Frank L. Rizzo in Philadelphia and organized labor in Pittsburgh and the other population centers of western Pennsylvania.

TERRY O'CONNELL, a highly regarded young professional from Washington, said there were signs Carter has been slipping in the last few days. But the people Jackson has been depending on — from unions to the regular party organizations — were becoming increasingly outspoken in telling one and all that their commitment to the Democrat from Washington is limited.

See CARTER, A-8

CARTER

Continued From A-1

One problem with labor is the internal situation within several key unions. For example, I.W. Abel, the president of the United Steelworkers of America, has endorsed Jackson but is not pushing his candidacy hard within the union because he is also involved in intra-union politics.

Beyond this, the union men are conceding that there are limits on the amount of the vote they can channel to any single candidate.

They were pointing out, for example, that in 1972 the combined vote for George Wallace exceeded that for Hubert Humphrey in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County despite the priority given Humphrey's campaign.

THIS YEAR Humphrey is not on the ballot, but he is still a major factor plaguing Jackson at every turn. Union leaders are saying privately and on national television that their support for Jackson is really intended as a holding action to give the nomination to Humphrey in the end.

Still another factor contributing to the picture of Carter gaining strength is campaign money. The 51-year-old Georgian has raised about $300,000 for the final 120 days here, half of which he is using on media advertising. This is about twice as much as either of his opponents have for that purpose.

Carter also has employed a professional telephone canvassing operation while Jackson and Udall are dependent upon scattered banks of amateurs to make their calls. And neither camp has any genuine control over the telephone operations.

PERHAPS THE single most important element, however, in the growing consensus that Carter will win here is the extraordinary celebrity he has acheived on the strength of his earlier victories and the national attention they have earned from the news media.

Carter is now a candidate who can draw an instant crowd simply by walking through the streets, something neither Jackson nor Udall has yet to achieve.

Udall's position seems particularly tenuous. His campaign managers are writing scenarios that would allow him to survive until the national convention, even if he finishes a weak third here, which is precisely what most professionals expect.

Jackson, who began the Pennsylvania campaign with such great expectations, is now being forced to measure the results here in terms of the 134 delegates that will be chosen next Tuesday rather than by the popular vote that will be cast in the preferential primary, or "beauty contest."

But — privately at least — Jackson's managers are conceding that a loss in the popular vote will be devastating to their hopes of continuing a viable camapign until the July 12 convention in New York.

M

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/24 thru 4/26

Democratic candidates at television studio in Philadelphia are, from left: Senator Henry M. Jackson, Senator Frank Church, Representative Morris K. Udall, Jimmy Carter, and, in foreground, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

B

News Summary and Index

MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

On the second anniversary of the overthrow of a long dictatorship, the Portuguese voted for a National Assembly yesterday. The voting was expected to be close. The first, partial returns from conservative rural centers showed substantial gains for the rightist Social Democratic Center and the centrist Popular Democratic Party. The Socialist Party was expected to pick up votes in urban areas and to win by a narrow margin. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Sirens called North and South Vietnamese voters to polling places to elect a joint National Assembly, the divided country's first unified government in 30 years. The Assembly will have no opposition members, the real power remaining with the Politburo of the Workers' Party in Hanoi. [1:7.]

A detailed and candid account of the Vietnam war's final battles by North Vietnam's Chief of Staff says that Hanoi's leaders did not expect their offensive last year to lead to complete victory and that they were surprised by the speed of Saigon's collapse. Gen. Van Tien Dung, the Chief of Staff, said that when hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese troops and civilians fled in panic from Pleiku in the Central Highlands, beginning the rout, he was almost incredulous. Hanoi's Politburo and top generals, he said, had planned only a series of attacks that would set the stage for a general offensive and uprising in 1976 to "completely liberate South Vietnam." The general's report is being serialized by two of Hanoi's official newspapers and apparently is being published to coincide with the first anniversary of the Communists' triumphant entry into Saigon last April 30 and with yesterday's elections in North and South Vietnam for a unified national assembly. [1:5.]

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger met with the heads of state of both Kenya and Tanzania on the first full day of his African tour. In his airport statements on arrival and departure, Mr. Kissinger sought to establish a tone of modest expectations for his tour. He repeated several times that he had gone to Africa to learn the views of its leaders to help him formulate a comprehensive United States policy on Africa. [1:4.]

National

Monopoly-like control by physicians and "passive" patients who generally do not question doctors' orders or medical costs are pushing health-care costs up at a record speed, the President's Council on Wage and Price Stability said in a report. "The nature and extent of services provided is usually determined by the physician in a transaction in which the patient is often a passive participant," the report said, giving this as one of the possible causes for soaring health costs, which last year totaled $118.5 billion, 40 percent of it paid for by Federal, state and local governments. The reasons why medical costs are so high will be examined at public hearings to be held around the country by the council this spring. [1:5-7.]

Jimmy Carter, regarded as the front-runner in the Pennsylvania primary tomorrow, was attacked by Senator Henry M. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall and their political allies, who hope to defeat him, as being unsympathetic to organized labor and blacks. Mr. Carter continued to express confidence that he would win, but he said that "machine politics" was a powerful factor in Pennsylvania, and that if there was a "very poor voter turnout, I may not come in first." [1:2-3.]

Metropolitan

The State Department of Environmental Conservation believes that it may cost more than $20 million to cleanse the upper Hudson River of toxic chemical PCB's, and it plans to ask the General Electric Company, which was found guilty of violating the state's water quality standards, to pay "the entire cost of cleaning up the river it has damaged." [1:1.]

Key officials seeking to restore balance to the city's fiscal affairs believe that despite such improvements as an increase in accounting honesty, New York City's current austerity plan eventually may have to be bolstered by as much as $500 million in additional financing. They also express increasingly grave concern about the city's basic economy. [1:2-3.]

The Regional Plan Association, a private, nonprofit research and planning agency, said that Times Square and the convention center proposed for the city needed each other. The center needs the mix of theaters, restaurants and hotels in the Times Square area, the association's president said. [42:1-2.]

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The New York Times

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Two Rivals Attack Carter On Labor and Black Issues

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 25 — Senator Henry M. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall and their political allies today attacked Jimmy Carter, their rival for the Democratic Presidential nomination, as being unsympathetic to organized labor and blacks.

Mr. Carter, two days before Pennsylvania's crucial Presidential primary, continued to express confidence that he had the greatest popularity in this large and heterogeneous state. But the former Governor of Georgia said that "machine politics" was a powerful factor here, and that if there was a "very poor voter turnout, I may not come in first."

Mr. Carter, Senator Jackson of Washington, Representative Udall of Arizona and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama are entered in the primary, which will indicate the popular preference of the voters. It will also lead to the selection of 134 national convention delegates in a separate process.

Forty-four other national convention delegates will be selected later.

These four candidates and Senator Frank Church of Idaho, a late entrant in the Presidential race who is not on the Pennsylviana ballot, met on ABC's "Issues and Answers"

Continued on Page 19, Column 1

CARTER ATTACKED BY 2 OF HIS RIVALS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

program today and then fanned out to pursue their separate campaign strategies.

Mr. Carter, believed by many to be the front-runner, was a principal target today. Senator Jackson accused him of anti-labor bias and of favoring so-called "right to work" laws, which siphon jobs from Northern industrial states to the South and of sweatshop treatment of Mr. Carter's own employees in a Georgia peanut processing plant.

Black supporters of Mr. Udall expressed their approval of the Arizona Congressman. They also accused Mr. Carter of a "hostility, or, at best, an indifference to black Americans.

Mr. Carter said that there would be popular resentment if a "brokered" Democratic National Convention denied a clear favorite the nomination, and that this could cause a "very severe handicap" to the party in November.

However, he said that it would be "o.k." if the convention turned to someone else if, when it convened, there were still amny uncommitted delegates. And he said that he would "support the nominee openly and aggressively if I should not be it."

Although it may make little difference in the outcome, the level of emotion seemed to rise today in what has often been dscribed as a dull Presidential contest.

On the ABC interview show, Senator Jackson and Mr. Carter started a heated colloquy.

Accusing Mr. Carter of less than full enthusiasm for repealing a provision of Federal law that permits states such as Georgia to prohibit union shops, Mr. Jackson said such "right-to work" laws were encouraging a flight of industry from such states as Pennsylvania to the South.

Mr. Carter's usual calm seemed disturbed as he said that it was "absolutely ridiculous" to blame unemployment in Pennsylvania on a Federal law passed in 1948. He contended that, while the South had at one time been a magnet for poorly paid labor, national corporations operating in the South now paid wages comparable to those in the North.

"Surely, you are not saying, Governor, that wages for comparable work are the same?" Mr. Jackson asked, his voice rising. When Mr. Carter answered in the affirmative, Mr. Jackson exclaimed "Oh," in a dramatic tone. A television reporter cut short the exchange, but not before Mr. Jackson asked, "How much do you pay in your plant?"

Udall Criticizes Ford

Mr. Udall accused President Ford of "aiding and abetting" Congress in delaying passage of legislation to reconstitute the the Federal Election Commission, which is now unable to dispense Federal matching funds for Presidential candidates.

Later in the day, Mr. Udall appeared with black and write supporters who endorsed his candidacy. Despite the strong support Mr. Carter has enjoyed up to now among black voters, he was attacked by Mr. Udall's friends.

Julian Bond, the state senator from Georgia, said that he found a "loosening and shallowness" in Mr. Carter's support within the black community across the country. He said that positions taken by Mr. Carter displayed a "hostility, or at best, an indifference," to the black community.

Charles Bowser, a liberal black leader in Philadelphia, called Mr. Carter "a dangerous man to have in the White House." He said that a recent statement here by Mr. Carter that almost no one in Ameica would deny someone a job on grounds of racial or sexual discrimination was "absolutely ridiculous."

In the joint television appearance, Mr. Carter's controversial remarks on the preservation of the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods was raised again. Mr. Carter said that he should have used the words "ethnic character" rather than purity, but did not retreat from the general sentiments he had originally expressed.

"Government ought not to take the posture or goal of deliberately destroying the ethnic character of a neighborhood," he said. "Gut I certainly would fight for the right of anyone who wanted to move into a neighborhood to have the chance to do so."

Mr. Carter said that to him the two ideas "are not incompatible," and added, "I see nothing wrong with a neighborhood having a general ethnic character with the same churches and the same general restaurants and the same general social clubs."

Senator Jackson and Representative Udall expressed support for Federal subsidies and other programs to promote residential integration. Mr. Udall said, "We've got to get a commitment to this, or we're going to be in real trouble."

In a separate appearance on a local television program on black issues, Mr. Udall said that he could "forgive" Mr. Carter's use of the words "ethnic purity," because everyone in politics uses an unfortunate choice of words at times. But, he added, this spontaneous wording by Mr. Carter was followed later, under press questioning, by the use of such phrases as "black intrusion" and alien influences in white and prosperous neighborhoods.

Candidates Find Time to Visit 6-Hour Radio Talk Show

10

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 23—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington dropped in on Roy Fox this evening for 45 minutes. Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia spent an hour with him on Wednesday. Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama spent an hour that night with Mr. Fox's neighbor, John Cigna. And Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona would have done the same yesterday if his plane had not been delayed.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Cigna are popular radio "talkmasters" who hold forth for six continuous hours six nights a week (with time out for Pittsburgh Pirates night games) on radio station KDKA. The world they inhabit, the fabled "radioland," is an American subculture all its own, with voluble talk show hosts serving as lightning rods to pull in the opinions, emotions, obsessions, grievances, whims and arguments of a large audience, which keeps their telephone lines jammed while they are on the air.

As the Presidential candidates have become increasingly hard up for funds to broadcast their carefully contrived commercials, radioland has come to look like an oasis in a desert, a chance for sustained exposure that is generally beyond their reach.

In Search of 'Visuals'

In a normal campaign day, a candidate will spend an hour or more in search of good "visuals," going down mine shafts or to the top of skyscrapers in the hope of getting a minute on local television newscasts. On the TV networks, it is regarded as a breakthrough when four or five minutes can be devoted to a profile of a Presidential candidate.

The minutes not only come easily in radioland, but they are also unpredictable and spontaneous. In Pittsburgh this week, they added up to as searching an examination as any that the candidates have been exposed to so far.

The questions mostly came from listeners. Mr. Fox led off this evening with Senator Jackson by asking about his flap with Vice President Rockefeller, who has neither supported nor withdrawn off-the-record accusations he allegedly made about Communist penetration of the Washington Democrat's staff.

The listeners took over, asking questions that dwelled on issues and attitudes, unlike the questions asked at ordinary news conferences, which generally dwell on the mechanics of the campaign, the cross-fire of accusations among rivals and the handicapping of results.

At Ease on Radio

Mr. Jackson, who tends to be defensive or truculent in news conference settings and whose platform manner is generally characterized as wooden, seemed at ease and even to be enjoying his conversations with the listeners.

Freed from the pressure to be quotable and concise, he managed to display his grasp of a broad range of questions—inflation and unemployment, the future of the space program and the prospects for energy independence—without sounding solemn and senatorial or seeming to lecture.

The psychic atmosphere that surrounds radio talk shows became highly charged only when the subject turned to religion. Without referring specifically to Mr. Carter, a Southern Baptist and lay evangelist who said he had a "conversion experience" after he was defeated in his first attempt to become Governor in 1966, a listener asked Mr. Jackson how he felt about Christian "rebirth" and whether he himself had gone through a similar experience.

"I'm a Presbyterian," the Senator began, "and I don't know whether Presbyterians are allowed to be reborn." The remark was greeted by a burst of approving laughter from Mr. Fox.

A Verbal Salvo

Mr. Jackson went on to say that he had been a Sunday school teacher, that the country was deeply religious and, in a verbal salvo apparently aimed at the former Georgia Governor, he added that the most religious people were generally those who did not talk about it.

What ensued was an illustration of the unseen perils that radioland holds for candidates. Every radio talk show has an established context of its own, which may be far removed from the political campaign.

Listeners to KDKA this week have had little or nothing to say about the candidates when they were not on the air, but they have been vehemently debating a range of religious questions: Should nuns have to wear habits? Should churches be taxed? Did the Jews initiate the death of Christ?

Christian rebirth had also been under discussion, not because of Mr. Carter but because of a visit by Charles Colson, the one-time aide to President Nixon and author of "Born Again."

Religious Debate

As Mr. Jackson was leaving the KDKA studio, Mr. Cigna started off his show by asking why anyone should think it wrong to talk openly about religious experiences. In an instant, the buttons on his telephone extensions were lit up with calls from listeners wanting to respond.

The debate raged for the better part of two hours, and it was mostly unfavorable to Senator Jackson. "If a man is running for President, I don't think he should be afraid to say, 'I believe in God,'" a listener commented.

"Let us not assume that Mr. Jackson is not a man of God," cautioned Mr. Cigna, who had started it all, "Mr. Jackson may be a man of God just like anyone else."

The callers were those who care deeply about the subject. The reaction of the audience—which, in the case of KDKA, a 50,000-watt station, extends far across the nation—remained anyone's guess. But it should be of passing concern to the Jackson campaign since, according to audience surveys, 436,000 persons in the Pittsburgh area turn in on KDKA's talk shows each week.

Mr. Cigna, a graduate of Andrew Jackson High School in Queens, explains his method of provoking discussion by saying, "I like to pull a chain."

Provoking Discussion

He would not endorse a candidate on the air, he says, but he feels free to take issue with anything a candidate says. Thus, in recent weeks he has backed Ronald Reagan on the Panama Canal, defended Mr. Carter on his remark about "ethnic purity," and described Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama as the candidate least likely to "waver in the breeze."

But Mr. Cigna says he does not think that there is much mileage in politics for radio talk shows. "There's great apathy out there," he said. "I like to hit issues that hit people on the streets. I don't hit them with 'Hey, what do you think of Jimmy Carter?' because I know there won't be much of a response."

According to his producer, Leanne Heaton, there was more spontaneous discussion of the campaign at the time of the New Hampshire primary two months ago than there is now in its final days here in Pennsylvania. "Probably people are bored," she said. "They want to reach out for something new."

Political broadcasting and commercial broadcasting were simultaneously invented at KDKA. The first station in the nation, it went on the air 56 years ago with the returns of the Harding-Cox race.

VOTE OUTLAY CUT IN PENNSYLVANIA

19

3 Democrats Are Limited by Freeze on Federal Funds and Contribution Rules

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPPHIA, April 25—The three active Democratic candidates in the crucial Pennsylvania primary, taken together, will spend less than half the limit the new campaign law imposes on a single candidate running in the state.

In a striking illustration of how the political money shortage has gone far beyond Congressional intentions in holding down the expense of 1976 campaiging, Jimmy Carter is investing only about $300,000 here, Senator Henry M. Jackson up to $250,000 and Representative Morris K. Udall perhaps $150,000.

Any one of them, under the 1974 campaign law, could have spent up to $1,460,000 to win Tuesday's Presidential primary, but, because of new limits on the size of political contributions and a freeze on Federal primary subsidies for the last month, the money is not there.

Actual spending on behalf of Senator Jackson may run considerably higher than his official Pennsylvania budget, since a coalition of labor unions and Democratic party regulars is financing an independent get-out-the-vote drive. But its size and effectiveness remain uncertain.

No One Holding Back

In a contest that could eliminate one or even two of the contenders, no one is holding back fuds for future primaries. The latest financial reports indicate that all three campaigns are in marginal financial condition, with Mr. Carter's finances emergig for the first time as the most promising.

In the month of March, Mr. Carter, capitalizing on his early primary victories, was able to raise more than $600,000 in private contributions while Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall were taking in a little over $350,000 each.

The Federal Election Commission is now prepared to authorize $315,000 in campaign subsidies for Mr. Carter if the current freeze is ended. The comparable figures, which represent equal matching funds for the first $250 of all private contributions, are $163,000 for Mr. Udall and $158,000 for Mr. Jackson.

No subsidies have been approved since March 23, when the commission lost most of its authority under a January Supreme Court ruling that held it had been improperly constituted. Legislation to restore the subsidy power is still before Congress, and enactment is unlikely before early May.

Financial managers for the three active Democratic candidates agreed that if they had the subsidy money available for Pennsylvania, they would have invested initially in more television and radio advertising. The news media budgets for the primary were $160,000 for Mr. Carter, $60,000 for Mr. Udall and $57,000 for Mr. Jackson.

By contrast, Milton J. Shapp spent $300,000 on radio and television in Pennsylvania in the last two weeks of his successful 1966 primary campaign for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Two types of outside assistance may benefit Senator Jackson. One involves the legal right of labor unions to spend their treasury funds to "communicate" with their members on any subject—in this instance to urge them to vote for Mr. Jackson through posters, leaflets, messages from telephone banks and door-to-door canvasses.

Under present law, there is no limit on such spending, and it need not be reported to the election commission.

The Supreme Court ruling also said that an individual or a political committee may spend an unlimited amount for advertising in support of a candidate, as long as the effort is independent of the candidates' official campaign organization.

The three Democrats' campaign reports for March reflect their common poverty problem but also indicate some changes in financial stability.

Despite improving fund-raising activity, Mr. Udall still appears to be in the weakest position. Even considering the subsidy money due him, the Arizona Congressman had a net debt of $38,000 on April 1 and only $9,000 cash on hand.

Senator Jackson, the best-financed of the active Democrats until recent weeks, was reduced to just under $200,000 in cash going into April. He had no debt, and his managers report successful fund-raising in Pennsylvania and elsewhere since then, but his current claims for Federal matching funds do not reflect such progress.

Mr. Carter's debt of $458,000 overshadowed his cash and assets of $273,000, but the $315,000 due him in subsidies would more than make up the difference. While his cash position remained weaker than Senator Jackson's, Mr. Carter's ability to attract nearly twice as much in private contributions in March was strong evidence of momentum, and it virtually insured that his subsidy payments would be running ahead of his rival's in the months ahead, the subsidies are resumed.

E

F

'Thoughts' of Gov. Brown Printed in 79-Page Book

SAN FRANCISCO, April 25—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is the politican who said "I don't even want to think about the Presidency" a few months before he said "I want to be President."

His objectives, according to published reports' are:

"I don't have any goals; they will evolve as we go aiong."

"Reduce the sum of human misery a bit, I guess."

"Life just is. You have to flow with it. Give yourself to the moment. Let it happen."

On the direction of his administration he has remarked:

"We're going to move left and right at the same time."

"You don't have to do things. Maybe by avoiding doing things you accomplish a lot."

"The program is to comfort the confusion and hypocrisy of government."

These words are all in "Thoughts", a little red paperback containing many of Governor Brown's public statements that has been published by City Lights Books.

In 79 pages covering subjects from Alaric to Zero-sum game, the book sets forth what seems to be the Governor's basic philosophy that inaction is better than action except when action is better and then this is not necessarily true.

"The idea for the book was Lawrence's," said Nancy J. Peters, who compiled and edited the book. The Lawrence she referred to is Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the poet who owns City Lights.

"We listed 20 people we thought might write for us," she said. "Brown was the only politician. Lawrence thought he was interesting and different so Lawrence wrote the Governor a letter. But apparently he was too busy, so we wrote again and his press people sent us a bunch of releases."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

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Jackson Hits Right-to-Work

By ANDREW GLASS
Constitution Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA—Georgia wage rates have become enmeshed in the battle for the Democratic presidential nomination—a struggle that could be a lot more clear-cut after Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary.

Seeking to bolster his sagging support among Pennsylvania's highly unionized voters, Sen. Henry Jackson charged Sunday that the big industrial states of the North are losing jobs to the South "where right-to-work laws make it impossible for working men and women to bargain effectively."

The Jackson broadside was aimed at his chief rival in Pennsylvania, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, who immediately cried foul.

"Blaming unemployment in Pennsylvania on right-to-work laws that have been there ever since Harry Truman's day is absolutely ridiculous," Carter said.

The Jackson-Carter exchange came during an hour-long debate that encompassed all five declared Democratic contenders for the presidency. It was televised nationally by ABC's Issues and Answers.

Also appearing were Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona and Alabama Gov. George Wallace, who are both seeking primary votes in Pennsylvania, and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho , whose initial test will come in Nebraska next month.

Job and pay levels are potent issues in a state with 1.9 million unionized men and women—about 40 per cent of the entire work force. Unemployment in Pennsylvania hovers around 10 per cent, nearly three points above the national average.

"Surely you are not going to say, governor, that the wage levels for comparable work in Georgia is the same as

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Politics

From Page 1-A

it is in Pennsylvania," Jackson demanded angrily. "Are you saying that?"

"It's just about the same," the Georgian said in the flat monotone that often marks his responses in such debates.

"Aghh," Jackson said, making a guttural sound that at once implied disbelief and disapproval. "How much do you pay in your plant?"

The senator from Washington was referring to a peanut processing factory in Plains owned by the Carter family where workers earn $2.30 an hour, the current federal minimum wage.

"There are some differences in the cost of living," Carter noted, not answering the question.

But he contended that the wage rate differences which existed between North and South 15 or 20 years ago have been "eliminated almost entirely."

Carter cited the Manhattan Shirt Co., the largest employer in his native Sumter County which, he said, pays the same wages in all its plants througout the country.

Carter has apparently caught on in Pennsylvania in the wake of a non-stop eight-day blitz into which he has thrown nearly all his political resources. His rivals sense an impending Carter victory in the popularity contest which could outshine an expected weaker showing in the election of 134 convention delegates.

Jackson, who has so far invested $6 million to try and prove that he is the choice of Northern big city Democrats, fears that a poor showing here will stampede his followers to the undeclared candidacy of Sen. Hubert Humphrey.

And Udall, as the least known of the major candidates, fears that his liberal base will be captured by Carter before he has a chance to exploit his position as the surviving candidate of the Democratic left.

G

Jury Is Still Out on Carter

By LOUIS HARRIS

HARRIS POLL

The American people still have a mixed reaction to Jimmy Carter when they think of him as a possible President of the United States. They see him as a man of high integrity who has the courage not to make promises to get votes. But they also feel that he has avoided taking stands on issues so that he won't offend anyone, and that he is really a tough and cold-blooded politician.

Fundamentally, the jury is still out on Carter. He is seen as a competent and calculating man, and the fact that he is not out of Washington, D. C. serves him in good stead. But his lack of a clearly defined platform seems to be working against him.

On one point of recent controversy, there is evidence that the former Georgia Governor's remark about preserving "ethnic purity in neighborhoods" has not damaged him with the black vote. Down the line, blacks nationwide tend to think much better of Carter than nearly any other group, although he is also widely respected by white southerners as well.

Carter's fundamentalist strain and his often repeated observations on religion have not hurt him. By almost a three-to-one margin, the public rejects the charge that "he is too pious and holier than thou about being a religious man." On the other hand, there is no real evidence that he is catching fire because of his religious emphasis, either.

Between April 9 and 15, a cross section of 1,502 adults nationwide was interviewed in person by the Harris Survey, and 14 key dimensions of the Carter public profile were probed. Here are the reactions of the public to Carter's most publicized positive attributes:

—A 46-13 per cent plurality, with a sizable 41 per cent "not sure," feels that Jimmy Carter is "a man of high integrity." Among Democrats, a slightly higher 48-12 per cent plurality feels this way. Among blacks, a 54-2 per cent majority agrees, making them the only group to give him a positive majority on this question of integrity.

—By 40-24 per cent, most Americans like Carter because "he has the courage not to make promises to get votes." Democrats agree by a somewhat higher 44-23 per cent, and blacks by 44-16 per cent.

—A 39-25 per cent plurality feels that if Carter "gets the Democratic nomination, he'll have done it without being obligated to anyone, and that is good." Democrats agree by 41-24 per cent, and blacks by the large margin of 47-12 per cent. In the South, Carter scores 45-20 per cent.

—A narrow national plurality of 38-35 per cent agrees that Jimmy Carter "is a new, fresh face that is needed in the White House."

—Three other positive statements about Carter fall short of nationwide agreement. In a 30-30 per cent standoff, the public splits on the view that "his record as governor of Georgia qualifies him to be President," although Democrats do agree by a close 34-28 per cent. By 37-27 per cent, the public rejects the claim that "he is running a brilliant campaign for President and deserves to win." Only white southerners and blacks agree with that view.

Bill Shipp

Are We Ready for a Baptist Chief?

Somebody asked Jimmy Carter's aide, Jody Powell, to explain his boss's religion. Powell went into a long and involved explantion of what Southern Baptists generally believe.

"How do you know so much about it?" asked the inquiring somebody.

"I'm a Baptist myself," replied Powell.

"What! You believe it," cried the questioner as if he had just uncovered a Copt lurking in the midst of the Carter campaign.

Not since Al Smith, a Roman Catholic, was defeated by Calvin Coolidge in 1928 has religion been such a major issue in a presidential campaign. It posed a potential problem to John F. Kennedy, also Catholic, but it never really surfaced as a matter for public debate. The nation had come too far by 1960 to worry about a Roman Catholic becoming President. But a Baptist in the White House?

In 1976, Jimmy Carter, the Baptist church, and the religiousness of Carter's sister, Mrs. Ruth Stapleton, have been given a generous share of the national spotlight in the presidential campaign.

Part of it is due to plain curiosity by unwashed reporters who wonder about this strange Southern cult. But a larger part is not so innocent. After all, the phrase, "Southern Baptist," in parts of the nation connotes poverty, backwardness and bigotry. A few decades ago those images might not have been altogether inaccurate.

Defining a Baptist today is akin to counting grains of sand on the beach. It is nearly impossible.

Suffice it to say, there are all kinds of Baptists, ranging from Primitive Baptists to Two-Seed-in-the-Spirit Baptists. There are Baptists who speak in tongues, believe in faith healing and are certain the Earth was created in Six Days. And there are Baptists who discount all those beliefs. There are Baptists who dance and drink, and Baptists who don't. Some of the most affluent churches in Atlanta are Baptist, and so are some of the poorest.

Jimmy Carter is a Southern Baptist which means he is a member of a church affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention. Note I said, affiliated with — not controlled by. There is no hierarchy in the Southern Baptist Convention.

One of every four church members in Georgia is a Southern Baptist, and there are an estimated 13.5 million such souls belonging to 30,000 churches in the U.S.

Roger Williams in the 17th century founded the forerunner of the modern-day Baptist church. And leaders of the Baptist church lobbied mightily and successfully for the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of religion in this country.

Baptists generally demand strong separation of church and state. That may account for Jimmy Carter's tenure as governor which was very orderly, very moral but also very, very secular.

The Southern Baptist Convention was born in 1845 when the Baptist churches of the South broke away from the national body in disputes over slavery and regionalism.

The Southern Baptist Convention stayed mostly inside the boundaries of the Old Confederacy until the 1950s when Paul James, preacher at the Baptist Tabernacle in Atlanta, went north and opened the Manhattan Baptist Church in New York. Southern Baptists went national from there.

Mrs. Stapleton, Carter's sister, subscribes to healing and other aspects of the so-called "charismatic" movement that has become a part of numerous denominations including the Catholic church.

However, few Southern Baptists are involved in the "charismatic" movement or believe in faith healing. "Remember," one well known Baptist pointed out to me, "Oral Roberts is a Methodist."

All this leads up to is simply this: Ruth Stapleton is not running for President, and, if she were, a little spiritual healing might come in handy. Jimmy Carter *is* seeking the nation's highest office. He also is a member of a large, usually right-of-center Protestant denomination which is as American as cornbread.

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The New York Times

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Humphrey to Shun Jersey, Last Primary Open to Him

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

PHILADELPHIA, April 24—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota says he will bypass the New Jersey Presidential primary on June 8, the last one open to him, regardless of what happens in Pennsylvania on Tuesday.

Mr. Humphrey has maintained for months that he did not intend to enter any primaries, preferring to lie back and await the development of a deadlock at the Democratic Convention or in the weeks immediately preceeding it.

In recent days, a number of his associates have been pressing him to change his mind. Some ha dtold reporters that if Jimmy Carter were stopped in the primary here by the coalition to which Mr. Humphrey has given tacit support, the Minnesotan might well decide to run in New Jersey.

Mr. Humphrey will have 48 hours after the balloting in Pennsylvania until the final deadline to enter the New Jersey race, in which 108 convention delegates are at stake. The filing deadlines have passed in all other states.

In a telephone interview from his home in Waverly, Minn., where he spent the Easter Congressional recess, the Senator said: "New Jersey is not in the picture."

Humphrey Suggests Limit

Mr. Humphrey said he had refined his plans for the period after the voting in New Jersey, California and Ohio on June 8. As he now sees matters, he said, he will make a move only if Mr. Carter or another front-runner seems likely to enter the first ballot with fewer than 1,100 of the 1,5050 votes needed for the Presidential nomination.

"I figure 1,150 is the break point," he commented. "If someone gets to that point, the party would make a terrible mistake not to nominate him, and I certainly am not going to have them come to me and say, 'God, he's close to winning, you've got to help us put it together and stop him.' Because of the Democrats'

Continued on Page 39, Column 1

Daylight Saving Time Began at 2 A.M. Today

Clocks Should Have Been Set Ahead One Hour

The New York Times/April 25, 1976

Yanks' Bid Illegal?

The New York Yankees pressed an illegal side agreement with Andy Messersmith in their unsuccessful attempt to sign the free-agent pitcher, according to documents offered in evidence at a hearing before Baseball Commissioner Bowie Kuhn. Details in Section 5.

HUMPHREY SHUNS JERSEY'S PRIMARY

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

proportional representation rules, Mr. Humphrey said, and also because of the success of uncommitted and favorite-son strategists in some states, h e does not believe that any one will reach the first ballot with more than "Oh, 900 or 1,000 delegates, let's say."

If that proves to be the case, he said, he will be prepared to try to assemble a majority himself. But he left unclear whether he would authorize a draft-Humphrey committee to lay the groundwork well in advance of the final primaries.

That question may be resolved on Wednesday, the day after the Pennsylvania voting, at a meeting of Humphrey strategists in Washington. Two sources said, though another denied, that the decision would be tied directly to the success or failure of a stop-Carter drive here, in which pro-Humphrey elements rallied behind the candidacy of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Understanding Cited

The Jackson camp has been saying that any overt move by Mr. Humphrey would violate an understanding between the two men to the effect that Mr. Humphrey would avoid interference with the Jackson campaign through the primaries.

Senator Humphrey said he had given similar assurances to Mr. Jackson and other candidates — "Nothing signed in blood, you understand, but I told them I'd stay out of the way and let them have their run," he said. He acknowledged that his posture was far more important to Mr. Jackson than the others because he and Mr. Jackson compete for the same constituency.

As a result, Mr. Humphrey telephoned the Central Labor Council in Johnstown, Pa., 10 dayG ago and canceled and election-eve appearance that had angered the Jackson strategists there. No one asked him to do so, Mr. Humphrey said, adding, "I knew Scoop was unhappy about it."

Mr. Humphrey's brief flirtation with the idea of entering the New Jersey contest—or, at least, the flirtation of some of his would-be managers—was based on the notion that he needed to run somewhere to prove that he was popular in the party.

A Slate Available

A delegate slate is there for the asking. It was assembled by James Dugan, the party chairman in New Jersey, and is headed by Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. and Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr. It is publicly uncommitted but is pro-Humphrey.

While Mr. Humphrey reportedly plans to meet with the New Jersey delegation next week, he has concluded that the national polls and statements by party leaders make the point of his popularity without his entering the primaries.

That conclusion, together with his belief that no one is likely to enter the convention with enough votes to eliminate him from competition, apparently led Mr. Humphrey to reject the New JJey, option.

But there is another element: His reluctance to be seen within the party as "a spoiler or a stopper or a no-man."

"I'm not much on stopping," the Senator said. "It doesn't work very well, for one thing, and it creates a lot of bitterness and division.

"I remember what Adali Stevenson tried to do in 1960 when it was obvious that Jack Kennedy was going to be nominated," he added. "I remember when I got talked into trying to stop George McGovern after California in '72. That was a foolish mistake, and I don't intend to repeat it."

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JACKSON FIGHTS A TWIN HANDICAP

He Finds Himself Dogged by Carter's Lead and View He Is Stand-in for Humphrey

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 24—In the long campaign leading up to the Democratic Presidential primary on Tuesday, Senator Henry M. Jackson seems to have got trapped somewhere between Jimmy Carter's smile and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's shadow.

Wherever he has turned in the last couple of weeks he has been asked whether he really thinks he can beat the confident Mr. Carfer in this state's preferential contest. And even if he does defeat the former Georgia Governor, he is repeatedly asked, is he not just a stalking horse for the active noncandidacy of Senator Humphrey?

At times Mr. Jackson, the 63-year-old Senator from Washington with 35 years of experience on Capitol Hill, is obviously frustrated by it all.

"Look" he says over and over, "Hubert Humphrey is not a candidate and I'm not campaigning 18 or 20 hours a day to be a stalking horse for anybody."

But it does not seem to do any good. The questions keep coming.

As for his chances of defeating Mr. Carter in the preferential voting, Senator Jackson has backed of from his earlier predictions that he would win handily. This week he started saying only that he would win more of the 134 delegates to be selected in separate contests than either Mr. Carter or his other major rival, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Delegates The Key

"The beauty contest will be very close," he now says of the preferential competition.

Mostly, these days, he has been declaring that "the name of the game is delegates." And by ate in the week he was indicating to interviewers in Cleveland, where he stopped on a two-day swing through Kentucky, Indiana, Michigan and Ohio, that he would not be concerned even if he lost the "beauty contest" in Pennsylvania.

"Perhaps more will happen between June 8 when the Democratic National Convention begins than happened through all the primaries," he said the allusion was to the bargaining that is expected to take place if no candidate has an overwhemling delegate lead by then.

Most of this, however, runs counter to Senator Jackson's long-range strategy as he and his advisers mapped it out last year.

He had planned to make a major effort in Massachusetts and win, and he did. He had intended to sweep New York, and he made a strong showing there. The next big victory, which was supposed to convince everyone that Mr. Carter could not win in the major industrial states, was to have been in Pennsylvania. But now Senator Jackson and his advisers, despite protestations to the contrary, are worried.

Even when things have gone according to plan, they have not had the expected results.

Because Senator Jackson had predicted he would win a majority of the New York delegates, his victory, which fell somewhat short of that, gained little applause. On the other hand, mr. Carter's poor finish in that state seems scarcely noted, partly because some of his delegate slates had been removed for irregularities and partly because he narrowly defeated Representative Udall in Wisconsin on the same day.

Mr. Carter continued to rise spectacularly in the national polls. Senator Jackson stayed closed to the bottom.

With money growing short, in part because Congress has yet to act on a bill reconstituting the Federal Election Commission, which dispenses matching funds, the Senator was unable to mount the huge campaign with which he had intended to lay his opponents low here.

The Jackson camp finally got a lift this week when organized labor formed committees in the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh areas to support the Senator.

Associated Press

Senator Henry M. Jackson adjusting his glasses after he put on a miner's hat while campaigning in Canonsburg, Pa., yesterday. Henry Powaser, superintendent of Montour Number Four mine, shows Mr. Jackson how to adjust the miner's lamp.

$137 Million Campaign Costs In '72 Set Mark Likely to Stand

By WARREN WEAVER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 24—The one-sided Presidential election of 1972 set a campaign spending record ofnearly $137 million for the two major parties that will probably stand for the foreseeable future.

Richard M. Nixon, his token competitors for the nomination and the committees supporting his candidacy paid $69.3 million for their landslide Republican victory. Senator George McGovern, his Democratic primary rivals and the party's support committees spent $67.3 million in defeat.

These figure come from Dr. Herbert E. Alexander, whose new book, "Financing the 1972 Election," is out this week. He is director of the Citizens Research Foundation, which collects and analyzes such material.

New campaign reform laws,limiting contributions and spending and providing public subsidies, virtually insure that the 1972 Presidential election and its immediate successors will cost less, with a total of less than $100 million likely this year.

Differences in Parties

The big difference between the two parties in 1972 was that the Democrats spent about half their money fighting among ahemselves for the nomination while the Republicans devoted virtually all their resources to promoting Mr. Nixon.

Thus, Dr. Alexander calculates that in the general election contest the Democrats were able to spend only $34 million, about half the Republican investment.

(The cost of the general election alone, about $104 million, compared with $44 million spent in 1968, $25 million in 1964 and $20 million in 1960. The two Eisenhower-Stevenson contests of the 1950's ran about $12 million each.

Various Republican committees raised a record-breaking total of $72 million for the 1972 campaign, including $2.4 million from Democrats for Nixon. This made the Nixon machine, Dr. Alexander says, "the financial equivalent of a middle-sized corporation."

It cost Senator McGovern $12 million to win the Democratic nomination. His nearest rival financially was Senator Edmund S. Muskie, who spent $7 million. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who fought Mr. McGovern all the way to the convention, spent $4.7 million.

As a result, Senator McGovern was able to invest nearly $1.2 million in nonnetwork radio and television advertising while his two chief competitors spent a little more than $500,000 each on such activity.

Although Senator McGovern received $50,000 or more from a number of supporters both before and after the convention, the Alexander book reports that President Nixon's list was "dominated" by such large contributors, with 153 people accounting for $20 million, or nearly a third of his total.

Labor's Impact Uncertain In Pennsylvania Primary

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 24—When James Mahoney was asked this week about the mechanics of a political endorsement from organized labor, the burly, jocular vice president of the Pennsylvania A.F.L.-C.I.O. smiled before he answered.

"Rank and file has always voted how we wanted them to vote," he said flatly, still smiling, "after we told them what the facts were."

If that holds true in the Democratic Presidential primary here Tuesday, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, with organized labor support, should get the full backing of the state's 1.5 million union members, a formidable advantage over his two opponents, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia.

Still, Mr. Mahoney's thesis was posed in the past tense, and it is that question—a matter of tenses—that has emerged as one of the primary's major uncertainties.

Mr. Carter, for instance, has been rejected as a suitable candidate by Mr. Mahoney and his colleagues in the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations. But most polls now show the Georgian to be leading Mr. Jackson comfortably in most regions of the state.

That has led many veterans of past elections here, including supporters of all three candidates, to conclude that the day of unswerving solidarity in organized labor is over—that the endorsement of a particular candidate by its leaders does not necessarily mean that a monolithic rank and file will submissively follow them to the polls.

Nevertheless, despite Mr. Carter's apparent lead in the preferential voting, or the "beauty contest" as it has come to be known, Senator Jackson is thought to have the advantage in a separate contest for the allegiance of the 134 delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

If that is true, it is more a consequence of labor's endorsement of him — even though many of its major figures much prefer Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, and the support of many other prominent party leaders in the state, including Denis H. Thiemann, the Democratic chairman—than any other facet of Senator Jackson's campaign.

Like the other candidates, the freeze on Federal campaign funds has substantially limited the scope of Senators Jackson's efforts in Pennsylvania, but this weekend, the well-used machinery of labor and the state party was cranked into gear in his behalf.

Hundreds of volunteers almost magically appeared, distributing millions of pieces of Jackson literature, operating dozens of telephone banks around the state, working door to door in many communities, and putting the finishing touches on plans to have more than 10,000 Jackson operatives at work on Election Day.

'Lovely' but Not Foolproof

As Michael Johnson, who was Mr. Mahoney's predecessor, said a few weeks ago, "It is a lovely, lovely thing to see."

But as Mr. Jackson himself conceded here on Wednesday, it is not foolproof—not in a stae with 2.8 million registered Democrats and a variety of political instincts and interests.

So today the Senator was campaigning hard in the western portions of the state where Mr. Carter, with the endorsement of the Mayor of Pittsburgh, Peter Flaherty, is thought to have substantial strength.

In an effort to capitalize on Mr. Carter's problems with his remarks about "ethnic purity," Senator Jackson met last night and today with black clergymen and labor leaders in Pittsburgh.

Later, he toured a steelmill in a nearby suburb and went on a handshaking, walking tour of a shopping center before flying to Erie for a fund-raising dinner and speech.

Mr. Carter, similarly, has been trying hard to regain his former credibility among black voters, an effort that was underscored here this weekend by campaign appearances for him by Maynard Jackson, the first black Mayor of Atlanta, Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, and the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the late civil rights leader.

While they pressed his case among Philadelphia's black communities, where more than 250,000 black Democrats reside, Mr. Carter was attending rallies in Johnstown and Williamsport.

Meanwhile, his campaign staff here was preparing to distribute more than 10,000 sample ballots identifying Mr. Carter's convention delegate candidates in the 50 state senatorial districts across the state.

President Ford is unopposed in the Republican Presidential primary.

Tick Segerbloom, Mr. Carter's deputy campaign manager for Pennsylvania, w said that teams of lawyers would be dispatched as poll watchers in Philadelphia to prevent vote fraud and intimidation of Mr. Carter's supporters.

The Carter headquarters here in the city has reported several threatening telephone calls from unidentified persons who accuse the Georgian of advocating the current effort to recall Mayor Frank L. Rizzo of Philadelphia from office.

Statement by Udall

Representative Udall was also in Williamsport today for what his staff members there said was "purely a media event," a statement from the candidate on the blend of ecoiogical responsibilitk and economic growth.

Both Senator Jackson and Mr. Carter made major alterations in their schedules in the last few days, with the Georgian adding several days in the state and the Senator refocusing his attention on Pittsburgh, Allegheny County and the state's western regions.

Senator Jackson apparently decided that his backing in Philadelphia, which has 40 percent of the Democratic vote, is sufficient.

In addition to organized labor, the Senator is the candidate of both Mayor Rizzo's loyalists and the regular Democratic machinery in the city, headed by Peter J. Camiel.

Although the Mayor and Mr. Camiel are archenemies, they have formed a grudging coalition behind Senator Jackson for the primary because of his endorsement by labor.

But nG one is making any serious wagers—not about Philadelphia politics, a bubbly and sometimes bizarre blend of cut-throat factions, short-lived coups, heavy-handed juntas and internecine warfare.

Even Mr. Carter, who was regularly downgrading his chances in the delegate contests, has lately begun to wax optimistic.

"You can never tell in Pennsylvania," he said Thursday night.

Federal Policing Asked

PHILADELPHIA, April 24 (AP)—Bob Donahue, an aide to Mr. Carter, said today that the federal authorities had been asked to assist in policing Tuesday's primary election because of the threatening calls made to the candidates campaign headquarters here.

J. Clayton Undercofler, first assistant United States attorney in Philadelphia, said he would meet Monday with Federal Bureau of Investigation officials to discuss possible Federal action. He said, however, that a court order would be necessary before Federal marshals could be asked to supervise an election.

The Campaign: The Phantom of The Primaries

The spring acceleration in the Presidential season begins this week, with two big primaries in two big states, Pennsylvania on Tuesday and Texas on Saturday.

There are, in effect, four Democratic candidates in Pennsylvania. Jimmy Carter, ex-Governor of Georgia, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona are declared. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, is unannounced.

There are also two contests, the preferential Presidential or popular vote, and the selection of 178 delegates to the Democratic Convention. Mr. Carter has concentrated on the former, and is expected to do well. Mr. Jackson has predicted victory in the latter, and may do well, for two reasons: He has the energetic support of organized labor, and the backing of the formidable statewide party apparatus.

But the meaning of the outcome for both men will be complicated by the active though unofficial presence of Mr. Humphrey, the choice of much of labor. How many Jackson delegates will really be Jackson-cum-Humphrey delegates may not be determined until the convention, or shortly before it; how indicative the Carter vote will be of his electoral base in a Northern industrial state may have to wait for other contests.

The strategy of the former Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, has been not to challenge President Ford for Pennsylvania's 103 Republican delegates, but to try to take Texas's more conservative 100. Many analysts now think Mr. Reagan will have more than half.

Last week, Mr. Reagan continued to press on what he considers to be Mr. Ford's dangerously permissive foreign policy, and again linked Mr. Ford to Watergate. Mr. Ford responded to the national security issue in his sharpest terms yet, calling the subject too grave for debate on it to be "cast in exaggerated rhetoric" and based on "oversimplification."

A Democrat on Subject A

Senator Frank Church of Idaho has made explicit the issue most other contenders for the Democratic nomination have only referred to in code, if at all. The issue is Watergate, and Mr. Church raised it at almost every campaign stop in Nebraska, attacking President Ford's pardon of Richard M. Nixon. That state's primary on May 11 will be Mr. Church's first test.

That the Democrats are aware of this obvious liability for the Republicans in November is evident in the fact that each Democratic candidate has sought to show he can restore trust in politics. But except for Mr. Church, a late entry in the preconvention race, they have acted, so far, on the assumption that Watergate is properly a postconvention question.

Election Board, Cont.

Passage of legislation that would reconstitute the Federal Election Commission and consequently resume payment of matching subsidies to Presidential candidates is likely to be prompt when Congress reconvenes this week. What is less certain is whether President Ford will veto the bill.

The Administration is concerned that the bill as written gives the Democratic majority in Congress too much control over the commission, which establishes and enforces groundrules for elections as well as authorizing Federal subsidies to candidates that qualify for them. But Mr. Ford also has another set of political considerations. Subsidy payments have been interrupted since Mar. 22, and only his campaign is now financially sound. A veto would leave him open to charges that he was using his Presidential prerogatives to cripple his opposition.

Pennsylvania, Home of Quixotic Politics

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

PHILADELPHIA—There have been primaries in Pennsylvania before, but none of them has ever seemed quite so important as this year's version this Tuesday. As a result, the candidates and their entourages are spending considerable time these days getting acquainted with the state that William Penn once called "my blessed Eden."

That was more than two centuries ago, and although the state has lost something through the years, the reporters and the politicians are discovering that Pennsylvania still has its reservoirs of natural beauty. From primly manicured farms of rolling Dutch country west of Philadelphia through the mountains and forests of the central portions of the state to the first, flat hints of middle America beyond Pittsburgh, the state draws thousands of tourists and vacationers each year. This year, thousands more are touring forts and stockades from the French and Indian war of the 1750's and 1760's, stroking the Liberty Bell, listening for echoes of those colonial habitués of Independence Hall turned revolutionaries debating life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Resident Pennsylvanians are hearing a somewhat different debate in the current Democratic primary campaign. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, for instance, is stressing his cordial relationship with organized labor and his promise to provide new jobs—strong political medicine in a state with 1.3 million union members and an unemployment rate that only recently slipped below 10 percent.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona is diligently working the ethnic and black vote, emphasizing his record as a champion of their interests. That approach too has merits in a state that is home to 1.1 million black people and nearly 1.5 million children or grandchildren of immigrants.

Jimmy Carter's approach has been more eclectic, but the former Georgia Governor's support for the sanctity of ethnic neighborhoods against Government interference has also been popular. More than half of Pennsylvania's 11.8 million people live in the suburbs of the cities scattered across the state.

Roughly 30 percent of the rest live in the cities, and the other fifth—approximately 2.2 million people—reside in the rural reaches of the state, although only about 110,000 of them are actually engaged in farming. Most of them, in fact, are part of the enormous number of blue-collar workers in Pennsylvania's steel mills, coal mines, clothing factories and shops where electrical equipment is manufactured.

The work force in the state is now almost evenly divided between white collar and service workers, and blue-collar employees. In the 1950's, when industry was a much more dominant component the ratio was 3 to 2; as late as 1940 there were four factory workers for every clerk.

The Depression and new technologies initiated decline in the importance of industry and as a result, the state's once healthy economy grew sluggish. With fewer factory jobs available, the rate of population growth also declined. Now it is the slowest in the country. Once the second most populous state, Pennsylvania now ranks fourth.

The population shift has had important political consequences. In 1950, Pennsylvania had 32 seats in the House of Representatives. Now, it has 25. But before the fifties, the Depression and President Roosevelt's New Deal had already begun to work another and more radical change, in voting patterns. Until after World War II, Pennsylvania was considered one of the Republican's safest havens. Many of the immigrants who settled in the state to work the mines and the mills had been immediately enrolled as Republicans, and their loyalty seldom wavered. Pennsylvania was one of the few states that went for Herbert Hoover in 1932.

Now, its politics are quixotic. Democrats now hold a 1.3 million edge in registration, with 2.8 million voters in the party's ranks. Democrats now dominate the Congressional delegation, 14 to 11. Still in 1972, the state voted for Richard Nixon.

The cities, particularly Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Erie, are heavily Democratic. The suburbs and the rural areas lean toward Republicans, and also toward conservatism. Until the mid-fifties, Philadelphia was run by a Republican machine. Now, more than 40 percent of the Democratic vote is in the Philadelphia area, a preponderance that has produced a much used political adage: "you have to win Philly to win Pennsylvania."

That is not always true, however, which fact may be of some comfort to Mr. Carter, who is not expected to do well in Philadelphia because Mr. Jackson has been endorsed by the local Democratic tic leadership. Senator Richard Schweiker, a Republican, lost Philadelphia in his 1974 bid for re-election against Peter Flaherty, the Democratic Mayor of Pittsburgh. By scoring large margins in the suburbs and rural areas in the rest of Eastern Pennsylvania, and throughout the center of the state, he was able to hold his seat.

The difference between rural, suburban and urban political sentiment has been one of the state's most constant factors over the last decades, and the ability to play them with and against each other can be measure of a Pennsylvania politician's success. So, when Governor Milton J. Shapp, a Democrat, was able in 1970 to put together a coalition of rural and urban supporters, he won with nearly 57 percent. In 1974, running for re-election, he parlayed the same combination into another persuasive victory.

But because the interests of the various blocs are so divergent, such coalitions are rare, and many statewide races here, both Democratic and Republican, are close. Still, the candidates keep on trying.

James T. Wooten is a national correspondent for The New York Times, based in Philadelphia.

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Moment of Truth

In modern American politics, there is a dynamic relationship between opinion polls and primary elections. A Presidential hopeful who is relatively unknown has a low standing in the opinion polls because immediate name recognition is a critical factor. If he wins the early primaries, he radically improves his standing in the polls. Money and support then flow to him, making it easier for him to win subsequent primaries and endowing him with that useful intangible called momentum.

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter has demonstrated the working of this relationship in the current campaign. Having won six of the first eight primaries, he has achieved the steepest rise in the Gallup Poll since Wendell Willkie came from nowhere to win the Republican nomination in 1940. He now runs neck-and-neck with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey as the preferred candidate among Democrats.

But poll ratings are rarely static for long. As he has become better known and his record has been subjected to more searching criticism, Mr. Carter has become the target of increased negative feelings as well. He is, in a word, becoming "controversial." That was inevitable. Some of his rivals such as Representative Morris K. Udall would undoubtedly be glad to trade their lack of name recognition among voters for Mr. Carter's high visibility even with its attendant controversy.

* * *

On Tuesday, the Pennsylvania primary will test whether Mr. Carter can translate his standing in the polls into votes and elected delegates. He is opposed by a formidable coalition of major labor unions, Gov. Milton Shapp's personal organization, Mayor Frank Rizzo's Philadelphia machine, and assorted county organizations. This coalition is backing Senator Henry M. Jackson who thus far has handed Mr. Carter his only two defeats—in Massachusetts and New York. In both those states, Mr. Carter ran fourth.

Pennsylvania in its economic and demographic makeup has many similarities to the other Northeastern states. But Mr. Carter suffered those earlier defeats before he had gained such strength in the opinion polls, and in those states he made less than a maximum effort. He is making that maximum effort in Pennsylvania.

Moreover, the money famine induced by Congress's failure to enact a timely revision of the campaign finance law has hurt Governor Carter least of the three active Democratic candidates. Because his poll standings give him the look of a winner, he has found it easier to raise funds for a radio and television advertising campaign in Pennsylvania than either Mr. Jackson or Mr. Udall. This is the old story of success breeding success.

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Looming phantasmagorically over the primary scene is that extremely active nonparticipant, Senator Humphrey. Many labor and political leaders are supporting Mr. Jackson and, to a lesser extent, Mr. Udall because they really want to open the way to a Humphrey nomination. Many voters unquestionably share their enthusiasm. But experience suggests that a candidate whose own name is not on the ballot rarely does well seeking support through proxy candidates, favorite-son candidates, or uncommitted slates.

Pennsylvania could produce an ambiguous result. Governor Carter could win the statewide popularity contest, while the union and party organizations deliver a majority of delegates to Senator Jackson, since the delegates are elected separately on a district-by-district basis. But voters are often more sophisticated than politicians suspect. If Mr. Carter's popularity in Pennsylvania is as great as the polls suggest, the voters there will no doubt find his supporters on the delegate side of the ballot. The moment of truth for the Democratic rivals may be at hand.

Jimmy Carter's Appeal

By Tom Wicker

HARRISBURG, Pa., April 23—Anybody who still doesn't understand the nearly mystical appeal of Jimmy Carter to the American people in 1976 should have been at the West Shore Senior Citizens Center in New Cumberland Township near here today. To a packed house of several hundred Pennsylvanians in the center's recreation hall, Mr. Carter spoke of three recent national traumas as follows:

Vietnam: "We killed hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese—little babies and children and mothers and fathers. But we never really wanted to fight over there, without quite knowing why. The people were not part of the process."

Watergate: "We trusted [Richard Nixon] in 1972. . . . Watergate came about, because we were not told the truth. We were not part of what the Government became."

C.I.A. Activities: "I wouldn't plot murder. You wouldn't plot murder. So why should our Government plot murder?"

Mr. Carter's audience was rapt throughout these formulations, except for a few heads nodding sagely. The proverbial pin might have been heard dropping, as the candidate told in all these ways that there was nothing wrong with *them*, that he understood what he called the "hunger in this country to get back those precious things we've lost."

Here, as in New Hampshire last winter and all the primaries between, Mr. Carter, more effectively than anyone else in the race, is telling the people what they seem desperately to want to hear—that they are not to blame for what has been happening in the country, that what is really needed is "a government as good as our people."

And not many politicians ever made a basically political appeal with more fervor than Mr. Carter did when he suggested to a youthful audience in the Albright College chapel in Reading that each might make a hundred phone calls asking people to vote — not necessarily for him—in the primary Tuesday.

"Don't sit back or be disillusioned or whine or complain, or give up on our country," he implored the young people.

"We've got a great country. It needs you and you need a good government." What Mr. Carter needs, however, is a big turnout Tuesday to help him overcome the labor vote union leaders have pledged to deliver for Senator Scoop Jackson.

None of this is meant to support the charge that Mr. Carter ducks or straddles the issues, or shifts his positions with the political weather. Mr. Carter's policy statements—like the one just issued on economic policy—are as specific as anyone's, and more thoughtful than most. A man who said in the New York primary that he did not favor most forms of Federal aid to New York City, and who took on George Wallace in North Florida and eastern North Carolina as well as in Harlem, ought to have persuaded critics at least of his political boldness.

But the Carter campaign, more than any other, is based on the premise that, this year, issues matter less than the American psyche—that the way to win is to persuade the people that "precious things" like truth and brotherhood and idealism and pride in the country can yet be regained. Mr. Carter seems to have made the restoration of the people's faith in themselves his primary campaign strategy.

The record so far suggests how politically astute that judgment was. But there are troublesome questions about it, nonetheless. Is it really true, for example, that "a government as good as the people" would have avoided Vietnam and Watergate? Did cold-war fever and public fear of unrest and dissent have nothing to do with them?

IN THE NATION

A political campaign may not be the time to call for sacrifice, or even the long view as against immediate interest, but such a time would surely come for a Carter in the White House. It seems reasonable to ask whether he would not then find it harder to overcome the greed and prejudice and passion and indifference of a people he has so assured of their essential righteousness.

And although Mr. Carter is certainly not saying there are no real problems —quite the opposite—his emphasis on the basic goodness of the country may not lay the best groundwork for the real political and economic struggles that await a leader who sets out to do something more than cosmetic about those problems. Will the Carter campaign engender a public mood of struggle and concern, or one of complacency?

Finally, could Jimmy Carter or anyone keep his end of the bargain, if elected, and never lie, never mislead, never betray the people's confidence, while restoring the "precious things" of the American myth? The question reflects Mr. Carter's great appeal to so many; but merely to ask it explains the skepticism he evokes in so many others.

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The Democrats' Dilemma

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 24—A couple of years ago, it didn't seem possible that the Democrats could blow the Presidential election of 1976—and they still may not be able to do it—but they're trying.

They are getting into a mess in the struggle between Jimmy Carter and Hubert Humphrey. Many of the elders of their party, backed by the leaders, organization and money of Big Labor, are ganging up on Mr. Carter. They are trying to be clever at a time when the people of the country are sick of clever Presidents and longing for somebody new and moderate.

This is a very dicey strategy, for the independent voters now outnumber even the registered Democrats, and Jimmy Carter clearly has appeal across party lines. He has demonstrated the one thing any candidate of either party has to have to win the Presidency—an ability to win the commitment of many of the uncommitted voters.

We cannot tell from the primary elections so far how wide or deep Mr. Carter's support is. Only about a quarter of the eligible voters have gone to the polls in the state contests, but two things we do know:

First, Mr. Carter has won most of the head-on confrontations with the other announced candidates; and second, his supporters are either fiercely loyal to him personally or hostile to the Democratic Party candidates and pro-Democratic political and labor leaders who oppose him.

This is the dilemma that is now dividing the Democratic Party. For Mr. Carter may not have enough support to regain the White House for the Democrats after eight years, but

WASHINGTON

if they dish him out of the nomination by party and labor manipulation, his supporters may very well vote for Gerald Ford rather than Hubert Humphrey and keep the Republicans in the White House.

In fairness to the people and organizations trying to stop Mr. Carter, many of them obviously believe that Hubert Humphrey would be a better President—more experienced than Mr. Carter on both domestic and foreign affairs.

If you could get an honest secret vote of all members of Congress and even all the leading members of the Ford Administration, including President Ford, about the Democrat best qualified to be President if the Republicans didn't win, there is little doubt that Mr. Humphrey would win their votes by a large majority.

But there are other considerations. An election is not a judgment on the past but a bet on the future. Half of the people alive in the world today are now under 25 years of age. Both at home and abroad, people are looking to Washington for new beginnings that can deal with the coming world.

This is Mr. Carter's strength. He is not a man of the past, or of the right like Mr. Ford, or of the left like Mr. Humphrey. He is at least something new and yet, paradoxically, something very old-fashioned in political, ethical, and even religious terms, and this seems to be touching something deep and enduring in the mind of many voters.

The guess here is that Jimmy Carter's faith and character may be the "sleeper" in this election: It is not only that he is somebody new in a country that is disillusioned with the old, but that he believes in something in the American ideal we have lost.

Hubert Humphrey is going to have to deal with this at some point or ignore Mr. Carter and risk the resentment of Mr. Carter's supporters. He is not doing either now.

Mr. Humphrey says he is standing aside and leaving the outcome of the Democratic Presidential nomination to his party, but he is not really standing aside. He is showing up in the critical primary states. He has been appearing at the labor rallies in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. He is deeply involved in the stop-Carter movement, and if he succeeds, he will have to deal with the consequences of Mr. Carter's resentful backers.

Mr. Humphrey is betting on the power of the political and labor-union leaders of the Democratic Party, and on programs of full employment and Federal medical assistance.

Mr. Carter is appealing not primarily to economic but to philosophic remedies. He is saying that we cannot solve our personal problems at home or abroad by talking merely about budgets and the G.N.P., but that we have to find unity and peace closer to the intimate places of the hearts and minds of our own people.

We have never had a debate quite like this since Woodrow Wilson ran for the Presidency. Mr. Carter, another outsider, doesn't speak as eloquently as Wilson, but he is getting at the same thing—at the moral apathy and spiritual bewilderment of the nation.

With one difference. Jimmy Carter combines his philosophy with the toughest political organization and most devoted team of volunteers seen in national politics in a long time. He is Mayor Daley of Chicago in the binding of a hymn book, and the Democratic Party Establishment is going to have to accept him or come to terms with him—or face the loss of the election.

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The Atlanta Journal

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THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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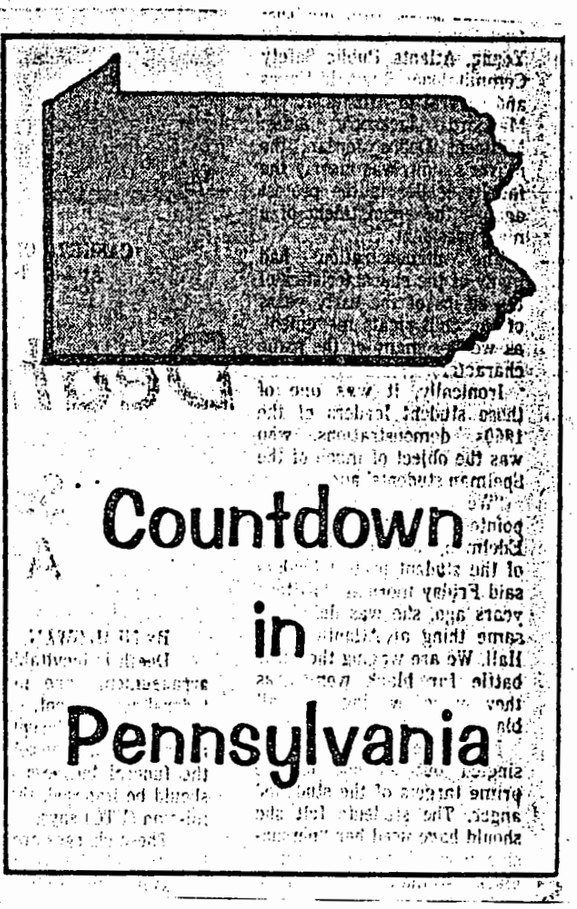

By ANDREW GLASS
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

HARRISBURG — "When it comes to delegates," says James Mahoney, the gruff and burly political czar of Pennsylvania's AFL-CIO, "Carter doesn't have a smell of a chance."

Yet "beauty contest" votes — and not delegates — will command center stage when Jimmy Carter, Henry Jackson and Morris Udall hold their long-awaited showdown in Pennsylvania Tuesday.

And all signs indicate that Carter, the candidate with a soft voice and an iron will, is pulling away, and stands a good chance of scoring a breakthrough in this state that would propel him toward the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Some startling evidence of just how well the Georgian is doing in Pennsylvania — a state where four of every 10 workers carry union cards — is locked in Mahoney's desk drawer.

But Mahoney would rather talk about Sen. Jackson's "100 per cent pro-labor record" than about the secret AFL-CIO poll that shows rank and file union members favoring Carter over Jackson by a 35 to 25 per cent margin.

Such grassroots support for Carter hasn't kept labor chieftains from linking up with Philadelphia's political bosses in trying to halt Carter here.

On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan raised no challenge to President Ford, so there is no race there.

Why is the prospect of a Carter nomination so menacing in the eyes of so much of Pennsylvania's Democratic and labor establishment?

"I'll explain," said Denise (Harvey) Thiemann, state Democratic chairman and an ally of Gov. Milton Shapp. "Let's say Mrs. Robert Redford gets it in her brain to organize a massive protest march against a steel plant because it's too smoky. You'd know exactly how Scoop Jack-

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5

Carter Confident in Pa.

Continued from Page 1A

son would deal with it if he were in the White House. But who knows how Carter would react? What would he do?"

For others, the question is less abstract.

"If Carter is not stopped and he is successful in Pennsylvania, he is well on his way to other victories," said Edward Toohey, who runs the AFL-CIO in Philadelphia.

Toohey wants the nomination to go to Sen. Hubert Humphrey. But the only way Humphrey can get started is if Jackson keeps the door open for him, and that means halting Carter in Pennsylvania.

"I really believe I can win it all here." Carter said in a brief interview in Pittsburgh, "but I can't really lose it, because we are in every primary and I'll have a good chance to win in Texas (Saturday) and in Indiana the next week."

Quite naturally, Jackson sees matters differently. To him, "the name of the game is delegates, and when the dust settles I'll have the delegates."

Thiemann asserts that Carter must come in eight or nine percentage points ahead in the popularity contest to make up for the delegate deficit. But such a deficit isn't likely to be known for days, and by that time Carter may have the smell of a winner.

There can be two "winners" in Pennsylvania because the primary here is split into two parts—a popularity contest and an election for 134 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. (Another 34 delegates to the July convention will be picked later by the party officials.)

There are, in all, 1,100 candidates for these delegate seats, running helter-skelter in 50 state senatorial districts. Some 700 are identified on the ballot as pledged to some presidential candidate, while the remaining 400 are running uncommitted.

To complicate matters, 400 of the 700 identified would-be delegates are aligned with presidential candidates no longer in the race, including Gov. Shapp.

Efforts have been made to fashion an all-star Jackson slate out of this rag-tag lot. Although no delegates have actually been bumped from the ballot, "palm cards" are being given to the faithful which indicate who the true Jackson—some would say Humphrey—delegates are.

The masterminds behind this arrangement are Gov. Shapp, Philadelphia Mayor Frank Rizzo and Philadelphia party chairman Peter Camiel—all of whom needed the Carter threat to inspire burial of their long-standing feuds.

The deal was worked out in Thiemann's office with the AFL-CIO's Mahoney and Robert Keafe, Jackson's national campaign manager, sitting in.

Carter accuses Jackson of "horsetrading with machine politicians" at the expense of his own delegate candidates. "That's something I would never do," Carter said at a press conference in Johnstown Saturday.

At the session with reporters, Carter expressed fears he will not get a "fair count" Tuesday in Rizzo-controlled wards of Philadelphia. He said he had asked Atty. Gen. Edward Levi for help in dealing with "a history of intimidation, violence and miscounting."

But Levi had made it clear to him the federal government could not act until vote fraud had actually occurred.

On the form charts, Jackson—the stolid guns and butter, candidate with a basic appeal to what he call "lunch bucket Democrats"—should do well among the 1.4 million voters expected to turn out Tuesday.

In theory, much of the state is Jackson country: an urban, industrialized landscape of brick after brick after brick. Factories belch putrid smoke and suburbs are apt to be vile smelling swamps or endless junkyards. Jobs are hard to find.

But there is another Pennsylvania, Carter's Pennsylvania, as well. It can be seen from the bay windows of Mahoney's office in state AFL-CIO headquarters, which overlook the lovely Susquehanna River.

It is evident as well in census data which show that Pennsylvania has the largest rural population of any state in the union.

A small army of Carter volunteers is pouring into the other Pennsylvania — green and lush and rolling — to ring doorbells, dial telephones and pass out leaflets.

One volunteer is Roxie Jo Roach, 51-year-old wife of a Miami commercial airline pilot. Mrs. Roach grew up in Plains, Ga., Carter's hometown, and although she hasn't seen Carter since she moved away some 35 years ago, her fondness for her childhood friend hasn't diminished.

"He's one of the best persons I've ever known," she said, setting her big valise down in Carter's storefront Harrisburg headquarters.

Like 1,000 other such volunteers, Mrs. Roach will stay in the home of a local Carter supporter. She was driven there by Lennie Glynn, a writer for Time magazine in New York who is taking two weeks off because, as he puts it, "Carter really appeals to me."

Morris Udall can also enlist such fervent loyalties on college campusees — where students once thrilled to the words of Eugene McCarthy and George McGovern — but Udall's campaign is widely discounted as a matter of too little, too late.

"Mo will be more of a force at the convention — because he'll have delegates to trade — than in this primary," a political analyst said in Pittsburgh.

Quipped Carter, "Mo has made second sound so good that I hate to talk about being first."

But it is Jackson and not Udall who seems destined to finish second in Pennsylvania. His campaign is in trouble. He has spent $6 million — including $1.5 million in federal matching money — without achieving his goal of being front runner.

"Hubert's people recognize that Jackson is their only card," said Terry O'Connell, a Jackson strategist and architect of his narrow victory in New York.

"The question is," O'Connell added, "how to get the word out? We have a lot of guerrilla bands that we're trying to pull together under one flag. Carter has more money and he's much better organized."

If Carter does well here, there will be little talk of Jackson's underlying weakness or Udall's obscurity. Instead the emphasis will be on how a peanut farmer from Georgia beat the big city bosses and the combined might of the unions in labor's best state.

The nation's movers and shakers will be Pennsylvania a few months from now to celebrate America's 200th birthday from the steps of Philadelphia's Independence Hall. Carter's real goal when Frank Sinatra opens the program by singing the national anthem is to be thinking about something beyond the Democratic nomination.

By that time, Carter hopes to be planning how to get the job now held by the designated main speaker at Independence Hall — the President of the United States.

By JON FORD
Austin American-Statesman

AUSTIN, Tex.—Undecided voters, including Democratic and independent crossovers in unpredictable proportions, hold the key to the outcome of the Texas Republican primary shootout Saturday.

Both Ronald Reagan, the front-runner, and President Gerald Ford, the self-styled underdog, are urging a record turnout, although neither can be sure who will be the beneficiary.

The GOP primary has never drawn as many as 5 per cent of the one-party state's voters. Texas voter registrations now total more than 5.3 million, and probably two million of those voters will participate in the Democratic primary.

Estimates of the Republican turnout next Saturday have been hastily revised to as high as 500,000. In spite of the unimpressive campaign statistics, Ford has budgeted more time to the election than to any of the previous primaries this year.

Texas Democrats, also choosing their presidential nominee through a primary for the first time Saturday, will choose among delegate slates pledged to former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen. They have slates running in all 31 state Senate districts, with slates of liberal uncommitted delegates running in 18, and slates pledged to several former presidential candidates remaining on the ballot in several scattered districts.

The big Democratic battle, however, is in Pennsylvania, which holds its primary Tuesday. The results there generally are expected to have a considerable impact on the Texas Democratic primary.

The President, who campaigned two days in Texas early this month, will spend three more full days and a night working eight cities Tuesday through Friday.

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Eyes of Texas on Undecideds

Continued from Page 1A

Reagan, who has made two major Texas swings since April 1, will return Thursday and Friday for the windup.

Ninety-six delegates are at stake and four will be named at the state convention in Fort Worth June 19.

Reagan supporters concede the Texas election is crucial, although the former California governor repeatedly denies that it is a do-or-die effort.

"Of course it is important," Reagan stated during a prior Texas visit. "We have a reasonable chance of winning, but if we lose here, we will just work harder in the next state. We are going all the way to Kansas City and the Republican National Convention, regardless."

While a big Reagan victory Saturday obviously would be a boost in other Southern and Western states, where the candidate claims his major strength is concentrated, a big defeat effectively could wipe him out as a serious challenger.

Defectors from Alabama Gov. George Wallace's faltering Democratic campaign are expected to stray into Reagan's camp. But Wallace is battling to keep such switchovers to a minimum.

Reagan campaign strategists originally assigned Texas a 66-delegate "quota" for the primary.

Harris County Republican Chairman Ray Barnhart of Houston, Reagan's Texas campaign cochairman and main spokesman, still claims the goal can be met, and Reagan said he is hopeful. Others would settle happily for anything above 50 per cent, or 48 delegates.

"I'm the underdog," Ford acknowledged. "But underdogs sometimes win. The lead (Reagan's) will narrow."

Reagan's strength in Texas dates back to the 1968 Republican National Convention when a substantial group of west Texas and Houston area delegates favored him over Richard Nixon.

He has been a frequent speaker in the state during the last eight years, and his brand of anti-big government, pro-free enterprise conservatism is in tune with the thinking of many oldline Texas Republicans.

Ford, on the other hand, has only a nodding acquaintance with most Texas Republicans until his selection as vice president. And he angered many powerful oilmen when he signed the 1975 Energy Act, although that is not viewed as the major issue in the primary.

Ford supporters strongly urged the President to devote more time to the Texas effort.

"We feel he makes a tremendous impact when he visits down here," said Beryl Buckley Milburn, director of the Texas President Ford Committee. "I think there is a large undecided vote. The size of the turnout is imponderable. In a large turnout, the President has a good chance of winning."

The largest previous Republican primary turnout (in 1964 for a non-binding straw vote on presidential candidates) was 142,892. The 1974 vote was only 69,101. Forecasts this year range all the way from 150,000 to 500,000.

Complicating any prediction of the Ford-Reagan contest outcome are the mechanics of the primary law and wide varience in Republican voter participation over the state. Ford's pollster, Robert Teeter of Detroit, concluded that even identification of potential GOP voters was impossible in Texas.

In effect, there are 24 separate Texas primaries — one in each congressional district. Votes are tallied separately in the districts. The four candidates in each who receive the largest vote total will be the winners.

Under the system, some rural districts where GOP primaries in the past have drawn fewer than 1,000 votes will elect the same number of delegatss as metropolitan areas which have a relatively heavy turnout.

There were 793 votes in the 1972 Republican primary from counties then making up the Democratic 1st District, for example, and more than 23,000 in Dallas' 3rd District and Houston's 7th District. Both of the latter are represented by Republican congressmen.

Either candidate conceivably could get a majority of the popular vote, which is cast in a handful of metropolitan counties, and end up on the short end of the delegate count.

Reagan has solid strength in the conservative areas, but Ford boasts the best organization and plan for getting out the vote.

Ford forces have telephone banks operating in the 26 counties which accounted for nearly 88 per cent of the Republican primary votes in 1974.

An additional 30 counties, where about 8 per cent of the 1974 GOP vote originated, are also organized and have some grass roots contact activities under way.

One-hundred-fifty of the 254 Texas counties have Ford campaign chairmen.

Reagan has no telephone bank setup comparable to Ford's, though a volunteer organization is engaging in personal voter contacts in major counties.

Ford's state campaign has a $450,000 budget, with about half the total devoted to television and radio spots.

Reagan has a $200,000-plus Texas budget, more than half of which will go to media advertising. Reagan delegate candidates, in addition, are spending money on their own local advertising.

Who will benefit from the anticipated crossover and new voter invasion of the primary? That is anybody's guess.

"There will be a substantial crossver, and any Democrat who crosses over will do so only to support Reagan," said Barnhart. "There is no reason to leave the Democratic party to support Ford. Every one of the votes over the 150,000 mark will be for Reagan."

"If we get a substantial crossover, we are in a world of the totally unknown," said State GOP Chairman Ray Hutchinson of Dallas. "When the total passes 250,000, it may be a dead heat."

Ford's state campaign director sees the "November Republicans" (who usually vote for GOP candidates in the general election after casing spring Democratic primary ballots) as leaning toward Ford Saturday.

"I'm optimistic," said Mrs. Milburn. "We have been running behind, but I think the undecided vote will break our way. It will probably be decided in the last few days. The 600,000 who support the straight Republican ticket in November are the people we need in the primary."

Former Texas Gov. John Connally said he feels Reagan would carry the state if the election were held tomorrow, but Ford may overtake him. The former governor said he considers speculation that his own influence may be decisive "grossly exaggerated." He pledges strict neutrality.

A limited defection of Wallace supporters to Reagan already has occurred in Dallas and Fort Worth. The Alabama governor has made two wide-ranging tours of Texas within the last two weeks to let his supporters know he is still fighting for delegates in the Democratic primary.

For the Republican contenders, campaign issues have been secondary to images.

Reagan has hammered hard on his theme of declining U.S. military strength and worldwide prestige. He pictures Ford as too much a part of the "Washington buddy system" to do anything about big government and soaring budgets.

He charges the President aggravated energy and Texas economic problems by signing the 1975 Energy Act. And he emphasized the Panama Canal issue during the last week.

Reagan contended tha Ford, in spite of pledges t the contrary, is supporting a eventual giveaway of th canal to "a Communist dicta tor."

Ford counters in speeche and question-and-answer se sions with reassurances tha the United States is still mil tary and economically soun He terms Reagan's positio on the canal irresponsible. H now acknowledges that a pr posed new 30-to 50-yea treaty is being negotiate which would guarantee onl the right of all nations to us the canal.

Apologizing for the energ bill, Ford emphasizes that h considered it better than notl ing, and that he favors decor trol of oil and gas.

U.S. Sen. John Tower, chair man of the Texas For Committee, has predicte from the start that Ford wi end up with a majority of th 100 state delegates.

But whether Ford wins o not, Tower — whose own p litical prestige is on the lin — is prepared to argue Re gan lost.

Tower said Reagan wi need to win 75 per cent of th Texas delegates to remain viable challenger. Nobody a ticipates a 75 per cent victor for either candidate.

20A

Big Georgia Primary Becoming Ho-Hum Affair

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

Georgia's first presidential primary in nearly half a century, perhaps because its timing is perfect for native son Jimmy Carter, is turning into one of the biggest ho-hum events of the Bicentennial year.

Because Carter has it absolutely wrapped up here, and because of the close proximity of the Georgia primary to elections in bigger states — Pennsylvania and Texas — the Democrats are ignoring Georgia, and the Republicans are viewing their campaigns here merely as extensions of efforts elsewhere.

President Ford made a whirlwind swing around Atlanta's northside Friday, and Ronald Reagan is scheduled for a second visit to the state this week.

But the eyes of both, as well as their money and organizations, are on Texas. It is quite likely that whatever the GOP candidates do in the Lone Star State will have more effect in Georgia than anything they can do here.

Analysts say Ford and Reagan are running close in both Southern states. The Texas election is on May 1, and the Georgia election is on May 4.

Both will furnish good tests of Reagan's continued viability as a true challenger to the President. If the Californian is to stay in the race, he's got to prove he can beat the President in the South.

Georgia Republicans, growing more pragmatic daily and eager to back a winner, are going to be watching the outcome of the Texas election closely. And it's good logic that as goes one, so goes the other.

A win for Reagan among the cactuses could easily translate itself into a victory among the pines. And that's why both Ford and Reagan are limiting their campaigns here.

On the Democratic side, it's even more cut and dried. Carter is so far ahead that nobody else has even bothered to send a telegram to Georgia voters.

Even Carter seems to have launched and wrapped up his personal Georgia campaign in one day — with a press conference and a speech in Atlanta's Central City Park.

So Georgia's first open Presidential Primary, which was supposed to have been a dynamite political happening, has fizzled.

Timing Break for Carter

It might have been different. Last fall when the timing of the election was being debated here, one school of thought was that it should be set on the same day as the Florida primary, held this year on March 9.

Had this idea prevailed, the state would have been a political circus and a focal point of national attention.

But the Carter forces fought an early primary with all the resources they could muster without seeming to be unduly meddling in public business.

Luck fell into Carter's pocket once again, as it has with uncanny consistency since he decided to run for President three years ago.

An early Georgia primary conceivably could have cost him his candidacy.

First of all, George Wallace's effort would have been alive and active here, forcing Carter to pull a good chunk of his meager resources out of Florida where his organization beat Wallace simply by outworking him.

Since Wallace's campaign was built largely on media advertising and big rallies, and since the Alabaman at that time had the money to finance those kinds of efforts, he might have beaten Carter in both Florida and Georgia on the same day.

And if he had, it follows he might have whipped the former Georgia governor in North Carolina a month later.

It's hard to see how Carter could have stayed in the race as a really serious candidate after taking such lickings in three important Southern states one after the other.

So, by letting the imagination loose, and remembering the "for the want of a nail" analogy, a person might entertain the possibility that Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson and the small band of citizens on the commission which set the Georgia Primary date determined the identity of the next President of the United States.

The 'ABC' Movement

Gov. George Busbee, who has been studying his chicken bones and finally decided he better join up with Carter before Carter decides he doesn't need him, issued a profound, if little noticed, truth at his press conference last week.

While endorsing Carter and at the same time claiming he wasn't, Gov. Busbee expressed a growing indignation felt by Southerners from all over about the so-called "ABC"anybody but Carter) movement put together by northern Democrats.

He raised the possibility, as we have in this space before, that unfairly depriving Carter of the nomination in the back rooms of the Democratic National Convention could set up a massive Southern backlash that could cost the Democrats the Presidency and do the party more harm than it could recover from in a decade.

Carter is rapidly becoming something of a White Knight in the South, the man who has brought the region into the political and social respectability its citizens have yearned for a century.

There's no one quite so bitter as a Southerner who thinks he is being dumped on because he is a Southerner. And the quickest and surest way for the national Democrats to drive a half-dozen Southern states into the arms of the Republicans next November is to keep up the juvenile ABC effort.

Hubert H. Humphrey ought to be more aware than anyone of the danger. All he had to do to lose the election against Richard Nixon in 1968 was to ignore Southerners, let alone insult them.

Had the happy warrior carried one more Southern state, either North Carolina or Florida, both of which went for Nixon, he would have been President.

Humphrey has been heard to wistfully remark several times since that he would never make the same mistake again.

In 1976 the solid "yellow dog Democratic" South has ceased to exist. It's looking for an identity, and it can go either way.

One thing the Republicans ought to agree on, Fordites and Reaganites alike: the ABC movement is AOK for them.

Carter vs. the Field in Pennsylvania

JIMMY CARTER'S campaign reaches a certain climax in this coming Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary.

One of his key strategists said the other day, a little ruefully, that he was not quite sure the much-praised Carter campaign organization really had a national strategy; some days it seemed that their strategy was to run all out, one state at a time.

Hal Gulliver's column appears daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

There is some truth in that. Carter indeed had a bold national strategy from the beginning, to run everywhere, in all the primary and caucus states, something no other candidate on the Democratic side quite dared to do. The early emphasis would be on key early states, Iowa and New Hampshire and Florida. Wins in such states could give Carter maximum national publicity and also make him a serious candidate in the eyes of many who discounted the chances of an ex-governor of Georgia. That is exactly the way things have worked out. But it is also true that part of the running-everywhere strategy has meant a rapid shifting of targets, something to be reconsidered after every important primary.

For instance, the early wins in caucus states and then the first primary victory in New Hampshire gave Carter more momentum than even his backers had expected. They saw suddenly that, just maybe, there was a chance for Carter to do unexpectedly well in the Massachusetts primary one week after New Hampshire. People and resources were shifted to try to make that work and for a heady few days the Carter staff people were convinced that their candidate had a chance, a feeling buoyed by a Carter campaign poll, actually to win in Massachusetts. The candidate himself predicted that he would finish in the top three. He finished fourth.

That was one of the few setbacks for the frontrunning Carter campaign.

Yet it remains true that there is a certain state-by-state emphasis in the Carter planning, of necessity as conditions change. Early on, many people thought Sen. Birch Bayh might emerge as the left-of-center candidate within the national Democratic party. Bayh faded; Rep. Morris Udall was suddenly the only liberal candidate left. That development put a new emphasis on Wisconsin, where Udall had campaigned hard and built a good organization and expected to win his first primary.

Carter's defeat of Udall in Wisconsin virtually ends the Arizona congressman's national campaign. He hangs on because he is the only really left-of-center candidate acceptable to Democrats who don't like Carter or Jackson.

Which brings us to Pennsylvania. It could be the most critical primary of all. Udall is likely to run third, a finish which would conclusively put him out of the race as a serious candidate. But if Carter also defeats Sen. Henry Jackson in Pennsylvania—well, at that point, the only real question is whether Sen. Hubert Humphrey will announce as an active candidate and enter the late New Jersey primary. Even that might not change much. A decisive Carter win in Pennsylvania Tuesday would almost assure the Georgian of the Democratic presidential nomination.

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"All the News That's Fit to Print"

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Weather tonight. Tempera Friday

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Carter Would Promote Private Jobs

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 23—Jimmy Carter declared today that his top priority for the economy would be the public promotion of jobs in private industry through training, tax incentives and long-term economic planning.

Mr. Carter, campaigning for the Democratic Presidential nomination in the Pennsylvania primary next Tuesday, issued his first comprehensive outline of economic policy ideas here in the company of a group of economic advisers.

Both his policy proposals and his advisers placed the former Georgia Governor in the mainstream of his party—for example, in putting somewhat heavier short-term stress on reducing unemployment than on checking inflation.

Mr. Carter's economic advisers, led by Prof. Lawrence Klein of the University of Pennsylvania, president-elect of the American Economic Association, proposed a somewhat larger budget for the coming fiscal year between $412 billion and $420 billion, with a somewhat larger deficit, than President Ford's $395 billion proposal.

But in that and many other particulars involving expansion of the ecoonmy, job development, the easing of credit and reform of the Federal Reserve Board, Mr .Carter's position paper often echoe dthe Democratic leadership in Congress.

Mr. Carters' position paper, released at a news conference, seemed designed to establish this general familiarity with national economic debates, and not to claim any particularly expert or original insights. If there was anything distinctive about Mr. Carter's approach, it was perhaps his emphasis, as a successful small-business man in a race with lawyer and life-time politicians, on the private economy and on better management and planning in government.

"We have no discernible economic goals," Mr. Carter sa.d of the national Government in the Nixon and Ford eras.

At the same time Mr. Carter again offered no details on the revenue side of his own economic plans, though he has repeatedly promised sweeping tax reform in the general direction of equity and simplicity.

"I doubt I could come forward with a comprehensive income tax program before a year after I reach the White House," Mr. Carter said in answer to a reporter's question. "This is not something that can be done in the heat of a campaign."

Mr. Carter emphasized, as he had earlier, that public job programs are an expensive and temporary solution to unemployment. Yet he endorsed "accelerated public works" in areas of acute distress; a government program to rehabilitate railway roadbeds; a summer job program for 800,000 youths; a doubling of the number of jobs under the Comprehensive Education and Training Act, to a level of 600,000; and countercyclical aid to cities in periods of high unemployment.

Mr. Carter's three-year goals —all compatible, he said—included a 4.5 percent overall unemployment rate, a reduction of annual inflation to 4 percent, and economic growth at an overall rate of between 4 and 6 percent.

By 1979, he said, economic recovery and the growth of tax revenues should make possible a balanced budget without any reduction of social spending programs.

As a curb on inflation, Mr. Carter said, "I favor standby controls which the President can apply selectively. I do not presently see the need for the use of such standby authority."

Besides Prof. Klein, the members of Mr. Carter's economic study group are Carolyn Shaw Bell of Wellesley College; Richard Cooper of Yale; Julius Edelstein, of the City University of New York, Martin Feldstein of Harvard; Albert T. Somers of the Conference Board; Lester Thurow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Michael Wachter of the University of Pennsylvania.

Jackson Endorsed

Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 23 — Senator Henry M. Jackson, while campaigning here today, received the endorsement of more than 100 leadars of organized labor who have formed a western Pennsylvania labor committee in behalf of his candidacy. A similar committee was formed this week in Philadelphia.

However, at a news conference at which the announcement was made, James Mahoney, executive vice president of the Pennsylvania A.F.L.-C.I.O., acknowledged that the chief intent of the labor movement in the Presidential primary Tuesday was to elect delegates to the Democratic National Convention "so that the voice of labor will be heard."

Mr. Mahoney made it clear the labor leaders were involved in a movement to stop Jimmy Carter in Pennsylvania. He said the unions were sending out thousands of letters to voters questioning the former Georgia Governor's labor record. Mr. Mahoney said the literature would say that workers in Mr. Carter's peanut warehouse in Plains, Ga., are paid "peanut wages" and do not receive other benefits the labor movement feels are essential.

Responding to questions on whether the endorsement of Mr. Jackson was really an effort to nominate Senator Huber H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who is not running in the primaries, Mr. Mahoney said, "We're interested in seeing Scoop Jackson in the White House. Yes we are."

The New York Times/Don Hogan Charles

Jimmy Carter at a news session in Philadelphia yesterday with Prof. Lawrence Klein, the head of Mr. Carter's task force of economic advisers. It was the first time one of Mr. Carter's economic advisers has appeared publicly with him.

Pittsburgh Area Offers Unofficial Carter Referendum

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 23—Election posters for two rival Democratic candidates for the state legislature have been left to curl and fade in the window of Cupka's Cafe.

Richie Cupka, the proprietor of an establishment that is celebrated on the South Side for its sausage sandwishes and the softball team it fields every year at about this time, hasn't removed the posters because the candidates spent more than $10 each in his bar buying rounds of Iron City beer for the electorate.

It cannot be said, therefore, that the primary campaign has been invisible on the South Side. But the Presidential primary might almost be taking place in some other state for all the impact it is having on this solidly workclass neighborhood of tiny 19th century row house that sit beside the massive Jones & Laughlin Steel Works like dinghies moored to an ocean liner.

The South Side turned out heavily for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, in that order, in the Democratic primary four years ago. It will probably turn out heavily again because this is a neighborhood that values old customs, such as voting, that are becoming passé elsewhere. But this time, among the candidates on the ballot, the South Side has no obvious favorites.

"To be truthful, it's a heck of an attitude but I'm just not interested this year," Joan Burke, he wife of a detective on the Pittsburgh force, commented apologetically. In the primary four years ago, she said, she voted for Senator George S. McGovern of South Dakota. On Tuesday she plans to cast an unenthusiastic vote for Governor Wallace because, as she explained it, "I don't like the other ones."

Wide Range of Opinions

A sophisticated political analyst could make much of a former McGovern voter shifting to Mr. Wallace but no analyst would get very far trying to fit the surprising, often original judgments of individual voters here into a conventional interpretation.

The South Side is an unusually stable neighborhood—most people live within walking distance of where they grew up—but ring three doorbells and you stand an excellent chance of getting five or six distinct opinions on the same candidate or issue.

In any case, a new Wallace voter is a rarity, which is what former Wallace voters are not. "Wallace had his year," said George Yovetich, a steelworker. "At the time he was good, but I don't think he's good for the time now."

Older residents can still work up enthusiasm for Senator Humphrey and some speak of writing in his name. "Just like Humphrey, that's all," said John Pogorelec who retired from the Jones & Laughlin rolling mill six years ago. But younger people seem mostly indifferent or hostile to the Senator and even among Humphrey admirers, there were some who were ready to accept Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia Governor, as the best available choice.

In a curious sense, the primary here seems to boil down to a referendum on the Georgian, a contest between those who are inclined to vote for him and those who have developed feelings against him. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, and Representative Morris Udall of Arizona, the leading rivals of Mr. Carter, appear to have made little impression.

On the South Side over the last few days, 12 of 37 residents interviewed at random said they would probably vote for Mr. Carter. There were five votes for Mr. Wallace, four for Mr. Udall and only thre for Senator Jackson, who has predicted that he will put together a winning coalition in heavily unionized, ethnic neighborhoods like this.

Strong Carter Criticism

The remaining residents were undecided, not voting or toying with the idea of a Humphrey write-in. Many expressed strong doubts about Mr. Carter. Indeed, the opposition to him was much more vehement than the support he aroused.

"He seems to me like another Nixon—sneaky," said Mary Lapata, the wife of a construction worker.

"Every time I see him smiling, it seems to me it's an evil smile," said Ray Wittman, a young steelworker who has been laid off. "There's something phony about that smile."

Support for Mr. Carter was generally expressed hesitantly and verbally festooned with doubts. "I like Carter but he's too mysterious," said Mr. Yovetich.

"Carter? It's 50-50 with me, but I believe in giving the man a chance," said Elwood Tasillo, a house painter who would prefer Senator Humphrey but has no interest at all in the Jackson and Udall candidacies, which Humphrey supporters hope will block Mr. Carter's march to the nomination.

Diversity of opinion was nowhere more conspicuous than in the reactions to Mr. Carter's "ethnic purity" slip.

The South Side is as ethnic as they come but not especially pure. Serbian, Croatian, Slovak and Polish, with some Germans, Italians and Irish mixed in, it has been proud of its patchwork heritage so long that even the younger people still call it a "League of Nations."

The candidate's remark aroused the "league's" strong and contradictory feelings about race, which are never far beneath the surface.

Charles Miller, a milwright at Jones & Laughlin and a Bronze Star winner in World War II, said he was "disgusted" when Mr. Carter apologized "to the coloreds—I lost interest in him right away for that." Mr. Miller is convinced that blacks are destroying American society and that politicians care only about the black vote, so he is withholding his own as a protest.

He even regards Governor Wallace as a "turncoat." The Alabama Governor now shakes hands with blacks, while only a few years ago, Mr. Miller said, Mr. Wallace chased blacks from his restaurant with baseball bats—an apparent confusion with former Gov. Lester G. Maddox of Georgia, who used ax handles for that purpose. Defying conventional logic, Mr. Miller said he would put these feelings aside to vote for Senator Humphrey if he entered the race.

A few doors away on the same street, Charles Totin, a 28-year-old Air Force veteran who has been unemployed for two years, said the remark sealed his mistrust of Mr. Carter. "I tend to see him as more of a racist," he explained. Across the street, Mrs. Lapata echoed that concern.

But Stephanie Bachleda, a nurse who is voting for Governor Wallace because she would like to see the electric chair reintroduced, said she thought Mr. Carter was for the colored. And Ray Erfort, a fireman, said he would vote for the Georgian because he agreed with what Mr. Wallace "said about the niggers."

Not one of the workers who were interviewed said he had heard anything about the Presidential race from his labor union. Mr. Udall went to the Jones & Laughlin gate last week with the president of the United Steelworkers local, James Comer, who supported Mr. Jackson in 1972 only to see the Senator get less than 2 percent of the vote on the South Side.

Now when Mr. Jackson comes to town, Mr. Comer said, he seems more interested in meeting with wealthy potential contributors than union leaders. Mr. Comer has been busy campaigning on behalf of an officer of his local who is running for Congress and, aside from his visit to the factory gate has done nothing to advertise his support for Mr. Udall. "But if anybody asked me, I'd tell them."

In the absence of active campaigns or of any event that commands attention, the undecided vote on the South Side seems likely to drift off in all directions like the faintly sulfurous smoke that rises from the steel works. "I'm like free," Pete Losanovich, a young steelworker, said with a touch of amusement. "All these candidates have got to do is touch me and impress me a little and I'll be theirs."

Church Pins Hope on Nebraska Primary

By R. W. APPLE

Special to The New York Times

AURORA, Neb., April 23—It was a dreamlike spring day in this town of 3,180 people in the wheatfields of the Great Plains. The sky was blue, the trees were budding, the bricks of the Victorian courthouse glowed in the sun—and there was a Presidential candidate on the bandstand.

Senator Frank Church of Idaho savored the moment, his jacket off, his shock of graying hair flying in the breeze. The last Presidential candidate to visit Aurora, he remarked as he assailed the Ford Administration's farm policies, was Wendell L. Willkie in 1940.

"He didn't win, either," grunted an elderly farmer with a cigar in his mouth.

Mr. Church, who entered the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination only last month, has encountered some of that kind of skepticism in a three-day trek across Nebraska, whose primary May 11 will be his first test.

But he has also evoked enthusiasm to suggest that he has an outside chance of making the kind of showing he needs here to get his campaign off the ground.

To Build Momentum

The 51-year-old liberal said in an interview that he needed at least a second-place finish in Nebraska's preferential primary, and needed to elect some delegates in the separate delegate balloting, to build the momentum and raise the money to run in Oregon, Montana and California.

"We have a chance to turn this campaign around," he argued at a headquarters opening in Grand Island, "by winning the primaries that will make the final imprssion."

The collapse of the Nebraska effort of Representative Morris K. Udal of Arizona, whose constituency Mr. Church hopes ultimately to inherit and expand, will benefit the Senator's campaign here. Mrs. Frank Morrison, wife of a former Governor who has been Mr. Udall's main champion in the state, traveled with Senator Church this week, and Mr. Morrison praised him so hugely that some Nebraska newspapers construed his comments as an all-out endorsement.

Mr. Church said he had little hope of winning here, largely because of the national news media attention already lavished on former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia. His own polls, done by Joe B. Williams, a veteran local public opinion analyst, show Mr. Carter with a strong lead, the Senator said.

No Carter Campaign

With the election only two and a half weeks away, Mr. Carter has yet to campaign here. Only $15,000 has been raised to date by his supporters, mostly amateurs, headed by Mrs. Jean Masuck, who met Mr. Carter when she was lobbying in Atlanta for the League of Women Voters in 1962.

Senator Church, by contrast, will pour at least $125,000 and perhaps as much as $150,000 into the state, at least $75,000 of it for television commercials that have already begun running, according to Joe McCarter, his campaign manager.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who has the support of Gov. J. J. Exon and of key elements of organized labor in Omaha, has no visible campaign. His chairman, Norman Krivosha, who is Mr. Exon's lawyer, advanced the unusual argument that neither organization nor television advertising counted here.

"There's no point in sending out literature or opening offices," he said. "Jackson's well enough known here. It's up to the delegate candidates to do the job themselves."

The presence on the preferential ballot of Senators Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who were listed despite disclaimers of candidacy, could present problems for Mr. Church. Because he has declared his availability, said Richard White, the state Democratic chairman, Mr. Humphrey might pull a solid vote.

Was Second in 1972

Mr. Humphrey fihished second to Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, with 34 percent, in the 1972 primary.

Nebraska Democrats, particularky those in the vast rural areas outslde the only two large cities, Omaha and Lincoln, are often pictured as conservatives. Yet both Robert F. Kennedy in 1968 and Mr. McGovern in 1972 won here by combining the university and government vote in liberal Lincoln with "outstate" Nebraska while struggling in Omaha.

Mr. Church is trying to do the same thing. As he crossed the state this week from Scottsbluff to Omaha, he promised a more consistent farm policy, argued that the nation should be the "breadbasket of the world, not the cannon factory," and called for a restoration of ethics in government.

At almost every stop, unlike his rivals, he attacked President Ford's pardon of Richard M. Nixon and recounted in detail what he called the "horrifyingly unlawful activities" of the Central Intelligenc Agency and other agencies.

In the republican primary here, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California begins with the advantage of the state's extraordinary Republican conservatism, the degree of which is suggested by its two Senators, Carl T. Curtis and Roman L. Hruska, probably the most right-wing senatorial pair from any Northern state.

Opposing Views

Mr. Ford has lined up the entire party establishment, beginning with the two Senators, but one neutral Republican, who has been traveling around the state, said this week, "The President is in bad shape." On the other hand, Lloyd Hooper, Mr. Ford's regional coordinator, said polls showed the President narrowly ahead of his rival in the popularity contest.

Whatever the outcome in that part of the voting, the delegate contests are sure to be confused. With the elimination of filing fees, no fewer than 110 delegate candidates pledged to Mr. Reagan and no fewer than 147 pledged to Mr. Ford will compete for only 25 delegate slots.

The winner, in all likelihood, will be whoever can focus his vote on a few delegate candidates, rather than having it widely dispersed.

Until this week, the Ford forces thought the greater prominence of some of their candidates — senators, legislators, former party chairmen—would solve the problem. But the Reagan forces have now chosen official slates in each Congressional district, and hope to distribute blue palm voting slate cards to at least halt the Republican electorate, according to Milan Bish, the state Reagan chairman.

"It's never been done here before," Mr. Hooper said. 'I don't know whether it will work, but if it does we could be in real difficulty."

AIR FORCE JET TAKES BUTZ PARTY ON TOUR

WASHINGTON, April 22 (UPI) — Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz and a party of 25 other persons, including wives of department officials, are using an Air Force jet on a globe girdling trade tour that will cost $1,800 more per person than commercial airfare.

The Agriculture Department said in a statement, released in response to questions, that it would reimburse the Air Force for the cost of operating the VC-135 aircraft and crew on the three-week trip.

The total cost is estimated at $112,000. This averages out to $4,307 for each of the 26 persons making the full 10-country tour through the Pacific, Asia and Europe. According to travel agencies, a regular economy class ticket for the same trip would cost $2,349.

Agriculture officials had no comment on the use of Air Force transportation, but other department sources said Cabinet officers tried to avoid official travel on commercial airlines because of the increase in plane hijackings abroad in recent years.

In addition to Dr. Butz, 13 department officials and nine of their wives, the party includes three reporters.

The Agriculture Department statement said, "U.S.D.A. will not bill nongovernment passengers since the cost is the same whatever the passenger load."

Reagan Gets Oklahoma Bid

OKLAHOMA CITY, April 23 (AP)—Ronald Reagan, who is challenging President Ford for the Republican Presidential nomination, will be the keynote speaker at Oklahoma's Republican convention May 15, a state patry spokesman said today. Gary Blevins said that the state party had just received confirmation from the former California. The party also expectes Mr. Ford or a Ford aide to attend.

Candidates Express No Differences on Issue of Housing Segregation

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By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 23—Two events in the last two weeks have brought the question of desegregating housing patterns to the forefront of the Presidential primary campaigns.

First, there was Jimmy Carter's admittedly impolitic remarks about how the Federal Government should not take the initiative to change the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods or the "economic homogeneity" of suburbs.

Just as the excitement over the former Georgia Governor's words was subsiding, the Supreme Court revived the issue by ruling Tuesday that, in some circumstances, Federal courts could order the creation of low-cost public housing in a city's suburbs.

Despite all the talk on the campaign stumps, however, there is hardly a whit of difference in the positions taken by the major party candidates.

Endorse 1968 Ruling

The candidates say that no one in the United States should be prohibited from buying or renting a house or apartment because of his race. In other words, they endorse what the Supreme Court ruled eight years ago had been the law of the land since 1866.

The candidates also say that the Government should not arbitrarily break up neighborhoods of single-family homes by placing high-rise public housing projects in them—something that not even the most ardent foes of segregation are suggesting now and that the Government has no authority to do anyway.

In the view of many housing experts the candidates are not addressing the central issue—namely the extent to which it is possible and proper for Federal officials to enforce existing laws, which require that Federal urban development money be used to end segregated housing.

Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in the Johnson Administration, expressed that opinion this week.

"The question, contrary to what the Presidential candidates have said," Mr. Weaver declared, "is not whether urban and suburban ethnic neighborhoods will be splintered or invaded by people who are perceived to be 'diametrically opposed' to the community, but whether the Federal Government, and those who seek its highest office, can and will provide the leadership necessary to implement affirmatively and aggressively, and enforce, the nation's clear judicial and legislative mandates to promote fair and open housing."

Mr. Weaver went on to say, "The candidates have essentially addressed a non-issue, and worse, have answered with similar viewpoints. We cannot and will not be satisfied with leadership which would merely object to discrimination or passively favor fair and open housing laws. The issue requires far-reaching decisions by leadership which can go beyond the surface and give intelligent and vigorous implementation and enforcement to the letter and spirit of the nation's open housing mandates."

Theory vs. Practice

Like so many other Federal laws, the housing statutes permit various interpretations and broad latitude in their administration. The Fair Housing Act of 1968 requires officials to take "affirmative action" to achieve residential desegregation. The Supreme Court has interpreted that mandate to mean that the Federal Government has a commitment to achieve "truly integrated and balanced living patterns."

This is one of a series of articles on issues in the 1976 Presidential campaign that will appear from time to time.

That law made it possible, in theory, for persons to live wherever they wanted, as long as they could afford the accommodations they sought. In practice, however, the law has led to little real housing desegregation.

Moreover, the act did not permit the Government to finance public housing in communities where it was opposed by local housing agencies.

The Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 gave the Department of Housing and Urban Development additional ammunition to use in fighting housing segregation.

First it authorized the Government to deal directly with private developers and landlords, bypassing local officials, to provide housing for low-income persons.

Second, it consolidated the various H.U.D. grant programs for water and sewer systems, rent subsidies, open space development and other urban projects into a single block grant to be used more or less as the communities desired.

To qualify for the block grants, communities must submit detailed plans explaining how they intend to meet their needs for low-income housing.

Account for Others

The plans must account not only for persons already living in the community but also others, such as those who work in the community, who might be expected to live there if they could afford to.

Many advocates of housing integration believe that the Government can now use its urban development grants as a lever to induce some all-white suburbs to accept low-income housing.

They do not want to put such housing in communities with $150,000 homes. But they argue that, as more and more jobs in plants and service industries move from cities to the suburbs, the Government should assure that the people, black and white, who work in the suburbs are able to live there.

"It's not an overnight process, but it can be done," said Edward L. Holngren, executive director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, a private, Washington-based organization.

Burden on H.U.D.

But, Mr. Holngren went on, "it can be done only if there is vigorous leadership at H.U.D., only if the people at H.U.D. insist on adequate plans before they pay out the water and sewer money."

Other experts believe, however, that most wealthy communities will simply turn down Federal funds rather than submit to integration.

"It's next to impossible to force an affluent community to do something it doesn't want to do by denying it money," said William Lilley 3d, a former official at H.U.D. who is now deputy director of President Ford's Council on Wage and Price Stability. He is regarded as one of the Administration's foremost authorities on housing matters.

When money is withheld from a community, Mr. Lilley said, it is not the wealthy people there who suffer but those who are less well off.

Last year, three communities with populations of more than 50,000—Parma, Ohio, outside Cleveland; Bloomfield, N.J., near Newark, and Maple Shade, N.J., near Philadelphia—were denied block grant funds because their low-income housing plans were found insufficient.

Sixteen others, including the town of Hempstead on Long Island; Suffield, Conn., and Summerville, N.J., did not apply for H.U.D. grants, presumably to avoid having to file a plan for subsidized housing.

None of the Presidential candidates have directly addressed the question of how the Government should place public housing. It is an issue, several of their aides agreed, that the candidates would rather avoid, because whatever they said might alienate one segment of the voters or another.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona were quick to jump on Mr. Carter, their Democratic rival, for his "ethnic purity" remark, but they acknowledge now that there is little difference between Mr. Carter's overall stance and theirs.

'Ethnic Heritage'

President Ford took a similar position last week, saying that he supported open-housing statutes but believed that the Government should try to preserve the nation's "ethnic heritage." Ronald Reagan, Mr. Ford's Republican challenger, has not made a specific statement on the issue but is said to hold a similar viewpoint.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, is traveling in his home state this week. Efforts to obtain his position on the matter through his office elicited no response.

There is little evidence that Mr. Carter's "ethnic purity" remarks of the whole question of desegregating housing have influenced voters.

According to a national poll by The New York Times and CBS News, two-thirds of black Democrats in mid-April, after the remarks were made, named Mr. Carter as their Presidential preference.

In March, before the controversy developed, The Times/CBS News survey showed that about half of the black Democrats preferred Mr. Carter.

Mr. Holngren said that he was enough of a realist to discount much of the campaign rhetoric, but he said he was a little amused and a little disturbed by all the talk about ethnic neighborhoods.

"It's a romantic notion that went out at the turn of the century," he declared. "The only ethnically pure neighborhoods left now are those where blacks and Chicanos and Puerto Ricans live."

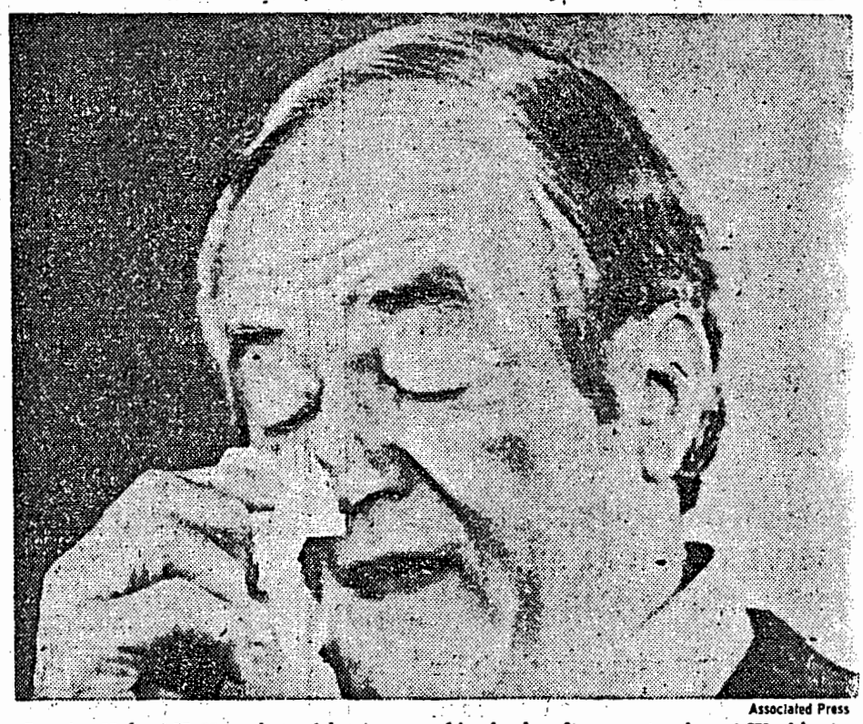
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/30

Quotation of the Day

"One thing I don't need at this stage of my life is to be ridiculous, so I'm not going to do it."—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, explaining his decision not to enter the New Jersey primary. [A1:8.]



Associated Press

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey dries tears on his cheeks after announcing at Washington news conference yesterday that he would not undertake fourth campaign for Presidency.

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News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The Soviet press agency Tass reported yesterday that an explosion at the gates of the Soviet Embassy in Peking had killed two Chinese guards. It was not known how the blast occurred or whether it was politically motivated. Tanyug, the official Yugoslav news agency, also reported the explosion, which Western reporters in Peking had not been aware of, and said that the Chinese guards had been seriously injured and not killed. The explosion followed a high-level policy article in Pravda, the official Soviet Communist Party newspaper calling on the Chinese to take a more conciliatory attitude toward resolving the six-year deadlock in negotiations for a settlement of frontier claims. The article also reported Soviet denunciations of Mao Tse-tung and his followers. [Page A1, Column 4.]

Dmitri F. Ustinov, civilian head of the Soviet Union's military-industrial complex, was named as Minister of Defense, succeeding Marshall Andrei A. Grechko, who died last Monday. The appointment surprised many Western military specialists who had expected that another professional military man would be chosen. He was given the rank of General of the Army, in an apparent gesture to make his appointment more acceptable to Soviet military professionals. He held a reserve rank of Colonel General. [A1:3.]

The Bank of England said it was investigating its staff. The announcement astonished London's international banking fraternity and disrupted the House of Commons. It was clear that Britain's central bank, long a symbol of security and integrity, fears bribery and foregry among its officers. The activities under investigation are probably related to the year-long decline in the value of the pound, which more and more Britons ar exchanging for stronger currencies, often by devious means. [A1:7.]

National

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey tearfully rejected the pleas of his friends that he undertake a fourth campaign for the Presidency, but he repeated what he has been saying for a year: that he would still be willing, in the "unlikely" event that a deadlocked convention wished it, to accept the Democratic nomination. He said that he would neither enter the New Jersey primary June 8, whose filing deadline passed yesterday afternoon, nor authorize a committee to solicit support among delegates on his behalf. [A1:8.]

Soon after Senator Hubert H. Humphrey announced that he would not campaign for the Presidency, Governor Byrne of New Jersey sent telegrams to the country's 36 other Democratic governors urging them to rally behind Jimmy Carter in a national demonstration of party unity. He said that the governors have a chance to achieve the kind of national Democratic unity that has eluded them in past campaigns. [A1:5-7.]

A will purportedly made by Howard R. Hughes six years ago that named the Mormon Church as one of his beneficiaries was said by the church officials to have been found last Tuesday on a desk in an unoccupied office in the church headquarters in Salt Lake City. A lawyer for the church delivered the handwritten three-page stained document to the county clerk's office in Las Vegas yesterday. Church officials did not vouch for the will's authenticity. The will bequeathed the church one-sixteenth of Mr. Hughes's estate—a sum that could total $100 million. His business associates said the will looked "suspicious." [A1:2-3.]

Metropolitan

Governor Carey asked the Legislature to mandate a minimum confinement of one year for juveniles who commit serious crimes of violence and to increase from 18 months to three years the maximum period they can be sentenced to state training schools. The proposals were the most controversial part of wide ranging bills on children and youth, of which only a comparatively few dealt with juvenile crime. [A1:1.]

Ross DiLorenzo, a retired Brooklyn Civil Court judge, was acquitted on all four counts of perjury in State Supreme Court in Brooklyn. The jury of seven women and five men reached a unanimous verdict of not guilty on each of the four counts on its first ballot, a juror said afterward. [A1:2.]

Governor Carey designated Peter A. A. Berle, a former State Assemblyman and a highly respected environmental lawyer, as State Commissioner of Environmental Conservation to succeed Ogden R. Reid, who has resigned effective May 5. Mr. Berle will be Acting Commissioner when Mr. Reid steps down until his appointment to the $47,800-a-year post is confirmed by the State Senate. [D17-12.]

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ND EVERY FRIDAY: WEEKEND, A NEW ENTERTAINMENT SECTION

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Sunny, mild today; cool tonight. Cloudy, cooler tomorrow. Temperature range: today 47-68; Thursday 44-64. Details, page D17.

— NEW YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1976 —

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HUMPHREY BARS A CAMPAIGN NOW, BUT NOT A DRAFT

Senator Rules Out Fourth Quest for the Presidency Despite Many Pleas

A TEARFUL STATEMENT

Top Democrats Now View the Nomination of Carter as Highly Probable

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

WASHINGTON, April 29 — Senator Hubert H. Humphrey tearfully rejected today the pleas of his friends that he undertake a fourth campaign for the Presidential nomination.

Speaking at a news conference in the old Senate Caucus Room, the traditional stage for the proclamation of Presidential candidacies, Mr. Humphrey announced that he would neither enter the New Jersey primary of June 8 nor authorize a committee to solicit support among delegates in his behalf.

The Senator said he would still be willing, in the "unlikely" event that a deadlocked convention so wished, to accept the Democratic nomination. That has been his position for more than a year.

"I shall not seek it," he told 1,200 reporters and spectators in a strained voice. "I shall not compete for it, I shall not search for it, I shall not scramble for it."

Leading spokesmen for all elements of the Democratic Party agreed that the effect of Mr. Humphrey's statement, together with the devastating victory of former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia in the Pennsylvania primary Tuesday, was to make the nomination of Mr. Carter in July highly probable.

Byrne Endorses Carter and Requests All Democratic Governors to Back Him

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, April 29 — Governor Byrne of New Jersey urged the country's 36 other Democratic governors today to rally behind Jimmy Carter in a national demonstration of party unity in behalf of the former Georgia Governor's Presidential nomination campaign.

Less than two hours after Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota reaffirmed his decision not to enter the New Jersey Democratic Presidential primary on June 8, Governor Byrne issued a ringing endorsement of Mr. Carter.

At a news conference in his office here, Mr. Byrne said he had sent telegrams to all the Democratic governors contending that Mr. Carter's victory in Pennsylvania on Tuesday and Mr. Humphrey's decision to stay out of the delegate race offered them the chance of achieving the kind of national Democratic unity that has eluded them in the past.

"I believe that we should all join now in support of Jimmy Carter," he said. "Governor Carter has demonstrated strength in all parts of the country among Democrats across the spectrum of our party. He will make an outstanding nominee and a great President of the United States."

While Mr. Carter has been endorsed by Govs. Julian Carroll of Kentucky and David L. Boren of Oklahoma, Mr. Byrne's support was the first expressed by a leader of a major Northern State.

Meantime, as candidates jammed the Secretary of State's office in the State House here to meet the 4 P.M. primary filing deadline, the Republican Party abandoned its uncommitted strategy and filed a statewide slate of 67 delegates pledged to President Ford. A rival slate supporting former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California was also entered, thus

Continued on Page A14, Col. 8

Carter Reaction

Mr. Humphrey, who has dreamed of the Presidency, almost since the day he was elected Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945, said he had made this decision with 'a heavy heart." His eyes filled with tears as he finished his announcement, as they have at other moments in his 30-year career. With a small smile, he wiped them and complained of the glare from the television lights.

Campaigning in Albany, Ga., Mr. Carter said that the announcement "makes much more unlikely the prospect of a deadlocked convention." But he added, perhaps because he fears that party unity will be more difficult to attain in he absence of a showdown, "There would have been a clearer choice if e had met."

The Georgian, whose ascent from political obscurity has stunned old-line poitical leaders, said he hoped to telephone Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Humphrey, the "happy warrior" from Minnesota who unsuccessfully sought the Presidency in 1960, 1968 and 1972, said that his decision was grounded in the belief that he had insufficient time, money and organizational strength for

Continued on Page A14, Col. 5

Humphrey Bars a Race in Primaries

Continued From Page 1A, Col. 8

"the kind of hard-hitting campaign I'm accustomed to."

He said in reply to a question that he thought he could have won in Ne Jersey, whose filing deadline, the latest in the nation, passed at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

But he added that he knew he ould come "under tremendous pressure," if he entered the New Jersey contest, to campaign as well in the Nebraska primary on May 11 and the Oregon and Idaho primaries on May 25, here his name has been listed on the ballot over his protests.

Inadequate Time

Time was inadequate for the organization of inning campaigns in those states, Mr. Humphrey observed.

There were other, more personal reasons as well.

Max Kampelman, a Washington lawyer who has been one of the Minnesotan's personal and political confidantes for years, said in an interview that Mr. Humphrey, deeply hurt by the animosities he aroused in 1968, "was reluctant to subject himself to having to answer all the charges that would have been raised."

Among them, politicians believed, would have been questions about his defense of the Vietnam War while serving as Lyndon B. Johnson's Vice President; accusations that he and staff members had mishandled campaign funds, and his alleged acceptance of improper gifts from abroad.

In addition, Mr. Kampelman said, the Senator, who will be 65 years old May 27, feared the embarrassment of another losing campaign.

At his news conference, Mr. Humphrey made a comment that several of his friends described later as close to the heart of his thinking.

"One thing I don't need at my stage of life," he said, "is to be ridiculous, so I'm not going to do it."

Support for Carter

Mr. Humphrey, who resents Mr. Carter's attacks on Washington as much as most of his Capitol Hill colleagues, was asked whether he could support and campaign for Mr. Carter.

He replied that he had made it a policy to "look with favor on fellow Democrats."

"I hope between now and the time of our convention," he added with considerable fervor at a later point, "that I'll hear a lot more from Mr. Carter and where he stands on the issues—and I'm going to help educate him."

Mr. Humphrey urged other candidates to stay in the race, and they promptly said that they would. Both Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona viewed the announcement as a boon to their candidacies, which have been stalled since Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jackson met all day with his staff, then declared that his colleague's decision had "put a whole new dimension into the campaign." He said that he was hoping that many Humphrey supporters would now turn to him.

pelman said. "People trip. But as of this moment, Carter is the inevitable nominee."

Many powerful Democrats had thought so even before Mr. Humphrey's decision. With Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson elminated from the serious competition, they said, the pressure on uncommitted delegates and others to move to Mr. Carter would be great.

Pleads for Candidacy

All day yesterday, the Minnesotan's old friends begged him to try to stop Mr. Carter. The phones in his Senate office rang incessantly, and late in the afternoon he convened a meeting at which Robert E. Short, a Minneapolis trucking executive, along with other advisers, made the case for a late entry by the former Vice President.

According to Mr. Short, the notion of simply authorizing a committee to solicit support among uncommitted delegates was quickly discarded as ineffectual. Nearly everyone present argued that if Mr. Humphrey wanted to be President, he would have to enter the New Jersey primary.

Mr. Humphrey went so far as to more or less approve a statement announcing his candidacy. He asked Harry McPherson, A White House speech writer during the Johnson Administration, to rework the text during the night.

But then, according to several of those present, the Senator asked each participant what he would do if he were sitting in Mr. Humphrey's chair. Most said they would stay out of the race.

The majority of those present were convinced that Mr. Humphrey had decided to run. But then he returned to his southwest Washington apartment and talked to members of his family late last night, and finally decided to stay out.

Telephoned Meany

He told a few aides. He discussed the situation by telephone with George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, who is left without a candidate. He posed for pictures.

Right up until the last, people were trying to persuade him. As he read the statement just before walking to the news conference, Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota who was there, remonstrated, "Oh, come on, Hubert!"

When Mr. Humphrey walked into the caucus room, with its elegant coffered ceiling, its Corinthian columns and its glistening chandeliers, his face was set. Mrs. Humphrey, dressed in an orange suit, appeared near tears. But most of those present remained convinced that he was running.

Then, after a few reliminaries, the Senator came to the meat of his remarks:

"I shall not enter the New Jersey primary," he said; "nor shall I authorize any committee or committees to solicit funds or to work in my behalf. I intend to run for re-election to the United States Senate from he State of Minesota. I shall, however, continue to speak out from the forum of the Senate and from public platforms on the issues as I see them.

"I shall serve the party—the Democratic Party—to the best of my ability in the status of a citizen, a Senator and a noncandidate.

"And I look forward to active participation at the Democratic convention in New York in July, and as I have said on other days, if my party should need me or if perchance, which I think is unlikely, should nominate me, I am ready and prepared to serve.

"I full realize that this decision will be disappointing to a host of my friends and supporters. And let me assure you, it has been exceedingly difficult for me. Now I urge those who are in the contest to continue their campaigns and not to give up and to address themselves to the important issues that face this nation and our world."

Mrs. Humphrey's eyes glistened as she put her arm around the Senator. He dabbed at his eyes, attributing the tears to the television lights.

A canvass of Humphrey supporters afterward indicated that some, like the leader of the uncommitted, pro-Humphrey sltae in New Jersey, James Dugan, would continue to support the Senator in the hope of a deadlock. Others said they would do nothing. Still others said they were pondering the idea of backing Mr. Carter, after a brief interval.

Most were so stunned, however, that they said they would need a few days to evaluate the new political world.

Jackson and Udall

But Mr. Jackson was unable to rally the Humphrey constituency in Pennsylvania even as a stalking horse, and there were few politicians who though he could do so now.

Mr. Udall, who made a five-minute national television appeal tonight, asserted that with Mr. Jackson as having cut back his campaign, he was the only alternative.

"Those people who are concerned about Carter," he argued, "now have two choices. They can jump on Carter's bandwagon, if they can find room. Or they can get with me, because I am in this campaign all the way."

Mr. Carter must meet Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in Maryland and California and Senator Frank Church in Nebraska and several other states. In addition, he could commit a serious gaffe that would cripple his candidacy.

"Things happen," Mr. Kam-

UNITY ON CARTER URGED BY BYRNE

Continued From Page 1A, Col. 7

promising a delegate contest that initial party strategy had been designed to avoid.

While Senator Humphrey was taking himself out of the race here, State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman, filed an uncommitted statewide delegate slate that he described as committed to the Minnesotan.

"It's for Humphrey," Mr. Dugan said, asserting that Mr. Humphrey would appear here next month at least three times.

May Withdraw

Although Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr. and Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. finally agreed today to have their names entered as uncommitted delegates, at the urging of Senator Dugan, they are scheduled to confer with him over the weekend amid increasing speculation that they may drop out of the delegate slate by the withdrawal deadline Tuesday.

According to informed Democratic leaders, Senator Humphrey's decision not to run virtually assured Mr. Carter a major political victory here next month. New Jersey, with 108 delegates, will have the eighth largest voting bloc at the national convention.

Senator Dugan said at a news conference that he would continue to lead a Humphrey campaign in the state and that it would win a majority in the June 8 voting.

"Jimmy Carter has a long way to go in New Jersey; it's a wide-open race," he said.

But few, if any, Democratic leaders were prepared to accept this assessment.

Even Senator Humphrey apparently had considerable misgivings about the effort Senator Dugan promised to mount in his behalf if he entered the race. At a news conference in Washington, he said that the "lack of campaign organization" in New Jersey had troubled him.

Bossism Issue

According to one Humphrey supporter here, part of the trouble stemmed from Mr. Humphrey's fear of being tied to old-line party leaders, thus giving Mr. Carter the bossism issue that Senator George S. McGovern used so effectively against him here in 1972.

"The very idea of stopping Jimmy Carter in New Jersey, or anywhere else, ended the moment Humphrey bailed out," one top Democratic official remarked. "What Dugan and the other leaders who tried to stop him have to figure out now is how do they cut their losses."

For example, Mr. Rodino, who emerged as a national political figure from his role Hs chairman of the Judiciary Committee's impeachment proceedings against President Nixon, was regarded as apprehensive about the wisdom of leading a delegate slate that might be overwhelmed in June.

With Mr. Humphrey's withdrawal and the sagging political fortunes of Mr. Dugan, Democratic leaders expect Mr. Rodino and other prominent members of the pro-Humphrey slate to face growing pressure over the weekend to withdraw, thus leaving Mr. Dugan to cut his own losses.

Fear Carter Momentum

For the most part, Democratic Party regulars were more concerned with the repercussions of Kr. Carter's momentum and the danger it posed for those who subscribed to Senator D gan's efforts to stop the Georgian's campaign.

At a brief appearance here Monday, Mr. Carter accused Mr. Dugan of attempting to rig a "deadlocked brokered" convention. Today, Dan Gaby, the Carter campaign chairman in New Jersey, told reporters: "Jimmy Carter will not tolerate the kind of manipulation that has occurred here. The attempt at bossism in New Jersey has fallen to the same fate it has in Pennsylvania."

Mr. Gaby's criticism was seen by party leaders as promising a bitter fight between the Carter forces and the old-line leaders who are attempting to keep Mr. Humphrey's campaign alive.

As for running here, Mr. Humphrey said he thought he could still win.

"Now if they love me," he said, "and want to say they like me, that's their business. But I'm not making any campaign for delegates."

Meantime, Mr. Byrne's endorsement of Mr. Carter was described by Carter aides as giving as much political comfort to Mr. Byrne as it gave to Mr. Carter. The Governor is on the outs with party regulars and he has been urged to seize on the Carter campaign as a vehicle to fight the same Democrats who were intent on stopping the Georgian.

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Carter Voices Regret Humphrey Won't Enter Primary in Jersey

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

BEAUMONT, Tex., April 29—Jimmy Carter said today that he wished Senator Hubert H. Humphrey had decided to enter the June 8 New Jersey Democratic primary election.

Responding to questions at a news conference here about Mr. Humphrey's decision not to run or to authorize any activity on his behalf, Mr. Carter said:

"Without seeming to be arrogant, my wife and I decided we would prefer that Senator Humphrey run in New Jersey. Not because we underestimated his popularity and strength, but it would have given us an opportunity to focus our attention on a direct, personal confrontation with Senator Humphrey among the voters of that state.

"I believe that his withdrawal is actually better for me as far as the ultimate nomination is concerned. But as for myself, individually, I was a little bit disappointed that he decided not to run."

Before boarding his chartered jet in Albany, Ga., this afternoon to fly here to campaign for Saturday's Texas primary, the front-running candidate for the Democratic nomination had said only that "it would have been a much clarer choice had we met head-on in New Jersey and had a test of strength prior to the convention."

The former Georgia Governor said that had Mr. Humphrey decided to run "we would have gone all out in New Jersey to meet him had-on and to prevail."

Moreover, although he did not say so directly in the impromptu news conference in Albany, Mr. Carter indicated strongly at that time he would rather have attempted to deliver a knockout blow to Mr. Humphrey in New Jersey instead of waiting to try to fight off any move by the Minnesota Senator and other Democrats to deny him the nomination at the party's national convention in New York City in July.

Obviously confident after his decisive victory over his two leading active rivals, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, in Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary, Mr. Carter said:

"I believe I would have won in New Jersey had he run. I still think I'll be the nominee, and now we have a good prospect for a first-ballot victory."

Knowing that Senator Humphrey had not entirely closed the door in his announcement today to a possible draft by the convention, Mr. Carter added:

"Now my goal is to show an ability to get votes in the succeeding states we will face in such a decided fashion and such a successful fashion that the ultimate challenge from Senator Humphrey and others at the convention will hopefully fade away."

He said that Mr. Humphrey's decision would result in "a longer and much more indefinite contest rather than a sharper focused contest just in New Jersey."

Georgians Endorse Carter

WASHINGTON, April 29 (UPI)—Senators Herman E. Talmadge and Sam Nunn, Democrats of Georgia, today endorsed former Gov. Jimmy Carter for the state's primary next Tuesday.

POLITICIANS WEIGH HUMPHREY'S STAND

New York Leaders Voice Disappointment, Wonder What Carter Will Do

By MAURICE CARROLL

New York politicians who publicly supported Henry M. Jackson and New York politicians who publicly supported Morris K. Udall—a good percentage of whom privately support Hubert H. Humphrey—expressed disappointment yesterday at Mr. Humphrey's decision to stay out of primary elections and some foreboding about what his decision meant for Wew York.

Could Jimmy Carter carry New York, they wondered, and —of equal importance to political professionals — would he help or harm the rest of the ticket? What, they asked, were his positions on "New York issues?" And with whom, they wondered, did you talk if you wanted to get a message to Mr. Carter?

There seemed a belief among New York politicians that the race for the Democratic nomination for President was now down to Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey, although leaders insisted that the Jackson and Udall delegations from New York would stand fast.

"The Jackson delegation is absolutely remaining steadfast," said Borough President Donald R. Manes, the Queens leader, who headed the Jackson campaign in New York.

"I'm hopeful that Mo Udall can lead a substantial liberal bloc into the convention," said Borough President Robert Abrams, of the Bronx, a Udall delegate. "Obviously, that's a very rough hurdle."

So far, according to a sampling of New York politicians, there have been no overtures from Carter people to get onto the bandwagon before it passes by.

Coming to Town

"But a lot of people have talked to me," said William J vanden Heuvel, who ran Mr. Carter's campaign in New York. "These are county chairmen, political leaders, labor leaders. They say they want to talk with Governor Carter the next time he's in town."

The next time will be May 13 at a breakfast in the Waldorf-Astoria Kotel.

In December, Mr. vanden Heuvel said, he told Mr. Carter, "New York will be your toughest primary state and your strOngest electoral state, just like Georgia for John F. Kennedy in 1960."

Mr. vanden Heuvel said he still felt that way, and he predicted that there would be "a movement of uncommitted New York delegates and uncommitted New York political forces to Carter."

He said he had no doubt that Mr. Carter could carry New York in November, although he got only one of every eight votes in the state's primary. But other politicians disputed that assessment.

"Just four years ago we had another man, George McGovern, who carried all the primaries, a landslide only to landslide in the other direction in November," said Percy E. Sutton, Borough President of Manhattan. He said that he still thought the party would nominate Mr. Humphrey.

"I don't believe, at this point, Carter could carry New York," said Mr. Manes. "To date he hasn't been making the kinds of statements that a Democratic Presidential candidate should be making with regard to the future of the cities and the Federal role in helping them."

More Help to Others

Dominic J. Baranello, the Suffolk County leader, said he thought that either Mr. Carter or Mr. Humphrey could carry New York against the Republicans but that Mr. Humphrey would be of more help to other Democratic candidates.

Mayor Beame, who spoke to Senator Humphrey on the telephone an hour or so before the Washington news conference at which the Senator reiterated his decision to stay out of the primaries, said through a spokesman that he thought Mr. Humphrey would make "an excellent candidate" but that he "respected his decision."

Mr. Abrams said that he was "awfully concerned whether Carter is sensitive to—or even understands—the problems of urban America."

In a series of conversations with elected officials, who spoke for the public record, and with staff people and political operators, who spoke anonymously and, therefore, more bluntly, there appeared to be a belief that a Humphrey administration would be far more receptive to messages from New York than a Carter administration.

"Forget philosophy," said one political staff man. "Just talk about accessibility. Even if you don:t know Humphrey, you know 10 people who do know him. Who knows Carter? Who do you talk to?"

But no one seemed to feel that the state party structure would change much, no matter who might emerge as the national party candidates.

"We didn't have that kind of jramary," said one professional, "where a guy wins and becomes the big guy in his area. It's not as if Bill vanden Heuvel was a county leader."

H

Exit Hubert Laughing

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 29—Hubert Humphrey hesitated briefly at the end, when his wife Muriel and three of their four children changed their minds and urged him to challenge Jimmy Carter for the Democratic Presidential nomination, but his doubts didn't last for long.

There was no way he could jump into the pit at the last minute without dividing his party and hurting its chances of winning the election in November. Even if he had won the nomination, he would almost certainly have infuriated Carter's supporters and lost the South and the race against President Ford. But there was more to his decision than that.

His narrow defeat by Richard Nixon in the Presidential election of 1968 produced a genuine crisis in his life. For months he sank into a deep depression, which he overcame only through the faith and loyalty of his family and of his students at MacAlester College in St. Paul, Minn.

When he came back to the Senate, he was threatened with cancer, and the chemical therapy so disoriented his physical systm that he could not retain either his balance or his natural optimism. Once recovered from this second crisis, he returned to the Senate, saying he was lucky to be alive and that was enough for him.

There were, of course, other more practical political reasons for refusing an active campaign. First, he probably couldn't have stopped Governor Carter even if he had tried. Second, if he had won the nomination and lost the election, he would also have lost his seat in the Senate and his political career would have been over. Third, if he divided his party by challenging Mr. Carter, he would have hurt his chances of being elected to the majority leadership of the Senate, and this is the one prize he now seeks to cap his long, useful service to the nation.

Mr. Humphrey did not come out for the nomination of Governor Carter now because this would have seemed unfair to Senator Jackson, Representative Udall and the other Democrats still in the race. The chances are, however, that he will do so between the end of the primaries in June and the opening of the Democratic nominating convention in July, for as he sees his role now, it is to avoid the divisions that cost him the election in 1968 and help unify the party for the campaign against the Republicans.

He is planning an active campaign not only for re-election to the Senate in Minnesota but also nationally on behalf of his party's Presidential nominee, and here he can play an effective role. For if Governor Carter is nominated and can help bring the South back to the support of the national Democratic ticket, then the critical battlegrounds will be in the large industrial and electoral states of the North, where Humphrey has always been popular.

His influence with the labor union leaders may also be valuable in reconciling them to a Carter candidacy. They are not happy with Carter now, since he overwhelmed their opposition in the Pennsylvania primary, but they are even less happy with President Ford, so the chances of a unified Democratic Party are better now than at any time since the election of 1964.

No such unity would have been possible with Humphrey in the late primaries and the party elders conniving at his nomination in Madison Square Garden. Also, the tone of the campaign would have declined.

For though he and his doctors insist that there is no need for anxiety about his health, this would inevitably have been an open or underground issue. And even his friends were afraid that all the old charges of improper fund-raising by Humphrey aides in the past would have been raised against him.

It is interesting that even Senator Humphrey, in announcing his decision, said the last thing he needed was to get involved in a last-minute struggle without adequate organization or funds. "It's ridiculous," he said, "and one thing I don't need in my stage of life is to be ridiculous."

Later, in private, he said that his only regret was that some of his friends felt that he had let them down, "but I'm out of the controversy now, and I have my pride and I hope I have the respect of my colleagues."

That he certainly has. He started out in this town as a controversial and divisive figure, battling from the left wing of his party, but gradually over the years, he has even won the respect of the conservative Senators of his own party and of former antagonists like Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

Many of them have held off deciding what to do about picking a Senate majority leader to replace Mike Mansfield, pending Humphrey's decision about the Presidential campaign. Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia, Mansfield's deputy, has been working hard to sew up the job before the Senate rises for the conventions, but it is understood that he now has no more than 24 or 25 commitments, a sizable lead over anybody else, but still not enough to settle the issue.

"I'll think about that later," Mr. Humphrey said after his announcement. "Even that is not necessary to my happiness. I feel comfortable and at peace with myself now, and that's good enough for me."

Down to the Wire

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

FORT WORTH, April 28 — Jimmy Carter's victory in the Pennsylvania primary was so convincing that it obviously will catapult him into a strong showing in the Texas primary on Saturday. Mr. Carter's latest triumph could even prove a small plus for Ronald Reagan, who needs it.

Even a minor lift could be vital in a race as close as the Texas Republican primary seems to be; and as if sensing that, President Ford, campaigning in Tyler, leveled his strongest attack on Mr. Reagan the morning after the Pennsylvania vote. Later in the day, at Fort Worth, he was his usual wooden self as he spoke out for law and order to the Tarrant County Bar Association.

Mr. Ford's personal style, or lack of it—an asset in some places—is one of the reasons he is vulnerable in flamboyant Texas, particularly to a cowboyish campaigner like Mr. Reagan. Now the President must also worry that Pennsylvania will cause Texans to see Jimmy Carter as the likely Democratic candidate next fall, and that those who want a Republican victory—for state or national reasons, or both—will ask themselves which Republican can make the strongest showing against Mr. Carter in November.

A Southerner with a farm background, fundamentalist religious views, and no ties to Washington or the hated liberals would probably be a strong contender in Texas, both for himself and at the head of the state ticket. Those who hope for a Republican victory here might well decide that Mr. Reagan—also anti-Washington, anti-Establishment, and more of a down-home conservative than Mr. Ford—would be a stronger opponent for Mr. Carter.

Such splinters of advantage are not to be discounted in the close race for this state's 96 Republican delegates—never before selected by primary. Mr. Reagan needs to win well over half to recover from his earlier defeats.

That will not be easy against an incumbent President, who is spending three days stumping the state's 18 television markets this week, and who has a well-heeled and well-organized campaign featuring ample TV and radio advertising and the support of the state's leading Republican, Senator John Tower. The Ford organization also has telephone banks in 26 counties of heavy Republican potential, and somewhat less extensive efforts in 30 other counties. Ford managers believe more than 90 percent of the likely Republican vote is in those 56 counties. And the Ford delegate slates are far better known than Mr. Reagan's.

But Mr. Reagan has a lot going for him, in addition to the sudden realization that Jimmy Carter, not some "crazy liberal," may head the Democratic ticket next fall. His campaign style is more attuned to Texas, and his issues—military superiority, retention of the Panama Canal until doomsday—evoke cowboy yells. Mr. Ford has to bear the burden of having signed the 1975 energy act, and Mr. Reagan can reasonably expect to pick up a lot of defectors from the sagging George Wallace campaign, ruined here as elsewhere by the health issue and by Mr. Wallace's losses to Mr. Carter.

A wholesale Wallace-to-Reagan switch is made possible by the major imponderable of the campaign—the Texas registration system in which voters do not indicate a party preference but may vote in either of the primaries (not both). With 5.3 million voters registered, no one can predict how many will vote in either primary.

Republican primaries for state office have rarely polled much over 100,000; this time, the figure is expected to rise well above 200,000, and some are predicting 300,000. Mr. Reagan's managers think this is clearly to his advantage—not only because of the expected Wallace switch-over but because they think Mr. Reagan will attract many other conservative Democrats who consider Mr. Ford too nearly part of the Washington "liberal establishment."

Ford strategists vigorously disagree, so strongly that they contend a primary purpose of Mr. Ford's last campaign swing was to increase the turnout. Their target is the so-called "November Republicans"—those who habitually vote in the Democratic primary for state offices but go Republican in Presidential elections. Past returns suggest there may be a half-million such voters in Texas. The Ford camp considers them to be largely pragmatic, rather than ideologically swayed, thus likely to be more impressed by the practical advantages of incumbency than by Mr. Reagan's fervent conservative pitch.

The outcome of the primary—maybe even Mr. Reagan's chance for the nomination—probably depends on where the additional Republican voters go. That there will be many of them is strongly indicated by the pattern of absentee ballots already being cast—more Republican absentees than Democratic in San Antonio, for example, although that city usually votes 10-to-1 Democratic.

1776, etc.

By G. B. Warden

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Let's revise some "history" concerning the American Revolution.

According to popular legend and the musical "1776," the "triangle trade" (rum for slaves for molasses, and so forth) was crucial to commerce and national unity. In fact, the historian Gilman Ostrander has shown that the myth rests on only two documented voyages out of hundreds of thousands in the colonial period.

Many people believe that Americans rebelled because of increased English taxes. Actually, Parliament reduced the tax on foreign molasses from six pence to one penny per gallon. The stamp tax lasted less than a year. The taxes in the Townshend Acts of 1767 were repealed in 1770, except for tea, and the Tea Act of 1773 actually reduced the cost by half. English taxes brought in only about £35,000 a year; to produce the expected £100,000 of annual revenue, the colonists each would have had to drink over a pint of rum from molasses every day and increase consumption of legal tea by a factor of 24. The amount of taxes was not the real issue.

("No taxation without representation" was the real issue, but that did not mean the colonists wanted to be represented in Parliament, contrary to current belief. The Americans had their own representatives in their own legislatures and wanted no one else to tax them.)

George III has not had a good "image" in America, but the historians Richard Pares and Herbert Butterfield have shown that England's policies originated in Parliament, not with the King. Ida Macalpine and Richard Hunter, historians, have argued that a hereditary metabolic disorder called porphyria, rather than psychological insanity, caused George III's mental troubles, which appeared, infact, long *after* the Revolution.

It is possible that Nathan Hale did not say, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," which appeared first in a biography in 1948. According to a British officer, on the day of the hanging Hale said that it was "the duty of every good officer to obey the orders of his Commander in Chief and desired the Spectators to be at all times prepared to meet death in whatever shape it might appear."

What, then, is memorable about the American Revolution? To John Adams, the Revolution began not in slogans, class conflict or physical oppression, but rather in the "hearts and minds" of the people, long before the war.

To Benjamin Rush, a political essayist of the revolutionary period, the end of the long, bloody war was just the beginning of the "true" Revolution.

Before and after 1776, therefore, there was a need to ask what was American or revolutionary about the American Revolution. That spirit of inquiry, the willingness to see beyond slogans, and the audacity to be free of history's limitations seem to be crucial elements of what we call the Revolution, history and the infinite complex variety of human experience.

Valuable as the past may be, it may be closer to the memorable qualities of the American Revolution to keep on asking who we are, what we are doing, and where we are going.

G. B. Warden is a fellow in legal history at the Harvard Law School.

WEATHER
Showers and thundershowers ending late Saturday. Details on Page 4C.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

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'REALLY THOUGHT I COULD WIN'

HHH Dumps The Stump

By JOSEPH ALBRIGHT
Journal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Blotting tears with his handkerchief, Hubert H. Humphrey stopped running for president Wednesday for the first time in 24 years.

The ordeal of his decision not to challenge Jimmy Carter in the late primaries seemed to drain all the blood from Humphrey's face as he appeared before eight television cameras and 500 listeners in the ornate Senate Caucus Room.

"I really thought I could win in New Jersey," he explained, "but the pressures to go into the other states would have been irrestible. You can't organize a campaign in 11 days, and the one thing I don't need at this stage is to be ridiculous."

Carter has picked up a somewhat restrained endorsement from Sens. Talmadge and Nunn—Page 14A.

Ironically, his latest move may have helped his stature with party figures more than winning a slugfest against Jimmy Carter in New Jersey could have done.

Sen. Adlai Stevenson, D-Ill. who will go to the Democratic convention with 86 delegates pledged to him, said: "I think Humphrey is a stronger candidate after his graceful statement than he was if he had gone into the primaries. Jimmy Carter is way out in front, where he is exposed. If he stumbles, the resistance within the party will stiffen and Humphrey will probably be the alternative."

For his part, Humphrey said he was "still doubtful" that Carter can win the presidential nomination on the first ballot. He declined to endorse him.

"I hope that before the convention we will hear a lot more about his positions on the issues," said Humphrey. "I am going to help educate him."

Although Humphrey remains a non-candidate, he planned a schedule for the next month that will guarantee him heavy news coverage. He said Tuesday that he will

Turn to Page 14A, Column 1

Humphrey Dumping The Stump

Continued from Page 1A

make three appearances in New Jersey and two in Ohio on behalf of congressional candidates before those states hold their presidential primaries on June 8.

Humphrey's eyes glistened as he finished reading a typed statement renouncing the possibility of campaigning in New JerseY. He wiped both eyes with a folded handkerchief. A few moments later, more tears came to his eyes.

"Really, I am not crying," he said. "These lights are just hard on my sensitive eyes. I've cried before but not this time."

In the 36 hours before he bowed out of the New Jersey primary, Humphrey received advice from scores of party luminaries.

Former ambassador Averill Harriman reportedly told Humphrey that he had "an obligation to the party and the country to run," in part because he questioned Carter's qualifications to be president.

And James Farley, who helped make Franklin Roosevelt president, three decades ago, is said to have passed the word that Humphrey would get in the race.

Democratic fundraiser John Y. Brown, chairman of Kentucky Fried Chicken Corp., reportedly spent an hour waiting outside Humphrey's office Tuesday morning, ready to offer his services as finance director of the Humphrey campaign.

But some of his longtime associates, including Washington lawyer Max Kampelman and Minnesota businessman Dwayne Andreas, told him the risks of New Jersey were too great.

One former Humphrey staff member told him, "Just think what the cartoonists will do to you."

Although Humphrey and his advisers had a poll indicating he could beat Carter in New Jersey, they feared that they could not put together enough campaign funds to launch a nationwide operation.

One Humphrey insider said a full-scale campaign would have cost $1 million.

Humphrey appeared on a presidential ballot for the first time in 1952, when he won the Minnesota primary as a 41-year-old favorite son. At the 1956 Democratic convention, his name was placed in nomination for vice president, but he came in fifth. He ran for president in 1960, 1968, and 1972.

Humphrey's decision left five Democrats still snapping at Carter's heels — California Gov. Jerry Brown, Sen. Frank Church and Henry Jackson, Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, and Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

Carter Gets Talmadge-Nunn Endorsement

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

Jimmy Carter's presidential bandwagon has picked up two more Georgia mules with a somewhat restrained joint endorsement from U.S. Sens. Herman Talmadge and Sam Nunn.

Both Talmadge and Nunn had remained aloof from the Carter campaign, Talmadge insisting that he would be "a fool" to get involved early, until Carter's surprise victory in the Pennsylvania primary this Tuesday established the former governor as by far the favorite for the 1976 Democratic nomination.

But in a two-paragraph statement issued from Washington Thursday, the two Georgia senators said "We intend to cast our ballots for Jimmy Carter and believe all Georgians will rally behind his candidacy."

While the statement was a clear endorsement of the Carter candidacy, it was clearly lacking in praise for Carter as anything other than an astute politician.

"In the past 100 years," said Talmadge and Nunn, "few Southerners have received serious consideration for the presidential nomination by one of our major political parties.

"Georgia has not produced a president in our nation's history, and we now have that opportunity."

The statement went on to chronicle Carter's record of primary victories and noted that he has demonstrated the "ability to attract a broad national constituency."

Carter, an overwhelming favorite in the May 4 Georgia presidential primary, has won most of his state races without even implied political backing from the Georgia congressional delegation.

Only 5th District Congressman Andrew Young of Atlanta sided openly with Carter prior to his impressive primary wins in New Hampshire and Florida.

The Talmadge-Nunn endorsement is the latest from top Georgia political figures in the past several days. Gov. George Busbee, also backing away from an earlier pledge to stay out of the race, said last week he would vote for Carter — although he insisted he was not making a formal endorsement.

Earlier, U.S. Reps. Ronald "Bo" Ginn of Millen, Elliott Levitas of Decatur, Dawson Mathis of Albany, Jack Flynt of Griffin, Phil Landrum of Jasper, Jack Brinkley of Columbus and Bill Stuckey of Eastman had issued belated endorsements of Carter.

Carter Riding Momentum in Texas

By JON FORD
Cox Washington Bureau

AUSTIN — Jimmy Carter, originally picked for a third place finish in Saturday's Texas Democratic presidential primary, is now widely regarded as the likely leader.

Carter has been crowding favorite son candidate U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen for weeks. And many observers feel he zoomed ahead on the momentum of his Pennsylvania victory Tuesday.

George Wallace, the man Bentsen set out to stop in the experimental, one-time-only state primary, has slipped to a poor third, according to most forecasts.

Carter's advance is all the more remarkable in view of the fact he has barely visible Texas organizational support and is making a minimal two-day personal campaign effort.

He booked $104,000 worth of television time (his standard five-minute biographical and position spots), but his supporters are paying on a day-to-day basis.

Bentsen, on the other hand, has been churning familiar home turf for months in an expensive, well-organized dual Senate re-election and favorite son action.

All major statewide Democratic elected officials except Land Commissioner Bob Landis Armstrong, who signed on last month as Carter's campaign chairman, are united behind Bentsen. So are most of the state party brass down to the county chairmen.

Bentsen's formidable delegate slates include state legislators, mayors, county judges and labor leaders. The state AFL-CIO leadership also backs the senator.

Popular, low-key Gov. Dolph Briscoe, who wants to expand his narrow control of the state Democratic party, is among officials in Bentsen's camp. Briscoe wants a share of the delegation leadership.

He is an old friend of Carter's, however, and has expressed admiration for the former Georgia governor.

Briscoe has made clear he would have no trouble switching to Carter. Lt. Gov. William P. Hobby is also a Carter friend, and none of the officials committed to Bentsen have anything against the Georgian.

Since he had made no real enemies in the state and apparently has strong popular support, speculation is that Carter could well end up with most Texas delegates on his side at the national convention even if he trails Bentsen in the Saturday primary.

Mechanics of the Texas primary were designed by the legislature to aid Bentsen's presidential ambitions when he was a serious national contender.

Carter, Bentsen and Wallace were the only candidates who met exacting petition requirements to get on the ballot in all 31 state senatorial districts.

Liberal uncommitted delegates filed slates in 18 districts. Fred Harris delegates qualified in 14 (but recently announced they would vote for Sen. Hubert Humphrey if elected).

Sargent Shriver delegates filed in five districts, but are now working with the liberal uncommitted group led by Democratic National Committeewoman Billie Carr.

Carr lieutenants are giving Carter a hand in nine districts. Anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack has delegates in five districts.

Under the Texas primary law, 98 of Texas' 130 presidentfal nominating delegates will be elected Saturday. Twenty-six senate districts will elect three delegates each, and five others each wLll elect four.

Delegate candidates receiving the largest popular vote in each district will win. Another 32 delegates will be picked (along with the alternates) at the state Democratic convention June 18-19.

Bentsen's once firm grip on the election began to loosen after he quit the national race and withdrew to home state boundaries.

Organizationally, he continued to dominate the scene, but Carter's victory string in other state primaries had an inevitable impact on rank and file voters.

"It isn't anything that we have done here," acknowledges Armstrong. "I feel like Carter's strength is with the people as it has been in other states. There are just not many Texans who have not heard of this guy in the last few months. They identify with him, and they think he is going to win."

During his brief visit to Houston April 20, Carter cited a Patrick Caddell Cambridge Survey Research poll which purportad to show him far ahead of Bentsen.

Armstrong later interpreted the telephone survey finding as 35 per cent favorable to Carter, 22 per cent pro-Bentsen, about 12 per cent for Wallace and a like number uncommitted. Armstrong said the study indicated fairly uniform support for Carter, while Bentsen,s popularity varied widely from district to district.

Texas Agriculture Commissioner John C. White, Bentsen's campaign manager, said the poll is meaningless. He insisted the senator's own surveys show him leading.

But even Whfte conceded privately that the election could break big for Carter in view of his latest decisive triumph in Pennsylvania.

"I hate to say it, but if the televisIon networks start saying the race is all over, the voters here will probably decide they might as well sign up (with Carter)," said White.

Two weeks ago, Armstrong guessed Bentsen would win about half the delegates. He revised his estimate Wednesday to read 40 for Carter, slightly fewer for Bentsen, a dozen for Wallace and the rest liberal uncommitted.

Some Bentsen supporters privately concede the senator's support may drop as low as 20 per cent.

"We are running well in South Texas and the Rio Grande Valley, along the Gulf Coast and in rural West Texas," said White. "Bentsen is going to elect a lot of his delegates in a lot of senatorial districts '.

"I've said all along I would be satisfied to win a plurality," said Bentsen. "I never claimed we were going to elect a majority."

Wallace's strength has dropped off sharply since 1972 when he won about a third of the Texas delegates through the convention process.

He still is strong in five east Texas districts, one Dallas area district and a conservative Houston district.

In three Texas visits during closing weeks of the campaign, Wallace has urged supporters not to desert him for Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary. Defections to Reagan may well cost Wallace some districts he otherwise might have won narrowly. Carter may also draw off some Wallace support in East Texas and the Gulf Coast industrial centers.

JIMMY CARTER
The Likely Leader

The Texas primary, for all practical purposes, has been a one-issue event.

Carter forces claim he is the only candidate on the ballot who can be nominated . . . Bentsen's standard argument is that he can best represent the Texas viewpoint at the national convention.

Bentsen now labels his delegates as "uncommitted."

"The only choice is between one who can be president and one who wants to broker or horsetrade delegates," Carter said in Houston.

The comment brought an outraged retort from White, who read it alternately as a "Carter ultimatum," downgrading Texas leadership and an "attempt to bambozzle voters into thinking they must get on the Carter bandwagon."

Actually, Carter from the start planned a soft-sell campign. Believing he had closet supporters in nearly all the delegate slates, he hoped to avoid rancor in the primary effort so the switch to his banner at the convention could be smooth and painless.

Armstrong said the candidate's brief critical comments in Houston were provoked he newspaper speculation that he was doing no campaigning in Texas and that he had made an agreement with Bentsen forces not to rock the boat.

"He had to show he didn't make any deal," said Armstrong. "What he said was less a swat at Bentsen than at the Bentsen theory that the convention was going to be brokered."

"His remarks were unnecessary and uncalled for," grumbled White. "We are not anti-Carter, but we let him know we are here."

Bentsen and White deny they have any plan to try to throw the senator's delegates to Humphrey.

"We are trying to be for Carter if he looks like the winner," said White. "I think Humphrey has a lot to offer. I'm his friend (and a 1972 pre-convention supporter). But if I thought he could not win, I would not want him to run. Right now, the polls indicate it's going to be Carter or Humphrey. I still don't think we ought to commit yet. It's more important than ever to maintain our independence."

Armstrong concedes Bentsen's clear lead in south Texas and the El Paso area at the westernmost tfp of the state.

Carter has scattered strength in central Texas, east Texas counties north of Houston, the Wichita Falls area of northwest Texas and in west Texas rural counties.

No hardrock centers of anti-Carter feeling are evident.

Liberals are badly divided. Anne McAfee of Austin, coordinator of the Fred Harris delegates who last week switched allegiance to Humphrey, has attacked Carter as "the super con-man of all time" and a "pious hypocrite." There is little chance any of the Harris delegate slates will be elected.

Democratic National Committeewoman Carr, while leading the campaign for uncommitted liberal delegates, has remained friendly with Carter and has assisted him in several districts.

"I want to win in November," says Ms. Carr. "I'm worried that if the convention takes the nomination away from Carter after his showing in the primaries, we would dfsillusion a lot of your people and show the Democratic party doesn't really want any new faces."

Carter is devoting only a day and a half to the Texas campaign this week—today and Friday, and that is a half day more than he had planned.

Campaign aides anticipate wide news media coverage of the established front-runner in four key areas of the state.

That is the Carter answer to more than a year of intensive Bentsen organizational work, day-by-day campaigning by the senator, a barrage of favorite son endorsements and Bentsen's extensive advertising program.

"All we can do at this late date is get him (Carter) to representative parts of Texas and have him see as many people as he can in a day and a half," said Armstrong.

LOTTERY WINNERS C-3
Sunny today, high in low 70s. Low tonight 36-45. Mostly sunny tomorrow, high in mid-70s. Details: C-3.

The Washington Star

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Make Up Mind Or Forget It, Humphrey Told

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

With his options abruptly narrowed by Jimmy Carter's accelerating bandwagon, Hubert H. Humphrey planned to decide today whether to become an active presidential candidate or virtually abandon his long-cherished White House ambitions.

Today is the filing deadline for the New Jersey primary on June 8, the last contest still open in this year's series of 30 primary elections, and Humphrey is under intense pressure to enter the race there.

If he refuses, his closest advisers have warned him, he might as well forget about the nomination and the presidency he has sought so avidly since 1960.

AFTER A 2½-HOUR meeting with nine old friends and supporters, Humphrey went home last night to talk with his wife, Muriel, and reach his decision.

Those who participated in the meeting said they could not guess what his choice would be. Some thought the "happy warrior" was girding for one last battle, while others concluded he would stand aside and leave the field to Carter, who all but destroyed his active opposition in Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary.

For months Democratic "regulars," congressional colleagues and union leaders have been begging Humphrey to jump into the race — or at least authorize some formal campaign activity on his behalf.

Until now, he has resisted the entreaties, saying he would make no move at least until the primaries have ended. But the pleas took on a desperate tone yesterday, as hundreds of calls poured into the Minnesota senator's office from Democrats insisting he has a "duty" to challenge the upstart Carter and give the party a choice at its convention in July.

NONETHELESS, the men he trusts the most, the inner circle he gathered around him for advice and comfort, were far from certain that Humphrey had any obligation to face the inevitable bruising agony of another campaign.

They have all been down that road before. They know the perils, personal and political. They shudder in anticipation of the assaults which will come if Humphrey declares his candidacy at the eleventh hour after vowing repeatedly that he would enter no primaries.

See HUMPHREY, A-6

HUMPHREY

Continued From A-1

"We all told him that if he does not enter New Jersey the prospects of winning the nomination become extremely, extremely remote," one participant said.

"But when he asked us as friends what we would do if we were sitting in his place, most of us said we wouldn't go in," this source said.

The advisers also warned Humphrey that an active race now would be difficult at best, "a real uphill fight" as one of them put it. The sheer logistics of assembling an organization, raising funds and putting together a media campaign are immensely complicated — and there is almost no time left.

"IT WOULD BE very hard, but it could be done," one longtime Humphrey associate said.

Even the "spoiler" charge, which is sure to be leveled by Carter supporters, can be deflected, this source contended. "The circumstances have changed. Humphrey felt the voters should have a choice — but now there's almost none left. Besides, Carter all but threw down the gauntlet after Pennsylvania. He practically dared us to come into New Jersey."

If a campaign is mounted, the men who were with Humphrey yesterday would undoubtedly be central figures.

The group included Robert Short, a Minnesota business executive and veteran Democratic fundraiser; Sen. Walter f. Mondale, D-Minn., and his top aide, Richard Moe; former Johnson White House aide Harry McPherson; Washington attorneys Max Kampelman and Neal Peterson, both ex-Humphrey aides; Tom Kelm, top aide to Minnesota Gov. Wendell Anderson; David Gartner, Humphrey's administrative assistant, and Joseph Crangle, Erie County (N.Y.) Democratic chairman.

AS LATE AS MIDDAY yesterday, many of these advisers — and Humphrey himself — were talking of undertaking only a limited step toward an active candidacy, the creation of an "exploratory" committee authorized to seek funds and solicit delegate support on Humphrey's behalf.

By evening, however, the political soundings taken around the country made it obvious that halfway measures would be perceived as futile, and worse still, faintly pitiful.

"There wasn't even any discussion of the 'exploratory' option," one Humphrey associate said, "although I suppose it wasn't actually ruled out."

If Humphrey agrees to enter New Jersey, he can count on support from most of that state's Democratic hierarchy. Rep. Peter Rodino, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and Sen. Harrison A. Williams Jr. are prepared to head a slate of Humphrey delegates, along with state party chairman James Dugan.

BUT THESE officials, along with Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, yesterday told Humphrey they could no longer stick to their original plans to file as ostensibly uncommitted delegates who would hold the door open.

"To be uncommitted at this stage is just to be out of touch with reality," said Williams, who is seeking re-election to the Senate this year and has his own political reputation to worry about.

The New Jersey Democrats are under pressure from Carter, too. "I can't get any sleep with this fellow Carter calling at all hours," quipped Williams.

The senator, who had one call from Carter on Tuesday (which he didn't take), got another one yesterday suggesting that "it was time to draw the party together" in preparation for the fall campaign against President Ford.

Williams said the unspoken message delivered by the former Georgia governor was perfectly plain: The train is leaving, and this is your last chance to hop aboard.

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash., meanwhile, has canceled his Indiana campaign appearances scheduled for today, United Press International reported.

Jackson's presidential campaign office at Indianapolis gave no immediate indication of the reason.

Carter, Humphrey Support Surveyed

Profiling Two Candidates' Backers

New York Times News Service

NEW YORK — If Jimmy Carter and Hubert H. Humphrey confronted each other in a primary election, a poll by The New York Times and CBS News indicates, they would attract voters from two very different groups within the party's rank and file.

Carter backers are more likely to be younger than Humphrey people, more middle class, have somewhat higher incomes, come from small towns and rural areas, and are slightly conservative on many issues — particularly concerning the size and role of government. They make up the less-loyal fringe of the party likely to desert to the Republicans if unhappy with the Democratic nominee.

Humphrey supporters are more likely than Carter people to come from lower-income and union backgrounds and to live in large cities, and they are more liberal on issues, especially economic ones. They are, in sum, old Roosevelt Democrats.

THE PROBLEM for those who would stop Carter, the former Georgia governor whose recent political ascent has been spectacular, is that there appears to be no one left in the race who can rally these loyal Democrats who prefer Humphrey, who has said he is available but has not entered any primaries.

Now that Carter's chief rivals, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington state and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, appear nearly out of the race, party leaders are wondering how Carter would fare against Humphrey — and how well either would run against the Republican nominee.

Because Carter has faced different casts of rivals in different states, concrete conclusions about either the Carter or Humphrey public are elusive, but a rough idea emerges from the Times-CBS surveys in which Democratic voters were asked not only for whom they voted but whether they would have preferred Humphrey if he had been on the ballot.

NEARLY HALF the Democrats polled in a national survey earlier this month said they preferred Humphrey. So did nearly half polled after voting in Pennsylvania, nearly half in the New York primary and about a third in Wisconsin and Illinois.

Humphrey would probably have cut heavily into the support of all the declared contenders, particularly Jackson's.

The Times-CBS polls, both in Pennsylvania and nationally, indicate that about three of every five Jackson supporters preferred Humphrey. So did about half of Udall's backers and about 40 percent of Carter's.

The differences were clearest in Pennsylvania, a state that is at once rural and urban, agricultural and industrial, conservative and liberal. It has many Jews, Roman Catholics, Irish, Poles, Italians and blacks.

Carter did well among white Protestants (better than two of every five in Pennsylvania), about equaled his 37 percent overall showing among Catholics and ran poorly among Jews. The hypothetical Humphrey constituency tended to be proportionately less Protestant, but had relatively more Jews and Catholics.

VOTERS OVER 45 were more likely than younger ones to prefer Humphrey. Of those over 65, however, 70 percent selected the Minnesota senator, while only 39 percent of those under 30 chose him. Carter did somewhat better than average among those under 45.

Carter did equally well among voters from union and nonunion households, but union members were more favorable to Humphrey than were those from nonunion families.

Carter did particularly well among those on the conservative side of most economic questions. He received half the votes of those who said the size of the federal government had influenced their vote, and he scored well also among those who cited welfare as a problem. Humphrey was preferred by most of those who cited job guarantees as important.

The contrast between the two became apparent when The Times and CBS News asked Pennsylvania voters whether they preferred "a smaller government providing less services" or "a bigger government providing more services." Carter did well among those choosing the first alternative, while those selecting the latter were more likely to prefer Humphrey.

BETWEEN THOSE who agreed and disagreed that it was important to have a balanced budget even at the cost of cutting social services, Carter did proportionately better than Humphrey among those favoring a balanced budget. But Humphrey scored better with voters who felt the government should guarantee jobs to all who went to work.

Carter got about the same level of support among those on both sides of most questions, including detente, job guarantees, military spending and racial issues.

Carter's major rivals each had a strong appeal to limited groups. Jackson outscored Carter only among Jews and the elderly and Udall's best support came from the young, the college-educated and the liberal.

While Jackson did well among those who opposed detente with the Soviet Union and Udall among those wanting to reduce military spending, only a small fraction of voters listed these issues as important.

In New York, the poll found Carter won about half the blacks, while in Pennsylvania this black support slipped to 44 percent.

But when voters were asked whether they felt the government should "see to it that more white neighborhoods have housing available for blacks and other minorities," Carter won about the same vote, 36 and 37 percent respectively, among those who agreed and disagreed

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan attacks President Fords defense policies while campaigning in Atlanta.

The Washington Star

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THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1976

Back to the bosses?

1. And it came to pass in the sixth year of King Lyndon's reign that the king sent forth his hosts, even unto the numbers of 500,000, and they smote the unrighteous in the land of Vietnam, but they prevailed not. And there was great disquiet in the land.

2. And behold a prophet came forth from the land of Minnesota, whose name was Clean Gene, and he gathered together the children, and he smote the king in the New Hampshire primary, and he gathered many convention delegates.

3. And King Lyndon said, behold, I do not choose to run. But lo, he sent forth from his tent another man from Minnesota, saying to the elders and big wheels of the party on the telephone: This is Hubert, my well-loved surrogate. And verily ye shall vote for him at the convention or behold, my wrath will be great. And lo the elders and big wheels got behind Hubert at the convention. And he was nominated, and went forth to do battle.

4. But there was a great weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth among the righteous men of the party, saying, What is this that has come to pass? Who is this Hubert, that he should be nominated by the bosses in their smoke-filled tents when verily he hath not set foot in a single primary?

5. And it came to pass that the hosts of the righteous, being many, set forth a decree that never more shouldst the unrighteous bosses foregather in their smoke-filled tents to thwart the prophets of the primaries. And lo, they decreed primaries beyond number, even as the sands of the sea, unto the number of 30.

6. And the years passed. And behold, there came forth out of the land of Georgia another prophet, whose name was Jimmy. And he wandered in the peanut patches and fell on his knees and prayed unto the Lord every hour upon the hour.

7. And the Lord said to him: Go forth, Jimmy, and compete in the primaries decreed by the righteous, from New Hampshire even unto Bethlehem, Pa., preaching brotherly love. And behold the Lord looked down upon him and gave him many delegates.

8. But there was in the same country the same Hubert, even King Lyndon's sometime surrogate, and he looked upon the primary route and saw that it was not good. And he kept his tent in the great city by the Potomac.

9. But when the righteous saw that the prophet Jimmy, being come forth out of the land of Georgia, was winning delegates like the sands of the sea, they were sorely vexed. For their hearts had now turned to Hubert, whom they had despised when he dwelt in King Lyndon's tent.

10. And they asked: Verily, can anything good come out of Plains, Ga.? What is a primary that Democrats should be mindful of it? And a great shout of vexation went up from their host.

11. And one of them, being of the tribe of political pharisees, said: Verily, no Democrat shall be nominated in the great tent at New York merely by winning primaries. Yea, what is a convention, but a meeting of various bosses? And there was a great roar of agreement from the righteous, even though within an eight-year past they had been saying ye precise opposite.

12. And the prophet Jimmy heard of their taking counsel, and he rose up and said: If ye thwart the will of the primary voters, ye shall surely lose the election. And there came wise men from CBS saying, verily, the prophet Jimmy knoweth whereof he speaketh. If the righteous shall thwart the will of the primary voters, surely the Democrats will perish in November. And the party wise men were sore confounded.

13. But the righteous heard it not, and they continued their counsels against the prophet Jimmy.

14. And the wise men asked: What sayest, Lord? And He said, the reformers have made their bed but don't want to lie in it. And behold, He added: Inconsistency, thy name is politics.

Politics Today

Forget the Fuzziness, Carter Hits a Nerve

By JAMES R. DICKENSON
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — The young Jackson supporter appeared slightly bewildered as he watched the results of his candidate's Pennsylvania debacle roll in.

"What is Carter for?" He asked an onlooker. His voice rose slightly, "What does Carter really stand for?" For the supporter of a politician like Jackson who has been actively involved in major issues during more than 30 years of public life — defense, space, the environment, energy — Carter's ability to win despite his reputation for being fuzzy on the issues is baffling. And maddening.

There is a something about American presidential politics that is hard for many to swallow, however: presidential elections are not primarily a test of issues, they are a judgment on the relative confidence the voters have in the candidates.

THE ISSUES serve primarily as guideposts to measure the candidates s men. When Ronald Reagan starts talking funny about Social Security, or people think he is, which is just as damaging, he hurts himself politically — not because he has evil designs on the system but because it calls his judgment into question.

Conversely, he makes political gains attacking Gerald Ford on defense policies not because anyone seriously thinks Jerry Ford willingly will hand the country over to the Commies but because he's tapping a concern about Ford's intellectual capability.

The judgment can be negative. It is difficult to believe that Richard Nixon was the beau ideal of 60 percent of the American electorate in 1972, given the distrust he inspired in many conservatives and the God-knows-what opinion the liberals had of him.

If issues were the secret, McGovern should have won because he was on the right side of the most profound issue the country has faced since the Great Depression and World War II: the Vietnam War and its implications for Cold War, nuclear age foreign policy.

MCGOVERN WAS judged, unjustly it would appear, as generally less capable of governing than Nixon. The process isn't always fair, but that's the way it is.

Franklin D. Roosevelt wasn't elected in 1932 because the voters liked the way he outlined the early New Deal in his campaign. That's because he didn't outline it. He campaigned as a budget-balancing fiscal conservative responsibly to the right of Herbert Hoover, whom he chastised as an irresponsible spendthrift.

Roosevelt was elected partly because the voters had lost all faith in Hoover and partly because he communicated an insoucient confidence that the disaster could be righted under his leadership.

As far as the responsible debate of profound public issues is concerned, the 1960 election, which was one of our most exciting, was about as disgraceful as they come. And the chief culprit was by no means Richard Nixon.

JOHN KENNEDY, who is still remembered fondly by many as a man who appealed to the best in us, was the author of the nonexistent missile gap. Remember Quemoy and Matsu? Those pillars of freedom, the defense of which — if you believed the debates 16 years ago — was crucial to the survival of Western civilization.

This election is probably no better or no worse so far than most of its predecessors. Certainly there has been no shortage of position papers issued by the many candidates. Common Cause has an inch-thick compendium of their comparative stands on the major questions that will daunt even the stout-hearted and slake the most insatiable.

Most voters apparently don't perceive a dime's worth of difference between the three active democratic candidates — or that phantom fourth candidate, Hubert Humphrey. The "debate" over Carter's unfortunate "ethnic purity" statement revealed what soul brothers, if that's the proper term, they are.

Carter wasn't hurt by it with black voters because he alone is the white candidate who can touch their feelings. He tells blacks of washing off peanuts as a boy and selling them in town from his little wagon to raise pocket money as he does to whites, but he puts an emotional spin on the story none of his rivals have matched. The same is true of his story of getting preventive medicine to poor rural blacks in Georgia.

CARTER IS the front-runner not because he's fuzzy on issues. He is hitting a nerve when he tells his audiences that the American people are good and deserve a good government.

Never mind that the electorate is primarily responsible for many of the bad things the nation has recently endured, such as Vietnam and Watergate. He is sending them a message they want to hear and they are rewarding him.

The Weather
Today—Sunny, high near 70, low near 40. The chance of rain is near zero through tonight. Friday—Sunny, high in the low 70s. Yesterday—3 p.m. air quality index: 23; Temp. range: 65-42. Details on Page C2.

The Washington Post

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Heat Is On As Humphrey Eyes Decision

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

From all across these United States the calls had come, and kept coming, jamming the lines into Suite 232 of the Old Senate Office Building.

They flooded in from California and from Georgetown and from Minneapolis and from Manhattan's garment district, callers pleading, cajoling, flattering, pushing, prodding, "Please, Hubert, please, you're all that's left, you've got to."

And then there were the voices of the other side, arguing just as fervently: "Please Hubert, please, fend them off, don't do it. We love you, Hubert. Please don't end up like Harold Stassen. Think about it, Hubert: perpetual candidate, perpetual loser."

Under this onslaught of pleadings sat Hubert Horatio Humphrey, the principal denizen of Suite 232, edging first this way and then that, wondering, hoping, talking about just how he goes about making a life's dream come true.

The pursuit of the presidency is that kind of a dream, that kind of an anguish.

At one point early in the day, when the phone lines were buzzing loudest, Rep. Paul M. Simon (D-Ill.), who has been among the forefront of the pushers, was all but amazed at the scenario.

"There's all this going on," he said, "and there's Hubert, sitting over there in the Senate chairing a mark-up on a foreign aid bill."

The pressures were so immense that, by early eve-

See HUMPHREY, A4, Col. 1

HHH Was Their Real Choice

Post's Pa. Survey

By Barry Sussman and William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writers

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey was the man Pennsylvania Democrats really wanted to vote for Tuesday, but many of them would withdraw their support if he became the Democratic nominee against President Ford this fall.

A Washington Post survey shows that Humphrey, who wasn't officially in the primary, was actually the preferred choice of nearly half of the voters and probably would have won going away had his name been on the ballot.

When asked if they would have voted for Humphrey if they had the chance, 46 per cent of the voters interviewed replied affirmatively. By that test, the Minnesota senator would have beaten the front-runner, Jimmy Carter, by a two-to-one margin.

However, the Post survey also showed that, measured against President Ford, Humphrey's support among Pennsylvania Democrats is so thin that Carter would run just as well as Humphrey against Mr. Ford in November.

Among other findings in the Post survey of 2,794 Pennsylvania Democrats:

• Carter's religion, widely discussed during the past few weeks, did not emerge

See SURVEY, A12, Col. 1

D.C. Area Views

By Bill Peterson and Harold J. Logan
Washington Post Staff Writers

On the steps of the split level home he bought eight years ago from "a white man on the run," Charles Thompson, Jr. said, he's voting for Jimmy Carter and he doesn't care what the Georgia peanut farmer thinks about "ethnic purity."

"I wouldn't doubt if this whole hill goes for Carter," Thompson, 34, said at dusk, gazing across his quiet street of comfortable homes inhabited mostly by blacks like himself in suburban Prince Georges County. "There's three votes in this house and they're all going for Carter."

If he could, he would vote for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), he said. But since Humphrey will not be on the May 18 Maryland primary ballot, Carter is his man.

"I'll tell you like it is," explained Thompson. "Coming out of where he comes from he's got to know what black people need. He's known them all his life; he's lived with them. Of course, he's not going to come out and say he's all for black people, or he wouldn't get elected."

Three weeks after Carter made his con-

See WALKER, A31, Col. 1

Humphrey Was Their Real Choice

SURVEY, From A1

as an issue of importance. An overwhelming majority were either unaware of his religious background or felt it was irrelevant.

• Carter continues to draw support from a broad cross-section of the Democratic electorate, winning pluralities among whites and blacks, middle- and working-class, young and middle-aged.

• Sen. Henry M. Jackson's claim to represent the "lunch-bucket" Democrats — those in low-salaried, blue-collar occupations—was demolished when Carter won more union members' votes than Jackson.

• Carter still is a favorite of a large plurality of blacks, despite his celebrated slip of the lip that launched the "ethnic purity" controversy.

The peculiar Humphrey-Carter match-up, in which Humphrey's edge fades away when the two are tested against the President, could be a crucial issue in the weeks preceding the Democratic national convention in July.

If the presidential nomination becomes essentially a two-man race between Carter and Humphrey, who has declined to enter the primaries, which one would be better equipped to defeat Mr. Ford? By the Pennsylvania test, Carter and Humphrey run neck and neck against the President among Democrats. The surprising element is how many Democrats defect from Humphrey if he is suggested as the party's candidate.

When asked for whom they had voted on Tuesday, the Pennsylvania Democrats gave the following responses: Carter, 35 per cent; Jackson, 23 per cent; Rep. Morris K. Udall, 24 per cent, Gov. George C. Wallace, 7 per cent, and others, 11 per cent.

The picture changed radically when they were asked how they would have voted with Humphrey's name on the ballot. The results were Humphrey, 46 per cent; Carter, 22 per cent; Jackson, 8 per cent; Udall, 13 per cent; Wallace, 5 per cent, and others, 4 per cent.

Humphrey, the poll showed, would have drawn away a third of Carter's votes but almost two thirds of Jackson's—apparent proof that Jackson was seen by many Democrats merely as a surrogate for Humphrey.

When Carter and Humphrey were pitted against Mr. Ford in a hypothetical general election, the numbers tilted back again, showing Humphrey losing Democrats by the droves. He would get 62 per cent of the Democratic vote in a race against Mr. Ford and Carter would get 59 per cent.

One reason for Humphrey's slippage is that a large proportion of Carter's Pennsylvania supporters dislike Humphrey too much to vote for him in a showdown with the President. Twenty-five per cent of those who voted for Carter said that if Humphrey became the Democratic nominee they would jump party lines and vote for President Ford.

The reverse was not true. Very few of Humphrey's supporters in Pennsylvania said they would abandon the Democratic party to vote for Mr. Ford if Carter were the nominee.

The result, in a hypothetical run-off with the President, is a net gain for Carter, enabling him to match Humphrey in the argument over who would run Mr. Ford the tougher race.

Why do so many of the Carter Democrats defect if Humphrey wins the nomination? It appears that a sizable number of Carter voters have weak party loyalties.

The poll isolated those Democrats who voted Republican (for Richard Nixon) in 1972 but voted for Carter Tuesday.

Among that group, about 12 per cent would vote for Mr. Ford in November if Carter is the Democratic nominee; if Humphrey gets the nomination, 33 per cent of them would vote for Mr. Ford.

One set of figures in the Post survey in particular underscores how this pattern of voter concepts toward Carter and Humphrey is jolted when the two are pitted against President Ford in a runoff.

Voters were asked to score each candidate either favorably or unfavorably for "the integrity you seek in a President." Of those responding, 30 per cent gave Carter an unfavorable rating, and 26 per cent rated Humphrey unfavorably—quite similar scores, given the leeway in the survey.

But when those voters were asked to choose between either Democrat and Mr. Ford, a double standard emerged.

Among those who rated Humphrey's integrity unfavorably, the split was nearly even — 36 per cent for Mr. Ford, 34 per cent for Humphrey, and the rest undecided or saying they would not vote.

Those who rated Carter poorly on integrity, however, overwhelmingly chose him over Mr. Ford, by a 43 to 22 margin.

Equally striking are the views of black respondents, who represented 7 per cent of the 2,794 voters in the sample. Carter drew 41 per cent of the black vote, well ahead of Jackson and Udall. Of those voters, however, six in ten said they would have chosen Humphrey had he been on the ballot.

Yet in a race against Mr. Ford, it is Carter, not Humphrey, who emerges somewhat better among black voters. Humphrey, long considered a champion of civil rights causes, got 74 per cent of the black vote compared to 12 per cent for Mr. Ford—certainly a landslide. But Carter—who only three weeks ago was sharply criticized by some black leaders for remarks on "ethnic purity"—beat Mr. Ford among blacks by an even more hefty 80 to 10.

Such twists and turns recur often among blacks surveyed. In an attempt to gauge the effect of Carter's remarks and subsequent apology for them, the Pennsylvania black voters were asked to rate the candidates on ability to handle racial problems.

In that test, 48 per cent gave Carter a favorable rating, 22 per cent were neutral and 30 per cent were unfavorable. But Humphrey did far better: 70 per cent favorable, 10 per cent neutral and 20 per cent unfavorable.

The survey showed that Carter's religious background is of virtually no importance in voters' motivation. Carter, a Baptist has said that he underwent a "profound" religious experience in 1967, and his sister is a faith healer.

Voters were asked in Pennsylvania Tuesday if they were aware Carter is known as a religious man and, if so, whether that knowledge affected their regard for him.

Thirty-five per cent said they were unaware of his religious background. Fifty-one per cent said they were aware of it but it did not affect their vote. Only 13 per cent said his religion had anything to do with their vote—9 per cent calling it "favorable" and 4 per cent "unfavorable."

WALKER, From A1

troversial ethnic purity remarks, many middle class black voters in suburban Washington hold similar feelings about Carter, interviews with 46 black registered Democrats in the Walker Mill area of Prince Georges' County indicate.

While more than half say their votes will go to Carter in the primary, their hearts are with noncandidate Humphrey, and to a much lesser extent, Sen. Edward Kennedy, (D-Mass.).

"Humphrey should have won in '68. He understands people and knows the needs of the country. I think half the country really likes him," said William Atcherson, who is voting for Sen. Henry Jackson because he believes "a Jackson vote is a vote for Humphrey."

Very few of those interviewed expressed real enthusiasm for any of the Democratic presidential hopefuls. Most appeared to arrive at their choices through a process of elimination rather than a positive response to the candidates.

A major reason cited by several Walker Mill residents was a feeling that this year's presidential race is being run on a track that does not pass through the issues of prime concern to them.

Beverly A. Price of 6624 Ronald Rd. snorted with disgust when she was asked if she thinks Democratic candidates are addressing "black issues" this year.

"Do they ever?" she queried. "This year is different, though. I guess we're not complaining as much as we were. We don't have Martin Luther King, we don't have activists running around, we don't have leaders like we did . . ."

For her, said Mrs. Price, an Urban League staffer, the result is a decided lack of interest in this year's race.

"Whoever gets in is going to be the same thing," she said. "The only time you get hyped up on an issue is if you think it's going to get better for you."

Located south of Central Avenue about a mile inside the Beltway, Walker Mill is an area of aging garden apartments and well kept single family homes with a sprinkling of new built town houses. Blacks began moving there about nine years ago with the advent of open housing. Their numbers mushroomed as whites fled.

Now it is heartland black suburbia: young, upward mobile, middle class. The dominant characteristic of a weekend afternoon here is children, playing on lawns or in parking lots. The dominant sounds of spring are the sounds of the water sprinkler and lawn mower.

The precinct is overwhelmingly Democratic. Of its 1,184 registered voters, only 88 are Republicans. The precinct went for Humphrey over McGovern in the 1972 primary, and 4 to 1 for McGovern over Nixon in the general election.

Party ties run deep here. Everytime a Republican administration comes along, "I see a hard time," declares Juanita A. Wright, 55. "Way back as far as Hoover's day, I was just a child then, but we had to eat blackeye peas for Thanksgiving and my mother went all over the house crying all day long. Roosevelt came in and things got better. I even got a job, which I kept until Eisenhower came along. I have never eaten good with a Republican in office."

The political talk this year in the precinct is of disillusionment with government and distrust of politicians. "You feel helpless. You can't do anything about it," said William Reed, an assistant principal at a D.C. junior high. "That's the sad part of it."

Reed, like 24 of the 46 voters interviewed, is with Carter this year. The former Georgia governor's ethnic purity remark "doesn't bother me . . . I understand it, and agree with him," said Reed, of 7504 Millrace Rd.

"I don't agree with the terminology, but I don't see anything wrong with people maintaining communities that are black, or white, or Polish, or whatever."

Reed is worried that "the Democratic Party has been trapped" this year. "They haven't been alert to the fact that they let themselves get on the defensive about liberalism. And liberalism overplayed itself," he said in his comfortable living room. "Conservatives — who are just about synonymous with racists—got them on the defensive. So this year, trying to appeal to the uncommitted, moderate voter, they are not addressing themselves to the things that were talked about in 1964 and 1968. This is just not a liberal year."

The big issues in Walker Mill this year are bread and butter ones: unemployment, inflation, schools and housing.

"Unemployment always hits blacks first," one government worker said in his town house. A few blocks away, a black grocery store worker complained he has taken a part-time job as a night janitor to maintain the same standard of living he had four years ago.

And on Drumlea Lane, Barbara White complained that when she and her husband bought their small town house "the idea was to stay here a few years, build up some equity, and then get the place we really want. But unless something dramatically changes, I don't think we'll be moving again soon."

There was no simple explanation for Carter support in the neighborhood. It's not because he is appealing to the issues the blacks cited, but more a combination of things that all boil down to the fact that he was viewed as the best alternative in a race devoid of Humphrey.

The elements in this grab bag include his status as a front runner, a lack of knowledge about Udall and Brown, his appeal as an outsider to Washington, and that he is viewed by many as a southern liberal, and they trust southern liberals, more than northern ones.

"I'm from Georgia and I've been watching him since he was governor," said Roger Wilkinson, a meatcutter. "He knows more about the poor man than the other guys."

There were indications that among black voters Carter's rural South roots remain a burden he has not overcome.

"Carter?" asked Joanne B. Jackson of District Heights. "I personally just don't like him. I really don't trust anyone white from the South."

Asked to guage how the six candidates who will appear on the Maryland ballot would deal with "issues of importance to blacks," the former governor came out only slightly better than Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.).

Asked who they would vote for if the election were held now, 24 of 46 voters said they would select Carter. Five went for Udall, four for Jackson, and one for California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. The rest either were undecided, or said they do not intend to vote.

Among the same voters, the Maryland Senate race has failed to ignite much interest, and the name of Rep. Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.) largely is unknown. Of those that expressed some knowledge of the two major Democratic candidates, 27 favored former Sen. Joseph D. Tydings, six supported Sarbanes.

"There's no question about it," said Benjamin Franklin, one black voter. "I'm for Tydings. He was in office before and he really tried to help people."

Although the names of those interviewed were selected by random sample to insure a genuine cross-section of the precinct, the margin of error in this type of survey is high, ranging from 15 per cent to 20 per cent.

Carter's hold on many voters is not strong. "I really don't like him, it just looks like he's going to win," said Eugene Williamson. "Humphrey is my man, but he's dragging his feet right now."

The ethnic purity remark hurt him among some. "I won't vote for Carter because of that statement he made," said LaVerne Massie, who works for a passport agency. "There's something behind that. He meant exactly what he said."

One in every four voters said they intend to sit this election out in silent protest because no one candidate appeals to them. In the 1972 primary, only 46 per cent of the registered voters in the precinct voted in the primary.

Nowhere was the disillusionment clearer than in Charles and Sally Watkins' family room on Millwheel Road. Watkins, a photographer for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), was paneling the room last Saturday.

"I'm hoping Humphrey will make a move soon," he said. "Right now Jackson is about the only one I could support and he's shaky, real shaky."

Watkins' wife is not voting at all, she said. "I always say it's the worst thing in the world not to vote. But I don't think you should vote for someone you don't believe in. And that's the way I feel this year."

Outside her attractive brick house on Millrace Road. Mrs. Jackson agreed. "I'm really not interested," she said. "They're going to put Ford right back in office, and I know it. My vote won't stop them, and I'm really not interested."

Washington Post Staff writer J. S. Fugett Jr. contributed to this article.

Pressure Mounting On HHH

HUMPHREY, From A1

ning, when Humphrey went into a long session with some of his oldest advisers to try to decide once again what to do, many who had talked to him earlier in the day weren't sure which way the decision would come out.

Does he take on Jimmy Carter in the New Jersey primary? Or doesn't he? Does he let Bob Short, the old fund-raising pal from Minneapolis, start a Humphrey for President Committee? Or doesn't he?

Humphrey is cautious. As he enters the meeting in his office, he tells his aides that he and his nine guests are going to be discussing "a matter of great importance."

As a result, he says, he doesn't intend to make a decision in a great hurry. He probably will end up as he began the day, he says, promising to wait until the primaries are all over.

But Humphrey is under enormous pressure.

As one of his aides put it, "This is really something. He has had calls from people of enormous stature in the country pleading with him, begging with him, that he has to run. It's pretty hard to say no to some of those people when they tell him the country needs him."

Simon is one of those people.

"This involves more than who becomes a delegate to a convention or whether the Red Sox win the pennant," he said. "It's who has the answers on food and population and armament and disarmament. The future of civilization is at stake."

One of Humphrey's longtime advisers, Ted Van Dyk, is pleading with him to resist.

"I can't believe he would let himself be pushed into a role he would never choose for himself," Van Dyk said.

"He indicated at the beginning of the year that he was available if the convention was deadlocked, but that he wouldn't contest it before the convention, that he'd leave a clear field for the candidates in the primaries to either win or lose."

Associated Press

Hubert Humphrey: how does a life's dream come true?

Humphrey, insists Van Dyk, "is not a negative, stop-anybody kind of man. He's too big a man to get involved at this late date in a negative exercise."

Van Dyk's statement is political code, the sending of shorthand signals: remember all the pains, all the sufferings of a flat-out candidacy, Hubert. Remember the acidity of Humphrey vs. McGovern in California, just four years less a couple of months ago.

Keep remembering, the nay-sayers are telling Humphrey, that non-candidates like Hubert Humphrey of 1976 are not exposed to firestorms of abuse, like candidate Hubert Humphrey was in 1972, or 1968, or 1960.

But Humphrey's "happy warrior" juices spilleth over.

On television yesterday morning he was observed slipping in some anti-Carter dialogue, like mentioning how he, Hubert Humphrey, is the issues man in the Democratic Party (Carter's negatives in the polls show he may be too mushy on the issues), and how "the country needs sort of a warm, friendly attitude on the part of its leader" (the polls show Carter sometimes is viewed as cold).

But then Humphrey says that "the worst thing a man can do in politics is make precipitous decisions. There is time between now and the end of the primaries."

That was the betting how it would turn out when Humphrey finally makes up his mind. After meeting with his friends for 2½ hours last night, he said he'd have a decision by noon today.

In New Jersey, politicians are ready to file Humphrey slates by the deadline at 4 this afternoon if Humphrey does give the okay.

Meanwhile, trucker-fund-raiser-baseball fan Bob Short has this letter for Humphrey to sign, creating a committee that would allow people to work in his behalf seeking delegates—uncommitted ones, those already pledged to others, future ones—while Humphrey can still maintain he is a noncandidate, that the committee is merely exploratory.

Humphrey does not have to sign the letter, but his advisers are telling him that if he doesn't, there's nothing left to hold Jimmy Carter from sweepig on the rest of the way. Many people in Washington do not trust Jimmy Carter.

The letter, Short is telling Humphrey, does not need to be signed today.

The New Jersey politicians say they may just file the Humphrey slates anyway, and he can always withdraw them later, as late as May 5.

Hubert Humphrey wants very badly to be President, he'll tell anybody who asks.

"The question," he said early yesterday, in the bright of the morning and the klieg lights of ABC's Washington studio, "is what is the best method to achieve that objective."

Carter Says He'd Beat Humphre

By Jules Witcover and
Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Staff Writers

PHILADELPHIA, April 28—Jimmy Carter, his familiar smile broadened by his impressive Pennsylvania primary victory and the taste of the Democratic presidential nomination, looked ahead today to his next likely obstacle—Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

Describing himself as "the leading candidate now and one who has no strong opponent" among the declared field of contenders after beating Sen. Henry M. Jackson, Rep. Morris K. Udall and Gov. George C. Wallace here, Carter all but dared Humphrey to enter the competition.

"If Humphrey gets in," the former Georgia governor said in a CBS News televised interview on the most upbeat morning-after of the campaign so far, "I'll beat him. If he stays out, I'll be the nominee."

In a subsequent press conference before going home to Plains, Ga., for a day's rest, Carter said he was "perfectly at ease about any eventuality" concerning a challenge from Humphrey, who has said he will go after the nomination if Carter is not within 300 or 400 delegates of the 1,505 needed for nomination after the last primaries.

Told that Humphrey had said he would not stand in Carter's way if he became convinced Carter was the man who could unify the party, Carter said: "I don't know about that. I'd like very much to have Sen. Humphrey's endorsement."

Pennsylvania marked the end of the first phase of his campaign, Carter said. He would now be addressing himself increasingly to that very objective of unifying the party behind him, he said, not only to win the White House in November but also to help other Democrats win.

In winning Pennsylvania so decisively, Carter gave his fellow Democrats plenty to think about. His principal opponent here, Jackson, began reassessing his position as soon as the size of Carter's victory became clear last night. Jackson said he will "change the nature" of his campaign—admitting the relative ineffectiveness of his efforts thus far.

The other big loser in Pennsylvania, Udall, made no such admission. On the contrary, he told a Washington press conference today that he would continue to wage an all-out campaign through the remaining primaries, and specifically announced plans to fight the California primary with all the resources at his command.

Waving a copy of today's Washington Star with a commentary headlined "Mo Udall Got His Death Certificate," the Arizonan said: "I still refuse to go to the cemetery."

"I'm not going to allow this political party of mine to be stampeded,' he said, as 25 House members who support his candidacy looked on. It would be "outrageous" to leave the liberal wing of the party without a presidential candidate, Udall said.

Charging that many of Carter's positions on important issues left him "out of the [Democratic] mainstream," Udall promised to "encourage and force Jimmy Carter to define his positions" more clearly.

Carter showed no concern at this—or any other—challenge today. "I don't have any fear of any challenge," he said.

In all his comments about Humphrey, the Georgian made clear it was immaterial to him what the former Vice President did because he was confident he will be the nominee.

Carter also conveyed the message to other prominent officials that as far as he was concerned, the boat was leaving the dock, with or without them. He said he had gotten along without many endorsements so far, had built his candidacy on direct appeals to the voters, and was prepared to continue on that course.

Carter said he would not "take anything for granted" about the nomination, but added he did not think he could be stopped unless he made a mistake or permitted himself to get "arrogant." One mistake he could make, he said, would be "if I should get myself in a position of depending on endorsements" or get entangled with "big-shot politicians."

From all this, Carter sent out unmistakable signals that there will be no change in his highly successful strategy so far of running against the political establishment, both in the primary states and in Washington.

The second phase of his campaign now starting, he said, will be marked by a stronger focus on the acquisition of convention delegates. He claimed at least 70 delegates in Tuesday's Pennsylvania victory and said a conservative estimate of his strength now gave him about 420 delegates.

"I think there's very little doubt now that after com-

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	331
Jackson	194
Udall	172
Wallace	108
Stevenson	86
Shapp	17
Harris	15
Humphrey	4
Walker	2
McCormack	2
Church	1
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	202
Total chosen to date	1,135
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Florida, Illinois, North Carolina, South Carolina, Canal Zone, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, New York, Arizona, Alaska and Virgin Islands and partial selection in Puerto Rico and Iowa and Pennsylvania.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	260
Reagan	136
Uncommitted	307
Total chosen to date	703
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Puerto Rico, D.C., North and South Carolina, Wisconsin, New York, Guam, Mississippi, Arizona and Penn. and partial selection in Illinois.

Coming up Saturday:
The Texas primary with 130 Democratic delegates and 100 Republican delegates.

The Washington Post

we'll have about 1,000," he said, and would build that total toward the 1,505 needed by convention time. He did not say he would have the 1,505 going into the convention, but he has stuck to his prediction of a first-ballot nomination—a conjecture that no longer raises the eyebrows of listeners.

Carter said his campaign was "ready" for strong efforts in Texas on Saturday, and in Indiana, Alabama and Georgia next Tuesday. The same could not be said of Jackson, who takes Carter on in Indiana and to whom the defeat in heavily unionized, strongly party organization-oriented Pennsylvania was a bitter and probably fatal political blow.

Jackson had been scheduled to begin campaigning in Indiana today. Yesterday an aide said he would not go today, and that no decision had been made as to when he would go. But the spokesman also said emphatically that Jackson is not dropping out of the race. His aides met for several hours yesterday afternoon, discussing what to do next, and are scheduled to meet some more today.

tenants claimed a total of 41 of Pennsylvania's 178 delegates, including those uncommitted delegates and dele-

gates pledged to Gov. Milton J. Shapp that they say are really for Jackson.

That 41 total compares with at least 64 for Carter and means Jackson lost in the race for delegates as well as the separate Tuesday popularity contest in the state. He had said consistently that he would at least come out first in the delegate contest.

Robert Keefe, Jackson's campaign manager, said: "It looks tough, to be honest." Labor "just plain never got it together" for Jackson in Pennsylvania, he said, and the prospects were not much better in Indiana.

Keefe said Jackson would focus more on issues in Indiana, but he acknowledged that one issue Jackson tried to use against Carter in Pennsylvania—state right-to-work laws, one of which Georgia has and had under Carter—didn't have much impact. Carter did extremely well among unionized blue-collar workers despite Jackson's support from organized labor's leadership.

Jackson's trouble is not so much definition of issues, Keefe said, "But what seems to come through the media about the candidate." Television has been focusing on rallies showing Jackson "as a reasonably hot candidate, maybe a little too rambunctious," Keefe said.

Carter also will attempt to focus more on issues, his press secretary, Jody Powell said. The Georgian has come under some press criticism and voter perception as indicated in polls as not specific enough, or ambiguous, on many issues.

Carter complained today that he has had to spend too much time on the telephone trying to raise money to buy media time. He said a total of $435,000 of his own money, $400,000 of it from taking loans on his business, has been funneled into the campaign and used up.

Butler, Pa., receives Carter victory quietly, with no tears for the losers.

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2,794 Voters Interviewed

The Washington Post survey of Pennsylvania Democrats is based on interviews with 2,794 voters as they emerged from 50 voting places across the state in Tuesday's presidential primary.

The survey is one of a number attempting to trace sources of strength among the candidates and to examine issues and controversies as they arise. In Pennsylvania, only Democrats were interviewed since President Ford had no opponent named on the Republican ballot.

Under perfect interviewing conditions, a poll of this size might be accurate to within 2 per cent in either direction. Routine sampling problems, however, could be expected to raise that percentage somewhat.

The survey was designed and directed by Barry Sussman, Post editor for survey reporting.

IF HUMPHREY HAD RUN IN PENNSYLVANIA . . .

	WITHOUT HHH IN RACE	WITH HHH IN RACE
Humphrey gets	0%	46%
Carter gets	35%	22%
Jackson gets	23%	8%
Udall gets	24%	13%
Wallace gets	7%	5%
Others get	11%	4%

Based on responses from 2239 Pennsylvania Democratic primary voters. The sample slightly under represents Jackson's and Wallace's actual vote and slightly over represents Udall's actual vote.

The Washington Post

HOW VOTERS PERCEIVE CANDIDATES ON RACIAL ISSUE

Question: Can the candidate handle racial problems in the U.S. satisfactorily?

FAVORABLE RESPONSE | NEUTRAL RESPONSE | UNFAVORABLE RESPONSE

CARTER

Percentages

	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
White Voters	44	22	34
Black Voters	48	22	30

FORD

Percentages

	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
White Voters	26	31	43
Black Voters	30	24	46

HUMPHREY

Percentages

	Favorable	Neutral	Unfavorable
White Voters	61	22	17
Black Voters	72	10	18

Based on a poll of 2794 Pennsylvania Democratic voters. Question asked three weeks after Carter's "ethnic purity" remark.

The Washington Post

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Pennsylvania: The New Ball Game

PENNSYLVANIA WAS a great upset. Unlike some of the previous primary results, which could be endlessly played off against someone or other's "expectations" so that anyone could claim "victory," this one was real: No one expected Jimmy Carter to achieve so considerable a triumph in the delegate selection as well as the popularity contest. The other candidates conceded as much. In fact, the point about Pennsylvania was best made by the principal loser, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, in announcing what his "dramatic" change of strategy will be. He is now—get this—going "to take his campaign to the people." Leaving aside the question of whether it may not be way too late in the day for the senator to recoup the momentum his campaign once seemed to be gaining, what he is in fact acknowledging in this poignant statement is that he should have taken his campaign to the people in the first place—that the boss-and-labor engine can pull out of the station all right but that there is no guarantee that anything will be attached to it.

We would not wish to overstate the case or oversimplify it. There are still machines and labor complexes that can pull people to the polls on particular issues or for particular candidates. What Pennsylvania Democrats seem to be saying, however, is that it is no longer enough—or even necessary—to have the backing of the titans of labor or the party apparatus to win . . . and win big. Evidently, there is a strong tide running toward independence, unorthodoxy, novelty and just plain cussedness. Nor is this tide propelled, to use the fashionable barbarism, by anything so simple as "anti-Washingtonism"—although Mr. Carter and former Gov. Reagan of California both are manifestly profiting from some such public sentiment, and the present governor of California, Jerry Brown, who has just got into the race and is known for his anti-Washington stamp, is already pulling nearly even in the polls with Rep. Udall and Sen. Jackson. The tide is made up of more than that: It is anti-politics-and-government-as-usual, anti-simple-answers and anti-conventional-promises, and above all it will not be guided by traditional (and empty) designations of who belongs where in terms of liberal versus conservative.

Quite obviously, the chief beneficiary of all this at the moment is Mr. Carter, and he may well be able to capitalize on it conclusively in the important primaries immediately ahead—Texas, Indiana and Michigan in particular. Equally obvious, Rep. Udall and Sen Jackson are in a bad way. This brings us to Hubert Humphrey and his self-inflicted predicament: Should he or shouldn't he? God knows, we've never given anyone any advice in these columns and wouldn't dream of starting now. But we would venture to say that the message from Pennsylvania, as we read it, hardly argues for an early plunge into the arms of precisely those people in whom Sen. Jackson reposed so much trust. Let's be plain about it: A whole lot worse things could happen to the country than for Hubert Humphrey to be his party's nominee. But it matters how he gets there. For few worse things could happen to either Humphrey or his party than for there to be a recurrence of the fissuring of the Democrats and all the attendant bitterness that gave a grateful nation Richard Nixon two times running. In sounding this note of warning, we are not so much thinking of the alternative of Gerald Ford as we are of the looming presence of Ronald Reagan, who has been making quiet and impressive progress in the caucuses and may be about to make some splashy progress in the forthcoming primaries. None of this need foreclose a role for Humphrey if events unfold a certain way. But the returns from Pennsylvania indicate the peril of his trying to force those events under existing circumstances and by the means available to him now.

AA

BB

Hobart Rowen

Full Employment: Carter's Top Priority

If the Jimmy Carter bandwagon continues to roll, you will be hearing more of Lawrence R. Klein, a distinguished economics professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who has been helping Carter on economics issues.

Klein, 55, president-elect of the American Economic Association, is in the mainstream of the moderately liberal economics "establishment" in this country. But although he was one of the pioneers in creation of econometric "models" to forecast the economy, he's not as well known as the Samuelsons, Okuns and Heilers who have advised other leading Democrats.

In an interview recently in Philadelphia, Klein indicated his strong belief that the re-stimulation of economic growth and a commitment to reduce the level of unemployment would be a principal goal of a Jimmy Carter administration.

"The main problem with (President) Ford," Klein said, "is that he's not doing anything about (high) unemployment levels. He only reluctantly approved a big (tax-cut) stimulus that turned the economy around. And don't forget, he originally proposed a 6 per cent unemployment rate as a trigger for public service jobs."

Klein is not terribly enthusiastic about the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill, which sets a goal of reducing adult unemployment to 3 per cent within four years. Carter has belatedly endorsed the bill, interpreting 3 per cent "adult" unemployment as 4.5 per cent for the total labor force.

It's a mistake to put too much emphasis on a number, Klein argues: "You really can't legislate full employment. The important thing is the commitment, and Jimmy Carter is committed to full employment. That's the top priority."

Both Klein and Carter believe strongly in the need for economic planning, although not necessarily the kind of detailed planning blueprint proposed by Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.). But as Gov. Carter indicated to me in a separate interview, he is not frightened by the word or the concept. Indeed, he believes that any government that doesn't plan is derelict in its responsibilities.

Klein would develop federal economic planning functions through an existing agency, the Council of Economic Advisers. He feels the CEA has concentrated too much in recent years on "macro-economics"—that is, on the "big picture"—and not enough on "micro-economics," such as the specific problems of food, energy, raw materials, and manpower.

Compatible with this is the notion of a greater stress on "incomes policies," including an attack on many built-in government regulations that inhibit free competition and push prices higher. "The group of economists (working with Carter) is committed to full employment," Klein says, "and would like to keep the options open on what we would recommend to him when (the country) gets nearer full employment. We're not a bunch of controllers, as such, but the consensus of the group favors various kinds of incomes policies, and they believe (they) could make them stick."

His own instincts, Klein said, are that "we would need an incomes policy with teeth" to cope with the inflationary pressures that develop in an economy operating at full capacity.

The "tecth," presumably, would be standby wage and price controls. Carter says he wants such power as a bargaining "lever." Confronted with the threat of real controls, Carter believes, industry and labor leaders would behave themselves.

Klein says that Carter hasn't yet focused on abstract theory, such as the virtues of Keynesian economics (control of the economy through spending and taxes) vs. monetary economics (control by manipulation of interest rates and the money supply). But Klein, author of the first definitive American text on Keynes, "The Keynesian Revolution," thinks that Carter is unlikely to be a monetarist or, indeed, doctrinaire in any way. "Any well-run government," Klein philosophizes, "should diversify its policies, like a good investment. You should run the whole gamut of policies to get to full employment."

Klein, who was brought to Carter's attention by John Bowles, vice president of the New York brokerage firm of Kidder, Peabody & Co., is attracted by Carter's "scientifically oriented mind." He acknowledges that Carter, as the governor of a small state, was not steeped in national economic problems or their solutions when they first met in the summer of 1975. But he finds Carter "a fascinating student" who asks the right questions and learns quickly.

"I think," says Klein, "that he's a very smart guy."

Joseph Kraft

Pennsylvania: A Strong Win for Carter . . .

PHILADELPHIA—By his stunning victory in the Pennsylvania primary, Jimmy Carter has virtually assured his nomination as the Democratic candidate for President. He has wiped out, after the fashion of Mao Tse-tung's guerrilla strategy, all opponents in their home bases.

He has won so many times in so many places, and is so clearly the Democrat best placed to beat President Ford, that any effort to stop him now would bear the brand of dirty politics. Still, the prospect of Mr. Carter as President leaves me in a sense of unease.

Which is not to say that the former Georgia governor has not been winning fair and square. He has run in far more primaries and caucus states than anybody else. He has moved forward by bearding lions in their dens. Thus his first big victories were over George Wallace in what used to be Wallace County—Florida and North Carolina. His next jump forward was a win over the most progressive of the candidates —Rep. Morris Udall—in the most progressive of the states, Wisconsin. Finally, here in the state known as the Keystone State of the industrial East, he beat the champion of the ethnics and the candidate of the big unions, Henry Jackson.

Nor was it merely a matter of winning by brilliant execution of the Maoist strategy. In the course of his victories, Gov. Carter rendered the Democratic Party some undoubted service. He released it from the spell of an evil genius who had haunted it since 1968— George Wallace. He opened the possibility of a new bridge to the Southern states, which have been voting against the national Democratic Party in increasing numbers since 1948.

Most wholesome of all, perhaps, was the message he delivered in the religious idiom, and with the fervor of a true believer. He soothed and comforted a country that had been shaken —more deeply than I at least sensed— by the impact of Watergate and Vietnam.

He showed it was possible to criticize elements of the American experience without going to a far-out lifestyle. He ministered, if not to a deep spiritual need, at least to a wound that has dominated the national mood.

Precisely because he is so in touch with the national mood, there is every reason to believe his victory in Pennsylvania presages still more to come. As Hamilton Jordan, his astute and personable campaign manager, remarked after the results became known, "May will be like March." That means a string of wins coming up.

Texas on Saturday is ripe for picking. The Carter polls show him leading Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, who is running as a favorite son, by 39 to 19 per cent, with the rest undecided. The win in Pennsylvania should tilt the Texas undecided over to Carter for another big win.

Additionally, he has strong prospects in Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Indiana (where he faces only a limping Henry Jackson) and Michigan (where he seems sure of good support from the auto-workers). Mr. Carter himself said that after June 8, when New Jersey, California and Ohio all vote, he would have at least a thousand delegates.

That number might not be magic, if Carter was not so clearly the Democrat most likely to beat President Ford. As the standard-bearer of his party in the increasingly Democratic and hard-hit industrial states, he has a good shot at New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and California. That means Mr. Ford would have to hold the Midwest and South solidly to stay in the White House. But with Mr. Carter at the top of the ticket, the Democrats are apt to make inroads all over the South.

So why, on my part and I think many others who have watched Mr. Carter campaign, the uneasy feeling? Part of it is inexperience. Mr. Carter and his inner circle are not versed in the great problems of national and international affairs, and no set of store-bought advisers can remedy that weakness. Joined with inexperience is the candidate's self-righteousness. He looks on himself as a vessel of God, asks to be taken on faith and is ungracious in dealing with those he has defeated to the point of being a sore winner.

Against those criticisms it has been urged that John F. Kennedy was also once scorned for his youth and religion. But that comparison—apart from not vinching the case if it was right—is essentially wrong. Kennedy spent 14 years in the House and Senate before going on to the presidency. His religion gave him a deep inner sense of pessimism, reflected in all his humor. He was a foreigner to the faith of the idealist.

So if it comes, as now seems likely, to a choice between Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford, it will be a hard one. A difficult corner of national life needs to be turned. My instinct says that the slow and steady man, however bumbling, may do better than the knight who seeks the Holy Grail.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

. . . And a Dilemma for Non-Candidate Humphrey

The mood in suite 2020A of the Shoreham Hotel here Tuesday morning was buoyant, with Robert Short, longtime political confidant of Sen. Hubert Humphrey, putting final touches on the breakfast meeting scheduled for Wednesday that would finally bring the Humphrey candidacy out of the shadows.

By nightfall, Short had cancelled the pro-Humphrey breakfast on orders from Humphrey himself, orders that dramatized the ambivalence of Hubert Humphrey and sharpened the dilemma that has dogged him ever since Jimmy Carter started winning presidential primaries.

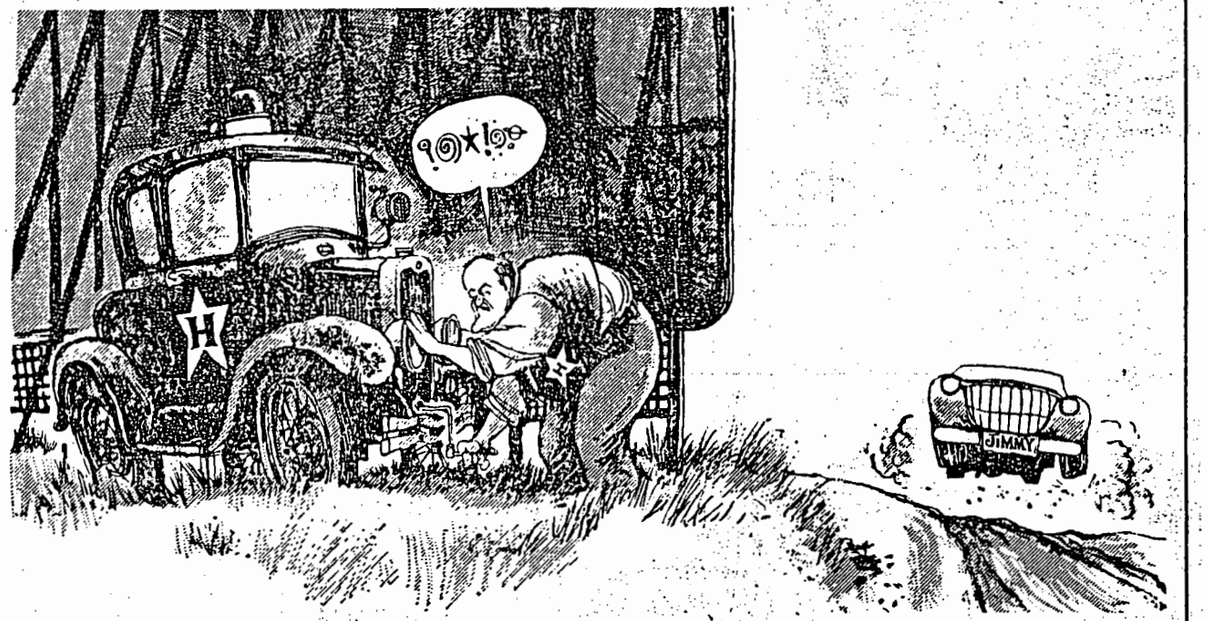
With Carter's stunning triumph in Pennsylvania, showing anti-Carter labor barons to be paper tigers and entrenched political leaders of the Democratic Party only marginally more potent, Humphrey now stands alone between Carter and the presidential nomination.

That leaves the senator in a far more exposed and delicate position than before Pennsylvania, when Sen. Henry M. Jackson was still viable as the candidate perceived by anti-Carter forces not as a possible nominee himself but as the candidate who could stop Carter, deadlock the convention and prepare the way to broker Humphrey into nomination.

Jackson lost that viability somewhere between the unbossed steelworkers of Pittsburgh and the coalminers in Wilkes-Barre—but just as big a loser as Jackson was Hubert Humphrey.

Indeed, the dilemma that has dogged Humphrey's role as a non-candidate is now leading him into ever more agonizing procrastination. Thus, Short truly believed that under pressure from anti-Carter operatives assembled here for that big pro-Humphrey breakfast meeting Wednesday, Humphrey could be persuaded to enter the June 8 New Jersey primary (with an April 29 filing deadline).

The revision of Short's plans downward from that peak was abrupt. Instead of an active Humphrey race in New Jersey, Short was forced into a retreat that left him this alternative to nothing at all: Persuade Humphrey to sign a letter authorizing formation of an exploratory Humphrey-for-President Committee. That would permit Short and anti-Carter forces to start raising money—and to hope that the senator would formally announce his candidacy sometime next month.



By MacNelly for the Richmond News Leader

That Humphrey, even though under pressure from his family and some close friends to keep out, will sign Short's drafted letter is probable. But even if he does, and then later declares his candidacy without actively campaigning in New Jersey or any other primary, the likelihood of stopping Carter is remote at best and the prospect of deep bitterness within the Democratic Party is certain.

That became clear in the immediate aftermath of Pennsylvania. For example, Douglas Fraser, top political activist of the liberal United Auto Workers and until now quietly but determinedly anti-Carter, believes that if Carter has 1,000 delegates (out of 1,505 needed to nominate) when he gets to Madison Square Garden in July, any effort to block him could be disastrous for the party.

"The rank and file of labor spoke out pretty clearly in Pennsylvania," Fraser told us. "That voice will be ignored by the party at its peril."

A somewhat similar concern about the stop-Carter battle has been privately but strongly voiced by Rep. Peter Rodino of New Jersey, who (with Sen. Pete Williams) is co-chairman of the uncommitted delegate slate in the New Jersey primary).

Rodino has threatened not to enter the New Jersey primary at all because his uncommitted slate has now become so inextricably identified as a stop-Carter movement. He has warned Humphrey that only a clear and unambiguous Humphrey candidacy will keep Rodino on the New Jersey ballot; that he will not "front" for any shadow candidate.

But Humphrey, the target of growing pressures both from politicians who are for Carter and from Carter enemies begging Humphrey to jump into the race, has shown signs of bewilderment and of not knowing what do to. His extraordinary statement last Sunday that if he was asked he would campaign for the Rodino uncommitted slate in New Jersey—even though not an active candidate himself—appalled perceptive politicians, including Rodino.

Given Carter's sweeping momentum and Humphrey's refusal to run the risks of an all-out battle, Bob Short's task in trying to galvanize Humphrey now seems almost as formidable as Humphrey's will be if—a big if—he finally does go all out to trip up Jimmy Carter between here and Madison Square Garden

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say,

Selected Comment And Editorial Opinion.

B

Look Away, Dixie Land

By Anthony Lewis

DURHAM, N.C.—Whatever else this Presidential year may bring, it has already disclosed one notable change in the American political map: The South is back in the Union. It is no longer dominated by the single issue of race. Like most other parts of the country, it can be won by moderate candidates of either major party.

Jimmy Carter's victory in North Carolina tells the story. Four years ago George Wallace swept the Democratic primary here. This year he lost badly to a Southerner who praises civil rights laws and seeks and wins the black vote. That result, on top of Florida, should convince the most suspicious Northerner that something has happened in the South.

A changed South could make the difference in a Presidential election. Consider the two most recent close contests, in 1960 and 1968. John Kennedy carried seven of the eleven old Confederate states in 1960, getting 81 of his winning 303 electoral votes there. In 1968 Richard Nixon and George Wallace each took five states in the South, with Hubert Humphrey winning only Texas.

This year the eleven Southern states have 130 electoral votes, nearly a quarter of the total 538, and they are likely to be decided in straight Democratic-Republican competition. George Wallace is fading and is unlikely to be on the ballot as a third-party candidate.

ABROAD AT HOME

The region does remain conservative, on the whole, as Ronald Reagan's win in North Carolina suggests. But the same issues that appear to move other Americans in 1976—economics, foreign policy, faith in government—concern voters in the South.

Jimmy Carter's candidacy has crystallized the changed Southern political mood, and he is now in a position to benefit crucially from that change. To put it bluntly: If the Democrats want to win in the South, they're going to have to take account of Carter.

Not that every Southerner loves the former Georgia Governor; you can hear cracks about his hairstyle and his smile down here, too. But he has unquestionably aroused a sense of regional pride. Most important, Southern Democrats who have wanted for years to get back into the political mainstream see him as a symbol of the party's willingness to accept a Southerner.

Every time a Northern liberal pronounces Mr. Carter unacceptable, or a commentator says something condescending about him, he looks a little better down here. That is why some respected Southern editors believe that the Democrats will be writing the South off if they deny Carter the nomination in a brokered convention. Claude Sitton, editor of The Raleigh News and Observer, put it:

"If Carter begins to slip in the primaries, that is one thing. But if he continues to show strength, and then Hubert Humphrey and Joe Rauh and folks like that cut him out, the South will tell them to go to hell."

Mr. Carter as the nominee would by no means be assured of carrying some Southern states. But he would probably have a better chance than other Democratic possibilities. Henry Jackson, who first contested North Carolina and then stopped campaigning here, perhaps to avoid humiliation, got 4 percent of the votes in the primary. Resentment at denial of the nomination to Carter would make it even harder for others.

Some Northern Democrats who understandably did not take Carter seriously at first now feel that the phenomenon of his primary victories requires at least a gesture. There is talk, for example, that he is assured of the Vice-Presidential nomination. But if Carter goes on winning primaries, such a gesture is not likely to satisfy the new South.

It is still a big if, of course. Mr. Carter must show that he can beat tough opposition in a northern industrial state such as Wisconsin, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan. He must still satisfy thoughtful people about his inner beliefs and values. But Democratic professionals know now that they have to take him seriously—him and his region. This year the South cannot be either written off or taken for granted.

A recent column in this space underestimated Richard Nixon, and a correction is in order.

In the course of answering questions in a wiretapping lawsuit, Mr. Nixon described Princeton University as "one of the smaller of the Ivy League colleges and a very good one, too, after Woodrow Wilson made it that way, even though he never attended." The column described this display of irrelevant learning as vintage Nixon. In fact, it was not only irrelevant but wrong. Woodrow Wilson was an undergraduate at Princeton and received his B.A. degree there in 1879.

By Meg Greenfield

Mr. Carter Goes to Washington

Jimmy Carter came to Washington last week, and I found myself thinking there had been nothing quite like it since the Visigoths dropped in on Rome. Here came Carter, the willful outlander who not only was a stranger to Washington's sacred institutions and ways, but whose campaign for the Presidency seemed to be prospering precisely because of that fact. And here were prominent Washingtonians who had always—well—just *known* other candidates, needing to be introduced to their party's front runner. "I am *not* an anti-Washington candidate," Carter said. His hosts seemed equally eager to assure him that they did not represent—heaven forfend—some kind of anti-Carter cabal.

The social anthropology of the two-day proceedings was as interesting as the politics, and I would say that on balance Carter did manage to allay some of the anxiety and to kick over some of the smugness that have characterized social-political Washington's response to his candidacy. But the tension is still there, and I think it bears some inspecting. That is because practically none of the explanations offered so far for the Establishment hostility to Carter seems to me to stand up to scrutiny.

The great-waffler charge strikes me as being preposterous, for instance, coming from almost any quarter of this issue-tenderizing town. We *invented* the politically illegible compromise in Washington on issues ranging from school busing and amnesty to defense spending, and Carter's expressed positions on these and a number of similar hot issues are at least as clear as what we are accustomed to—and sometimes a good deal clearer.

THE DOUBLE STANDARD

Nor can I take at face value the stated apprehensions of many about Carter's racial politics—past or present. The same people who spent twenty years explaining to me that it was tacky to keep bringing up Senator Fulbright's position on racial questions—didn't I know he "had" to do that to get elected from Arkansas so he could "do good" on other issues in the Senate?—are invoking an entirely different standard concerning Carter's run for governor of Georgia. His enlightened racial policies as governor are construed as evidence of hypocrisy in relation to his campaign—not as something that might, say, be favorably compared with Fulbright's unfortunate general consistency over the years.

Likewise, I note with interest that Carter's apparent ability to beat George Wallace in some Wallace strongholds in the South and to pull heavily in Chicago's black neighborhoods is being characterized as further alarming evidence of his being "all things to all men." Eight years ago, when Robert Kennedy managed to attract both black votes and white working-class votes in the Indiana primary, the same folks were hailing his achievement as pointing the way to a great healing of the Democratic Party. And four years ago, when George McGovern let it be known that he hoped to be the inheritor of the Wallace constituency, they called it "populism" and looked the other way.

AN IMPROBABLE CANDIDACY

Some Southern liberals express the view that much of Washington liberaldom's skittishness about Carter proceeds from a simple anti-Southern bias. I think that's getting warm, but not quite right. Lyndon Johnson was a Southerner, after all, and although that was enough to do him in from the beginning with some, the fact is that Johnson was very much a part of the political community Carter is currently trying to crack. He was even, in 1960, the preferred candidate of a large segment of it to stop an upstart named Kennedy. And here, I think, we get to the heart of the matter: Carter, like Kennedy, is running what might be called an "unauthorized" campaign; and Carter, unlike Johnson, is not a known and familiar Washington quantity.

The 1960 Kennedy analogy struck me forcefully as I watched Carter moving through the obstacle course last week. Kennedy, though known in Washington and favored by some in high places when he began, was simply not *of* Washington in the sense that Johnson or Humphrey or Symington, his competition, was. He alarmed Mrs. Roosevelt and annoyed Harry Truman. He had an entourage of strangers and was said to stand for nothing. His candidacy seemed improbable and unauthentic. It was also, in a particular sense, unsettling: he kept winning without the help of people who were accustomed to being helpful, even essential. Those who didn't settle in time were sorry.

I think some ancestral memory of the whole experience may have been stirring in the parlors and conference rooms of Washington last week as Carter made his rounds. He had chosen the moment well, arriving with a respectable tally of pre-convention victories and in the wake of a new Gallup poll that showed him beating Ford. The flashbulbs, the whooshing arrivals and departures of his limousine, the attendant swarm of Secret Servicemen, lent an aura of presence and importance. He had something to ask—and he *just might* in time have something to give. He wanted some support in Wisconsin from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The AFSCME leadership wanted to know exactly where he stood on a number of bread-and-butter issues. He wanted a fair shake from the Washington Establishment. It wanted to know who he was, what he intended.

So there was politics, and there was also—inevitably—high comedy. I don't suppose the words Zbigniew Brzezinski are even known to most Americans, let alone regarded as an incantation of comfort. But they are the name of a highly respected foreign-policy student and adviser currently resident at Columbia and extremely well known in this city. "Zbigniew Brzezinski," Jimmy Carter would occasionally murmur when the subject of foreign policy came up, and the reassurance flowing therefrom was audible—"Ahhhh . . ."

THEORETICALLY RIGHT

It occurred to me that there was a large irony in the fact that Carter was in some way obliged to demonstrate his tameness, his ordinariness, his political conventionality and his connection with familiar faces to reassure this particular constituency. I don't know if Carter will make it to the convention. And I certainly don't know if he is a man who could or should be the Democrats' nominee, let alone the President. But I do know that at least on paper he approximates the theoretical figure people here construct when they talk—out of season—about the kind of candidate the Democrats need: someone "new," someone who could contrive to reconcile the regions and the races, someone who might reflect the fundamentally altered political configuration of the country since the New Deal and even since the Great Society. Carter should have been asked to prove last week that he was that man. Instead, subtly, he was asked to prove he wasn't.

The Battle For the South

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 3 — Pete Lisagor of The Chicago Daily News, who may be the best newspaper reporter and wisest television commentator in this town, poked fun at the Washington Establishment here this weekend.

Washington, he said, quoting Mark Twain, was a city which believes that truth is the most valuable thing we have, and therefore should be used very sparingly. Three men could keep a secret, he added, supporting Ben Franklin, if two of them are dead.

As president of the Gridiron Club, which may be the last reluctant remnant of the old Washington Establishment, Lisagor was arguing almost sadly that what the capital needed was a sense of humor and a sense of history.

For 91 years the Gridiron Club here has been singing the same theme, usually off key: We are all in trouble, fussing with one another most of the time, but "America is a tune and must be sung together."

Most Presidents are not amused by these critical and sometimes savage amateur performances. Presidents Nixon and Johnson tolerated them at first but skipped them and condemned them in their last years in the White House. President Ford came around this weekend and brought his wife. "Once in love with Betty," sang the Gridiron chorus, "always in love with Betty."

All the Presidential candidates were invited to the Gridiron this year, but most of them declined. Maybe it's

WASHINGTON

significant that of all the candidates and noncandidates, Jimmy Carter agreed to speak for the Democrats, and former Gov. John Connally of Texas for the Republicans.

This tells us something about the element of accident in American politics. Not so long ago, Jimmy Carter was an obscure and controversial regional figure, and John Connally was a prominent national personality, former Governor of Texas, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Treasury, Democratic buddy of President Lyndon Johnson, and finally, chosen successor of Richard Nixon as the latest convert and hero of the Republican Party.

Nowhere but in America could there have been such a dramatic political transformation. Connally is probably the most articulate and effective public speaker on a big platform in America today, with the possible exception of Teddy Kennedy, who also lost his way in politics; but Connally bet on Nixon, switched parties, and lost the confidence of both the party he abandoned and the party he joined.

In contrast, Carter has come from nowhere and challenged the old Democrats who are left; yet, here were Carter and Connally together at the Gridiron, talking for the two major parties that didn't choose them or want them. Their remarks were off the record, but seldom in the long history of the Gridiron or the Washington political Establishment has there been a more bizarre personal confrontation.

It is interesting and maybe significant that the other major candidates for the Presidency declined invitations to appear on this occasion. Former Governor Reagan of California was the natural choice as spokesman for the Republican Party, and this would have seemed to be the ideal occasion for his ideological and theatrical talents, but he passed it up.

Jimmy Carter, on the other hand, never passes up any invitation, if it gives him a chance to put his personality and political arguments on the line, particularly here in Washington where he has a national audience.

Normally, the Gridiron weekend has no polititcal significance, but in Presidential election years, these annual meetings of candidates, reporters, publishers and their guest can be important.

Presidential candidates cannot win but they can lose at this time, and in the confrontation of Carter and Connally, we may be seeing a battle for the South in November.

Carter's success in the early primary elections has fascinated and troubled the leaders of both major political parties here, and the labor union chieftains as well. They don't quite know what to do about Carter, don't know whether they can control him, and wonder whether they can stop him.

The Democratic Party leaders think they can hold the Northern industrial states with Hubert Humphrey or Henry Jackson and maybe even with Carter, but Carter, they feel, may hold the South and bring them back to the White House after eight long years.

This worries the Republicans at the same time. They have been making great progress in the old Confederate states of the South, but as Carter wins one primary after another, they are beginning to think of a Southern running mate for Mr. Ford, maybe Big John Connally of Texas.

The thought in Washington recently has been that the Presidential election is running toward a Ford-Carter race in the fall, or to a Humphrey-Carter ticket against Ford and somebody else who can balance Carter in the South. In any event, the South is finally and clearly coming to the fore, and may hold the decisive balance, with Mr. Carter and Mr. Connally playing a major role, at least on the Vice Presidential tickets.

Carolina Upset . . .

The North Carolina primary may only have proved the law of averages.

Having narrowly lost New Hampshire and Florida, two conservative states that with "a little bit of luck" he might have won, Ronald Reagan finally squeezed out a victory in North Carolina. In percentage terms, he won convincingly, 52 percent to 46 percent, with the remainder going to "no preference." But, in fact, fewer than 200,000 persons participated in the G.O.P. primary and only 12,000 votes separated Mr. Reagan and President Ford.

But Mr. Reagan's win keeps his candidacy alive and also demonstrates that in many states, the Republican Party is about equally divided between these two rivals for the leadership. Because of that circumstance, the struggle for the nomination is now likely to persist for another three months rather than peter out in the next week or two as some experts had expected.

Will a harsh struggle seriously diminish the value of the G.O.P. nomination when it is finally decided? This is a recurrent fear among politicians, but there is little reason to anticipate such damage in the Ford-Reagan race. As of now, the two men have avoided personal bitterness. The differences between them on foreign policy and military spending are differences of degree and emphasis only.

. . . Wallace Defeat

Jimmy Carter's thumping victory in the North Carolina Democratic primary was another severe setback for Gov. George C. Wallace. In winning, Mr. Carter drew only a few more votes than Terry Sanford had polled in losing four years ago. But in the interval the Wallace vote was virtually cut in half.

The pattern of the two primaries was not the same, and the difference is most encouraging for the Carter candidacy. He won not only among black voters and in the cities as had been expected, but he also ran well in rural areas and in the eastern tidewater counties where Mr. Wallace had always been strongest. This suggests at least tentatively that as the Wallace phenomenon fades, Mr. Carter is showing that he can draw some ex-Wallace voters back into the mainstream of the Democratic Party.

At the same time, the Carter victories in Florida and North Carolina close off what had been potential support for Senator Henry M. Jackson. If Governor Wallace had been successful, then moderate and conservative anti-Wallace Democrats in the South would have turned naturally to Senator Jackson as the most acceptable of the serious candidates. But Mr. Carter has now preempted that role for himself.

The decisive test for Mr. Carter still lies in the North, where his party has in recent elections had the bulk of its popular strength. New York, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and, later, Ohio and California may well decide the outcome.

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On to Pennsylvania

The struggle for the Democratic Presidential nomination increasingly takes on the character of a two-man race between former Gov. Jimmy Carter and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. The Humphrey strategy envisages his choice as the compromise candidate of a deadlocked convention.

Governor Carter's remarkable string of primary successes has already reduced the number of his active rivals to two—Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall. Unless they can show impressive strength in the remaining primaries, Senator Humphrey's candidacy will be transformed from an above-the-battle compromise to a desperate stop-Carter blocking action, a quite different and much less tenable position.

* * *

Senator Humphrey's recent emergence as an articulate and visible candidate notwithstanding his nonparticipation in the primaries undercuts the Jackson candidacy. Some Democrats regard Senator Jackson as a Humphrey advance man rather than as a serious candidate in his own right. This is manifestly unfair to Mr. Jackson who clearly wants to be President and who worked hard for his victories in the Massachusetts and New York primaries.

Yet those victories and his hopes in Pennsylvania on April 27 and in subsequent primaries depend heavily upon the backing of labor union chiefs whose loyalties really lie with Mr. Humphrey. The tumultuous reception accorded Senator Humphrey when he spoke last week to the Pennsylvania A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention is further evidence that much of the support for Mr. Jackson is only nominal.

Unless he can amass a convincing lead in the remaining primaries, Senator Jackson cannot hope to emerge from the convention as the nominee because the Udall delegates, many of the Carter delegates, and many of his own delegates could much more easily come together in support of Senator Humphrey. Conversely, the same is true for Representative Udall. He probably has a somewhat higher enthusiasm quotient among his delegates but he, too, would find it difficult to expand beyond his liberal base at the national convention.

* * *

The Pennsylvania primary is likely to clarify the prospects for Senator Humphrey's unusual candidacy-by-proxy, although the Pennsylvania precedents are not encouraging for him. Four years ago, he won the Pennsylvania primary, but he and Senator Jackson—who was also on the ballot—polled between them a total of only 38 percent of the vote. This was less than the total vote of two unorganized outsiders—Senator George McGovern and Governor George C. Wallace.

Pennsylvania Democrats in 1972 showed a marked tendency to vote for candidates unconnected with the power structure of the urban machines and the union hierarchies. There are two critical questions now. The first is whether Governor Carter appeals to this restless, volatile vote—and how much, if at all, his unfortunate comments last week on the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods (for which he subsequently apologized) have hurt or helped him. The other question is whether Pennsylvania Democrats will show more enthusiasm for Senator Humphrey's nomination than they did four years ago.

James J. Kilpatrick

Sneeze in a brooder house

In a society that positively thrives upon awards, plaques and what Pegler used to call bottlecaps and doorstops, one more award might seem redundant. Let me propose it anyhow.

This would be a hand-tooled three-dollar bill, having a value of no fewer than 60 plugged nickels, to be presented for Exceptional Phoniness Beyond the Call of Demagoguery. The first award would go to all those persons who reacted with shock and horror to Jimmy Carter's statement on "ethnic purity."

What a flap! It was like a sneeze in a brooder house. Seldom have we witnessed such a beating of wings, such a chorus of yelps, yawps and adenoidal cackles, such a wringing of hands and a rolling of eyes. For three or four days, the political world resounded with the striking of attitudes. You could have blown up a blimp with the surge of hot air.

Poor Carter! He had dared to express the inexpressible; he had said the unsayable; he had given tongue to the unthinkable thought.

"I have nothing against a community," said this miserable wretch, "that's made up of people who are Polish, Czechoslovakians, French Canadians or blacks who are trying to maintain the ethnic purity of their neighborhoods. This is a natural inclination on the part of people."

The unfortunate miscreant went on to say: "I've never, though, condoned any sort of discrimination against, say, a black family or other family from moving into that neighborhood. But I don't think government ought to deliberately break down an ethnically oriented community deliberately by injecting into it a member of another race. To me, this is contrary to the best interests of the community."

Now, the governor's statement is scarcely a model of clarity or coherence. It suffers from a split infinitive and a repeated adverb. Even so, his thought is not to be mistaken: He opposes the use of federal coercion to break up ethnically established neighborhoods. He believes in the freedom of every person to live where he chooses, but he would not push people around.

Carter's blasphemy left Senator Henry Jackson speechless. Unfortunately, the condition lasted for no more than two seconds. Coming swiftly to his senses, Jackson let the world know he was shocked and appalled by the governor's remarks. This past Sunday, on television, Jackson still was shaking his head in concern and dismay.

Let us send out the three-buck bill to be suitably framed. This was the same Henry Jackson who delivered himself on December 30 of a long position paper in opposition to court-ordered busing. In this paper Jackson repeatedly denounced what he termed "social engineering." He said the Constitution did not contemplate mathematical race-balancing.

"This is a strange theory in a pluralistic, multi-racial society such as ours," said Jackson. "It is inevitable in a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society that people of different races and groups will settle in clusters rather than randomly. This clustering is not simply the result of discrimination, but of economic circumstance, culture, and history . . . if we destroy the various ethnic neighborhoods, we destroy not only a rich tradition in American life, but an anchor for stability in an increasingly unstable society."

Jackson's fellow buck-and-wing man in the Democratic vaudeville, Congressman Mo Udall of Arizona, has said substantially the same thing: He is opposed to the federal government's "charging in" to established neighborhoods. For the past 20 years, through such rallying cries as "black studies," and "black caucuses," and "black is beautiful," scores of Negro spokesmen have harped on the theme, if you please, of ethenic identification. Every self-respecting ethnic group — the Indians, Italians, Poles, Chinese — manifests the flocking together of birds of a feather. So why the flap? Stop Carter, that's all.

Okay. Boys will be boys, and pols will be pols. Carter himself may qualify before long for his own phony award. But in the basic thought he expressed last week, Carter aligned himself with about 99 percent of the voters. For a presidential candidate, that's not such a bad place to be.

G

Roster
Sunny today, high in mid-60s. Low tonight in low-40s. Sunny tomorrow, high in low 70s. Details: B-4.

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JAMES G. BELLOWS, *Editor* SIDNEY EPSTEIN, *Managing Editor* EDWIN M. YODER JR., *Associate Editor*

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1976

Ethnic you-know-what

So many lessons about the state of the electioneering arts may be drawn from the flap over Gov. Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" remark that merely to list them would deplete the store of ink and paper. But to touch on two or three:

First, there is the weight and resonance of words. Dr. Freud was not the first to alert us to the deeper significance of verbal lapses, but he probably made our suspicions permanent. We ourselves doubt that Governor Carter wished to associate himself with Adolf Hitler or any other prophet of the mythology of *racial* "purity." And the attempt by Mr. Carter's kneejerk detractors to make this sordid association in the face of the evidence has its own special ugliness.

Yet clearly there are contexts in which the word "purity" is not acceptable and Mr. Carter has wisely retracted it. It was, he agreed in Philadelphia, "ill-chosen . . . a very serious mistake . . . careless." Enough said.

A further lesson, however, is that in heated presidential primary campaigns verbal lapses are not easily shaken off — not even when the original context establishes for any fair-minded reader that Governor Carter's use of the forbidden words carries no racist freightage — and not even, indeed, when the words are qualified or retracted. The political benefits of pretending otherwise are overpowering. This is a familiar phenomenon in our politics, but no less deplorable for being so.

Gov. George Romney's rivals for the GOP nomination some years ago understood that he was not literally "brainwashed" by the briefing of American officials in Vietnam — that he was trying, all too clumsily, to lodge a charge of deception that was not without merit. Similarly, Governor Carter's rivals understand full well by now that he was not entering a brief for exclusionary neighborhoods but answering, with remarkable and dangerous candor, a direct question about "scatter-site housing in the suburbs." Yet they insist on dwelling on the resonances of the ill-chosen words rather than the issue itself.

Why? One reason, which hasn't escaped notice in the clamor of the past weekend, is that both Rep. Morris Udall and Sen. Henry Jackson *agree* with Governor Carter about "scatter-site housing in the suburbs." That's right — they agree. But they also find that there is political mileage in fuzzing over that basic agreement, at least for the nonce. Here is indeed a basic problem in American electioneering — that we cry for candor but leap so disingenuously on unguarded language that candidates learn that it's the better part of candor to fudge when asked sharp questions about sensitive issues.

It may be pointless to quarrel too strenuously with this built-in defect of the electioneering process. Given the broad agreements that exist — happily, we think — in the middle spectrum of American politics, campaigns often necessarily turn on nuances, overtones, subliminal perceptions, the resonances of words, rather than on flat disagreements of principle.

The accurate thing for Messrs. Jackson and Udall to say — and maybe the intellectually honest thing too — is "I have no real quarrel with Governor Carter on this issue." But that wins no votes. And few candidates — including, we suppose, Governor Carter — are immune to the temptation to make much of opportune trivialities. But you can certainly say that presidential campaigns would better serve the voters, would be less productive of noxious sanctimony and hypocrisy, if candidates strove as hard to understand one another as they do to misunderstand when it is advantageous to do so.

A third lesson of the "ethnic purity" flap, succinctly stated by James Reston of The New York *Times*, is that there is a debatable but undebated issue here. The question, he says, is how the others will beat Governor Carter if they beat him. "If they beat him on the fair issue of the use of federal power to compel integration, that is one thing, but if they beat him on the slip of the tongue and on phony charges that his record refutes, they will not only stop Carter but Humphrey as well."

The fair issue, again largely ignored, is whether it should be the role of federal action not just to stop "'discrimination or exclusion" in neighborhoods (which all the candidates, including Governor Carter, agree that it should be) but also to push local communities to scatter high-rise public housing into resisting neighborhoods. It isn't an easy issue. Arguments can be made, wrongheaded arguments, we happen to believe, for just such use of federal power. Here is where the quarrel of, say, the congressional black caucus with Governor Carter lies — if they have one.

But as far as Mr. Carter's announced rivals for the nomination are concerned, there is a huge silence on the other side of the argument. The Pennsylvania primary would give Messrs. Udall and Jackson a splendid chance to raise their voices for "scatter-site housing in the suburbs" and thus to join issue with the former governor of Georgia. Unless they mean to do so, unless they mean to reverse positions they have already announced, the decent thing is to admit that they agree with Mr. Carter and move on to real issues. After all, Messrs. Jackson and Udall can subsist for only so long on imaginary differences and sanctimonious finger-wagging, and in the space of only a few days they have scraped that larder bare.

It's OK for Hosea, But KO for Carter

MIKE
ROYKO

Mike Royko is a columnist for the Chicago Daily News.

The Rev. Hosea Williams, a black civil rights leader, has apologized for using the word "Polack" on TV.

Williams

In a phone conversation, the Rev. Williams told me that when he used the word, he didn't realize it was offensive to Polish Americans.

For those who missed it, the Rev. Williams referred to the "Polack vote" during a network TV interview about Jimmy Carter.

He had been lashing Carter's use of the word "ethnic purity," in describing neighborhoods, and said he wouldn't accept Carter's apology or Carter's explanation that it had been a poor choice of words.

In fact, Williams, who is a Georgia legislator, had gone on to say he thought Carter might have used the phrase deliberately in an effort to win "the Polack vote."

By the time I reached the Rev. Williams by phone at his Southern Christian Leadership Conference office, he had learned of his own verbal mistake.

"I have to beg pardon for my ignorance," he said. "I didn't know 'Polack' was a degrading word. I've never lived around Polish people."

How did you discover your error?

"I have a radio show here, and when I went on the show later in the day, we were talking about ethnic words. Somebody told me that Polish people don't like to be called 'Polacks.' I hadn't known that. I thought that was what they were called."

I pointed out to the Rev. Williams that even if he had referred to them as Polish-Americans in his TV statement, he would have still been dealing in a bigoted stereotype. The implication of his statement was that Poles would be receptive to racist appeals by a political candidate. Why had he singled them out?

"What brought them to mind," he said, "was that during the open-housing marches that were led by Dr. King in Chicago, the most vicious mobs he encountered were in places like Gage Park and out there toward Cicero. They were even meaner than any mobs we met in Mississippi or Alabama."

"And the mobs were Polish?" I asked.

"Why, yes," he said.

Amazing. There were Lithuanians, and Bohemians, and Irish, and Italians and all sorts of ethnic-Americans besides Poles involved. I was there. The arrest records of those marches, in fact, show a remarkable ethnic diversity. Even WASPs. But the Rev. Williams thinks everybody was Polish. I guess we actually do look the same to him.

When I pointed this out to him, he sounded surprised and said: "Oh."

But that's not really important. What counts is that he recognized his error and apologized, which is all any reasonable person can expect.

And that led to the obvious question:

The Rev. Williams says he didn't realize the word "Polack" was insulting. Jimmy Carter says the phrase "ethnic purity" was a poor choice of words on his part, and doesn't reflect his true beliefs about open housing, which he favors. The Rev. Williams says he hopes people will accept his apologies. Jimmy Carter says he hopes people will accept his apologies.

Therefore, does the Rev. Williams accept Jimmy Carter's apologies, as he expects Polish-Americans to accept his?

"Definitely not," said the Rev. Williams.

But why not? Now that he has experienced the embarrassment of a poor choice of words himself, can't he understand how the same thing might have happened to Jimmy Carter?

"Yes, but I'm not running for President." he said.

Having thus explained why somebody who uses the word "Polack" is not a bigot, if he says he is sorry, the Rev. Williams said goodby and resumed his campaign to convince blacks that anybody who uses a phrase like "ethnic purity" is a racist, even if he says he is sorry.

I guess the moral of this story is this—if the shoe is on the other foot, just kick it off.

The Carter Coalition

By Tom Wicker

On the night of Jimmy Carter's victory over George Wallace in the North Carolina Democratic primary, Senator Henry Jackson paused while campaigning in Brooklyn to say:

"[Carter] has his work cut out for him because he will not have the support of the groups that decide the election—the nationalities groups, the labor groups and so on."

That same night, Mr. Carter was campaigning in St. Louis (he is the only candidate as yet making much of an effort to win Missouri's 71 delegates in the caucuses beginning April 20). Speaking by telephone to his North Carolina supporters, he said he had received "strong support from urban and rural, black and white, young and old, conservative and liberal." It was, he said, "a kind of Carter coalition."

Not only do the statistics from North Carolina bear out Mr. Carter (he defeated Governor Wallace even in the rural and conservative Coastal Plain and became the first Democratic candidate to win a majority over the field in any state primary); but there is a world of difference in the "Carter coalition" and the view of the election expressed by Henry Jackson in Brooklyn. Mr. Jackson's is the old politics of labor and nationalities; no matter how much he talks of reconstructing "the Roosevelt coalition," he is the one who proposes a narrow base for a national campaign in the 70's—no appeal to blacks, to the party elements that supported Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy and nominated George McGovern, or to those Americans disillusioned and dismayed by Watergate, the abuses of the C.I.A. and F.B.I., and the "mess in Washington."

It is not, in fact, Mr. Carter but Mr. Jackson who has yet to demonstrate broad vote-getting appeal. He keeps saying Mr. Carter must "prove himself" in a major industrial state; but Mr. Carter has run first in New Hampshire and Vermont, third in Massachusetts, first in Florida, Illinois and North Carolina. When is Henry Jackson going to demonstrate that he can win where organized labor is not strong and he has no busing controversy to exploit?

Any independent observer must concede that the most remarkable fact of the 1976 campaign so far is Jimmy Carter's demonstrated ability to appeal virtually all across the spectrum of Democratic voters. Just for example:

¶In Florida, he won 72 percent of the black vote and in Illinois about half of it, while remaining the second choice of Wallace voters.

¶In Illinois, he took at least fourteen delegate places against downstate candidates pledged to Senator Adlai E. Stevenson as a favorite son (granted Mr. Stevenson did not campaign).

¶He got as much as 30 percent of the total votes in New Hampshire precincts where George McGovern ran well in 1972—and also in precincts where Richard Nixon scored heavily.

¶In New Hampshire, his winning coalition was center-right; when Mr. Jackson and Governor Wallace took over the right in Massachusetts, Mr. Carter still ran third with his appeal to moderates.

¶In New Hampshire, the "Carter coalition" included low-income groups, conservative Democrats, older voters, blue-collar workers and the less-educated.

¶In Florida, he beat both Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson in liberal areas, ran even with Mr. Wallace in blue-collar districts, beat him in the rural north, and trounced Mr. Jackson in conservative central Florida.

These facts suggest not just a "Carter coalition" but a winning coalition. They ought to give pause to those who call Representative Morris Udall the "only horse to ride" for liberal Democrats, and those who talk of the "Roosevelt coalition" Senator Jackson says he can put together. Because some other facts are that (a) the Democratic left has nominated only George McGovern since the Roosevelt era, and lost a landslide with him; and (b) whatever "coalition" Mr. Jackson puts together won't include blacks or the Democratic left or even all the labor unions. And still another fact is that only Jimmy Carter of these three has shown any appeal in the newly populous "sunbelt" states, some substantial number of which will have to be carried by a Democrat who wants both to win and to be able to govern.

IN THE NATION

Carter's ability to appeal all across the spectrum of Democratic voters is remarkable.

As for allegations that Mr. Carter ducks the issues, those who have followed the campaign know that his views are at least as clear and often more specific than those of Mr. Jackson or Mr. Udall. To cite one interesting comparison between the three:

On the morning of Oct. 21, 1973, after President Nixon's "Saturday night massacre" a few hours earlier, Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia called a news conference and said that "firing Archibald Cox" was "an action that warrants impeachment." On Oct. 23, Mr. Udall—now supported by Mr. Cox—called only for an inquiry and Mr. Nixon's resignation. On the same day, Henry Jackson said that talk of impeachment was "premature."

Reading Jimmy Carter

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, March 31—At least this much is clear by now: Jimmy Carter is the most interesting new political phenomenon this country has seen in a long time. His appeal crosses some of the old lines of party and ideology. He has coolly withstood the worst that critics could throw at him, and polls show his national support deepening.

Lately, he has met and survived what have to be called tough audiences: small groups of the powerful and the articulate in Washington and New York. His listeners seemed struck most of all by how smart Carter is—sharp in his political estimates, informed on a variety of foreign and domestic issues.

In an article in New York Magazine, Richard Reeves said he had found that "many national reporters believed he was the smartest politician they had ever covered."

The sudden realization that Jimmy Carter has to be taken seriously is a little reminiscent of John Kennedy's emergence in 1960. Many established figures had written him off, too, as an outsider of insufficient weight. Then his talents as a campaigner made themselves felt.

Not that Governor Carter is similar to the Senator Kennedy of 1960. He lacks the disarming Kennedy self-mockery, seeming more singleminded in his focus on politics. On the other hand, he is intelligent in not just the political sense: He reads more, and more widely, than any recent American politician.

Some of the critical things said about Carter by unfriendly commentators have fallen of their own weight. The charge that he is a covert racist is hard to maintain when he wins heavy support from blacks. He is no more vague on issues than other candidates; he just refuses to give one-sentence answers to complicated questions. His ability to attract voters of different professed ideologies, while novel, is not exactly a bad thing for a country that has been so divided.

What remains to trouble a number of thoughtful voters—a substantial number, I would guess—is something else. A reader in Shaftsbury Hollow, Vt., Mrs. Frank L. Oktavec, put it well in a letter:

"Carter's virtues are apparent," Mrs. Oktavec wrote: "Intelligence, tenacity, competence. Still, he is an enigma—not because he waffled on issues but because he's a specimen we've never known."

To liberal-minded people in Vermont or New York or Wisconsin he may be an unknown quantity, unsettlingly so, especially because he is religious—though in fact he shows no signs of zealotry. But beyond that people wonder about his inner political values. They have no intuitive sense of the man.

A vote for Jimmy Carter is no doubt, to a degree, a leap in the dark: a vote for possibilities. But in the many words he has spoken over these last months one may begin to perceive clues to the inner man.

In an interview with The Washington Post, for example, he was asked about amnesty. Carter has said he would pardon all those who fled the country rather than serve in Vietnam. (Why he speaks of pardon instead of amnesty is not very clear.) He has also said that he found it hard to arrive at that position. He was asked why.

"In the area of the country where I live," he replied, "defecting from military service is almost unheard-of. Most of the young people in my section of Georgia are quite poor. They

ABROAD AT HOME

didn't know where Sweden was, they didn't know how to get to Canada, they didn't have money to hide in college. They thought the war was wrong. They preferred to stay at home, but still they went to Vietnam. A substantial disproportion of them were black. . . . They were never heroes, and I feel a very great appreciation to them. . . .

"So for a long time it was hard for me to address the question in objective fashion, but I think it's time to get the Vietnamese war over with. I don't have any desire to punish anyone. I'd just like to tell the young folks who did defect to come back home, with no requirement that you be punished or that you serve in some humanitarian capacity or anything. Just come back home, the whole thing's over. . . .

"When I issue the pardon if I'm elected President, my first week in office, I don't intend to criticize the young people who left the country. I'd just issue a blanket pardon without comment."

There is enough of the man in that to distinguish him from his main opponent. Senator Henry Jackson is an absolutely known quantity. He has been a liberal on domestic issues, as he emphasizes. But he was Richard Nixon's first choice for Secretary of Defense, and he was a last-ditch supporter of the Vietnam war.

On amnesty, Jackson says he would seek some way to get the young men back, but not unconditionally: "It would not be fair for those individuals who violated the law to be officially excused from penalty while others, often at the risk of life, accepted the obligation of service."

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The Washington Star

JOE L. ALLBRITTON, *Publisher*

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THURSDAY, APRIL 8, 1976

Mr. Carter on neighborhoods

The plea that Sen. Barry Goldwater is said to have made to reporters during the campaign of 1964 — write what I mean, not what I say — may briefly have crossed the mind of Gov. Jimmy Carter the other day in South Bend, Ind., as he struggled to explain some earlier remarks about the racial and ethnic integrity of neighborhoods.

The New York *Times*, whose reporter, Christopher Lydon, was among Governor Carter's interrogators, headlined Mr. Lydon's report: "Carter Defends/All-White Areas." It was no headline writer's slip — the same headline was repeated verbatim on the "jump" that continued the story inside.

Yet if you read Mr. Lydon's story carefully, you learn that Governor Carter did no such thing. He was neither attacking nor defending "all-white areas," and even noted that he himself by no means lives in such an area down in Plains, Ga. He was saying, very sensibly in our view, that government ought to respect the preferences of a race or ethnic group that chooses to live in a homogeneous neighborhood — that it shouldn't be government policy (as it has been, for instance, in the placement of "scattered-site" public housing and to some degree in cross-busing) to sponsor attempts to break up such neighborhoods. "Affirmative" assaults on neighborhood preferences, Mr. Carter observed, create "disharmony," even "hatred." He might have added that they often are self-defeating, actually increasing social, economic and racial isolation.

As he elaborated on this point of view, Governor Carter chose some words that could lend themselves to misunderstanding. So before the lurking sentinels poised to spear candidates on verbal slipups proclaim that there exists an insidious "Carter doctrine" for racial purity in the suburbs it ought to be carefully noted what he actually said — and didn't say.

Mr. Carter said, for example, that he has "nothing against a community that's made up of people who are Polish or Czechoslovakian or French-Canadian, or black, who are trying to maintain the ethnic *purity* (our emphasis) of their neighborhoods." "Ethnic stability" or "ethnic integrity" would have served the same purpose, without untoward overtones.

In any case, we suspect that those who value their neighborhoods will understand, even if the reporters don't. Not that Governor Carter is likely to be unaware that what he says about neighborhoods is attuned to what a great many Americans, of all races and ethnic traditions, think.

He is not, he said, against open-housing laws and has enforced, and would enforce them, "aggressively." What he is against is the familiar brand of social engineering of which we have had a great deal in recent years, especially from Washington bureaus and agencies, which by design or accident destroys the texture of ethnic and racial communities. Not only certain housing policies but various programs of urban development and urban highway construction have devastated livable neighborhoods, leaving nothing in their place.

In short, there is nothing very new, or to most of us very provocative, in what Governor Carter was saying — or trying to say — about the misguided and mindless wrecking of community clusters in the postwar era. Jane Jacobs, for instance, was saying much the same thing 20 years ago in her book, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities*. Unfortunately, it often takes decades, if not centuries, for such a message to get through to social planners who have no care or feeling for the texture of communities and only contempt for the preferences of those who choose to live in them. And it is rare to have these things said so clearly by political candidates; such issues are made for waffling.

There's No Left Left

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, April 7—When Gertrude Stein bleakly surveyed Oakland, Calif., she announced: "There's no there there." In the same way, the results of the primary elections in New York and Wisconsin this week lead to this conclusion: "There's no Left left."

Most of the aging "New Left" has dropped out of politics; the remainder has joined much of the Old Left in the exodus to the New Right. Think of it: An articulate, attractive candidate like Congressman Udall, taking on Wisconsin's favorite label of "progressive," campaigning hard for many months, receiving help from Humphrey men who wanted to stop Carter, winds up with a third of the Democratic votes against a field generally perceived as conservative.

The message is unmistakable: The McGovernite left of the Democratic Party, so recently in the saddle, is hardly in the stable. Ideologically, the Americans for Democratic Action is down, and the Coalition for a Democratic Majority is up.

But what of the strong Udall showing in New York, where he ran a respectable second behind Senator Jackson, while Jimmy Carter was limping in fourth, behind Nobody? Doesn't that show that there is still a Left left?

Sorry: Nothing more vividly illustrates the rightward march than the Jackson victory in New York. Four years ago, a supporter of a strong defense posture would have been laughed out of a Democratic race. Jackson's win cannot be solely due to his support of Israel: He won in Elmira and in Spanish Harlem, and swept Queens County, which is more Catholic than Jewish.

New Yorkers kept Udall alive as a Vice-Presidential possibility, even as they gave Mr. Carter the worst trouncing he has suffered. But "strong showings" do not a candidacy make; in Wisconsin, Governor Reagan captured 44 percent of the vote, and it is interpreted as "pretty good, considering." In truth, had the Reagan forces in Wisconsin been better organized months ago, a stunning upset might well have been engineered. Because Mr. Reagan wrote off Wisconsin from the start, he was unable to extend his one-primary winning streak.

Wisconsin may have been the most important primary so far. Governor Reagan played it safe, pleading poverty, but it was not so much a shortage of funds as a shortage of nerve that initially kept him from making his best efforts there. Had he gambled and lost, he could have shrugged it off; had he played to win, as challengers must, he might have turned around 5 percent of the vote and headed South and West with all the momentum.

Wisconsin's Democratic squeaker killed any remote Udall chances for the top spot and virtually ensured Mr. Carter a place somewhere on the Democratic ticket. Unlike Reagan, Carter took his chances; the daring paid off with one of those moments that will be looked back upon as a turning point in a campaign.

If Mr. Carter had lost in Wisconsin, on the same day of his drubbing in New York, he could have been said to have been "stopped"; at least, during the hot-stove-league weeks ahead, he would have taken an analytical beating.

Not only did he win, but he won in such a way as to produce one of those classic we-showed-'em photos: The picture of the political year to date is of Jimmy Carter holding aloft the headline of a newspaper prematurely giving victory to his opponent, recalling the jubilant moment of Harry Truman's upset over Thomas E. Dewey.

With this last note reverberating through the forthcoming intermission,

ESSAY

delegates may get the idea that Mr. Carter has an asset they consider more important than intelligence, stamina, character, integrity or charisma: It could be that he's lucky. Of the last four Presidential elections, two were the biggest landslides and two were the closest squeakers—and in a squeaker, convention delegates reason, it helps to have luck.

Here in Washington, trendier Democrats—particularly the old Kennedy crowd—are gravitating toward Mr. Carter, sensing in him the cool opportunism and apparent outsider's malleability that they find so attractive. (White House joke: Why can't Jimmy Carter lie? Because when he lies, he grows another tooth.)

The reaction to Carter in power-brokerage offices and in Georgetown recalls the legend of Napoleon's return from Elba as it was supposedly reported in Paris newspapers. "Hated Beast Lands in South" was the first headline; a more cautious "Napoleon Advances" was the second; finally, "Beloved Emperor at Gates of Paris."

At this moment the message from Wisconsin has generated a "Napoleon advances" feeling here about Mr. Carter. Meanwhile, the message from New York is that there are some Democrats—perhaps what's left of the Left—who might even stay home rather than vote for the supremely confident man from Georgia.

How *Not* to Stop Carter

By James Reston

HILLSBOROUGH, N.C., April 10—Ever since Jimmy Carter took the lead in the Presidential election, his opponents have been trying to prove he was all shell and no peanut. If he talks in generalities, he is accused of being "fuzzy," and if he talks in specifics, he's accused of being dizzy.

By an unfortunate choice of words, he seemed at first to be defending the principle and practice of segregated-housing communities, and refusing to use Federal power to interfere with the "purity" of all-white, all-Irish or Polish or Italian districts, but he has now explained time and time again that this was not what he meant and he has apologized for the blunder.

His record in support of open housing—the right of anybody of any race, religion, or nationality to move into any neighborhood he chooses—is clear for everybody to see. "I don't think there are ethnically pure neighborhoods in this country," he said, "and it was a mistake to use that word."

Still, Mr. Carter did not support those who want the Federal Government to force the breakup of homogeneous communities. "I don't think," he insisted, "that Government ought deliberately to break down ethnically oriented communities by injecting into them a member of another race. It seems to me this is contrary to the best interests of the community. It creates disharmony, it creates hatred, it creates an attitude of unwarranted Government intrusion."

WASHINGTON

This still leaves room for honest disagreement and debate, for there are many experienced people in this country who believe that the housing patterns of the nation will become more and more segregated into checkboard communities unless the Federal Government does use its powers aggressively to create and even to compel integrated communities.

Mr. Carter's opponents, however, are not concentrating on this quite legitimate issue, but are suggesting that Carter is a segregationist after all. Even Mo Udall, who usually plays the political game on the level, has implied that Carter purposely raised this issue, just when George Wallace was fading from the race, in order to pick up the Wallace vote.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, who is Mr. Carter's foremost advocate in the black communities of the North and South, was quick to condemn Mr. Carter's use of the word "purity" because it suggested the right of total exclusion of outsiders, but he was also first to warn of the dangerous issue it was raising.

"A lot of people who said, 'You just can't trust a Southerner,'" Mr. Young observed, "are now going to say, 'See, I told you so.'"

Mr. Carter's reply to this is that he would rather withdraw from the race than introduce racial controversy into the debate, but the stop-Carter movement is gaining strength and losing altitude, particularly in view of the critical Pennsylvania primary election late this month.

If Mr. Carter wins in Pennsylvania against the opposition of powerful labor-union, and pro-Jackson, pro-Humphrey and pro-Udall forces, it will be extremely hard to halt his momentum and deny him the nomination. But if they do beat him badly in Pennsylvania by backing Jackson and Udall, the chances are that Hubert Humphrey will get the nomination.

The question, however, is how they beat Carter. If they revive the "Southern issue," just when the nation was finally getting rid of it and giving a Southern candidate an honest shot at the Presidency, the Democrats will not regain the South but lose it, and probably the election as well.

If they beat him on the fair issue of the use of Federal power to compel integration, that is one thing, but if they beat him on the slip of the tongue and on phony charges that his record refutes, they will not only stop Carter but Humphrey as well.

Incidently, it would be interesting to hear from Mr. Humphrey himself on this, and Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall as well. Mr. Humphrey has lately been playing the role of the elder statesman, supporting Secretary Kissinger more consistently than many leaders of Mr. Kissinger's own team. But he has also fought all his political life to get rid of the very sort of regional and racial bitterness this new controversy is raising. He should not, it seems here, want to be the beneficiary of a cheap shot at the man who has fairly won most of the Democratic primary elections.

Carter can perhaps help himself by spelling out in detail the policies he would follow on housing and the Federal Government's role on the integration question, but this will have to be done quickly, for strong forces that worry about his independence are determined to keep the ethnic purity issue alive, and particularly to use it to break his momentum in this month's important and perhaps decisive primary.

So far, this has been a fairly clean campaign, but it has taken an accidental and nasty turn and it is in the interest of the Democratic party and the nation that the present issue be debated on the basis of the facts. It would be ironic if "purity" were turned into a dirty word.

Mile High
Sunny today and tomorrow; high 72-76. Low tonight 40-48. Details: B-8.

The Washington Star

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'This Is a Big Fuss About Nothing'

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — "You know," says Clarence Parker, "when Gov. Carter talks to the Negro people, he gets a little tremble in his voice because he's nervous and he wants to make a good impression. But there's no need for that because we like him."

Clarence Parker, a black man of 60, is the foreman on a cleaning crew that works in one of the Peachtree Center buildings in downtown Atlanta, and he says proudly that he reads "two or three newspapers every day of my life." And Clarence Parker is not impressed by the controversy over Jimmy Carter and "ethnic purity."

"You know what that is," he tells a visitor. "That's just regular politics, pure and simple. Anybody can see that."

CONVERSATIONS with more than two dozen black people in downtown Atlanta find all but one or two taking a remarkably similar attitude about the controversy that has preoccupied the political community for the last 10 days.

A young man in a conservatively tailored gabardine suit gestures with his attache case to make the same point: "I'm from Detroit and everybody out there understands this thing. Jimmy Carter made a mistake but he's apologized for it and nobody I know thinks he's really against them."

TALKING POLITICS

Marabelle Chase, a fashionably dressed mother of twins, is convinced the controversy is a product of Northern bias against the Southern politician. "We all know what they are up to," she says. "It's a different kind of prejudice but that's what it is all right."

A young black secretary named Silly Chapman — "that's what everybody's always called me" — reflects a common attitude about Carter among blacks here. "He understands black people," she says, "I don't know how to explain it but I can feel it, and I don't care about his choice of words. It doesn't really mean a thing."

It is, of course, not surprising that Jimmy Carter gets good marks from blacks in Georgia. This is, after all, his home state and local pride is obviously a factor. But the converrsations with black voters here yesterday suggest that the rhubarb over "ethnic purity" may be one of those things that engrosses the politicians and the press more than the voters.

AND THE RESPONSE also suggests that Carter has some special chemistry with black voters none of his rivals for the Democratic presidential nomination can match.

"I don't know what it is about him," says Earl Harrison, a 48-year-old messenger service manager, "But I think he's a good man. He was the best governor I ever remember in this state and he tried to do things for all the people." Harrison's son, Richard, is similarly enthusiastic. Between bites of an ice cream bar, he boasts of how he will cast his first vote in the May 4 Georgia primary for "the main man and that's Gov. Jimmy Carter, you better believe it."

There is some defensiveness, too, among blacks here who see the criticism of Carter as an attempt to put an upstart in his place. An impatient young woman who refuses to give her name blames the press: "You people came down here trying to get something bad on Jimmy Carter, but you won't get it from me. This is a big fuss about nothing."

HER HUSBAND, somewhat less hostile, adds this qualification: "It isn't the newspapers all by themselves, it's just the way they think in New York. They don't know what to make of Jimmy Carter, but we know him and we know he's going to win."

Clarence Parker, encountering a visitor a second time in an hour, contributes a final thought.

"What you have to understand," he says, "is that he's a home boy and we're going to stick with the home boy all the way."

P

David S. Broder

The Status of the Democratic Front-Runner

The cartoon in this week's New Yorker shows a quizzical gentleman with a campaign button reading, "Jimmy Carter—I Think." That is a pretty good summary of the equivocal status at the moment of the Democrats' front-runner.

The "ethnic purity" controversy has brought the first major crisis to the former Georgia governor's pursuit of the presidential nomination and caused the first serious waverings among many who were beginning to believe in either the desirability or the inevitability of a Carter victory.

As is often the case in politics, it has also caused some to forget how much Carter has already accomplished. He has changed the nature of the 1976 election, and even if his own campaign were to stop dead in its tracks—which it will not—fundamental aspects of the Democratic Party and the presidential campaign would have been altered.

The first change for which Carter can claim credit is in the relationship of black leaders to others in the Democratic Party hierarchy. Blacks have earned an increasing role in that party ever since the Kennedy campaign of 1960. Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Hubert Humphrey all enjoyed the confidence and benefited from the advice of black Americans. But in every case, it seems fair to say, these Democratic Presidents and presidential candidates enlisted the aid and assistance of black leaders only after they had secured their basic political support in the white community.

Carter's candidacy has been of a different character. The first and, for months, only prominent Georgia politician to support him was Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), a black. Young and State Rep. Ben Brown head a touring group of black politicians who have been perhaps Carter's most indefatigable campaigners. By all odds, Carter's most important endorsement is the one he has received from the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.

Unlike the last four Democratic nominees, who used their strength among whites to cajole backing from blacks, Carter has used his support from black voters and black leaders in an effort to establish his credibility in the eyes of whites—particularly the activist liberals and trade union leaders. The alteration in the relationship—the out-front role for blacks in his campaign—is likely to be remembered and felt by others in the Democratic Party, no matter what happens to Carter himself.

The second thing he has done is to redefine the South for other politicians of both parties. In oversimplified terms, for the past decade the South has been seen by most politicians as George Wallace country.

The belief has been inculcated that the South would give its votes either to the Alabama governor or to the politician who could most effectively echo parts of Wallace's appeal—whether it was Barry Goldwater or Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew or Ronald Reagan.

That was always a distortion and an oversimplification of reality. In the same period that Wallace was claiming to speak for the South, the Confederate states elected other governors and members of Congress from both parties who were moderate in their racial views and progressive in their economic and social philosophies.

"It has remained for Carter... to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South."

Southern politicians were the heroes of the long impeachment ordeal—from Sam Ervin to Barbara Jordan.

But it remained for Carter and his defeats of Wallace in the Florida and North Carolina primaries to demonstrate conclusively that the moderate voices are dominant in the South. And by doing that, he has not only increased the chances of Southerners being on both tickets in 1976, but has changed the kind of appeal all presidential candidates will make to the South—and thus, to the nation.

None of this is offered to mitigate or justify the disturbing, distasteful language Carter used in discussing housing policy—for which he later apologized. But it is part of his record, as much as the words for which he is properly being called to account, and it should not be forgotten.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Purity Flap

THE CAPACITY of politicians to be "shocked" never ceases to amaze us. It runs second only to their capacity to be "appalled." Sen. Henry M. Jackson, for example, has professed himself to be both in the last few days—shocked *and* appalled by Jimmy Carter's remarks on the value of ethnic neighborhoods and on proper government policy toward them. "It will balkanize our country," the senator warned darkly of the Carter idea as expressed, amended and apologized for in a series of recent interviews excerpted on the opposite page today. But what then are we to make of Sen. Jackson's own previously stated views on the subject? In case you've forgotten them, we will quote briefly from his position paper on school desegregation, issued by the senator in December 1975:

> *If we destroy the various ethnic neighborhoods in our cities, including black neighborhoods, we destroy not only a rich tradition in American life, but an anchor for stability in an increasingly unstable society.*

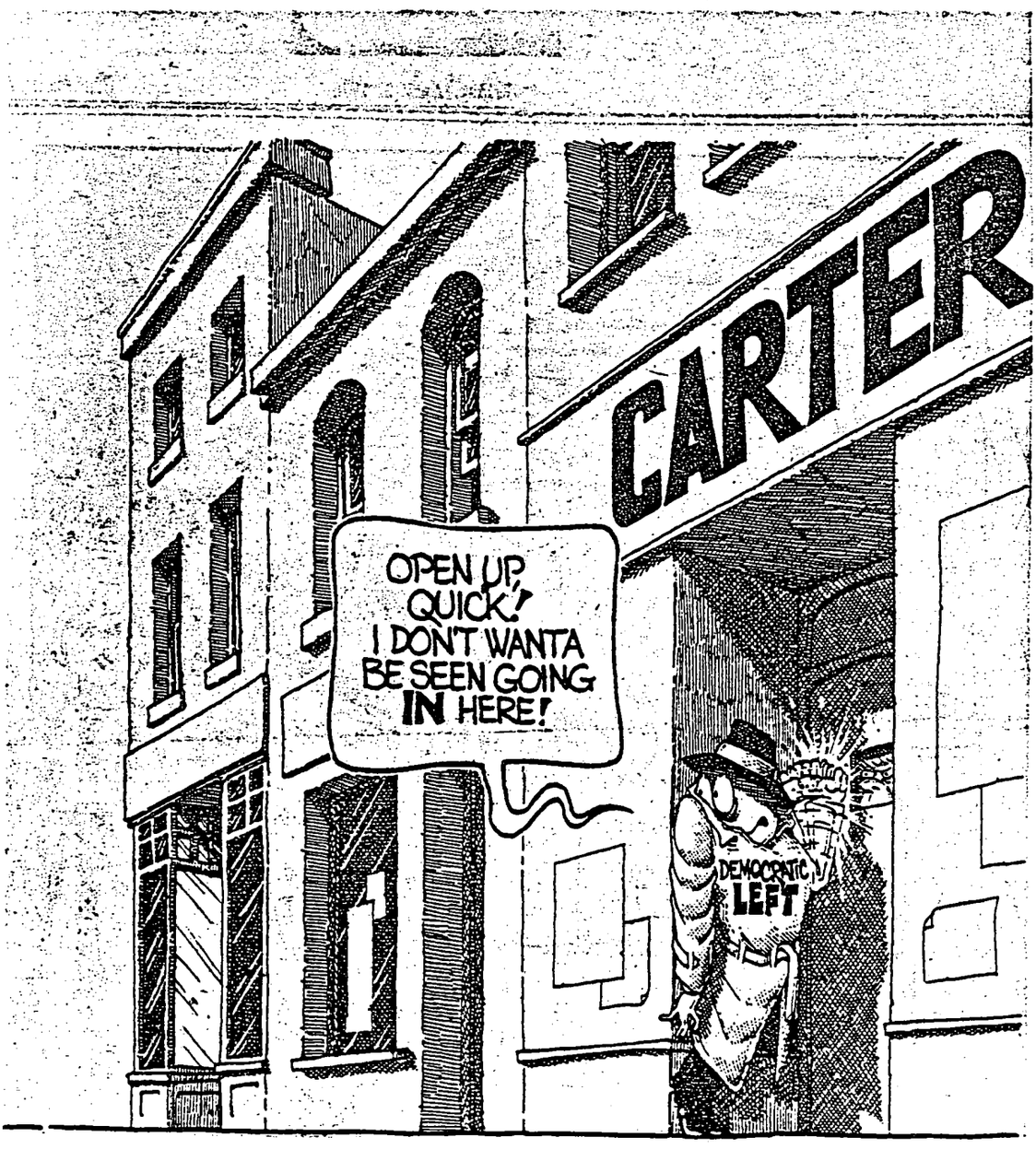
Well, anchors aweigh—or is it possible that Sen. Jackson, who invoked this argument to support his stand against "social engineering" (i.e. busing for racial balance) that is "antithetical to traditional American views," really hasn't changed his mind at all, but is merely taking an opportunistic clop at Mr. Carter? Does Sen. Jackson support the use of federal government money and pressure to break up ethnic neighborhoods *as a policy irrespective of whether or not discrimination and exclusion are involved?* Does he favor the pursuit of so-called "scatter site" housing or projects on the model of the controversial one in Forest Hills? If he does, we'd surely be surprised — and possibly even shocked, though we will leave being appalled to the politicians.

Rep. Morris Udall has provided clear answers to all those questions, speaking of both ethnic and economic integration which, as a practical matter, are pretty much the same thing. He does not, he has told interviewers Martin Agronsky and Jack Germond, favor projects such as "that large kind of Forest Hills thing that we had in New York that caused all that controversy." And again: "No, I'm not willing to charge in and say to established neighborhoods the federal government is coming in here, friends, and we're going to put high rise, low income things in your neighborhood." And once more: "Well I don't advocate this as a general policy. I would rather see a more natural kind of intermingling that you see in Greenwich Village or Manhattan or places of this kind."

While we are all waiting for Hamtramck to evolve into Greenwich Village, however, Rep. Udall feels keenly that we should pursue our open housing desegregation policies and assist people in achieving mobility that might be thwarted because of discriminatory practices. So of course does Mr. Carter: He made that point again and again from the beginning of his remarks on this subject. Still, Rep. Udall won't let him off the hook, suggesting that Mr. Carter doesn't mean what he said about open housing—never mind that Mr. Carter's record as governor of Georgia doesn't support the Udall insinuation.

We are no happier with former Gov. Carter's original choice of language than he apparently is. The terms were freighted. Their connotations were painful and all wrong. Mr. Carter recognized as much and tried to correct them. Sen. Jackson and Rep. Udall won't let him—they both evidently prefer to see what good they can get from the original statement by pretending that it represents some hideous policy with which they are both in disagreement, when the truth is that they and Mr. Carter are all at the same policy place. The two of them are feigning shock and horror. They are, in other words, having a political good time with a subject that is a sensitive and dead serious one.

R


CARTER
OPEN UP, QUICK! I DON'T WANTA BE SEEN GOING IN HERE!
DEMOCRATIC LEFT

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/29

United Press International

Carrying suits and suitcase, Jimmy Carter leaves hotel in Philadelphia after commenting on Tuesday's victory.

29A

B

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The Soviet Union made its long-awaited re-entry into the United States grain market, with the purchase of 3.1 million tons of corn and 300,000 tons of wheat from three suppliers, the Department of Agriculture announced. The value of the deals was estimated at more than $400 million. More sales are expected, a department official said. [Page 1; Column 6.]

The Supreme Court of India upheld the right of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Government to imprison political opponents without court hearings. The ruling was a milestone in the dismantling of India's democratic institutions, starting with the declaration of a state of emergency last June. To her opponents, especially those who have been jailed in the last 10 months, it came as a major defeat. The court held that the traditional right of habeas corpus was suspended for the duration of the state of emergency, which can last as long as the government wishes. [1:5-7.]

National

A sharply worded report by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence summarizing its examination of government spying within the country found that intelligence agencies, particularly the Federal Bureau of Investigation, repeatedly violated the laws. It found unconstitutional investigations of the political activities of hundreds of thousands of citizens, many of them law-abiding. It rebuked the agencies for investigating far too many people, often for the wrong reasons, for regularly using illegal or questionable techniques, and for acting largely without the scrutiny or knowledge of Presidents and Attorneys General. It called the four-decade pattern neither partisan nor the product of "a few willful men" but an inevitable result of the "excessive" growth of executive power unchecked by Congress. [1:6-8.]

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey appeared poised for a limited effort to halt Jimmy Carter short of the Democratic Presidential nomination, but few even among his friends thought he had much chance. Mr. Humphrey promised a quick decision to a committee to seek delegates for him. [1:5.]

Voter surveys indicate that Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey—to whom the Democratic Presidential race has apparently narrowed—represent contrasting streams within the party rank and file. The Carter backers are likelier to be younger, more middle class, with somewhat higher incomes, and slightly on the conservative side of many issues, including the size and role of the government. Humphrey supporters tend to be older and drawn from the old New Deal elements—blue-collar, low-income, union-background city dwellers on the liberal side of issues such as Federal job guarantees. [1:4-5.]

The General Motors Corporation, world's largest automaker, reported a sharp rise in first-quarter earning to $800 million, or $2.78 a share, only slightly below its best first quarter in 1973. A year ago, while the industry was in a severe slump, the figures were $59 million, or 20 cents a share. [1:3.]

Metropolitan

Governor Carey, acting on a legal opinion of the State Attorney General, said the New York City transit workers' contract would have to be revised before it could be approved by the Emergency Financial Control Board. Louis J. Lefkowitz, the Attorney General, had advised him that the cost-of-living raises in the two-year contract were illegal. The opinion threatens turmoil in the transit pact and also in the other city labor contracts. Mr. Lefkowitz cited the state's wage-freeze law. [1:1-2.]

Ogden R. Reid has decided to resign as State Commissioner of Environmental Conservation and probably will make his announcement today. Close associates said he had written a letter of resignation to Governor Carey saying he could not continue to head the department "in spite of our accomplishments." He was said to have cited the way in which disagreements had been publicized as well as severe external pressures. A spokesman for Mr. Carey indicated the department had a "disloyal" bureaucracy, "disaffected from Reid." [1:1-2.]

The Beame administration is planning to establish profit-motivated garbage-collecting cooperatives in two existing sanitation districts as part of an effort to find new management techniques for the city. An even more radical effort will be to form an overall management control system so that the Mayor can retreat from the traditional "crisis management" technique. This approach would enable him to measure the performance of his commissioners and their agencies through regular reports. [1:1-2.]

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"All the News hat's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITI

Weather: Sunny, milder tonight. Sunny and mild Temperature range: to Wednesday 41-51. Detail

CXXV .... No. 43,195 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1976 — M 20 (

25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities.

Humphrey May Attempt to Stop Carter, But Few in Party Think He Can Succeed

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

WASHINGTON, April 28 — Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota appeared poised tonight to undertake a limited effort to halt Jimmy Carter short of the Democratic Presidential nomination, but there were few in the party who gave their long-time hero much chance of success.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, in the view of most Democratic leaders, were reduced by their multiple defeats to the role of spoilers. That left Mr. Carter without major active opposition as he headed into five primaries in six days.

Speaking on national television on the morning after the former Georgia Governor's smashing victory in the Pennsylvania primary, Mr. Humphrey said he "might want to give consideration" to forming a committee to seek the support of uncommitted delegates, pending his decision on whether to enter the campaign actively after the last primaries June 8.

Later, reportedly still clinging to his resolve not to enter the New Jersey primary, for which the deadline is tomorrow, Mr. Humphrey met with Robert E. Short, a Minneapolis trucking

Continued on Page 28, Column 3

United Press International

Carrying suits and suitcase, Jimmy Carter leaves hotel in Philadelphia after commenting on Tuesday's victory.

D

Humphrey May Attempt to Stop Carter Movement

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

executive who wants to form such a committee.

Mr. Short asked Mr. Humphrey to sign a letter, required by the Federal Election Commission, authorizing the committee. After a one-hour session in the Senator's office, Mr. Short said Mr. Humphrey would decide within the next 10 days.

Moving Too Late

Many prominent Democrats said the former Vice President was moving too late, that the Pennsylvania primary had been the last chance to stop Mr. Carter, the Georgia peanut farmer who has astounded the political world this year.

"Carter's the nominee, period," said a senior aide to Senator Henry M. Jackson, who ran second in Pennsylvania. Richard Moe, an old associate of Mr. Humphrey who serves as administrative assistant to Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, agreed.

"This man Carter is a good horse to bet on," commented Peter J. Camiel, the Philadelphia Democratic chairman, who backed Mr. Jackson. "It was an amazing display."

What amazed Mr. Camiel and others was not so much Mr. Carter's victory but the dimensions of his victory. He carried 65 of 67 counties, all except Philadelphia and Montgomery in the Philadelphia suburbs. He defeated Mr. Jackson by 170,000 votes and by 12 percentage points, 37 to 25. And he did so against the opposition of the hierarchy of organized labor and the Democratic state organization.

Tally on Delegates

In the separate contests for national convention delegates, the Georgian was equally awesome, destroying the hopes of Mr. Jackson that the stop-Carter coalition would win the delegate races ifn ot the preferential vote.

With the tally still incomplete today, Mr. Carter had won 64 delegates to 22 for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who finished third in the preferential balloting: 19 for Mr. Jackson; 17 for Gov. Milton J. Shapp, who withdrew from the Presidential race weeks ago; three for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and 46 uncommitted.

The Georgian seemed certain to get an even larger proportion of Pnnsylvania's 178 votes on the first ballot in Madison Square Garden in July. A half-dozen or more of the uncommitted delegates chosen in Pittsburgh were members of slates allied with Mayor Peter Flaherty, a Carter backer.

Seven contests that had not been tabulated were in the Philadelphia suburbs, where Mr. Carter showed substantial strength. Mr. Camiel said he expected the Georgian to gain support of a majority of the pro-Shapp and uncommitted delegates elected in the Philadelphia area.

Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall both vowed to remain the race, but they were written off as meaningful contenders by Democratic politicians.

The Senator said he had made "a lot of mistakes," the most serious being his "failure to get our story across." He told reporters he would scale down his personal campaigning, apparently planning to spend more time in Washington and reach the voters through television.

An aide scoffed at those plans with the comment. "I think he's dreaming if he thinks he can raise the dough for that." Mr. Jackson has also run ouf of places to run. He has no campaign organizations in place for the May primaries.

As for Mr. Udall, he said at a Capitol Hill news conference that he would not withdraw, despite four second places and a third in five outings, because to do so "would be to betray the people who support my campaign" and "who have a different view" of the world than Mr. Carter.

He plans to make two five-minute network television broadcasts tomorrow night and next Tuesday, hoping to raise enough money to finance major campaigns in Maryland and Michigan on May 18. He has not entered in Texas on Saturday or Indiana next Tuesday and will not campaign in Nebraska.

"I am not going to allow this party of mine to be stampeded," Mr. Udall said.

But that is precisely what Mr. Carter now threatens to do. No longer faced with serious opposition from active candidates, his march through the remaining 21 primaries can only be harassed by the guerrilla attack of favorite sons and new candidates.

Possible Opposition

Among them are Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas, who hopes to win his home state's primary; Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who will try to snatch the liberal mantle from Mr. Udall in Nebraska on May 11, and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who opened his campaign in Maryland today and will focus on the June 8 California primary.

But reports from Texas, which will elect 130 Democratic delegates, indicated that Mr. Bentsen's effort had been badly weakened by Mr. Carter's Pennsylvania success.

"It's had a considerable impact here," said George Christian of Austin, one of Mr. Bentsen's managers. "I'd have to say it puts Carter into the lead in Texas."

Mr. Carter is also the heavy favorite in Indiana, Georgia and the District of Columbia on Tuesday, with an outside chance of upsetting Mr. Wallace in Alabama the same day; and he is favored in Nebraska a week later.

Uncommitted delegates in several states are reported ready to break toward him as a result of Pennsylvania. An example is Virginia, in whose mass meetings on April 4 the party leadership's uncommitted slates stopped Mr. Carter.

Carter Confident

Mr. Carter said he thought that Pennsylvania would be "the last gasp of any sort of organized stop-Jimmy Carter movement" and that itwas unlikely he could be beaten.

Asked in an inteview whether it mattered to him what Mr. Humphrey did, the former Governor replied, "No. If he gets in, I'll beat him. If he stays out, I'll win."

Even President Ford who has been predicting for months that his opponent in November would be Mr. Humphrey, was impressed by the Georgian's triumph here. after Pennsylvania, the President said, "I don't see how the Democratic smoke-filled rooms in New York can take the nomination away from Carter."

But Mr .Humphrey was under acute pressure to try to do so. All da long—"not the easiest day of my political life," the Senator said—his old political friends implored him to play King Canute to the Carter tidal wave.

Mr. Humphrey seemed to be operating in an atmosphere of confusion. He scheduled for this morning, then canceled, a breakfast at the home of Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey to discuss the situation in that state.

Meeting Canceled

He scheduled for later in the day, and canceled, a meeting with prospective leaders of the Draft-Humphrey Movement, including Marvin Rosenberg, a New York City businessman, and Joseph F. Crangle, the Democratic leader in the Buffalo area.

Mr. Crangle is reported ready to take over as executive director of the Humphrey committee if it takes shape. Just before the meeting with Mr. Short, at which Mr. Mondale and Mr. Crangle, among others, were also present, the Senator said, "I have not yet reached any change of position and I'm not sure I shall."

Representative Paul Simon of Illinois, another Humphrey enthusiast, said the plan was to hire a staff that would attempt to persuade uncommitted delegates and those committed to candidates who dropped out to wait for Mr. Humphrey.

For the moment, he said, the Senator would avoid campaigning, even for uncommitted slates in primary states.

"We think Carter can be held below 1,000 delegates," Mr. Simon added, "but only if we do something fast. If he keeps building momentum, we will have very serious problems. That's why we need Hubert's signature, so we can start raising money, set up a staff and starting shoring things up."

If Mr. Humphrey was still wavering, his office staff apparently was not. His secretaries wore buttons that said, "Holding For Hubert."

Contrast in Appeal Shown By Carter and Humphrey

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Jimmy Carter and Hubert H. Humphrey, to whom the Democratic Presidential race has apparently narrowed, have never confronted each other in a primary election. But if they had, New York Times/CBS News polls indicate, they would have attracted voters from two very different groups within the party's rank and file.

The Carter backers are likely to be younger than the Humphrey people, more middle class, have somewhat higher incomes, come from small towns and rural areas, and are slightly conservative on many issues, particularly concerning the size and role of government. In short, they make up the sizable but less-loyal fringes of the party, those likely to desert to the Republicans in November if unhappy with the Democratic choice.

The Humphrey supporters are more likely than the Carter people to come from blue-collar, lower-income and union backgrounds, to live in large cities and hold somewhat more liberal views on issues, especially key economic ones like Federal job guarantees. They are, in sum, old Roosevelt Democrats.

And the problem for those who would stop Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor whose almost evangelical campaign has propelled him to one of the most spectacular political ascents in recent history, is that there appears to be no one left formally in the race who can rally the substantial and loyal bloc of Democrats who prefer Mr. Humphrey, the veteran party figure and former Vice President who is available but has not entered any primaries.

Now that Mr. Carter's two chief rivals, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, appear nearly out of the race, party leaders are wondering how Mr. Carter

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

E

Contrast in Appeal Shown By Carter and Humphrey

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

would fare against Senator Humphrey alone and perhaps more important, how well either would run against the Republican candidate in November. To a large extent, this depends on the kinds of constituencies they appeal to.

Since they have never met directly, in the primaries and because Mr. Carter has faced different casts of rivals in different states, concrete conclusions about either the Carter or Humphrey public are elusive. Still, a rough idea emerges from surveys conducted by The New York Times and CBS News in which Democratic voters were asked not only for whom they voted but also whether they would have preferred Mr. Humphrey, if he were on the ballot.

The surveys, along with those conducted by other organizations, show unmistakably that Senator Humphrey is a formidable candidate. Nearly half the Democrats polled in a national survey by The Times and CBS News earlier this month said that they preferred Mr. Humphrey to any of the declared candidates. So did nearly half polled after casting their votes in Pennsylvania on Tuesday, nearly half in the New York primary and about a third in Wisconsin and Illinois.

The depth of Mr. Humphrey's popularity among Democrats is reflected in the fact that he would probably cut heavily into the support of all the declared contenders, particularly Mr. Jackson, who has been seen by many as a surrogate for the shadow campaign of Mr. Humphrey.

The Times/CBS News polls, both in Pennsylvania and nationally, indicate that about three of every five Jackson supporters preferred Mr. Humphrey. So did about half of Mr. Udall's backers and about 40 percent of Mr. Carter's.

Appeal Contrasted

Nowhere have the differences between Mr. Carter's and Mr. Humphrey's appeal been more clear cut than in Pennsylvania, a large and diverse state that embodies many of the contradictions found in American politics. It is at once rural and urban, agricultural and industrial, conservative and liberal. It has many Jews, Roman Catholics, Irish, Italians and blacks.

The contrast between the Carter and Humphrey folowers appears both in terms of the demographic characteristics and the concerns of the voters.

For example Mr. Carter did exceedingly well among white Protestants (winning a little better than two of every five such voters in Pennsylvania), about equaled his 37 percent overall showing among Catholics and ran very poorly among Jews. The hypothetical Humphrey constituency, by contrast, tended to be proportionately less Protestant, but relatively more Jews and Catholics than did Mr. Carter's constituency.

Age also seemed to play a role. Democratic voters over 45 were very much more likely than younger ones to prefer Mr. Humphrey. Indeed, 70 percent of those over age 65 selected the Minnesota Senator, while only 39 percent of those under 30 chose him. For Mr. Carter the age difference was not so dramatic, but he did somewhat better than average among those under 45.

Similarly, while Mr. Carter did equally well among voters from union and nonunion households, there was a dramatic difference in the Humphrey column; union members were very much more favorable to him.

Division on Economic Issue

On issues, Mr. Carter did particularly well among those on the conservative side of most economic questions. He received half the votes of those who said the size of the Federal Government had influenced their vote, and he scored well also among those who cited welfare as a problem. Mr. Humphey, meanwhile, was the preference of most of those who cited job guarantees as an important issue.

The contrast between the two men became apparent when the Times and CBS News asked Pennsylvania voters whether they preferred "a smaller government providing less services" or "a bigger government providing more services."

Mr. Carter did well among those choosing the first alternative, while those selecting the latter were much more likely to prefer Mr. Humphrey. A similar contrast appeared between voters who agreed and disagreed that it was important to have a balanced budget even at the cost of cutting social services, with Mr. Carter doing proportionately better than Mr. Humphrey among those favoring a balanced budget.

On the other hand, Mr. Humphrey scored better with voters who felt the Government should guarantee jobs to all who want to work.

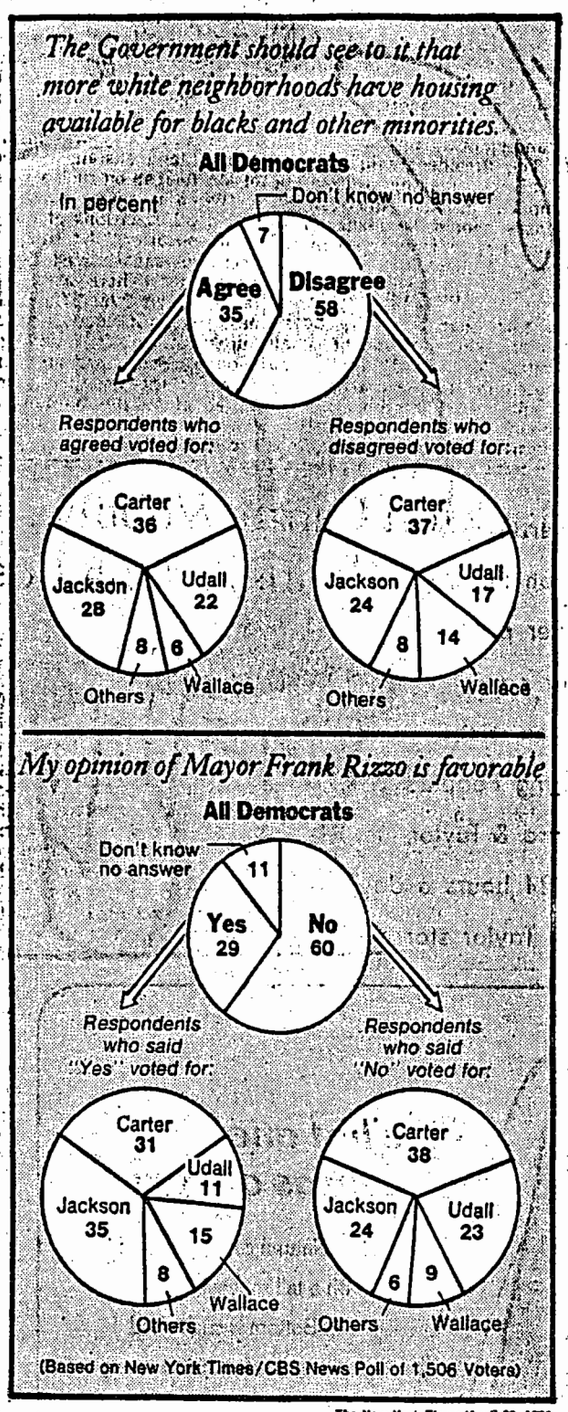
Aside from these issues, mostly revolving around the role of the central government in domestic issues, there is little evidence that the vote in the actual primary was closely tied to the issues.

In a pattern seen in past primaries, Mr. Carter got about the same level of support among those on both sides of more questions, including detente, job guarantees, military spending and racial issues.

On the whole, rather, the poll suggested that the Carter victory was more a product of weak opposition. His two major declared rivals each had a strong appeal to only very limited groups of voters. As in previous primuries, Mr. Jackson outscored Mr. Carter only among Jews and the elderly and Mr. Udall's strongest support came from the young, the college educated and the liberal.

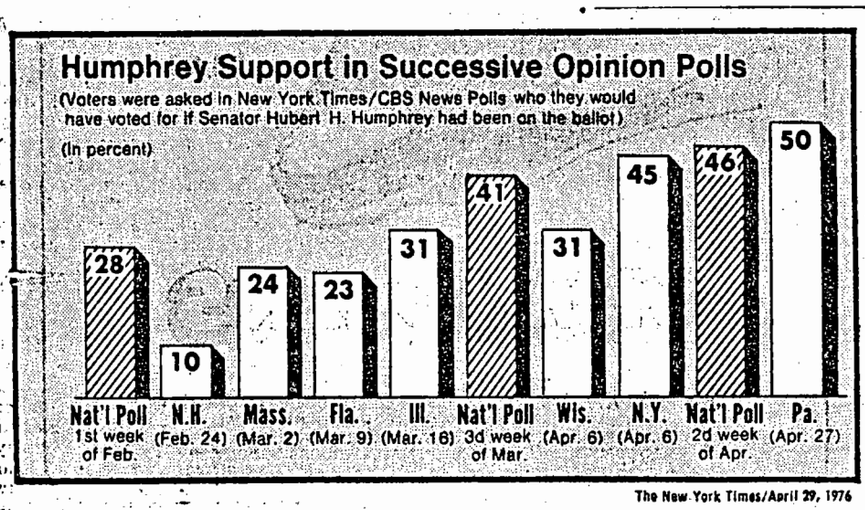
One issue that might have made a difference was a local one, Frank L. Rizzo, the controversial Mayor of Philadelphia who endorsed Mr. Jackson. The poll showed that this support probably helped the Washington Senator in parts of Philadelphia, but statewide it may have been a disadvantage because the Mayor is not widely admired outside the city.

The Times and CBS News will continue their survey coverage in next week's Indiana primary. Assisting The Times is Prof. Gary R. Orren of Harvard University.



The New York Times/April 29, 1976

The top chart shows the impact of Jimmy Carter's ethnic purity" comment and the bottom one shows influence on voters of Mayor Frank Rizzo's backing of Senator Henry M. Jackson.



The New York Times/April 29, 1976

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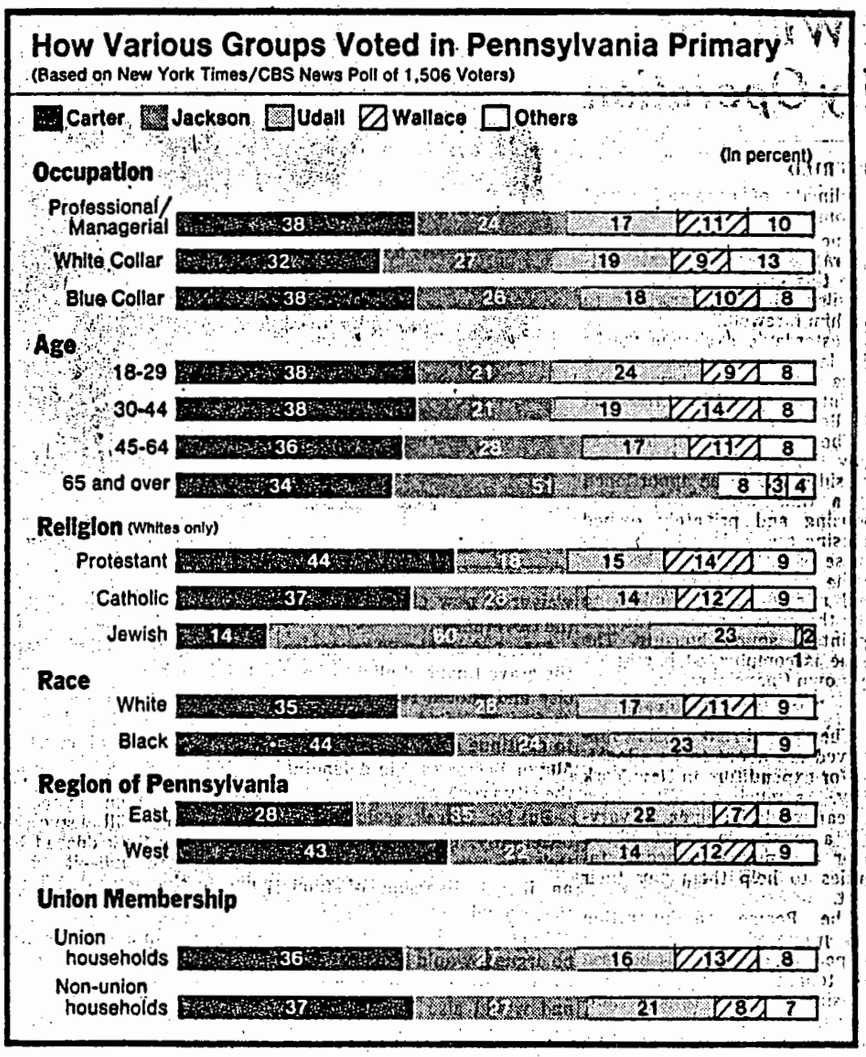
How Various Groups Voted in Pennsylvania Primary

(Based on New York Times/CBS News Poll of 1,506 Voters)



The New York Times/April 29, 1976

Carter, in Unity Bid, Seeks Humphrey Endorsement

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 28 — Jimmy Carter today offered Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota not an armored gauntlet but a velvet glove.

No endorsement would mean more to him, the former Georgia Governor said as he departed the Pennsylvania battlefield in triumph, than that of the 64-year-old Mr. Humphrey, the "elderly statesman," as Mr. Carter recently called him, whom many Democrats view as the last rallying point for opposition to Mr. Carter's Presidential nomination.

"I would like very much to have Senator Humphrey's endorsement," Mr. Carter said at a news conference here this morning.

After seven victories in the first nine primaries, Mr. Carter said that his major effort in the next phase of the campaign would be not simply to extend his record of successes but to present himself as a strong leader of a united party in the fall.

Cool to Other Endorsements

At the same time he spoke almost scornfully of endorsements from his one-time colleagues among the Democratic governors. He was equally cavalier about formally establishing warmer relations with the leaders of organized labor who had sought in vain to slow his progress in the Pennsylvania primary.

"I feel very good about my relationship with organized labor," Mr. Carter said, noting reports of voter surveys that he had run strongly in Pennsylvania among the families of rank-and-file union members.

Mr. Carter said he had "no specific plan to get together" with George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, or with Alexander E. Barkan, Mr. Meany's political lieutenant and for nearly two years an enemy of Mr. Carter.

Asked about peace talks with the Democratic governors, Mr. Carter said: "I just can't make myself elevate that sort of thing to a level of importance. I've never asked anyone for an endorsement."

For one who has come so far on the appeal of an "outsider," he added, "there's a political advantage in forgoing that sort of effort."

Mr. Humphres, however, was in another category, all by himself. "I would like to have Senator Humphrey's endorsement," Mr. Carter repeated, "but I think that's the only one that's significant."

Before today Mr. Carter had often said that Mr. Humphrey would not be a factor in the nomination battle, whether or not the Minnesotan entered the final primaries or held back in the hope that a deadlocked convention might turn to him. In that sense, Mr. Carter's appeal today for what might be a clinching endorsement from Mr. Humphrey seemed to mark a small shift In Mr. Carter's thinking.

At the same time, the conciliatory overture this monring represented the gentle side of a familiar dual strategy, alternately flattering and menacing, that Mr. Carter has been using with Mr. Humphrey for months.

In Newark yesterday, in what was clearly intended as a warning to the backers of Mr. Humphrey's undeclared candidacy, Mr. Carter said, "I think our party might be committing political suicide if we didn't let the people's will be expressed at the convention."

Mr. Carter frequently recalls that Mr. Humphrey has been running for President since 1960 and that he only won the nomination in 1968 from a "brokered" convention, after avoiding the primaries, and lost the fall election to Richard M. Nixon.

Underlining the parallels with 1976, Mr. Carter remarked here last week that while he greatly admired Mr. Humphrey, "if we should go through a convention and nominate someone who has not participated in the Democratic primaries and caucus states, we would be saddling the Democratic Party with a severe political handicap."

Mr. Humphrey, weighing his alternatives in Washington today with only 24 hours left to enter his name as a candidate in the New Jersey primary on June 8, could not be reached for comment on Mr. Carter's invitation to support him.

Mr. Carter looked weary this morning after the most important of his victories. In analyzing his situation for reporters, he seemed determined not to gloat or to exaggerate his progress.

His staff projects that he has won only 28 percent of the convention delegttes chosen so far. A total of 1,505 convention votes are needed to nominate.

Looking ahead through the remaining primaries and caucuses, Hamilton Jordan, the Carter campaign manager, said today he confidently foresaw having 1,000 delegates committed to the Georgian by the end of the primary season on June 8. But that leaves a third of the winning combination still to be won in the five weeks before the convention opens in Madison Square Garden in New York.

Carter Victory in Primary Leaves Vaunted Democratic Machine in Pennsylvania in State of Disrepai

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 28—When Jimmy Carter headed south toward home today, savoring his seventh Presidential primary victory of the year, he left Pennsylvania's vaunted and venerable political machinery in a state of disrepair.

In the voting yesterday, faced with an array of opposing forces—organized labor, courthouse politicians, statehouse strategists and this city's potent Democratic hierarchy—he nevertheless took the measure of them all.

The Georgia peanut farmer swept all but two of the state's 67 counties, attracted the votes of more union members than anyone else, captured a large share of the 178 convention delegates and thoroughly deflated a concerted effort to thwart his long quest for the Democratic nomination.

Mr. Carter's triumph was the most significant outcome of a hard-fought primary that also produced senatorial nominations for two young Congressmen, assured President Ford of the state's 103 Republican delegates and gave an overwhelming victory to a member of the House of Representatives who died two weeks ago.

Earlier parts of General Dung's narrative, in which he described how North Vietnam's senior political and military leaders planned last year's offensive, were published in The New York Times on Monday.

Among the points emerging from General Dung's account in the latest installments are these:

¶According to two captured South Vietnamese colonels, President Thieu reached his decision to abandon the Central Highlands at a meeting with his top military aides at Cam Ranh Bay only the day before the beginning of the panicky exodus that led to the fall of Saigon on April 30.

¶The South Vietnamese Army's total collapse at Da Nang, the country's second largest city, where soldiers stampeded over one another to run away before the Communists attacked, looks even worse in retrospect, for General Dung says that he ordered a Communist commander from Hanoi to fly south to take charge of the battle only on March 26. The city fell, without a fight, on March 29.

Representative H. John Heinz 3d, the Republican millionaire from Pittsburgh, won his party's nomination to the United States Senate with a narrow margin over Arlen Specter, the former District Attorney of Philadelphia. George Packard a former journalist, finished a poor third.

Mr. Heinz's victory set the stage for another of Pennsylvania's traditional east-west confrontations in November. He will oppose Representative William J. Green, the Philadelphian who easily defeated State Senator Jeanette Reibman yesterday, to win the Democratic nomination.

Both men will be seeking the seat now held by Hugh Scott, the 76-year-old senate minority leader, who decided not to run again after it was disclosed that he had accepted cash contributions from the Gulf Oil Corporation.

Here in Philadelphia, Democratic voters nominated Representative William A. Barrett for a 12th term, even though the 75-year-old incumbent died on April 12. The city's Democratic executive committee will appoint a successor. A protégé of Mayor Frank L. Rizzo's forces, State Representative Michael Meyer, is expected to be chosen.

Very Close Contest

In another Congressional race in Philadelphia, Representative Robert N. C. Nix, the only black member of the state's delegation, apparently survived a substantial challenge from the Rev. William H. Gray 3d, pastor of a large black congregation.

Fewer than 500 votes separated the two men this morning when Representative Nix, endorsed by Mayor Rizzo, claimed victory. It was the first time in his 18-year career that he had faced serious opposition. Mr. Gray said he would demand a recount.

Four Republicans, including Representative Heinz, and two Democrats, including Representative Green, did not seek new terms in the House this year, leaving seven Republicans and a dozen Democrats running for renomination. All except Representative Nix were definite winners.

Representative Heinz spent more than $500,000 on his primary campaign, most of it his own money, more than three times as much as that spent by either Mr. Specter or Mr. Packard.

Surprising results

The general election senatorial contest between Representative Heinz and Representative Green is seen by many astute politicians here as a classic example of the antipathies that exist between the eastern and western portions of the state—a geographic division that often translates itself into political ideologies and candidate preferences.

That was certainly the case yesterday in Mr. Carter's surprising demolition of the labor-endorsed and organization-backed candidacy of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

The former Governor of Georgia lost only in Philadelphia and in Montgomery County, a suburb of Philadelphia. Elsewhere he was a clear and decisive winner, especially west of the Allegheny Mountain-spine that intersects the state about half way across.

His victory provided not only an inestimable lift for the Georgian's candidacy, but it also shattered previous myths about the invicibility of a candidate who has the support of the traditional power blocs in the state—as Senator Jackson did.

"It was a clear sign that they [the organizational leadership] better start listening to the people," Peter J. Camiel, chairman of the Philadelphia Democrats, said today. "You've got to listen to the people. If you don't you're dead."

Mr. Camiel was suggesting what Mr. Carter was saying all through the campaign — that no matter how powerful union leaders and party figures may be, they can probably no longer insure that their members will vote as they are instructed.

The resounding defeat for labor came less than two years after its forces had insured the re-election of Senator Rich S. Schweiker, a Republi running in a heavily Democr state. After winning with a s stantial margin in Novem 1974, Senator Schweiker cre ed labor with the difference. But neither labor nor the ganizational machinery especially passionate at Senator Jackson's candid and many of the leaders op spoke of their devotion to S tor Hubert H. Humphrey Minnesota, who has not clared his candidacy.

Given that lack of enthusi and the late start the organ tions made in their efforts Senator Jackson, it was aln no contest.

Udall to Continue His 'Uphill Fight'

28.

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28—Representative Morris K. Udall said today that he would continue his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination in spite ooof his weak third place finish in the Pennsylvania primary election.

But he conceded that his chances of remaining a plausible candidate rested on the public response to an appeal for financial support he will broadcast nationwide tomorrow and Tuesday nights.

The Arizona Congressman told a news conference here that "we've got an uphill fight" against Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia. Mr. Carter easily beat both Mr. Udall and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in yesterday's Pennsylvania voting.

In the circumstances, Mr. Udall's statement seemed less a candid admission of reality than a refusal to make such an admission. And at times, the conference degenerated nearly to the level of bickering between Mr. Udall and skeptical journalists questioning him.

The tall, sandy-haired Mr. Udall said of Mr. Carter, "If you tell me he's the favorite, I agree. If you tell me I have no chance, I disagree."

After one argumentative exchange with a television journalist, Mr. Udall said, "Get your camera crew together and follow me and watch." But, in fact, a number of political journalists were about to leave Mr. Udall's ship, one sign that it is no longer considered to be politically seaworthy.

However, Mr. Udall, a liberal, was persuaded to try to stay in active contention by several factors. One was a belief that Senator Jackson, who had enjoyed strong support from organized labor in Pennsylvania, had been even more gravely injured than Mr. Udall, added to a belief that Mr. Jackson's expressed intention to wage a limited campaign revolving on political broadcasts would be unsuccessful.

Mr. Udall feels, therefore, that if he withdraws there would be no serious competition at all facing Mr. Carter in most of the nation's 21 remaining primary elections.

"I think," he said, "it would be outrageous to leve the people who I believe are a majority in this party, the people who want reform . . . without a candidate."

'Conservatives' vs. 'Progressive'

Again calling Mr. Carter a "conservative" Mr. Udall said he believed the majority of the Democrats in the country were "progressive," and said, "I'm not going to allow this political party of mine to be stamped-ed."

However, under questioning, Mr. Udall seemed to concede that a critical question as to his chances was whether he could raise enough money in appeals to the viewers of two or more telecasts like the one he made Monday night to a nationwide audience. He will speak for five minutes tomorrow on CBS and next Tuesday on NBC, at 10:55 P.M. both times. Mr. Udall asserted he had raised $160,000 in the last six days through direct mail appeals and otherwise.

"We'll see what the American people want," said Mr. Udall of the forthcoming broadcasts. "We'll see if they will come to my aid; we'll see if they want a choice, if they want an alternative candidate."

Mr. Udall promised a full-scale campaign in California, which votes June 8, and in most other states still to hold primaries.

However, sources in his organization said Mr. Udall would skip active campaigning in the Nebraska primary on May 11 to give Senator Frank Church of Idaho a clear field against Mr. Carter in that state. Despite his expressed determination to continue to the end, Mr. Udall may have to reassess his strategy again after the May 18 prmaries in Michigan and Maryland. If his hopes of rallying a liberal coalition against Mr. Carter in those two states is a clear failure he might have to withdraw, some sources said.

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Jackson's Defeat Viewed As Blow to Union Prestige

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, APRIL 28—The defeat of Senator Henry M. Jackson in the Pennsylvania Democratic primary yesterday was widely regarded to have dealt a body blow to the political prestige of the organized labor establishment, if not to its long-range power.

The state A.F.L.-C.I.O. had pledged its suppor tto Senator Jackson and promised a massive get-out-the-vote drive, but little visible activity resulted and the Washington Democrat wound up second in the popularity contest and a weak third in the quest for delegates.

At the labor federation's national headquarters here, an official said that the national organization had been "neutral" in the primary, although it provided computerized membership lists to some of the individual unions that supported Senator Jackson.

The organization is committed to remain above the primary competition until the Democratic National Convention in July, and thus will not encourage or assist Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the official said, despite what he called "a great deal of sentiment for Humphrey among the leaders." The Minnesota Democrat is not an active candidate for the nomination, but he has said he will accept a draft if the convention is deadlocked.

'People Aren't Stupid'

"Pennsylvania just demonstrated that you can't beat somebody with nobody," one union official remarked. "The local labor people went around saying, in effect, 'Vote for Jackson because we are really for Humphrey, and three months from now we'll be back telling you to vote for Carter.' People are not that stupid."

A different Pennsylvania labor campaign, directed at sending union representatives to the Democratic convention irrespective of the candidate they favored, appears to have been a modest success, although all the delegate results have not yet been tabulated.

The Labor Coalition Clearinghouse, an arm of nine unions that backed Senator George McGovern of South Dakota in 1972, supported a broad range of delegate candidates committed to Mr. Jackson, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. Mllton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, as well as uncommitted delegate candidates. The labor group elected at least 10 and perhaps 15 to 20 of its people.

As of late today, Senator Jackson had only 19 delegates, while Mr. Carter won 64 and Representative Morris K. Udell of Arizona had 22.

Some experienced union leaders cautioned that Mr. Jackson's poor showing in Pennsylvania could be attributed to the weakness of labor's candidate and the strength of Mr. Carter, as well as the inability of unions to deliver a solid vote.

"This should not be taken as living proof that the trade union movement doesn't have the ability to deliver for a candidate," said one union president who was not enthusiastic about Senator Jackson.

"When we take a positive position in favor of anyone," he added, "the trade unions do very well. But when we take an antagonistic position against something—or the public perceives us in that light, as they did in Pennsylvania—then we don't do well at all."

The unions failed conspicuously to deter their members from supporting Mr. Carter, according to a poll taken by The New York Times and CBS News. Voters from union households split, 36 to 27, for Mr. Carter over Senator Jackson, while those from nonunion households divided 37 to 27.

Neutral Policy

The Executive Council of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. voted last year to remain neutral in the Democratic primaries and reaffirmed that decision earlier this year. Only in 1968, when George Meany, president of the labor federation, backed Senator Humphrey after President Johnson withdrew from the race, was this policy altered.

In his most recent comments on the candidates two months ago, Mr. Meany identified Senator Humphrey as the Democrat he regarded as most electable, but said that all the others except Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama were acceptable to him.

The next major test of the political clout of organized labor will come in the Michigan primary on May 18; substantial numbers of officials and members of the United Automobile Workers are expected to support Mr. Carter.

Jackson Camp Wobbly After Pennsylvania Loss

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By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 28—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who went into Pennsylvania three weeks ago after winning in New York with visions of delivering a crushing blow to Jimmy Carter's hopes for the Democratic Presidential nomination, returned here today with his own campaign in almost total disarray.

With Mr. Carter's decisive victory in the Pennsylvania primary yesterday leading most political analysts to write off the Senator's long, dogged effort as futile, the Jackson forces regrouped here to reassess their badly foundering campaign.

While some staff members kept up a brave front and talked of renewed efforts in Indiana next Tuesday and in Michigan on May 18, others scoffed at the possibility of winning either of those states and openly wondered why Mr. Jackson did not simply call it quits.

Vows to Keep Going

Asked as he debarked from a Metroliner at Union Station shortly after noon if he was considering dropping out of the race, the 63-year-old Senator replied, "No, no, get that out of your head."

He said, as he had last night in conceding defeat in Pennsylvania, that he intended to give up such traditional campaign tactics to obtain press coverage as riding elephants and eating exotic foods in favor of an attempt to present more fully his views on the problem facing the nation and the world.

To do this, the Senator and his advisers have been discussing plans to rely most heavvvvil on paid and free radio and television time, staging fewer rallies and other events and traveling much lessss while in the various primary states.

The purpose of this, they contend, is to demonstrate Senator JJackson's competence and the depth and breadth of his knowledge of government as a result of his 35 years of experience on Capitol Hill.

Assail Carter on Background

They maintain that Mr. Carter, a one-term former Governor of Georgia, has little background in national and world affairs and seldom speaks to the issues. They deride him as a "media candidate," whose fresh face and evangelical campaign style havvvve captured th interest of newspapers, television, radio and magazines, and they may have made a mistake in trying to compete with Mr. Carter for the same kind of coverage.

"We're saying, 'We're not going to win a smiling contest with Jimmy Carter,'" said Ben Wattenberg, a political theoretician who frequently advises Mr. Jackson and is one of the proponents of the change in tactics. "We're going to say, 'O.K., we lost the smiling contest,' but see if we can force the press to concentrate on more substantive issues, for instance, can the Western notion of freedom survive in this world?"

Referring to what has become a campaign cliche in Pennsylvania election, he added: "it's silly, when you're losing, to be taking pictures of Liberty Bells."

Mr. Wattenberg insisted that the new plan, which senior advisers were attempting to flesh out in meetings with the Senator here today, represented "no curtailment of the campaign."

Indiana Trip Canceled

But the first word from the continuing strategy sessions was that a scheduled trip to Indiana tomorrow had been called off so that more discussions could take place.

No one close to the Senator appeared to think that he would withdraw from the race immediately, but one aide said privately:

"He's taking a dive as quietly as he can."

As for the postponement of the Indiana trip, the adviser said, "He needs some time to think the thing through. Last night his choice was to drop out or move to a nonactive campaigning status. Or maybe a third choice was to move somewhere between the two. And he apparently has chosen the latter course."

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Dropouts Mar Connecticut Caucuses

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Special to The New York Times

HARTFORD, April 28—Caprice and the complications of the system seemed to conspire last night to keep some of the Democratic Presidential candidates from getting their names on the ballots in all the towns in Connecticut for the Presidential voting on May 11.

Senator Henry M. Jackson's man in Shelton, Mayor Francis X. Kelley, left for vacation some time before last night's caucus, apparently forgetting that he was the official town moderator for the Senator from Washington, and that a Jackson slate could not officially be drawn up in Shelton without the moderator's presence.

The case was not an isolated one, not even in Mr. Jackson's camp. The moderator in Ashford dropped out, too.

"He let us know this morning he didn't want to moderate," said Edward L. marcus, Senator Jackson's state coordinator.

As there had to be a caucus last night for each candidate in each of the 169 ciies and towns in Connecticut in which the candidates want to contend, any word today about dropouts came too late.

Gain For Jackson

The Jackson candidacy may have picked up some unexpected strength in Bridgeport, where Mayor John C. Mandanici, whose name is on the Jackson slate in that city, over the Bridgeport caucus last night for Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia.

The meeting was marked by much shouting, and protests about the Carter slate compiled with Mayor Mandanici's help have already started pouring in to Democratic state headquarters.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona lost his slate in Sterling when his moderator there decided she could not manage the caucus. "She never called the office," said Jerry Ann Putt, a field coordinator for Mr. Udall's campaign.

The slate in Stonington for Ellen McCormack of Long Island, the anti-abortion candidate, was saved when the moderator walked out last night and Mrs. McCormack's campaign workers put together a new slate with another moderator less than an hour before deadline.

The other candidates in the voting on May 11 are Senator Frank Church of Idaho and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma. There is also an uncommitted slate in each town.

The candidates who get less than 15 percent of the votes in a town lose their votes to the uncommited slate. The others, on a basis of proportional representation, get to send delegates from their winning slates to the six district conventions on June 12.

Tuesday Voting's Effects

Following are the latest tallies in the Democratic Presidential primary in Pennsylvania, the United States Senate races in that state and the convention delegate votes, in Pennsylvania and over all:

Pennsylvania Primary

Carter	506,898 (37%)
Jackson	337,060 (25%)
Udall	256,394 (19%)
Wallace	155,911 (11%)
McCormack	39,303 (3%)
Shapp	35,851 (3%)
Bayh	16,837 (1%)
Harris	13,808 (1%)

Senate Races

REPUBLICANS

Heinz	359,655 (38%)
Specter	330,091 (35%)
Packard	161,425 (17%)

DEMOCRATS

Green	746,462 (68%)
Reibman	344,747 (32%)

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

	Pa.	Total
Ford	0	269
Reagan	0	134
Uncommitted	103	326

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

	Pa.	Total
Carter	64	332
Jackson	19	196
Udall	22	171
Wallace	3	108
*Stevenson	0	86
Humphrey	0	50
Shapp	17	18
Harris	0	16
Church	0	3
McCormack	0	2
Walker	0	2
Bayh	0	1
Uncommitted	46	197
Undecided	7	7

*Favorite son in Illinois.

The Carterwagon Rolls

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, April 28 — Jimmy Carter is no longer merely the Democratic front-runner. With Pennsylvania in his pocket, he is now the likely Democratic Presidential nominee, an Emergence, that has different effects on several groups:

1. *The New "Outs."* The old Democratic Establishment "Ins" are, at the moment, the new "Outs." They will coalesce to form the sort of desperate stop-movement that Nelson Rockefeller threw together behind William Scranton in 1964 to stop Barry Goldwater, and with the same meager result.

But the real political purpose of a stop-movement is often not so much to derail a moving bandwagon as to induce its riders to treat kindly with the pols, not yet aboard. The ousted powers need to make a show of strength in order to be able to acquiesce in dignity.

Thus, Mr. Carter's opposition in the Democratic field, now unhorsed, will climb on hopeful Hubert Humphrey. The irony is that this good man, who spent most of his life pushing for too much too soon, should fail at last by entering the lists with too little and too late. However, the respectability of his opposition should cause the tight Carterite inner circle to make room for the new Outs.

2. *"The New Ins."* Mr. Carter and his people, confronted with the impression of their own inevitability, are likely to adopt new tactics. Having stressed the outsider image, they will now become more absorbent and less worrisome to insiders. They will alternate the stick (you bosses better not gang up) with the carrot (regulars are welcome).

They will be faced with a strategic decision: to reach leftward for a traditional liberal Vice President, like Mo Udall or Fritz Mondale, or to gamble on an all-outsider, all-new ticket, with a running mate like keep-it-flowing Gurunor Jerry Brown. (Neither Hubert Humphrey nor Scoop Jackson are likely to be interested in No. 2, nor is Carter likely to hold still for a wild card like Ted Kennedy.)

On previous form, Mr. Carter is more likely to play it safe with the wide-spectrum approach, moving left and to an experienced legislator, rather than press his antipolitical strength with another young governor.

3. *The Immediate Adversary.* The media (or, if you like us, the press) will shift gears to deal with the Emergence. Ever since R. W. Apple Jr. of The New York Times reported last year that the Carter campaign was taking hold, the ensuing reaction has ranged from a profound distrust of an unwounded pol jesting at scars to a glee at the prospect of writing about somebody almost as deliciously remote as the departed Richard Nixon.

Now, however, the same seductive mystery turns into "the fuzziness issue." To show that he is not fuzzy on bread-and-butter issues, Mr. Carter recently issued an economic position paper. It was ignored, of course, as position papers are supposed to be: They are intended to be tangible evidence of unfuzziness, to be pointed to in interviews as "thoughtful backup," but not to be examined so soon. After the Emergence, however, the press will mine the papers for contradictions for a dangerously new idea.

In his economic paper, for example, Mr. Carter puts forward the notion that the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board be appointed to a term "coterminous with the President's" —not overlapping, as it is at present, to help insulate the Fed from political domination.

Although giving lip service to the Fed's independence—necessary, while Burns roams—the Carter plan to give a President "his own chairman" would force the currently independent Fed to share a "joint responsibility" with

ESSAY

Treasury and O.M.B. to issue a "coordinated report that their policies are mutually consistent." Monetary policy, now wisely decentralized, would be controlled more tightly by the White House in Mr. Carter's politicization.

Such positions are now considered MEGO—my eyes glaze over—but one day soon this, and other ideas, will be seized upon as typical of White House power grabs worthy of detailed discussion by a man with a 50-50 chance of going all the way.

4. *The Ultimate Adversary.* The fact of a center-right, cool Southerner as the Democratic nominee powerfully concentrates the mind of the would-be Republican nominee. From Texas to California in the coming month, Ronald Reagan will be making the point that his Southern and Western appeal is needed to turn back Mr. Carter, while Mr. Ford will be stirring up talk of a sun-belted running mate to counter the Carterites.

And who might that be? At private gatherings, Nelson Rockefeller—after hinting darkly at Reds under Senatorial beds—has been warning his friends about a tall, silver-haired Texan that he thinks is plotting to succeed him as Vice President.

Considering the way Republican conventions react to Rockefeller desires, it could be that the Carter Emergence could well be followed by the comeback of John Connally.

P

Carter in Pennsylvania

Is Jimmy Carter headed for a first-ballot victory at Madison Square Garden?

Running in a four-man field, former Governor Carter achieved victory in the important Pennsylvania primary. Yet Mr. Carter's plurality constituted little more than one-third of the total Democratic vote cast, hardly a conclusive endorsement in itself.

The margin of victory may in part have been accounted for by the money famine suffered by Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall. Because he looks like a winner, Mr. Carter could raise money and make up for the sudden cutoff of Federal matching funds, while his opponents were less successful in doing so. To that extent, Congress's irresponsible dawdling over the revision of the campaign finance law was a factor in Tuesday's outcome.

But Mr. Carter still achieved an impressive victory, particularly in winning the biggest share of the delegates. By his own campaigning and with the help of an improvised volunteer organization, he overcame what—on paper—was a formidable coalition of labor unions and political machines behind Senator Jackson. The former Georgia Governor has once again shown that he has the ability to evoke favorable interest from voters across the political spectrum, and to do well in the inner city and in suburbs, among farmers, factory workers, and voters in small towns.

* * *

The major negative conclusion from the Pennsylvania vote concerns the weakness of Senator Jackson's campaign. He failed to arouse the contagious personal enthusiasm needed to transform his formal organizational support into an effective political force. He is respected and admired as a knowledgeable public servant, but he seems to generate no excitement.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey is much better at stirring the enthusiasm of audiences. If Senator Humphrey had been on the ballot in Pennsylvania, he might have won decisively. But voters make choices among real candidates, and Mr. Humphrey has consistently refused to enter the primaries. His prospects now depend upon his skill at political in-fighting and only indirectly on his popular appeal.

Governor Carter is well-positioned to survive any guerrilla warfare on the long march to Madison Square Garden in July. He is not only running in the primaries and winning them but he is doing so because he has intelligence, imagination, and superb political instincts. The qualities that have brought him so far are hardly likely to fail him now.

The Weather
Mostly sunny, high in the upper 50s, low in the 30s. Chance of rain is near zero through Thursday—Mostly sunny, highs. Yesterday—3 p.m. AQI, range, 58-40. Details, C2.

The Washington Post

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Carter Is Winner In Pennsylvania

Associated Press

Jimmy Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, watch the returns come in.

Carter Warns Party on Deal

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, April 27 — With one eye on Hubert H. Humphrey, Jimmy Carter tucked away his Pennsylvania primary victory tonight and warned the Democratic Party it "might be committing political suicide" if it refused to "let the people's will be expressed" at the nominating convention.

The former Georgia governor, savoring the biggest success of his spectacular run for the presidential nomination, was characteristically cool.

"We still have a long way to go," he said, "but we're in good shape . . . to get a first-ballot victory."

Carter said that if Humphrey, who is under increasing pressure to enter the race, "sees I have the presumption of success and can tie the party together . . . I think his inclination would be not to be disruptive."

But during a long day of campaigning in New Jersey and Connecticut that preceded his muted victory celebration here tonight, Carter kept up a drumfire of warnings against the possibility of a "brokered convention" denying him the nomination.

"If the people feel the political leaders have handpicked the nominee," he said in Hartford, "we'll have a repetition of 1968."

In that year, Humphrey, then Vice President, became the Democratic nominee without entering primaries against Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene J. McCarthy. Carter told a New Jersey fund-raising breakfast today that "because the people felt excluded from the process . . . Sen. Hum-

See REACT, A4, Col. 6

Carter Sees 'Suicide' In Bossed Convention

REACT, From A1

phrey was defeated" in November.

Carter professed to be unconcerned about the emergence of Humphrey as a major, if undeclared, opponent this year. He said he did not care whether the Minnesota senator campaigned for a slate of nominally uncommitted delegates supporting himself in the June 8 New Jersey primary.

"I don't think we're going to have a brokered or deadlocked convention," Carter said in New Canaan, Conn. "I think Sen. Humphrey has waited too long."

Nonetheless, he said today that he will "probably spend much more time in New Jersey than in California," which votes on the same day but where Humphrey is not as direct a factor. Carter said he was not concerned about the competition in California of favorite-son Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.

California chooses 279 delegates—slightly more than the combined total in New Jersey and in Ohio, which vote the same day. But Carter told reporters it was "much more rewarding" for him to concentrate on Ohio and New Jersey because the plurality winner can gain all the delegates, while California's proportional representation denies anyone a sweep.

But the presence of uncommitted slates of pro-Humphrey state Democratic officials in both Ohio and New Jersey also appeared to be a factor in Carter's decision to concentrate on those states, rather than California.

In Connecticut, where he campaigned most of the day, Carter was warmly welcomed by large crowds in Hartford, Meriden, and New Haven. While Gov. Ella Grasso is backing Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Carter was accompanied by James Kenelly, speaker of he Connecticut House of Representatives and son-in-law of former Democratic National Chairman John M. Bailey, and by Hartford Democratic Chairman Peter Kelly.

Connecticut Democrats will elect 51 delegates in a primary May 11.

Today Carter demonstrated the relentless drive that has characterized his 66 weeks of non-stop campaigning for the nomination. He spent 12 hours seeking votes and raising money in five cities and two states before coming back here as the polls closed to savor his triumph.

As always, he and his wife, Rosalynn, and the young Carter staff members were low key.

With the three television networks projecting him as a winner within an hour after the voting ended, Carter and his wife slipped almost unnoticed past gathering celebrants to do a series of victory interviews.

When the hotel elevators were slowed by the heavy visitors traffic, Carter waited patiently for a ride back to his 21st floor suite.

Thinking back to the dozen better-known Democrats he has knocked out of the race, Carter observed quietly that "no other candidate now has the presumption of ultimate success."

"It's time," said the man who has stood the party on its ear, "to start putting the Democratic Party back together."

Jackson Runs 2d, Udall 3d

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, April 27—Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia outdistanced the opposition in Pennsylvania tonight, scoring his seventh victory in nine primaries and taking perhaps his most important step yet toward the Democratic presidential nomination.

With prospects high for strong showings in primaries in Texas Saturday and in Indiana, Georgia and Alabama next Tuesday, the Pennsylvania victory continued the Carter bandwagon on the move and all but upset Sen. Henry M. Jackson's big-state strategy.

In a campaign in which Jackson had mobilized organized labor and regular party organizations in Philadelphia and other Pennsylvania areas behind him, Carter nevertheless demonstrated that he too can win in a major industrial state —Jackson's foremost claim for support in the early big-state primaries.

Carter jumped to a considerable early lead, then settled down to a margin over Jackson ranging from about 6 to 10 per cent as the night wore on. He ran strongly as predicted in Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) and other parts of western Pennsylvania.

In addition, he held Jackson almost even in Philadelphia, where Mayor Frank L. Rizzo's organization backed Jackson, and built a surprising lead in heavily unionized Lackawanna County (Scranton).

Rep Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who had said he hoped to run second here, was third, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who campaigned only two days here, was a distant fourth.

With 80 per cent of the state's 9,638 precincts reporting, the Democratic totals were:

Carter	**388,034, or 36%**
Jackson	**277,628, or 26%**
Udall	**208,785, or 19%**
Wallace	**118,486, or 11%**

Other totals were Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp, 29,331 or 3%, anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack, 32,024 or 3%; Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, 14,746 or 1%; and former Sen. Fred Harris, 11,594 or 1%.

President Ford won without opposition in the Republican primary his opponent, Ronald Reagan, having skip-

See VOTE, A4, Col. 1

Gloom in the Jackson camp.
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Carter Outdistances Rivals in Pa. Race

VOTE, From A1

ped Pennsylvania for more conservative states. The state's 103 Republican convention delegates will be formally uncommitted, but almost all of them are expected to line up with Mr. Ford.

Carter came down from his hotel ballrom about 10:30 tonight and told several hundred cheering workers that "We have just completed the first phase of the presidential campaign by wiping out every possible obstacle . . ." A roar from his campaign workers obscured the last few words of the sentence.

With his wife, Rosalynn, and his three sons flanking him, Carter said, "I think we're going to win on the first ballot. We're No. 1 and we're going to stay No. 1."

Carter painted himself as the candidate of the people against the political bosses, just as he had throughout this primary campaign. He said he had "a lot of opposition from the Democratic machine politicians, but I appealed directly to the voters and they rallied behind me."

Carter's victory was claimed on the basis of the presidential preference or "beauty contest" portion of today's balloting—the statewide direct, popular vote. Delegates to the party's national convention were chosen in a separate segment of the voting, and the results in this portion were slower coming in.

With returns from 38 per cent of the state's precincts in, the state's 178 delegates were being divided as follows: Carter, 54; uncommitted, 39; Shapp, 23; Jackson, 20; Udall, 17; and Wallace, 1. A total of 134 of the delegates was being chosen today, with the other 44 to be allotted at a later state convention in proportion to delegates won by the candidates today.

The other 44 state delegates will be chosen at a later state convention.

An ultimate Carter victory in the delegate-acquisition as well as in the "beauty contest" would be a major success and a particular blow to Jackson, whose organizational support was supposed to give him a decided edge in the complicated business of identifying delegates on a long Pennsylvania ballot.

Jackson, in an effort to downplay the preferential contest, had contended in the closing days of the primary that the delegate acquisition was what really counted.

As the votes came in tonight, aides gathered lists of delegates they said were supporting Jackson, including many running on Shapp's slate, to demonstrate to the media that Jackson's delegate strength was greater than the total officially designated Jackson delegates elected. But an aide said no definite delegate count was expected until noon Wednesday.

But whatever the final delegate breakdown, Pennsylvania was a clear victory for Carter and a defeat for Jackson. Robert Keefe, Jackson's campaign manager, said:

"We're probably going to change what we're doing. We're going to use Indiana [the next Jackson-Carter primary test, next Tuesday] as an experimental state. We're going to change our campaign pattern, try to find some way to get our issues across. We didn't get any issues through in this state at all. The coverage was all on mechanics."

Jackson said tonight that for one reason or another he had failed to get his message across. Of all the candidates, himself included, Jackson said: "We're eating exotic foods, riding elephants, playing basketball and playing peanut farmer." He said he was "changing the nature of my campaign to eliminate a lot of the gimmickry."

In its place, Jackson said, he will use open microphones to converse directly with voters. "I don't know for a fact that this new way will win," he said. "I hope it will, but win, lose or draw, I'll be making my case, and that is all a man in public life can hope for. We're going to go on fighting."

Jackson, striving to hold his labor base here, had hammered away in the closing days at Carter's position on state right-to-work laws, one of which was on the Georgia books and remained there while Carter was governor.

Jackson contended that such laws, barring union-shop agreements, lured industry south for the cheap labor there and contributed to high unemployment in Pennsylvania. That issue apparently did not cut significantly into Carter's blue-collar vote here.

An immediate prospect of Carter's victory in the "beauty contest" here was to enhance the chances of important liberal labor support moving his way, especially in the ranks of the United Auto Workers, whose president, Leonard Woodcock, has been favorably disposed to his candidacy. In Indiana next week and in the Michigan primary on May 18, UAW support can be pivotal.

Also, the momentum continued by Carter's success here is certain to be an asset in coming days as Carter runs in primaries in Texas Saturday and in Georgia, Alabama and Indiana next Tuesday. Carter is expected to do well in all of these primaries.

Also, Jackson's defeat is likely to increase the perception of him as a stalking horse—however unwittingly for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, now beginning to stir from his long-held role of inactive availability. If Humphrey is to stop Carter, Pennsylvania's results underline, he will have to start gearing up.

Udall aides, taking solace in their man's modest performance here, were suggesting tonight that Pennsylvania had polished Jackson off, and that if Democrats wanted an alternative to Carter they might now turn to Udall. But the fact that Udall has yet to win a primary proably diminishes such prospects.

Carter, aware of the Humphrey threat, said tonight, "The race is still wide open. There's a long way to go." But he said delegates won by candidates who have since become inactive and many uncommitted delegates "will start to move more with me if we continue this success."

The Georgian said he would continue working in all the primary and caucus states, but also would "start putting the Democratic Party back together."

"It's beginning to be obvious to a lot of Democrats that with me at the top of the ticket we not only have a good chance to win the White House" but to strengthen the ticket for other races, Carter said. He said he thought he would come out of the primaries with 1,000 or more delegates of the 1,505 needed to be nominated.

In that circumstance, he said, he saw "a strong inclination among Democrats not to do what we did in 1968" — nominating a candidate (Humphrey) who had not entered any primaries.

Carter said he was "not overconfident, but we are in good shape to get a first-ballot victory" at the convention.

Conferees Fail to Ratify Report

AZ8

Vote Funds Delayed Again

By Mary Russell
Washington Post Staff Writer

Presidential candidates waiting for Congress to reconstitute the Federal Election Commission so they can get $2.3 million in requested matching funds have been handed a further delay.

Congressional conferees met yesterday on the legislation and were expected to ratify a conference report that must go to the House and Senate before the President can act on it.

But they didn't. Instead, the conferees spent two hours reading typographical errors and technical changes in the 60-page report.

As a result, according to House Administration Committee Chairman Wayne L. Hays (D-Ohio), the House will not be able to act on the report before Monday.

"It is now more than a month since the FEC lost its power to disburse matching funds to candidates seeking the Democratic and Republican presidential nominations. This power was stricken by the Supreme Court on Jan. 30 and actually ran out March 23 in a ruling saying the FEC should be restructured by Congress.

Meanwhile, President Ford issued a statement yesterday saying, "I will not commit myself to sign or veto until the Congress completes definitive action on the bill."

The President urged Congress again to simply reconstitute the commission.

He noted that Congress "has already spent over 70 days in its attempt to amend the existing law in many unnecessary areas. Because of this delay, campaigns which were planned in accordance with the funding and regulatory provisions of the election law now lack funds and lack ground rules."

Hays said having the bill delayed until next week "won't keep me awake over the weekend."

But it was not Hays who was delaying yesterday. It was the slow reading of language changes, and wrangling over the meaning of some of the language.

"Take your time. The more time you take the less money these candidates can spend," Hays told the Senate conferees at one point.

4

David S. Broder

Convention Bargaining

PHILADELPHIA—Even before the Pennsylvania primary returns were in, Jimmy Carter and Hubert Humphrey were beginning to debate their claim to the Democratic presidential nomination. The focus was not on their qualifications to lead their party or the country but the tactics they have employed in respect to the nomination.

Carter suggested repeatedly during the past week that if Humphrey were nominated "without going through the primary process, at a brokered convention, it would saddle the Democratic Party with a severe political handicap."

Humphrey replied that "if Carter or anyone else gets nominated, there will have to be some brokering. I've never been at a convention where somebody didn't ask somebody for a vote. Delegates are sent to the convention to make a choice. That's what it's all about."

The debate about the "brokered convention" is an important political question, and before it gets obscured in the emotions of a Carter-Humphrey contest, it might be well to examine it on its merits.

The basic work of a political convention is to assemble from the diverse elements of our loose party structure a majority coalition capable of winning the election and governing the country. In that very broad sense of the term, Humphrey is right when he says that "brokering" is the very essence of the nomination process. Historically, the votes that decided the nomination were cajoled from delegates in the weeks, the hours or the frantic last minutes before the roll call ended in convention hall.

That is how Humphrey won in 1968 without entering the primaries. But it is also how John Kennedy won in 1960 and George McGovern in 1972—after beating their major rivals in the primaries.

There is nothing inherently improper about this process—particularly when the selection system for naming delegates has been made as open and accessible to rank-and-file Democrats as it has this year.

As Humphrey has recognized, the bargaining or brokering process will almost inevitably yield Carter the nomination—as it did Kennedy and McGovern—if he emerges from the final primaries on June 8 with a commanding lead. That tipping point is generally placed in the 1,000-to-1,200 vote level. Humphrey concedes it would be "very foolhardy" to try to block a candidate that close to the 1,505 votes needed for nomination and says he will not be party to such a stop-Carter effort.

Hamilton Jordan, Carter's able manager, thinks his candidate is well within striking range of that goal. But if Carter should fail to secure more than 1,000 of the 3,008 delegates by the end of the primaries, is it legitimate for someone like Humphrey, who has shunned the primaries, to enter the race?

That, in turn, involves four other judgments:

Did Humphrey have valid, unselfish reasons for avoiding the primaries? The answer is yes. He had sought the presidency three times previously—in 1960, 1968 and 1972—failing twice to be nominated and once to be elected. He recognized that the party might well be better served by a new face, and knew he could be legitimately criticized for imposing himself onto what was initially a large field of fresh candidates.

Was there also an element of selfish calculation in that decision? Of course there was. Scarred by the previous battles, Humphrey frankly wanted no more of the ordeal of the primaries—the endless hours of campaigning, the scrounging for money. He also calculated that a stalemate was likely and his chances of winning second-round convention support would be improved if he incurred no personal enmities from the active contestants.

But all nomination strategies are calculated. Carter did not make 35 trips to Florida or visit 110 Iowa towns by chance. That, too, was a calculated decision—no better or no worse than Humphrey's stratagem.

Is there an element of risk for the Democrats in rejecting someone who has taken his case to the people, as Carter has? There is, indeed—and a very serious one. Carter clearly intrigues people. His appeal is unique. And his themes have struck a deep chord with some voters. His rejection by the convention would risk alienation not only the South, which has understandable pride in his candidacy, but thousands of talented people his campaign has attracted to the Democratic Party in other sections of the country.

But that is not the only risk. There is also a risk in nominating a man whose support is as thin, whose views are as unexamined, whose links with major Democratic constituencies are as weak, and whose record is as equivocal as Carter's. Humphrey's strengths and weaknesses are well known; Carter's are not, and there is risk either way for the Democrats.

Finally, can Humphrey serve a useful purpose by contesting Carter, even if the likelihood is great that Carter will be the nominee?

In my judgment, this is the most important question and the answer is yes. A Humphrey-Carter debate on the role and policies of the national government would force the Georgian to define, far more precisely than he has done so far, his purposes as a President.

And if Carter were forced into a "brokering" process, he would have to negotiate relationships with his political peers—with governors, members of Congress, party officials, interest group leaders—that he has shunned so far. Having those relationships would make him a better candidate and a safer potential custodian of presidential power than he is today.

For those reasons, it seems to me not only legitimate but desirable for Humphrey to seek the nomination if circumstances permit.

Shoot the Breeze
unny and windy today, igh about 60. Low to- ight near 40. Sunny omorrow, high around 0. Details: C-6.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Can They Stop the Carter Bandwagon?

HUMPHREY FORCES GET READY

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, the phantom who has haunted the declared Democratic presidential candidates throughout the primaries, is reportedly ready to authorize his supporters to launch an active "exploratory" effort on his behalf.

With Jimmy Carter gaining potential bandwagon momentum from his smashing Pennsylvania victory, the Minnesota senator has been forced to modify the waiting game he has played thus far and send an overt signal of encouragement to those seeking an alternative to the former Georgia governor.

Humphrey remains adamant in his refusal to enter any primaries, vetoing all suggestions that he go into the last open contest in New Jersey, where the filing deadline is tomorrow.

BUT HE NO LONGER can afford to wait passively for a deadlocked convention, or even for the conclusion of the remaining 21 primary elections — not with Carter battering his active opponents the way he did yesterday.

Dozens of longtime Humphrey advisers, fundraisers and political allies from around the country poured into Washington yesterday to discuss formation of a formal campaign organization authorized to raise funds and start seeking Humphrey delegates to the July national Democratic convention.

See HUMPHREY, A-12

BIG WIN IN PENNSYLVANIA

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — Jimmy Carter has taken a grip on the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination that may prove to be unbreakable. The dimensions of his victory in Pennsylvania have left the campaigns of his only two active rivals, Henry M. Jackson and Morris K. Udall, in ruins.

And his triumph here is certain to focus new pressure on Hubert Humphrey to weigh carefully the potential consequences to his party of an 11th hour candidacy that is certain to be perceived as stop-Carter desperation.

Carter himself, jubilant if not exuberant, described the votes pouring in here last night "wiping out every possible obstacle" to his nomination in New York in July.

Other Democrats consider this an exaggeration, but there was no question when the ballots were counted here that Carter had — at the least — swept the field clear of conventional challenges.

CARTER'S VICTORY in Pennsylvania was the seventh he has scored in nine primaries. And the proportions of that victory were impressive enough to destroy the claim Jackson had been making that the 51-year-old Georgian had yet to show muscle in the big Northern industry states that are the heart of the Democratic party.

See DEMOCRATS, A-12

HUMPHREY

Continued From A-1

Humphrey planned to meet this afternoon with Robert Short, the Minnesota businessman and longtime Democratic fundraiser who summoned the faithful to town, to receive the recommendations of the loose-knit group.

SHORT SAID LAST night he expects Humphrey to give the go-ahead "within the next two or three days" for establishment of an "exploratory committee" of the type used by Ronald Reagan and Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, prior to their actual candidacy declarations this year.

SHORT MET YESTERDAY with officials at the Federal Election Commission to ascertain the precise legal requirements involved in setting up a political committee for a candidate who has not formally declared. Under the new election law, any committee that starts raising funds must file with the FEC.

Short said the Humphrey committee, once formally authorized by the candidate, will be actively soliciting convention delegates from among uncommitted delegates already chosen, delegates pledged to other candidates who have faltered, and from delegates running uncommitted in future primaries.

Carter, the indisputable frontrunner for the Democratic nomination, is increasingly focusing his fire on Humphrey as the only real threat to his own hopes.

It is clearly galling to him that so many labor leaders, party professionals and ordinary voters still seem to yearn for the "happy warrior," despite all the effort Carter has put into the campaign this year.

ESPECIALLY TROUBLING are the polls CBS and the New York Times have been conducting in each primary which consistently show large percentages of Democratic voters saying they would have voted for Humphrey, given the chance.

Yesterday, for instance, the CBS-New York Times poll indicated Humphrey would have actually won in Pennsylvania had he been on the ballot, drawing about half the vote.

Last night, Carter warned that the Democratic Party "might be committing suicide" if it turns to someone who has not proved his popular support in the primaries.

Recalling 1968, when Humphrey was nominated at a bitterly divided Chicago convention, Carter said, "We nominated a very fine man in '68 but because the people felt excluded from the process . . . Sen. Humphrey was defeated" by Richard M. Nixon.

SHORT, SIMON AND other Humphrey supporters remain confident that Carter cannot nail down the nomination during the primaries.

"I don't think he's going to have 1,100 votes on the first ballot, and without that, he hasn't got it locked up," Short said. (A total of 1,505 delegate votes are needed)

DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

On the contrary, except in Mayor Frank L. Rizzo's Philadelphia, Carter was clearing the board — winning cities and rural areas alike, defeating Jackson among blue collar union workers and Udall among affluent liberals. Udall won only in suburban Montgomery County.

With 91 percent of the vote counted, Carter had 37 percent to 25 for Jackson, 19 for Udall, 11 for George C. Wallace and 8 scattered among four other candidates.

Carter also was winning the competition for Pennsylvania's 178 delegates to the national convention. With 63 percent of the vote in, he had won 62 delegates to 17 for Jackson, 24 for Udall, 19 for Gov. Milton J. Shapp and 41 uncommitted.

THE CARTER SWEEP was significant for the rest of the contest for the nomination because he is, as he has been all year, positioned to take advantage of the new momentum.

He is now favored to win the delegate primary in Texas Saturday against the favorite son candidacy of Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen and Wallace. And in Indiana next Tuesday, Jackson is no more than a punching bag in the aftermath of the humiliation he suffered here yesterday.

The operative question now becomes whether Carter can press his campaign in primaries, caucuses and among the uncommitted to assure himself of reaching the tipping point at which the party could deny him the nomination only at the price of internal division that would cripple the Democrats in the general election campaign in November.

Whatever the hard counts, the Carter managers are convinced they have more than 400 of the 1,505 delegates needed to win the nomination. And they are confident of arriving at the convention with at least 1,000 and quite likely more than that.

Just how many are needed to foreclose competition is open to question. Four years ago the tipping point for George McGovern was about 1,200 delegates, and Carter's base right now within the party is far broader than McGovern enjoyed in 1972.

will not be without alarums and excursions in the weeks that are left.

HUMPHREY IS THE most obvious potential problem for Carter. Although the man from Minnesota will be pressed to avoid splitting the party, he also will be urged intensely by the party Old Guard to make one more campaign in the interest of shutting out the intruder from Georgia.

There are two other candidates in the field — Sen. Frank Church and Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown of California. But Brown is still an unknown quantity as a national figure and would seem to appeal to the constituency that has been electing Carter all through the winter and spring. And it is difficult to see where the liberal Church can be expected to succeed in rallying liberals after Udall has failed.

THE DEFEAT yesterday was particularly bitter for Jackson because he was the candidate who chose months ago to make Pennsylvania a major test of Democratic candidates' ability to reach the "lunch bucket vote" so essential for November. Jackson also campaigned here with—on paper — everything going for him from Rizzo to the hierarchy of organized labor to the state Democratic organization.

But the strength of labor and the Democrats proved to be illusory. Vote analyses showed Carter thrashing Jackson among union men and their families.

Jackson also suffered because his supporters had tried to make the delegate competition the critical contest here. The theory was that Jackson could win that even if he lost the preferential vote and thus leave town with at least a talking point. But that hope proved futile as Carter's strength was reflected in both phases of the primary.

Indeed, the only small cloud in the Carter picture was some evidence that Udall had cut down his usual margin among black voters. This seemed to reflect Udall's extra effort to woe blacks as well as reaction to the controversy over "ethnic purity."

BOTH JACKSON AND Udall made the usual pledges to continue their campaigns but they signalled, too, that they were thinking of cutting back what has proved to be a fruitless effort to slow down Carter. Udall scheduled a press conference in Washington today to describe his plans.

For Wallace, it was another in a series of bitter pills as he polled less than half of the vote he took here four years ago. His campaign has been in trouble ever since he lost to Carter in Florida March 9, and there were new questions today about how long he can continue.

The same questions are also being asked this time, however, about Udall and Jackson as well.

THE CARTER STRATEGISTS are particularly encouraged by the fact there is still a half dozen states with so-called "loophole" primaries over the six weeks of primary competition remaining. These are states in which a candidate who wins a plurality in a legislative or congressional district wins all of its delegates — in effect, a winner-take-all system at that level. These "loophole" primaries offer a rich prize: 516 delegates.

In several other states in which delegates will be allocated in proportion to the preferential vote Carter is peculiarly placed to take advantage of his bandwagon psychology. In Michigan May 18, for example, he is now the clear favorite of the leadership of the United Auto Workers. In Kentucky he has the backing of Democratic party leaders. In Tennessee he faces only the token competition of George Wallace.

Thus, what is significant about the Pennsylvania result is that it has left Carter with the only two active candidates still in the field reduced to straw men.

Carter's dominant position does not mean, however, that the campaign

Politics Today

In Pa., Mo Udall Got His Death Certificate

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — For Mo Udall, the result in Pennsylvania was only a formality, a kind of political death certificate. He never had a chance.

Indeed, the mourning in the Udall camp began long before the votes were counted in Pennsylvania yesterday to define another defeat at the hands of Jimmy Carter.

In a political campaign, that mourning takes many forms. There is, of course, regret among the Udall partisans that this candidate — for whom they feel as much affection as respect — cannot make it to the Democratic presidential nomination, whatever his brave protestations of continued determination.

And there is — as is always the case in these situations — internecine bickering and blame-placing, endless discussion of what might have been. If only we had another $50,000 here or two more days there, Mo might have won this primary or that one. If only Sargent Shriver had stayed out of Massachusetts or Fred Harris out of Wisconsin, who knows what might have happened.

SO ARE THERE Udall strategists who are bitterly critical of the influence his brother Stewart has exercised over the campaign. And there are Udall managers who grieve over the decisions that brought the break after Wisconsin with John Marttila, the Boston political consultant whose organization was credited with bringing him within a point of Carter in Wisconsin if not to victory.

But the truth is — and it has been clear for a long time to the most astute Democratic politicians outside the Udall camp — that the Arizonan's campaign was doomed almost from the outset by conditions beyond its control.

The most important, of course, was the temper of the electorate of 1976. Because there are no clear ideological issues this year, there is no longer a liberal constituency with the kind of power to command a nomination that was so obvious four years ago. Instead, there is only a liberal hard core of perhaps one Democrat in five, judging by Udall's showing.

EARLY IN THE game the Udall supporters could persuade themselves that the vote was really there and the only problem the necessity for dividing it among four or five liberal candidates. But in Pennsylvania yesterday Udall had the field to himself, and the vote really wasn't there after all.

This is something Jimmy Carter understood from the outset — the change in the electorate's concerns, the voters' search for a fresh approach that seems to offer hope that things will be done differently, and perhaps better, in the future. There is nothing different about Mo Udall's brand of Democratic liberalism.

The second element in Udall's demise has been his own peculiar weakness as a candidate.

First, for reasons that are not entirely clear, Udall has been unable to project a sharp image to the voters. The primary season is now four months along, and he still faces a recognition problem serious enough so that he is spending his meager resources for two five-minute network television appearances this week. His support among Democrats nationally remains at 5 percent in the opinion polls, in large measure because there are so many who simply don't know him yet.

NOR HAS THE campaign been successful very often in projecting the real Mo Udall when it has projected him at all. In the final days of this campaign, for example, they have been running "talking head" commercials — Udall in a dark suit speaking earnestly into the camera — with no more sparkle than H&R Block telling you one of the 17 reasons they should prepare your income taxes.

But Udall is a charming man — urbane, articulate, thoughtful, as well as witty. Unhappily for him, none of this has come through. He is seen, as a voter said here the other day, as "just that tall one."

To some extent, this may be a staff failure. But the staff always gets blamed when things go sour, and it is a rare case when some of that blame shouldn't be assigned to the candidate himself. And that seems to be true of Udall and the peculiar perspective he brings to a candidacy. He has a detachment about politics and politicians, himself included, that seems to stay his hand when targets of opportunity present themselves.

It is not that he is specially inclined to agonize. It is more that he lacks the ability to be the compleat candidate, the one whose every gesture, every word, every situation is seen as a natural opportunity to advance the campaign.

Jimmy Carter knows how that works. That is why he is flying back to Plains today with a big smile on his face while the Democrats write the political obituary of Mo Udall.

In the Udall headquarters there is a lot of pain these days. No one there thinks that a system for nominating a president that shuts out such a candidate is a rational one. But, just or not, that is the way it is.

Q and A

Jerry Brown On Seeking Presidency

Edmund Gerald (Jerry) Brown Jr., the controversial governor of California, has announced his intention to seek the Democratic nomination for president. Brown, who today is to begin campaigning for Maryland's May 18th primary — his first political effort outside California — was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Michael Kiernan.

Question: *One depiction of you is 'elusive, wriggley and difficult to categorize as a politician.' How do you categorize yourself?*

Brown: I don't. The categories of politics are becoming increasingly irrelevant and so much verbal salamandering. I go to work early in the morning and I go home late. I put in 12 to 15 hours a day, six days a week, and I try to live within limits and say things that make sense to me, and hopefully, to others. And whatever you want to call it, that's what it is. The increase in my budget is less than those of my predecessor, Ronald Reagan, and yet, at the same time, I've brought into the government more public interest lawyers, women, blacks and Mexican-Americans than ever in the history of the state. I've tried to make equality as much a reality as our system will allow and tried to make this state a place of opportunity for everybody. And yet, at the same time, I'm running a very tight ship because that's just the way government has to be. What combination of labels you want to put around that — I really think it's for you to decide.

Q: *You've also been described as the hottest thing to come along since Bobby Kennedy. How do you feel about that?*

A: I don't know what I think. I try to do a good job here in California and the people have responded quite favorably and I just have a hunch that the American people are ready for a new generation of leadership. I think the idea of financial and ecological limits and at the same time make-work opportunities for every American just makes common sense. I think the people are ready for it. I'm not going to overpromise or kid anybody, but times are tough and they may just get even tougher still.

Q: *Your lifestyle has become a subject of interest. You don't live in the governor's mansion. You drive an old Plymouth. . . .*

A: It's not an old Plymouth; it's a '74 Plymouth. It's what the carpool provides.

Q: *Is that a relevant issue: the way a governor conducts himself in public life in terms of the accoutrements of public life?*

A: That's not particularily relevant. I've lived a certain way and I've done that all my life and I don't see any reason why I should change. I just live the same way I always have. I thought that the Nancy and Reagan joke was a Taj Mahal. It seems to me out of place with the way we should be going in California to spend a million and a half dollars for a governor's mansion when we don't have enough housing for citizens. We had a mansion that was good enough for all the other governors. Besides that, I don't see why

See BROWN, A-10

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BROWN

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the governor ought to live any better than the people he represents. He's paid a good salary and it's quite adequate by anybody's standards. I don't think that because you get elected you should live in some fancy or high style. The average income in this country is $14,000 a year. There's too much wining and dining and self-congratulations in the political process. When I was secretary of state (of California) I sponsored the political reform initiative to require each public official to list each and every gift of $25 or more that he or she may receive in a year and limit lobbyists from spending more than $10 a month on a public official. I think that people in public life are not kings and they ought to live accordingly.

Q: *Would you live in the White House if you became president?*

A: It seems pretty convenient. I'm sure I can work out suitable living arrangements.

Q: *You're coming into Maryland, which is known as perhaps one of the most corrupt states in America. Will you have to make deals with political bosses to win in Maryland?*

A: I will try to do the same in Maryland as I do in California. Deal-making is not a part of the way I see American politics. People want me to sell out the farm workers, make a deal. And I'm not going to do that — I haven't done that. I got the established organizations from the left to the right to the middle to impose the most stringent polictial reform measures in the nation. People responded. And that's part of what I am and what I believe. And if I were president I would do the same thing. I believe that those who represent people ought to be held to the highest standards of accountability. Their financial affairs ought to be an open book. My income taxes are reported. I don't accept any gifts and I don't think anybody else should. People are fed up and the country is not going to stand together if democracy doesn't have greater confidence. Unless we walk the last mile and cross the last t and dot the last i, we're not going to regain a level of confidence in government that is a precondition for a viable democracy — it's just that simple. That's what I say in California and what I'll say in Maryland, Nevada or any other state that I'll go into.

Q: *A lot of people in Baltimore City, at least, who are excited about your coming to town say that their first choice is Hubert Humphrey. Do you welcome that kind of support?*

A: I welcome everybody's support. When I get there I'm going to say my two cents and try to give people the vision I have for this country. Make no mistake about it, I'm an independent candidate and I'm seeking the nomination. I've got a long way to go, but anybody who knows how I've done things in California will realize that my view of the world of politics is my own and my candidacy stands on its own merits. If they're insufficient I assume the results will show that.

Q: *In Maryland, what do you see as the issues? What will you be hitting at?*

A: The whole litany of concerns and items that people like to talk about. My basic view of things is that the precondition for a healthy democracy is a level of confidence in government. We don't have that right now. There's a malaise, a disinterest and a skepticism. I've made it my first priority in California to restore confidence. Beyond that I think it's time, after so many years, to finally put this country on record as being completely committed to providing the opportunity for hard work to any and all Americans citizens who want it. I listened to Ford criticize the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and argue about inflation. The fact is this country is being pulled apart because men and women are unable to find a decent job. Certainly I want the private sector to provide that. If it can't, the government has to intervene in a way that makes that possible. Democracy can't survive with increasing numbers of people having no constructive role, having no possible way of making their contribution. No civilization can stand on that kind of basis. That kind of commitment to full employment is a necessity. It's critical.

Q: *How is that going to work, though?*

A: How we get there is a matter that will take time to achieve, but we haven't even set the goal yet. I personally make that a goal of mine and I do so not at the expense of the environment. I think this planet is a fragile place. We have to treat it not only with respect but with reverence. Our technology has to be tempered with the view towards protecting the air and the water and the soil. The bottom line is not on a balance sheet, but what comes out of the ground, the food, the air and the water and the organization of people in their daily lives. Although they collide at some points, we have to harmonize them because without protecting the environment, without full employment, without restoring confidence in this democracy, we will go the same way so many of the others have in the past 10 years around the globe.

Q: *Some people call you old-fashioned while others call you 'way out' because of your interest in Zen Buddhism., Can you put that in perspective?*

A: Well, Thomas Merton — who is a Trappist, a Catholic monk — is very interested in Zen and in meditation and spirituality and represents a significant strain within Catholicism. I've spent time in the seminary, most of which was spent in reflection. That's part of my life and has had an impact. I think any person who thinks about life has to examine it and give a certain portion of his time to quiet and reflection — to let the accumulated images and noise of his business life settle down so the basic realities can have their place.

Q: *Do you still find time to meditate even in these hectic days?*

A: Well, I don't really think I have to describe every moment of my life. But I consider that a certain amount of time should be devoted to prayer or spirituality or whatever you want to call it. I wouldn't say its a regular thing, but it's the normal thing for any person who's had the training I've had. I've been brought up to believe that in the things that I do there is a certain amount of rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's. It's pretty simple.

Q: *The only other candidate who faces comment on this is Jimmy Carter in his fundamentalist beliefs. Is that something a candidate should have to speak to?*

A: I don't know. I think basic values ought to be talked about, but I don't know that a person's spiritual life should be a great public interest. I handle the job. I think a person is what he has been. What kind of impact his training has had is worth examination and is a point for genuine inquiry, but I'm running for president, not for pastor or pope. It may be of interest to some and I'll try to respond as candidly as I can. But I'm on politics, not theology, on this trip.

Q: *You've been quoted as saying America's become a big sap for the rest of the world. How do you feel about the Kissinger-Ford foreign policy?*

A: I think it's sterile. I think it's reactive. I think we need a foreign policy based on a sense of the global realities in which we find ourselves. I think we need a planetary realism, that takes into account not just the military positioning of the various powers but the real and true threat to the human species that is brought about not just by nuclear proliferation — which is very great — but also because of the inability to feed the people of this planet, the potential for serious ecological dislocation, the potential for resource depletion. We're becoming a very interdependent people.

Q: *What's to be done?*

A: If we're to pass on to future generations a world such as we've received, the larger powers are going to have to make a greater commitment to preserve the oceans, protect the enivorment, to forge alliances, agreements and understandings which use the bounty of this planet in a way that husbands resources for generations to come. That is going to take a change in the way our technology and economic development goes forward. This country has led the world in technology and development and I'd like to see it now turn in a more benign direction. This is as important as arguing about B1 bombers and cruise missiles. Unless that includes a more global consciousness I don't think we're going to win the respect of other countries or that much enthusiasm is going to be generated at home. We were No. 1 in Vietnam in planes and bullets and napalm and all sorts of things. But we lost. We lost because we didn't have the right idea at the right place or the right time. The precondition for strength as a country is the confidence, solidarity and patriotism of the people at home. That comes from a foreign policy that makes sense, that's open and that takes into account the changing nature of the world — the demands and needs of people everywhere. I don't see that flowing out of the present administration.

Q: *Any thoughts on how a Brown administration would deal with the Congress?*

A: The same way I deal with the California legislature. I think we have excellent relations. There's the normal tension that has to exist under our executive-legislative system, but I work very much with them. I recognize them as an important equal branch of government with an important role. Rightfully.

Q: *What has struck you about the process of being a candidate?*

A: Well, the only process I've really seen so far is running for governor. Let me try it for a while. I have a certain unity in my life, whether it's sitting in my office talking to a group of people or running for president. I'm the same person. I have to get up in the morning and go to bed at night. That's about it. I go from one place to the next.

Carl T. Rowan

What will liberate the North from prejudices, hatreds?

There may be two places in the world where people are abusing their fellow citizens with greater bestiality than in Boston — perhaps in Lebanon and Northern Ireland.

Yet, although Bostonians have badgered, beaten and bombed each other for more months than we can remember, one gets the strange feeling that most Americans would rather focus on the wicked horrors of Beirut and Belfast than on the madness tnat is Boston.

It is fascinating, for example, to compare press and public attitudes toward South Boston's fight against integrated schools with the attitudes expressed when Little Rock was fighting to retain Jim Crow schools two decades ago.

Little Rock's name became the symbol of blind racism. New businesses stopped locating in Arkansas as firms had trouble getting executives to move their families there. The name of Arkansas's governor, Orval Faubus, became a household word, with pundits at track meets saying of the 100-yard dash champion, "He ran faster than Orval Faubus going through Harlem!"

Boston and Massachusetts are not castigated the way Little Rock and Arkansas were, which may indeed reflect an anti-South media bias. It may also reflect the fact that the governor of Massachusetts has not championed Jim Crow the way Faubus did. In fact, one irony of the Boston mess is the way Gov. Michael S. Dukakis and Boston's Mayor Kevin White seemed for a long time to be trying to get as little involved in the South Boston conflict as possible.

As for the press, we recall that the Arkansas Gazette won the most coveted prizes in journalism for its support of the Supreme Court and desegregation and its opposition to Faubus. These days if any Northern newspapers are courageously supporting Judge Arthur Garrity and his busing decisions, it is sure being kept a secret from the rest of the country.

The important truth is that a Nixon-Agnew era of the "white backlash," a period of racial violence, and a long-running propaganda spasm with the word "forced" stuck in front of busing have created a different climate in America. Faubus and the violent "rednecks" were clearly the villains in Little Rock, whereas some Americans look at the South Boston attackers of little school children as modern Paul Reveres.

Jimmy Carter has taken some hard licks because of that pitiful mental lapse in which he talked about "black intrusion," "alien groups" and his support for the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. But the Boston madness reminds me of something profound Carter keeps saying which doesn't get nearly the press attention it deserves.

"The Civil Rights laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1965, were the best thing that happened to the South in my lifetime; they have had a liberating effect on both whites and blacks in the South and on America in general."

The South was "liberated," albeit against its will, partly because millions of Southerners figured the South had wallowed long enough in old resentments and hatreds, had spent enough time in the ditch trying to "hold the nigger in his place."

Now it's Northern communities like Boston which are shackled by the old prejudices, hatreds and fears that a lot of Northerners have spent a century and more pretending they did not have.

Those civil rights laws of the mid-1960s liberated the South. But who in the mid-1970s has a law, a decree, any formula that will liberate the North?

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Carter Aides Distribute Fouled Up Cards

By DAVID MORRISON

Jimmy Carter's Georgia campaign launched an extensive canvassing effort in Fulton County last week to put a three-by-five-inch card in the hands of as many voters as possible.

The cards tell the voters which ballot positions to punch to elect Carter delegates to the nation convention.

There was only one problem: the cards were fouled up.

"They can really goof themselves up like that," said Fulton County Elections Supervision Thomas C. Malone Jr. "And that's all we need. This election's confused enough as it is."

What happened is that Carter campaign volunteers passed out the small cards to remind voters they had to vote at 11 places on the ballot to send Carter delegates to the convention — once for Carter in the "beauty contest," once for each of six pledged delegates and once each for four alternates.

However, on the cards, alternate Lillian Shepherd was listed at delegate Mildred Glover's place on the ballot, and vice versa. Then alternates Jack Watson and Shepherd appeared in the listing of the regular delegates. And only two names were listed under Carter's alternate delegates running in the Fifth Congressional District.

"It was the printer's mistake," said Connie Plunkett, Georgia coordinator for the Carter campaign. "I can guarantee you that a majority of the palm cards got taken back to the printer, because we took back boxes and boxes of them."

All 100,000 that were printed?

"Well, what happened is we had some volunteers come in who were ready to go and they apparently opened some of the packets and went on out and distributed the cards before we caught the mistake."

HHH Considers Declaring

By ANDREW GLASS
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Hubert Humphrey pondered Wednesday night whether to openly declare his presidential candidacy in a bid to block Jimmy Carter's virtually open path to the Democratic nomination.

The dramatic scope of Carter's victory in Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary has cut to shreds the campaigns of his remaining active opponents — compelling Humphrey to reach a critical decision on his political future long before July's national convention.

As the sun set behind the Capitol, Humphrey remained closeted with top political advisers in his Senate office. An aide said after the three-hour meeting that the senator would issue a statement before noon Thursday.

"The one thing we don't need is to be in a hurry," the 64-year-old Minnesota senator, a former vice president and veteran of three presidential campaigns, told reporters.

"I would be less than honest if I didn't tell you that today has not been one of the easiest days in my life, even though it's been an interesting one," he added.

Members of Humphrey's advisory group warned him that a massive shift of uncommitted delegates to the Carter camp would soon occur unless Humphrey moved iwthout delay to head off the threatened stampede.

The best guess in Washington was that Humphrey would abandon his shadow candidacy in a matter of days and sing a letter authorizing his supporters to form an "exploratory committee" to work in his behalf. Such a group would form a political vehicle for anti-Carter forces in the party to hold fast until a convention showdown.

While the Minnesota senator was taking calls from party leaders urging him to run, the former Georgia governor was placing calls to un-committed delegates, urging them to get on his bandwagon.

Said Carter: "If we come out of the last primaries on June 8 — in California, New Jersey and Ohio — with 1,000 delegates, we'll be so far ahead [illegible] the other candidates that we'll be very difficult to stop."

"But," he added, before flying from Philadelphia to his Georgia home, "nothing is certain in politics."

Carter — who leaped from obscurity to a dominant position in his party in the last 16 months — said the first phase of his campaign, in which he sought "to show broad-based popular support," had come to a close with his Pennsylvania triumph.

With 99 per cent of the vote counted in Pennsylvania the totals were: Carter, 506,898 (37 per cent); Henry Jackson, 337,060 (25 per cent); Morris Udall, 256,394 (19 per cent); George Wallace, 155,911 (11 per cent); Ellen McCormack, 39,303 (3 per cent); Milton Shapp, 35,851 (3 per cent); Birch Bayh, 16,837 (1 per cent); and Fred Harris, 13,808 (1 per cent).

In the delegate race, with 90 per cent of the vote in, Carter led with 64 delegates. Udall had 22, Jackson 19, Shapp 17 and Wallace 3. There were 46 uncommitted delegates, and races for seven delegates had not been tabulated.

Carter said his campaign was entering a new phase in which he would stress the need to unite the party behind him. Meantime, he said, he would busy himself with the task of "accumulating delegates" while preparing a line of attack to use against President Ford in the November election.

Carter even brashly fished for a Humphrey endorsement.

Before leaving Philadelphia Wednesday, Carter said, "My major effort from now on, since I've successfully completed the first phase of my campaign, is to prove I have strength among all kinds of Democrats in all kinds of states. I would like very much to have Sen. Humphrey's endorsement."

Asked whether the Minnesotan should stay on the sidelines or enter the last primary open to him — New Jersey on June 8 — Carter replied, "I don't care."

But the Humphrey camp was talking instead of how best to derail the intruder from Georgia.

In Humphrey's eyes, it was impossible for him to move so long as Jackson's organization and labor-backed candidacy was viable, if only because so many of Jackson's supporters were potentially Humphrey supporters.

The Big One

When they write the history of the 1976 presidential campaign, the Pennsylvania primary is going to be singled out as the most important.

It proved some things that needed proving. Jimmy Carter had already demonstrated a broad voter appeal in his string of early victories, and Pennsylvania overwhelmingly confirmed this appeal. Pennsylvania proved that Carter's appeal can be as potent in a major northern industrial state as it is elsewhere. Pennsylvania proved that voters won't support Scoop Jackson just to further a rickety and complicated plan to maneuver Hubert Humphrey into the nomination.

And, most encouraging of all, Pennsylvania proved that the voters may listen politely to the big labor bosses, the big city bosses and the boys from the smoke-filled rooms, but then they go out and vote the way they want to. That's the best news for our democracy to come out of Pennsylvania since 1776.

Jackson, the man for whom Labor fell down on the job, says he's staying in the race but revising his strategy to avoid such humiliation in the future. Objective observers are saying he may stay in, but in fact he's out.

Pennsylvania proved once again that the liberal label is an albatross around the neck of any candidate, even those who, like Morris Udall, scratch out that word and substitute "progressive." Udall got a nice, respectable vote which reflected pretty accurately where liberals stand in the political scheme of things—roughly a poor third.

Pennsylvania proved that a candidate with people-appeal can overcome the combined efforts of the entrenched political powers. The Democratic political picture, still somewhat murky Tuesday morning, is now as clear as Georgia's skies. The race is between Carter, who is running hard, and Humphrey, who has been running while pretending not to.

Hubert Humphrey is the grand old man of the Democratic party, but his present position is not an inspiring one. He is letting other men get themselves bloodied in the primary front lines while he lolls around in the rear areas dispensing advice and moral guidance to all who will listen. Humphrey, in short, seems to want something for nothing—and that, in this stretch of our history, is precisely the wrong attitude for a politician to adopt. People are tired of those who want something for nothing. Humphrey's record is a respectable one, but he has had a chance and he has proven he can lose. Carter has now proven, convincingly, that he can win.

A surprise in the Pennsylvania primary—which seemed to have just about everything—was that Carter won not only the "beauty contest," which was expected, but the delegate contest, which was not. And he did it by an impressive margin. This again says something nice about the intelligence of the voters.

Carter has suggested that if he continues to win in the primaries and pile up delegates, and is then somehow shunted aside at the convention, that won't sit well with the electorate. This has been interpreted as a threat to split, but it isn't. It is a simple recognition that people are fair-minded and will want the nomination to go to the candidate who has demonstrated his appeal.

Those who still hope for an "open convention," this year's code words for a brokered convention and a nominee chosen by horse trading behind the scenes, are now on the ropes and gasping. Unless the Democratic party is suicidal (entirely possible, history shows) it is not going to risk turning off vast segments of the voting population by saying, in effect, "You people had your fun in the primaries, now us old pros will tell you who the nominee is going to be."

Gerald Ford would just love for that to happen.

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F.F

Hal Gulliver

Making of a Political Phenomenon

PHILADELPHIA—The high shrill ear-shattering Rebel Yell made it sound at the least that the Yankees were coming again, and it attracted an immediate crowd to the dapper white-haired man in the ballroom of the Sheraton Hotel here. He was standing in front of one of the several television sets around the room, and he yelled a couple more times for good measure as people crowded towards him.

It was only minutes after the polls closed in Pennsylvania, and the results were coming in earlier than expected with the first signs of Jimmy Carter's stunning victory in this large industrial state.

The Rebel Yeller, one Lewis Flynn of Thomasville, grinned almost as widely as his candidate tends to do as the first returns were reported on the television screen. He has something else in common with Carter, being a peanut farmer, though he has several other farming and business interests as well. Flynn and wife Diane are among the Georgians who invaded Pennsylvania the week before to campaign actively for James Earl Carter of Plains. Mrs. Flynn reports that it was an incredible week, one they would not have missed. The results on election night make it all seem more exciting than ever.

It is exciting, and not just for Georgians.

Jimmy Carter's national campaign for the White House is without question the most remarkable political phenomenon in the nation since Wendell Willkie emerged from nowhwere more than 30 years ago to capture the Republican presidential nomination.

The nearest comparisons to the Carter campaign go back, perhaps not to Willkie, but to the campaigns of 1956 and 1960 on the Democratic side.

In 1956, Sen. Estes Kefauver rode out of Tennessee wearing his coonskin hat and began furiously shaking hands and courting voters in primary states. Kefauver was a remarkable person-to-person campaigner. Carter himself is genuinely flattered when some older Democrats occasionally remark that Carter works as hard at campaigning as did Sen. Kefauver. But Kefauver was relatively weak on planning and organization beyond that great skill at face-to-face campaigning. He probably never really had a chance at the presidential nomination of his party, though he did receive second place on the Democratic ticket with Adlai Stevenson in 1956.

Carter's campaign has however more in common in many ways with the John F. Kennedy campaign of 1960. Kennedy was a good campaigner certainly but he was also a planner and an organizer. Carter has considerable skill, as did Kennedy, in attracting and using bright and competent staff people and volunteer workers. No candidate in memory has succeeded, neither Kennedy nor Kefauver, in persuading literally hundreds of citizens from his home state (like the Flynns) to spend their own money and days and weeks of their time to go to states halfway across the country to knock on doors and campaign actively.

Carter and his closest advisers believe that Pennsylvania, as Carter put it, "wiped out" his active opposition for the Democratic presidential nomination. There clearly exists still some ABC (Anybody But Carter) sentiment within Democratic ranks and Sen. Hubert Humphrey clearly still waits in the wings in hopes that the Carter momentum will falter, giving him a chance to become the presidential nominee. But there seems less and less chance of such compromise moves after Carter's stunning win in Pennsylvania and the very likely possibility that he will do well in Texas and Louisiana primaries this Saturday and in Georiga and Alabama and Indiana primaries next Tuesday.

Of course Carter could blunder in some fashion, and that would change the odds. But as a number of national media types have observed, the most significant thing about the "ethnic purity" controversy may really be that Carter indeed put his foot in his mouth, yet then recovered, remaining very cool under considerable pressure and coming through the controversy without suffering any mortal political damage. It is that kind of race under pressure which is appreciated by the Democratic party political pros who have doubts about Carter, in part simply because they felt they did not really know him.

Theodore White wrote in his first "Making of a President" book about the 1960 campaign that a national presidential bid often emerges from a state political party which happens to be full of energy and vitality and competence. That is true in a real sense of the Carter campaign. Carter personally has enormous energy and stamina and drive. He worked hard at being governor while holding that office in Georgia, yet seemingly found time to begin planning all the details of a national political campaign. His chief staffers in that effort worked for him in his successful governor's campaign, some going as far back even as his first run for the governorship in 1966. Hamilton Jordan, now national campaign director, was Carter's executive secretary, then went off to Washington to work for a year or so for the national Democratic committee, part of a conscious effort to begin getting ready for Carter's national campaign. Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary at the state capitol, now handles the national press with considerable good humor and skill amid the routine confusions of the campaign trail. To call Gerald Rafshoon the campaign ad man is a bit like calling a Stradivarius a fiddle; Rafshoon goes back to the 1966 Carter campaign, and he is as much adviser and friend as ad man, though his political advertising for the Carter campaign gets high marks.

These are some of the familiar faces of the Carter campaign, going back to Carter's statewide political races, and they were all on hand at the Carter headquarters at the Sheraton Hotel Tuesday night.

Georgia State Rep. Ben Brown was on hand, one of the key black supporters who has meant so much to the Jimmy Carter campaign. It is one of the remarkable sides to this campaign that a white Southerner has received his most consistent and significant early voting support from black voters over the nation, a tribute to the efforts of Rep. Brown and Atlanta Congressman Andrew Young and Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., and a host of others. Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson's recent endorsement of Carter will undoubtedly help add to this basic and key segment of what might be called the Carter coalition.

But there were the new faces too, and a major reason for Carter's success has been this ability to attract good people.

Pat Caddell was there, the young professional pollster out of Harvard who did an incredible job for George McGovern in 1972 and who this year has gradually (after swearing privately he would never become so involved with a candidate again) developed into a Carter booster of the

ENER

highest order. Tim Kraft was around, the gifted one who put together the Carter organization in Iowa, where Carter's surprising strength in the first caucus state initially caught national attention. And there was Phil Wise, the son of an old close friend of Carter's from Sumter County, who coordinated the Florida organization which put together Carter's win over Alabama Governor George Wallace.

There were also some relatively new faces on hand, people yet who are already playing significant roles in the national campaign.

Dick Weinstein, a Connecticut attorney who is now director nationally of Citizens for Carter, was on the scene. Weinstein, like Caddell, has found himself gradually pulled more and more into the campaign. He says he was on a kind of "sabbatical" from his law firm in Florida when he got involved in helping Carter, first only in Florida, and now over the country. Another clear asset for the Carter national effort is another attorney, William J. vanden Heuvel. Heuvel is a New York attorney, was a friend and admirer of the late Sen. Robert Kennedy and was active in Kennedy's 1968 campaign until it ended with the tragic assassination in California. He worked to help Carter in the New York primary and has now undertaken functioning as "issues" adviser, probably expecting to travel with Carter a fair amount of the time. He is good and has already done his homework. A news magazine reporter asked Heuvel on the press bus, what had Carter's position on Vietnam been several years ago? Heuvel was able immediately to quote a Carter statement from February 1971, made only a month after Carter had taken office as governor. Carter was pressed for details on an economic question at a reception-fundraiser in New Canaan, Conn., late one evening; Heuvel was on the telephone early the next morning seeking further details which Carter might use in future answers.

If Carter's national campaign continues its successful momentum, he will need such additional help.

What is already incredible however is that a Southerner, a former Georgia governor, has already emerged in this 1976 election year as the going-away frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination. He may yet become, as Carter himself told an audience jokingly one evening (though he certainly meant it too), the first farmer to sit in the White House since Thomas Jefferson.

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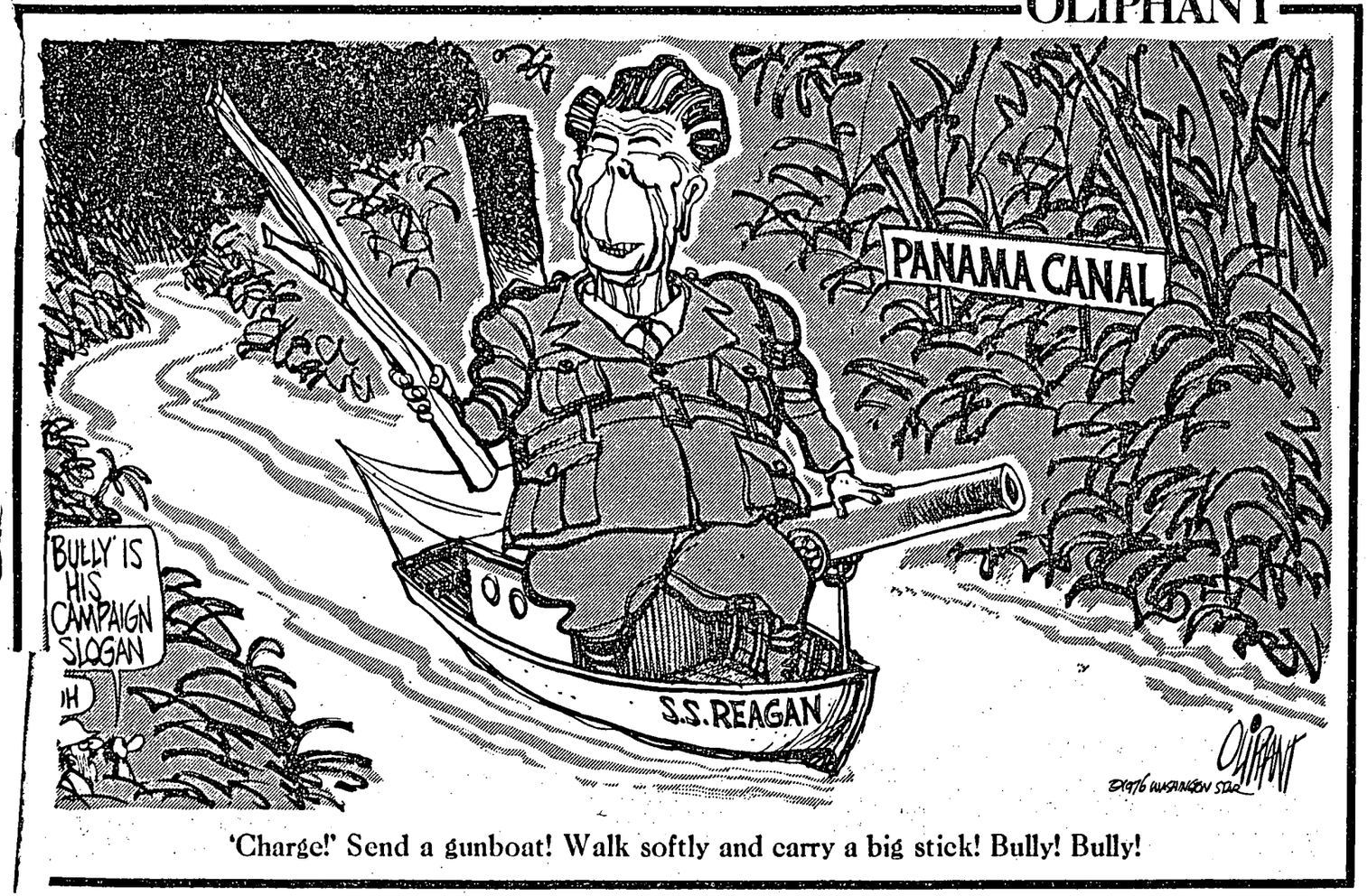


'Charge!' Send a gunboat! Walk softly and carry a big stick! Bully! Bully!

44.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/28

Totals With 95% Of Vote Counted

Carter 37%

Jackson 25%

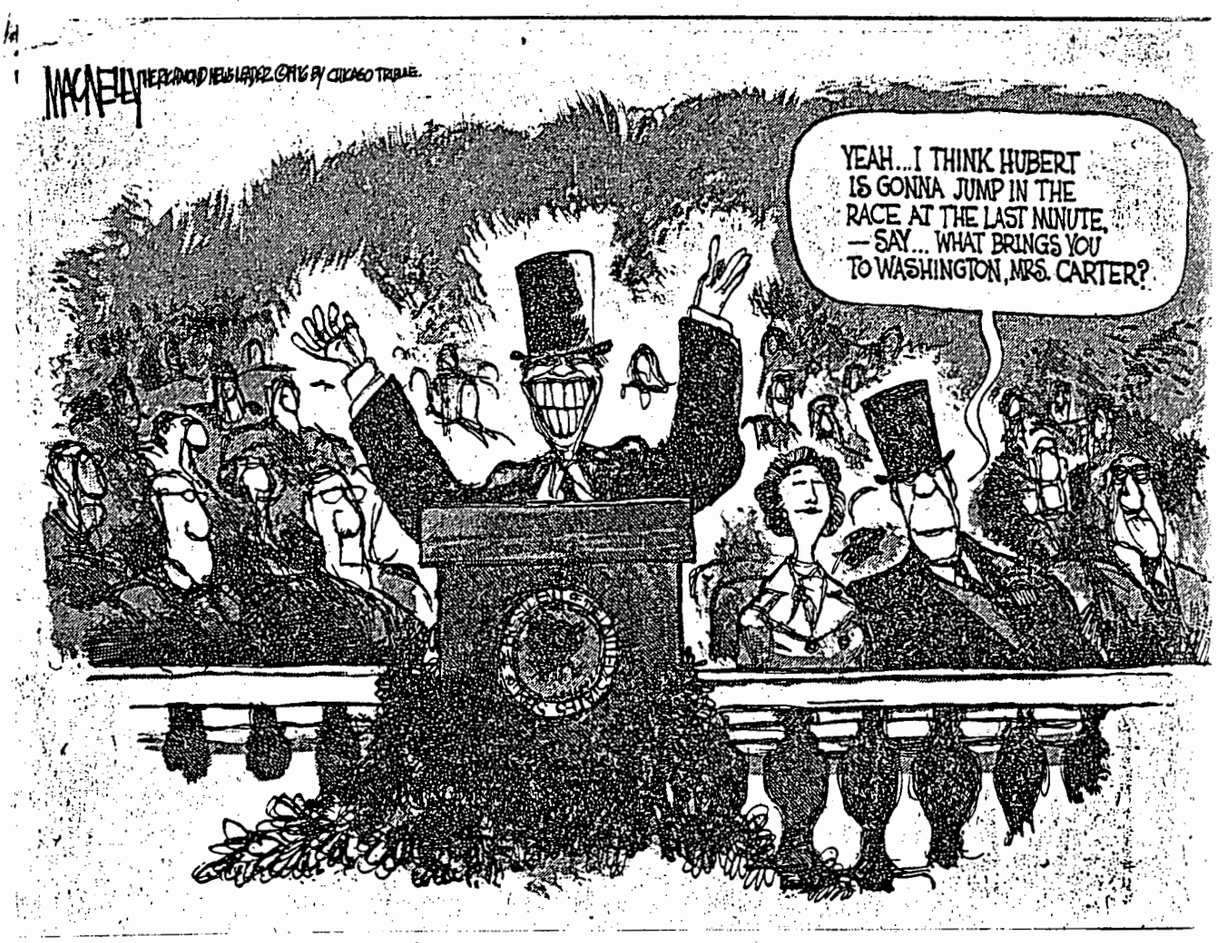
Udall 19%

Wallace 11%

Delegate Count 82% of Precincts In.

Carter 65 Udall 24

Uncommitted 42 Shapp 17



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News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, speaking in Zambia in what was billed as the major policy speech of his African visit, advanced a program of American actions aimed at forcing the white minority Government of Rhodesia to accept majority rule. He said he would urge Congress to repeal the legislation permitting importation of Rhodesian chrome in contravention of United Nations sanctions. Many African leaders were most impressed by his aim of urging other industrial nations to comply strictly with the sanctions. [Page 1, Columns 1-3.]

Prime Minister Ian D. Smith of Rhodesia announced a "new initiative" that would include blacks in his white minority government for the first time. He said four tribal chiefs would be sworn in today and that six other blacks would become deputy ministers. They were not named. Black nationalist leaders called the move "irrelevant," since the four chiefs already receive government salaries and it appeared doubtful that any of the others would represent the nationalists who demand immediate majority rule. [1:3.]

Pope Paul VI appointed 19 new Roman Catholic cardinals, including one American, Archbishop William Wakefield Baum of Washington, a native of Texas who has stressed the church's duty to combat racism and all other forces threatening human life and liberty. The names of two other new cardinals were not made public—a practice somesimes used for appointments made in Communist countries. [1:2.]

National

Jimmy Carter appeared from an early lead to be headed for victory in the pivotal Pennsylvania Democratic Presidential primary. Senator Henry M. Jackson seemed to have finished second with Representative Morris K. Udall a poor third and Gov. George C. Wallace, who hardly campaigned in the state, apparently trailing. The strong showing of the former Georgia Governor was achieved despite efforts by organized labor on Senator Jackson's behalf. A New York Times/CBS News poll of voters who had just cast ballots showed Mr. Carter with even stronger support among union members than Senator Jackson. [1:5-8.]

An American Airlines 727 jet crashed on landing at St. Thomas in the United States Virgin Islands. The Associated Press said 47 of the 85 persons on board had been killed. Initial accounts said the plane had landed long, run off the end of the runway and plunged into a gas station. The flight was from Providence, R.I., with additional passengers taken on at Kennedy International Airport in New York. [1:4.]

The Supreme Court ruled 5 to 3 that it is constitutional to convict a person for selling contraband such as drugs even when undercover agents or government informers were the initial suppliers and other undercover agents were the purchasers. [1:6-7.]

Vice President Rockefeller formally apologized in the Senate for his "unsubstantiated speculation" that two members of the staff of Senator Jackson had Communist ties. Both the Senator and leaders of both parties in the Senate immediately accepted the apology, heading off a possible investigation of the allegations. He also apologized to the unnamed staff members, who were reported to be Dr. Dorothy Fosdick and Richard N. Perle. [1:2-5.]

The Senate Rules Committee approved by 5 to 4 a move to require the proposed intelligence oversight committee to share its jurisdiction with the four committees that now have that role. This watering-down of the key proposal of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities is expected to lead to a major floor battle. [1:6-8.]

Metropolitan

James J. Needham, the first full-time chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, resigned under pressure almost two years before his contract was to expire. William M. Batten, a director of the exchange since 1972 and a former chairman of the J. C. Penney Company, will succeed him May 19. The head of a leading brokerage house remarked that Mr. Needham had not done anything wrong but it was felt that he "just didn't measure up to the job." [1:5.]

The new court mandate for wage increases for police officers will affect only the current budget but it could cause much more serious fiscal and labor problems, according to officials of the Beame administration. First Deputy Mayor John E. Zuccotti said that if upheld, it would force the city to find $26 million for wages and fringe benefits in the current year, but would not affect the rest of the three-year austerity plan. [1:1.]

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The New York Times

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CARTER SEEMS ON WAY TO VICTORY IN PENNSYLVANIA WITH JACKSON 2D, FOLLOWED BY UDALL AND WALLACE

The New York Times/Eric Hoffman

Jimmy Carter cleared a little girl's hair from her eyes while campaigning in Hartford

A New Gain for Carter

He Leads a Necessary Industrial State, But Humphrey's Shadow Is Lengthening

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

PHILADELPHIA, April 27—Jimmy Carter's strong showing in the Pennsylvania primary today established him, for the moment, as the most likely Democratic nominee for President. Although the results of the separate delegate races were still unclear, the Georgian's performance in the preferential vote gave him the results in an industrial state he had sorely needed.

News Analysis

Nevertheless, the ominous shadow of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota fell across Mr. Carter's path to the nomination. A poll of primary voters by The New York Times and CBS News showed that if Mr. Humphrey's name had been on the ballot, he would have won with about half the total vote.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Humphrey are likely in the next two and one-half months to be the principal contestants for the nomination—Mr. Carter attempting to approach a majority of the delegates for further primary and caucus victories, Mr. Humphrey and his allies attempting to keep things fluid through favorite-son candidacies and uncommitted slates.

What happened in Pennsylvania, however, cannot have encouraged Mr. Humphrey. His prospects of promoting a stalemate have always depended, to a degree, on the ability of other active candidates to drain strength away from Mr. Carter, and no one now seems potent enough to do so.

The results here make Mr. Carter the odds-on favorite in

Continued on Page 20, Column 3

A PIVOTAL CONTEST

Showing by Georgian Is Achieved Despite Labor Opposition

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 27—Jimmy Carter tonight jumped to an early lead, and appeared headed toward victory, in Pennsylvania's pivotal Democratic Presidential primary.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington was running second and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona a poor third. Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who hardly campaigned in the state, was in fourth place, well behind the leaders.

These estimates of the positions of the candidates were based on projections from a poll by The New York Times and CBS News of 1,506 Democratic voters questioned after they cast their ballots. Such a survey is considered more broadly representative of the state as a whole than scattered early returns.

With 65 of 9,638 precincts reporting, the tally was:

Carter 2,325 (38%)
Jackson 1,459 (24%)
Udall 1,227 (20%)

Mr. Carter's strong showing here was achieved despite efforts by organized labor in Senator Jackson's behalf. The New York Times/CBS News poll of voters who had just cast ballots showed the former Georgia Governor with even stronger support than Senator Jackson among union members.

Moreover, Mr. Carter's remarks about "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods, seen as a possible blow to his campaign, seemed not to have damaged it at all. The poll indicated that, as he had in the past, Mr. Carter did well among black voters, considerably better than Senator Jackson and Representative Udall.

pg. 20 col 1

C

Carter Appears Leader In Pennsylvania Primary

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

Campaign Strategies

Although Mr. Carter had won six of the first eight primaries this year, he sought victory here to promise that he could win against major opposition in a heavily populated, Northern industrial state. In contrast, Senator Jackson suffered a severe blow to his campaign since his essential strategy was to concentrate on and win convincingly in such large states as Pennsylvania, thereby proving his appeal in the regions necessary for a general election victory in the autumn.

The results of the convention delegate contest were still uncertain, with more than 1,000 men and women seeking 134 places.

Mr. Carter, the 51-year-old Southerner with the soft voice and the big smile, achieved his strong showings in the preferential voting today against formidable opposition, including the vaunted machinery of organized labor.

Pennsylvania unions, committed to Senator Jackson, but even more deeply committed to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, tried to create a "stop Carter" movement, using manpower and money to thwart the Georgian's momentum in Senator Humphrey's behalf.

Senator Jackson was endorsed here in Philadelphia by Mayor Frank L. Rizzo and Peter J. Camiel, chairman of the local party, and he was the beneficiary of Gov. Milton J. Shapp's statewide organization and the apparatus of the state Democratic Party.

Further, Mr. Carter came into Pennsylvania immediately after his notable remarks on "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods, and his previous strong appeal in the black community was thought to be jeopardized.

Still, against this array of impediments, Mr. Carter continued the quiet-spoken, homiletic campaign that brought him a string of primary victories in New Hampshire, Vermont, Florida, North Carolina, Illinois and Wisconsin.

Apology By Carter

He apologized for the "ethnic purity" statements, brought in several prominent black leaders who campaigned for him, picked up the endorsement of Mayor Peter Flaherty of Pittsburgh and outspent his opponents in the purchase of television and radio advertising.

From time to time, he raised the "stop Carter" movement as an example of, as he said on one occasion, "the lengths to which some people will go to subvert the will of the people."

The voter turnout was apparently modest, less than half the total registration, and in western Pennsylvania, there was unusually cold weather and even some snow.

Mr. Carter had said he would do well in the state if the turnout was good and he had predicted that labor's effort to defeat him would actually be to his advantage. He had also strongly criticized Mayor Rizzo, accusing him of "bossim" and suggesting that he was more of a liability to Senator Jackson than an asset.

The ballot that confronted the voters was a complex one containing not only the candidates in the preferential contest but the delegate races as well—and that, too, was seen as an advantage for Senator Jackson since the candidate with strong organizational support generally fares better with a complicated ballot.

But, like all the other advantages Senator Jackson had in Pennsylvania, that one seemed also not to be a factor in the voting.

Despite its substantial significance in the nominating process, the campaign here, by recent standards at least, seemed ordinary.

Issues were generally vague and fuzzy. Julia Lemasters, a Philadelphia matron was disturbed by what she called the "emptiness" of the campaign. "You know, I read that Carter was a nonissues candidate," she said after voting in a center-city precinct, "But if you want my opinion, that's what they all are."

Mrs. Lemasters may not have been typical of the state's 2.8 million registered Democrats, but she shared with many of them a general lack of excitement about the election in Pennsylvania, where politics have usually been entertainly volatile.

Senator Jackson did stress his commitment to reducing unemployment, but so did Representative Udall and Mr. Carter. Similarly, all three steadfastly deplored bureaucratic sloth and ineptitude, vigorously championed a strong, national defense, and promised a variety of tax reforms.

Still, when the sun rose on primary day, bringing with it a clear sky and crisp temperatures, the public perception of the candidates seemed no more affected by issues than when they began their efforts here several weeks ago.

The freeze on Federal funds may have been partly responsible. Hamstrung financially, the candidates spent relatively picayune sums on television and radio advertising — less than $250,000 in all in a state where individual gubernatorial and senatorial candidates have laid out as much as $1 million for broadcast time in past elections.

Representative Udall's campaign seemed especially impoverished. When the telephone company raised the amount of its service-deposit from $200 to $500 shortly before the campaign began, the Arizona Congressman's forces where unable to install telephones in some of the local offices across the state.

"You ever try to run a telephone survey without a telephone?" Gary Mitchell, a Udall-worker in Williamsport, lamented last week.

Similarly, Senator Jackson's financial resources were such that he was forced to travel the vast reaches of the state by automobile and scheduled airplane. One afternoon, for example, nearly four hours of valuable time was lost in a drive from Reading to Philadelphia.

Mr. Carter, on the other hand, crisscrossed the state in a large jet plane chartered from United Airlines. While his funds were dangerously low at one point, his financial staff redoubled its efforts, and contributions once again began to flow into his headquarters in Atlanta.

Better Organization

The Carter campaign appeared better organized as well and seldom suffered from the scheduling disasters that often plagued Representative Udall. Last week, for instance, a traffic jam in Philadelphia caused Mr. Udall to miss a scheduled flight to Pittsburgh. A hastily arranged charter finally landed in Pittsburgh after three of the four events he was to attend were over.

The delay was fortunate, one Udall aide said, since one of the activities planned that evening for Mr. Udall was handshaking at a drive-in movie showing "All the President's Men." It was generally agreed within the campaign organization that it probably was not such a good idea anyway.

Senator Jackson's problems here ranged from his reluctant liaison with Mayor Rizzo, not a universally popular figure, to his ear for language.

In Pittsburgh last week, Gov. Ella T. Grasso of Connecticut, who is of Italian descent, shepherded the Senator through an Italian-American neighborhood, speaking Italian all the way. He said little but shook every hand in sight and turned as they were about to leave a small grocery to say, "Muchas gracias."

Still Senator Jackson ran very hard, seeking his second victory of the year, and his workhorse disciplines impressed many old political hands in Pennsylvnvania.

"If you could just translate his work into votes, he'd be a winner," said Peter J. Camiel, chairman of the Philadelphia Democratic City Committee.

Mr. Carter, on the other hand, ran an equally arduous race—but he appeared relaxed and at ease. At stop after stop, those who saw him and met him were often struck by the time he spent with voters and the soft inflections of his Georgia drawl.

"He could put you to sleep the way he talks," Mrs. Lemasters said outside her polling place here. "But he doesn't."

Mr. Carter slept in Newark, N.J. before returning to Pennsylvania on primary day and to Philadelphia to await the returns in a local hotel.

Senator Jackson spent most of the day in Washington, where Vice President Rockefeller apologized publicly to him for suggesting that there were Communists on his staff, and returned to Philadelphia in the late afternoon.

Representative Udall campaigned in Baltimore during the day, dining with a group of Maryland supporters and telling them they should not be discouraged by his lack of victories in primaries thus far. He also returned here in the evening to await the verdict of the voters.

Carter Breakthrough Toward Nomination

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

the primaries in Indiana next Tuesday and in Nebraska on May 11, where he was already well-positioned.

In Texas, which votes Saturday, the former Georgia Governor must face his first favorite-son opponent, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen. John White, the State Agricultural Commissioner, who is one of Mr. Bentsen's managers, conceded last week that Pennsylvania might give Mr. Carter a good chance in Texas.

U.A.W. Backing

Finally, in Michigan, whose primary falls on May 18, Mr. Carter will probably now receive the politically valuable endorsement of Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers, which has been delayed several times.

Even if Mr. Woodcock remains silent, the Georgian's prospects in Michigan seem good, if the Pennsylvania pattern is repeated. For all the stop-Carter rhetoric from union leaders here, the Times/CBS poll of voters after they had cast their ballots showed Mr. Carter as the first choice of union members.

Mr. Carter's chances of success in the May and June primaries and caucuses would be further enhanced, of course, by the withdrawal of either or both of his two main active rivals, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who appeared to have finished second and third in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jackson has exhibited great staying power in the past, stubbornly refusing to pull out of the race in 1972 even when he admitted that his chances of nomination had vanished. And Mr. Udall has come this far despite losing every primary.

Weakness in Strategies

But both were crippled here, not only by Mr. Carter's showing but also by the weakness in their own strategies, evident in the results in the Times/CBS News poll.

Mr. Udall had nursed private hopes that he would somehow finish second in Pennsylvania, as he had in four earlier primary states. But he did not, largely because he was unable to break out of his largely suburban, liberal constituency into the mainstream of Democratic voters.

Mr. Jackson not only saw his big-state strategy demolished by Mr. Carter; he had also found himself publicly and perhaps permanently labeled a stalking horse for Mr. Humphrey.

"People may vote for a surrogate," said one of Mr. Jackson's friends of his plight, "but they won't give him money."

Both Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson have been so hurt for funds that they have had to curtail drastically their spending for advertising; now they will find it even harder to raise money at precisely the moment when they need advertising to fight losing images.

The Senator apparently had premonitions of trouble in Pennsylvania. He met this afternoon with members of his strategy council, and some of them reportedly pressed him to quit the race.

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of Mr. Jackson's run here was his failure to capitalize on the support of the heirarchy of organized labor. According to The Times/CBS News poll, nearly half the Democrats who cast ballots today belong to labor unions, but they voted for Mr. Carter in almost precisely the same proportions as other voters.

There were signs that the solid support of labor, the city Democratic organization and Mayor Frank L. Rizzo in Philadelphia helped Mr. Jackson. He narrowly beat Mr. Carter in eastern Pennsylvania.

But in the western part of the state, where resentment against Philadelphia runs high, Senator Jackson paid the price, trailing the Georgian almost 2 to 1. Statewide, Mr. Carter capitalized on the unpopularity of Mr. Rizzo, whom he accused of bossism, running far ahead of Mr. Jackson among the 60 percent of voters who viewed Mayor Rizzo unfavorably.

Little Effect

By all indications, Mr. Carter's comments about neighborhood "ethnic purity" played little role in the outcome.

Only one voter in five said he had been influenced by the issue, and even among those who said they had, Mr. Carter roughly equaled his statewide percentage. He also showed equivalent strength among those who thought the Government should push for black housing in ethnic neighborhoods and among those who thought that it should not.

It had been thought that the issue might hurt Mr. Carter among blacks, with whom he had proved popular in earlier primaries. But he won more than 40 percent of the black vote, easily outdistancing Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall.

Mr. Carter's evangelical Christianity stood him in good stead here. He approached a majority among white Protestants, doing especially well among those of German or Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry, many of whom are fundamentalists.

Among Roman Catholics, Mr. Jackson was stronger, but not strong enough to win a plurality of the Catholic vote—a major failing for a candidate making his basic pitch to an urban, working-class constituency. Among Jews, Mr. Jackson's record of support for Israel gave him a sweep, but Jews are not numerous enough in Pennsylvania to guarantee victory as they did in New York.

For Mr. Carter, the demise of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama as a serious contender was also a boon. Four years ago, the Alabamian ran second here in the primary, with 21 percent of the vote. Today he ran fourth, with about half of that, and almost a third of the 1972 Wallace voters, according to the poll, opted for Mr. Carter this time.

E

Carter and Jersey's Party Leaders Clash

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, April 27—Jimmy Carter focused his Presidential campaign on New Jersey today as he attacked the state's Democratic Party organization and its chairman, who, he said, were attempting to bring about a "deadlocked, brokered" Democratic National Convention.

The former Georgia Governor suggested that Senator Humphrey should enter the primary as an active candidate, so that the New Jersey election on June 8, one of the last three primaries, could become a decisive contest between the two men.

While the Minnesota Senator has reiterated his intention to stay out of the primaries and New Jersey as an active candidate, Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. and Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., leaders of the party's uncommitted slate of delegates, are scheduled to meet with Mr. Humphrey tomorrow to redefine their stop-Carter strategies.

The primary's filing deadline is 4 P.M. Thursday. A number of Democrats supporting Mr. Humphrey are pressing him to become an active candidate in New Jersey.

State Senator James P. Dugan, Democratic state chairman, is the strategist of the uncommitted party position that is in fact a holding operation for Senator Humphrey. Mr. Dugan has contended that the party's uncommitted posture in behalf of Mr. Humphrey will be politically workable regardless of the outcome of today's primary election in Pennsylvania.

Jersey Held Key State

Mr. Carter told a news conference at the airport here early today that New Jersey and Ohio were the most important primaries remaining, and that New Jersey offered him the best opportunity to win the party's nomination.

Stopping here on a flight to Pennsylvania, Mr. Carter said that he intended to concentrate his efforts in New Jersey now that the Pennsylvania campaign had ended. Asked if he would like a "head to head" confrontation with Senator Humphrey in this state, Mr. Carter replied, "That would be fine with me."

Carter campaign officials arranged to have the predominantly black eighth-grade class from the 13th Avenue School here to ask the candidate questions.

"Do you favor school integration?" one student asked.

"I support school integration in all neighborhoods," Mr. Carter replied.

With 108 delegates, New Jersey will have the eighth largest block of votes at the national convention. The Presidential candidacy of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is seen by political leaders as foreclosing a major victory in California by other contenders; thus Ohio and New Jersey are considered as the major states to be contested in the final June 8 primaries.

While Mr. Carter has attacked uncommitted-delegate strategies in other states, saying that parties and leaders should stand for someone, his criticism of the party organization in New Jersey was unusually abrasive. So the stage appears to be set for a bitter fight between him and the state and local party organizations supporting Senator Humphrey.

Dugan Sharply Attacked

Earlier, before 60 Democrats at a 4100-a-person breakfast and later at the news conference, Mr. Carter sharply criticized Mr. Dugan.

"It is not in the best interest of New Jersey Democrats to have a state chairman trying to create a deadlocked, brokered convention," he said.

In response, Mr. Dugan issued a statement saying that Mr. Carter's remarks "simply show he is afraid that the Democrats of this state prefer Senator Humphrey as their candidate."

In another development, leaders of the state campaign of Representative Morris K. Udall announced the names of a 10-member statewide delegate slate. Like Mr. Carter, they said that the primary here could prove to be decisive, and that the Arizonan would remain in the race regardless of the Pennsylvania results.

The head of the Udall ticket will be Representative James J. Howard of Monmouth County and will include Bill Bradley, the New York Knicks basketball forward and Barbara Werbe, Bergen County Democratic chairman.

Besides Mr. Rodino and Senator Williams, the party's uncommitted statewide slate includes Mayors Paul T. Jordan of Jersey City and Kenneth A. Gibson of Newark. The Carter delegates will be announced tomorrow.

As for Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, his principal state supporters include Charles A. Marciante, president of the New Jersey American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Harry Lerner, Essex County Democratic chairman.

DEMOCRATIC VOTERS INTERVIEWED IN POLL

The New York Times and CBS News polled about 1,300 Democratic voters in Pennsylvania yesterday as they left the polling places. Thirty voting precincts were chosen in the state, and, within each precinct, each voter had an equal chance of selection.

There was no polling among Republicans in Pennsylvania because there was no competition for delegates to the Republican National Convention.

One possible source of error in a survey such as this is sampling error. One can say with 95 percent certainty that results based upon the entire sample differ by no more than 3 points, in either direction, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Democratic voters in Pennsylvania.

However, as in any survey of public opinion, this margin of error is undoubtedly somewhat larger because of unavoidable imperfections in the way the survey was constructed, and because some voters refused to be interviewed.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 election survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of Harvard University.

Wallace, Running Low on Cash, Prepares for Drive in Georgia

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By DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, April 27—George C. Wallace's fourth quest for the Presidency has seemed a highly improbable political exercise ever since his stingly primary defeats in Florida and North Carolina, but still the Alabama Governor continues, day after weary day.

Having completed two rigorous weeks of campaigning for Democratic delegates in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Texas, with no real hope of achieving a primary victory in those states he is now preparing for a swing through Georgia, where the state's former Governor, Jimmy Carter, seems a runaway favorite in the contest next Tuesday.

At almost every stop, Mr. Wallace is asked why he continues. He gives many answers.

In Philadelphia, he insisted that he was still "viable," despite obvious concern by the voters about the paralysis that has confined him to a wheelchair and despite the fact that other candidates have stolen many of his favorite conservative issues.

In San Antonio, he said that he would be a "broker" at the New York nominating convention, because "no condidate will go there with a majority of the delegates."

In Indianapolis, he said that his supporters "must be heard."

Funds Are Low

However, their voices are growing weaker. Sometimes only a few dozen show up to greet Mr. Wallace at the airport.

He is running low on campaign funds and seldom can afford to do more than hold a news conference at planeside. There is no longer enough cash for a motorcade into town, or a media blitx or a local campaign headquarters.

The Governor frequently appears fatigued, his face deeply lined, his smile faint, his speech listless.

Now and again he seems distracted, almost bored. A questioner in Amarillo, Tex., asked whether campaign issues were "political footballs." In reply, the Governor began talking about professional football.

He was schednled to spend last Thursday night in Indianapolis, then fly to Texas Friday morning. Rooms had been booked at an Indianapolis motel.

But after meeting with Indiana supporters and newsmen, the Governor suddenly ordered his plane to return to Montgomery. He spent the night in the Alabama capital, then resumed campaigning in Texas the next morning — "having gone 400 miles out of the way to sleep in his own bed, something we can hardly afford," one aide complained privately.

In Saturday's Texas primary and in the Georgia primary that will follow next Tuesday, Mr. Wallace faces a special chullenge. . Significant numbers of old-line Wallace supporters in both states are threatening to jump party lines and vote for Ronald Reagan in the Republican primuries sst for those dates.

Wisconsin Race Recalled

Defections hurt Mr. Wallace badly a few weeks ago in the Wisconsin pcimary, One of every four of his old supporters went over to Mr. Reagan, according to a poll conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.

But Mr. Wallace insishs that neither defections to the Republican camp nmr an endless string of Democratic primary defeats will force him out of the race.

"The only thinv that will make me quit is an empty campaign treasury," he told newsmen in Erie, Pu. "I won't go into debt."

Thus fur, the flow of campaign funfs has been sufficient to keep his Montgomery headquarters open and his rented jet in the air. A recent drivs raised $150,000, enough fmr three more weeks of campaigning, but there is no cash for frills.

1 A hundred campaign workers have been laid off, leaving a hard core of fewer than 30. Volunteers now do most of the advance work—when thsre is advance work—and the smooth coordination that was the trademark of the 1976 Wallace campaign in earlier days is gone.

As Mr. Wallace's jet flew over Pennsylvania the other day, an aide informed the Governor "Scotty Moore will be joining us."

"Who's Scotty Moore?" Mr. Wallace asked.

"He's your Pennsylvania state campaign chairman," the aide replied.

That is the way the Wallace campaign is going these days.

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The Washington Star

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How You Can Project Pennsylvania Vote Story

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — If you would like to make your own projections when the returns come in from the Pennsylvania primary tonight, it's a piece of cake. No computers are required. No analysts are needed. The results from five or six key areas across this massive state will tell you who is winning.

Philadelphia is, of course, the single most important because almost one-fourth of the state's 2.8 million Democrats live here. And, because he is supported by the organization of both Mayor Frank L. Rizzo and Democratic City Chairman Peter Camiel, Henry Jackson should win here by a comfortable margin — something over 50,000 votes — if he is to have any realistic chance of winning statewide.

IF THEY START reporting that Jackson is losing Philadelphia or even defeating Jimmy Carter narrowly here, you can go to bed because that means Carter has won it.

There are revealing areas within and just outside Philadelphia, as well.

See DEMOCRATS, B-7

DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

South Philadelphia is an Italian-American neighborhood that is the core of Rizzo's strength and should vote heavily for Jackson. The other half of South Philadelphia is heavily black, and Carter should win there. If Morris K. Udall is running even a respectably close second to Carter among black voters, it could mean the Georgia Democrat is in trouble.

The politicians here give Udall virtually no chance to win the statewide preferential vote. But the one place he must show strength if he is not to be embarrassed is in the suburbs around the city — most notably the 8th Congressional District, which is Bucks County. If Udall loses there, his claim to be the leader of the party's progressive wing is hollow.

ON THE WESTERN end of the state there are two other revealing areas. Pittsburgh's Mayor Peter J. Flaherty and his brother, Jim, who is chairman of the Allegheny County Board of Commissioners, have been backing Carter enthusiastically.

Allegheny-Pittsburgh has 485,000 registered Democrats, 140,000 fewer than Philadelphia, but they often vote more heavily. Despite the vocal union backing for Jackson, Carter should run at least even or slightly ahead there if he is to win statewide.

The best indicator may be Westmoreland County, a blue-collar area just east of Pittsburgh with 105,000 Democrats, most of them union men. If Carter wins there, then it is reasonable to conclude that the union effort for Jackson has been more form than substance.

Scranton and Wilkes-Barre, in the heart of the coal country, also should offer some clues on the effectiveness of labor backing for Jackson. If Carter wins in those communities, he is winning statewide.

Carter has made an intensive effort in many of the other smaller cities — Reading, Lancaster, Yorke, for example — and should lead Jackson in those areas by a substantial margin.

ONE POSSIBILITY that intrigues Democrats here is that Philadelphia and Pittsburgh may balance off one another. If that happens, Carter probably will carry the state because of his strength in the small towns and rural areas.

George C. Wallace, who has done little campaigning, is expected to run a weak fourth but may do better than that in western Pennsylvania. In 1972, the Alabama governor finished second in Pennsylvania largely on the strength of the support of blue-collar workers around Pittsburgh.

The size of the vote also may affect the outcome. It will run somewhere between 1 million and 1.4 million, and all the political professionals here seem to expect a turnout of no more than 35 to 40 percent, which would mean no more than 1.1 million. But most of these professionals favor Jackson, so this may be wishful thinking. Four years ago, when Hubert Humphrey won the primary with 35 percent of the vote, the statewide turnout was virtually 50 percent.

The election also involves the choice of 134 delegates, two or three for each of 50 state senate districts — to the Democratic National Convention. Another 44 will be chosen by the state committee in June and apportioned on the basis of the results today.

Some Democrats here believe Jackson could win the delegate competition even if he loses the popular vote, again because of the breadth of his organization support. But strategists in all three camps concede that what counts now is the popular vote.

The Washington Post

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Pa. Showdown

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, April 26 — More than a million Pennsylvania Democrats are expected to vote Tuesday in a primary that could be a giant step toward the presidential nomination for former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, but that strategists for Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington still say will be won by their man.

A victory for Carter here would be his first over Jackson in a major industrial state and would demolish Jackson's principal argument that Carter cannot deliver states the Democrats need to win in November. At the same time, Jackson needs a victory not only to keep that argument alive but also to stem growing pressure for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey to become an active contender.

Carter, buoyant over large crowds and favorable data from his pollster, Patrick Caddell, today predicted "a strong plurality" if the turnout is good.

The Caddell poll indicates Carter has more than 30 per cent of the vote, with three challengers—Jackson, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama — bunched up at about half that percentage each. The remaining undecided

See PRIMARY, A4, Col. 1

Carter Eyes Big Step Forward in Pa. Today

PRIMARY, From A1

votes are likely to go to the three challengers, Caddell said.

But Robert Keefe Jackson's campaign manager, expressed confidence that his man will win both the contest for 134 of the state's 178 convention delegates and the presidential preference or "beauty contest."

"People who think that Jackson is not going to be the choice of the people are going to be eating a little crow Wednesday morning," Keefe said.

Contrary to wide expectations that Carter might win the "beauty contest" comfortably but that Jackson might salvage the delegate race by dint of heavy party and labor organization support, Keefe said he thought results in the two parts of the primary would be similar.

Keefe conceded that labor's support was late in starting for Jackson, but he said the get-out-the-vote effort was in full gear now. He said that if Carter loses, with all the national publicity he has received, he should quit as a candidate who cannot win in a major industrial state.

But there is little likelihood that any of the competing candiates will withdraw from the race after the Pennsylvania vote, if only because federal matching money is due each of their campaigns and that fact alone is adequate incentive to press on.

The third actively contending candidate here, Udall, has said he hopes to finish second, Paul Tully, his Northeastern states regional coordinator, said, "We're going to give both of them a good run for second. We don't see any Jackson activity of note outside Philadelphia where Jackson has the backing of Mayor Frank L. Rizzo and part of Pittsburgh. And inside Philadelphia he's getting cut. Committeemen are saying they don't want him on the top of the Preferential ballot. I think we're going to see the end of Henry Jackson here. The body is moving but he's finished."

Udall, in a five-minute campaign talk on television tonight said that regardless of the Pennsylvania results, he will go on to the Maryland and Michigan primaries on May 18.

Wallace, who limited his campaigning here to a two-day swing of airport stops assuring voters he also is in the race to stay, is not considered a major factor in the state in which he ran second to Sen. Humphrey in 1972. Caddell's poll, however, is said to show Wallace in contention for second place along with Jackson and Udall.

When the polls close Tuesday at 8 p.m. EDT, voters—and the television networks reporting to them — will be focusing primarily on the "beauty contest," a report of the total popular vote having no bearing on delegate selection.

The delegates chosen in the separate part of the vote will be picked in 50 state senatorial districts, with 44 additional delegates selected later at a state convention. But the confusion of some officially uncommitted delegates who are actually backing Jackson or another candidate will make sorting out the delegate results difficult. Firm statistics may not be available until Wednesday.

Although others are saying that a clear Carter victory here will wrap up the nomination for him, or at least put him far down the road toward it, Carter himself has said he still "will have a long way to come."

It is obvious already, however, that Carter in anticipation of victory here, is looking ahead toward an expected post-primaries' challenge from Humphrey. In a talk at the Liberty Bell in downtown Philadelphia this noon, Carter, without specific reference to Humphrey, said:

"We can hand over our country to those who would raise themselves up to rule our lives. Or we can determine ourselves the direction we should go. Our future can be counted in our ballots or bargained in a backroom."

At an airport news conference in Allentown today, Carter said Humphrey's "continuing involvement" in

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	267
Jackson	175
Udall	150
Wallace	105
Stevenson	86
Harris	15
Humphrey	4
Walker	2
McCormack	2
Church	1
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	156
Total chosen to date	964
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Florida, Illinois, North Carolina, South Carolina, Canal Zone, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, New York, Arizona, Alaska and Virgin Islands and partial selection in Puerto Rico and Iowa.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	260
Reagan	136
Uncommitted	204
Total chosen to date	600
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Puerto Rico, D.C., North and South Carolina, Wisconsin, New York, Guam, Mississippi, Arizona and partial selection in Illinois.

Coming up this week:
The Pennsylvania primary today, with 178 Democratic delegates and 103 Republican delegates, and the Texas primary Saturday with 130 Democratic delegates and 100 Republican delegates.

—The Washington Post

speculation about his candidacy has been "a very damaging thing" for Jackson and Udall. "It's made them appear to be stalking horses . . . whether he intended it or not."

Although Jackson has bristled under the description of himself as a stalking horse for Humphrey in Pennsylvania, many labor leaders have openly or covertly acknowledged their preference for Humphrey, and their intent to back Jackson as a way to stop Carter's drive for the nomination.

Any notion, however, that Carter can be stopped in any single primary now does not grasp the essential nature of the Carter strategy. By running in all the primaries and the caucus states as well, Carter has built himself a buffer against any lengthy period of adversity.

On the day of his first primary loss, in Massachusetts, he won in Vermont; on the day of his second primary loss, New York, he won in Wisconsin. One week after Massachusetts, he won in Florida, a week later in Illinois (against limited opposition) and another week later in North Carolina.

In between, Carter has picked up real or caucus-state victories and has thus been able to sustain a sense of almost inexorable momentum for his campaign. He loves to tick off to audiences the states he has "won"—though in many of the caucus states he has run well behind uncommitted slates.

Asked in Wilkes-Barre last week about the possibility of a Pennsylvania loss, Carter conceded, "It could be a very severe setback for me." But he said it would not be fatal because by running everywhere he always has the opportunity "for future redemption."

Jackson, by contrast, with essentially a big-state strategy, will be looking down a shotgun barrel against Carter next week in Indiana if he loses here, and in Michigan two weeks beyond that, without the chance of a victory or two in some small states to take the edge off a defeat. A loss in Pennsylvania, Jackson said today, "would slow us a bit but would not be fatal."

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

A Sense of Foreboding in the Ford Campaign

EVANSVILLE, Indiana—Through 21 hours of intensive campaigning in Indiana last week, President Ford was forced time and again to defend, explain and refine his administration's positions on North Vietnam and the Panama Canal—adding to the deepening sense of foreboding about November within his campaign.

Vietnam and Panama were not issues of Mr. Ford's choosing. Nor would he have been here if given his choice. In fact, what he said and when he said it were dictated by the challenge of Ronald Reagan. Forced to make sure of an expected win in the May 4 Indiana primary, which he cannot afford to lose, the President must address Reagan's accusations of softness on foreign policy questions.

This has caused foreboding among the high command, not about winning the Republican nomination (which is considered certain) but about what lies beyond. Preoccupation with Reagan's challenge has delayed even a start at planning the fall campaign. A top Ford operative privately admits that "we never think beyond the next primary election."

What makes this particularly alarming to Mr. Ford's advisers is the increasing possibility that Jimmy Carter, privately viewed at the White House as much tougher than Sen. Hubert Humphrey, may be the Democratic nominee. How best to run against the Georgia peanut farmer—by redoubling the President's Southern effort or by turning to Northern industrial states? That question is scarcely considered by the Ford campaign in its preoccuption with Reagan.

"If Jerry Ford's 20-month tenure as President has not transformed him into a finished platform performer, neither has it destroyed the impression given of a nice, plain, decent Midwesterner."

Finally, last week's swing through Indiana made clear that Mr. Ford has not yet corrected and probably never will correct his defects as a campaigner. His dreary performance here suggests excessive dependence on the risky question-and-answer format, adopted by Ford tacticians as preferable to the President's leaden delivery of set speeches. Whether his campaign style, barely adequate against Reagan, can win in November generates increasing worry in the Ford camp.

The gratitude by Ford operatives to the Reagan campaign for forcing them to organize, so strong in mid-March, has vanished. Rather, Reagan's upset in North Carolina March 23 is now viewed as a calamity. "If it hadn't been for North Carolina," a Ford adviser told us, "we wouldn't be wasting our time in Indiana."

Visiting Indiana is a "waste" because it is so solidly Republican for general elections. But the possibility of Reagan primary wins in Texas May 1 and Georgia and Alabama May 4 makes Indiana indispensable for the President. Hence, last week's visit will be followed by another Hoosier swing May 2-3.

But Mr. Ford's arrival in Indianapolis last Thursday night was preceded by barrages of Reagan radio commercials assaulting the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy. At nearly every stop, both reporters and ordinary citizens asked about surrendering the Panama Canal and establishing relations with Hanoi (both vigorously denied by the President).

At Evansville, Mr. Ford evoked some real emotion by shouting: "Those who advocate breaking off (Panama Canal) negotiations"—meaning Reagan, of course—"are irresponsible." But he has by no means solved his foreign policy problem with the Republican right. Mr. Ford's now routine declaration that Henry Kissinger "can stay as Secretary of State as long as I am President of the United States" generated booing from an otherwise friendly audience in Indianapolis. The President looked suprised.

Reagan and Republican hard-liners are not Mr. Ford's only problem. Not only does the excessive use of Q-and-A sessions make it difficult for him to establish a theme, but many answers are surprisingly ill-prepared. A key backer in Evansville, for example, privately expressed dismay at Mr. Ford's lapsing into bureaucratic jargon in response to a question on housing needs.

Even an overwhelmingly friendly Evansville audience tittered when Mr. Ford at one point referred to policy established by "President Johnson and (pause)—his successor." One smartly dressed matron turned to her husband and said: "Now, I can't imagine *who* he's talking about."

If Jerry Ford's 20-month tenure as President has not transformed him into a finished platform performer, neither has it destroyed the impression given of a nice, plain, decent Midwesterner. That image, plus the still formidable Indiana regular Republican organization, ought to dispatch Reagan here.

It may not be nearly adequate nationally against Jimmy Carter. But although this frightens the highest and lowest levels of the Ford campaign, strategic planning likely will remain immobilized while Ronald Reagan is still around.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Wednesday Evening, April 28, 1976 C 124 Pages, 8 Sections

Carter Grabs Key Pennsylvania Win

By ANDREW GLASS
Journal Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA — By soundly defeating an alliance of big-city machine politicians and old-line labor leaders on their own turf, Jimmy Carter has staked a strong claim on the Democratic presidential nomination.

Carter's strategically vital victory in Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary has also created a major dilemma for Hubert Humphrey, the only Democrat now in sight with enough muscle to deny Georgia's former governor the prize he seeks.

Polls commissioned by all three major television networks reveal that Humphrey, the Minnesota senator who nearly made it to the White House in 1968, could have beaten Carter in Pennsylvania, the most unionized state in the country.

But Humphrey is an undeclared candidate and, by several reliable accounts, he will not challenge Carter in any of the remaining primaries.

That leaves the hard-running Carter a promising opportunity in Texas on Saturday and the prospect of more primary triumphs in Georgia and Indiana on May 4. Also on that date, Carter is likely to seize a block of delegates out from under Gov. George Wallace of Alabama.

SEN. HENRY JACKSON
Adopting a New Approach

Early in April, Carter sensed that Pennsylvania — a state brimming with big cities, coal mines, steel mills and lush mountain valleys — might give him the political breakthrough that still had eluded him in a northern industrial state.

Furthermore, Carter gauged the weakness of his opponents: A now-diminished Wallace; Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, jokingly derided as Humphrey's "pet rock" and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona who hasn't been able to win anything outside his native state.

As a consequence, the Atlanta-based Carter campaign poured all its resources, including some that it could ill-afford, into the Pennslyvania effort.

A $150,000 media campaign was quickly prepared. The ads stressed Carter's stands on bread-and-butter issues, seeking to improve his image as a fuzzy candidate who merely preached love and compassion.

Hundreds of Carter volunteers trekked in from Georgia and elsewhere, to balance the labor organizers working in the wards for Jackson or some said, Humphrey.

The keystone of the campaign was Carter himself who crisscrossed the state for 11 days, alighting from his chartered 727 jet in a dozen places

Turn to Page 8A, Column 1

PENNSYLVANIA AT A GLANCE

Vote Totals
(95 Pct. of Precincts Counted)

Carter	481,871 (37 Pct.)
Jackson	321,350 (25 Pct.)
Udall	245,306 (19 Pct.)
Wallace	146,512 (11 Pct.)
McCormack	38,044 (3 Pct.)
Shapp	34,769 (3 Pct.)
Bayh	16,715 (1 Pct.)
Harris	13,333 (1 Pct.)

Delegates
(82 Pct. of Precincts Counted)

Carter	65
Uncommitted	42
Udall	24
Shapp	17
Jackson	15
Wallace	3

CARTER GRABS

Continued From Page 1A

to denounce union bosses and political chieftains who, he charged, sought to halt his progress by means of a nasty back room deal with Jackson.

Actually polls showed Carter well ahead from the start. Yet, by portraying himself as a victimized underdog, Carter won sympathy — and even more votes.

For the Carter side, the big investment in Pennsylvania proved highly satisfying.

With 95 per cent of Pennsylvania's precints reporting, the count was:

Carter—481,871 (37 per cent)

Jackson—321,350 (25 per cent)

Udall—245,306 (19 per cent)

Wallace—146,512 (11 per cent)

The popularity contest overshadowed a companion election for seats on Pennsylvania's 178-member delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

Incomplete results showed that Carter apparently had won 65 delegates, the largest single clump. The rest were divided among Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, who pulled out of the presidential race in midstream, setting the stage for the contest here (17), Jackson (15), Udall (24) and Wallace (3).

An additional 42 uncommitted delegates may well serve as the nucleus of a labor-backed Humphrey move at Madison Square Garden where the Democrats are to hold their nominating convention in July.

Interviewed on television Wednesday before returning to his home in Plains, Ga., Carter said, "If Sen. Humphrey gets in, I'll be in (the race for the Democratic nomination); if he stays out, I'll win."

The immediate tactical result of Carter's victory was to force Sen. Jackson to scuttle his delegate-hunting operation, an enterprise which had cost the senator nearly $6 million, to settle for a new television talk show format that Jackson dubbed "an open mike" campaign.

"I thought I could win and I did not," the 63-year-old senator said. "I have no excuses."

"Labor didn't put it together," said Robert Keefe, Jackson's campaign manager. "There was no push."

While finishing third, Udall retained his feisty stance, vowing to stay in the race. He returned to Washington to map new strategy. As the surviving liberal of a once large pack, Udall clearly hopes to hang on until a brokered convention may tire of both Carter and Humphrey and turn to him.

What most impressed politicians about Carter's victory was not his comfortable margin over Jackson but rather the breadth of his support.

Carter carried 66 out of 67 counties, losing only Philadelphia, where Mayor Frank Rizzo, a Jackson man, rules with an iron fist.

Only among black voters did the Carter magic seem, for once, to fail him. Both NBC and CBS projected that the Georgian would win 34 per cent of the black vote, a far weaker showing than the 90 per cent he gathered in Florida and the 78 per cent he won in North Carolina. (Obviously stung, Carter pollster Pat Caddell disputed the networks' findings as too low.)

As a result of the Pennsylvania victory, Carter will now give his highest priority to a delegate hunt, which he believes is the best means at hand for him to keep Humphrey out.

With 32 more primaries to go before June 9, two possible patterns could develop.

Carter could continue to gather momentum in the primaries while picking up fresh support from party leaders who see him as the only Democrat who can win the South and capture the executive branch from the Republicans in November.

Or Carter could enter the convention with less than 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates needed to nominate him, as uncommitted delegates and favorite son entries from Texas, California, New Jersey and elsewhere, continue to nibble away at his strength.

That would set the stage for a push by a politician who wants to be drafted, and who is even willing to orchestrate a draft, but who desperately seeks to avoid being humiliated by Carter.

Heinz Wins GOP Nomination For Scott's Post

PHILADELPHIA (AP) — Rep. H. John Heinz III won the Republican nomination and Rep. William J. Green the Democratic bid to succeed retiring Sen. Hugh Scott.

Green, from Philadelphia, defeated his lone opponent, state Sen. Jeanette Reibman of Easton, with better than a 2-1 margin Tuesday.

With 96 per cent of the precincts counted, the Philadelphia congressman had 717,455 votes to 325,289 for his opponent.

Heinz, heir to the Pittsburgh food-processing fortune, trailed former Philadelphia Dist. Atty. Arlen Specter through most of the evening before taking the lead as votes from the state's western areas were counted.

With 98 per cent of the precincts reporting, Heinz had 341,884 votes, or 38 per cent, to 317,882, or 35 per cent, for Specter.

CARTER FOLKS CELEBRATE

Foes' Support Expected

By NANCY LEWIS

Jimmy Carter will soon be picking up endorsements from some of the Democratic hopefuls he has defeated, a key Carter campaign aide predicts.

Morris Dees, the millionaire attorney from Montgomery, Ala., who filled the coffers for George McGovern in 1972, gleefully forecast Tuesday night that Carter will soon pick up the backing of Sen. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., and that Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, will withdraw from the race and swing his support to the former Georgia governor.

Dees' remarks came as a jubilant Carter volunteer staff gathered at his Peachtree Street national headquarters Tuesday night to celebrate Carter's stunning victory in the Pennsylvania primary election.

"We knocked three candidates out of the running today —(Morris) Udall, (Henry) Jackson and (Hubert) Humphrey," Dees said. "It was really a Humphrey race in Pennsylvania. He was running two surrogate candidates. We, in effect, knocked out Humphrey," he exclaimed.

Dees, who is Carter's finance chairman, and other campaign staffers said the poor showing of the favored Jackson will undoubtedly wreck his financial base, crippling any major showing in future primaries.

"What this really affirms is that Carter, a Southerner, can be president," Dees said.

And his being a Southerner will be all-important in the Texas primary Saturday, Dees indicated.

"I don't think Texans are going to give (Sen. Lloyd) Bentsen their votes to use in a backroom," he said.

"This momentum is going to be hard to beat in Texas. I think Southerners are going to be voting for their Southerner candidate (Carter)."

Taking Pennsylvania—the big, northern industrialized state that the former governor of a "Southern right-to-work state" wasn't supposed to take—could point to a Carter sweep of Tuesday's four primaries, including the one in Georgia, Dees said.

"Tonight ensures a first ballot victory for Jimmy" at the National Democratic Convention in New York this summer, he exclaimed.

Tuesday night, as more than 300 volunteers quickly downed three large kegs of beer, Carter organizers were looking forward to next Tuesday when their man will preside in person over a "victory" party at the Hyatt Regency Atlanta.

"We hope the win tonight will help to bring out more Georgia voters" Tuesday in this state's first presidential preferential primary, state Carter Chairman Connie Plunkett said.

Volunteers will carry out a massive canvassing-leafletting campaign during the week to make certain Georgians understand they have to vote two places on the primary ballot, Mrs. Plunkett said.

As on the Pennsylvania ballot, Georgia voters will have to vote once in the "beauty contest" or popularity part and again to name Carter-pledged delegates to the July Democratic National Convention.

Thousands of "palm" cards bearing the names of Carter delegates in the appropriate congressional district also will be distributed before the Tuesday vote, Plunkett said.

Carter's fund-raising capability should be "greatly improved by the win" in Pennsylvania, Dees said, but added the going will still be difficult.

RONALD REAGAN
Seeks Georgia Votes

IN PRIMARY 12

Carter Surprises Reagan

ALBANY, Ga. (UPI) — Campaigning 35 miles down the road from Jimmy Carter's peanut farm, Ronald Reagan said Wednesday the Democratic presidential race may be a whole new ballgame because of the former Georgia governor's decisive win in the Pennsylvania primary.

A few hours before in Indiana, Reagan had predicted that Hubert Humphrey would be the Democratic nominee, barring something "unforeseen." But when he arrived here shortly after midnight Wednesday, Reagan said things may have changed.

"It's a little surprising to everyone to see Carter come in that far ahead," Reagan told reporters at the airport. "It makes him more of a contender — this might change it — this might be the unforeseen thing."

But Reagan said that Carter could still be blocked from the nomination "if the others mobilize behind a Humphrey campaign."

Reagan scheduled appearances in Albany, Columbus and Atlanta Wednesday before flying to Huntsville, Ala., Wednesday night.

Reagan campaigned in Georgia on the second leg of a trip through four states that have primaries in the coming week. Indiana, Alabama and Georgia vote next Tuesday and Reagan faces a crucial showdown with President Ford in Texas on Saturday.

Throughout Tuesday, Carter became an increasingly frequent target for the former California governor.

"You know Carter is going around saying he is against Washington. Well, I don't believe that," Reagan told reporterrs in Indianapolis. "I don't believe he's anti-Washington, he's just against those who are in Washington now.

"Every time he becomes specific on an issue, he becomes more big government," he said. "He says he's for national health insurance and that's more big government—more Washington."

As he campaigned in three Indiana cities, Reagan said he was the only anti-Washington and anti-big government candidate.

He described Congress as "a buddy system believing in its own omnipotence" and criticized the Washington bureaucracy as being composed of "self-annointd elite fearful to hear the truth."

He also attacked the Ford administration, saying detente had weakened America militarily and he predicted the economic recovery would be short-lived.

Reagan said he faces an "uphill battle" in Indiana and there was evidence that Ford was ahead.

In Evansville, Reagan attracted only 300 persons to an indoor rally whereas 60,000 persons lined the streets to watch President Ford's motorcade.

Reagan said he expected to do pretty well in Georgia and this was evidenced by the 200 persons at the Albany airport to greet him in the early morning hours.

He said his showdown with Ford in Texas was "a close horserace" and predicting the result was difficult because Democrats can cross over and vote on the GOP line. He said he was not specifically seeking to attract George Wallace supporters in Texas, but hoped to win support from the same Democrats there who voted for Richard Nixon rather than George McGovern in 1972.

The Atlanta Journal
Covers Dixie Like the Dew
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Jack Tarver, Publisher • Jack Spalding, Editor
26-A ★★★★★ APRIL 28, 1976

Carter Has the Mandate

AS FORMER ACLU official Charles Morgan said recently, the Democratic party establishment didn't have its hooks in Jimmy Carter and so some of the leaders badly wanted to stop him in Pennsylvania's primary.

Labor union leaders, too, went all out to defeat him in that state which is one of their strongholds, whether Henry Jackson or Hubert Humphrey was to be the ultimate beneficiary of derailing the Carter bandwagon.

And some observers were saying Carter still had to prove he could carry a northern industrial state, though Illinois and Wisconsin where he already had won are at least as industrial as New York and Massachusetts where he trailed.

But Pennsylvania was a crucial state because of the massive effort made there against Carter, and now he has won it and won it big. Not only did he lead the other candidates in the preference contest, but he is also winning far more delegates in the separate vote for them than had been expected. Too, he carried some of those union strongholds where the rank and file chose not to follow the commands of their leaders.

There are other primaries ahead, including California where popular Gov. Jerry Brown is a favorite son. But Carter has the momentum and the "stop Carter" movement failed in its biggest maneuver to date.

If things had turned out differently in Pennsylvania Hubert Humphrey might have been able to get away with the claim that no candidate had gained a clear mandate in the primaries. But after Pennsylvania Carter has the mandate, he is getting the delegates, and party bosses had better not ignore the handwriting on the wall. Some of them tried it in Pennsylvania, and it clearly didn't work.

OLIPHANT


WHITE MAN COME IN GREAT SILVER BIRD FROM SKY — LAND!!
MEET BLACK MAN — FRIEND!! FORD ADMINISTRATION WANT TO HELP BLACK MAN...
SHAKE
SHAKE
AFRICA
HE HAS QUITE AN ACCENT
IT'S A LONG STORY..
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WHAT?
SOMETHING ABOUT ELECTION YEAR...

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/16 thru 4/19

"EAT YOUR HEART OUT, MORTIMER SNERD."

21A

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,185 — NEW YORK, MONDAY, APRIL 19, 1976 —

TEXAS POLITICIANS GIVE REAGAN EDGE IN MAY 1 PRIMARY

They Believe That He May Win His Most Important Victory of '76 Campaign

BUT FORD POSTS GAINS

Democratic Leaders Back Bentsen, but an Upset by Carter Is Not Ruled Out

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

AUSTIN, Tex., April 18—Ronald Reagan holds a clear advantage in the campaign leading to the Texas primary on May 1, most Texas politicians believe.

If the Californian can maintain his edge, he will score here his most important victory of the 1976 campaign, the victory he needs to keep his campaign alive until the Republican National Convention. But President Ford is gaining on him, the politicians say, and could still win.

In any event, Mr. Reagan will find it hard to match the forecast of his local managers, who predict that he will win two-thirds of the state's 100 delegates.

As in North Carolina, where he upset the President on March 23, he has put Mr. Ford on the defensive with continuing attacks on the Administration's foreign policy, especially détente and Panama Canal negotiations.

Carter Upset Predicted

Among the Democrats, the political establishment has lined up solidly behind the favorite-son candidacy of Senator Lloyd Bentsen. But there are those who expect Jimmy Carter to score an upset, particularly if he comes into the Saturday primary here after a solid victory in Pennsylvania four days earlier.

This will be the first Presidential primary in Texas political history, and for the Republicans, the first time any primary here has attracted widespread rank-and-file interest.

In past Republican primaries, the average vote was only 100,000—and most of that was concentrated in the four counties that surround Houston, Dallas, Fort Worth and San Antonio. But no one expects the past pattern to hold.

Ray Hutchison, the state party chairman, said this week after examining absentee bal-

Continued on Page 20, Column 6

D

Texas Politicians Giving Reagan Edge

20

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

lots that more than 300,000 people would vote in the Republican contest on May 1. Mr. Reagan thinks that that will help him, and in his recent campaign speeches he urged Democrats and independents to cross over and back him.

"Every crossover vote is a plus for us," said Mr. Reagan's Texas co-chairman, Ray Barnhart. "There is no conceivable reason why any Democrat would want to forsake the party of his ancestors to support Gerald Ford in Texas."

The Reagan forces have picked up many past supporters of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, whose current campaign here is a pale shadow of his earlier efforts in Texas.

But Mr. Hutchison and the Ford manager here, Roger W. Wallace, think that more moderate independents may also cross over and help Mr. Ford. If the total turnout reaches 350,000, Mr. Hutchison said, "we will have a horse race."

The President has not had much going for him here. For the first time in a Southern state, he confronts a Republican electorate that is solidly conservative, the legacy of Senator Barry Goldwater's 1964 campaign. Absent are the Middle Western moderate migrants of Florida and the traditional centrist mountain Republicans of North Carolina. As in North Carolina, Mr. Ford confronts a divided party hierachy. Senator John G. Tower, the most powerful Republican in the state, backs the President, but others, such as Mr. Hutchison and former Gov. John B. Connally, are neutral. Also, significant elements of the State Central Committee and of the Republican legislative membership back Mr. Reagan.

The issues, with the exception of the economy, have been running Mr. Reagan's way. Not only has the Reagan camp been attacking the President's foreign policy, but it will also focus attention on his energy policies, which have offended oil and gas producers in this major energy state.

Finally, Mr. Barnhart and other Reagan spokesmen are trying to revive memories of Watergate. The President's comments on the canal issue, Mr. Barnhart said in an interview yesterday, "represented deliberate, willful attempts to mislead the American people—an attempt that reminds me of Richard Nixon and proves that the Watergate mentality remains in the White House."

Role of Organization

Mr. Ford has, by the reckoning of neutral observers, the superior organization here. Much better financed than his opponent, he will spend $450,000 or more, and his workers, operating out of 26 telephone banks, are trying to call everyone who voted in the 1974 state primary.

Organization could make an important difference, because of the unusual structural problems in the primary.

Under the arrangement adopted by the Republicans, each of the state's 24 Congressional Districts is allotted four delegates. But there is almost no Republican vote in at least half the districts. In many, whoever can get 1,000 people to the polls is guaranteed a solid victory.

That encourages the Ford managers for the state, who hope to blunt the effect of a Reagan victory, even though their own polls, for the first time this year, reportedly show the President behind. If they can win 45 delegates, for example, leaving Mr. Reagan with 55 for a net gain of only 10, they can argue that the Californian failed to make the kind of dent he needs in Mr. Ford's overall delegate lead.

"I think it's a good deal closer than many people think," said Peter O'Donnell, whom many consider the father of the modern Republican Party in Texas. "It's a good, tough, mean fight."

On the Democratic side, the conventional wisdom, retailed diligently by officeholders and party officials, says that Mr. Bentsen is simply too strong on his home ground for Mr. Carter. Mr. Bentsen will also be on the ballot as a candidate for reelection to the Senate and is expected to win renomination handily.

The Senator is appealing unabashedly to Texas chauvinism in an effort to assemble a bloc of delegates with whom to bargain in an event of a deadlocked convention.

"If I were from Georgia, I'd certainly want to support Jimmy Carter in the Georgia primary," he said at a news conference the other day. "If I were from Alabama, I'd probably want to back Governor Wallace. But Texans need someone to go up there and fight for energy positions, for sound positions on bilingual education and our other concerns."

Mr. Bentsen has assembled slates of delegate candidates that include dozens of well-known names. In Dallas, for example, his candidates include Oscar Mauzey, a popular State Senator, and Edie Bernice Johnson, a prominent black leader.

Well-Balanced Slates

The slates are notably well balanced, including members of minority groups, labor leaders, liberals and conservatives and representatives of almost every faction.

"Our problem," said one Bentsen supporter, "is whether you can defeat a man who has a genuine chance to be elected President—and one from your own region, at that—with someone who is talking about voting for Texas.

"Carter has obvious strengths. His religious appeal finds a lot of receptivity among blacks and whites. He may come here with a big Pennsylvania victory behind him. And here's this guy, who has already shown tremendous appeal, running against a dying candidate, Wallace, and one who's already dead, Bentsen."

Pennsylvania's Complexity Confounds Political Seers

Candidates Find State So Large and Its People So Varied, That It Must Be Treated as if It Were Many States

By JAME S T.WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 18—One night last week, an aide to Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign slouched into a local hotel bar, collapsed into a chair and wheezed a long, tired sigh.

"I'll tell you guys something," he said to three reporters, "if we win in this place, you ought to give us credit for three states—or maybe five or six."

He was fresh from Mr. Carter's narrow victory in Wisconsin, but it had not taken him long to come to grips with Pennsylvania's many faces—its vast and varied geography, its rich socioeconomic mixture, the diversity of its demographics and the unpredictability of its politics.

April 27 Primary

All these factors and others will come into play on April 27 when Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, faces Henry M. Jackson, the Senator from Washington, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in a Democratic primary that has emerged as the most critical thus far in this Presidential election year.

subs for 5th graf "Uncharacteristically, ... White House."

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota won the primary here in 1972, with Gov. George C. Wallae of Alabama finishing second.

In the last four years, nearly 50,000 new names have been added to Democratic rolls in Pennsylvania while Republican registration has slipped more than 250,000. According to statistics from the Pennsylvania Department of State, 2.8 million Democrats and 2.2 million Republicans are registered.

Despite that, Richard M. Nixon won the state's 1972 electoral votes by wide margins, only four years after Mr. Humphrey overwhelmingly beat him here.

Inconsistent Arena

So, cast onto such an inconsistent arena, no candidate this year has predicted victory, and all have hedged their bets, insisting that a loss here would not end their campaigns.

"I don't blame them for being cautious," Peter J. Camiel, Philadelphia's Democratic chairman, an old hand in state politics, said last week. "Just when you think you know what's happening, you get a new surprise. It's maddening."

Size Is a Factor

If that is true, then the very length and breadth of the state probably plays a substantial role in encouraging such frustrations. The state stretches from here on the Delaware River to Lake Erie, more than 400 miles of distinctively different landscapes.

There are urban clutch and suburban sprawl, rolling river-valley farms, Appalachian Mountains, huge forests, hard-scrabble coal mine hills, scarsely populated hinterlands and the first subtle hints of the Middle Western flats.

It is home to nearly 12 million people, a population as ethnically mixed as any state in the country. There are people of Scotch, Irish, Italian, Polish, German, Czech, Hungarian, Lithuanian, and Welsh ancestry. The 1.1 million black citizens make up more than 9 percent of the populace. Most blacks live in the urban centers, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Erie.

Half Live in Suburbs

There are not very many farmers—about 110,000—even though more than 2.3 million Pennsylvanians live in rural areas. Over half the population reside in the suburbs and slightly less than a third live in the cities.

White-collar and blue-collar workers are almost equal in number. More than 5.3 million people have office jobs while 4.9 million earn their livings in plants or factories many of them in western Pennsylvania's coal mines and steel mills.

From a candidate's perspective, Pennsylvanians present a complex and often confusing mixture of ideas and urges, and many politicians who have run statewide races here have had to fashion several different campaigns, basing their tactics on regional divisions.

The Democratic Presidential candidates are finding this formula as good as any other.

Democratic voters in the eastern part of the state, in Philadelphia, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre and their suburbs, are easily reached by televison, newspaper and radio, and are usually caught up in the party's traditional issues — employment, social programs and the like.

In central Pennsylvania with its farmlands and mountains, touching the voters is much more difficult; there, courthouse political machines are courted by the candidates with an avid passion. In the central region the issues seem to fray, with the greatest emphasis on honesty, integrity and good government.

West of the Allegheny mountains the candidates' emphases shift again, back to jobs and taxes, inflation and recession. As in the east, the use of television as a campaign medium is much more important.

The geographic distinctions readily translate into political differences. The latest example of that phenomenon—east vs. west, Philadelphia vs. Pittsburgh—occurred in 1974 when Senator Richard S. Schweiker, a Republican from the Philadelphia suburbs, was challenged in his bid for re-election by Peter Flaherty, the Democratic Mayor of Pittsburgh.

The Mayor won handily in the west, but the Senator won in the east, despite losing in heavily Democratic Philadelphia and he was re-elected. Much of Mr. Schweiker's success was credited to his backing by the state A.F.L. C.I.O. With more than one million members, it is the most formidable voting bloc in Pennsylvania, and this year it has given its blessings to Mr. Jackson.

Yet, labor is said to support Mr. Humphrey's unhnnonnced Presidential aspirations and to be using Hr. Jackson as a holding point. One Philadelphia writer has called Mr. Jackson Mr. Humphrey's "pet rock."

Out in the west, where Mayor Flaherty is immensely popular, his support for Mr. Carter could upset the union leaders' plans for a Jackson-cum-Hunphrey victory there.

It is often said that a Democratic candidate must win in Philadelphia, where 40 percent of that party's voters reside, if he is to win Pennsylvania. But in a three man race, with a few thousand votes drained off to candidates, the weight of the Philadelphia vote is diluted.

"It's just awfully hard to know where you are, here," a strategist for Mr. Udall lamented yesterday. "The whole state, politically, is like quicksilver. You just can't pick it up."

Baltimore Leader Looks Favorably on Brown if He Will Make an Effort in Maryland Primary

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 18 — Time is running out for Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California to make a serious effort in Maryland's Presidential primary on May 18, just a month away.

But Ted Venetoulis, the popular young County executive in Baltimore County, believes that Maryland is still fertile ground for the iconoclastic California Democrat and, further, that Mr. Brown will make his move for an Eastern base next week.

The Governor's father and predecessor, Edmund G. Brown, stopped in Washington last week to tell old friends that his son—to the extent he can claim to understand him—is running for the Presidency and not merely for favorite-son honors in California.

Meanwhile, Allard K. Lowenstein, the onetime antiwar organizer, Representative from Long Island and now a leading apostle of Mr. Brown's national ambition, has been scouting Maryland on foot, while Mr. Brown explores by telephone.

"It depends on whether he's a gambler," Mr. Venetoulis said in an interview today after four or five talks with Mr. Brown in the last few weeks. "What I've said is: If he's serious about the state, we're serious about him. Most of the so-called political people in Maryland are committed to somebody else, but no one has caught fire. Jerry Brown is the first candidate, frankly, who's really attracted me."

Mr. Brown's name is listed on the "beauty contest" ballot in Maryland, but his only hope of winning delegates there rests on his converting uncommitted slates to his side and then getting them elected.

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Campaign Notes

by his farm property in Plains, Ga. But nobody is quite sure yet whether the promise of undelivered Federal matching funds can suffice as collateral for a bank loan. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, suddenly short of campaign money, believes not. Angelo Geocaris, a chicago businessman who is taking an expanding role in Representative Morris K. Udall's campaign, believes he can pledge F.E.C. obligations for loans the Arizonian badly needs. But Mr. Udall and his brother Stewart still resist the risk of ending the campaign with a fefict for which they could be personally liable.

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Angelo Geocaris, a Chicago businessman who is taking an expanding role in Representative Morris K. Udall's campaign, wants to pledge F.E.C. obligations against loans the Arizonan badly needs. But Mr. Udall and his brother Stewart still resist the risk of ending the campaign with a fefict for which they could be personally liable.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who is suddenly short of campaign cash, faces a similar split within his own staff. Robert J. Keefe, the Jackson campaign manager, pleads for bank loans against anticipated F.E.C. funds. Richard Kline, Mr. Jackson's fund raiser, and Sterling Munro, his chief of staff, have won the argument for the moment.

When Betty Ford, the President's wife, goes to Texas to campaign this week, she will carry with her a portable Citizens Band radio, the gift of her daughter Susan, according to Sheila Weidenfeld, Mrs. Ford's press secretary. The four-day Texas schedule includes several long automobile trips, "so she'll have plenty of time to use it," Mrs. Weidenfeld said.

The question, though, is Mrs. Ford's identifying nickname, or "handle." President Ford likes "tipitoes" for his dancing wife. Mrs. Ford is still considering "First Mama" and "Apple Betty."

●

Senator George McGovern remarked last week with what seemed like chagrin than "some of our best people" in the ill-fated 1972 Presidential campaign have been recurited this year by Jimmy Carter, one of the candidates he least admires.

"They'd like to try a winner," he said, ruefully, denying any organic connection between the McGovern and Carter movemets. "Jimmy thinks in terms of personnel, not ideas," he said.

The latest Carter recruit is Robert Shrum, a young speech writer on Mr. McGovern's Senate staff whose search for a winner began with John V. Lindsay, then Mayor of New York, in 1970. Late in 1971 he moved to the Presidential campaign of Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, and when the Muskie campaign stumbled in the spring of 1972 he joined Mr. McGovern. Small wonder, it was said, that all three of them at different times used the "Come home, America" line that became the main theme of Mr. McGovern's acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach four years ago.

Morris Des, finance chairman in Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign, says for the record what other politicians say under their breath about Congress's delay in restoring the Federal Election Commission and its subsidies for the candidates.

"I think Humphrey's behind it," Mr. Dees said last week.

Like many others, Mr. Dees sees Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota poised to activate his noncandidacy if Mr. Carter can be denied victory in Pennsylvania's primary April 27. The Carter campaign is overdue $250,000 in F.E.C. matching payments, Mr. Dees said, "and Humphry and the rest of them know that if we had the money we'd pour it into Pennsylvania right now."

"It's not just Humphrey," he added. "He's got a whole network of friendly old pols around the country, and he's certainly got a network in the House and Senate."

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Under a provision of the new election law that permits large commercial loans to a campaign if they can be negotiated on a normal business basis, Mr. Carter recently borrowed $70,000, secured

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For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

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Why Jimmy Carter Is Still Smiling. . . .

The Democratic party of the United States has seen the political machine of a Franklin Roosevelt, the "Irish Mafia" of the brothers Kennedy, the pre-convention steamroller of a George McGovern.

No matter. The 1976 candidate paused to reflect on the progress of his campaign and, with a characteristic lack of false modesty, declared, "I don't think there ever has been as good an organization in the nation as we have."

Jimmy Carter may be correct. He may have put together the most systematic nationwide political operation ever—despite some recent fumbles.

The former one-term Southern governor whom hardly anybody had heard of a few months ago has won six out of eight primaries so far. Whether he wins the Democratic presidential nomination or not, the Carter phenomenon is probably the biggest political story since President Nixon resigned.

Politicos everywhere are trying to figure it out. Some so they can stop him. Some so they can join the bandwagon. Some so they could know how to deal with a President Carter.

It was nearly four years ago that Carter decided to run for president. The decision was based on three essential perceptions.

First, the time of George Wallace in the South was over. Many people hoped this was true, but few like Carter made it a matter of personal conviction.

Second, if the Democrats persisted in nominating liberal Northerners, the South would persist in voting for Republican presidents. What better way to regain the South for the "Roosevelt coalition" than to put a Southerner in front of the ticket?

Third, the aces and kings in the deck of Democratic candidates all were likely to fold. A calculating newcomer could outplay them.

The strongest card in the Carter hand was his image—the citizen-politician, the honest guy, the soft-spoken outsider who had no truck with the nasty power establishment.

* * *

Carter developed the look in his citizen-politician 1970 Georgia gubernatorial race—another campaign in which he started out against long odds.

At that time the "slick" use of television first popularized by John F. Kennedy was still popular. Some politicians tried this technique in the South and failed. Carter took the opposite tack—he was deliberately anti-slick.

"I want every (television ad) to look like it was made in East Point," declared Carter media expert Gerald Rafshoon.

And so the Carter campaign, figuratively speaking, left its shirttail hanging out.

To master his seemingly casual use of TV, Carter took long hours of coaching from Dr. Hubert Vance Taylor, a trustee of the Protestant Radio and Television Center. Taylor also instructed Carter in 1975, before his presidential campaign blitz.

In 1970 many Georgians were rednecks, distrustful of the Atlanta establishment. "I'm basically a redneck," said Carter.

"He had to run a redneck campaign to get elected and we in the South understand that," said DeKalb County

See CARTER, Page 6-A

If Jimmy Carter makes it to the White House—which is not a far-fetched prospect—the textbook on presidential politics will have to be rewritten. How did Carter and his advisers go about laying the strategy that resulted in his startling successes in the early primaries? How is the Carter organization holding up over the long haul?

Constitution Political Editor Jim Merriner and staff writers David Morrison and Fay S. Joyce interviewed the candidate and his advisers for this series on the Carter political blueprint.

G

Carter

From Page 1-A

Commissioner Manuel Maloof, who jumped the Carter ship in 1970 "after he started all that redneck talk."

Maloof, running as a Carter delegate in the May 4 Georgia primary, said, "but after he got in there (as governor), he was a great guy."

Carter has since dropped the redneck image and his TV ads are certainly professionally produced—but they retain the image of the citizen-politician running against the establishment, which is Washington this time, not Atlanta.

The ads are still anti-slick, showing Carter in work clothes, running his hands through his peanut crop, emphasizing his family life. It is perhaps an unexpected image for an urban, sophisticated, cynical America in 1976.

The image is drawn from the deepest wells of American folklore—the Bible-toting farmer-soldier-lawmaker.

Carter has been described as the ideal candidate for the "cool" medium of television. He is attractive, relaxed, underspoken. And since he embarked on the national campaign, he has broken his habit of mumbling inaudibly into newsmen's microphones.

Yet an image, no matter how successful, is no good without a coherent campaign strategy.

* * *

The story is often told that Carter decided to run for president because he was unimpressed by the big-deal national politicians he met as governor. "He honestly believed he could do as good a job if not better," said Carter political director Landon Butler.

Carter eagerly tried to become George McGovern's running mate in 1972. When that fizzled, and it was obvious that President Nixon would stomp McGovern, Carter started drafting a White House blueprint.

Amazingly, Carter and his political high command kept his White House plans secret for nearly two years.

The first critical thing a presidential aspirant must do is get his family solidly behind his decision. That was no problem for the tightly-knit Carter family.

Next, Carter began a meticulous study of every major presidential campaign—including notably the losing ones.

From the early 1973 skull sessions emerged the basic strategy. It was audacious. It was to run everywhere, every state. It was the very strategy that had tripped up Ed Muskie in 1972 only a year before.

"They tried to emulate what they thought the big shots should do," said adman Rafshoon about the campaign of Maine Sen. Muskie. "That is, go out and get a lot of endorsements, spend a lot of money...They didn't trust their own instincts."

Carter trusted his own instincts. He knew the fate of small-state ideologues like Barry Goldwater of Arizona and George McGovern of South Dakota. He knew the fate of small-state Sen. Muskie, who tried to run an impossibly cumbersome staff as if he were already president.

Carter was anti-ideological. He ran a tight, small staff. And—this is crucial—he knew that after leaving the governor's office in January, 1975, he would be unemployed. He could devote full time to campaigning.

Carter took to unheard-of lengths the McGovern strategy of starting early and winning converts by one-on-one personal contacts.

"He said the hell with trying to decide what to do if Ted Kennedy gets in (the campaign). All you can do is run all-out," recalled Butler.

Carter also understood that the new Democratic party rules eliminating winner-take-all delegate slates would favor dark horses in small states.

And for all his berating of the press, the Carter campaign was staked perhaps more than any previous one on getting press publicity to become famous. Tons of publicity flowed from the media about Carter in late 1975 and early 1976, generated by curiosity about the unorthodox Southern alternative to Wallace.

Who ever heard of a presidential bandwagon starting to roll in Iowa? Carter perceived that—for many reasons, some of them stemming from the embarrassment of the press at missing the story of the early McGovern movement in 1972—the first-in-the-nation Iowa caucuses in January, 1976, would be a big story.

Sure enough, he won those caucuses, then the first primary in another small state, New Hampshire, then in Florida. He just about blew all his money, but he gained the early publicity and momentum he knew was necessary.

Now Carter is the front-runner with surprisingly few political debts to the kingmakers in the large industrial states.

Still, a rural Georgia politician would have no way to start as a national candidate without some basic contacts. In his typical, methodical manner, Carter acquired contacts by heading the National Democratic Election Committee in 1974.

Hamilton Jordan resigned as Carter's executive secretary and went to work for the Democratic National Committee (DNC) campaign effort headed by Gov. Carter that year.

Carter or Jordan would go anywhere to show any Democratic candidate who asked how to set up a campaign organization. "In the process he (Jordan) didn't ignore the opportunity to make friends and influence people at some later date. He knows the country now, he knows the issues, he knows the people," observed Carter confidante Philip Alston.

"He (Carter) developed what the (1974) issues were through surveys, professional surveys. Then he got experts in each one of those fields to prepare position papers on both sides," recalled long-time Carter adviser Charles Kirbo.

"And then (issues adviser) Stu Eizenstat assembled that and put out a little (issues) booklet with an index, a capsule, and then if you wanted to you could order the full packet (of 30 issues)," Kirbo said.

Carter spent 18 months on the project, campaigning for 57 Democratic candidates. In the end, 30 of them won—seven governors, two senators and 21 congressmen. Only 10 had been initially favored, according to the DNC.

Nor did Carter neglect other opportunities to get acquainted with the nation's power structure. The governor made a point of addressing major conventions that met in Atlanta, then getting the registration lists of the top convention officials and sending them personal letters.

Meanwhile, the well-connected Carter inner circle played up their man. "There have been lunches that seemed useless, phone conversations that seemed pointless, but in the end they brought him before people who had influence," observed Alston.

* * *

Are there weaknesses in the vaunted Carter organization causing it to falter in the middle of the primary season? What about the all-important matter of raising money? This special series on the Carter political blueprint continues in the Tuesday Atlanta Constitution.

PRESS SECRETARY
Jody Powell

NATIONAL DIRECTOR
Hamilton Jordan

INFLUENTIAL ADVISER
Charles Kirbo

CAMPAIGN TREASURER
Robert Lipshutz

Close-Knit Advisers Aid Carter Planning

By all accounts, Jimmy Carter is essentially a loner when it comes to making major decisions. Nevertheless, Carter, like all politicians, has an inner circle that shapes his campaigns and his actions. These persons could be expected to be top-drawer advisers, officially or unofficially, for a President Carter. Seven of them are profiled below.

JODY POWELL. Powell, 32, was made press secretary to Gov. Carter after serving as the candidate's driver in 1970. Along with Jordan, he sometimes takes the brunt of the wrath that Carter vents in private. Powell was a feisty aide who took a less than charitable view of criticisms of the governor. However, he is generally popular with the national press corps. Powell grew up in Vienna, Ga., and attended the Air Force Academy and Georgia State.

HAMILTON JORDAN. Some national writers portray Jordan as an unsophisticated fellow who may not stand up under the demands of big-time national campaigning. They are very probably wrong. National campaign director Jordan, 30, despite his just-folks manner, has been around and knows the ropes. Another south Georgia boy, Jordan worked for Carter in the 1966 gubernatorial campaign and was executive secretary under Gov. Carter in 1971-73. Many General Assembly members resented the youthful brashness of the governor's top aide.

CHARLES KIRBO. Perhaps the adviser most responsible for putting Carter in the governor's office. He could have had a U.S. Senate seat for the asking when Dick Russell died, but declined Gov. Carter's offer of an appointment to fill the unexpired term. Kirbo, 57, started out as a trial lawyer in Bainbridge, came to Atlanta in 1961 and represented Carter in a legal challenge against vote fraud in a 1962 state Senate race. His manner is that of a rustic country lawyer.

"There is nobody that he turns to when it gets down to (critical decision) time. Jimmy takes it all on himself."

"I know when I'm around him we don't even discuss politics. Maybe (his wife) Rosalynn to some extent, but hell, he don't even see Rosalynn now."

"I'd say Jody (Powell) more than anybody else. Jody's been with him six years and knows him better than anybody else in the country, including me. So as far as talking frank, I think he'd turn to Jody."

"Hamilton (Jordan) has been with him too, but not like Jody. Hell, Jody lived with him, was with him every minute of the day back in the governor's campaign in '70."—Billy Carter, the candidate's brother.

GERALD RAFSHOON. He made a bundle as the publicist for the movie "Cleopatra" and used the money to set up a one-room ad agency in Atlanta. It grew to be the fifth largest in the city and would be even more thriving if not for Rafshoon's time-consuming personal devotion to the Carter cause since 1966. An intuitive political advertising wizard, Rafshoon, 42, shrugs, "There isn't any magic. People watch TV and they see a candidate on there and they either like him or they don't."

DAVID GAMBRELL. He reportedly was drummed out of the Carter inner circle for committing the unpardonable sin of losing an election and making Carter look bad. Gambrell in turn supposedly blamed his 1972 Senate loss on Carter's unpopularity as governor. Gambrell denies all of this. An Atlanta lawyer appointed by Carter to Sen. Russell's old seat, Gambrell, 46, was one of the original 1966 supporters and was the 1970 campaign treasurer. He has no formal campaign function this year.

PHILIP ALSTON. He is 65 today and has practiced law in one of Atlanta's most prestigious firms for 40 years. One of the 1966 veterans, he is 1976 chairman of the Committee for Jimmy Carter and meets once a month with national fund raisers "some place where the phones won't bother them." He calls himself a "phony liberal," whatever that means, and stepped down from a Carter-appointed seat on the Board of Regents to work on the gubernatorial campaign of banker Bert Lance, another Carter ally.

ROBERT LIPSHUTZ. Lipshutz, 54, is treasurer for the Carter presidential campaign and handles the accounting for the money raised by Alston and Morris Dees. He helped raise money for the Democratic national telethon as Georgia chairman in 1973. Carter appointed him to the state Board of Human Resources and he is immediate past president of the (Jewish Reform) Temple in Atlanta.

It is a typical Carter irony that he campaigned against the Atlanta establishment in 1970 and yet four of his top advisers are upper-crust Atlanta lawyers—Kirbo, Gambrell, Alston and Lipshutz.

CARTER APPOINTEE
David Gambrell

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
Philip Alston

POLITICAL ADMAN
Gerald Rafshoon

Pols and the Press

Vice President Nelson Rockefeller perceives what he calls a "prosecutorial trend" in the press.

Meaning the press jumps on politicians when they don't do right?

Yes, says Rocky, but sometimes it gets overdone. He thinks it was overdone in the case of Bo Callaway.

Since we agree, and have said so in these columns, that Bo caught a bum rap, we won't argue that particular point.

But Rocky's view of the press as "prosecutorial" ought to be taken with several buckets of salt. Throughout American history politicians and the press have have maintained a curious relationship. Politicians know that without the press to disseminate their views they are not going to be widely noted outside their own county seat. Therefore the press is useful, even necessary, to any politician who has ambitions for higher office than local dogcatcher.

Unfortunately for politicians, the press doesn't always report what they want reported and sometimes goes so far as to report unfavorable things.

Do-Be-Do-Be-Do

How disturbing to hear rumors that Frank Sinatra might have done a little work for the CIA. Imagine what this means.

First it means Sinatra, who probably really doesn't need the extra money, would be getting paid from the temporary-spy payroll that should be reserved for someone more needy. It would also mean CIA has really gone off the deep end, using someone like Sinatra. He'd probably be more interested in doing other things. It's been rumored he'd have a pretty good voice if he'd just put a little work into it.

Fortunately there appears to be no truth to the stories. Seems Sinatra can't get many people to take him seriously. Responding to reports he offered services to CIA, he said, "I also offered to be the heir of Howard Hughes, but evidently he turned me down."

The press has the perhaps naive view that people ought to know whether or not, for example, their President is a crook. When indications point that way and the press says so politicians are wont to note "prosecutorial tendencies."

The misunderstanding of the role of the press is as old as our history, but Thomas Jefferson recognized that role when he said that, given a choice between government without newspapers and newspapers without government he'd opt for the latter. That's extreme—but it underlines the role of the press as a check on the abuses of government and politicians.

Some politicians, Jimmy Carter is the most recent outstanding example, are very skilled at dealing with the press. Carter, who was practically unknown nationwide only a few months ago, is now a national figure and a very good bet to be a nominee and possibly even President of the United States. People know a lot about him and they know because they read or hear about him in the newspapers, magazines or the electronic media. Perhaps, when his goof about "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods was widely reported, Carter sensed a prosecutorial trend but he wisely didn't remark on it.

It is true that newspapers, like individuals, have personal opinions and prejudices and express them. But opinion in the press is generally presented as such, and "news" is presented as a reasonably objective account of events. Too often politicians complain about being hounded by the press when in fact the press is simply doing a job that, in our open and democratic society, is necessary.

The press is in somewhat the same position as Harry Truman was when he said that he didn't give his opponents hell, he merely tried to tell the truth and they thought it was hell. In the wake of the Watergate scandals the renewed emphasis on getting at the truth in public affairs has struck many politicans as prosecutorial. We in the press ought to make a deal with the pols. When they agree to do right invariably we'll agree to say so invariably. That would be heaven.

HARRIS POLL

Reagan Made Error In Choice of Issue

By Louis Harris

There is mounting evidence that former California Gov. Ronald Reagan made a wrong political move when he drew the line between himself and President Ford over the issue of U.S. cooperation with the Soviet Union.

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted among a cross-section of 1,512 adults nationwide, public backing for detente continues to be high at a 59-23 per cent level, only slightly down from the 62-15 per cent majority who favored it back in December. Among Republicans, support for detente stands at 60-28 per cent. Even conservative voters are in favor of further cooperation with Russia by a 57-28 per cent majority.

These results suggest that conservative spokesmen have vastly overestimated the depth of opposition to Kissinger-Nixon-Ford policies of trying to cooperate with the Soviets.

Indeed, when a cross-section of Republicans and independents was recently asked who could do a better job on a variety of foreign policy issues, President Ford's lead over challenger Reagan ran from 18 to 19 per cent:

—On working for peace in the world, President Ford holds a commanding 46-27 per cent lead over Reagan.

—On handling relations with our allies in western Europe, the President does no better than 54-33 per cent negative.

—On handling relations with China, Mr. Ford's standing is 54-34 per cent negative.

Earlier in the year, the President received even lower ratings on foreign policy, but since Reagan began to attack him, his standing has improved. Nevertheless, Mr. Ford is still highly vulnerable on the foreign-policy issue.

However, the main reason for the President's relatively weak showing on foreign policy is that he has devoted most of his attention to domestic affairs. He inherited the foreign policy of ex-President Richard Nixon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and the public does not yet associate President Ford with foreign policy. Indeed, a majority still view it as the area in which he is least experienced.

Ironically, by attacking the President on foreign policy, especially the detente issue, Reagan may be doing him an enormous political favor. Until the Californian defeated Mr. Ford in the North Carolina primary and then leveled a broadside attack on him in a nationwide television appearance, President Ford had been notably silent on the foreign-policy issue in his campaigning.

Since then, a major strand of Ford rhetoric on the campaign trail has been to take up the Reagan challenge on foreign policy. The odds heavily favor the President in the debate. There is little doubt that public opinion strongly favors detente.

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The New York Times

THE WEATHER
Sunny and very warm today; mil
tonight. Partly sunny tomorrow
Temperature range: today 85-88
Saturday 66-91. Details on page 4

SECTION ONE

...No. 43,184 — NEW YORK, SUNDAY, APRIL 18, 1976 — 75 CENTS

Carter Gets Media Edge in Pennsylvania

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

PITTSBURGH, April 17—Jimmy Carter has stolen a march on his Democratic rivals by raising enough money for a fairly intensive television and radio advertising campaign in the week leading up to the crucial Pennsylvania primary.

The commercials for the former Georgia Governor started on television stations in Pittsburgh last night. By Monday they will be on the air in each of the state's five TV markets. A day later a heavy campaign of Carter radio ads is due to begin.

Dogged by financial and organizational problems, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona have yet to make any firm plans for the purchase of significant amounts of TV and radio time. Until this weekend, their staffs seemed to be operating on the assumption that none of the candidates in the race would be able to afford a TV campaign.

With a head start of at least several days on television, Mr. Carter has won an important tactical advantage. He started off here as the candidate who had received the most exposure, by far, on network news programs, simply because he had run in more primaries than either of his two main rivals.

Now, as the only candidate with advertising on TV, he continues to get the most exposure. The lack of competition can only enhance the effectiveness of his ads, giving him a rare opportunity to bring his candidacy into focus for voters who are interested but not yet committed.

Key in Florida Victory

An early start in TV advertising was an important element in Mr. Carter's victory over Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the Florida primary last month. In the Wisconsin primary, Mr. Udall had the advantage of the early start and, if polls taken there were accurate, it enabled him to come from behind and nearly defeat Mr. Carter.

The fact that Mr. Udall's heavy use of TV in Wisconsin was not quite sufficient to bring him his first victory led to disagreements on tactics within his campaign organization and, ultimately, to a break with John Marttila's Boston consulting concern, which had prepared his ads.

Yesterday William Connell, a former campaign aide to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, filmed some news spots of Mr. Udall for possible use in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. But, of today, the funds to pay for the ads were not assured. Here in Pittsburgh, the Udall campaign has ordered only two 30-second spots.

The Jackson campaign, which has also been plagued by disagreements on tactics, has yet to approach TV stations here or give any directions on its plans for Pennsylvania to its New York advertising concern, Lois Holland Callaway Inc.

The closely knit Carter organization, which has come this far without manifesting noticeable schisms, seems to have been the only one that made an early decision on its advertising plans for the April 27 Pennsylvania primary.

What is more crucial, now that Federal matching funds have stopped flowing to the candidates, the Carter organization also made careful plans to raise the money it would need. The present plan is to spend $154,000, at least $80,000 of which would go for TV.

Quick Use of Funds

In hand-to-mouth fashion, the money is being transferred to Pennsylvania TV and radio stations almost as quickly as it is raised. Twenty thousand dollars went out on Thursday and $57,000 yesterday.

According to Robert Lipshutz, the finance chairman, these funds were mainly raised in Georgia and New York. Further transfusions of dollars, he said, are expected early next week from fund-raising efforts now under way in California.

The Carter commercials have been redesigned for Pennsylvania in order to deal with the accusation that he avoids clear-cut stands on issues. Each of 30-second and 60-second spots now leads off with an announcer and a printed title both connecting the candidate's name as closely as possible to the work "issue."

For instance, at the start of one spot the viewer reads: "Jimmy Carter on the Issue of Jobs." At the same time, an announcer is declaiming: "Jimmy Carter on the employment issue."

Other spots speak of the management "issue," the health care "issue," something called the "issue of change," or simply, "Jimmy Carter on the issues." In each case, Mr. Carter appears to render familiar portions of his standard campaign talks. Then the announcer returns to suggest: "If you see this critical issue the way Jimmy Carter does, vote for him April 27."

If nothing else, the viewer is left with the impression that he has heard Mr. Carter on the issues. As long as his rivals have no advertising of their own, Mr. Carter may even seem to have the issues all to himself.

Learning From Television

Academic studies have indicated that voters actually do learn more about the issue stands of candidates from TV spots than they do from TV news programs, which tend to emphasize campaign events, the daily crossfire of accusations and the forecasts of handicappers.

Mr. Carter's issue stands are generally broad enough to accommodate most voters. In the spot on "the issue of change," which was filmed only this week, he is shown at an airport, standing beside his chartered jet airliner.

An extended hand holds a microphone before the candidate's face, thereby simulating a TV news interview. (The body attached to the hand, which is never visible on the screen, belonged not to a newsman but to Gerald Rafshoon, the Atlanta advertising man who designs Mr. Carter's ads.)

The wind on the runway musses the candidate's hair. Speaking into the mike, he declares: "The fundamental question in this race is whether we're going to have major changes in the way the country's run. We're not going to get those changes simply by shifting around the same group of Washington insiders. The insiders have had their chance and they have not delivered."

The candidate's voice then fades and an announcer's comes on to remind the viewer that, once again, he has heard Mr. Carter on a "critical issue."

Atom Energy and Budget Planks Urged on Democrats in the South

ATLANTA, April 17 (UPI)— A nuclear energy plank, a balanced budget and tougher handgun laws were among the suggestions submitted by Southern leaders today at a hearing held by the Democratic Platform Committee.

The meeting was organized by Gov. Philip W. Noel of Rhode Island to gather Southern views on what should go into the Democratic platform at the National Convention in July.

Governor Ray Blanton of Tennessee and former Florida Gov. Leroy Collins urged the committee to write a strong pro-nuclear plank, because, in Mr. Blanton's words, "continued support of [nuclear] breeder demonstration and development is sessential to meet our national nuclear and electrical needs."

The nation's first large-scale nuclear breeder reactor will be built in Tennessee, Mr. Blanton said.

Governor George Busbee of Georgia urged that Democrats demand a no-frills balanced Federal budget, and Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta asked for a tough handgun law in the hearing before the 45 committee members.

The Democratic National Committeewomen's Caucus listed ratification of the equal rights amendment as the top priority on its "Women's Agenda '76," along with repeal of criminal laws that apply differently to men and women.

Koryne Horbal, a committeewoman from Minnesota, said the women's agenda had the support of the remaining Presidential candidates except Governor George Wallace and Senator Frank Church.

Mr. Busbee attacked the Republicans in his plea for a balanced budget geared to getting Americans back to work without artificial economic constraints or inducements.

"We are tired of plowing money and effort into programs that put people to work for government," Mr. Busbee said. "Southerners want their tax dollars spent on programs that put government to work for people."

Without mentioning former President Richard M. Nixon, said the 1968 and 1972 Republican platforms were unkept promises because the former President "ran this country the same way his platform was drafted — in an isolated and secretive way, completely removed from the opinions and feelings of the American people."

Mr. Jackson, the first black mayor of a major Southern city, said, "There are about 65 guns for every man, woman and child in America," including pistols, rifles and shotguns. He said that of 132 policemen killed in 1974, 71 per cent were killed with pistols.

Parley Planned to Spur Black Voters

30

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Spokesmen for the black community, noting a general decline in black voting and continuing low registration among blacks, have voiced concern that apathy and cynicism about politics could seriously dilute gains of recent years and hinder future progress.

The matter is considered so serious that some of the country's major political, civil rights, religious, fraternal and business organizations are planning a closed-door meeting in Washington on May 5 to develop a "crash program" to promote greater black participation in organized politics.

"Now is not the time for black Americans to grow silent and lethargic when nearly every issue in the political arena has significant impact, often disproportionate adverse impact, on blacks and other minorities," Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, said recently.

Similar warnings have come from leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League and the Voter Education Project, as well as from blacks in both major political parties.

Third in Primaries

Their concerns grow out of the fact that less than a third of the registered black voters have turned out for the Presidential primaries thus far this year. In contrast, a tabulation by The New York Times found that in the five major primaries in February and March—those in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois and North Carolina—39.4 percent of all registered voters participated.

There has been a steady decline in black voting in the last decade and, while 14 million blacks are eligible to vote, only about half are registered.

Some 90 percent of the registered black voters are Democrats, and this group is said to have accounted for 25.6 percent of the Democratic vote for President in 1972.

"I am persuaded that we have a grave responsibility to turn the tide and turn it quickly in moving our people into greater political activity to cement and build on the gains we have made," said Margaret Bush Wilson, chairman of the national board of the N.A.A.C.P., said. "The key to exercising influence in this country relies on exercising the vote nationally and locally."

Mrs. Wilson said the N.A.A.C.P.'s more than 1,700 chapters would increase their voter registration efforts this year and urged other groups to do the same.

While black leaders interviewed recently asserted that the need for black political involvement was great, they agreed also that the prospects were discouraging.

"There is a lot of apathy and cynicism in our communities," said John Lewis, director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project, a privately funded organization that gives money to local groups to conduct registration programs in 11 Southern states.

Echoing the call for a national crash program "reminiscent of the civil rights movement," Mr. Lewis called on "the most visible and respected symbols among our people to take the message to black America that their garbage pickup, their jobs, education and their futures all are determined by how strong they are politically."

Mr. Lewis, who was a founder and chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said that his current annual budget was $500,000 compared with $700,000 in 1972 when his 14-year-old organization assisted 150 voter registration programs.

Little Foundation Aid

The executive director of the National Urban League, Vernon Jordan, who was once the director of the education project, argued that the "problem of the lack of black political participation is compounded by the absence of a programmatic interest on the part of most foundations in supporting voter registration and citizenship programs as were done in the 1960's and early 1970's."

A political scientist, Dr. Charles V. Hamilton, president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, recently depicted a general American malaise that has an even greater impact on blacks to the point that "they have been depoliticized and exhausted, like boxers on the ropes." He said many had been so worn down by a series of ethnic and national crisis that "they will neither vote nor revolt."

And a long-time political observer in the Deep South, Dr. Aaron Shirley of Jackson, Miss., has expressed the fear that the upsurge of black political activity in the 1960's that put more than 3,500 blacks into political office might be a repetition of the earlier political movement that followed the Civil War.

During the Reconstruction period, freed slaves sent black Senators and Representatives to Congress as well as legislators to several state governments, only to see the thrust wither and die with the subsequent passage of Jim Crow laws, the growth of the Ku Klux Klan and rigid segregation and discrimination.

'Ethnic Treasure'

Following hard on Jimmy Carter's unfortunate use of the phrase "ethnic purity," for which the former governor had the grace to apologize, President Ford only compounded the problem in attempting to explain it away.

"Ethnic heritage is a great treasure of this country," said the President of the United States in response to a question, "and I don't think that Federal action should be used to destroy that treasure." In the context, Mr. Ford was referring to the role of the Federal Government in using housing legislation to encourage the integration of hitherto racially (or ethnically) unmixed urban areas. Put in blunter terms, what he was saying was that he did not believe in nudging Federally-assisted housing for low-income families into relatively higher-income, de facto segregated, districts in order to help minorities not only to get *out* of the inner-city ghettos but also to get *in* to areas—such as the suburbs—where upgraded and better paid jobs are now more likely to be found.

As all the Presidential candidates, and non-candidate Humphrey (to whom the question was also put last week, and who also evaded it) know, the issue is not really the use of governmental power to *block* integration but the use of that power under the law to *promote* it. It is not an easy issue, nor can any broad and sweeping generalizations be made about its exercise; for each case where it arises has to be evaluated in terms of the specific conditions of the urban—or suburban—area concerned. But it is an issue that has to be faced, not evaded.

On the face of it, of course, what the President said about the great "ethnic heritage" of this country cannot be faulted; but the President is, if nothing else, an experienced politician, and it would be most remarkable if he did not realize that the words he used could only be interpreted as a signal to the "ethnic" neighborhoods that he would in no way favor application of Federal funds or power to *further* the racial or economic integration of non-integrated neighborhoods, as the 1968 Housing Act provides. While most if not all the other Presidential hopefuls have been saying pretty much the same thing, it is particularly discouraging to hear this kind of pandering to racial or "ethnic" prejudices come from the President himself.

* * * *

The mixture of "ethnic" strains that make up the American people is one of the great sources of this country's strength; and the cultural contributions of the original inhabitants and of the varied "ethnic," national, religious and social groups that have poured into this continent for nearly five centuries constitute a heritage of which every American should indeed be proud.

But the essence of America is not its diversity; it is the unity in that diversity—and this is in fact one of the unique contributions of American civilization to the world. In no place else on earth, on the continental scale in which it has taken place here, have so many peoples from so many lands, of such diverse backgrounds, coalesced into one nation, founded on the very principle of equality of every man and woman before the law, and aspiring to an integrated society that encourages unity and neither recognizes nor practices racial, religious or "ethnic" barriers among its people. Though this goal is still far from fulfillment, it is the essential goal; it constitutes the inner meaning of "E Pluribus Unum"; it is what the Statue of Liberty really stands for.

This is the genius of America; and this, it seems to us, is what the President of the United States should be emphasizing at all times, and especially in this year of the Bicentennial—even in the throes of a political campaign.

6

WEATHER
Partly cloudy and warm. Details on Page 16B.

The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
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GALLUP POLL

Most Feel U.S. Less Moral

By GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N.J. — While Easter is a period of rejoicing for Christians, it occurs this year at a time when members of all faiths are concerned about the decline of morals in the United States.

This may help to explain why the public is overwhelmingly in favor of introducing instruction in morals and moral behavior in the public schools of the nation.

A Gallup survey finds 66 per cent of those interviewed of the belief that people today do not lead as honest and moral lives as people did in the past.

When this same question was asked in 1965, the proportion was only 52 per cent. In 1952, opinion was almost evenly divided with 47 per cent expressing the belief that morality was declining and 46 per cent saying it was not.

Various indicators — showing a growth in crime and violence, sexual permissiveness, alcoholism, divorce and the breakup of the family unit — have led some observers to take a pessimistic view of America's future.

Ironically, the U.S. has one of the worst crime records in the world and yet at the same time is one of the most religious in terms of the importance Americans place on religion in their lives.

Here is the question asked in the current survey:

"Do you think people in general today lead as good lives — honest and moral — as they used to?"

The trend in national findings:

	Yes	No	No Opinion
1976	30%	66%	4%
1965	39%	52%	9%
1952	47%	46%	7%

The view that people are leading less honest and moral lives today than in the past is held by a solid majority in each major population group.

The increasingly pessimistic view on morality is not surprising in view of the following attitudes assessed by the Gallup Poll:

— The top problems in communities of all sizes, according to the public, are crime and lawlessness. A quarter-century ago these problems were seldom mentioned as top local problems. Nearly half of all Americans today say they are fearful of venturing out after dark in their own neighborhoods. One person in four nationwide has been mugged, robbed, assaulted, or had his house broken into at least once during a 12-month period tested.

— A total of 59 per cent of the parents of children now attending public schools say the use of drugs by young people locally is a serious problem. Alcohol, which many people also regard as a drug, has become a relatively new problem at a time when the use of marijuana and hard drugs seems to have levelled off. A total of 55 per cent of parents say the use of alcohol by youths is a serious problem in their communities.

In the absence of moral instruction in many homes, an overwhelming majority of all major groups in the population favor instruction in morals and moral behavior in the public schools. Interestingly, one of the groups most in favor is made up of parents who now have children enrolled in public schools.

The question asked was: *"Would you favor or oppose instruction in the schools that would deal with morals and moral behavior?"*

	National Totals	No Children In Schools	Public School Parents	Parochial School Parents
Favor	79%	76%	84%	50%
Oppose	15	17	12	13
Don't Know	6	7	4	2

The results are based on personal interviews with 1,538 adults, 18 and older, in more than 300 scientifically selected localities during the period Jan. 23-26.

Rocky Lacks Charm, Answers in Visit

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

Publicly questioning Vice President Rockefeller about national politics these days is about as productive as discussing the stock market with a Tanzanian goat herder.

The only difference is that the goat herder would likely be more interested in the stock market than Rocky appears to be in the political scene.

The vice president was in Atlanta Thursday for a day of cocktail-sipping and closed-door meetings with Georgia Republicans, presumably about the upcoming May 4 presidential primary here, but one can never be sure.

In the interim, Rockefeller managed to squeeze about 30 minutes from his busy schedule for a press conference during which he managed to establish himself as the most apathetic, nonchalant or isolated man in the Ford administration.

It is conceivable that the former New York governor felt that a bunch of seedy-looking Southern reporters were lacking in sophistication to understand anything beyond one-line wisecrack answers to serious questions.

Another possibility is that the vice president is the only person who has adopted a sensible approach to the 1976 presidential elections and that everybody else is taking the matter too seriously.

Insights Out of Sight

At any rate, Rockefeller came across with some jewels of candor and insight into the current political situation.

Some examples:

— The troubles of Howard "Bo" Callaway stem from overzealousness on the part of the printed news media which have resorted to a "prosecutorial trend" in order to compete with television.

The charges that Callway used improper influence as secretary of the army to gain concessions from the U.S. Forestry Service to expand his Colorado ski resort may have come from this trend, Rocky suggested, "but I don't know."

He seemed unaware of the fact that the Callaway charges were unearthed by a weekly newspaper in Crested Butte and first reported nationally by NBC-TV.

— He had no thoughts whatsoever about the implications of the various approaches Jimmy Carter and President Ford took to the "ethnic purity" controversy which has come as close as anything so far to sinking the Democratic frontrunner's campaign.

"I don't know what President Ford said about it, and I'm not sure what the implications are of what Carter said," the vice president explained.

He salvaged the moment by treating the newsmen to a dissertation about his own ethnic background and winding up with the question: "What is ethnic purity?"

Apparently none of the reporters knew because nobody answered him.

— He had even fewer insights into the potential outcome of races between Ford and Ronald Reagan in the primary elections that will be held in seven Southern states — including Georgia — before the end of May.

If Ford should lose some of them to Reagan, so what? The President will still win the nomination.

That one ought to go over among Dixie Republicans about as well as "ethnic purity" went over with the NAACP.

— When asked if Jimmy Carter's so-far successful campaign had changed the image of the South among Northerners, Rockefeller launched into a condescending speech about how the South had always been dear in the hearts of Yankees.

He said he didn't know what "the image" of the South was in the North, then added that he didn't know if Carter had done anything to change it.

"If he's done anything to change it," he said, "it hasn't reached us in New York yet."

Obviously, Carter ran fourth in the New York primary a few weeks ago.

The vice president managed to detract from his boredom by spending most of his press conference swapping compliments and reminiscences with a half-dozen elderly black men who are always ushered past the Secret Service and placed on the front row when he visits Atlanta.

They were the only ones laughing at his jokes.

Reagan Best Thing for Ford?

Rockefeller did manage to come up with one pearl of wisdom when he suggested that the Reagan campaign was the best thing that could have happened to President Ford this year.

With Reagan in the race, he said, the Republicans were getting their share of publicity in the primary elections. Otherwise, all the news coverage would have gone to the Democrats.

He might have noted that it is also the best thing that could have happened to Jimmy Carter in Georgia and in other Southern states where there is no voter registration by party.

Georgia Republicans, at least, are notorious for crossing over into the Democratic primaries and messing things up when they have no contested races in their own camp.

Since few of the GOP loyalists here have lost any love for Carter, it stands to reason that most of them would vote for some other Democrat in the Georgia primary.

It is very likely that, in a reasonably close race here that includes George Wallace of Alabama, a GOP crossover movement could beat Carter in his own state.

Few voters in other areas would have the patience to take in the possibility that Carter might have been rejected at home because of Republican soreheads, and it might be impossible for him to get it across.

And it's hard to see how Carter could maintain much of an appeal in the rest of the nation after being rejected by his own people.

But Reagan's still in it a few weeks away from the election and as long as he and Ford are in hot contention here the Georgia Republicans will vote in their own primary.

So, as Carter has properly noted in the past, Reagan's active candidacy is one of the best things he has going for him for the time being.

CARTER .

Continued From A-1

Moreover, Humphrey has always been particularly strong in a state whose 2.8 million Democrats are dominated by organized labor and a pervasive organization. This was his best state four years ago, giving him first place with 35 percent of the vote against George McGovern, George Wallace and Edmund S. Muskie.

The stop-Carter strategy reflects a developing consensus among Democratic professionals about what it is realistic to expect in the final six weeks of the primary season.

First, there is recognition that Carter is ideally positioned to take advantage of a triumph here April 27. Four days later, he is the only candidate other than Wallace challenging the favorite son slates of Sen. Lloyd Bentsen in Texas, a situation in which he would need no better than a respectable second-place to claim victory.

And three days after that there are primaries in Indiana, Georgia, Alabama and the District of Columbia in which he would be heavily favored to be the overall winner if he defeats Jackson and Udall here. The two most important of these, Indiana and Georgia, offer 125 delegates or about 10 percent of what any candidate needs to arrive at the convention with runaway force.

BY CONTRAST, Jackson does not have a "good" primary on his schedule until May 18 in Michigan, and there are those who doubt that is really fertile ground for him, either.

Udall's situation, if he fares poorly here, is even less promising. There is no contest until the May 25 Oregon primary in which he would be considered formidable.

Quite aside from his positioning, however, Carter is being buoyed these days by a spreading awareness among Democratic politicians that there is a point at which he cannot be denied the nomination without tearing apart the party and forfeiting its hopes for defeating the Republicans in November.

Just what that tipping point will be is far from certain. Douglas Fraser, a vice president of the United Auto Workers sympathetic to Udall, has put it as low as 950 to 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates needed to win. Others have put it as high as 1,200, which was the effective turning point for George McGovern four years ago.

A third element in the Democratic equation at this critical point is the growing suspicion, fed by opinion surveys such as last week's Gallup poll, that Carter might have better chance of defeating President Ford than Humphrey. If Carter wins here April 27, the universal expectation is that he will continue his rise in the polls as he continues to gain delegates, one feeding on the other.

SUCCESS FOR the stop-Carter bloc would require a whole new set of political calculations.

In a sense the 51-year-old Georgian from left field is a captive of his own success in winning six of the first eight primaries. In January a second-place finish here to Jackson would have been considered a coup for such an outsider; today it would be considered evidence of underlying weakness despite those earlier primaries.

The other side of that coin is, of course, the impact a victory here would have on either Jackson or Udall.

Success for Udall, who has been clinging to his 5 percent in the national polls, would force the party into a radical re-examination of the widely held view now that no liberal candidate is capable of broadening his base to be a serious competitor for the nomination this year.

An upset by Jackson, which most Democrats here consider a far more realistic possibility, would alter the situation almost as radically.

FOR ONE THING, it would seem to assure that no candidate could arrive at the convention near a tipping point, wherever it is set. Carter's hopes for success in later primaries — such as those in Indiana and Michigan, for example — are predicated to a large degree on his reputation as the guy who can lick any man in the house.

But a Jackson triumph here also would change the outlook for Humphrey. The Washington Democrat demonstrated at the 1972 national convention that his ambitions for a presidential nomination are not easily put aside. And so long as he is in the field, there is no way Humphrey can enter the competition without being accused of playing political mischief.

Some Humphrey supporters here write scenarios in which Jackson goes to the wire, finally decides he cannot be nominated and throws his support to his colleague from Minnesota. But, as one Jackson intimate put it last week, "I'm not so sure Hubert would be Scoop's first choice if it came down to that."

So if the game in Pennsylvania is Stop Carter, and it most assuredly is, it is far from certain that it is necessarily Start Hubert, as well.

DAVID ISRAEL: *Jimmy Goes Out to Meet the People of D.C.*

Summer had come so suddenly and now they were trying to beat the oppressive, sweating air. They were sitting on benches and kitchen chairs beneath the fire escape of 3025 15th St. NW, throwing down Miller's beer. They were sitting in the cooling shadows cast by the aged, decaying apartment building and next to them there was a bottle-and-brick alley where 3027 15th St. NW had been.

There were six adults here. Ethel was the dominant one. Lu, older, graying, quiet, kept the baby, CoCo, on her lap. Bessy, toothless, just wanted to drink beer and laugh and be left alone. Andy grinned and said he didn't like being called Andrew.

THE MUSCULAR GUY wrapped his arms around the metal of the fire escape, said his name was Shotgun and he lived around the corner on Columbia Road and, no, he had not been to Miami Beach, he just got the T-shirt somewhere, and yes, he had a job, but it was not one's business what he did. Old Willie sat silently in a corner, his back against the brick wall, cutting the callouses off his hands with a pocket knife.

The children sat noiselessly, observing their future. Little Marco did not know that there were not supposed to be long slits in the knees of his pants; he did not know there were supposed to be laces in his shoes.

It was after 3 on a Friday afternoon when a stranger approached.

"Are you going to see Jimmy Carter?" the stranger asked. "He's going to be just up the block in five minutes, about 50 yards from here."

"Who?" Ethel said.

"Jimmy Carter. He's running for president."

"JIMMY STARK?" Ethel asked.

"No. Carter."

"Carter Stark?" Ethel said.

"No. Jimmy Carter. He's running for president."

"He a senator?" Bessy asked.

"No. He used to be governor of Georgia. Now he's not in office."

"Never heard of him," Bessy said. "But you say he's running for president."

"The real president?" Ethel said. "Is he better than the one they got in there now?" Shotgun said.

"As long as he tells the truth and not lies, he's got to be better," Lu said.

"You want us to go see him?" Ethel said.

"I just wanted to know if you were going to see him."

"Is he a Democrat?" Bessy said.

"YES. HE'S WON a lot of primaries. He's been on television. Been on magazine covers. He's in the papers every day."

"I haven't heard nothing about him," Ethel said. "I don't know how he is. I don't know nothing about him."

"Why don't you just write what you think?" Shotgun said. "You got one vote just the same as us. Don't make much of a difference."

"I don't want to go look at him," Bessy said. "I don't want to see him. I don't care if he's standing right there. Ford, Nixon, either."

It had been just another campaign day for Jimmy Carter, who they keep saying is Kennedy all over again. It had been a day of fund-raising breakfasts and television talk show appearances and speeches and press conferences and meetings with religious leaders.

He was in Washington because the District is having a primary on May 4, and he sure would like your support just the way he has the support of his family.

IT HAD ALL been routine. At the press conference he talked about local political squabbles and Hubert Humphrey and health and taxes and not abandoning the District of Columbia. But the words were rolling right by you.

You just kept watching his terrific blue-gray eyes. You watched them dart around the room; you watched them act in opposition to the smile. The eyes were accented by his clothing, and they certainly were terrific, magnetic eyes. And then you realized that Paul Newman never tried to run for president of the United States.

After the press conference, Jimmy Carter went out for the first time to meet the people of Washington. He was allowing them a half hour of his time.

He went to the Wilson Auditorium at 15th and Irving NW, in Adams-Morgan. He went to a place that had been organized as the Central Presbyterian Church in 1868 and rebuilt in 1913. The neighborhood had changed.

JIMMY CARTER came to cam
paign and the place was half empty
Many of the few people there wer
Spanish speaking. So Jimmy Carter
who reads the Bible in Spanish eac
night before he sleeps, dazzled then
with his Spanish.

But Ethel and Willie and Shotgu
and Bessy and Lu and Andy did no
know a thing about it.

They would not even leave the
fire escape to walk down to the cor
ner to see Jimmy Carter, who they
keep saying is Kennedy all ove
again.

"Aren't you disappointed with thi
turn-out?" someone asked Pete
Bourne, a top Carter campaign aide.

"We didn't do a very good job ad
vancing it," Bourne said. "But thi
was not really what we cared abou
most. We were more interested in the
speech on health before the black
medical students. That was what was
going to get on the network news
shows."

MARY McGRORY: Why Ford Is Driving the Humphrey Band Wagon

Gerald Ford continues to act as Hubert Humphrey's campaign manager. In the Rose Garden last week, he again pointed out that he is "still" trying to get the non-candidate nominated, and predicted that Humphrey will be the one he faces in November.

Democrats have to ask themselves why.

Is it because Ford thinks he could wipe up the floor with the Happy Warrior? Do his polls tell him that the country is tired — tired of the pain and shame of Vietnam and Watergate — and wants above all to be left alone — something Hubert Humphrey is constitutionally unable to do?

Ford may have made the calculation that underlies Jimmy Carter's campaign, which is that the nation wishes to see itself as lovable and loving and wants ideologues, with their guilt-producing schemes, to go away. Jimmy Carter, Ford may have decided, is formidable because he preaches patriotism, faith and the notion that the South is an idea whose time has come. Humphrey might lose the South, and Carter might win it — a point that is made by Ronald Reagan to the increasing nervousness of the White House.

It could be, of course, that Ford is following a more devious path. His interest and intervention in Democratic affairs could irritate the opposition to the point where, just for spite, they would refuse to nominate Humphrey, even though they want him.

By focusing on Humphrey, Ford calls attention to his own participation in the primaries. The friend of the underprivileged is the most privileged person in his party. The joys of a non-active candidacy were highlighted again during a candidates' morning before the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

The three "actives" did not show up. They declined to cross a picket line set up by NBC employes in front of the Shoreham Americana Hotel. The editors went to court and got an injunction which limited the pickets to one entrance. It was too late for the three to come in by another door.

So the scene in the ballroom was out of the '30s, when the family gathered around the Atwater Kent. Four reporters sat in easy chairs on the stage and talked by telephone to the three contenders. It was dated and rather fun, since it was possible, without the usual body English of such forums, to listen to what they were saying and not be distracted by what they were doing to each other. Voices were everything, and Rep. Morris Udall's came across the best — resonant, twangy, relaxed.

Jimmy Carter was a little hard to follow, even for his Southern brethren in the crowd. Jackson was testy. Udall seemed the most human, humorous and hard-up.

He was asked, as they all were, why he was honoring what by midsession was being called "an illegal secondary boycott." He replied simply that he was awfully strapped and relied on news shows to come before the people. The NBC people had been nice to him, Udall explained. He wanted to be nice to them, regardless of the merits of the dispute.

And when he was asked if he regretted having gone on television the night of April 6 to herald a Wisconsin victory which turned out later to exist only on the computer projections of two networks, he said he wasn't sorry because at least it got him on the air.

"I desperately need attention," said the liberal whom everybody likes and does not think can win.

Udall remarked with that detachment that eluded the others, including Humphrey, that he thought it was "possible" Humphrey could duck the primaries and emerge from a deadlocked convention.

He is," Udall said, "the one person in America who could be nominated without a lot of resistance."

The plight of contenders who were fearful of antagonizing the labor vote on the eve of the Pennsylvania primary allowed Humphrey to do a little grandstanding when he made his lone star appearance at the editors' lunch.

He struck a profile in courage. A union representative had urged him not to show up, but Humphrey had come anyway. He alone, with his record of 30 years, can take liberties with labor.

He was his wonted bubbling, handclapping, rousing, warming self. But is he not taking advantage of his position, he was asked. A Draft Humphrey Committee, not subject to campaign law contribution limitations, has been formed, and is collecting large sums. Was that fair?

Humphrey bridled. It was not fair. He didn't know anything about it. Could that be? The two prime movers are his best friends, Minnesota's governor, Wendell Anderson, its senior senator, Fritz Mondale.

Another answer he gave may have interested Ford even more. Did he think that the Nixon pardon and Watergate should or would be campaign issues?

"If you start throwing mud at them, you are likely to get a ton of concrete back," he replied jauntily.

Ford knows, in short, how vulnerable Humphrey knows he is. That's why the President never misses a chance to push him forward as his November rival.

Every Primary for Udall Becomes Another 'Perils of Pauline' Episode

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — Rep. Morris K. Udall had just finished a television interview in which he described his professional basketball career — "I played one year as a second-stringer for an expansion team that went bankrupt" — then hurried to a telephone to try to raise funds for his impoverished presidential campaign.

He kicked off his shoes, which revealed a sock that had the beginning of a hole in the toe and began making his pitch.

The two incidents symbolized a lot about Udall's hang-by-the-fingernails campaign. Each primary for him is an installment in a political version of the "Perils of Pauline." He narrowly escapes going over the falls each time and each successive primary seems to loom more menacingly for him.

THE WISCONSIN primary was supposed to be do-or-die for Udall but his hairbreadth loss to Jimmy Carter and his better-than-expected showing in New York the same day kept him alive, if just barely.

In Pennsylvania on April 27, he faces the danger of elimination-once again. He is caught there between Carter and Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

Carter has name recognition and momentum from his early primary victories, plus the support of Mayor Peter Flaherty of Pittsburgh. Jackson has the support of most of labor, which is a big factor in Pennsylvania, and the organization of Mayor Frank Rizzo of Philadelphia.

The freeze on federal campaign matching funds until the Congress reconstitutes the Federal Election Commission has all three active Democratic presidential candidates in a cruel bind, but it hurts Udall more than the others. He has a name recognition problem in Pennsylvania. It can be offset by advertising and press exposure, but this requires money.

Carter appears to have a fragile lead in Pennsylvania, although there is still a sizable number of uncommitted voters. If either Jackson or Udall were to finish very far behind Carter it could be fatal, or nearly so, to them. Failure to win Pennsylvania would seriously dent Jackson's claim that he is the best candidate in the Northern industrial states, where he says the general election will be won. Udall simply has to win a primary at some point to keep money coming in.

Udall argued last week that this really wasn't so, but he always managed to undercut his own argument.

"This money and media thing could hurt here but I don't care where I finish in the primaries," he contended. "The early primaries were to eliminate the weaker candidates and now we're going after delegates. I'll get a substantial number here in Pennsylvania, and delegates are what I'm after in the May and June primaries."

TWO OR THREE minutes later, however, he confessed to a major problem. "That magic psychology," he sighed. "Just 1 percent more in Wisconsin and I'd have won and it would have made a big difference. Winners raise more money than losers."

The money shortage hurts on down the line as well. Udall would like to have two full-time organizers in Michigan but can't afford them. Lack of money affects planning and organizing in states such as Oregon and California.

Udall takes some comfort in the fact that the others are caught in the same bind. He signed a personal note for $30,000 last week which was used for basic organizing expenses in Pennsylvania, but Carter had to sign a note for $70,000.

Jackson once had a rich campaign treasury that he hoped would enable him to wear out his opponents in the late primaries, but it was depleted by his New York effort. He spent all day Thursday on the telephone raising money instead of campaigning.

A candidate takes money where he can find it. Flying from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia last week Udall was on a plane with members of Leonard Skinner's rock and roll band. Recognizing Udall they asked how to make a contribution.

Just give him the money, they were told, no more than $100 cash or $1,000 in checks per person. They hauled out their wallets and began counting out bills and came up with a total of $200. Spotting a national television correspondent, they asked where the cameras were, apparently hoping the contribution might be filmed. There were no cameramen available.

"I got $100 on the flight to Kentucky the day before," Udall laughed. "Maybe I'll just ride on the airplane all day and pass the hat up and down the aisle." He has about 50 people calling potential contributors and his chief money-raiser, Angelo Geocaris, is trying to put together enough $1,000 loans to enable him to spend $250,000, half on advertising, half on organization, in Pennsylvania. This is about what he spent in Wisconsin.

"It's a bigger state than Wisconsin," Udall said leaning back in his chair between calls. "But it's a quickie state. You don't try to organize it the way you do another state like Wisconsin or New Hampshire."

Whereas he was able to blanket Wisconsin with advertising, in Pennsylvania the budget will restrict him to selective radio spots and television on the weekend before the primary. He is making no effort to identify and turn out his voters through telephone canvasses but will rely instead on 20 mobile vans from which volunteers will fan out with leaflets in areas where he expects to be strong.

THESE INCLUDE the Philadelphia suburbs, five state senate districts in predominantly black areas of Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Allentown, Erie, and all the college towns in the state.

"You've got 3 million registered Democrats in Pennsylvania and with a telephone bank of 80 phones you could contact maybe 120,000 to 140,000 of them," says Jack Quinn, his national campaign coordinator. "Since the phone company requires a deposit of $500 a line that's $40,000 right there and it just isn't worth it."

Udall's hope is that he can run strong in the Philadelphia suburbs as he did in New York and that he can cut into the black vote with which Carter has has great luck so far. He notes that he carried Harlem and that he has the support of Charles Bowser, the black leader who ran as an independent candidate for mayor against Rizzo.

Udall's supporters concede that Carter's remark

about "ethnic purity" probably is a wash. "It may hurt him some with the blacks but it probably helps him some with whites," one said.

UDALL confesses that he was disappointed that he hasn't gotten the support of more black leaders. "I'm not bitter but maybe a little disappointed," he said. "On my record of support for civil rights and issues important to blacks I thought I'd be the one. There's a strange chemistry between Carter and the blacks, in some places he is for busing, in other places he's against busing, and I say someone's being had here."

Udall said he was not going to "beat the ethnic purity issue to death" and then took a few additional whacks at it. "When Carter was pressed for clarification, he used terms like 'black intruders' and 'aliens,' He apologized, but if I used such terms the apology wouldn't explain away the fact that there was something in my mind that caused me to use such words."

While campaigning against Carter on the black issue Udall is hitting Jackson on economic, bread-and-butter issues. "We're going after him on his inability to deliver on his promises because of his commitment to a higher defense budget," Quinn says.

Udall also calls Carter a "conservative Democrat." "He's very shrewd," he says. "The conservatives think he's a conservative and the liberals think he's a liberal. But he was the only candidate who was not for helping the cities last fall, who was not for breaking up the oil companies, who was not for the Hawkins-Humphrey bill to guarantee jobs for the unemployed, or for Sen. Kennedy's health insurance bill. He's out of touch with most Democrats. He's more like President Ford."

UDALL ADMITS that he has a problem of low visibility and recognition with working class voters which in Pennsylvania is a serious liability. He professed to see encouraging signs, however.

"I've climbed steadily from 25 percent to 50 percent in the recognition polls, and if I start winning some primaries as Carter did I'll surge' in the recognition polls, too," he says. "Our campaign is like an airplane that's just getting ready to take off. I'm now being recognized a lot more by people on the street, getting a lot better response from volunteers in the suburbs, and the liberals are starting to coalesce behind me now that we're down to three candidates and I'm the only liberal. I have the same feeling I did in Wisconsin and New York."

Like all the others, Udall now considers Hubert Humphrey a fourth though unannounced candidate. Much of labor and the Democratic organization's support for Jackson is aimed at stopping Carter to give Humphrey a chance at a deadlocked convention. "Some Humphrey people backed me in Wisconsin for the same reason, which helped me, and here it's helping Scoop," Udall said. "I guess it all evens out."

wash post 4/18/76

George F. Will

The Democratic Quest For a November Winner

The approach of their convention is going to concentrate many Democrats' minds on the fact that one object of the pre-convention steeplechase is to identify a candidate who can win in November. Soon the waves of this idea will lap like an irresistible tide at the edges of the Democratic Party's mind, and it may work to Jimmy Carter's advantage.

To win requires 270 of the 538 electoral votes. President Ford might have a more difficult time winning that total against Carter than against any of Carter's rivals. The nomination of Carter might confer upon the Democratic Party an effortless "Southern strategy."

After their 1960 defeat some Republicans cudgeled their brains and produced the thought that a Republican presidential candidacy is not competitive unless it has substantial appeal in the South. This idea was, and is, far more valid than the rubbishy theory of an "emerging Republican majority" with which it originally was entangled. To understand why, first look away from deep Dixie.

Today Democrats hold governorships in eight of the 10 largest states: California, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Texas, Florida. These states have 213 electoral votes. If in 1974 a few thousand votes had gone the other way in Ohio and Michigan (25 and 21 electoral votes, respectively), Democrats would have all 10 governorships.

In these 10 states with 259 electoral votes (11 short of the winning sum) Democrats in 1974 elected 162 representatives, the GOP just 77, a better than two-to-one Democratic advantage. In addition, in 1972 George McGovern proved that it is impossible for any Democrat with a body temperature of 98.6 degrees to lose the District of Columbia's three electoral votes. (McGovern got 78 per cent of the District vote.)

Given the disparity between the strengths of the two parties in this bloc, it is safe to assume that the Republican presidential candidate generally enters the competition there with the odds against him winning a majority of the electoral votes.

Now consider the following Southern states: Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina. They have 94 electoral votes. A Republican candidate needs to start with a realistic hope of carrying a substantial number of Southern electoral votes to compensate for his weakness in the larger states. Otherwise he starts with more weight in his saddle than Secretariat could carry.

But Carter would start seeking the South's electoral votes with the special advantage of a native son in a region that still cares (as, say, the East does not) about having its distinctive nature acknowledged and accepted. More than any other region the South still is, in fact, a region with a sense of itself, a "mind of its own." The inexpressibly tedious recent brouhaha about Carter's "ethnic purity" remark surely heightened Southern awareness of the fact that many vocal non-Southerners still regard Southerners as faintly suspect, even disagreeable.

A Southerner does not need to be as sensitive as the Jodrell Bank antenna to detect anti-Southern prejudice in the jubilant assault on Carter as a result of his clumsy expression of a housing policy that differs not at all from national policy or from his rivals' views. Suddenly, on the basis of those few words it became permissible for Carter's critics (most of them white) to suggest that Carter is a racist. One critic told me that the words prove that Carter is a "recidivist"—that is, a racist who once may have been cured, but whose cure has lapsed. Note the assumption: Southerners are "by nature" afflicted with the disease of racism.

"Suddenly, on the basis of those few words it became permissible for Carter's critics . . . to suggest that Carter was a racist."

It used to be said that anti-Catholicism was the "anti-Semitism of the intellectuals". It was the "respectable" bigotry. Today anti-Southern sentiment is the "respectable McCarthyism." Among a significant number of Americans (predominantly white, Northern, liberal) it is good form to assume the worst of Southerners, to casually impute to them vicious views on race.

If many Southerners take personally the attempted mugging of Carter on the matter of "ethnic purity," and they have a right to do so, it will only enhance his candidacy as a "cause" in his region. And without substantial strength in that region, the Ford candidacy will be a lost cause.

WC.Sh. Post Sun 4/18/76

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David S. Broder

Questioning the Ethics Of Campaign Finance

Back in the bad old days of Watergate, when the reformers in this city were busy prescribing solutions for the evils revealed in that scandal, nothing was more obvious—or so it seemed—than the case for public financing of election campaigns.

If secret, dirty, private money in large cash chunks was at the root of Watergate, as many believed, then the cure was to give presidential candidates an alternative source of supply—good, clean Treasury money, contributed by the taxpayers.

A few people raised some questions about that solution: Suppose, they said, the presidential candidates are made dependent on a system of public finance and then Congress cuts off their funds? What greater power could one give to a set of incumbent politicians than to let them determine the schedule and scale of funds flowing to those seeking the presidency? What safeguard will there be against abuse of that power?

This reporter remembers a conference on campaign finance where exactly those questions were put to the lobbyist for a famous reform group and that gentleman assured the questioner that he was conjuring up hypothetical evils that could never occur. Any interruption in public financing by members of Congress would stir such a public outcry, the reformer said, that the incumbents would be signing their political death warrants.

That assurance, friends, is cold comfort to the presidential candidates who find themselves this week with empty treasuries, because Congress has gone home for the Easter holiday without renewing the legislation that gives the contenders the federal matching funds they counted on to sustain their efforts in the coming crucial weeks.

The campaigns of Republican presidential challenger Ronald Reagan and of all three active Democratic contenders—Jimmy Carter, Henry Jackson and Morris Udall—are hurting. The beneficiaries of Congress' lassitude are President Ford, who has plenty of opportunities for free publicity, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, who has no current campaign expenses and whose chances of winning the Democratic nomination depend on a stalemate among the active contenders. The less Carter, Jackson, Udall and Reagan can campaign in the next six weeks, the better off Mr. Ford and Humphrey are.

Now, it so happens that the candidate most congressional Republicans would like to see nominated is their old friend Jerry Ford. And the favorite of most congressional Democrats is their old pal Hubert. Anyone who believes that it's coincidence that Congress left the other candidates financially stranded is likely to be someone who is probably still waiting for the Easter Bunny to deliver a brand-new canary-yellow convertible.

It will be argued that Congress alone is not responsible for the interruption in the flow of federal matching funds to the presidential candidates. The Supreme Court on Jan. 30 ruled that the composition of the Federal Elections Commission—the agency that certifies the matching payments—was unconstitutional. It was found unconstitutional because Congress—bowing, as usual, to the demands of Rep. Wayne Hays (D-Ohio)—had insisted on appointing the majority of the commission members.

President Ford, to his credit, promptly suggested that Congress deal with the problem by the simple device of transferring the appointive power to him, with the understanding that he would name the same six commission members already sitting.

But Congress would have none of it. Its members wanted to write a variety of new provisions into the law and to circumscribe the power of the commission to supervise their own campaign finance practices. And until those changes were made, they were quite willing to hold the presidential candidates hostage. Especially since they didn't want those fellows to win anyhow.

The Supreme Court stayed its order for 30 days, then extended the stay for another 21 days—and still Congress would not act. Since March 22, the commission has been without authority to continue paying matching funds to the presidential hopefuls.

"The beneficiaries of Congress' lassitude are President Ford... and Sen. Hubert Humphrey."

By another of those peculiar coincidences that are so conspicuous in this whole affair, the House-Senate conference committee handling the legislation completed work on Tuesday—just a few hours too late for Congress to act before beginning its vacation.

One reason for the delay, it turned out, was the insistence by senators on relief from the provision limiting them to $1,000 a speech and $15,000 a year in honorariums. Only after the limits were lifted to $2,000 a speech and $25,000 a year did they relent and let the bill emerge.

But the legislation cannot be passed until Congress returns the week of April 28, and by the time Mr. Ford can sign the law, reappoint the commissioners and have them confirmed, at least two more weeks will elapse. Meantime, the candidates will be struggling through the glut of May primaries without the federal funds to which they are entitled.

This is exactly the kind of abuse of power of which the reformers were warned. And it is clear proof that if the experiment in public finance is to be continued after this year, the distribution of funds by an accepted formula must be made automatic, and taken totally out of the hands of those incumbent congressional politicians who have proved their unwillingness to divorce their personal concerns from their public responsibilities.

wash.post
4/18/76

Joel D. Weisman

An Examination of the 'Ethnic Purity' Issue

A lot can be learned about the stressed-filled political primary process by examining in some detail the condition—and the performance of Jimmy Carter on the day (April 6, 1976) in Indiana where "ethnic purity" became household words.

Carter was tired, testy, ill-prepared, and filled with anxiety that day as he awaited the results of the Wisconsin and New York primaries. A convincing victory in Wisconsin would have sped up his front-runner band wagon.

He greeted April 6 at 4:45 a.m. as he prepared to get to an auto body plant by 5:45 a.m. for a shift change. He had gone to sleep shortly before midnight the evening before after putting in a final day of campaigning in Wisconsin —which also began before sunrise—at a Milwaukee plant gate. In addition to

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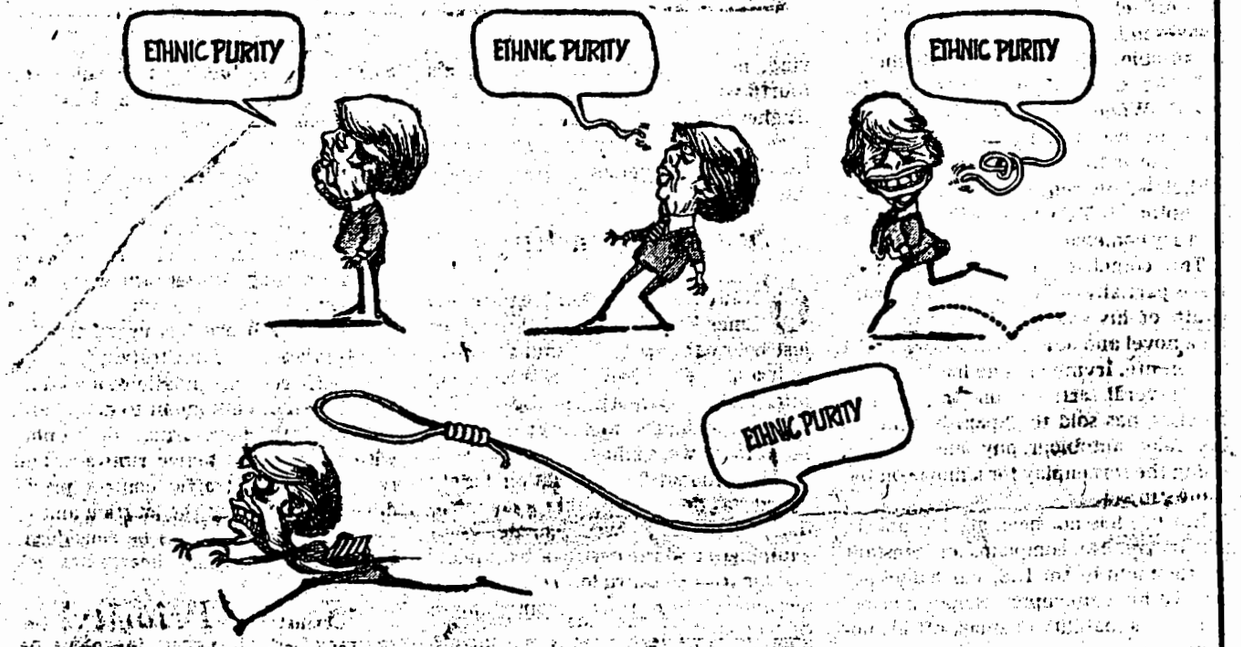
his long days, Carter had, for one of few times, failed to spend the weekend in his native Plains, Ga., where he usually recuperates on Sunday from the week's campaigning. The Sunday before Ethnic Purity Tuesday, however, Carter was campaigning in Wisconsin.

There were some strategic questions as to whether Carter really had to be in Indiana on Wisconsin-New York primary day at all, especially since it fell 28 days before the Indiana primary. Some staff aides had urged him to take the day off. But Carter is a hard —if not tireless—campaigner.

So tired was Carter at the first press conference that he had a major memory lapse. He claimed—and after admitted he was wrong—that he first used the phrase "ethnic purity" in answer to a question from a Milwaukee voter, adding it was the voter who used the phrase in his question—and the candidate who merely adopted it in his answer.

In fact, the phrase was used by Carter in answer to a New York Daily News reporter's question on April 2 about scattered site housing. But Carter said he didn't recall using the phrase then, and thought he used it in Wisconsin.



By Wright for the Miami News

So sure was he of this misfact, that he admonished reporters for not bringing up questions on the phrase "then, when most of you were present." He added he "resented" the press later bringing it up, saying they were "trying to make something out of nothing."

Indeed, Carter was in a testy mood that Tuesday, partly because his pollster Pat Caddell had informed him of erosion of support in Wisconsin and—more importantly—a shiftback to a hard core black and blue collar support after it appeared the campaign was finally going to dent the more affluent white middle and upper class voting blocs.

After bawling out the press—very uncharacteristic for Carter—and as the beads of sweat poured from his usually dry face, Carter used one inappropriate example after another in trying to pinpoint precisely what he was trying to protect ethnic neighborhoods from: examples like "diametrically opposite families," "a different kind of individual," and "alien groups."

Even in a positive sense, he sounded racist when he explained how, as Georgia's governor, he had removed obstacles to "black intrusions" to white neighborhoods.

A more experienced staff might have urged Carter to drop or amend the phrase "ethnic purity" when he arrived in South Bend—and as he did two days later in Pennsylvania. Or a more experienced staff would surely have urged some remedial action after bis obviously unsuccessful defense of the phrase there. A more experienced staff also would have advised Carter to point out that his position on the subject was really quite similar to that of his opponents.

However, a staff spokesman said, "We simply had no idea what Sen. (Henry) Jackson and Congressman (Morris) Udall thought on the subject until we heard about it in the media."

In addition to the irony that Udall and Jackson think much like Carter on preserving the ethnic character of neighborhoods, Carter's remarks came in answer to a hypothetical situation, since the government has no program requiring injection of blacks into stable white communities merely to establish integration.

Carter's sorry performance demonstrates—aside from any racial conclusion one cares to draw—what can happen to a candidate during the grueling primary process. He can become forgetful, stubborn, testy, and tired.

Candidates, like Presidents, are often required to think and speak under stress. How they react to such stress is often as telling about their potential as national leaders, as what they say.

Scorched Saturday
Sunny today, high 87 to 90. Fair tonight, low 57 to 62. Mostly sunny tomorrow, high 85 to 88. Details: C-8.

The Washington Star

BB SATURI MORNI FINA

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Carter Accuses Opponents of 'Tight-Knit' Plot

Associated Press

Jimmy Carter accused his Democratic presidential opponents yesterday of banding together to stop him and create a deadlocked national nominating convention.

"Whether someone is supporting Sen. (Hubert) Humphrey, Frank Church, Mo Udall, Scoop Jackson or Jerry Brown, they are now coordinating very tightly their effort to stop Jimmy Carter," the former Georgia governor said.

Jimmy Carter's day of campaigning in the District attracts more reporters than voters. See Metro section.

He said they "are making an effort to create a deadlocked convention by stopping me in Pennsylvania," which holds its primary April 27.

CARTER DID NOT detail what form this "tight-knit effort" is taking. But he said:

"Some of the labor organizations who profess openly they know (Sen. Henry M.) Jackson doesn't have a chance to be president support him openly because of that."

The Pennsylvania primary on April 27 is the next major battleground for the leading Democratic presidential contenders.

See CARTER, A-6

CARTER

Continued From A-1

Carter made his remarks while addressing a private fund-raising breakfast here.

Carter said a brokered convention would hurt the party, contending that Humphrey would have been elected in 1968 "if we had not gone through the divisive experience of a brokered convention."

ON ANOTHER front, Carter called for a mandatory health insurance program for all Americans. He cited no cost figures, but said the program should be paid for by general tax reveues, and employer and employe payroll taxes.

Speaking to a student medical organization, Carter also called for reorganization of Medicare and Medicaid, saying "Medicaid has become a national scandal. It is being bilked of millions of dollars by charlatans."

Carter listed these features of his health insurance program:

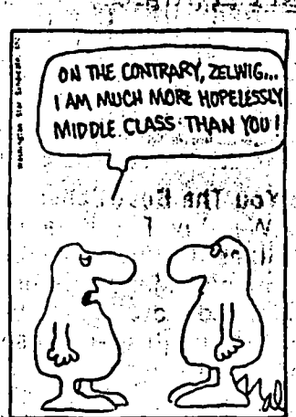
- Universal and mandatory coverage.
- Freedom of choice in the selection of doctor and treatment center.
- Rates set in advance for doctor care and institutional services.

William F. Buckley Jr.

Jimmy Carter authors his own decline

Poor Jimmy Carter. He is in trouble every time he says something that is obviously true. Although he is not without cunning, or without experience, he seems not adequately to understand the techniques by which journalists, requiring him to answer over and over and over again the same question, drive him almost necessarily to a formulation that sparks the opposition of a solid bloc of backers.

Here is how it went most recently. It was a questioner, on board an airplane, conducting an interview, who used the word "purity." He wanted to know whether Carter objected to ethnically "pure" neighborhoods. Here is what Carter probably should have said: "Sir, please don't use the word 'pure.' Because if you do, that connotes that that which is outside the neighborhood is 'impure.' And I would not want to imply any such thing in the course of defending cultural homogeneity in individual neighborhoods where it comes about naturally."



Here is what he said: "I see nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained. I would not force a racial integration by government action but I would not permit discrimination against a family moving into a neighborhood."

Needless to say, they began jumping all over him, and in a matter of days he received a blistering telegram from 17 members of the black caucus in Congress expressing their "stunned" dismay over his statement.

The signers of the statement disputed the contention of Gov. Carter that people do in fact tend to flock together in homogeneous patterns. "It is not, as you suggest, the natural inclination of people to live in segregated neighborhoods." (As a matter of fact, it *is* their natural inclination; but never mind, this is politics.)

Then poor Jimmy was made to contradict himself, and of course Congressman Udall howled with delight. Previously Mr. Carter has said (quite properly) that no neighborhood should have the right to bar any person of any race or culture from buying property within that neighborhood, but that the federal government should not constitute itself an agent for breaking up peaceable communities that are naturally homogeneous.

Coming close to panic, Jimmy Carter then said that "when federal funds are spent to construct new housing, I would favor rigid enforcement of affirmative action programs." And of course affirmative action is precisely that: an effort by the government to break up traditionally homogeneous neighborhoods.

Udall, let's face it, had Jimmy on the ropes, his whole body and mind as tousled as his hair. "In all fairness," said Mr. Udall mischievously, Carter "quickly followed up (his) assertions about ethnic purity by swearing allegiance to affirmative action housing programs. But that add-on is characteristic of his approach. On an amazing number of major issues, Jimmy meets himself going through that revolving door."

And the cock would crow yet again on that same day. Jimmy suddenly discovered that now he could support the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill, which would guarantee not full employment but uproarious inflation. How could he have changed his mind about it? Well, said Jimmy, certain amendments tacked on to the bill have made it tolerable.

One wonders where the Black Pride people of yesterday have gone? Jesse Jackson, for instance, who disdained the notions that blacks had to be forced to live cheek by jowl with whites in order to live dignified lives. Wilson Rule, who mocks the notion that integrated schooling is required in order to fulfill black pride.

Why didn't they stand up to Carter? They're doing awful things to Carter, though I guess it is also fair to say that he is doing awful things to himself.

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FIFTEEN CENTS
Price May Be Higher Outside Retail Trading Zone

Health Plan for U.S. Promised by Carter

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter said Friday he will begin implementing a mandatory national health insurance program within the first year of his administration if he is elected president.

The program would be funded by a combination of general tax revenues and contributions by employers and employes, he said, adding that he cannot now estimate the total cost of the mandatory health insurance plan.

Carter said he is keeping open the option of having the program operated at least in part by existing private insurers. He said he will make that decision later on the basis of whether private insurers can administer the plan as efficiently as the government.

The presidential hopeful outlined his health insurance plan in a speech to a group of black medical students. He spent a full day here campaigning for support in the May 4 Washington primary.

At a press conference Friday afternoon, Carter said his health insurance plan differs from a national health insurance bill authored by Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., because it places more emphasis on preventive medicine and on distributing doctors and health services through all areas of the country.

He said his plan would be implemented in stages, and could take as long as four years to become fully effective. That approach is "more practical" than the implementation plans contained in the Kennedy bill, he said.

"As president, I would want to give our people the most rapid improvement in individual health care the nation can afford," he said, "accomodating first those who need it most, with the understanding that it will be a comprehensive program in the end."

Carter's plan calls for setting uniform levels of quality of and payment for medical services, with rates for physician and hospital care to be set in advance of treatment.

"The fees for physician services would be prearranged as are fees for hospital services," he told reporters. The federal government ultimately would determine the fees, he said, "but certainly not in a unilateral, abrupt or nonconsultive way."

Carter said that as president he would "never approve arbitrary setting of fees." He said he would involve consumers as well as doctors in the process of determining fee scales and

See CARTER, Page 9-A

Carter: Plan Would Be Implemented in Stages

Carter

From Page 1-A

care standards, adding: "I would not turn over those prerogatives to the American Medical Association."

He emphasized that "maximum personal interrelationships between patients and their physicians should be preserved," and that "freedom of choice in the selection of a physician and treatment center will always be maintained."

Carter said a streamlining of the federal bureaucracy in the health care area must accompany the implementation of any national insurance plan. He also said that there must be "strong and clear built-in cost and quality controls" for health care, along with incentives to reform the delivery of health care services.

Attacks on the nation's health care problem must include attention to preventive medicine and to social reforms as well as to the health insurance question, Carter told the medical students' group.

"Our purpose must be to promote health, not just to provide health care as such, and that includes initiative in insuring adequate family incomes and a clean environment as well as reforming the financing of health care," he said.

"I don't know of any example that demonstrates the failure of the governmental system more dramatically than the failure to provide health care for the poor," Carter told the group.

He said the maldistribution of doctors that makes health care inaccessible to those in urban ghettos as well as on rural farms "is neither inadvertent nor inevitable."

He said the government should turn attention to increased uses of nurses and paraprofessionals, and that medical schools must begin to put more emphasis on primary care rather than specialization.

Carter said the health policies outlined in his speech have been reviewed by a number of former undersecretaries of Health, Education and Welfare, as well as by labor leader Leonard Woodcock and others.

In addition to his speech to the medical students, Carter met Friday with Washington supporters, religious and interest group leaders, and representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union.

Later Friday, Carter made his first presidential campaign foray into Kentucky, where he gained the endorsement of Gov. Julian M. Carroll.

Appearing at a news conference in Louisville two hours after Carroll announced his endorsement, Carter said he assumes that the Kentucky governor will back him at the national convention until Carter releases him from that commitment.

Carroll became the second governor in the nation to endorse Carter. First was Oklahoma Gov. David Boren.

Before flying to Kentucky, he told Washington supporters that the District of Columbia primary is burying the issue of the presidential election in a local power struggle between two leaders, and that he believes that is an unfortunate situation.

He told 65 supporters at a $250-a-plate fundraising breakfast that his opponents are banding together in an effort to stop him in Pennsylvania.

He said in answer to questions from Washington civic leaders that he does not believe his campaign effort has been hurt by the recent uproar over a statement he made using the words "ethnic purity."

Carter told a group of local religious leaders that he would have black members in his cabinet — "you can depend upon it." He added that "I could not be a candidate with the chance of winning had it not been for (late civil rights leader) Martin Luther King Jr."

And Carter told the black medical students' group: "We've got, because blacks have been excluded, too much ethnic purity in the medical profession."

To several of his audiences Carter addressed pleas for "your strong advice and criticism."

And he said he is not bothered by the failure of Georgia elected officials to endorse him in his race because it is not traditional practice for officeholders in Georgia to endorse one another.

He said he has received support from Georgia Reps. Andrew Young, Elliott Levitas and Bo Ginn. In fact, Carter said, Ginn went to Florida to campaign for him.

An aide to Ginn said he does not believe that the congressman ever went to Florida on a Carter campaign trip. But Ginn has acknowledged that he is supporting the former Georgia governor.

Carter also said that Lt. Gov. Zell Miller has campaigned for him outside of Georgia.

EE

FF

Carl Rowan

Question on Carter's Remarks

WASHINGTON — Confucius say: "Man who talk out of both sides of mouth bound to bite own tongue."

That contrived bit of Chinese wisdom was all I had intended to say about Jimmy Carter's endorsement of neighborhoods which defend their "ethnic purity." But I am compelled to say more because of two developments:

— I am being snickered at by people who recall that nine weeks ago in this column I defended the former Georgia governor against charges that he is a secret racist. "What you got to say 'bout your good ole boy, Jimmy, now?" asks one reader.

— The country has been subjected to a lot of rhetoric that completely misses the point about the nation's housing dilemma. Nobody seems to be asking Carter or the other candidates the questions we need to have answered.

To put it simply, while Carter may have convinced Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit and a few other blacks that he merely made an innocent goof in linguistics, he hasn't yet convinced me that I was right in going to his defense.

The national uproar has centered on Carter's use of the phrase "ethnic purity." While for some that conjures up memories of Hitler's talk about a super race, Carter has apologized for its use. I concede that he may have only meant to support ethnic pride of neighborhood, a concept most thinking Americans will endorse as long as "pride" does not deteriorate into bigoted efforts to keep Italians out of WASP neighborhoods, Irish out of Italian areas, blacks out of them all — and even Puerto Ricans out of black communities.

Carter got into trouble because he was naive enough to tangle with a non-issue. So what if he's against the federal government insisting that a low-rent housing project be built in the midst of a development of $100,000 homes? Nobody I know is demanding that. But no town ringing America's cities ought to get a nickel of federal support if that town says, "We're ethnically homogeneous, and we're economically homogeneous, and we don't want any poor people or minorities here. Because both poor people and minorities bring headaches."

When the government supports, or fails to move against, such suburbs or other communities, the result is inevitable: we will wind up with almost all our minorities and poor people locked in hatred-filled, crime-ridden, economically sick urban ghettos which eventually will drag to disaster the people who think they have fled to Shangri-La.

Will Jimmy Carter use White House moral leadership, federal power, to halt such ghettoization? That is the question. Do Scoop Jackson, Jerry Ford, Morris Udall, Ronald Reagan, Hubert Humphrey accept or reject such federal actions, knowing, as they must, that without such pressures there can be no progress?

If we didn't have racist housing patterns, we wouldn't have a country torn apart over school busing. If our neighborhoods were open to all Americans of all manners of ethnic purity or "impurity," we'd have no need for anything other than neighborhood schools.

Defending Carter, Coleman Young said that the idea of "ethnic purity" in housing "is as American as apple pie." Well, so is "red-lining," a practice where banks refuse to give mortgages to blacks trying to buy in certain areas. So is "blockbusting," a scare tactic that destroys property values when panicky word is spread that someone "alien" is moving in. No apple pie was ever more "American" than the violence and hostility that greet black families moving into some "ethnic" neighborhoods.

Some of us are expecting something a little bolder from Jimmy Carter than "apple pie" — especially when it is a pie slammed into our faces.

It's OK for Hosea, But KO for Carter

MIKE
ROYKO

Mike Royko is a columnist for the Chicago Daily News.

The Rev. Hosea Williams, a black civil rights leader, has apologized for using the word "Polack" on TV.

Williams

In a phone conversation, the Rev. Williams told me that when he used the word, he didn't realize it was offensive to Polish Americans.

For those who missed it, the Rev. Williams referred to the "Polack vote" during a network TV interview about Jimmy Carter.

He had been lashing Carter's use of the word "ethnic purity," in describing neighborhoods, and said he wouldn't accept Carter's apology or Carter's explanation that it had been a poor choice of words.

In fact, Williams, who is a Georgia legislator, had gone on to say he thought Carter might have used the phrase deliberately in an effort to win "the Polack vote."

By the time I reached the Rev. Williams by phone at his Southern Christian Leadership Conference office, he had learned of his own verbal mistake.

"I have to beg pardon for my ignorance," he said. "I didn't know 'Polack' was a degrading word. I've never lived around Polish people."

How did you discover your error?

"I have a radio show here, and when I went on the show later in the day, we were talking about ethnic words. Somebody told me that Polish people don't like to be called 'Polacks.' I hadn't known that. I thought that was what they were called."

I pointed out to the Rev. Williams that even if he had referred to them as Polish-Americans in his TV statement, he would have still been dealing in a bigoted stereotype. The implication of his statement was that Poles would be receptive to racist appeals by a political candidate. Why had he singled them out?

"What brought them to mind," he said, "was that during the open-housing marches that were led by Dr. King in Chicago, the most vicious mobs he encountered were in places like Gage Park and out there toward Cicero. They were even meaner than any mobs we met in Mississippi or Alabama."

"And the mobs were Polish?" I asked.

"Why, yes," he said.

Amazing. There were Lithuanians, and Bohemians, and Irish, and Italians and all sorts of ethnic Americans besides Poles involved. I was there. The arrest records of those marches, in fact, show a remarkable ethnic diversity. Even WASPs. But the Rev. Williams thinks everybody was Polish. I guess we actually do look the same to him.

When I pointed this out to him, he sounded surprised and said: "Oh."

But that's not really important. What counts is that he recognized his error and apologized, which is all any reasonable person can expect.

And that led to the obvious question:

The Rev. Williams says he didn't realize the word "Polack" was insulting. Jimmy Carter says the phrase "ethnic purity" was a poor choice of words on his part, and doesn't reflect his true beliefs about open housing, which he favors. The Rev. Williams says he hopes people will accept his apologies. Jimmy Carter says he hopes people will accept his apologies.

Therefore, does the Rev. Williams accept Jimmy Carter's apologies, as he expects Polish-Americans to accept his?

"Definitely not," said the Rev. Williams.

But why not? Now that he has experienced the embarrassment of a poor choice of words himself, can't he understand how the same thing might have happened to Jimmy Carter?

"Yes, but I'm not running for President," he said.

Having thus explained why somebody who uses the word "Polack" is not a bigot, if he says he is sorry, the Rev. Williams said goodby and resumed his campaign to convince blacks that anybody who uses a phrase like "ethnic purity" is a racist, even if he says he is sorry.

I guess the moral of this story is this—if the shoe is on the other foot, just kick it off.

GG

All the News
t's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Warm, chance of s
today and tonight. Sunny tom
Temperature range: today
Thursday 53-74. Details on p

XXV .... No. 43,182 — NEW YORK, FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1976 — M 20 CE

Carter Pennsylvania Drive Seen to Have Fragile Lead

But Political and Labor Leaders Form a Coalition to Stop Him in Primary in the Hope of Helping Humphrey

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

HARRISBURG, Pa., April 15—Jimmy Carter appears to have built a fragile lead over his two main rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination in Pennsylvania's possibly decisive April 27 primary.

But a potent coalition of political and labor leaders is striving to stop the former Georgia Governor in the hope of keeping alive the chances of Senator Hubert H. Huhphrey of Minnesota, a great favorite here. Mr. Carter may be able to hang on to win the preferential contest, but he is in danger of losing the separate but equally vital delegate elections.

A number of Democrats believe that if Mr. Carter can win a clear victory here, it will be difficult to deny him the nomination. If, on the other hand, his showing is poor or mixed, they feel that the race is likely to remain open until the Democratic convention.

"If he comes out of this state with a big win," said Peter J. Camiel, the Philadelphia Democratic Chairman, "Carter will have so much steam, he'll flatten everyone."

Mr. Carter's principal rivals, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have as much at stake here as he does. A defeat for Mr. Jackson would seriously dent his big-state strategy; a defeat for Mr. Udall, who has lost every primary he has entered, would almost surely end his hopes for nomination.

Factors Are Listed

Pennsylvania's importance grows out of a number of factors:

It has the first primary in which the drastically reduced field of major contenders meets on relatively even terms, with no distorting influences such as Wisconsin's unusual liberalism or New York's unusual concentration of Jewish voters; it is calendar favorable to Mr. Carter.

With their usual predilection for hyperbole, Democratic politicians are describin$g the Pennsylvania contest as "Big Casino," "the Armageddon of 1976" and "the gunfight at the O.K. Corral."

Ironically, however, it comes at a time when all the Democrats are critically short of funds and in a place where no one has built an extensive personal organization. In a way, it is like a World Series for which neither team has nearly enough time for rest or practice.

"In this situation," said William Brawley, a national organizer for Mr. Jackson, "with nobody able to do much advertising, you have to think that our support from organization Democrats is going to give us a substantial edge."

Carter supporters hope that the sheer velocity of his campaign, imparted by six primary victories, will compensate for structural weaknesses. Mr. Udall, with neither momentum nor organization, seems destined to finish third.

Ballot Is Confusing

The Pennsylvania ballot is a confusing one, with delegate candidates pledged to one candidate intermixed in the listings with those pledged to others. In the 50 state senatorial districts, which will choose 134 delegates, no fewer than 1,102 delegate candidates are listed on the ballot. (The 44 other Pennsylvania delegates will be chosen at large, allocated in strict proportion to strength in districts.)

First position on the ballot, which is determined by lot, can be an important factor in such confusion.

The Democratic vote in Pennsylvania—a state with a higher concentration of blue-collar and older voters and a lower average education and income than most key battlegrounds have—is centered int wo large cities, Pittsburgh in the southwest and Philadelphia in the southeast.

There are smaller clusters of voters around Erie in the northwest, Harrisburg in central Pennsylvania and aging Scranton and Wilkes-Barre in the northeast.

In Pennsylvania, voting for) state and national candidates is influenced to an unusual degree by local political circumstances. It does not much matter in San Francisco whom the Mayor supports, but it doesn in Philadelphia. It does mot much matter in Cleveland whom union leaders support, but it does in Pittsburgh.

Polls Are Taken

Public opinion polls taken in the last 10 days indicate that Mr. Carter leads in the preferential contest. One such survey, taken by Patrick Caddell for Mr. Carter, covered the entire state. Mr. Caddell did not disclose the size of the sample.

Another poll, taken by Neil Euliano, an Erie computer specialist, covered only 10 western counties. His survey, for which 1,600 Democrats were interviewed, showed Mr. Carter leading Mr. Jackson, 27 percent to 22. Only a month ago, Mr. Carter was trailing.

But none of the polls dealt with the delegate contest, where the pro-Humphrey coalition is concentrating its efforts and where it appears to be the strongest.

At a meeting last Sunday in Harrisburg, key Jackson operatives met with Denis E. Thiemann, the state democratic chairman, and with major labor leaders to plot a strategy to stop Mr. Carter. They agreed to back Jackson delegates where they had a good chance to win, but to support unom mitted delegates or delegates pledged to Gov. Milton J. Shapp, who has withdrawn from the race, in other areas

Mr. Thiemann's participation signaled the tacit support of Mr. Shapp for the effort. He has long been an admirer of Mr. Humphrey and, like many governors, came to suspect Mr. Carter's motivations when he was Governor of Georgia.

"Besides that," one of Mr. Shapp's intimates said, "the Governor obviously had to ask himself, 'Which of these guys is most likely to offer me a job in Washington?' The answer to that question obviously isn't Carter."

The coalition is particularly strong in Philadelphia, where Mayor Frank L. Rizzo is expected to deliver most of the delegates. It is weaker in Pittsburgh, where Mayor Peter Flaherty is a Carter man, but could be strenghtened this weekend when I. W. Abel, Presiden of the steelworkers' union, is expected to announce his support of Mr. Jackson.

Udall Backs Carter's View on Housing

By SETH S. KING 24

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPIA, April 15—Representative Morris K. Udall said today that he and Jimmy Carter held roughly the same "technical" positions on open housing and the building of federally supported public housing in nonblack neighborhoods.

"But when Jimmy Carter talks about 'ethnic purity' or the intrusion into ethnic neighborhoods," the Arizona Democrat went on, "I'm disturbed."

Mr. Udall shuttled today between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, where most of Pennsylvania's Democrats live, and at every stop, sooner or later, he was asked about his stand on "ethnic purity."

And at every stop Mr. Udall began his reply by saying that he did not consider Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor who is one of his two major opponents in the Pennsylvania Presidential primary April 27, to be a racist on the basis of Mr. Carter's statement last week that he believed in maintaining the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

'Inner Attitudes'

"It's like pulling back the window curtain and seeing something you didn't see before," Mr. Udall told one audience. "It's not Jimmy Carter's technical position that I question. That is sound and good. But what he has been saying says something about inner attitudes that I find alarming."

Although Mr. Carter apologized at a news conference last week in South Bend, Ind., for using the term "ethnic purity," it has become an issue on which Mr. Udall can appeal to the large black communities in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

While the Arizonan says that he never brings up the matter himself, he does not hesitate to discuss it in detail before his audiences.

In explaining his own position on the question of the ethnic and racial make-up of neighborhoods, Mr. Udall says it is quite concise.

"I support open-housing laws that guarantee every person the right to live where he wants to," he said yesterday while talking to a reporter aboard his airplane. "The suburbs must be available to everyone, black or white.

"Secondly, I believe in economic integration that permits everyone to earn enough to live in the neighborhood of his choice.

"And, finally, I support the 1974 Housing Act that makes it the Government's policy to provide funds and affirmative help to any community that itself calls for public housing.

"But at the same time," he added, "I do not believe that act intends that the Federal Government should go out and bust up a neighborhood to build public housing."

Delegates at Stake

The prize in the Pennsylvania primary will be one of the largest still available. The state will send 178 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, where 1,505 delegate votes will be needed to win the nomination.

Only Mr. Udall, Mr. Carter and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington are actively seeking them, although there are some of what Mr. Udall sometimes refers to as delegates "for ole uncommitted." This was an allusion to Senato Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who is not campaigning in the primaries.

Mr. Udall considers Mr. Carter his more serious rival in Pennsylvania. His hopes of running ahead of the former Georgia governor in the preferential voting will depend on whether he can capture more support from Pennsyvania's large and politically active labor unions than Senator Jackson can, and whether enough resentment toward Mr. Carter has developed among black voters, who constitute almost 10 percent of the state's population.

The breakneck pace of Mr. Udall's campaigning in the Wisconsin and New York primaries has not been matched this week in Pennsylvania, largely because of his diminishing campaign funds.

Mr. Udall has had to intersperse trips to this populous and diverse state with days in Washington, D.C. He has given up his chartered aircraft and either flies on commercial airliners, rides the train back to Washinton, or drives back to his home in McLean, Va., in the early morning hours.

Mr. Udall complained several times yesterday that Congress's failure to act on a new campaign financing law was depriving him of about $300,000 in Federal matching funds. Without these, he said, he cannot carry out the television and radio advertising campaign in Pennsylvania he had planned.

This gave Mr. Carter and Senator Jackson, who Mr. Udall says are better known here than he is, an advantage over him, he said.

While Senator Humphrey will not be on the Pennsylvania ballot, his presence in the background of the Udall campaign was often apparent, as it was today.

This morning, Mr. Udall was taken on a tour of the Fisher Body plant near Pittsburgh by officers of the United Automobile Workers.

"He's got some men here who welcome him and will be supporting him," said John McCarvell the head of Local 544.

"If Humphrey was running, I guess a lot of them would vote for him," Mr. McCarvell said in reply to a reporter's question. "But since he isn't, they may well be in there for Udall instead."

The Weather
—Sunny, high near 80, low 0. The chance of rain is near oday and 10 per cent tonight. —Partly cloudy, high near 80. day — 3 p.m. air index: 45; range: 74-38. Details on C2.

The Washington Post

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FIN
Amusements B17
Classified B18
Comics Weekly
Editorials A22
Fed. Diary B 2
Financial D12
Inside: The

The Gallup Poll

Carter, Humphrey Still Ahead

By George Gallup

PRINCTON, N.J. — The New York and Wisconsin primaries last week have had little impact on the standings of Democratic candidates nationwide, despite the good showings by Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall, according to a nationwide survey completed Monday.

The race appears to be increasingly a two-man contest between Jimmy Carter and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, with Jackson and Udall unable thus far to reverse this trend.

Carter and Humphrey, deadlocked in four successive surveys since early March, together won 53 per cent of the total vote of Democrats in that first survey. Today they win 63 per cent of the total vote of Democrats, who were asked to choose from a list of leading Democratic hopefuls.

Jackson's support declined sharply between the early and mid-March surveys and has subsequently leveled off. His New York primary victory as yet has not translated into votes nationwide.

Udall has the support of only 5 per cent, the same number that support California Gov. Edmund Brown.

Here is the question asked of Democrats nationwide to determine their preferences for the presidential nomination this year:

Here is a list of people who have been mentioned as possible presidential candidates for th Democratic Party in 1976. (Respondents were handed a card with eight names.) Which one would you like to see nominatd as the Democratic candidate for President in 1976?

Here is how the current Democratic contenders have rated with the party rank-and-file since early March:

	Latest	Late March	Mid-March	Early March
Jimmy Carter	32%	30%	28%	26%
H. Humphrey	31	29	30	27
Geo. Wallace	13	13	16	15
Henry Jackson	6	7	11	15
Edmund Brown	5	9	—	—
Morris Udall	5	4	4	5
Frank Church	2	3	—	—
Undecided/other	6	5	11	12

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Walking Out on the Campaigns

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES have good reason to sue Congress for non-support. After arguing for weeks over changes in the campaign law, the Senate and House have gone off on a 10-day Easter vacation without quite finishing the bill. This leaves the Federal Election Commission in limbo for a few more weeks—and leaves the candidates unable to collect any matching funds on the eve of the crucial Pennsylvania and Texas primaries.

The congressional walkout could have serious effects on some campaigns. Rep. Morris K. Udall, for one, is fighting for survival financially as well as at the polls. According to its March 31 report, the Udall campaign was running a slight deficit, with assets of around $227,000 and over $256,000 in debts. But more than $218,000 of those assets consisted of money owed to the committee, not money in the bank. Mr. Udall's cash position is perilous—and cash is what candidates need to get their message in the mail or on the air in the last days of a campaign. Meanwhile, Mr. Udall's application for $127,962 in matching funds is sitting at the FEC . . . and will keep sitting there because Congress went home.

Other campaigns have money problems too. The Carter committee reported a deficit of $184,000 on March 31; its application for $208,000 in matching funds is also stalled at the FEC. On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan's managers claim to have put off bankruptcy by raising a large amount through Mr. Reagan's recent nationwide broadcast. He could get a quick $282,154 in matching funds if the FEC could act. The Ford campaign, which is in relatively good financial shape, has even more ($729,199) awaiting it whenever the FEC gets back in business.

Some argue that the real cause of many campaigns' distress is the $1000 limit on individual contributions, which has—as intended—shut off the large gifts from "fat cats" that were so important in past years' campaigns. The ceiling has certainly changed the nature of the money-raising game; it has also made matching funds doubly important as a timely supplement. By turning off that tap, Congress has disrupted the new system and may have severely undercut some candidates' fortunes at a critical point.

The congressional dallying is all the more inexcusable because there was no good reason for it. The legislation was not bogged down in any substantive dispute; the Senate and House conferees have essentially settled all their differences and were on the verge of reporting a relatively sound bill when they recessed. Besides reconstituting the FEC as required by the Supreme Court, the compromise measure sets reasonable rules for business and labor political action committees, and gives the FEC more autonomy than the House had originally proposed. Overall, the compromise may be about the best that this Congress is likely to produce. It is certainly fair enough to be signed by the President . . . whenever Congress gets around to sending it to him.

We hope that the Senate and House will show a greater sense of obligation and urgency when they return on April 26, so that the FEC can be activated and the matching funds disbursed well before the last round of primaries in May. Meanwhile, candidates who are short of cash may have to run on credit in the form of commercial loans. To reassure those candidates (and their banks), President Ford should make clear his intention to sign the conference report and renominate the FEC's members as soon as possible. Such an assurance from Mr. Ford would also put some pressure on the Congress to act more responsibly after the holiday. Finally, it would dispel any suspicion that candidate Ford is trying to prolong the confusion, undercut any particular contenders, or otherwise profit from his challengers' distress.

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n Lottery, B-4
ıny today, high in
80s. Low tonight in
50s. Partly cloudy
ıorrow, high in low
. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Humphrey Finds Game Is Still Rough

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

It was fun and games for Hubert Humphrey at the newspaper editors' convention yesterday when Eugene Patterson, editor of the St. Petersburg Times, noted that "one Republican and three Democrats who are candidates for President won't come to meet with us, but one who isn't did."

That got a good laugh, partly because everyone knows that Humphrey is at least as interested in being president as anyone running. The conventional wisdom in political circles right now also holds that the Democratic nominee will be either Humphrey or Jimmy Carter and that Carter has to get things moving with a decisive victory in Pennsylvania on April 27.

Humphrey gave no sign that he was a minority dissenter. "Why am I here?" he wondered out loud. "It's true I'm a noncandidate — the pickets left when I showed up. I hear you are electing your new officers and I hope you will refrain from any politicking out of consideration for my feelings while I'm here."

Humphrey was referring to the striking NBC technicians who picketed the meeting and scared the other candidates off before the pickets were dispersed by a court order.

ALL THIS DREW good laughs from the editors. But the smile left Humphrey's face when he got the first questions from a panel of reporters.

"Don't you think it's unfair that because of a loophole in the election laws your supporters can raise money in excess of the $1,000 individual limit that applies to announced candidates but not to unannounced candidates such as you?" Bob Boyd of the Knight Newspapers asked.

Humphrey indignantly denied knowing about a $6,000 contribution that Boyd said has been reported to the Federal Election Commission and said that if it was true it should be returned.

This illustrates part of Humphrey's dilemma as an unannounced presidential candidate hoping for a deadlocked convention that would turn to him as a compromise candidate. He is comfortably above the struggle now, with surrogates doing the work for him, but if and when he formally enters he will find once again that he is in a very rough game.

UNTIL THEN, however, his strategy is looking good, partly because of Carter's loss of momentum due to his statement on "ethnic purity," his weak fourth-place finish in New York, and his hairbreadth victory over Morris Udall in Wisconsin.

There is a substantial effort afoot on Humphrey's behalf in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania, where Democratic party and labor leaders — who by no means would be heartbroken

See HUMPHREY, A-15

HUMPHREY

Continued From A-1

by a Humphrey candidacy — are lining up behind Sen. Henry Jackson as a means of stopping the frontrunning Carter.

As a result, some national party leaders are convinced that a multi-ballot convention is increasingly possible — possible enough that they are beginning to ponder the public relations problem of a brokered convention: How to convince the public that it is not necessarily the work of a bunch of crooked politicos carving up the great American barbecue in a smoke-filled room.

THERE ARE a number of other reasons for this. Udall is still alive and kicking, and the longer he remains so the better the chance of a deadlock. Carter is still mistrusted by some elements of the party, including some ideological liberals.

Another reason is the calculation that if the current pattern of uncommitted delegates, many of whom presumably lean toward Humphrey, holds up, Carter will go into the convention with a maximum of 850 to 900 delegates.

This is well short of the "threshold" figure of 1,000 delegates the pols think Carter needs to bargain for the other 505 necessary for the nomination, and some estimates of this threshold are higher. This also means that Jackson would be close enough behind to do some serious bargaining himself.

One of Humphrey's most aggressive supporters, Rep. Paul Simon, D-Ill., thinks Humphrey will go to the convention with at least 300 of the 1,505 delegates needed to nominate. This figure is probably low, possibly ridiculously so; it is possible to argue that he has a pretty good handle on more than 200 right now.

START WITH HIS 60 in Minnesota. In Virginia (total 54) he probably is the choice of 30 of the 37 uncommitted. Hawaii (total 17) has 15 uncommitted leaning to either Humphrey or Jackson. In Illinois he has possibly as many as 24, to say nothing of the rest of the bloc of 86 committed to Sen. Adlai Stevenson. These, of course, are controlled by Mayor Richard Daley and obviously could go to Humphrey in a deadlock.

New York (total 274) has 65 uncommitted, 21 of whom are outright for Humphrey and another 30 who are leaning toward him. Mississippi has four uncommitted plus four for Sargent Shriver who are controlled by state Chairman Aaron Henry and all of whom are potentially Humphrey's. Alaska's five uncommitted are leaning to Jackson or Humphrey.

South Carolina (total 31) has 13 uncommitted who are leaning toward Humphrey. In Iowa (total 47), where the congressional districts elected 40 delegates to the national convention last weekend, Carter got 17 (four more than expected), and Udall got 10, (also four more than expected). Fred Harris has two, and of the 11 uncommitted seven are leaning toward Humphrey; the rest will be elected at the state convention.

OF THE 40 Iowans, 20 are union men, primarily auto workers, teachers and municipal and state employes, four or five times as many as normal. Nine of these are committed to Carter, but in a deadlock Humphrey could appeal to labor. His supporters also contend that the Harris delegates are favorable to Humphrey.

They also claim Humphrey support among Sen. Lloyd Bentsen's favorite-son delegates in Texas.

There is a widespread feeling that if Carter does not do well in Pennsylvania it will encourage other favorite-son candidates. Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California is getting such a campaign underway, and there are reports that Sen. Thomas Eagleton may do something similar in Missouri.

Humphrey's strategy is risky, however, because it is in the hands of others. If Udall does poorly in Pennsylvania and ultimately bows out, the chances of deadlock will decrease in a two-man conflict between Carter and Jackson. But Humphrey supporters there are lining up for Jackson.

IN NEW JERSEY, the state chairman, Sen. James Dugan, led a move to put together strong uncommitted delegate slates that are leaning Humphrey's way. Dugan expects them to prevail on primary day, June 8.

Some political observers there, however, believe that many of these delegates will throw in with a candidate before the primary if Humphrey doesn't announce as a formal candidate. An attempt to get Rep. Peter Rodino to run as a favorite son to hold the delegation together for Humphrey failed because Rodino refused to front for him as did Joseph Crangle, the Democratic boss in Buffalo, N.Y.

Rodino thinks Humphrey should run. The congressman would have nothing to do with any movement to "stop-Carter," although this has to succeed in order for Humphrey to have a chance.

Although Carter's "ethnic purity" remark helped halt his momentum, at least temporarily, there is a question among several state chairmen about how much permanent damage it did the candidate.

Politics Today

An Old Believer Among New Infidels

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

Hubert Humphrey was introduced affectionately at the editors' convention here by a spokesman who praised the "perpetual flowering of this evergreen senator from Minnesota."

The speaker sounded like an old and fond friend of Humphrey's. But even if he wasn't, it's hard not to sound like one. It's as tough not to like Humphrey personally, even when you disagree with him, as it is not to respond to that perpetual evergreen optimism, which on Humphrey is as natural as breathing and as American as apple pie.

It's also that everyone knows Hubert Humphrey. He's as familiar as the family homestead, as comfortable as grandpa's rocking chair. This is one big reason why Humphrey, the presidential noncandidate, is taken so seriously by so many Democrats, particularly traditional liberals.

It's not that his lust for the White House and his grief and bitterness over his narrow miss in 1968 is as well known as the time of day. It's that for Democratic liberals he is an anchor with tradition, with principles many have held deeply for much of their adult lives, a symbol of stability in a time of flux.

IT IS INTERESTING to hear them use such words as "innovative" and "creative" when there is nothing he proposes that he hasn't argued and fought for over the past 30 years. It's as though the idea of a Jimmy Carter or a Jerry Brown as president is the liberal political equivalent of sailing off the edge of the earth.

There may be a sea change taking place in American politics, a turning away from the traditional New Deal liberalism that has shaped the lives of many Democrats — and the nation — over the past 40 years. When Brown and Carter talk against big, inefficient federal government, the reaction of many Democrats is like the church faithful being told that the deacon and the choir director indeed were indiscreet, or possibly worse, that the flesh, alas, is weak but nevertheless the faith must remain strong.

"I wouldn't vote for Brown if he was the last Democrat on earth," one New England national committeeman sputtered last week. "And some of what Carter says troubles me, too. If we want to nominate a Republican let's borrow one from them. We don't need to raise our own."

You do a double take the first time you see Jerry Brown bring in a group of Sufi dancers who celebrate the earth and the sun and the sky as entertainment for a party fundraiser, most of whose beneficiaries still like to talk of "broads." Or the first time you hear Carter talk about a government that is "as full of compassion and love as the American people."

THERE ARE NO double takes with Humphrey, however. Jobs, schools, hospitals, opportunity, equality, adequate defense, health insurance, the whole magilla, that's what he talks about. So do Scoop Jackson and Mo Udall, but with them it just isn't the same.

"I'm disturbed by the notion of retreat from the principles that originally attracted me to the party," says one national committeeman. "Who is committed to these principles? I appreciate Hubert for standing up for them instead of talking about dismantling the federal government."

Sen. George McGovern stated it pretty well. "What kind of a President would Carter make?" he wondered. He said he could feel comfortable with Udall, and God knows he'd be comfortable with Humphrey.

"He still believes in the federal government and its ability to deal with our problems," McGovern said. "There's no problem that strong, constructive leadership can't solve. . . . He's the source of creative ideas. Does anyone think Carter or Brown would be more innovative?"

ONE GREAT SOURCE of Humphrey's appeal is simply his optimism. Brown warns that Americans must lower their expectations. Carter preaches love and good management in government.

But to Humphrey everything is possible. "A lot of young people in my campaign who didn't like him because of his support of the Vietnam war now like him because of his energy and enthusiasm," McGovern said.

One of Humphrey's best friends, Sen. Gaylord Nelson, put it another way: "One main reason he's so attractive is that he's one of the few who seem confident that our problems can be solved."

That faith in the federal government has taken an enormous beating, but McGovern hopes the disillusionment is only temporary: "We're going through a reaction to the long period of Vietnam and Watergate when the federal leadership was discredited."

In a sense Humphrey is benefiting from a party vacuum, the lack of familiar, regular candidates such as Kennedy, Muskie, Mondale — and Humphrey himself. To many Democrats Jackson and Udall are insurgents, one of the center-right of the party, the other a good mainstream liberal but something of a maverick.

Humphrey, the bomb thrower of 1948, is the quintessential party regular of 1976. "He may be seen as an innovator by the country at large but not in the Democratic party," says one Democrat. To many others Hubert Humphry is like the old hat they keep meaning to throw away but never do because it feels so good.

Michael Novak

America's Illusions: Blacks as Moral Prey

Mr. Novak is The Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" will appear in this space every Tuesday and Thursday, and in the Comment section on Sunday.

A number of years ago, in "The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics," I predicted that the decade of "the poor, the black and the young" had come to an end, and that the '70s would be the decade of the "ethnics." I was afraid, then, that I might be wrong; surely, there was intense resistance to the idea. Jimmy Carter's problem with "ethnic purity" is only a most recent symbol that the error of my ways has not been demonstrated by events.

I had several reasons for believing that the black leadership had miscalculated in the 1960s and would suffer political decline. The chief reason was the overwhelming dishonesty with which their liberal allies discuss race in the North.

Liberals treat blacks with condescension (as victims). They keep blacks dependent on liberal support. In addition, liberals use blacks as a tactical weapon against the unions, the party regulars, and the urban ethnics, as a way of seizing control over the Democratic party and the nation. The true meaning of the coalition of "the poor, the black, women, and the young" is an alliance of upper-class liberals (including students) and under-class militants to overpower working-class ("square") whites and blacks.

THIS STRATEGIC choice — one finds it outlined in Michael Harrington's "Toward a New Democratic Left," in Fred Dutton's "Changing Sources of Power," and many other places — has several weaknesses. It brought McGovern to disaster.

The first of these is numbers. According to Charles V. Hamilton, there are now 9 million black voters nationwide. But voting turnout among blacks tends to be lower, considerably lower, than turnout among urban ethnics. A 30 percent turnout by blacks is high. That means fewer than 3 million votes. The median age of the Jewish community is much higher than that of blacks, and their voting participation level averages 87 percent. Jews produce about 3 million votes. Slavic-Americans also vote at high levels, and produce about three times that. (83 percent for Lyndon Johnson, 63 percent for Hubert Humphrey in 1968, 53 percent for George McGovern). Politicians recover from neglect by counting.

But the most important reason is that racism is not fundamentally a moral problem. It is an economic problem. Our purpose in these United States is neither to make each other into saints, nor to purify each other's moral values. Our purpose is to treat each other with economic and political fairness. Of the two, economic fairness is more basic.

Blacks do not need morality. They need economic independence.

THE ECONOMIC NEEDS of blacks are virtually identical to those of working-class whites: jobs, housing needs, scholarships, neighborhood stability and freedom from crime, care for the elderly and for children, support for strong family life. It is not necessary for urban ethnics and blacks to love each other. (Even without blacks, urban ethnics have been capable of great hostility to one another, and of transcending such hostilities). All that is required is mutual political cooperation, deals and hard bargaining for real benefits. Less ideology, more hard goods.

Black leaders, in my view, have erred by (1) treating racism as a moral issue; (2) trying to make whites yield concessions as an alleviation of supposed moral guilt, and (3) making alliance with upper-class, highly educated liberals rather than with rough, local, ethnic, working-class leadership. Part of the reason for this error is that most black leaders are Southerners or West Indians, unfamiliar with the urban ethnic jungle. They treat all whites as if they were white Protestants. They don't grasp the symbolic worlds of the ethnic working class.

My own ancestors were serfs as long ago as blacks were slaves. We have been free persons only as many

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NOVAK

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generations as blacks. My younger brothers and I "integrated" an almost entirely Protestant upper-class public school "on the hill" in a Pennsylvania town. Most of our peers still live in mainly Slavic areas.

TO SAY THAT we were "white" misses too much social reality. We were Slovak — peasants two generations ago, miners and millworkers a generation ao, and still vastly unrepresented in banking, the universities, the media, the courts, and high political office in Pennsylvania.

To say all we had to do was "change our names" (which most do not) is to ignore the psychological realities of personal identity, and to imagine that social deception is an act of integrity and dignity. Besides, if one has economic power, one doesn't need love; respect is paid the power, if not the person.

Finally, the forms of liberal racism, or intellectual racism, have too long gone uncriticized by blacks, by liberals, or by anyone. Such racism insists that blacks are "victims." But this seemingly generous attitude also deprives blacks of responsibility, independence and moral stature. It treats them as less than human.

By most white ethnics, blacks are regarded as fearful competitors — competitors for jobs, turf, scholarships, quotas, high positions, visibility and moral clout. On television, at least, and in the papers, blacks seem to be winning. They receive public deference, "understanding," justification. Their alliance with upper-class whites hurts them with lower-class whites. ("Honkie" sounds suspiciously like "Hunkie.") Blacks seem to be "in." This is, of course, from a black point of view, a set of empty symbols. To white workers in Pittsburgh, it seems to be a publicly obvious reality.

TO HOLD THAT blacks and urban ethnics can overcome their cultural hostilities and forge a potent political alliance is not fanciful. In most elections, white and black urban wards vote for the same candidates — for Robert Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey, for example. If the issues are defined economically, not racially, both urban ethnics and blacks are already in rather remarkable coalition. Watch how they vote.

In this context, busing is a horrible tactical mistake by the NAACP, whose political price (and economic price) is devastatingly destructive. No one bused Slavic students out of concentrations in urban ghettos, or Italian students, etc. In the North, every group is de facto segregated. Elite magnet schools in many cities have provided brighter students a "way out" from every ethnic ghetto. Most found a stable, slower way out through solid (if academically poor) ghetto schools.

The number of blacks in the North has tripled in the last 30 years, as the number of urban ethnics did 50 years ago. Their needs for welfare made less money available for other social programs, including education.

Liberals tend to praise any candidate who can attack the black vote — in 1972, McGovern in California; in 1976, Carter. They do not think carefully enough about who has a way of holding both urban ethnics and blacks in a tough-minded economic coalition. A rising tide lifts every boat.

PP

James J. Kilpatrick

Sneeze in a brooder house

In a society that positively thrives upon awards, plaques and what Pegler used to call bottlecaps and doorstops, one more award might seem redundant. Let me propose it anyhow.

This would be a hand-tooled three-dollar bill, having a value of no fewer than 60 plugged nickels, to be presented for Exceptional Phoniness Beyond the Call of Demagoguery. The first award would go to all those persons who reacted with shock and horror to Jimmy Carter's statement on "ethnic purity."

What a flap! It was like a sneeze in a brooder house. Seldom have we witnessed such a beating of wings, such a chorus of yelps, yawps and adenoidal cackles, such a wringing of hands and a rolling of eyes. For three or four days, the political world resounded with the striking of attitudes. You could have blown up a blimp with the surge of hot air.

Poor Carter! He had dared to express the inexpressible; he had said the unsayable; he had given tongue to the unthinkable thought.

"I have nothing against a community," said this miserable wretch, "that's made up of people who are Polish, Czechoslovakians, French Canadians or blacks who are trying to maintain the ethnic purity of their neighborhoods. This is a natural inclination on the part of people."

The unfortunate miscreant went on to say: "I've never, though, condoned any sort of discrimination against, say, a black family or other family from moving into that neighborhood. But I don't think government ought to deliberately break down an ethnically oriented community deliberately by injecting into it a member of another race. To me, this is contrary to the best interests of the community."

Now, the governor's statement is scarcely a model of clarity or coherence. It suffers from a split infinitive and a repeated adverb. Even so, his thought is not to be mistaken: He opposes the use of federal coercion to break up ethnically established neighborhoods. He believes in the freedom of every person to live where he chooses, but he would not push people around.

Carter's blasphemy left Senator Henry Jackson speechless. Unfortunately, the condition lasted for no more than two seconds. Coming swiftly to his senses, Jackson let the world know he was shocked and appalled by the governor's remarks. This past Sunday, on television, Jackson still was shaking his head in concern and dismay.

Let us send out the three-buck bill to be suitably framed. This was the same Henry Jackson who delivered himself on December 30 of a long position paper in opposition to court-ordered busing. In this paper Jackson repeatedly denounced what he termed "social engineering." He said the Constitution did not contemplate mathematical race-balancing.

"This is a strange theory in a pluralistic, multi-racial society such as ours," said Jackson. "It is inevitable in a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society that people of different races and groups will settle in clusters rather than randomly. This clustering is not simply the result of discrimination, but of economic circumstance, culture, and history . . . if we destroy the various ethnic neighborhoods, we destroy not only a rich tradition in American life, but an anchor for stability in an increasingly unstable society."

Jackson's fellow buck-and-wing man in the Democratic vaudeville, Congressman Mo Udall of Arizona, has said substantially the same thing: He is opposed to the federal government's "charging in" to established neighborhoods. For the past 20 years, through such rallying cries as "black studies," and "black caucuses," and "black is beautiful," scores of Negro spokesmen have harped on the theme, if you please, of ethenic identification. Every self-respecting ethnic group — the Indians, Italians, Poles, Chinese — manifests the flocking together of birds of a feather. So why the flap? Stop Carter, that's all.

Okay. Boys will be boys, and pols will be pols. Carter himself may qualify before long for his own phony award. But in the basic thought he expressed last week, Carter aligned himself with about 99 percent of the voters. For a presidential candidate, that's not such a bad place to be.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

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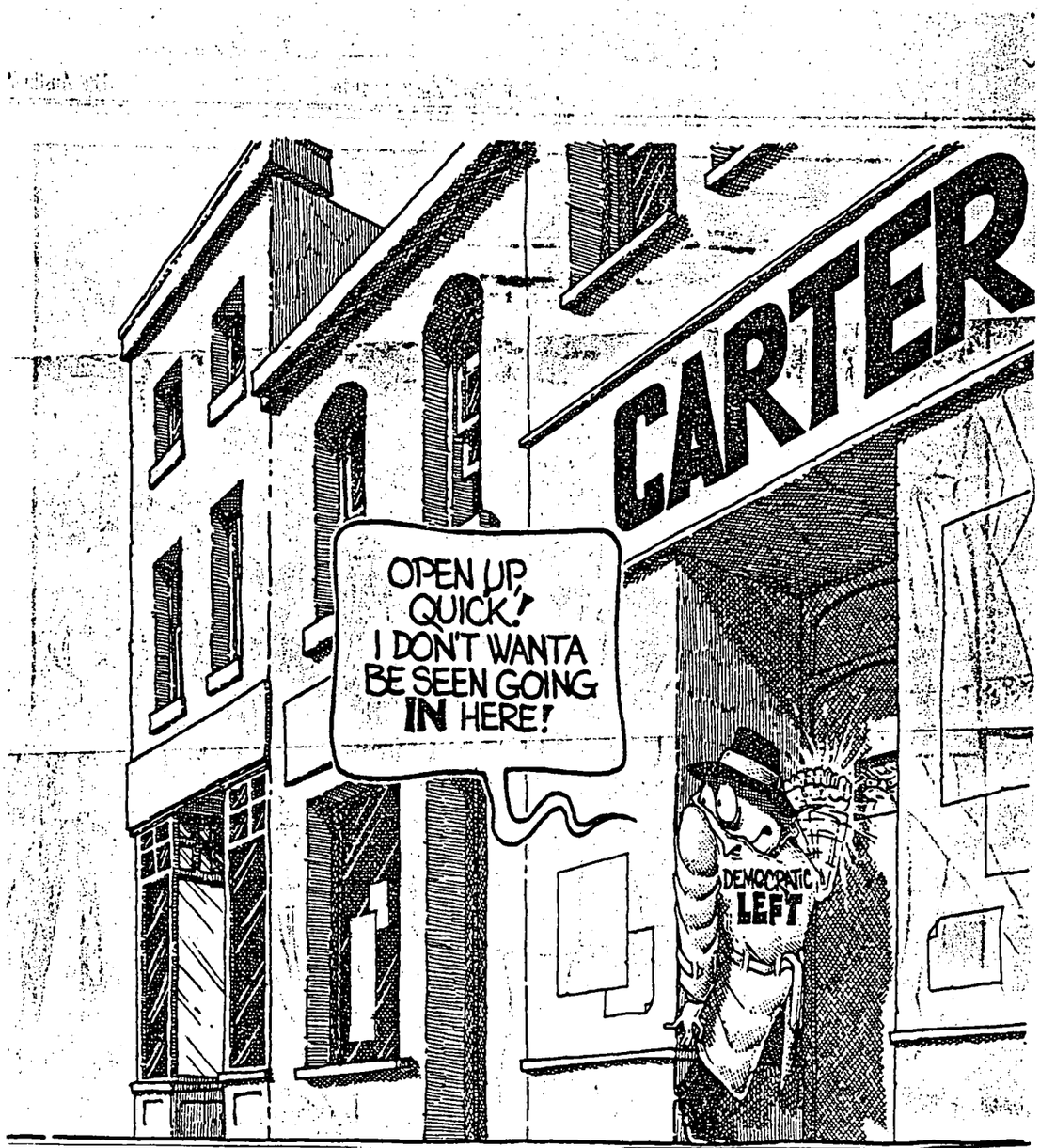

B

News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Fighting in Lebanon's civil war increased yesterday despite the armed truce deciared 13 days ago and rival forces in Beirut bombarded each other with rockets, mortar rounds and light artillery fire. Skirmishing was also reported in the mountains to the east, where Christian rightists seized the village of Dhur el-Shuweir from leftists after a local cease-fire had been negotiated by the Syrian-run As Saiqa Palestinian organization. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Syria's decision to send troops into Lebanon on April 9 was made more than 10 days earlier, immediately after an unsuccessful meeting in Damascus between President Hafez al-Assad and Kamal Jumblat, leader of the Lebanese leftist-Moslem alliance. Syrian officials said the purpose of the move was to make sure that Mr. Jumblat and the Lebanese Arab Army, the Moslem deserter force led by Lieut. Ahmed Khatib would not defy a Syrian order against an all-out attack on Christian areas. [1:6-7.]

To ease the hostility that has kept diplomatic relations at a minimum, India announced that it was sending an ambassador to Peking for the first time in 15 years. The announcement was made in Parliament by External Affairs Minister Y. B. Chavan, who said that a similar move was expected from China. [1:6-7.]

Riot policemen used tear gas and nightsticks to disperse militant demonstrators after tens of thousands of students marched through central Paris protesting changes in university curriculums. Police officials said the protesters numbered 20,000, but there appeared to be many times that. [1:6.]

National

The Justice Department, in its first such action under a 1974 law, charged two mortgage lenders with discrimination against women. The suits against the Jefferson Mortgage Corporation of Cherry Hill, N. J., and the Prudential Federal Savings Association of Salt Lake City were based on a 1974 amendment to the Fair Housing Act of 1968 barring discrimination based on sex when prospective borrowers are considered for home loans. The suits would also require the companies to "correct the effects" of alleged past discriminatory practices. [1:5.]

Senator Henry M. Jackson's campaign for the Pennsylvania primary on April 27 lost momentum while he took time out in Philadelphia to try to raise money to keep his campaign moving. Like his rivals for the Democratic nomination for President, Senator Jackson has been stymied by Congress's delay on a bill that would reconstitute the Federal Election Commission, which disperses the matching Government funds. He said: "We're damned tight. All our calculations are thrown to the far winds." [1:4.]

President Ford resolved a bitter interagency dispute in favor of a relatively fast buildup of the country's first strategic oil reserve as a protection against another foreign embargo. Such protection was put ahead of budgetary considerations, sources in the Administration and Congress said. Mr. Ford reportedly rejected the advice of his Budget Office to extend beyond 1978 the purchase of the first 150 million barrels of crude oil that will go into the reserve. [1:1-2.]

West Point cadet Stephen Verr said that he would probably resign from the United States Military Academy because of harassment by officers and cadets who have objected to his being cleared of an honor-code violation. If he resigns he will become one of the dozens of cadets who leave West Point each year because they were guilty or "seem to be" guilty of violating the controversial code. [1:1-2.]

Metropolitan

The modernized Yankee Stadium was reopened to a sellout crowd of 54,010 people. The paying portion which numbered 52,613 paid up to $5.50 for lower box seats to watch the Yankees defeat the Minnesota Twins 11-4. There were many well-known figures in politics and sports among the spectators. [1:1-4.]

The chancellor of the City University, Dr. Robert J. Kibbee, defying persistent efforts of the city and state to control university spending, said that he would not submit vouchers for payment of the university's suppliers this month and would use the money instead for staff salaries. He said he would do this because he was about $2 million short of the amount needed to meet the payroll. City Comptroller Harrison J. Goldin earlier had turned down Dr. Kibbee's request that payment of the venders' vouchers be delayed. The delay, Mr. Goldin said would be "a return to financial gimmickry." [1:3.]

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The New York Times

CITY EDITIOI

Weather: Warm, chance of s
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Carter Pennsylvania Drive Seen to Have Fragile Lead

But Political and Labor Leaders Form a Coalition to Stop Him in Primary in the Hope of Helping Humphrey

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

HARRISBURG, Pa., April 15—Jimmy Carter appears to have built a fragile lead over his two main rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination i n Pennsylvania's possibly decisive April 27 primary.

But a potent coalition of political and labor leaders is striving to stop the former Georgia Governor in the hope of keeping alive the chances of Senator Hubert H. Huhphrey of Minnesota, a great favorite here. Mr. Carter may be able to hang on to win the preferential contest, but he is in danger of losing the separate but equally vital delegate elections.

A number of Democrats believe that if Mr. Carter can win a clear victory here, it will be difficult to deny him the nomination. If, on the other hand, his showing is poor or mixed, they feel that the race is likely to remain open until the Democratic convention.

"If he comes out of this state with a big win," said Peter J. Camiel, the Philadelphia Democratic Chairman, "Carter will have so much steam, he'll flatten everyone."

Mr. Carter's principal rivals, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have as much at stake here as he does. A defeat for Mr. Jackson would seriously dent his big-state strategy; a defeat for Mr. Udall, who has lost every primary he has entered, would almost surely end his hopes for nomination.

Factors Are Listed

Pennsylvania's importance grows out of a number of factors:

It has the first primary in which the drastically reduced field of major contenders meets on relatively even terms, with no distorting influences such as Wisconsin's unusual liberalism or New York's unusual concentration of Jewish voters; it is calendar favorable to Mr. Carter.

With their usual predilection for hyperbole, Democratic politicians are describin$g the Pennsylvania contest as "Big Casino," "the Armageddon of 1976" and "the gunfight at the O.K. Corral."

Ironically, however, it comes at a time when all the Democrats are critically short of funds and in a place where no one has built an extensive personal organization. In a way, it is like a World Series for which neither team has nearly enough time for rest or practice.

"In this situation," said William Brawley, a national organizer for Mr. Jackson, "with nobody able to do much advertising, you have to think that our support from organization Democrats is going to give us a substantial edge."

Carter supporters hope that the sheer velocity of his campaign, imparted by six primary victories, will compensate for structural weaknesses. Mr. Udall, with neither momentum nor organization, seems destined to finish third.

Ballot Is Confusing

The Pennsylvania ballot is a confusing one, with delegate candidates pledged to one candidate intermixed in the listings with those pledged to others. In the 50 state senatorial districts, which will choose 134 delegates, no fewer than 1,102 delegate candidates are listed on the ballot. (The 44 other Pennsylvania delegates will be chosen at large, allocated in strict proportion to strength in districts.)

First position on the ballot, which is determined by lot, can be an important factor in such confusion.

The Democratic vote in Pennsylvania—a state with a higher concentration of blue-collar and older voters and a lower average education and income than most key battlegrounds have—is centered int wo large cities, Pittsburgh in the southwest and Philadelphia in the southeast.

There are smaller clusters of voters around Erie in the northwest, Harrisburg in central Pennsylvania and aging Scranton and Wilkes-Barre in the northeast.

In Pennsylvania, voting for) state and national candidates is influenced to an unusual degree by local political circumstances. It does not much matter in San Francisco whom the Mayor supports, but it doesn in Philadelphia. It does mot much matter in Cleveland whom union leaders support, but it does in Pittsburgh.

Polls Are Taken

Public opinion polls taken in the last 10 days indicate that Mr. Carter leads in the preferential contest. One such survey ,taken by Patrick Caddell for Mr. Carter, covered the entire state. Mr. Caddell did not disclose the size of the sample.

Another poll, taken by Neil Euliano, an Erie computer specialist, covered only 10 western counties. His survey, for which 1,600 Democrats were interviewed, showed Mr. Carter leading Mr. Jackson, 27 percent to 22. Only a month ago, Mr. Carter was trailing.

But none of the polls dealt with the delegate contest, where the pro-Humphrey coalition is concentrating its efforts and where it appears to be the strongest.

At a meeting last Sunday in Harrisburg, key Jackson operatives met with Denis E. Thiemann, the state democratic chairman, and with major labor leaders to plot a strategy to stop Mr. Carter. They agreed to back Jackson delegates where they had a good chance to win, but to support unom mitted delegates or delegates pledged to Gov. Milton J. Shapp, who has withdrawn from the race, in other areas

Mr. Thiemann's participation signaled the tacit support of Mr. Shapp for the effort. He has long been an admirer of Mr. Humphrey and, like many governors, came to suspect Mr. Carter's motivations when he was Governor of Georgia.

"Besides that," one of Mr. Shapp's intimates said, "the Governor obviously had to ask himself, 'Which of these guys is most likely to offer me a job in Washington?' The answer to that question obviously isn't Carter."

The coalition is particularly strong in Philadelphia, where Mayor Frank L. Rizzo is expected to deliver most of the delegates. It is weaker in Pittsburgh, where Mayor Peter Flaherty is a Carter man, but could be strenghtened this weekend when I. W. Abel, Presiden of the steelworkers' union, is expected to announce his support of Mr. Jackson.

D

Udall Backs Carter's View on Housing

By SETH S. KING 24

Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPIA, April 15—Representative Morris K. Udall said today that he and Jimmy Carter held roughly the same "technical" positions on open housing and the building of federally supported public housing in nonblack neighborhoods.

"But when Jimmy Carter talks about 'ethnic purity' or the intrusion into ethnic neighborhoods," the Arizona Democrat went on, "I'm disturbed."

Mr. Udall shuttled today between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, where most of Pennsylvania's Democrats live, and at every stop, sooner or later, he was asked about his stand on "ethnic purity."

And at every stop Mr. Udall began his reply by saying that he did not consider Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor who is one of his two major opponents in the Pennsylvania Presidential primary April 27, to be a racist on the basis of Mr. Carter's statement last week that he believed in maintaining the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods.

'Inner Attitudes'

"It's like pulling back the window curtain and seeing something you didn't see before," Mr. Udall told one audience. "It's not Jimmy Carter's technical position that I question. That is sound and good. But what he has been saying says something about inner attitudes that I find alarming."

Although Mr. Carter apologized at a news conference last week in South Bend, Ind., for using the term "ethnic purity," it has become an issue on which Mr. Udall can appeal to the large black communities in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

While the Arizonan says that he never brings up the matter himself, he does not hesitate to discuss it in detail before his audiences.

In explaining his own position on the question of the ethnic and racial make-up of neighborhoods, Mr. Udall says it is quite concise.

"I support open-housing laws that guarantee every person the right to live where he wants to," he said yesterday while talking to a reporter aboard his airplane. "The suburbs must be available to everyone, black or white.

"Secondly, I believe in economic integration that permits everyone to earn enough to live in the neighborhood of his choice.

"And, finally, I support the 1974 Housing Act that makes it the Government's policy to provide funds and affirmative help to any community that itself calls for public housing.

"But at the same time," he added, "I do not believe that act intends that the Federal Government should go out and bust up a neighborhood to build public housing."

Delegates at Stake

The prize in the Pennsylvania primary will be one of the largest still available. The state will send 178 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, where 1,505 delegate votes will be needed to win the nomination.

Only Mr. Udall, Mr. Carter and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington are actively seeking them, although there are some of what Mr. Udall sometimes refers to as delegates "for ole uncommitted." This was an allusion to Senato Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who is not campaigning in the primaries.

Mr. Udall considers Mr. Carter his more serious rival in Pennsylvania. His hopes of running ahead of the former Georgia governor in the preferential voting will depend on whether he can capture more support from Pennsyvania's large and politically active labor unions than Senator Jackson can, and whether enough resentment toward Mr. Carter has developed among black voters, who constitute almost 10 percent of the state's population.

The breakneck pace of Mr. Udall's campaigning in the Wisconsin and New York primaries has not been matched this week in Pennsylvania, largely because of his diminishing campaign funds.

Mr. Udall has had to intersperse trips to this populous and diverse state with days in Washington, D.C. He has given up his chartered aircraft and either flies on commercial airliners, rides the train back to Washinton, or drives back to his home in McLean, Va., in the early morning hours.

Mr. Udall complained several times yesterday that Congress's failure to act on a new campaign financing law was depriving him of about $300,000 in Federal matching funds. Without these, he said, he cannot carry out the television and radio advertising campaign in Pennsylvania he had planned.

This gave Mr. Carter and Senator Jackson, who Mr. Udall says are better known here than he is, an advantage over him, he said.

While Senator Humphrey will not be on the Pennsylvania ballot, his presence in the background of the Udall campaign was often apparent, as it was today.

This morning, Mr. Udall was taken on a tour of the Fisher Body plant near Pittsburgh by officers of the United Automobile Workers.

"He's got some men here who welcome him and will be supporting him," said John McCarvell the head of Local 544.

"If Humphrey was running, I guess a lot of them would vote for him," Mr. McCarvell said in reply to a reporter's question. "But since he isn't, they may well be in there for Udall instead."

Jackson Strategy For Victory Hurt By Fund Shortage

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 15 — At a time when he had expected to be riding the crest of his victory in the New York Democratic Presidential primary toward a similar conquest in Pennsylvania, Senator Henry M. Jackson was working in a suite at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel here today trying desperately to raise money to keep his campaign afloat.

Like his major active rivals, Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the 63-year-old Senator from Washington has seen his best-laid plans derailed by Congressional delay on a bill to reconstitute the Federal Election Commission.

Meanwhile, Mr. Udall said in Pennsylvania today that he and Mr. Carter held roughly the same "technical" positions on open housing and the building of federally supported public housing in nonblack neighborhoods. [Page 24].

Mr. Jackson's problems arose because the Federal Election Commission controlled the dispersal of the matching Government funds, which have been considered essential to any con-

Continued on Page 24, Column 3

A Fund Shortage Hurting Jackson Plans

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

tinued realistic campaign efforts, but the Supreme Court ruled in January that the commission had been established unconstitutionally. The ruling ended its ability to disperse matching funds until it is reconstituted to meet the Court's objections.

Late in March, an enthusiastic Jackson aide said; "We've got bokends in April — New York and Pennsylvania."

The implication was that Mr. Jackson would easily win the primaries in those populous and important industrial states, thereby blunting the effect of Mr. Carter's string of early victories, which was broken only by Senator Jackson's win in Massachusetts, where the Georgian finished fourth.

3-Way Contest Continues

Mr. Jackson won, as he had expected, on April 6 in New York. But Mr. Carter, on the same day, eked out a victory in Wisconsin over Mr. Udall, who, in turn, did somewhat better than predicted in New York. This kept the three-way race alive in Pennsylvania and diluted the impact of the Senator's New York success.

For months, his long-range campaign plans have been predicated upon winning a surprise victory in Massachusetts, sweeping New York and rolling on to blitz over supposedly underfinanced opponents in a Pennsylvania showdown.

To that end, the Jackson camp accumulated money all last year with the expectation that, with Federal matching funds, it would have a chance, by targeting its own primary contests, of overwhelming any relatively unknown rival who was forced to run in nearly every primary.

Now, falling somewhat short of its planned momentum, the Jackson organization finds itself more than ever in need of that financial cushion for an all-out effort in Pennsylvania. but, like its rivals, it has been reduced to running a shoestring campaign with debts equaling or exceeding the cash on hand and with little relief in sight from Federal matching funds before mid-May at least.

That is why Senator Jackson, whose campaigning has been makeshift at best for the last week and who has no advertising budget scheduled as yet, was off the hustings today, meeting with small groups of supporters and pressing others by telephone to drum up enough money to make possible at least a strong organizational effort here.

"I'm calling people to get them to work, and this is not direct fund-raising," he said. "We're trying to get them to raise money. That is the thrust of it. We're damned tight. All our calculations are thrown to the far winds."

Ford Veto Expected

Declaring that he did not see any possibility that Congressional action would produce matching funds before mid-May, he said.

"There's no assurance that Ford will sign this. Then where are we? It's rough. If the President vetoes it, he really puts Reagan in a terrible hole, so obviously the President will be in no hurry to sign it. We're doing our planning on the basis that there will be a veto."

The Senator said that his crash fund-raising efforts here were aimed at providing a budget of $250,000 for the April 27 Pennsylvania primary, of which about $50,000 would be used for advertising in the closing days.

An aide said that about $70,000 had been spent in the state, and that earlier plans had called for a budget of more than $400,000.

The Senator's longterm strategy had called for him to devote most of last year to fund-raising, thereby freeing him from that activity for the most part during the primary campaigns.

However, in the last week or so, his time has been given over more and more to fund-raising events and several more have been added in the last few days.

With the funds trickling in from these events, no one in the campaign organization, including Mr. Jackson, appears to know just how much money is on hand or in prospect.

A report at the end of March showed him with $154,000 on hand and no bills. However, the campaigning before the New York primary ate heavily into that. The Senator acknowledged that "the bills keep coming in from New York."

The best estimate from a variety of campaign advisers is that the organization has $50,000 to $100,000 on hand or pledged, and that incoming bills probably total at least that much.

One senior Jackson adviser said that the campaign was counting heavily on expenditures by organized labor and by regular Democratic organizations around the state to take up some of the slack.

Without the money to open a major advertising effort, Senator Jackson has been compelled, perhaps more than he would otherwise have been, to acknowledge that Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota is a favorite of many of his ostensible supporters in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Jackson has declined to borrow money to finance his campaign, partly because of his fear that a veto by President Ford might mean that matching funds would never be forthcoming.

Noting that some of his advisers had suggested borrowing against the receipt of expected matching funds, he said: "We haven't been able to get a ruling on that, but as a lawyer, I don't see how you can. You wouldn't be assigning anything that would be legally of value."

So far the Jackson campaign has not cut back on its organization or asked workers to get by without salaries. However, one aide noted, "We shut down a very large New York operation, and we're opening up a very small Pennsylvania operation."

F

State's Democrats to Pick 68 Delegates

24

By THOMAS P. RONAN

More than 400 Democrats from all parts of New York State, representing virtually every shade of party opinion, have applied to their party's state committee for selection as at-large delegates to the Democratic National Convention. The state will have 68 at-large seats at the convention here in July.

The applicants range from 87-year-old James A. Farley, the former national chairman, to politically unknown 21-year-olds staking claims to represent the party's youth.

Other want to represent women, blacks, the Spanish-speaking, the elderly, regulars or reformers, labor and geographical areas. County leaders cite long service to the party.

The situation appears ready-made for an imbroglio when the state committee meets April 23 to elect the at-large group.

Seek to Avoid Discord

This time party leaders and the candidates for the Presidential nomination appear determined to avoid discord that might jeopardize the party's chances in the state in November election.

Two factors encourage them. The current race has not engendered the strong emotions that marked the bids for the Presidential nomination by Eugene J. McCarthy, the former Minnesota Senator, in 1968 and by Senator George McGovern of South Dakota in 1972.

Secondly, the party nationally has not laid down specific delegation quotas for various groups, as it did in 1972, but simply has called for affirmative action to achieve fairness.

Patrick J. Cunningham, who as state chairman has the chief responsibility for drawing up a list acceptable to the state committee, does not expect outright clashes at the meeting, but he said, "No one will be happy."

Proportionate Allotments

Under state party rules, the 68 at-large delegates are to be allocated to the Presidential candidates in proportion to the percentage of the 206 delegates won by the contestants in the April 6 primary.

This means 26 for Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, 17 for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and 9 for Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia. Sixteen others will be listed as uncommitted to reflect the percentage of places won by delegates described on the ballot as uncommitted.

Mr. Cunningham has been conferring with representatives of the three candidates, the Reform Caucus on the state committee and other groups, and has asked them for lists of possible delegates. He has also made his own recommendations to them and stressed the need for over-all "balance" on the full 274-member delegation.

With the talks to continue into next week, key Democrats interviewed over the last few days show a marked inclination to make compromises where necessary.

Terry O'Connell, who led the Jackson campaign in New York State, said there might be some "hassales" over names, but he predicted eventual agreement.

Jo Baer, state coordinator for Mr. Udall, said that her group would give Mr. Cunningham a list of about 50 names from which the 17 at-large Udall delegates could be selected, and that she did not see "any reason for a battle."

William J. Vanden Heuvel, Mr. Carter's state leader, said r. Cunningham was "making a major effort to work with the candidates" and was not putting pressure on them.

Recount in 25th District

POUGHKEEPSIE, N.Y., April 15 (AP)—An official recanvass of Qvotes in last week's Democratic presidential primary in the 25th Congressional District shows that four delegates backing Morris Udall and one backing Jimmy Carter were elected.

On the basis of unofficial returns election night, three Udall delegates clearly won three of the five Democratic National Convention seats at stake. But the winners of the two other seats were unclear.

The district encompassed Dutchess and Putnam Counties and parts of Columbia, Ulster and Westchester Counties.

The Great Nondebate

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 15—We are supposed to be having another "Great Debate" on American foreign policy here these days—"Whither America in the World?"—but you should not be deceived. It is mainly campaign rhetoric from candidates who have no chance of replacing President Ford in the White House, and from ambitious and talented men who would like to replace Henry Kissinger in the State Department.

There are three men seeking the Presidency who might very well change the strategic concepts that have dominated American foreign policy since the last World War—Gov. George Wallace of Alabama, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, and Senator Henry Jackson of Washington.

But George Wallace is finished and knows it, and Ronald Reagan is almost certainly finished and doesn't know it. Scoop Jackson and Mo Udall will probably be kept alive by the labor unions in the Pennsylvania primary in the hope of stopping Jimmy Carter and nominating Hubert Humphrey, but this is a holding operation. The Democratic race is coming down to a choice between Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Carter, neither of whom is likely to change anything but the tactics and style of the nation's foreign policy.

On a different level, we have been hearing some interesting foreign policy criticisms here recently by three experienced Democrats: George Ball, former Under Secretary of State, Paul C. Warnke, former Assistant Secretary of Defense, and Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University, a former member of the State Department's policy planning staff.

All three are being consulted occasionally by Mr. Carter, Mr. Humphrey, and other Democratic hopefuls, but they don't agree with Mr. Reagan or Mr. Wallace on the nation's foreign policy, or even with each other.

They are being identified in the press as "Democratic Party spokesmen," but there is no Democratic Party foreign policy, there is no Democratic "plan" to oppose the Administration's foreign policy, and until they get a candidate, there really is no Democratic Party in terms of a different foreign policy.

These men are all saying some interesting things about Henry Kissinger. They object to his secrecy, his emphasis on United States-Soviet policy, his step-by-step diplomacy in the Middle East, his past record in Southeast Asia, the Eastern Mediterranean, Angola, Cuba and the rest of the developing world, but their complaints are more on timing, tactics, and priorities than on substance.

The surprising thing in this so-called foreign policy debate is that the Democrats would want to get involved in it. Domestic policy is their main issue and best hope to regain the Presidency. If they nominate Mr. Carter, they are not likely to emphasize foreign policy, since he is less experienced in that field than any other. And if they nominate Mr. Humphrey, he will be the last to criticize Mr. Kissinger, since he is the Secretary of State's most reliable supporter in the Senate Democratic majority.

The danger is that all this thrashing around may get more attention abroad than it deserves. Soviet officials, who should know better, seem to have taken President Ford's banishment of the word "détente" seriously. The Chinese, who assured Mr. Kissinger personally that Teng Hsiao-ping would remain in power as a symbol of Chou En-lai's policy of cooperation with the

WASHINGTON

United States, have now replaced him with Hua Kuo-feng, whose policy and background are virtually unknown to Mr. Kissinger or anybody else in this city.

Probably the shake-up in Peking is mainly domestic, but nobody here knows. What is known is that the Chinese have a more serious problem of political succession than we have, and that there is a faction in that country favoring a restoration of the Sino-Soviet alliance, rather than the moderate policy of limited cooperation with the West.

In the United States, we may not take these campaign arguments over foreign policy very seriously, but any doubt about the steadiness and consistency of American foreign policy influences events in other countries like Italy, the Middle East, and Latin America, where changes of government produce other changes to a greater extent than they do here.

If there is a real debate here, it is about Henry Kissinger and not about the future direction of American foreign policy, and this has limited significance, since Mr. Kissinger, like Messrs. Wallace, Reagan and Jackson, is on his way out.

So the chances are that we'll get through this year's election without any major change in the nation's foreign policy or any serious tilt in the political or military balance of power in the world, but this depends on an accurate assessment of what is going on here. It is not a major reassessment of American foreign policy, but a political and personal argument—nothing more.

The Weather
—Sunny, high near 80, low 0. The chance of rain is near day and 10 per cent tonight. —Partly cloudy, high near 80. day — 3 p.m. air index: 45; range: 74-38. Details on C2.

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The Gallup Poll

Carter, Humphrey Still Ahead

By George Gallup

PRINCTON, N.J. — The New York and Wisconsin primaries last week have had little impact on the standings of Democratic candidates nationwide, despite the good showings by Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall, according to a nationwide survey completed Monday.

The race appears to be increasingly a two-man contest between Jimmy Carter and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, with Jackson and Udall unable thus far to reverse this trend.

Carter and Humphrey, deadlocked in four successive surveys since early March, together won 53 per cent of the total vote of Democrats in that first survey. Today they win 63 per cent of the total vote of Democrats, who were asked to choose from a list of leading Democratic hopefuls.

Jackson's support declined sharply between the early and mid-March surveys and has subsequently leveled off. His New York primary victory as yet has not translated into votes nationwide.

Udall has the support of only 5 per cent, the same number that support California Gov. Edmund Brown.

Here is the question asked of Democrats nationwide to determine their preferences for the presidential nomination this year:

Here is a list of people who have been mentioned as possible presidential candidates for th Democratic Party in 1976. (Respondents were handed a card with eight names.) Which one would you like to see nominatd as the Democratic candidate for President in 1976?

Here is how the current Democratic contenders have rated with the party rank-and-file since early March:

	Late March	Mid-March	Early March
Jimmy Carter	32%	30%	28% 26%
H. Humphrey	31	29	30 27
Geo. Wallace	13	13	16 15
Henry Jackson	6	7	11 15
Edmund Brown	5	9	— —
Morris Udall	5	4	4 5
Frank Church	2	3	— —
Undecided/other	6	5	11 12

Most Candidates Running in the Red

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the first national political campaign to be conducted under the new, post-Watergate law, most presidential candidates' treasuries are either broke or headed there.

While the law was intended principally to give voters a broader choice and to cut the power of big contributors, almost the reverse has resulted.

Campaigns that looked as though they were rolling in money at the start of the primary season now are reeling.

The once-fat campaign treasury of Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. (D-Tex.) is now a minus $60,393. The campaign of Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), which had more than a million dollars in the bank just eight primaries ago, now is reporting a balance of $154,015. Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace's campaign is laying off workers. Half a dozen candidates have stopped campaigning.

In 1972, Pennsylvania voters could choose among five Democratic candidates on primary day, April 25, and any of the five — Sens. Edmund S. Muskie (Maine), George McGovern (S.D.), Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) and Jackson and Wallace — had at that time a chance of winning the nomination.

RICHARD VIGUERIE
... Wallace fund-raiser

This year, on April 27, Pennsylvania's voters will in effect have three viable Democratic candidacies—Jackson's, and those of Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.) and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter—from which to choose.

See MONEY, A4, Col. 1

Most Candidates Run in the Red

MONEY, From A1

The economic realities created by the new rules—which limit individuals' contributions to $1,000 per campaign—have winnowed the field far earlier than in the past, when a John Lindsay, for instance, could make a run for a while largely with financing from a few fat-cat contributors.

The fat cat has been driven from the presidential arena, creating a new breed, whose importance now is clearly crucial. This is not the man who has a large bank account of his own, but the man who can tap the money of lots of other people.

The new breed can be expert in the one-on-one appeals of charity or the mass appeals of direct mail or the labor union.

Some campaign treasurers have not fully grasped the import of the limit on gifts. Richard Viguerie, the political direct mail magnate who has raised millions for Wallace's 1976 presidential race, says:

"Until people understand there's a difference and accommodate to it, there are going to be problems. The campaign managers are all from the old school. But, as time goes on, people will develop the skills to know how to handle the new law."

"It may be 10 years before campaigns accommodate to it," Viguerie says.

One campaign that initially had severe problems was that of President Ford.

Its first finance chairman was the wealthy David Packard who hesitated in making decisions to start fund raising by direct mail solicitation. Instead, he concentrated on the old, one-on-one requests for money from historic large contributors to the Republican Party. But all those contributors were limited to the same $1,000.

Packard, it is generally acknowledged, was eased out. Fittingly, his replacement (called executive finance director) is a mail-order specialist. Robert Odell, who sent 32 million letters out for the campaign of Richard M. Nixon in 1972.

Odell has set up a vast money-raising apparatus blending direct mail, state-by-state quotas, with receptions, dinners, and the like, to make up for the absence of fat-cat money. Most campaigns have not found a way to make up for it.

In one sense, the federal matching funds—giving campaigns the first $250 of a person's contribution—were partially to make up for it.

But the claims of campaigns that the temporary hiatus in receiving matching funds, while Congress argues over reconstituting the Federal Election Commission has been ruinous are overestimated.

All of the campaigns together have only $1.3 million in requests for matching funds pending at the commission, with the campaign of President Ford (which is not complaining of money problems) accounting for more than half of that.

Just how much fat cats put in has never quite been known. Secrecy shrouded campaign financing until the first of the new laws — public disclosures of gifts and spending — became effective on April 6, 1972.

A new book that will come out April 25, by Herbert E. Alexander, director of the Citizens' Research Foundation of Princeton, will tote up the 1972 totals.

The book, "Financing the 1972 Election," the fourth of Alexander's financial compendiums about presidential elections, will say that the 1972 Nixon campaign received $7.4 million from just 10 individuals.

It will also say that $19.8 million of the campaign's funds were given by 153 people, those who had made gifts of $50,000 or more each.

The 1976 problem has not been—as some suspected it might—of too low a limit on what a candidate could spend ($10.9 million) in pursuit of his party's nomination. Most candidates won't come close to raising that.

Instead, the $1,000 limit on what each voter can give a campaign has meant that most candidacies haven't been able to raise enough to last very long.

"This thing has had an enormous impact," says Richard Kline, finance coordinator for the Jackson campaign.

"It's conceivable that, despite and because of the new law, money could end up playing a much more important role this year than ever before," says Henry Kimelman who was McGovern's finance chairman in 1972 and is the same for Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) this year.

Because of the taint of Watergate abuses that led to the new law, most campaigns' spokesmen say for the record that they love the new law. But after praising it, they frequently explain at length how hard it has become to raise money.

"I hate to say it's a bad law," says Myer Feldman, who once was counsel to President Kennedy and who headed the finance operation of the now-dormant campaign of Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), "but I do think it was adopted without enough investigation into the sources of campaign funds.

"As presently constituted, the law makes it impossible to campaign in all the primaries and do an adequate job. . . . For all the candidates to be able to present their positions adequately, you have to make it possible for them to raise $10 million. And that's impossible today. It just cannot be done."

Feldman sees the Carter campaign as having one of the best finance operations this year, and points to the minus balance of that campaign as proof of the law's inadequacy. The current balance of the Carter campaign is minus $184,359.

Even though he has won six of the first eight primaries, Carter cannot capitalize economically on those wins as did candidates of

the past, like George McGovern, and Eugene McCarthy.

Kimelman recalls that "after Wisconsin (in 1972), I went to Stewart Mott and asked him to loan us $100,000 or $150,000, and I put in $50,000, and a couple of others helped, and we put $300,000 or $400,000 into the mail and got back half a million."

Now, candidates cannot borrow more than $1,000 from an individual (loans and gifts are considered the same under the law), which means large sums cannot be raised quickly, if at all.

"All the candidates are going to be in desperate financial situation," says Kimelman. ". . . . There's no way you can replenish your treasury fast enough with the frequency of primaries.

"The only one who can raise it is an incumbent President."

Mr. Ford's campaign chest is about the only one of the lot that is brimming, showing a balance on March 31 of just over $1 million.

His Republican opponent in most of the primaries, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, is running just about that much ($916,679) in the red.

"As far as an incumbent goes, you can live with the new law," says direct-mail expert Odell, who is on leave from his company to concentrate on the Ford campaign. "For the challenger, the law makes it more difficult."

"Actually," says Odell, "it's not so much an incumbency protection act as it is favorable toward the person from the far right or the far left, who has lists [of potential donors] available and known donors.

". . . If a candidate is in the mainstream and is not perceived generally as being viable, it can be very difficult."

"Under these laws," says computer millionaire Max Palevsky of Los Angeles, "we'd still be in Vietnam. Neither McCarthy nor McGovern would ever have gotten off the ground.

". . . There are times in the history of this country when it's important for someone to voice an unpopular opinion, and that's impossible under these laws.

". . . The McCarthy and McGovern campaigns were only possible because a few rich people (like Palevsky, who gave McGovern $337,190) were able to step forward at the beginning. Not that you can run a campaign forever on rich people's money. But you can't really get started without them."

Reagan's finance people feel it's a bad law, as well. Jack L. Courtemanche, the national finance chairman, says that "it's just not possible now (to raise enough) with the lids on. We think it favors the incumbent, one, and two, it's a real chore raising money right now."

But Ed Coyle, administrative director of the Udall campaign, which has a current balance of minus $28,735, feels that the very reason Reagan's workers are unhappy with the law—that they can't tap rich friends of Reagan—is exactly why it's a good law.

"This year we're competing with people, like Reagan and Ford, who have the capacity to sit down with three or four men in a room and get some really big bucks," says Coyle. "In that sense, it's not an incumbent protection act, because it gives a challenger an equal shot.

"It might be easier for Gerald Ford to raise his $10.9 million than it is for us, and he might get his sooner. But once he's there, that's all he can do."

NEXT: The old and new fat cats.

Carter Likes Frogs

4

ATLANTA, April 14 (AP)—Jimmy Carter's press secretary says he's trying to rescue his candidate from an unfortunate phrase.

Not "ethnic purity." Another one.

During the New Hampshire primary campaign, in which former Georgia Gov. Lester Maddox spoke against fellow ex-Gov. Carter, one of Carter's staff retorted, "Being called a liar by Lester Maddox is like being called ugly by a frog."

Now, Carter press secretary Jody Powell says, he has received a letter from a "Nestle J. Frobish" of Lyndonville, Vt., claiming to represent a "Worldwide Fairplay for Frogs Committee," which says:

"There are millions of frog lovers across the country who are not going to take kindly to a candidate whose staff has nothing better to do than make fun of frogs."

Powell said he responded that Carter bears no prejudice or ill will toward frogs: "Gov. Carter's mother reports that even as a child he displayed a great fondness, even affection for frogs. They were often his companions and occasionally even shared his bed."

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Walking Out on the Campaigns

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES have good reason to sue Congress for non-support. After arguing for weeks over changes in the campaign law, the Senate and House have gone off on a 10-day Easter vacation without quite finishing the bill. This leaves the Federal Election Commission in limbo for a few more weeks—and leaves the candidates unable to collect any matching funds on the eve of the crucial Pennsylvania and Texas primaries.

The congressional walkout could have serious effects on some campaigns. Rep. Morris K. Udall, for one, is fighting for survival financially as well as at the polls. According to its March 31 report, the Udall campaign was running a slight deficit, with assets of around $227,000 and over $256,000 in debts. But more than $218,000 of those assets consisted of money owed to the committee, not money in the bank. Mr. Udall's cash position is perilous—and cash is what candidates need to get their message in the mail or on the air in the last days of a campaign. Meanwhile, Mr. Udall's application for $127,962 in matching funds is sitting at the FEC . . . and will keep sitting there because Congress went home.

Other campaigns have money problems too. The Carter committee reported a deficit of $184,000 on March 31; its application for $208,000 in matching funds is also stalled at the FEC. On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan's managers claim to have put off bankruptcy by raising a large amount through Mr. Reagan's recent nationwide broadcast. He could get a quick $282,154 in matching funds if the FEC could act. The Ford campaign, which is in relatively good financial shape, has even more ($729,199) awaiting it whenever the FEC gets back in business.

Some argue that the real cause of many campaigns' distress is the $1000 limit on individual contributions, which has—as intended—shut off the large gifts from "fat cats" that were so important in past years' campaigns. The ceiling has certainly changed the nature of the money-raising game; it has also made matching funds doubly important as a timely supplement. By turning off that tap, Congress has disrupted the new system and may have severely undercut some candidates' fortunes at a critical point.

The congressional dallying is all the more inexcusable because there was no good reason for it. The legislation was not bogged down in any substantive dispute; the Senate and House conferees have essentially settled all their differences and were on the verge of reporting a relatively sound bill when they recessed. Besides reconstituting the FEC as required by the Supreme Court, the compromise measure sets reasonable rules for business and labor political action committees, and gives the FEC more autonomy than the House had originally proposed. Overall, the compromise may be about the best that this Congress is likely to produce. It is certainly fair enough to be signed by the President . . . whenever Congress gets around to sending it to him.

We hope that the Senate and House will show a greater sense of obligation and urgency when they return on April 26, so that the FEC can be activated and the matching funds disbursed well before the last round of primaries in May. Meanwhile, candidates who are short of cash may have to run on credit in the form of commercial loans. To reassure those candidates (and their banks), President Ford should make clear his intention to sign the conference report and renominate the FEC's members as soon as possible. Such an assurance from Mr. Ford would also put some pressure on the Congress to act more responsibly after the holiday. Finally, it would dispel any suspicion that candidate Ford is trying to prolong the confusion, undercut any particular contenders, or otherwise profit from his challengers' distress.

Chalmers M. Roberts

A Preview of a Serious Foreign Policy Debate

The general election campaign for the presidency is still months away but the shape of at least part of the coming argument on foreign policy is becoming clearer. The American Society of Newspaper Editors on Tuesday got a glimpse of this while listening to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and three Democrats who would like to be in the Damocratic cabinet they hope will be assembled next year.

The arguments advanced on both sides—most of them diametrically opposed—are worth examining in some detail. What they suggest are fundamental differences between the Republicans and the Democrats not only on how to deal with specific problems but on how, in general, American foreign policy should be conducted and on the nature of this country's role in the world. And what this could mean, in turn, is that there is a real prospect for a genuine, useful and overdue debate on foreign policy, once the primaries are over and the nominees of both parties begin the final contest for the presidency.

Most of the attention so far has been on Ronald Reagan's attacks on Kissinger and his boss, President Ford, for conducting a "one-way street" detente policy with the Soviet Union and for letting the United States become, so it is charged, number two in military power, or at least letting it head in that direction. It is evident, however, that any likely Democratic nominee is going to stand for a "strong" defense. The Democratic Congress already has been giving Mr. Ford about all he has asked in defense money.

The real argument, as the editors heard, is over the conduct of foreign policy. Three Democratic spokesmen—George W. Ball, Paul C. Warnke and Zbigniew Brzezinski — all castigated Kissinger's penchant for secrecy, maneuver and surprise decision. Brzezinski called him an "acrobat" and demanded a new "architect" of policy. More substantively, all took out after Kissinger for excessive attention to Soviet-American relations and criticized him in specific terms on Middle East, Italian, African and other policies—or the lack thereof.

On the Middle East, the Democrats argued that the United States must aim for a comprehensive settlement. Ball denounced Kissinger's step-by-step diplomacy and predicted a horrendous war ahead unless there is such a change in policy and the others agreed. In response at a luncheon, Kissinger did his best to say that the United States is now enroute to the comprehensive settlement try but he wasn't predicting success. In a sense, both sides seemed to be positioning themselves to blame the other if there is a blowup before election day.

The most interesting argument involved the possibility—the Democrats seemed to regard it as a probability—of Communists entering the Italian government. Kissinger has been saying this would be "unacceptable" but Warnke commented that it hardly makes sense to label unacceptable what one may have to accept; the problem is how to deal with it. In fact, all three Democrats seem to agree that Communists in the Italian government need not even be fatal to Rome's adherence to NATO.

Kissinger's response to a question on this was to set up a new domino thesis: that if the Communists get into one government they'll be headed for all of them in Western Europe. Anything, of course, can happen but this seems to be as false a line of reasoning as the original domino theory in Southeast Asia back in the Eisenhower era. The instant problem is Italy — Ball called the Christian Democratic Party there, so long in power, both "corrupt" and "flabby" and rightly so—and he and his fellow Democrats seemed willing to accept at least the possibility that Italian Communists are different from the Kremlin and East European variety.

This Kissinger disputed: All Communists, he argued, are "Leninist." And if they got into power in Italy the result would be "a sequence of events in which other European countries would be tempted to move in the same direction." But Kissinger had no answer on what to do about the collapsing Christian Democrats.

All the Democrats agree that Kissinger had been playing too much of a lone wolf role, not paying enough attention to the allies and what they could do to help in Italy, the Middle East or elsewhere. This gets back to the style of Kissinger's diplomacy and President Ford's support of it. They both assert that relations with Western Europe were never better.

There was criticism of Kissinger on Africa for seeming to line up the United States on the side of the white minority and, interestingly, from Brzezinski on American policy in Central America and the Caribbean. He spoke of American "imperial relations" in such places as Panama and Jamaica as both out of date and leading to new troubles.

It is difficult to generalize from such an exchange but it does seem that Kissinger is in a defensive mood, trying to husband the resources of the United States, its alliances and its past positions in the world against aggressive forces he sees centered in Moscow. On the other hand, the Democrats contend that, as Warnke put it, much of the political talk tends to "poormouth" American military strength and that we constantly overlook internal Soviet weaknesses at home and in such places as Eastern Europe. In a sense, the Democrats although they see much the same problems, are more optimistic that the United States can meet them. Nobody mentioned Admiral Zumwalt's contention about Kissinger's pessimism on the future of the United States, but the thought of it might have crossed some editors' minds as they listened to him.


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The Washington Star

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Year. No. 106

WASHINGTON, D.C., THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1976

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Humphrey Finds Game Is Still Rough

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

It was fun and games for Hubert Humphrey at the newspaper editors' convention yesterday when Eugene Patterson, editor of the St. Petersburg Times, noted that "one Republican and three Democrats who are candidates for President won't come to meet with us, but one who isn't did."

That got a good laugh, partly because everyone knows that Humphrey is at least as interested in being president as anyone running. The conventional wisdom in political circles right now also holds that the Democratic nominee will be either Humphrey or Jimmy Carter and that Carter has to get things moving with a decisive victory in Pennsylvania on April 27.

Humphrey gave no sign that he was a minority dissenter. "Why am I here?" he wondered out loud. "It's true I'm a noncandidate — the picketers left when I showed up. I hear you are electing your new officers and I hope you will refrain from any politicking out of consideration for my feelings while I'm here."

Humphrey was referring to the striking NBC technicians who picketed the meeting and scared the other candidates off before the picketers were dispersed by a court order.

ALL THIS DREW good laughs from the editors. But the smile left Humphrey's face when he got the first questions from a panel of reporters.

"Don't you think it's unfair that because of a loophole in the election laws your supporters can raise money in excess of the $1,000 individual limit that applies to announced candidates but not to unannounced candidates such as you?" Bob Boyd of the Knight Newspapers asked.

Humphrey indignantly denied knowing about a $6,000 contribution that Boyd said has been reported to the Federal Election Commission and said that if it was true it should be returned.

This illustrates part of Humphrey's dilemma as an unannounced presidential candidate hoping for a deadlocked convention that would turn to him as a compromise candidate. He is comfortably above the struggle now, with surrogates doing the work for him, but if and when he formally enters he will find once again that he is in a very rough game.

UNTIL THEN, however, his strategy is looking good, partly because of Carter's loss of momentum due to his statement on "ethnic purity," his weak fourth-place finish in New York, and his hairbreadth victory over Morris Udall in Wisconsin.

There is a substantial effort afoot on Humphrey's behalf in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania, where Democratic party and labor leaders — who by no means would be heartbroken

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HUMPHREY

Continued From A-1

by a Humphrey candidacy — are lining up behind Sen. Henry Jackson as a means of stopping the frontrunning Carter.

As a result, some national party leaders are convinced that a multi-ballot convention is increasingly possible — possible enough that they are beginning to ponder the public relations problem of a brokered convention: How to convince the public that it is not necessarily the work of a bunch of crooked politicos carving up the great American barbecue in a smoke-filled room.

THERE ARE a number of other reasons for this. Udall is still alive and kicking, and the longer he remains so the better the chance of a deadlock. Carter is still mistrusted by some elements of the party, including some ideological liberals.

Another reason is the calculation that if the current pattern of uncommitted delegates, many of whom presumably lean toward Humphrey, holds up, Carter will go into the convention with a maximum of 850 to 900 delegates.

This is well short of the "threshold" figure of 1,000 delegates the pols think Carter needs to bargain for the other 505 necessary for the nomination, and some estimates of this threshold are higher. This also means that Jackson would be close enough behind to do some serious bargaining himself.

One of Humphrey's most aggressive supporters, Rep. Paul Simon, D-Ill., thinks Humphrey will go to the convention with at least 300 of the 1,505 delegates needed to nominate. This figure is probably low, possibly ridiculously so; it is possible to argue that he has a pretty good handle on more than 200 right now.

START WITH HIS 60 in Minnesota. In Virginia (total 54) he probably is the choice of 30 of the 37 uncommitted. Hawaii (total 17) has 15 uncommitted leaning to either Humphrey or Jackson. In Illinois he has possibly as many as 24, to say nothing of the rest of the bloc of 86 committed to Sen. Adlai Stevenson. These, of course, are controlled by Mayor Richard Daley and obviously could go to Humphrey in a deadlock.

New York (total 274) has 65 uncommitted, 21 of whom are outright for Humphrey and another 30 who are leaning toward him. Mississippi has four uncommitted plus four for Sargent Shriver who are controlled by state Chairman Aaron Henry and all of whom are potentially Humphrey's. Alaska's five uncommitted are leaning to Jackson or Humphrey.

South Carolina (total 31) has 13 uncommitted who are leaning toward Humphrey. In Iowa (total 47), where the congressional districts elected 40 delegates to the national convention last weekend, Carter got 17 (four more than expected), and Udall got 10, (also four more than expected). Fred Harris has two, and of the 11 uncommitted seven are leaning toward Humphrey; the rest will be elected at the state convention.

OF THE 40 Iowans, 20 are union men, primarily auto workers, teachers and municipal and state employes, four or five times as many as normal. Nine of these are committed to Carter, but in a deadlock Humphrey could appeal to labor. His supporters also contend that the Harris delegates are favorable to Humphrey.

They also claim Humphrey support among Sen. Lloyd Bentsen's favorite-son delegates in Texas.

There is a widespread feeling that if Carter does not do well in Pennsylvania it will encourage other favorite-son candidates. Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California is getting such a campaign underway, and there are reports that Sen. Thomas Eagleton may do something similar in Missouri.

Humphrey's strategy is risky, however, because it is in the hands of others. If Udall does poorly in Pennsylvania and ultimately bows out, the chances of deadlock will decrease in a two-man conflict between Carter and Jackson. But Humphrey supporters there are lining up for Jackson.

IN NEW JERSEY, the state chairman, Sen. James Dugan, led a move to put together strong uncommitted delegate slates that are leaning Humphrey's way. Dugan expects them to prevail on primary day, June 8.

Some political observers there, however, believe that many of these delegates will throw in with a candidate before the primary if Humphrey doesn't announce as a formal candidate. An attempt to get Rep. Peter Rodino to run as a favorite son to hold the delegation together for Humphrey failed because Rodino refused to front for him as did Joseph Crangle, the Democratic boss in Buffalo, N.Y.

Rodino thinks Humphrey should run. The congressman would have nothing to do with any movement to "stop-Carter," although this has to succeed in order for Humphrey to have a chance.

Although Carter's "ethnic purity" remark helped halt his momentum, at least temporarily, there is a question among several state chairmen about how much permanent damage it did the candidate.

Politics Today

An Old Believer Among New Infidels

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

Hubert Humphrey was introduced affectionately at the editors' convention here by a spokesman who praised the "perpetual flowering of this evergreen senator from Minnesota."

The speaker sounded like an old and fond friend of Humphrey's. But even if he wasn't, it's hard not to sound like one. It's as tough not to like Humphrey personally, even when you disagree with him, as it is not to respond to that perpetual evergreen optimism, which on Humphrey is as natural as breathing and as American as apple pie.

It's also that everyone knows Hubert Humphrey. He's as familiar as the family homestead, as comfortable as grandpa's rocking chair. This is one big reason why Humphrey, the presidential noncandidate, is taken so seriously by so many Democrats, particularly traditional liberals.

It's not that his lust for the White House and his grief and bitterness over his narrow miss in 1968 is as well known as the time of day. It's that for Democratic liberals he is an anchor with tradition, with principles many have held deeply for much of their adult lives, a symbol of stability in a time of flux.

IT IS INTERESTING to hear them use such words as "innovative" and "creative" when there is nothing he proposes that he hasn't argued and fought for over the past 30 years. It's as though the idea of a Jimmy Carter or a Jerry Brown as president is the liberal political equivalent of sailing off the edge of the earth.

There may be a sea change taking place in American politics, a turning away from the traditional New Deal liberalism that has shaped the lives of many Democrats — and the nation — over the past 40 years. When Brown and Carter talk against big, inefficient federal government, the reaction of many Democrats is like the church faithful being told that the deacon and the choir director indeed were indiscreet, or possibly worse, that the flesh, alas, is weak but nevertheless the faith must remain strong.

"I wouldn't vote for Brown if he was the last Democrat on earth," one New England national committeeman sputtered last week. "And some of what Carter says troubles me, too. If we want to nominate a Republican let's borrow one from them. We don't need to raise our own."

You do a double take the first time you see Jerry Brown bring in a group of Sufi dancers who celebrate the earth and the sun and the sky as entertainment for a party fundraiser, most of whose beneficiaries still like to talk of "broads." Or the first time you hear Carter talk about a government that is "as full of compassion and love as the American people."

THERE ARE NO double takes with Humphrey, however. Jobs, schools, hospitals, opportunity, equality, adequate defense, health insurance, the whole magilla, that's what he talks about. So do Scoop Jackson and Mo Udall, but with them it just isn't the same.

"I'm disturbed by the notion of retreat from the principles that originally attracted me to the party," says one national committeeman. "Who is committed to these principles? I appreciate Hubert for standing up for them instead of talking about dismantling the federal government."

Sen. George McGovern stated it pretty well. "What kind of a President would Carter make?" he wondered. He said he could feel comfortable with Udall, and God knows he'd be comfortable with Humphrey.

"He still believes in the federal government and its ability to deal with our problems," McGovern said. "There's no problem that strong, constructive leadership can't solve. . . . He's the source of creative ideas. Does anyone think Carter or Brown would be more innovative?"

ONE GREAT SOURCE of Humphrey's appeal is simply his optimism. Brown warns that Americans must lower their expectations. Carter preaches love and good management in government.

But to Humphrey everything is possible. "A lot of young people in my campaign who didn't like him because of his support of the Vietnam war now like him because of his energy and enthusiasm," McGovern said.

One of Humphrey's best friends, Sen. Gaylord Nelson, put it another way: "One main reason he's so attractive is that he's one of the few who seem confident that our problems can be solved."

That faith in the federal government has taken an enormous beating, but McGovern hopes the disillusionment is only temporary: "We're going through a reaction to the long period of Vietnam and Watergate when the federal leadership was discredited."

In a sense Humphrey is benefiting from a party vacuum, the lack of familiar, regular candidates such as Kennedy, Muskie, Mondale — and Humphrey himself. To many Democrats Jackson and Udall are insurgents, one of the center-right of the party, the other a good mainstream liberal but something of a maverick.

Humphrey, the bomb thrower of 1948, is the quintessential party regular of 1976. "He may be seen as an innovator by the country at large but not in the Democratic party," says one Democrat. To many others Hubert Humphry is like the old hat they keep meaning to throw away but never do because it feels so good.

Michael Novak

America's Illusions: Blacks as Moral Prey

Mr. Novak is The Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" will appear in this space every Tuesday and Thursday, and in the Comment section on Sunday.

A number of years ago, in "The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics," I predicted that the decade of "the poor, the black and the young" had come to an end, and that the '70s would be the decade of the "ethnics." I was afraid, then, that I might be wrong; surely, there was intense resistance to the idea. Jimmy Carter's problem with "ethnic purity" is only a most recent symbol that the error of my ways has not been demonstrated by events.

I had several reasons for believing that the black leadership had miscalculated in the 1960s and would suffer political decline. The chief reason was the overwhelming dishonesty with which their liberal allies discuss race in the North.

Liberals treat blacks with condescension (as victims). They keep blacks dependent on liberal support. In addition, liberals use blacks as a tactical weapon against the unions, the party regulars, and the urban ethnics, as a way of seizing control over the Democratic party and the nation. The true meaning of the coalition of "the poor, the black, women, and the young" is an alliance of upper-class liberals (including students) and under-class militants to overpower working-class ("square") whites and blacks.

THIS STRATEGIC choice — one finds it outlined in Michael Harrington's "Toward a New Democratic Left," in Fred Dutton's "Changing Sources of Power," and many other places — has several weaknesses. It brought McGovern to disaster.

The first of these is numbers. According to Charles V. Hamilton, there are now 9 million black voters nationwide. But voting turnout among blacks tends to be lower, considerably lower, than turnout among urban ethnics. A 30 percent turnout by blacks is high. That means fewer than 3 million votes. The median age of the Jewish community is much higher than that of blacks, and their voting participation level averages 87 percent. Jews produce about 3 million votes. Slavic-Americans also vote at high levels, and produce about three times that. (83 percent for Lyndon Johnson, 63 percent for Hubert Humphrey in 1968, 53 percent for George McGovern). Politicians recover from neglect by counting.

But the most important reason is that racism is not fundamentally a moral problem. It is an economic problem. Our purpose in these United States is neither to make each other into saints, nor to purify each other's moral values. Our purpose is to treat each other with economic and political fairness. Of the two, economic fairness is more basic.

Blacks do not need morality. They need economic independence.

THE ECONOMIC NEEDS of blacks are virtually identical to those of working-class whites: jobs, housing needs, scholarships, neighborhood stability and freedom from crime, care for the elderly and for children, support for strong family life. It is not necessary for urban ethnics and blacks to love each other. (Even without blacks, urban ethnics have been capable of great hostility to one another, and of transcending such hostilities). All that is required is mutual political cooperation, deals and hard bargaining for real benefits. Less ideology, more hard goods.

Black leaders, in my view, have erred by (1) treating racism as a moral issue; (2) trying to make whites yield concessions as an alleviation of supposed moral guilt, and (3) making alliance with upper-class, highly educated liberals rather than with rough, local, ethnic, working-class leadership. Part of the reason for this error is that most black leaders are Southerners or West Indians, unfamiliar with the urban ethnic jungle. They treat all whites as if they were white Protestants. They don't grasp the symbolic worlds of the ethnic working class.

My own ancestors were serfs as long ago as blacks were slaves. We have been free persons only as many

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NOVAK

Continued From A-3

generations as blacks. My younger brothers and I "integrated" an almost entirely Protestant upper-class public school "on the hill" in a Pennsylvania town. Most of our peers still live in mainly Slavic areas.

TO SAY THAT we were "white" misses too much social reality. We were Slovak — peasants two generations ago, miners and millworkers a generation ao, and still vastly unrepresented in banking, the universities, the media, the courts, and high political office in Pennsylvania.

To say all we had to do was "change our names" (which most do not) is to ignore the psychological realities of personal identity, and to imagine that social deception is an act of integrity and dignity. Besides, if one has economic power, one doesn't need love; respect is paid the power, if not the person.

Finally, the forms of liberal racism, or intellectual racism, have too long gone uncriticized by blacks, by liberals, or by anyone. Such racism insists that blacks are "victims." But this seemingly generous attitude also deprives blacks of responsibility, independence and moral stature. It treats them as less than human.

By most white ethnics, blacks are regarded as fearful competitors — competitors for jobs, turf, scholarships, quotas, high positions, visibility and moral clout. On television, at least, and in the papers, blacks seem to be winning. They receive public deference, "understanding," justification. Their alliance with upper-class whites hurts them with lower-class whites. ("Honkie" sounds suspiciously like "Hunkie.") Blacks seem to be "in." This is, of course, from a black point of view, a set of empty symbols. To white workers in Pittsburgh, it seems to be a publicly obvious reality.

TO HOLD THAT blacks and urban ethnics can overcome their cultural hostilities and forge a potent political alliance is not fanciful. In most elections, white and black urban wards vote for the same candidates — for Robert Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey, for example. If the issues are defined economically, not racially, both urban ethnics and blacks are already in rather remarkable coalition. Watch how they vote.

In this context, busing is a horrible tactical mistake by the NAACP, whose political price (and economic price) is devastatingly destructive. No one bused Slavic students out of concentrations in urban ghettos, or Italian students, etc. In the North, every group is de facto segregated. Elite magnet schools in many cities have provided brighter students a "way out" from every ethnic ghetto. Most found a stable, slower way out through solid (if academically poor) ghetto schools.

The number of blacks in the North has tripled in the last 30 years, as the number of urban ethnics did 50 years ago. Their needs for welfare made less money available for other social programs, including education.

Liberals tend to praise any candidate who can attack the black vote — in 1972, McGovern in California; in 1976, Carter. They do not think carefully enough about who has a way of holding both urban ethnics and blacks in a tough-minded economic coalition. A rising tide lifts every boat.

Edwin M. Yoder Jr.

Unreconstructed globalists and good intentions

The Democrats, who have controlled Congress and so many of the statehouses for most of the last 45 years, might have put a lock on the presidency as well but for one embarrassment: Without exception, every Democratic presidency since Woodrow Wilson's has come with a war attached.

This observation bears, I hope, no resemblance to the crude and infuriating old stump cry that the Democrats are "the war party." But it is a stumbling block for voters. They tell the pollsters that they have far more confidence in the economic management of Democratic administrations. (The great Republican embarrassment, for that matter, is that most Republican administrations come with a recession or two attached, which like the Democrats' wars may be big or little, depending on the possibilities.) It is something you begin to think about in presidenial election years — ordinary voters asking themselves which party will be likely to do the least damage on balance: the Republicans with their uncertain economics, or the Democrats with their — well, with their what?

Is there some quality in the people Democratic administrations recruit for high foreign policy and defense posts that predisposes Democratic administrations to wander into war? You would have a hard time, taking the wars case by case, isolating any such factor. Lord Devlin, the eminent British jurist, recently argued that Woodrow Wilson's own uncertain grasp of the high politics of the Great War laid a trap for him by the spring of 1917. In 1941 and again in 1950 we were directly attacked. The involvement in Vietnam was of bipartisan making, although the "escalation" of 1963-68 was not.

What brought these questions to mind for me was a panel discussion — "American Foreign Policy on Trial" — at the annual meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. The editors heard three eminent oppositionists — Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia, former Undersecretary of State George Ball, and Mr. Paul C. Warnke — dissect Dr. Kissinger's foreign policy with merriment and mild contempt.

Dr. Kissinger, they all agreed, is an "acrobat," not an "architect" in foreign policy — the distinction being that "acrobats leave no legacy." The critics agreed that the Middle East, where less partisan observers think Dr. Kissinger has done his most brilliant work, remains the most dangerously explosive of theaters. There was no dissent when Mr. Ball described the Sinai agreement and the step-by-step diplomacy that led to it as failures.

Since the three panelists have been described as "gentlemen in waiting" for high posts in any Democratic restoration, one found oneself wondering if there is anything in their style and outlook to justify apprehensions of future war. It is an unanswerable, maybe even an insulting question. Yet all three critics (possibly excepting Mr. Warnke, whose field is national security affairs) talk like unreconstructed globalists for whom there is a medicine made in Washington for the world's ills. They believe that it is almost an American duty to define the world's problems and move to "solve" them. And that necessarily means that they consider it within our capacity to do both.

Mr. Ball is an especially keen writer of American prescriptions. He is the classic foreign-policy legalist, an international lawyer who confesses no awe at the ferocious tensions bred of history. They can be tamed by contract. He would be glad, as a future secretary of state, to write the contracts.

You need not agree with Dr. Kissinger's views, nor approve his "acrobatic" style, to believe, as I do, that it has been a good thing on the whole to have American foreign relations delivered for a while from the hands of international lawyers. Dr. Kissinger, whatever his defects, is a diplomat of few illusions, perhaps too few. Whatever else he knows, he knows as a historian of ancient quarrels that legal contracts make frail binding for the tensions and conflicts of history. His early experience of European tragedy may account for this awareness, giving him a distaste for legalistic formulas that sets him apart from his Democratic critics.

I am far from suggesting here that the global ambition and legalism of Dr. Kissinger's eminent critics are fuels for future war. Wars are not foreordained by shifts of administration. But the guileless good intentions for a suffering world professsed by three eminent figures of the Democratic "shadow cabinet" may give voters something to think about as they ponder the approaching choice between economic and diplomatic risk.

James J. Kilpatrick

Sneeze in a brooder house

In a society that positively thrives upon awards, plaques and what Pegler used to call bottlecaps and doorstops, one more award might seem redundant. Let me propose it anyhow.

This would be a hand-tooled three-dollar bill, having a value of no fewer than 60 plugged nickels, to be presented for Exceptional Phoniness Beyond the Call of Demagoguery. The first award would go to all those persons who reacted with shock and horror to Jimmy Carter's statement on "ethnic purity."

What a flap! It was like a sneeze in a brooder house. Seldom have we witnessed such a beating of wings, such a chorus of yelps, yawps and adenoidal cackles, such a wringing of hands and a rolling of eyes. For three or four days, the political world resounded with the striking of attitudes. You could have blown up a blimp with the surge of hot air.

Poor Carter! He had dared to express the inexpressible; he had said the unsayable; he had given tongue to the unthinkable thought.

"I have nothing against a community," said this miserable wretch, "that's made up of people who are Polish, Czechoslovakians, French Canadians or blacks who are trying to maintain the ethnic purity of their neighborhoods. This is a natural inclination on the part of people."

The unfortunate miscreant went on to say: "I've never, though, condoned any sort of discrimination against, say, a black family or other family from moving into that neighborhood. But I don't think government ought to deliberately break down an ethnically oriented community deliberately by injecting into it a member of another race. To me, this is contrary to the best interests of the community."

Now, the governor's statement is scarcely a model of clarity or coherence. It suffers from a split infinitive and a repeated adverb. Even so, his thought is not to be mistaken: He opposes the use of federal coercion to break up ethnically established neighborhoods. He believes in the freedom of every person to live where he chooses, but he would not push people around.

Carter's blasphemy left Senator Henry Jackson speechless. Unfortunately, the condition lasted for no more than two seconds. Coming swiftly to his senses, Jackson let the world know he was shocked and appalled by the governor's remarks. This past Sunday, on television, Jackson still was shaking his head in concern and dismay.

Let us send out the three-buck bill to be suitably framed. This was the same Henry Jackson who delivered himself on December 30 of a long position paper in opposition to court-ordered busing. In this paper Jackson repeatedly denounced what he termed "social engineering." He said the Constitution did not contemplate mathematical race-balancing.

"This is a strange theory in a pluralistic, multi-racial society such as ours," said Jackson. "It is inevitable in a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society that people of different races and groups will settle in clusters rather than randomly. This clustering is not simply the result of discrimination, but of economic circumstance, culture, and history . . . if we destroy the various ethnic neighborhoods, we destroy not only a rich tradition in American life, but an anchor for stability in an increasingly unstable society."

Jackson's fellow buck-and-wing man in the Democratic vaudeville, Congressman Mo Udall of Arizona, has said substantially the same thing: He is opposed to the federal government's "charging in" to established neighborhoods. For the past 20 years, through such rallying cries as "black studies," and "black caucuses," and "black is beautiful," scores of Negro spokesmen have harped on the theme, if you please, of ethenic identification. Every self-respecting ethnic group — the Indians, Italians, Poles, Chinese — manifests the flocking together of birds of a feather. So why the flap? Stop Carter, that's all.

Okay. Boys will be boys, and pols will be pols. Carter himself may qualify before long for his own phony award. But in the basic thought he expressed last week, Carter aligned himself with about 99 percent of the voters. For a presidential candidate, that's not such a bad place to be.

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A LAY MINISTER IN NORTH CAROLINA

Carter's Sister Heals

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C. (AP) — To some audiences, Ruth Carter Stapleton is a lay minister, faith healer and author. To her neighbors, she is the wife of a Fayetteville veterinarian.

But to a nation now watching a presidential campaign, the smiling middle-aged mother of four is the sister of Jimmy Carter.

She predicts Carter will win and says it will be the first time in recent years there will be a president "who has made a total commitment to Christ and who practices the principles of Christ and puts them into politics."

Mrs. Stapleton says she is cutting back on her religious activities to campaign for Carter. She says the former Georgia governor told her not to worry about her initial concerns that her faith-healing ministry could hurt his chances.

Carter himself has used his religious experience in campaigning, as he did in a fund-raising reception in Winston-Salem.

Ruth Carter Stapleton says her brother's "experience in management and government coupled with his Christian principles" will return strong leadership to the White House if he's elected president.

In interviews and in her recently published book, "The Gift of Inner Healing," Mrs. Stapleton described her vocation — healing the spiritual, inner, and physical selves.

"I use a combination of taking the teachings of Jesus and applying them for everyday life combined with psychological principles," she said.

For the last 16 years she's been following that route, although she said it's only been during the last nine that she has been intensely involved in healing people's bodies as well as their souls.

"Nine years ago I saw that physical problems were often caused by psychosomatic causes — so many problems were caused by the spiritual," she said.

"I began to take Jesus the God of Love into my own negative experiences...and found that Christ's love would totally dissolve the negative.

"I saw the difference between psychological therapy and psychological healing. Treating symptoms is just therapy — it doesn't go to the cause of a person's problems."

Mrs. Stapleton, 46, has credentials in both the religious field and in psychology.

Like her brother, she was reared in the strict Southern Baptist tradition of the family's home in Plains, Ga.

But 11 years after marrying Dr. Robert Stapleton she returned to college, earning her B.A. at Fayetteville Methodist College and then taking all the courses necessary for a master's degree in psychology at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

She said her religious awakening came 16 years ago at a retreat where a psychologist and a number of people of different Christian denominations showed her that religion could be a loving experience.

"Up to that point religion had been negative for me — a set of morals to be followed," she said.

"But at the retreat they were practicing what Christ taught, that God is a God of love, and not one who keeps a scorecard on the negative aspects of a person's life."

From that beginning, she said, she began teaching the values of a spiritual life to small groups, "and I began to see that prayer worked not only spiritually but physically."

"First I began one-on-one counseling, then moved on to groups."

Jackson Distorting Views On Labor, Carter Says

The Associated Press

Jimmy Carter has accused Sen. Henry M. Jackson of distorting his stand on right-to-work laws and other labor issues and says some union workers have turned against him in his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination because of it.

"I think Scoop Jackson is getting desperate," the former Georgia governor told about 300 persons at a farm rally 10 miles south of Harrisburg, Pa., Thursday.

As Carter campaigned for Pennsylvania's April 27 primary election, Republican challenger Ronald Reagan took a second trip to Texas, where he faces President Ford in the GOP primary May 1.

The White House announced that Ford will visit Indiana next Thursday and Georgia next Friday. Primaries in the two states are May 4.

A White House spokesman also said that Ford plans to campaign in Tennessee but that no definite times or places have been scheduled.

Reagan scheduled eight days of campaigning in Tennessee next month in preparation for the state's May 25 presidential primary.

Carter, Jackson and Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall are actively campaigning for Pennsylvania's 178 national convention delegates. The ballot also lists Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace (who has been hampered by money troubles), anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack and three Democrats no longer seeking delegates from the state.

Carter leads the race for national convention delegates with 264, followed by Jackson with 177 and Udall with 129. To win the nomination, a candidate must have 1,505 delegates.

Ford is on the GOP ballot in Pennsylvania, Reagan is not. At stake in the Republican race are 103 delegates.

Carter, a peanut farmer in Georgia, told his rural audience that labor leaders in his state know he's against right-to-work laws and those officials are campaigning for him.

Carter didn't say how Jackson had misled labor leaders but declared that the Washington senator "constantly hands out erroneous material about me that makes it very difficult, in some instances, for labor union members to support me — right-to-work for instance."

Right-to-work laws bar closed shop union contracts.

Jackson has said industry has been drawn away from the North by Southern states that have such laws. He has the support of many labor and political leaders in Pennsylvania, a heavily unionized state, though many of the labor leaders are known to favor Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who is not an announced candidate. Humphrey has said he would accept a draft.

Both Carter and Udall had something to say about Humphrey, the party's 1968 presidential candidate, as they campaigned Thursday.

Udall, touring a Fisher Body Co. plant in West Mifflin, near Pittsburgh, said Humphrey is waiting to see if more labor support comes his way.

And Carter said the Democrats' chances of beating Ford in November could be hurt if Humphrey wins the nomination from a brokered convention.

"I'm not sure that with a divided party we can do it," he said. "I think it would be a serious mistake to depend on a brokered convention to give us a victory in November."

Reagan, in Fort Worth Thursday, accused Ford of negotiating a "giveaway" of the Panama Canal because of a threat from a "military dictator who seized power ... and said he will launch a military attack against us if we don't return it."

White House press secretary Ron Nessen, trying to counter Reagan's effort to make the canal a campaign issue, said Thursday at the White House that negotiations with Panama are aimed at protecting U.S. interests and "not to give away something."

Ford said in Dallas last Saturday that "the United States will never give up its defense rights to the Panama Canal and will never give up its operational rights as far as Panama is concerned."

Nessen acknowledged on Thursday that what Ford "meant to convey was that we would never agree to a treaty that did not preserve" U.S. interests in the canal.

Nessen did not dispute that the canal would come under the full control of Panama upon the expiration of any treaty.

Asked about Reagan's persistent efforts to make an issue of the canal talks, Nessen said the subject of the treaty negotiations "is too important to be treated as some kind of political football."

Nessen had acknowledged on Wednesday that the negotiating plan is to reach an agreement that would have an extended but definite life. Once such a treaty expired there presumably would be no guarantee of a continued U.S. role in the defense and operation of the canal.

In Atlanta, Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller said attacks on Ford's foreign policy are merely political and won't affect the GOP's chances of holding onto the White House.

Sen. Henry Bellmon, R-Okla., said in Oklahoma City he would be able to campaign for Ford with more enthusiasm if the President picks former Texas Gov. John Connally as his running mate.

Bellmon, once highly critical of Ford, endorsed him earlier this month.

Political Racism

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

New York

A FEW WEEKS ago, Sen. Humphrey said that people who were campaigning "against Washington" were "racists." Sen. Humphrey has the signal advantage, when he speaks flamboyantly, of arousing very little notice. He has been doing this sort of thing for 30 years, and one listens to him, when he speaks, less carefully than, say, to Delphos. Moreover, one knows that when he says things like that, he really doesn't mean a word of it. It is a part of the polemical ritual of running for president while pretending not to run for president.

All this lunacy one comes if not fully to accept, at least widely to understand. In search of power, the graces of precision in thought are acts of indulgence. I doubt that there are six people in the United States who believe that there was anything "racist" in Jimmy Carter's statement about neighborhood homogeneity: but the politicians have got everybody talking about it as though Jimmy Carter inadvertently revealed his solidarity with the Ku Klux Klan.

But what are we going to do with the monitors of these extravagences? How are we expected to treat those whose profession requires a thought to the making of distinctions? Please read the following passage with the most intense care. It is a passage from the broadcast delivered by Ronald Reagan on March 31, and it came right after his criticisms of Henry Kissinger for saying, allegedly, that the United States is playing Athens to Russia's Sparta . . .

"Now we learn that another high official of the State Department, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, whom Dr. Kissinger refers to as his 'Kissinger,' has expressed belief that in fact the captive nations should give up any claim of national sovereignty and simply become part of the Soviet Union. He says, 'Their desire to break out of the Soviet straitjacket' threatens us with World War III. In other words, slaves should accept their fate."

What do you read into that statement? Reagan is charging Kissinger's principal lieutenant with counselling against any disturbance of the status quo; against a destabilization that might bring the Soviet Union to find an excuse for military adventure. Reagan is saying that the State Department, through an agent of the secretary of State, is encouraging a policy which effectively abandons hope for the liberation of the captive nations.

Now that is quite a lot to say, and whether Mr. Reagan was correct in saying it is correctly the subject for discussion, as is the question whether Sonnenfeldt-Kissinger, if that is their line, should be criticized for taking it. But listen now to the columnist Joseph Kraft, a nonstop liberal think-tank, a gentleman of affable disposition who can hardly reprove us for weighing his words heavily, since that is what he manifestly wants us to do; always.

"As the going got tough (Kraft, in his syndicated column, is discussing Reagan's speech) Reagan's tones grew shrill. He focused his charges on Kissinger and — in a voluminous detail that, to my perhaps oversensitive nostrils, bring the pungent whiff of anti-Semitism — on one of Dr. Kissinger's associates, Helmut Sonnenfeldt."

The gentleman is so distraught, he writes like George Wallace, if Wallace could write. If a smell is pungent, you do not need oversensitive nostrils to detect it. Inasmuch as there didn't happen to be any racist smell, pungent or nonpungent, the problem is with Mr. Kraft's nostrils, not with Ronald Reagan's rhetoric. If one's nostrils are oversensitive, one should blow them out in private, not in public.

One must suppose that Mr. Kraft assumes that everyone knows that Mr. Sonnenfeldt is Jewish. Well, I for one did not, could not care less, and, in fact, wrote to defend his nomination a year or so ago when it ran into trouble in conservative quarters of Congress for reasons that had nothing to do with anti-Semitism. It is true that Mr. Sonnenfeldt, or so research into the matter indicates, has become starstruck by detente. The notion that anyone, in criticizing that phenomenon, should be moved by anti-Semitic motives is both unbalanced and — inadvertently, in the case of Mr. Kraft, I have no doubt — malicious.

"Organic (relationshlp)" — said another commentator, denouncing Sonnenfeldt's controversial address to the American ambassadors, "is a flabby word which can mean fundamental, constitutional, or organizational; whatever was actually meant by Mr. Sonnenfeldt, the latest mini-Metternich of Foggy Bottom, the idea sent shivers up the spines of several of his distinguished auditors." That analysis was published in the New York Times four days before Reagan's speech, and these sensitive nostrils detected not a trace of anti-Semitism in the analysis of C. S. Sulzberger.—(c1976.)

Ethnic Questions

SOME QUESTIONS put to former Gov. Jimmy Carter by Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson after the controversial "ethnic purity" public comment have helped clear the air for the record.

This was needed. Carter's statement simultaneously that he would not force any alien element on a community left doubts in the minds of some about his commitment to enforcing the federal fair housing act, if elected president.

In answering Jackson's questions, Carter did not pussyfoot. Asked "if a black family seeks to buy a house in an ethnic community which does not want them, should the federal government support and use its resources to support their right to purchase such a house?" Carter's reply was an unequivocal yes.

"The Housing Act of 1968 gurantees a black family that it may purchase a home in any neighborhood. I support this act and will see that it is effectively and fully enforced."

Carter further answered to another question that he would "not hesitate to make clear my conviction that all Americans should be made to feel welcome in all localities."

That is quite explicit. The interesting point in all the fuss that has followed is that none of Carter's critics have spelled out their commitment to open housing. Even the liberal Sen. George McGovern, who has had some of his statements blown out of context in the heat of a campaign, admitted he wasn't satisfied with the comeback of any of the other candidates on the housing question. "Their difference with Gov. Carter on this issue kind of escapes me."

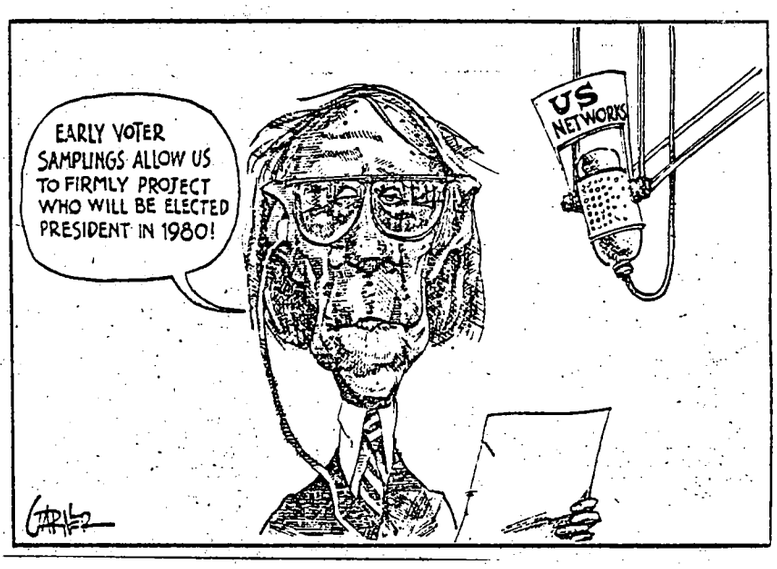
Now is a good time for the others to go on record in answer to similar detailed questions.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

4/13

'One of you will try to deny me the nomination . . . !'



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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Greece and the United States have reached virtual agreement on a four-year accord under which the four American military bases in Greece will continue operation. The accord, which parallels a four-year agreement on American bases signed with Turkey last month that aroused deep concern in Athens, promises Greece $700 million in military assistance. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Syrian troops were said to be establishing encampments six miles inside eastern Lebanon and there were other conflicting, uncertain reports that Syrian troops were moving elsewhere in Lebanon. The reports eclipsed Lebanon's preoccupation with the question of who will be the country's next President. [1:4.]

Andrei Amalrik, the dissident Soviet writer who over the years has been imprisoned and exiled to Siberia, has reluctantly yielded to a relentless campaign of police harassment and has agreed to accept exile abroad with his wife, Gyusel, a painter. They will follow official suggestions that they apply to emigrate to Israel, though neither is Jewish. Mr. Amalrik made it clear in an interview that he did not wish to leave Russia. [1:7.]

The Club of Rome, which aroused intense controversy three years ago with the report it commissioned on "the limits to Growth," now recognizes that further global growth is essential if the problems of world poverty and threats to peace are to be solved. The club, whose members are scholars and businessmen, held a meeting in Philadelphia in honor of the Bicentennial and there Aurelio Peccei, the club's founder, said that the limits-to-growth report, which sold more than 2 million copies worldwide, had served its purpose of "getting the world's attention" focused on the ecological dangers of unplanned and uncontrolled population and industrial expansion. It was also announced that the club had commissioned a new, major study from the Nobel Laureate, Prof. Jan Tinberger of the Netherlands on the creation of "a new international order." [1:5.]

National

Final sentencing of Patricia Hearst, convicted last month of armed robbery, was postponed and Judge Oliver J. Carter of Federal District Court in San Francisco sent her, at the request of her defense counsel, to a Federal institution for 90 days of diagnostic study. Miss Hearst faces a maximum of 25 years in prison, but Judge Carter said he intended to reduce that. [1:1-2.]

An official Treasury Department report disclosed that in 1973 Donald C. Alexander, the Commissioner of the Internal Revenue, personally ordered subordinates to shelve an audit of Senator Joseph M. Montoya's tax returns. In addition, the Treasury's investigation disclosed that Mr. Alexander subsequently said things to various subordinates that subordinates "erroneously" understood to mean that no action was to be taken against the Senator without Mr. Alexander's approval. The Treasury report was released simultaneously with a separate statement from Attorney General Edward H. Levi, who said that a Justice Department investigation of alleged criminal misconduct by Mr. Alexander "has revealed no evidence to support any of these allegations." [1:6-7.]

Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation until recently routinely obtained unsecured loans at preferred interest rates from the Security National Bank of New Jersey, according to papers filed in Federal court in Newark. Apparently the agents only had to show their identification to get the loans, ranging up to $25,000, according to bank officials. [1:1.]

Metropolitan

The grand jury investigating Patrick J. Cunningham, the Democratic state chairman, has broadened its inquiry to include questions about the financing of Governor Carey's election campaign. This was disclosed by James H. Tully, the State Tax Commissioner and an official of the 1974 Carey campaign, who said he was questioned by the jury last week about charges that had previously ben made involving loans to the campaign. Mr. Cunningham, meanwhile, spent more than two hours on the floor where the jury was meeting yesterday in an armory in the Bronx. He did not say he had appeared before the jury. [1:2-3.]

Two armored guards were shot and killed by masked gunmen who waited in ambush as the guards arrived at the New Amsterdam Theater, a 42d Street movie house west of Broadway. The gunmen, who got away apparently without any money, first seized and tied up 19 persons—employees and visitors at the theater. [1:1.]

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e News
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The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Sunny, milder today; cool tonight. Fair and mild tomorrow. Temperature range: today 25-43; Monday 32-56. Details on page 58.

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Study Says Candidates Fail to Name Women to Highest Campaign Posts

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 12—Women have held only 10 of the 69 most important jobs on the campaign staffs of 11 major Presidential candidates, and no woman holds a final decision-making position, according to a study made public today.

The study, conducted by the Capitol Hill Women's Political Caucus, rated one Democratic candidate, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, "superior" in his placement of women in important campaign positions.

Both of the Republican candidates, President Ford and Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor, were rated "unacceptable" because they were found to have no women in top posts on their campaign staffs. Three Democrats—Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma—were similarly rated. Mr. Shapp and Mr. Harris have abandoned their candidates.

The feminist political group labeled "acceptable," because they had at least one woman in a top job. The campaign staffs of former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Senators Kenry M. Jackson of Washington, Frank Church of Idaho and Birch Bayh of Indiana and of the former Peace Corps director, Sargent Shriver.

The organization did not study the staffs of unannounced candidates, such as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, of latecomers to the campaign, such as Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California or of early dropouts, such as Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas.

The Capitol Hill Women's Political Caucus, whose membership consists entirely of women employed in Congressional offices, is a chapter of the bipartisan National Women's Political Caucus. Last year the Capitol Hill group studied Senate staffs and found that 30 Senators had no woman in a professional staff job.

Miriam Dorsey, the head of the feminist organization, said that in the study of Presidential campaign staffs campaign managers were asked such questions as "Who can spend money without an O.K. from someone higher up?" and "Who participated in the decisions on which primaries the candidate would run in?"

More Significant Role

On the basis of answers to such questions, the Congressional group found that of the 412 paid workers in the 11 campaign staffs analyzed, 69 had real influence and power. It further concluded that of these 69 workers, 10 were women.

"Women definitely play a much more significant role than they ever have in the past," Miss Dorsey said, "but if women think they hold the real power, they're kidding themselves."

"In every campaign, there are two or three men who have the final say on all decisions," she continued. Backing them up are individuals who have important but limited decision-making power. Women have penetrated into the second tier of influence, but there are no women at the very top."

The caucus also studied the salaries of Presidential campaign staff members, though it noted that this is not necessarily a good guide to the importance of employees since campaigns are almost always hard-pressed for money and try to pay everyone as little as possible.

The figures show that there are 6 men who are paid more than the highest-paid woman on the Carter staff; 8 men who are paid more than the highest-paid woman on the Udall campaign staff; 11 men who are paid more than the best-paid woman on the Jackson campaign staff; 12 men who are paid more than the best-paid woman on the Ford campaign staff; 13 men who are paid more than the best-paid woman on the Reagan staff, and 19 men who are paid more than the best-paid woman on the Wallace campaign staff.

D

HUMPHREY CALLED VICTOR IN JERSEY

24

Uncommitted Slate to Vie With 4 Others in Primary

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, April 12 — The Democratic state chairman said today that Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota had achieved a victory in the Democratic mini-conventions held throughout the state on Saturday.

The chairman, State Senator James P. Dugan, said that uncommitted delegate candidates had "far outnumbered" other Democrats who caucused in the 40 legislative election districts to choose delegate candidates for the June 8 primary.

Mr. Dugan estimated that 1,200 Democrats registered at the conventions.

In addition to the uncommitted slates in each district, slates pledged to four candidates were fielded in most districts. The four candidates are Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Others With Support

Local candidate slates were also named in a few districts pledged to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortionist candidate from Long Island.

A total of 81 delegates will be elected in June, two from each of 39 districts and three from the 37th District in Bergen County, which received a bonus of one for turning out the biggest Democratic vote in the last two major elections.

By the April 29 primary filing deadline, the state party will file a 10-member slate of uncommitted delegates that will run state-wide, and each of the candidates will file separate slates pledged to their own nominations.

The 91 elected delegates will then select 17 more, thus giving New Jersey 108 delegates at the national convention, the eighth largest bloc of votes there. While the state party is officially uncommitted, Senator Dugan told a news conference in the State House today "what uncommitted stands for in New Jersey will be clearly apparent by election day."

"Senator Hubert Humphrey is the best we have and we should go with him into the November election," Senator Dugan said.

Ford Vetoes Bill to Ease Hatch Act

24

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 12—President Ford vetoed today, and probably killed, legislation that would end restraints on the political activities of nearly three million Government workers.

"The public business of our Government must be conducted without the taint of partisan politics," the President said moments before signing his 48th veto meassage.

The measure would have amended the Hatch Act of 1939 to permit the 2.8 million Federal civil servants to seek elective office or support partisan candidacies.

Neither the Senate nor the House of Representatives passed the measure by the two-thirds vote that would be needed to override a veto.

House Republicans had warned of a veto as action on the bill was being completed last month, and Mr. Ford said 10 days ago as he campaigned in Wisconsin that he would disapprove the measure. The House, which originated the bill, put off until April 29 any attempt to try to override the veto.

Mr. Ford said that Government employees were already permitted to vote, to attend political rallies and to contribute funds to political parties. He contended that the concerns that prompted enactment of the Hatch Act four decades ago "are still valid today."

Action in Congress

Over Republican opposition, the Senate had voted 54 to 36 and the House had voted 241 to 164 to lift the major remaining restrictions on political activities of civil servants. At the same time, the Congressional majority wrote into the measure sections designed to prevent political coercion of Federal employees by their superiors.

Even so, the President said in his formal veto message, the changes could lead to pressures on Federal workers" in extremely subtle ways beyond the reach of any anticoercion statute."

He said that the measure "would deny the lessons of history" and that "politicizing the civil service is intolerable."

Behind much of the Republican opposition to the amendments was the supposition that many bureaucrats owed their appointment to the Democratic Party and thus would direct their political loyalties that way.

The measure was strongly supported by Federal employee unions and their Congressional allies, who contended that the Hatch Act denied civil servants rights that other citizens enjoyed.

Mr. Ford noted that the Supreme Court had upheld the political limits in a 1973 ruling. He said the Hatch Act had succeeded in striking "a delicate balance between fair and effective government and the First Amendment rights of individual employees."

Prospects Dwindle for Campaign Bill

24

By WARREN WEAVER, Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 12—Prospects for Congressional approval of new campaign legislation this month dwindled almost to the vanishing point today as Senate and House conferees failed for the third time to agree on a compromise bill.

The conference will make one last effort tomorrow morning. But even if a half-dozen major issues are resolved, it is doubtful that a bill could clear all the necessary Congressional hurdles before the lawmakers begin their Easter recess on Wednesday.

As a result, subsidies paid to Presidential candidates for their primary expenses, and to parties for their national conventions, will remain frozen at least until early May, along with most of the major powers of the Federal Eiection Commission.

Congressional action is necessary because the Supreme Court ruled in January that the commission had been improperly constituted. The court said that the designation of four of its six members by Congressional leaders had violated the separation of powers doctrine of the Constitution.

Even before the Senate-House conference broke up this afternoon without completing its work, Senator Mike Mansfield, the Democratic leader, had said the Senate did not expect to take up any conference report before the recess.

There was a remote possibility that the conferees could produce a bill tomorrow morning, which the rules committee could clear in the afternoon, leaving Wednesday for debate and possible approval of the compromise in both the House and Senate.

That schedule, higly ambitious by Congressional standards, would have to be achieved without Representative Wayne L. Hays, chief sponsor of the campaign bill, who is getting married at 3 P.M. tomorrow. He had agreed to manage tht bill on the House floor at noon tomorrow if the conferees had agreed today.

The conference is hung up on a half-dozen critical questions, among them:

¶The kinds of administrative employees that corporate political action committees can solicit for contributions to the campaigns of favored candidates.

¶The amount of money an individual can contribute to the Republican or Democratic National Committee. The present ceiling is $1,000. The Senate wants an increase to $25,000 but the House is holding out for $15,000.

Creation of a 20-member commission to study improvements in the Presidential nominating process, a move favored by the Senate but strongly opposed by Representative Hays.

Limits on speaking fees that Federal officials may receive. The House wants to continue the present ceiling of $1,000 per speech and $15,000 a year; the Senate wants to eliminate the ceiling.

A Senate provision that all Federal employes who earn $25,000 a year or more to make public disclosure of their assets, liabilities and income. The house is strongly opposed to it.

The conferees have agreed on an authorization of $6 million for the Election Commission for the fiscal year ending June 31, $1.5 million for the next three months and $6 million for the new fiscal year beginning October 1.

Even if the conferees agree on a bill, approval by President Ford is not assured, and Republican Senators continued to use the veto threat today to advance amendments they favored.

If the white house approves, the President must then appoint the reconstitute election commission. He has indicated that he would rename the present six commissioners, but they would still have to be confirmed by the Senate before the agency's authority would be restored.

Under the most optimistic timetable, that could not occur until the last week in April, and the revived commission would probably not be able to authorize payment of the sfx-week backlog of campaign subsidies until early May.

The Weather

Today—Rain, high in the 60s, low near 30. Chance of rain is 50 per cent today, 40 per cent tonight. Monday—Sunny, high in the 40s. Yesterday—Temperatures ranged from 68 to 36. Further details are on Page B2.

The Washington Post

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'Ethnic Purity' Flap Focuses On Outsider Jimmy Carter

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Whatever it may reveal about the character or convictions of Jimmy Carter, last week's "ethnic purity" incident focused a sharp, clear light on the nature of Carter's challenge for the Democratic presidential nomination and the obstacles it faces.

It showed that, impressive

News Analysis

as his popular triumphs have been in the early primaries, Carter faces a tortuous path, mined with booby-traps, as he tries to infiltrate the Democratic Party structure and capture its flag. Like a commando captain worried about reinforcements, Carter remarked to a reporter Thursday night, "I'm stretched very thin."

The explanations for the former Georgia governor's comments on protecting ethnic enclaves from the "intrusion of alien groups" ranged from sympathizers' suggestions that it was a fatigue-induced slip of the tongue to cynics' charges that Carter was making a blatant bid to capture the backlash vote from Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Carter was quick to apologize for what he called "a very serious mistake on my part." Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), the black leader who has been one of Carter's most effective backers, was quoted as calling it "a disaster."

"I think we have time be-

See CARTER, A12, Col. 1

JIMMY CARTER
... faces tortuous path

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F

A12

CARTER, From A1

tween now and July [the month of the Democratic National Convention] to repair the damage," Young said in an interview Friday, "but this is a real stumbling block in his progress."

To understand why this seemingly offhand remark, coming when it did, could have such profound political implications it is necessary to understand the unique character of Carter's challenge for the nomination.

The words were provocative, but the policy of protecting the "character and heritage" of residential communities, as Carter later phrased it, is one which his Democratic rivals, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have also espoused in more carefully chosen language.

But Carter's words created special problems for him because of the special nature of his candidacy.

Although he held the governorship of the nation's 15th largest state for four years and served as chairman of the Democrats' 1974 mid-term campaign committee, Carter is regarded as an outsider by most of the party's major elements and leaders.

Not since Wendell Willkie won the Republican nomination in 1940 has either party seen such an outsider move into the forefront of its presidential fight.

As a leader of a major union said Friday, "I don't know who he is, where he's going, or where he's been."

Among the leading Georgia politicians, only Young has endorsed Carter's candidacy. Among his colleagues in the state capitols, only Oklahoma Gov. David Boren is publicly in his corner.

The number of members of Congress, state party chairmen and union officials backing Carter can be numbered on the fingers of one hand.

"The establishment has tried to oppose me in every respect," Carter said while campaigning in Wisconsin. "I'm not afraid of it, because I've prevailed so far. I've taken my case direct to the people, and I'm going to continue to do that."

The "appeal to the people" is the classic tactic of the nonestablishment candidate, and Carter has exploited it to the full, winning six of the eight primaries so far conducted and more caucus and convention votes than any other contender.

But at the same time that the Georgian has been conducting his successful grassroots campaign, he has been planning his effort to persuade, cajole or coerce support from the leaders of those elements of the Democratic Party structure who first viewed his candidacy with skepticism, if not distaste.

"I didn't know most of those people," Carter said in a recent conversation, "and they didn't know me. For a long time, they wouldn't even return my phone calls. I wasn't important enough to warrant their attention. But lately, it's been easier to establish communication with them, and that's important to me."

Implicit in Carter's remark is the recognition that if he is to win the nomination in a way that will enable him to run successfully in the general election, he must gain the acquiescence of those Democrats whose concurrence has generally been a prerequisite for a successful presidential campaign.

Those groups are the party ofice holders, the leaders of organized labor, the activist liberals or eggheads and the blacks. Each of the four blocs has won a kind of veto power over the nominee, and when that veto has not been exercised in convention hall, it has been used to prevent the election of the convention's choice.

Because the activist liberals were not reconciled to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's nomination in 1968, many of them withheld their support and Humphrey was defeated.

Because much of organized labor's leadership and many officeholders were embittered by the choice of Sen. George McGovern in 1972, he went down to a one-sided defeat.

Carter obviously wants to avoid that fate. But he began his quest with little support from the leaders of any of those four constituencies, most of whom either did not know him at all or knew him in an unfavorable light.

He had clashed often with other governors and other Georgia politicians—many of whom tended to regard him as being rather ambitious and unscrupulous.

In the leadership ranks of organized labor, he was known only as a man who governed a right-to-work state and who once told his fellow Democratic governors that he could not see why one of their political decisions should await the arrival of "a bunch of labor bosses."

The liberal community also knew little of him, and, in candor, was probably skeptical of a Southerner who talked openly of his deep religious faith.

Given this situation, Carter chose to make his point of entree to the Democratic establishment through the black leadership. That may seem, at first, a strange route for a Southern governor. But Carter, during his four years in office, had earned the trust of Atlanta's black community — whose leaders are at the center of the national black political network.

A skilled campaigner with great personal rapport with black audiences, Carter was aided by Young and a group of black Georgia legislators —and an endorsement from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr.—in gaining substantial majorities of the black vote in all the early primary states.

In the Carter battle plan, the demonstration of support from both black leaders and black voters was seen as a major weapon in breaking open access to both the academic liberals and the leaders of the more liberal trade unions.

The white liberals—particularly those Jewish activists

and contributors with a strong sensitivity to issues of civil rights and civil liberties—tend to regard black support as evidence of a candidate's liberalism.

Leaders of such unions as the United Auto Workers, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Communications Workers of America were susceptible to the same influence, not only because of their concerns for issues but because their membership includes large numbers of blacks.

In Carter's view, if he could continue demonstrating popular support in the primaries and caucuses, while winning increasing allegiance from the leaders of the blacks, the egghead liberals and the liberal trade unions, then the old-line labor leaders and the elected officials, would be compelled to acknowledge the legitimacy of his claim to the nomination.

Whether they liked him or not, the George Meanys and Richard J. Daleys of the party would accept Carter's credentials as a potential victor over a Republican candidate or incumbent President rather than risk another defeat by boycotting his campaign.

In recent weeks, there were signs that the Carter strategy was working. He gained early support from Southern white liberals with close ties to the civil rights movement—such people as Morris Dees of Alabama and Hodding Carter III and Patt Derian of Mississippi. More recently, the candidate and his emissaries have persuaded such northern liberals as Theodore Sorensen, Abram Chayes and Frank Mankiewicz to join the Carter ranks.

Similarly, such influential labor figures as Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, and Jerry Wurf, head of AFSCME, appeared to be gravitating toward Carter. Originally backing Carter simply as an anti-Wallace candidate, they found other reasons to look kindly on the Georgian.

Aiding their shift was their distaste for Jackson, based both on his long support of the Vietnam war and on his direct appeal to anti-busing forces in Massachusetts, and their belief that Carter would soon eliminate Udall, as he had previously defeated such other liberals as Birch Bayh, Fred Harris and Sargent Shriver.

As further evidence that the strategy was working, Carter had—after many rebuffs—opened a personal telephone dialogue with Meany, and was beginning to find local officeholders and candidates showing up with increasing frequency to share his campaign crowds and be photographed with him.

But last week's events slowed the momentum Carter was beginning to build. He failed to deliver the knockout blow to Udall he had expected in Wisconsin, barely winning a state where his backers had hoped for a decisive margin.

The Arizonan's near-win in Wisconsin and unexpectedly strong second-place finish in New York persuaded at least some labor leaders that — far from being finished—Udall might offer them a good vehicle for electing labor delegates in Pennsylvania and Michigan, as well.

Second, the "ethnic purity" remark gratuitiously raised a fresh concern of some seriousness in the minds of liberals who had been moving toward Carter.

"The tragedy of this," Rep. Young said Friday, "is that Jimmy was on the verge of pulling all the diverse elements of the Democratic Party together. We had an incredible number of people who were committed to come out for him at the right time—and I'm afraid now even to call them back."

The strongest immediate denunciation of the statement came from the Congressional Black Caucus and from such black leaders as Vernon Jordan, the head of the National Urban League.

But Young said his belief was that "blacks are much less disturbed than the white liberals. Blacks have a

kind of radar about white folks, and somewhere along the line, Jimmy passed the test." The prompt expression of support for Carter from Detroit's black mayor, Coleman Young, supported Andrew Young's thesis.

"But the Northern liberal who struggled through the holocaust period and sees in the United States a potential for the same kind of demagoguery found the words Jimmy used really frightening" the congressman said.

"I'm sure that's not true of Jimmy, but it's hard for me to make the case it was naive and not insidious. The people who have been calling me think this is the real Jimmy Carter who is coming out," he said.

Most Democrats outside the Carter camp said this weekend that they thought it would be several days before the damage from the incident could be fully assessed.

The coalition of liberal trade unions went ahead with a scheduled endorsement of Carter in Connecticut Wednesday—the day the story first drew major media attention.

But when the UAW met in Detroit on Friday, the endorsement Carter had hoped for in the Michigan primary failed to materialize. Instead, the dominant union in that state's politics voted to bar any endorsement at the state or local level, and a close associate said, there was now only a "meager" chance that Woodcock would declare his personal support for Carter in the form of an endorsement.

Even more speculative was the widespread discussion in party circles over whether the past week marked a real turning point in Carter's political fortunes —a devastating event like George Romney's "brainwash" statement or George McGovern's "1,000 per cent" remark.

That seemed unlikely to most key party officials, but one former colleague of Carter in the ranks of the Democratic governors pinpointed the potential danger when he said:

"He could have made a gaffe on foreign policy or farm policy and not been hurt much at all. But race is the one issue where he can't be soft without reviving the suspicion that he's really a redneck who just cleaned up his act to run for president."

Implicit also in the incident is the question of Carter's candor and credibility —the focus of a continuing barrage of comment from both media critics and political opponents.

Carter campaign aides were concerned even before he was forced to apologize for his "ethnic purity" remark that the charge that he was deliberately fuzzing his views in order to gain political advantage was beginning to take hold.

Citing a CBS-New York Times survey which showed that a plurality of voters in both Wisconsin and New York believed Carter guilty of such trimming, the campaign staff planned new advertisements in Pennsylvania designed to show him being explicit and outspoken on issues.

How much more Carter must do to recoup the damage is a matter of some disagreement. One major labor union's top political operative said he thought Carter's prompt apology and acknowledgement of error had largely mitigated the damage caused by the original comments. Another disagreed, saying, "There's no way that's going to be quickly erased or forgotten."

Young commented Friday that, "Im not sure he [Carter] knows yet" why the remarks were so upsetting. "I'm not sure how much fatigue may have had to do with it, but I've suggested he take a week off. He has to find a new style of campaigning that will work in urban areas like Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. He needs a good briefing on urban issues, and there's not a person on that staff who grew up in a big city. I think he's got to have a new look at the whole campaign from here."

Few on Carter's staff take that serious a view of the situation. Many neutral Democratic observers still see Carter as holding substantial advantages over his active rivals, Udall and Jackson, in both campaign and organizational ability and breadth of voter support.

But even if that is true, it is of limited consolation to Carter. Increasingly, he and his associates have come to view Udall and Jackson simply as proxies for his real opponent—Hubert Humphrey. In Carter's camp, it is no longer a question of if Humphrey will run, but when and how he will make his candidacy formal.

Unlike Jackson and Udall, Humphrey has strong appeal to the very constituency Carter has used as his launching pad toward the nomination—the blacks. A Harris survey taken in March gave Humphrey a 68-to-26 per cent lead over Carter among black Democrats and independents, while the two men were tied at 46 per cent among whites.

Humphrey is also the personal choice of many of the same liberals and labor leaders Carter has been courting. Their reluctance to join Carter in the wake of this past week's events may, as the Georgian said, truly leave him "stretched thin" for the battle that is yet to come.

For the Record

Jimmy Carter and 'Ethnic Purity'

On April 2, while flying across upstate New York, Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter gave an interview to Sam Roberts, chief political correspondent of the New York Daily News. Mr. Roberts' account of the interview, which appeared in the Daily News on April 4, quoted the former Georgia governor on a variety of subjects in the first 15 paragraphs of a 20-paragraph long story. The 16th paragraph read as follows:

"And, asked about low-income, scatter-site housing in the suburbs, he replied: 'I see nothing wrong with ethnic purity being maintained. I would not force a racial integration of a neighborhood by government action. But I would not permit discrimination against a family moving into the neighborhood.' "

That paragraph, tucked away on page 134 of the Sunday Daily News, is the genesis of the controversy now embroiling the struggle for the Democratic nomination and confronting Mr. Carter with the first serious crisis of his campaign. Clearly, the New York Daily News did not attach much importance to the phrase "ethnic purity." But it caught the eye of a CBS official in New York who suggested that the network's correspondent Ed Rabel question Mr. Carter further about it in Indianapolis. The resulting storm of questions followed the Carter campaign on through Indiana and into Pennsylvania. Here, for the record, are the highlights of the questioning and Mr. Carter's efforts to put the matter to rest — in press conferences in Indianapolis, South Bend, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia:

Indianapolis

Q. What did you mean by "ethnic purity"?

A: I have nothing against a community that's made up of people who are Polish, Czechoslovakians, French Canadians or blacks who are trying to maintain their neighborhood. This is a natural inclination on the part of people . . . I've never, though, condoned any sort of discrimination against, say, a black family or other family from moving into that neighborhood. But I don't think government ought to deliberately break down an ethnically oriented community deliberately by injecting into it a member of another race. To me, this is contrary to the best interests of the community.

South Bend

Q: Would you be opposed to federal or state housing programs that provide low-income housing in some of the suburban neighborhoods or in middle income urban neighborhoods?

A. I would like to make any government housing project . . . under the control of local governments. But if housing units are constructed in a neighborhood, I think it best for the neighborhood to have been compatible with the quality of homes already there. To build a highrise, very low-cost housing unit . . . in a suburban neighborhood . . . with relatively expensive homes, I think would not be in the best interests of the people who live in the highrise or the suburban neighborhood . . . I know in my own neighborhood, my two next door neighbors . . . are one white and one black. And if you drew a circle of a 200-yard radius around the nearest corner to my house, you would find encompassed 12 black families and 8 white familes. I have no objection to that at all. But to artificially create within a community that's fairly homogeneous in racial or economic status, a diametrically opposite kind of family, I think is bad for the community on both sides.

Q: Do you believe there is a need in the North generally for affirmative action by the government to overcome discrimination and the effects of past discrimination in education and housing?

A: Yes, I do.

Q. The Community Development Act of 1974, the most recent federal housing legislation, places an affirmative duty on the part of the suburban area that applies for federal funds to establish an affirmative plan to bring in low and moderate cost housing. Wouldn't your policy be directly contrary to that?

A: I don't have any objection to that. We have a similar law in Georgia.

Q. What is your notion of a pure ethnic neighborhood?

A: I'm not insisting on the phrase "pure ethnic neighborhood." I'm not trying to keep any neighborhood pure. What I'm saying is that I'm not going to use the federal government's authority deliberately to circumvent the natural inclination of people to live in an ethnically homogeneous neighborhood . . . To deliberately try to tear down the integrity of those neighborhoods is not something that I approve.

Pittsburgh

Q. Are such terms as ethnic purity and alien group almost Hitlerian?

A: If there's a neighborhood that's been in existence a long time that consists primarily of a particular ethnic group, say Czechoslovakian, Polish or black or whatever, I would not favor the government arbitrarily putting a different group into that neighborhood just to create some sort of a mixture. At the same time, as demonstrated by my commitment to open housing legislation at the state level, I would enthusiastically support the elimination of discrimination against anyone who wants to move into a neighborhood, whether they are of the same ethnic group or not. I would fight as a governor or as a President — as I have already demonstrated — to let (a family have) unimpeded access to purchase [illegible]

not favor any sort of discrimination or exclusion . . . If anyone derived from my statement the connotation that I have an inclination toward racism, then I would resent that because it's certainly not true.

Philadelphia

Carter statement: I think most of the problem has been caused by my ill-chosen agreement to use the word ethnic purity. I think that was a very serious mistake on my part. I think it should have been the word "ethnic character" or "ethnic heritage" . . . I do want to apologize to all those who have been concerned about the unfortunate use of the "ethnic purity." I don't think there are any ethnically pure neighborhoods, but in response to a question and without adequate thought on my part, I used a phrase that was unfortunate . . . I was careless in the words I used . . . I have apologized for it. It was an improper choice of words.

Q: Was it just a poor choice of words and nothing wrong with the thought?

A: That's exactly right . . . If you have an established neighborhood, to use the government itself to change the ethnic character of that neighborhood, I think is improper, but I would insist on the right of any individual to move into that neighborhood on his own initiative.

Q: Was the remark made to send a signal to Wallace supporters?

A: No. My support has been much more from various minority and Spanish-speaking groups . . . and I would hope and believe their support is warranted, and I would never do anything to eliminate justification for their support. If I should ever take a racist attitude or a discriminatory attitude to any ethnic group, I would prefer to drop out of the race. I would hope by my apologies I've eliminated that con-

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David S. Broder

Tough Campaigns

PHILADELPHIA—On the day after the Wisconsin and New York primaries, the press contingents covering the three surviving Democratic presidential candidates limped, bedraggled and weary as the contenders themselves, into this city. The evening bill of fare offered nothing more reviving than the spectacle of Daniel Patrick Moynihan introducing Henry M. Jackson to the kickoff dinner of the Pennsylvania primary campaign.

Moynihan is a man whose imagination knows no bounds. Early on, he surveyed an audience dotted with Mayor Frank Rizzo's pals and the girl friends of certain powerful labor leaders and said, "Some of you may have read the recent issue of the New Republic and noticed the article by my colleague, Adam Ulam . . ."

The same second sight that discerned a set of New Republic readers in that roomful of beer distributors allowed Moynihan to describe his candidate as "the one man standing alive, strong and winning" after the ordeals of New York and Wisconsin.

When Jackson stood up, however, it was clear that he was as battered as everyone else by the ravages of the first week in April, which lost no time in proving its claim to being "the cruelest month." His face was as wan as those of the watching reporters, most of whom had been up all night the night before, trying to correct their stories on the Wisconsin results.

Poor Morris Udall had been the main victim of the voters' caprice and the network computers, suffering the agony of losing a race he had confidently claimed to have won on what seemed to be good evidence. But if Udall was the most obvious target of April cruelty, his fate was only marginally worse than that of the supposed victors—Jackson and Jimmy Carter. The real lesson of New York and Wisconsin, for winners and losers alike, is that there will be no easy path to the nomination, and any prize that may await them will be hard-won.

For Carter, the narrow, near-miraculous victory over Udall in Wisconsin had to be balanced against the third-place finish in New York and the disappointing results of the Virginia caucuses, which were held three days earlier. Carter has now finished last among the remaining active candidates in two of the three industrial states in which he has competed. He was fourth in Massachusetts and third in New York, achieving his only victory in Illinois, where George Wallace was the only campaigning opponent.

The pressure now grows for him to demonstrate his vote-getting ability in those states like Pennsylvania, Michigan and California where Democrats must win a presidential election. And at the same time, rivals Jackson and Udall have shown an increasing ability to focus voters' attention on the ambiguities in Carter's positions and his deviations from accepted Democratic economic doctrine.

But Jackson can hardly gloat—not when he failed to win a majority of the New York delegates, let alone the "landslide" he had incautiously predicted at one time.

Even President Ford, while sweeping all 45 delegates in Wisconsin and seeing a friendly delegation win in New York, had little reason for exultation. The fact is that challenger Ronald Reagan won 45 per cent of the vote without setting foot in Wisconsin in the two weeks before the election.

This indicates that nearly half the basic Republican constituency—even in a state with a moderate tradition — really is looking for an alternative to the incumbent. Mr. Ford, too, must know by now that he will have to fight Reagan further before the victory is his.

But what is hard on the candidates may be good for the voters. We are learning more each week about the ideas and the abilities of those who seek to lead the nation. Issues are important, and the issues the challengers are throwing at Carter and Mr. Ford are ones they ought to be able to handle, if they are to provide the alternatives in the general election.

The Republican Party for decades has represented a position of strong national defense and staunch anti-communism, and Reagan is providing a service by testing Mr. Ford's commitment to those concerns.

The Democratic Party for even more decades has been a party concerned with working men and women, the minorities and the poor. Udall and Jackson, in their differing ways, are providing a service by testing Carter's willingness to respect those traditions.

By the end of April—and May—we will know a lot more about these men.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

The Purity Flap

THE CAPACITY of politicians to be "shocked" never ceases to amaze us. It runs second only to their capacity to be "appalled." Sen. Henry M. Jackson, for example, has professed himself to be both in the last few days—shocked *and* appalled by Jimmy Carter's remarks on the value of ethnic neighborhoods and on proper government policy toward them. "It will balkanize our country," the senator warned darkly of the Carter idea as expressed, amended and apologized for in a series of recent interviews excerpted on the opposite page today. But what then are we to make of Sen. Jackson's own previously stated views on the subject? In case you've forgotten them, we will quote briefly from his position paper on school desegregation, issued by the senator in December 1975:

> *If we destroy the various ethnic neighborhoods in our cities, including black neighborhoods, we destroy not only a rich tradition in American life, but an anchor for stability in an increasingly unstable society.*

Well, anchors aweigh—or is it possible that Sen. Jackson, who invoked this argument to support his stand against "social engineering" (i.e. busing for racial balance) that is "antithetical to traditional American views," really hasn't changed his mind at all, but is merely taking an opportunistic clop at Mr. Carter? Does Sen. Jackson support the use of federal government money and pressure to break up ethnic neighborhoods *as a policy irrespective of whether or not discrimination and exclusion are involved?* Does he favor the pursuit of so-called "scatter site" housing or projects on the model of the controversial one in Forest Hills? If he does, we'd surely be surprised — and possibly even shocked, though we will leave being appalled to the politicians.

Rep. Morris Udall has provided clear answers to all those questions, speaking of both ethnic and economic integration which, as a practical matter, are pretty much the same thing. He does not, he has told interviewers Martin Agronsky and Jack Germond, favor projects such as "that large kind of Forest Hills thing that we had in New York that caused all that controversy." And again: "No, I'm not willing to charge in and say to established neighborhoods the federal government is coming in here, friends, and we're going to put high rise, low income things in your neighborhood." And once more: "Well I don't advocate this as a general policy. I would rather see a more natural kind of intermingling that you see in Greenwich Village or Manhattan or places of this kind."

While we are all waiting for Hamtramck to evolve into Greenwich Village, however, Rep. Udall feels keenly that we should pursue our open housing desegregation policies and assist people in achieving mobility that might be thwarted because of discriminatory practices. So of course does Mr. Carter: He made that point again and again from the beginning of his remarks on this subject. Still, Rep. Udall won't let him off the hook, suggesting that Mr. Carter doesn't mean what he said about open housing—never mind that Mr. Carter's record as governor of Georgia doesn't support the Udall insinuation.

We are no happier with former Gov. Carter's original choice of language than he apparently is. The terms were freighted. Their connotations were painful and all wrong. Mr. Carter recognized as much and tried to correct them. Sen. Jackson and Rep. Udall won't let him—they both evidently prefer to see what good they can get from the original statement by pretending that it represents some hideous policy with which they are both in disagreement, when the truth is that they and Mr. Carter are all at the same policy place. The two of them are feigning shock and horror. They are, in other words, having a political good time with a subject that is a sensitive and dead serious one.

April Chiller
Sunny today, high 48 to 50. Clear tonight, low 26 to 34. Sunny tomorrow, high 62 to 68. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

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Garry Wills

A15

Morris Dees handles money and issues

ATLANTA — Morris Dees, the wonder-worker who raised money for McGovern in 1972, and is doing the same for Jimmy Carter this time, puts the problem of campaign money in a nutshell: "Bobby Kennedy spent over $4 million in the California primary alone (in 1968). No Democratic candidate will spend much more than that in the whole (nominating) process this year."

Dees does not like the current rules — he thinks, for instance, the individual contribution limit should be $5,000, not $1,000: "$5,000 is not enough to buy anything like an ambassadorship. But it would make it five times as easy for me to raise a million dollars."

The success of Dees in using direct mail, last time out, convinced candidates that the future belongs to this way of soliciting funds. Chairman Strauss wanted Dees to raise money for the Democratic National Committee. He refused, but said he would give help to any Democrat wanting to learn the basic techniques. He has advised fund-raisers for all the major candidates except George Wallace; and he introduced Wallace to his fund-raiser, Richard Viguerie.

"That bothered me. Jerry Wallace (George's brother) and I went to law school together. Jerry called me and offered me a million dollars to do direct mail for Wallace. I said I couldn't do that, but I called Dick Viguerie from Jerry's office and said this was his chance to make a million. Viguerie told me Wallace was too liberal for him." But, in time, the Wallace people wooed Viguerie to their side.

"I had some bad nights thinking that I won the nomination for McGovern when another candidate would have been stronger against Nixon. Now I wondered if I had made Wallace too strong by putting him in touch with Viguerie. But it was better for us to beat Wallace when he had money than to beat him simply because he had none."

Since Dees advised the Jackson fund-raisers, along with all others, Senator Jackson claimed for a while that Dees was working for him. "He must have wanted some liberal credentials back then."

But Dees advised everyone on the technical points of direct mail fund-raising — and then went and did otherwise for Carter. He did not fight the last financial war even though he was the general who had won it.

He could not put the emphasis on direct mail for Carter, whose impact on the national scene would come too late for the development and working of good lists. In fact, in the current campaign, only Wallace could rely much on direct mail; and only then because Viguerie put up the initial expenses (which should have been counted as a loan-donation by the new rules).

So Dees set up local finance committees with traveling advisers on how to work phones and brunches to make lots of little contributions add up. While other treasuries evaporate, Dees is just hitting his stride. "We brought in $22,000 a day in March. Our income in February was higher than any other candidate's — $379,000. In March $550,000. I mean to make a million in April. All we need is one hundred local committees raising $2,000 a week. That is $200,000 a week, enough to get us through the campaign."

Dees, who comes from Alabama farmland just 60 miles from Carter's home, is as confident of his abilities as Carter — and with cause. A self-made millionaire, he has given his life to his profession, the law, defending the defenseless in the South and elsewhere.

He knows exactly where he is going — he has a mass-supported gun-control education program about to be launched. He claims it will bring gun control to a nation that has shown, by a large majority, that it desires it. "Within five years we'll break the National Rifle Association."

He does not like small challenges. If there is a new South, it is at least as much the South of Morris Dees as of Jimmy Carter.

Mary McGrory

Humphrey Enjoys It, Still Staying Out

Rep. Paul Simon, D-Ill., and Rep. Bob Bergland, D-Minn., are sending out a letter this week with what may be the season's most needless advice: Keep Hubert Humphrey in mind.

It will go to thousands of Democrats, party officials from governors to precinct captains, to past and potential convention delegates. The regulars have already registered their overwhelming preference for the reluctant candidate.

They have strange bedfellows. Implacable liberals who screamed themselves hoarse for participatory politics are dreaming of a brokered convention. Anti-Vietnam activists who in 1968 called Humphrey a spineless hack beg for a smoke-filled room from which he will emerge.

Humphrey understands all this and while vowing he is not a candidate in the primaries, keeps the fires stoked by timely appearances in primary states. He went to New York and wowed the Democratic Mayors Conference. He showed up in Pittsburgh at the AFL-CIO state convention and the hall resounded with cries of "We need Humphrey." He'll be back in Pennsylvania, for a date made back in last November, on April 26th, the day before the primary vote there.

Says Sen. Walter Mondale, who with Minnesota's Gov. Wendell Anderson is co-chairman of a soon-to-be-announced "Draft Humphrey" Committee: "If he were on the ballot, Humphrey would win Pennsylvania by 103 percent."

THE CALLS THAT flood Humphrey's office after every primary never stopped coming last week, because, after Jimmy Carter won Wisconsin and came in fourth in New York, he stepped on his necktie. Humphreyites were elated.

Carter, having sewed up the black vote with his sweet talk, suddenly sent a deafening message to his anti-black constituency. He spoke of "ethnic purity" in the neighborhoods. The uproar was enormous, but Humphrey people watched only one man, Rep. Andrew Young, D-Ga., Carter's most illustrious black sponsor.

Young, who has credentials with everyone, castigated his candidate publicly for his tone-deafness to Nazi rhetoric, but he did not split. If he had, Carter's constituency of blacks and white liberals who want a winner might have scattered. Carter recanted immediately, which defused matters somewhat.

THE CHANCES ARE that when the smoke clears Carter will emerge with his grin still gleaming. He won't be the same, but he may be more or less in place — the greatest threat to Humphrey, whom blacks still love but weary of waiting for.

In Pennsylvania, the hope is a three-way tie, which will produce another delay.

The pressure on Humphrey to file for New Jersey's June 8 primary — the deadline falls two days after the Pennsylvania primary — is intense. He will not.

All offices are voted on in New Jersey and the state, organized and pro-labor, is expected to produce a big turnout which would be Humphrey's for the asking. His fans wanted to follow the lead of New York's Erie County chairman, Joseph Crangle. He fielded a slate of 16 delegates in three upstate districts. They pledged themselves to Humphrey, broadcast their loyalty through a low-budget campaign of leaflets, radio and newspaper advertising, and won.

But Rep. Peter Rodino, dean of New Jersey's congressional delegates, declined to front for Humphrey. He is the leader of a 10-man uncommitted slate, which is really pro-Humphrey. He vetoed the Crangle formula. Without a clear sign from Humphrey, he will not permit any covert activity in his behalf.

HUMPHREY, who is enjoying the novelty of being chased for the first time in his political life, will not budge. His followers complain that it is underhanded and undemocratic to seek the nomination without admitting it or entering at least one or two late primaries (he will be entered willy-nilly in Oregon, Idaho or Nebraska). But he promised the other candidates a long time ago he would give them a clear field.

Publicly, Humphrey says he does not need to run in the primaries because they are to introduce the candidate to the voters — which in his case is clearly not necessary — and to show vote-getting ability, which he says he has proved. This last is arguable, since he was defeated for his party's nomination twice and lost the general election to Richard Nixon in 1968 — partly because the liberals who are now crying for him couldn't forgive his support of the war.

But they've forgiven him all that as Jimmy Carter steals near, and they've forgotten he's a loser and squash their doubts about his health. The hunger for Humphrey knows no bounds or reason.

MARY McGRORY: Why Malign Washington

When It Looks So Nice?

Washington is taking a terrible pounding in the presidential campaign. Maybe when the primaries are over and it becomes clearer that only one man will have to face up to coming — or staying — here, the attacks will subside.

When you listen to Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan talk about the place, you wonder that they would even consider exposing themselves to its contaminating airs. Possibly they will commute from California or Georgia. Or maybe they will shut down the White House and only hit town for the big numbers — the Inaugural, the State-of-the-Union.

Gerald Ford, who has lived here for 27 years, has yet to say his first good word about it. You get the impression he thinks most of the inhabitants, those on the government payroll anyway, are slow-witted, insensitive, given to picking on big business, and no match in wisdom for the sensible provinces. His house is a spacious mansion at an ideal in-town location, with a marvelous view, swimming pool and bowling alley included. Only patriotism, he suggests, keeps him from returning to Grand Rapids.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who has been on the campaign trail, would rather be anywhere than in Washington. He spends a great deal of his time in jet planes and lately has been visiting such garden spots as Dallas, Tex., to avoid us. He says it's the "corrosive cynicism" that gets to him.

George Wallace, of course, hasn't quite said he'd turn the place into a parking lot, but that seems to be the drift. For openers, as he has often told us, he would throw the bureaucrats' briefcases into the Potomac.

We Washingtonians don't say it's perfect. It's dangerous, especially at night, although — and we didn't need this — a local clergyman's recent characterization of "a human slaughterhouse" struck us as excessive. The weather may not be ideal. There can be a jailhouse dankness in winter, and tropical suffocation in summer. The Potomac is polluted, even without George Wallace's bureaucrats' briefcases, and the "riot corridor," burned during the disturbances over Martin Luther King's slaying, has never been restored.

New York has better restaurants, and so does San Francisco. In Boston the conversation is livelier, and in Los Angeles there's a freeway so you can get away faster.

And we've got corruption. Watergate happened here. But three members of the New York State Assembly are under indictment, including the chairman of the Ethics Committee, and nobody's making a federal case of it. It's our "big government" they hate. Anyone want to close down the food-stamp program?

Yes, we have hypocrisy. People here often praise people they are planning to stab in the back at the first opportunity. Friendship is a sometime thing. People out of power might as well contract leprosy. The dinner parties are dull. Public officials recount their virtues. Their wives often speak of "our amendments" and some outsiders think they might as well have gone to a roundtable at the Budget Bureau. But many houses have backyards and on summer evenings you can look at the stars.

What no one says is the obvious, that Washington is beautiful, especially in spring. It looks like an impressionist painting right now, its budding trees a haze of vivid green. And we have dogwood, pink, white, pale yellow. Thanks to Ladybird Johnson, azaleas blaze down the middle of Connecticut Avenue, and Rock Creek Parkway is carpeted with daffodils.

It's absolutely breathtaking, no matter what you hear about us from the podium. We have our stuffed shirts, to be sure. But we also have mocking birds and mourning doves. We have as many tulips as bureaucrats.

Spring had a tough primary to fight this year. For a while it looked as though it would never dislodge the incumbent winter. February was unseasonably warm and the daffodils came up, only to be shrouded in snow in March. But spring hung in there and it has won.

Wherever they go, even in New York City, the candidates find something nice to say. People have been heard to speak pleasantly of Indianapolis, and possibly a careful study of the record would reveal that some eager office seeker had recklessly courted perjury and espied something fair about Gary, Ind.

But Washington, which is decked and drenched in blossoms, where you can smell hyacinths and picnic in the park, gets nothing. The critical candidates at least should ride through Rock Creek Park and look at the redbud trees — they are a delicate lavender — before they tell us again what a mess it is and how they wouldn't dream of setting foot in the place except they feel a duty to be president.

We Must Curb Our Lust for Morality in Politics

By Michael Novak

Michael Novak, writer, theologian, educator and philosopher, today begins two months as The Star's writer in residence. His columns will appear in the Comment section each Sunday, and on Page A-3 on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Novak proposes to examine "America's Illusion" in its many manifestations. The nation is 200 years old but its language for discussing moral issues remains immature. Part of the problem is our pluralism. In our many different cultures, basic moral words are linked to quite different historical experiences, and accordingly, have different connotations. Part of our problem is our public inheritance of a passion to seem innocent. This is an unattainable and inhuman goal.

In addition, the use of the word "moral" is frequently intended to make the critical mind stop functioning. If X is a moral cause, who can oppose it? Or even question it? That a policy is said to be moral or immoral should not close discussion, but stimulate us to shrewder and deeper criticism. Almost all harm in the world is done in the name of moral values. In a secular age, wars over true morality take the place of wars of religion. They are equally destructive. The proper conclusion is not cynicism, but self-criticism, modesty, and tolerance.

Washington is all alive — again — with pundits, armed with lanterns, seeking morality in politicians. Our dearest national quest. Our myth of Sisyphus, two centuries old.

Archibald Cox vouches for Mr. Udall's character. Mr. Carter promises never to tell a lie. Mr. Reagan mounts a moral crusade against Ford and Kissinger. The latter talk loftily of prudence.

Politics is the most anti-American occupation. None so violates our national passion for innocence.

Some years ago, in 1961, Fidel Castro decided to embarrass the American government. He offered cynically to release 1,100 political prisoners in exchange for 500 tractors. It was an offer the Yankees would have to refuse, proving their crass material values.

John F. Kennedy put a nifty move on Castro. The U.S. government publicly refused. But Walter Reuther, Eleanor Roosevelt and Milton Eisenhower, at Kennedy's request, raised private funds for the tractors. Eight Latin American nations, in revulsion of Castro's sale of prisoners, also raised private funds. Moscow and Peking ended up embarrassed.

American moralists protested this paying of "blackmail," this "support" for tyranny, this "immoral transaction." Reinhold Niebuhr countered with a lesson Washington has never permanently grasped. "Moralists," he said, "erroneously equate moralism with morality."

What is the difference?

It would seem to be a critical lesson for America to learn. It is an idea essential for national debate. Our survival is involved.

No word is used so often in American politics as "moral." For generations, the Right has battened on it. Under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Left seized it, conceiving of government itself as the chief agent of national moral purpose. John F. Kennedy himself — in the most significant error in his brief tenure — defined the situation of blacks in America as pre-eminently a moral issue. (Surely, economics is more basic.) Vietnam became a moral issue. Watergate is perceived as a moral issue.

One might imagine the United States infected with a virus, the virus of desiring to be good. A nation founded by saints, in pursuit of innocence. The new Eden. The new world. *Novus ordo seclorum* — the new order of the ages. " I know America," Richard Nixon twice told Congress in his most sincere voice, "and the heart of America is good." The Congress cheered, clapped and whistled. A warm feeling was had by all.

But what if America isn't? What if the American heart is just like every other human heart? Generous and greedy, innocent and corrupt, candid and wily. What if morality, or claims to it, are simply a technique Americans have added to the repertoire of Machiavelli.

Every time I hear a politician talk about morality, my stomach tells me he's out to get me, even if at first I can't see how.

America's Illusion

These days, the Left sits higher on the high horse of morality. "The constituency of conscience," Michael Harrington dubs it. My stomach asks my mind: "What's in it for us? What are *our* interests? What powers do *we* represent?"

Powers and interests, these are what politics is about. These do not exclude morality. But most of our images for what is moral come from the realm of personal virtues: honesty, decency, caring for family, integrity, candor. Such qualities are not only *not* primary in political virtue (they are secondary or tertiary). They often negatively injure political morality, making it destructive, blind and morally arrogant. Few things are worse than candid incompetence. Even inveterate liars and cheats (who are never believed anyway) can, in the alchemy of checks and balances, govern rather well.

"Moralism may be defined," Niebuhr wrote about the tractors for Cuba, "as a form of morality that holds to moral norms without recognizing that in actual history these norms always confront recalcitrance and without knowing that every moral norm is part of a whole web of moral means and ends. These norms are not, therefore, as simply realizable as the idealist imagines. It is the complexity of this web that makes moral prudence one of the virtues of political morality, and frequently the supreme virtue."

In my view, our educated class, the class that controls the media and defines the issues a politician must address, is most given to moralism. It talks about morality. Its hidden agenda is moralism.

About one-third of this class is liberal in orientation. This third is especially strong in the universities (humanities, social science; less so in business schools, in engineering, law, medicine etc.) and in the media (national rather than local). The other two-thirds is conservative in orientation. This two-thirds is especially strong in business corporations and in the business media. Highly moral persons, all.

Morality is the central symbolic battlefield. "Corrupt corporations." "Biased media." Candidates seek to make opponents seem less than moral. Definitions of what is moral are usually self-serving.

Among us, morality is seldom, if ever, transcended. It is a selective weapon, in the hands of our own faction. It is a political instrument. It is, therefore, moralism rather than morality, a means by which we commend ourselves to voters, not an end in whose light we recognize our own failures. No man is moral, simply. No political party is, no nation is.

American coins have it correct: "In God we trust." Meaning, no one else. Not in political leaders. Not even in government. "Our people are losing faith in America," Nixon said. But America is not a religion.

For myself I don't want a political leader to be too moral. He has to deal with vast powers, rather amoral interests, and partial truths.

"Mankind cannot bear too much reality." Nor too much purity. A nation engages in a world of half truths, disguised powers and partly corrupt interests. To enter such a world is to contract "dirty hands." Even the claim to possess, and the high purpose to maintain, moral purity (honesty, candor, no deals, no compromise, no shady associations, public chastity) can be a form of corruption. No saint would make such a boast. No opponent would believe it.

When our political conventions meet, saints do not come marching in. Humans, even as you and I. As in Athens, Constantinople, Babylon, and all the other fleshpots of recorded history.

The miracle of democracy is that it does attain a tincture of liberty, equality, justice, honor, honesty. But not in excess.

Here we have not heaven. Only these United States. The land Mencken observed so bitingly.

We would do well to discipline our lust for morality. Better to strengthen our checks and balances, to lock our doors, and to develop a reasonable tolerance for human fallibility, than to neglect political essentials, in a temporary fit of purity.

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Hosea Williams Says Carter Is a 'Sophisticated Racist'

By DAVID MORRISON

State Rep. Hosea Williams denounced presidential candidate Jimmy Carter as a "sophisticated racist" Monday, charging that Carter as governor of Georgia had done less for blacks than Lester Maddox, his segregationist predecessor.

Williams issued his charge in a press conference on the steps of the state capitol in a reaction to Carter's statement that he would favor no government action to destroy the "ethnic purity" of a neighborhood simply to achieve a quota of racial integration in the neighborhood.

Carter subsequently stated that the use of the phrase had been unfortunate. He pledged that if he were elected president, he would use the full force of the federal government to insure persons the right to live where they chose.

"You can't be for ethnic purity and open housing too," Williams said Monday. "You can't have your cake and eat it too. The man is trying to say what he can to please everybody. . . .

"We don't need any sophisticated racists running for president. We've got too many of them already in places like Boston. . . . I'd rather support a southern white man who says he's for segregation and keeping blacks totally out of neighborhoods than a sophisticated racist like Jimmy Carter. At least with the segregationist I know where I stand."

Carter's press director, Rex Granum, responded, "These are exactly the kinds of statements that Hosea Williams has issued time and time again and are precisely what you would expect from the leading black supporter of Lester Maddox."

Williams called on black leaders like the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. and U.S. Rep. Andrew Young of Atlanta to renounce their endorsements of Carter.

He also urged Atlanta blacks and "right-thinking whites" to join him Tuesday in a demonstration at Central City Park where Carter will officially inaugurate his campaign for the May 4 Georgia presidential primary. Williams also picketed a Carter fund-raising dinner downtown in early 1975.

Williams said Carter has been campaigning nationwide and saying that he had desegregated Georgia government, while it had been Maddox who had appointed the first black state trooper and who had appointed blacks to a number of key state administrative jobs.

"Lester Maddox paved the road that Jimmy Carter walked down four years later," said Williams.

Williams, president of the Atlanta chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said Carter's "ethnic purity" remark smacked of Nazi Germany.

"Adolf Hitler talked about ethnic purity," said Williams. "When you talk about ethnic purity, it means that you're saying that Jews should not marry Italians. . . . You're trying to get a pure race."

McGovern Hits Carter Remark Furor

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Sen. George S. McGovern, D-S.D., Monday criticized the news media for "superficial and silly reporting" that exaggerates the importance of statements such as Jimmy Carter's "ethnic purity" comments.

"It's all well and good for the press to cover candidates closely," McGovern said in a speech. "But I would hope we would not condemn candidates on the basis of a single phrase."

McGovern said he also was referring to other incidents in political campaigns, including George Romney's saying in 1968 he was "brainwashed" by the American Embassy in Saigon, and Sen. Edmund Muskie's "crying" incident in front of the Manchester Union Leader during the 1972 New Hampshire primary.

Then with a smile, the 1972 Democratic presidential candidate added to the list his comment that he was behind his original vice presidential running mate, Sen. Thomas Eagleton, "1,000 per cent."

"This kind of superficial and silly reporting does not help the voters decide on the candidates," he said.

"It's unfortunate for Gov. Carter to use a phrase like 'ethnic purity', but he shouldn't be judged just on that," McGovern said. "I haven't been satisfied with the comeback of any of the other candidates on public housing. Their differences with Gov. Carter on this issue kind of escapes me."

The Great Frog Fracas

30A

Jimmy Carter is "the most dishonest person I have ever known in my life."
— Lester Maddox

"Being called a liar by Lester Maddox is like being called ugly by a frog."
— Jody Powell, Carter aide

WORLDWIDE FAIRPLAY FOR FROGS COMMITTEE

NESTLE J. FROBISH
Chairman

Box 94
Lyndonville, Vermont 05851
Cable Address: FROGFRIEND

February 23, 1976

Mr. Jimmy Carter
Plains, Georgia

Dear Mr. Carter:

An Associated Press story printed here February 21 quotes an unnamed "top Carter aide" as saying "Being called a liar by Lester Maddox is like being called ugly by a frog."

Perhaps your staff thinks there is political mileage in calling frogs ugly. I am here to tell you they are wrong.

There are millions of frog lovers across the country who are not going to take kindly to a candidate whose staff has nothing better to do than make fun of frogs.

If we do not receive an apology from you or the responsible member of your staff within a couple of weeks, I will be compelled to alert our membership across the country. If this strikes you as not entirely serious, ponder the unexpected demise of Congressman Jerome Waldie of California, whose bid for governor in 1974 was crushed largley due to his advocacy of the taking of frogs by slingshot. Ask him. He knows where he went wrong.

Yours truly,
Nestle J. Frobish
Chairman

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Jimmy Carter
Presidential Campaign
For America's third century, why not our best?

February 26, 1976

Mr. Nestle J. Frobish, Chairman
Worldwide Fair Play for Frogs Committee
Box 94
Lyndonville, VT 05851

Dear Mr. Frobish:

As the unnamed aide responsible for the "frog" statement, I appreciate this opportunity to respond to one of the more serious issues raised in this campaign.

Your apparently sincere belief that Gov. Carter and members of his staff are biased against frogs is incorrect.

I wish to point out to you that the Carter administration was noted throughout the state and indeed the Southeast for its fair and equitable treatment of frogs.

Gov. Carter's mother reports that even as a child he displayed a great fondness, even affection, for frogs. They were often his companions and occasionally even shared his bed. I might say that my own mother attests to my similar early interest and friendship for the little amphibians.

The burdens which frogs have borne throughout history are well known. My own daughter reminds me that "It isn't easy being green." This campaign is committed to substantive programs to lighten these burdens. The problem of being ugly is perhaps one of the more serious. But ignoring the problem will not make it go away. It is our belief that well-planned, direct action by a reorganized, effective, efficient and compassionate federal government can at least begin to make frogs more attractive.

My comment that frogs are ugly was not meant in a disparaging way. It was simply a statement of fact. Some of my best friends in the political world and in the press bear the same burden with grace and pride—even though many of them suffer from additional, more debilitating afflictions of the body and soul.

Sincerely,
Joseph L. Powell, Jr.
News Secretary

P.S. A check of White House records discloses absolutely no reference to the plight of frogs during daily press briefings by any presidential press secretary from Salinger through Nessen. I assure you that this inexcusable insensitivity will be corrected in a Carter administration.

A Right Denied

The American Civil Liberties Union has a long and celebrated history of defending the right of free speech. Indeed, that right found in the First Amendment to the Constitution is not only the cornerstone of all American freedoms, it is what the ACLU is all about.

But the ACLU has come to a sorry time. Its officers apparently have decided that what the ACLU defends for others, it will not tolerate for its own. Charles Morgan Jr., director of the Washington office of the ACLU, said in an interview last month that the "Eastern Liberal Establishment" was prejudicied against such southern presidential hopefuls as Georgia's Jimmy Carter. He also said the establishment lawyers of Washington feared that an "outsider" might be elected, thus cutting off their connections with the "insiders."

Morgan said he was speaking for himself, not the ACLU. No matter. Aryeh Neier, executive director of the ACLU, ordered Morgan to make no more "political" statements and to offer "corrections" to editors on his first statement. Morgan, of course, took the only honorable course. He resigned.

"I am a citizen first, and a corporate lawyer for the ACLU somewhere else down the line," he said. "Anyone with walking-around sense knows that I was not speaking for the ACLU with respect to. . .the Eastern Liberal Establishment and the arrogance and bigotry it often displays," says Morgan.

The ACLU says it doesn't dabble in politics and, therefore, Mr. Morgan's statements were inappropriate. Doesn't dabble in politics? The ACLU sued in 1972 to have the South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi dissident Democratic delegations seated at the Democratic national convention. All were delegations that opposed George Wallace and leaned heavily toward George McGovern. There were similar suits filed by the ACLU in 1968. The ACLU played a major role in the investigation of the Watergate scandal. Somehow those sound like political activities.

Nevertheless, the No. 1 guideline in the ACLU's policy guide is a stout reminder of the ACLU's responsibilities in defending First Amendment rights —freedoms of belief, expression and association. The ACLU was born out of the fight over Eugene V. Debs' right to speak against U.S. participation in World War I. It retained Clarence Darrow in the famous Scopes Monkey Trial to defend John Scopes' right to discuss evolution.

It fought for Julian Bond's right to speak against the war in Vietnam and still be seated in the Georgia legislature. The number of ACLU First-Amendment cases is too long to list here. Suffice it to say, they are numerous.

In the future, it will be worth watching to determine whether the ACLU continues to defend First Amendment rights. Many ACLU lawyers may find it difficult to stand in any courtroom in this country and argue in favor of a constitutional right that the ACLU has denied one of its own top attorneys.

Ernest Furgurson

The Jimmy Carter Pontificators

WASHINGTON—To retain the franchise, each proprietor of a personal space in print or on the air is required to pontificate once this month on the subject of Jimmy Carter's religion. The present example will be a criticism of the pontifications of others who have gone before.

Most of those who have commented conspicuously about Mr. Carter's faith seem to be Northerners, and non-Baptists. Neither of these traits disqualifies them to comment on a Baptist Sunday school teacher from Plains, Ga. But on the evidence, either those traits or simple ignorance severely limits their understanding of both this singular man and his religion.

I cite some instances:

The Rev. Andrew M. Greeley of Chicago refers to Carter as a "cornpone, Bible-quoting redneck," with "a Southern accent and a fundamentalist faith." (This is out of context; he did not necessarily mean to be unkind, maybe.)

Somebody else alleges that Carter is a "Southern bourbon."

The Catholic theologian Michael Novak, in a thoughtful essay, starts by saying that "usually in America, when we say 'Protestant,' we think of slender white New England churches. We think of Puritans; of Exeter, Andover and Groton; of Yale Divinity School and Riverside Church . . . ."

The redoubtable Sally Quinn refers to "a deep religious faith indigenous to Southerners."

Newsweek magazine informs us that "Southern Baptists believe that salvation comes through grace, not through good works."

Joseph Kraft expresses doubt whether "the country is ready for a white Christian from the South as its President." To take these assertions from the top, let us deal with the matter of whether this Georgian is redneck or a bourbon.

Mr. Carter has implicated himself voluntarily in this question, since when he was running for governor he went around the state proclaiming himself a redneck, and it worked. However, by the standard Southern understanding of the term, he does not qualify.

A redneck is a rural white who was born poor and ignorant, and has never bothered to improve himself in either aspect. Mr. Carter is a graduate of the Naval Academy, an engineer who reads the Bible in Spanish and the poetry of Dylan Thomas, and quite well off economically, thank you.

Thus perhaps he is a bourbon?

Hardly. By definition, such a one is a figurative member of the one-time ruling dynasty of France or, by Webster, "a ruler or politician who clings obstinately to ideas adapted to an order of things gone by." Mr. Carter is self-made, and is teaching his competition a few things about new ideas.

Then we reach religion. Although Mr. Carter is professedly devout, I am not aware that he has ever said he was a fundamentalist—one who takes the Bible literally. As a Southerner, I am not aware that all Southerners have a deep religious faith, either.

And as a Southerner, when I myself say "Protestant," I do not think of New England churches and Puritans and Andover and Yale—rather of Lee Street Baptist Church; of Scotch-Irish pioneers fighting the Indians with one hand and the bourbon Episcopalians with the other; of Thomas Jefferson's epitaph; of Davidson, Vanderbilt, Randolph-Macon and Baylor. Not that it matters what I think here, only that the preconceptions of Mr. Novak's "we" are not those of all Americans.

Hal Gulliver

On Shutting Up Chuck Morgan

Chuck Morgan just never has learned how to keep his head down and keep his mouth shut and not tell people what was on his mind.

Dangerous breed. Likely to stir things up.

Back in Birmingham it was, years ago, that this unwholesome trait surfaced.

Some people had blown up a black church one Sunday. The explosion smashed and tore and killed four young black girls. Their crime was to be black at a time when the civil rights revolution was just beginning to work great changes in the South and the nation. The bombers weren't maybe aiming at them by name. They were aiming at those agitators, black and white alike, who wanted to change the patterns of racial discrimination in the segregated South. It was a hard time, of tensions and violence. The bombers did not perhaps plan to kill the four youngsters in particular, but they were black and they would do.

By coincidence, Chuck Morgan was scheduled to make a civic club speech in Birmingham the very next day, this his home town and the speech probably intended as a much more routine one than it became, the speech of a young attorney to some local fellow citizens.

Instead, Morgan rose up like something of an Old Testament prophet and talked of the hate and bitterness built into a segregated system, and of the terrible divisions of a system based on racial discrimination, and of the evil in a white-controlled segregated South that could among other things leave those four little girls blown apart in the rubble of the little church where they had gone in their Sunday school dresses that morning to worship.

It was a speech of conscience and conviction, and it made Morgan more enemies than friends, at least on his then-home grounds. He left Birmingham within the year to become Southeastern regional director for the American Civil Liberties Union, and his name became pretty well known over the country, mostly as the ACLU entered suits to win long-denied rights for black Americans, sometimes in other often controversial suits, as when he defended Dr. Howard Levy for refusing to teach soldiers on their way to Vietnam.

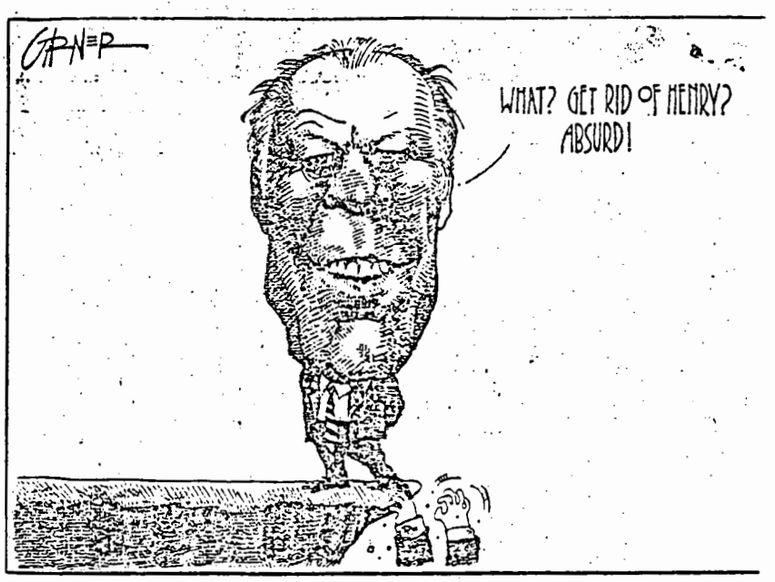
Morgan moved on to Washington, as head of the ACLU office there. He resigned last week.

Consider his sins. About a month ago, Morgan was quoted in an interview as saying that he leaned towards Fred Harris among the Democratic presidential candidates but nonetheless he did think Jimmy Carter was getting a raw deal, being attacked by Eastern establishment liberals and news media types simply because he was a Southerner, and even worse a Southerner who didn't owe them anything.

Outrageous talk! insisted the puffed-up Liberal Leaders of Georgetown and New York, many of whom not coincidentally are influential within ACLU circles. They hassled Morgan about it for a few weeks, demanding that he never let such political thoughts be spoken again, more or less, and he explained to them that he did not intend to give up his individual views or his rights under the First Amendment, and they kept on, and he resigned.

That Morgan never could keep his mouth shut. Yet Morgan will do all right; he'll do well at whatever he does, as he always has.

It is more disturbing to realize what a thin-blooded puerile crowd is running the ACLU these days.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WHAT? GET RID OF HENRY? ABSURD!