News Summaries 6/76

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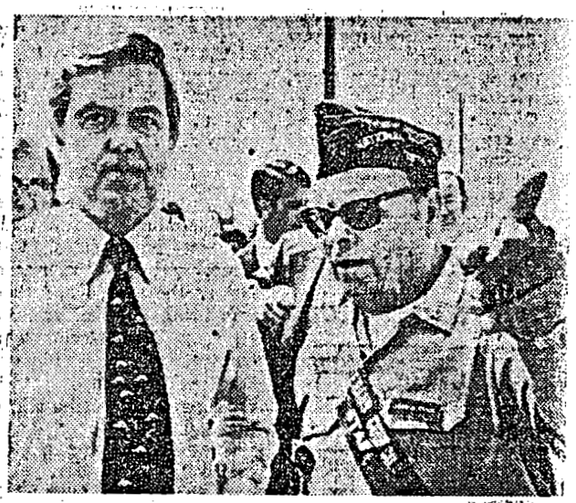
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY

6/1

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter, left, of Georgia trying his hand as a pitcher at a softball tournament in Ohio. Above, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California shaking hands with Mr. Carter's wife, Rosalynn, after their campaign paths crossed in Rhode Island yesterday. Right, Senator Frank Church with John S. Ferris, a veteran, before the start of a Memorial Day Parade in Cranston, R.I. The three candidates were seeking votes in Rhode Island primary, to be held today.

United Press International and Associated Press



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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, JUNE 1, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Syria said yesterday that it had intervened in northern Lebanon to stop the fighting around beleaguered Christian villages near the Syrian border that had been heavily shelled for several days. It was reported that the fighting had ended. Radio Damascus said that Syrian "delegates" went there in response to requests by local residents. Meanwhile, leftist Lebanese and Palestinian sources in Beirut charged that Syria had increased the number of its troops in Lebanon over the weekend, but the reports could not be confirmed. [Page 1, Column 5.]

The White House announced that President Ford was planning an economic meeting with six other nations this summer and it was reported that the meeting was likely to take place after the last state primaries on June 8 and before the mid-August Republican National Convention. The six nations are those that participated with the United States in the economic meeting at Rambouillet, France, last November, and Canada. [1:4.]

Six months after Surinam was declared independent of the Netherlands, the northeastern South American country is trying desperately to woo back the one-third of its population—160,000 people—that had been among Surinam's most skilled, educated and wealthy. They had fled rather than face independence. Their loss has been felt economically at home. To induce them to return, the Dutch Government has offered Surinam $1.5 billion in development aid over the next decade. But neither entreaties from their homeland nor the promise of aid from the Dutch has had any effect. [1:4-5.]

National

On the eve of primaries in South Dakota, Montana and Rhode Island, Jimmy Carter, Senator Frank Church and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. California concentrated their campaigning in Rhode Island. The three rival Democrats swept through the state and at one time they and their entourages were elbowing one another as they arrived together, followed by supporters, at a hotel in Cranston, where they participated in a Memorial Day parade. [1:1.]

It may have seemed that Vice President Rockefeller was ready to retire from Government service at the end of the year, but he is acting like a politician running for something—whether it is Vice President or Secretary of State in a Ford Administration is not clear—but it is apparent that he is not ready to collect his pension. [1:1.]

Martha Mitchell, the outspoken estranged wife of John N. Mitchell, who was Attorney General in the Nixon Administration, died at Memorial Sloane-Kettering Cancer Center in New York of multiple myeloma, a rare malignancy of the bone marrow. She was 57 years old. Her husband was one of four Nixon Administration officials convicted in 1975 on all counts in the Watergate cover-up trial. It was not unusual for Mrs. Mitchell to telephone a reporter late at night to tell what was on her mind. She had maintained that "somebody" was trying to make her husband "the goat" in the Watergate scandal. None of her family was present at her death. [1:2-3.]

If present birth trends continue, according to a new Census Bureau report, about 17 percent of the country's population will be 65 or older by the year 2030, compared with 10.5 percent now. The report indicates that as the country's elderly population grows and women continue to outlive men, there will be more educated, widowed older women than ever before. Women, the report found, are outliving men by an average of almost eight years. [1:6-7.]

Metropolitan

New York City, which has offered a free college education to its residents since 1847, is expected to bow to fiscal pressures and charge tuition in the colleges of the City University system by a vote tonight of a reluctant Board of Higher Education. A series of token resolutions, sources at the board said, would be attached to the resolution, so that the State Legislature would have to share the onus of ending the free tuition policy. The expected vote would prepare the way for approval by the Legislature of a fiscal package that would make possible the reopening of the public colleges, which were shut down on Friday, and would carry them through the next academic year. [1:8.]

The city has committed $3.5 million of its own funds to reconstruct a four-block dilapidated section of the Henry Hudson Parkway along Riverside Park at the 96th Street interchange. The work, expected to start in August or September and take 18 months, is the second of two major rebuilding projects to get the parkway back into shape. [1:7.]

The Other News

All the News
t's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIC
Weather: Cloudy with rai
ind tonight. Partly sunny to
Temperature range: toda
Monday 61-75. Details on

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3 STATES HOLDING PRIMARIES TODAY

Democrats End Up in Rhode Island—South Dakota and Montana Also Voting

By JOHN KIFNER
Special to The New York Times

CRANSTON, R.I., May 31—The front-running and late-blooming Democratic Presidential candidates made their final efforts to reach the voters of this smallest state today on the eve of three small-state primaries.

On a bright, sunny holiday, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California all participated in small-town Memorial Day parades.

Along with Rhode Island, which will send 22 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, South Dakota and Montana, each with 17 Democratic delegates, will hold their primaries tomorrow.

Rhode Island Blitzed

While the number of delegates at stake here is relatively small, interest in the Rhode Island primary has picked up because of the sudden reversals to Mr. Carter's campaign.

While Mr. Carter is still far ahead of his rivals in the delegate count, he was defeated last week by Mr. Church in Oregon and the week before by Mr. Brown in Maryland.

The holiday weekend saw a last-minute blitz as the three rival Democrats swooped through Rhode Island, making it the most heavily contested election of the three tomorrow.

Mr. Carter, who was the first

Continued on Page 42, Column 1

3 States Hold Primaries Today; Rhode Island Stressed

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

to organize a drive here, is still generally considered the front runner, although Mr. Church is believed to have made inroads by campaigning here in recent days. Mr. Brown is in a somewhat difficult position, since he is on the Rhode Island ballot and is urging voters to pull the "uncommitted" lever.

In the Republican race, President Ford is generally considered to be wel ahead of his rival, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. There are 19 Republican convention delegates from Rhode Island.

But in conservative South Dakota and Montana, which each send 20 delegates to the Republican National Convention, Mr. Reagan is favored —heavily in Montana and slightly in South Dakota.

In Montana, Mr. Church is considered the favored Democratic candidate, for a regional pattern has been emerging in recent primaries, and his native state is next door. Mr. Church has won three primaries—Idaho, Oregon and Nebraska—and has lost only in Nevada, where he did little campaigning, to Mr. Brown.

In South Dakota, Arizona Representatives Morris K. Udall appears to be overcoming the early advantage of Mr. Carter, because of the endorsements of both of the state's United States Senators, George McGovern, and James G. Abourezk. Mr. McGovern, the party's 1972 nominee, has sent letters to all the state's Democrats urging them to vote for Mr. Udall. Should the tall Congressman win, it would be his first primary victory. All of the candidates are campaigning with one eye on June 8, with crucial primaries in Ohio, California and New Jersey.

The question for the three Democrats—all operating far from their regional bases—is whether Mr. Carter is vulnerable here.

A victory for Mr. Church in an eastern industrial state would give a boost to his position as an alternative candidate. A victory for Mr. Carter would restore some of the luster tarnished in the recent reversals. A Carter defeat, even though the number of delegates is small, would encourage efforts by the party elements attempting to deny him first ballot success at the convention, thus throwing the selection process into bargaining.

This is a heavily industrialized, strongly Democratic state with a high unemployment rate. Some of its problems have been caused by the shutdown of the major naval installations here by the Nixon Administration.

The state ranges from the capital of Providence, where the hilltops include Brown University, stunning old Federal houses and wood-framed ethnic neighborhoods, to the elegant old "cottages" of Newport to small fishing towns like Point Judith. Overwhelmingly white, the state includes strong ethnic concentrations of Italian, French-Canadian and Portuguese extraction.

Of the slightly more than 500,000 voters in the state, about a tenth are expected to vote tomorrow.

Carter Shifts Plans

Mr. Carter's campaign organization called The Providence Journal, the statewide newspaper, on Saturday night, to say that he was changing his plans and returning over the weekend "because we see the developing importance of Rhode Island as a primary." He told the newspaper the results would "set the stage for the last three primaries on June 8."

Mr. Carter had planned to end his campaigning here with a set of appearances last Tuesday.

One result of the call was two front-page articles in the Sunday Journal, one headlined "Carter Coming Back to Fight For R.I."

Mr. Carter did not make many appearances, however. He flew in last night, went to the Memorial Day parade in Warwick and appeared at an airport news conference. He reiterated his theme that he had campaigned across the country and was being opposed by entrenched forces in Washington who did not understand the "yearnings" of the American people and who sought to protect their position of "privilege."

Asked to be more specific, Mr. Carter replied: "I just don't care to name names."

Both Mr. Church and Mr. Brown have put in four days of campaigning here just before the voting.

Mr. Church, at a news conference last night, said that he took Mr. Carter's decision to return as a good omen. "I can only judge that he's been appraised that I'm gaining ground," he said.

Local Backing and Issues

The Idaho Senator has been campaigning here with the support of Senator Claiborne Pell and Representative Edward P. Beard. He has attempted to stress local issues, saying, for instance, that he would favor a Trident submarine base for the state.

Today, in a cream-colored suit, he walked in parades in Wickford and Cranston, along with high school bands. National Guard units, horseback riders, small children in colonial costumes and local dogs.

Mr. Brown turned up at the West Warwick parade and walked the last few steps with Gov. Philip W. Noel. He went on to catch the parade in Warwick, but arrived too late. Then he went to the Rocky Point Amusement Park, but he was too early and few pleasure-seekers were there.

Udall in New Jersey

Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, May 31 — After campaign stops in South Dakota and Ohio, Morris K. Udall flew to New Jersey today for two fund-raising receptions and a rally in suburban Essex and Morris Counties.

Mr. Udall was greeted at Newark Airport by members of his delegate slate led by Representatives James J. Howard, Democrat of New Jersey, and Bill Bradley, the New York Knicks basketball player.

Mr. Udall stood on a chair and briefly addressed a surprised gathering of airport patrons. He said New Jersey's June 8 primary "is the last turn of the wheel" and the last opportunity "to slow down the [Carter] bandwagon."

Mr. Udall appealed for a "chance to make my case and do something in Madison Square Garden."

Fred Bohen, Mr. Udall's New Jersey campaign coordinator, said the candidate would return to New Jersey Friday and possibly once more before the primary election.

Ohio Vote Viewed as Vital In Carter-Udall Contest

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

COLUMBUS, Ohio, May 31—If they're going to stop Jimmy Carter, this is the place to do it.

If Mr. Carter can win the Ohio primary a week from tomorrow by a substantial margin, taking more than 100 of the state's 152 Democratic convention delegates, he will almost certainly be too close to the 1,505 needed for nomination for the party to deny him the prize he is seeking.

Keeping the former Georgia Governor from doing so is the self-assigned task of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who has finished second in so many primaries (seven) that he is using "Second Hand Rose" as his theme song.

Here as in Michigan, he starts his effort from far behind, as much as 25 points in some polls. In Michigan he closed a 33-point gap only to lose to Mr. Carter by a few thousand votes.

Mr. Udall has promised to hit Mr. Carter hard for his alleged fuzziness on the issues, to "hold his feet to the fire." Already, television commercials showing a two-faced Mr. Carter are on the air in Ohio, as well as new radio commercials comparing him to a carnival confidence man playing the shell game.

Backed by Labor

In one respect, Mr. Udall has an advantage here that he lacked in the Michigan voting on May 18. In that state, organized labor was arrayed almost solidly against him; here, he enjoys the backing of the liberal-labor coalition in nine northern Ohio Congressional Districts.

But the lanky Arizonan faces a number of difficulties here that he did not encounter in Michigan, difficulties serious enough to make him even more of an underdog than he was two weeks ago. Among them are the following:

¶Mr. Udall, who had sought a one-on-one contest in Ohio like the one in Michigan, was unable to dissuade Senator Frank Church of Idaho from campaigning here. Mr. Church is starting late and seems likely to finish third, but most of the votes he will win will probably come from Mr. Udal.

¶Crossover voting, which is difficult under Ohio law, is unlikely to benefit Mr. Udall as it did in Michigan, where many conservative Democrats and moderate independents voted in the Republican race, leaving a more liberal Democratic electorate. The contest between Ronald Reagan and President Ford in Ohio is not as heated as in Michigan.

¶By almost any standard, Ohio is a less liberal state than Michigan; it lacks a well-defined liberal community. If G. Mennen Williams and George W. Romney are the dominant figures of postwar politics in Michigan, Frank J. Lausche and James A. Rhodes are the comparable figures here.

Mr. Udall was able to concentrate on Michigan for three weeks while Mr. Carter was busy elsewhere. He will have only a little more than a week to campaign here.

Nonetheless, Mark Shields, the roly-poly campaign consultant who has moved into Ohio to oversee the Udall thrust, believes that his candidate has a chance to win.

Finds Lead Is Thin

"Carter's got a big, big lead," Mr. Shields conceded in an interview yesterday. "But it's as thin as cotton candy. We're going to show people that cotton candy is unhealthy; it gives you cavities."

Ohio elects 38 of its delegates at large and 114 by Congressional district. Mr. Shield's plan is to concentrate on northeastern Ohio, which has more than half of the statewide vote and just less than half of the delegates chosen by district.

Mr. Carter, most politicians agree, will have relatively few problems in southern Ohio, whose voting patterns have much in common with his own native region.

The Georgian has not been particularly successful with voters of Central and Eastern European stock such as those who people the Cosmo wards of Cleveland. He has been successful with blacks, who make up the other major voting bloc in the city, but he may do less well among Cleveland blacks than expected, because he offended Representative Louis Stokes and other powerful black leaders by challenging Mr. Stoke's favorite-son candidacy in his own Congressional district.

For the at-large delegates, who will be awarded on a proportional basis to slates with more than 15 percent of the vote, Mr. Udall will have to compete not only with Mr. Carter and Mr. Church but also with the inactive candidacies of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and the favorite-daughter slate headed by Gertrude Donahey, the state treasurer. The Donahey slate includes most of the state's prominent Democrats, but it is considered unlikely to reach the 15 percent minimum.

Mr. Carter tried and failed last Wednesday night to win the support of the Donahey group, another sign that many professionals consider his campaign becalmed.

The Udall headquarters in Cleveland, the bunker for the last stand against Mr. Carter, is staffed by veterans of many second-place finishers: Paul Tully, the manager in Massachusetts and New York; Robert Bedard, the manager in Wisconsin; David Evans, the manager in New Hampshire.

Curt Mead, a partner of John Marttila, one national campaign manager who quit, is working as a volunteer; Jack Quinn, another national campaign manager who left, was in the office yesterday pecking out a new radio commercial.

Mr. Carter's campaign manager is Ted Celeste, brother of Lieut. Gov. Richard Celeste, probably the state's most promising young Democratic politician. The campaign headquarters has been open since March, and Mr. Celeste has an office in every one of the 23 Congressional districts.

Armed with new Federal matching funds, the Georgian will probably outspend Mr. Udall 2 to 1 for television, but Mr. Celeste said he was unable to gauge whether the negative impact of the Udall advertising could be neutralized.

Mr. Church's campaign began only 10 days ago, and the furniture has still not been delivered to his Columbus headquarters. Workers were sitting on the floor today.

Jerry Brady, the campaign manager, said he saw only a slim chance of a victory for Mr. Church, largely because, in a state with eight news media markets and no statewide newspapers, it will be impossible for the Idaho Senator to make himself known quickly.

"This state is eight Nebraskas and six Oregons," he said, referring to two smaller states where Mr. Church scored upset victories.

The New York Times/Teresa Zabala

READY, SET, GO! James (Chip) Carter, son of the former Georgia Governor, is competitor in the annual Memorial Day tricycle race, a San Francisco fund-raising event for guide dogs for the blind. His friends take advantage of the occasion to indulge in some political campaigning.

Election Unit Rousing Congress Again With New Code

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 31—Congress and the Federal Election Commission, whose relations have been uneasy at best for more than a year, are heading toward another confrontation over a massive 244-page code of campaign regulations the agency has drafted.

But real or prospective changes in leadership both in the commission and on Capitol Hill, combined with increasing political maturity in the agency, promise to make the new negotiations between the lawmakers and the regulators much less stormy than those in the past.

The proposed regulations—detailed legal ground rules for the present Federal election and all future ones—must be cleared by Congress before they go into effect. The only two regulations the commission submitted to Congress so far were killed by floor votes, one in the Senate and one in the House.

Thomson Is New Head

However, the cast of characters has changed considerably since then. Thomas B. Curtis, whose administration was severely criticized, has been replaced as chairman by Vernon W. Thomson, a taciturn former House member who is believed to enjoy considerably more respect in Congress.

The new vice chairman is Thomas E. Harris, a veteran labor lawyer, the only commission member with a solid background in the campaign law before his appointment. In the past, his testimony on Capitol Hill has been by far the most persuasive.

The possibility that the current sex scandal may deprive Representative Wayne L. Hays of his post as chairman of the House Administration Committee certainly does not make the commission's Congressional relations probleme any more difficult.

Although his work on the campaign bill just approved by President Ford was generally regarded as constructive, Mr. Hays has been an outspoken critic of the commission and led a successful House floor fight against one of the early regulations.

Hearings in June

The package of 12 new regulations, which cover all aspects of the commission's authority except the general election, will be submitted to Congress about July 1. The current drafts have already been published for public comment and will be the subject of public hearings early in June.

Congress will have 30 working days, normally two months or more, in which to disapprove any of the regulations; otherwise they will go into effect automatically. As a result, the most optimistic prediction is that they may become law early in September.

Meanwhile, however, candidates for President, the Senate and the House are expected to follow the regulations on the assumption that they will be approved.

In the drafts published last week, the commission left some important questions open, suggesting two or more alternative provisions for discussion. For example, one section flatly bars a corporation from settling debts owed by a candidate or a political committee for less than full value.

Alternatives would permit settlement of such debts "in a commercially reasonable manner," either with the approval of the commission or after reporting details to the commission.

In the past, airlines and telephone companies, among others, have settled large campaign bills for a fraction of their total, thus effectively making a corporate contribution to the candidate that would be illegal if done directly.

Another unresolved question is whether national committees of political parties may make independent expenditures in support of their Presidential candidate. Such spending, ordinarily for political advertising, is not subject to any ceiling, under a January Supreme Court ruling, if it is not coordinated with the regular campaign in any way.

One proposed regulation bars a national committee from independent expenditures altogether. An alternative would create a presumption that national committee spending was not independent, a presumption that could be overcome by proof.

Giving national committees unlimited independent spending authority could effectively eliminate the ceiling on the cost of the general election, now set at about $22 million for each major-party candidate, payable entirely by Federal subsidy, plus a limited amount of privately financed spending by each national committee.

In an effort to insure that independent campaign spending is genuinely independent, the regulations say it cannot be "based on information about the candidate's needs" provided by the candidate or his agent "with a view towards an independent expenditure."

The regulations also prohibit classifying as "independent" and thus outside a campaign spending ceiling any reproducing of television or radio spots or print advertisements already prepared by the regular campaign organization.

On the touchy subject of Congressional office accounts, or "slush funds," the regulations require members who maintain them to file reports with the commission. Such funds usually involve private contributions used to help finance members' travels and communications expenses that exceed Congressional allowances.

Office account contributions or spending "for the purpose of influencing a Federal election," in support of the incumbent's campaign, are made subject to campaign spending limits. An earlier regulation, defeated by Congress, classed all election-year office account expenditures as campaign spending.

Other provisions of the regulations would do the following:

¶Permit a person exploring the possibility of running for office to spend money for polls or similar activity without having to go through the formalities of filing as a candidate, establishing a committee and making reports.

¶Exempt from campaign spending limits the value of television, radio and photographic service that senators and representatives receive free from Government studios, except during a year in which they are seeking re-election.

¶Allow political parties to finance appearances by candidates dedicated to "party-building" and exempt the cost from their campaign limits, except during the year in which the election takes place.

Also, the regulations would permit the commission to make public the results of its secret investigations of campaign law violations if no violation is found or after private conciliation efforts have either succeeded or failed.

McGovern Drops 2 Staff Aides Active in a Stop-Carter Move

WASHINGTON, May 31 (UPI)—Senator George McGovern dismissed two of his staff aides for "becoming publicly involved" in a reported movement among Democrats to stop Jimmy Carter from winning the party's Presidential nomination.

The dismissal followed a New York Times article yesterday in which Jack Quinn and Alan Baron were identified as being among leaders of a "loose and shifting alliance" of people opposing Mr. Carter's nomination.

The South Dakota Senator and 1972 Democratic Presidential nominee said in a statement released by his office that he had requested the resignations from Mr. Baron and Mr. Quinn despite what he termed Mr. Carter's part in a "destructive" stop-McGovern movement four years ago.

"I want no part of any such effort in 1976," said Mr. McGovern, who has already endorsed Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona for the Democratic nomination. He promised today to shift his support to Mr. Carter if the former Georgia Governor won the nomination.

Mr. Baron and Mr. Quinn said after they were dismissed that Mr. McGovern "has told us he was under intense pressure because of our political activities."

Two Aides Reply

"It is regrettable," they said, "that Governor Carter and his supporters have found our dissent and our principles so dangerous that they felt compelled to bring this pressure."

Mr. Carter, reached in Brook Park, Ohio, on his way to a campaign date in South Dakota, praised Mr. McGovern for his decision.

"It's important for a United States senator to have good, sound political judgment, and perhaps Senator McGovern decided that these two staff members don't have sound judgment politically," Mr. Carter said.

The Times article quoted Mr. Baron as saying, "A lot of our people see Carter as a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committed to no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman."

Mr. McGovern said that Mr. Baron and Mr. Quinn had been removed from his staff for "becoming publicly involved in the stop-Carter movement."

"I hope that they will remain friends of mine," he said. "But they are involved in activities that are not compatable with their responsibilities to the Senate and to me. It is better that they function in some other capacity."

In the brief statement, Mr. McGovern accused Mr. Carter of taking part in an anti-McGovern movement four years ago.

"In 1972, a larger number of politicians, including Governor Carter, engaged in a desperate effort to deny me the Presidential nomination even after all the primaries were over and I had secured nearly 1,500 delegates," Mr. McGovern said. "That was a destructive, exhausting effort that set the stage for the overwhelming Democratic defeat in the general election.

"The fact that I have endorsed Representative Udall in the Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan and South Dakota primaries does not mean that I will permit my office to become involved in an anybody-but-Carter movement.'

"Indeed, if he were to become the Presidential nominee, he will have my support. If he is elected, I will do what I can to help him become a good President."

Humphrey And Kennedy?

By Tom Wicker

LOS ANGELES, May 30—Barring some stunning reversal, California's enigmatic but ambitious Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. should win the biggest bloc of this state's 280 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Senator Frank Church, a Westerner and a Stanford man, should run well here, too. But here is an example of ust how hard it is going to be for he "ABC—Anybody But Carter" ovement to stop the front-runner om Georgia:

Most of California's delegates are lected by Congressional districts. There are 43 of them. Any candidate receiving a minimum 15 percent of the vote in any district must be awarded a share of its delegates proportionate to his share of the popular vote. Thus, with the most minimal effort, Jimmy Carter could almost certainly win 15 percent of the vote in each district and assure himself of at least 43 delegates.

Mr. Carter could do better than that, even against Jerry Brown's home-court advantage. And on the same day, he will be favored to win a large share of Ohio and New Jersey delegates against challenges by Mr. Brown, Mr. Church and Representative Morris K. Udall. By the end of the primary season, Mr. Carter should be able to count 1,200 to 1,300 delegates committed to him, not far short of the 1,505 needed for nomination.

That arithmetic is a major reason why an organized last-ditch ABC movement probably would be futile, and might be disastrous. If Mr. Brown or Mr. Church—or less probably Mr. Udall, who is not competing in California—could run so powerfully in all the final primaries as to set up a band-

IN THE NATION

wagon psychology for himself, that would be one thing. More plausible is the possibility that all three might manage only to slow Mr. Carter's momentum, without establishing any of themselves as the principal challenger. That would open the door to the most likely alternative to Jimmy Carter—a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket.

Published reports, routinely denied, of Edward Kennedy's sudden availability; the well-leaked news of his distaste for Mr. Carter, and Mr. Humphrey's elephantine hints on the occasion of their joint appearance in Minnesota that, if drafted for the Presidency, he would in turn draft Mr. Kennedy for the Vice Presidency, can be interpreted only one way. Unless Mr. Carter puts the nomination beyond reach in the primaries and in the horse-trading before the convention opens, or unless one of his primary rivals develops supersonic momentum, the ABC movement will be spurred by the belief that to draft Mr. Humphrey is also to draft Mr. Kennedy.

Mr. Carter, however, has two powerful arguments going for his nomination: that he has fought and won more primary battles than anyone in either party, and is thus the nearest thing the Democrats have to a demonstrated popular choice; and that he offers the likelihood of returning most of the South—perhaps even the so-called "Sunbelt"—to the Democratic fold, without necessarily losing in the North as a consequence. Corollary to the latter argument is the clear regional base of the Carter campaign; denying him the nomination, after his primary victories, is as certain as anything can be to deliver the South and most of the Sunbelt to a conservative Republican candidate—a short and probably a long-term Democratic sacrifice of major proportions.

As for his primary opponents, Mr. Church has been unwilling to step aside to give Mr. Udall a clear one-on-one shot at Mr. Carter in Ohio. Mr. Brown has been unwilling to leave the Rhode Island challenge to Mr. Church. And Mr. Humphrey has allowed an uncommitted slate of delegates to endorse him as well as Mr. Brown. To his credit, Mr. Udall has been willing to stay out of California.

But it is at least possible that the Brown-Church-Udall candidacies will slow Mr. Carter enough to bring on a serious Humphrey-Kennedy draft movement. That ticket has superficial appeal, since it would link the Democrats' two biggest names and most vaunted campaigners. But even assuming Mr. Kennedy actually would accept the No. 2 spot, this ticket also has grave, perhaps fatal weaknesses.

Neither man has competed in the primaries. Their joint draft would negate the supposed openness of the nominating process, and foreclose even the fiction of an independent Vice-Presidential choice. Mr. Kennedy would have to renege on his near-Sherman statement that he is not available. Mr. Carter would be bumped even from second place, despite his primary victories, with troublesome consequences in the South and elsewhere. Bossism and power politics would be handed to the Republicans as an issue. And three serious liabilities would be joined in one ticket—the reputations of both candidates as champions of precisely that "big Government in Washington" the public has been voting against; the possibility that Mr. Humphrey is vulnerable to charges of corruption from his past campaigns and associations; and the country's long memory of Edward Kennedy's performance at Chappaquiddick and the cover-up that followed.

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Carter Faces Tests in 3 States Today

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Jimmy Carter took his presidential campaign coast to coast Monday on the eve of three primaries, hoping that his climbing delegate total would offset any gains Tuesday by three Democratic challengers.

"I haven't felt the adverse effect of the movement," Carter said in Cleveland. "It has been fairly well disorganized."

Carter campaigned in Warwick, R.I., Cleveland and Rapid City, S.D., Monday before flying to Sacramento. Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana hold primaries Tuesday and Ohio, New Jersey and California finish up the primary season June 8.

A number of key Democratic party leaders have been linked to an effort to deny the former Georgia governor the presidential nomination in favor of Sen. Hubert Humphrey or some other candidate.

At a rally in Rapid City in a state where Rep. Morris K. Udall hopes to pull off his first primary victory Tuesday after seven second-place showings, Carter declared, "I don't even want to recognize the legitimacy of a stop-anybody movement."

In Cleveland, Carter faces the problem of racial division as well as the Stop Carter efforts of rival candidates Udall and Sen. Frank Church.

Rep. Louis Stokes, a black congressman from Cleveland, is running six uncommitted "favorite son" delegates in his congressional district in the June 8 primary. Stokes asked Carter to refrain from running. Carter delegates against his own in the district, but Carter refused.

Stokes then angrily asked black voters to support Udall on the at-large ballot. Black support for Carter has been crucial in previous primaries.

"It is not a racial issue," Carter said of the fracas with Stokes. He said a heavy black turnout for Udall in Stokes' district would have little effect on the statewide voting result for Ohio's 152 delegates.

"I consider this (Stokes' district) part of the United States and I don't recognize exclusive territories," Carter stated. "I am not running against anybody. I am running for president."

Carter noted that he is also running delegates against Rep. Wayne Hays' favorite son slate in southeastern Ohio. Hays is under investigation on charges that he placed a mistress on a congressional committee payroll.

Asked whether he could beat Stokes locally, Carter said, "I don't have the slightest idea."

Carter started off the day by marching in a Memorial Day parade in Warwick, R.I., where he picked up the endorsement of Edward F. Burke, a

See PRIMARIES, Page 8-A

1 no carry-over on 8

Jack Anderson

Carter Talk In Plains

WASHINGTON — Is Jimmy Carter, the trust-me candidate, a phony, as his detractors claim?

We sent our roving reporter, Hal Bernton, to Carter's hometown to seek the answer. With a knapsack on his back, Bernton called on Carter's neighbors in Plains, Ga., and stayed overnight on Carter's peanut farm, helping with a few chores. Bernton's grass-roots inquiry lasted nearly a week.

Plains is a quiet, sleepy town, which rises out of the red earth and quickly slumps back into it. Most activity takes place along Main Street, which bisects the town. A railroad track meanders through town, but the train no longer stops there for passengers.

Gentle people live there — a gracious white gentry and easy-going black laborers. The Carters, of course, belong to the gentry. But Bernton found that Jimmy Carter's white neighbors, within their delicately sculptured white frame houses, sometimes muttered against him.

There was the issue, for example, of public education. The board of education is run by white parents who send their own children to private academies. Most of the whites, therefore, are unwilling to raise taxes to improve the two public schools, which are attended predominantly by blacks.

Carter has annoyed his neighbors by reproving them over the rundown schoolhouse, by agitating for support of public education and, finally, by sending his own 8-year-old daughter, Amy, to the neglected public school.

Bernton also visited with Carter's black neighbors. He criss-crossed the sprouting corn, cotton and peanut fields, seeking them out in their rural homes. He stayed overnight with Leonard Wright who farms more than 200 acres of the Carter spread.

Wright is a kindly, cordial black man, with a wide, Jimmy Carter-smile and a display of gold-flecked teeth. For 20 years, Wright has worked the Carter fields — gently rolling fields of green growth and red earth, bisected by a border of stately old shade trees.

Wright spoke proudly about his association with the leading Democratic presidential candidate. "Mr. Jimmy supplies the land, fertilizer and seed," Wright explained. "I provide my own equipment and the labor. Then we split, fifty-fifty. I made over $15,000 last year."

Wright has cleared enough to purchase seven tractors and to give his five children a good education. Carter always told him, said Wright, that education was one of the greatest gifts he could give his children. So he has sent most of them to college.

The Jimmy Carter whom Wright knows is a decent, tolerant, generous man who has never dined in the Wright home but who invited his farm manager to the inauguration in Atlanta when Carter was sworn in as governor of Georgia. "He's already invited me up to the White House if he gets elected President," added Wright, with a gold-flecked grin.

But the Carter family hasn't always treated its land tenants so considerately. Bernton trudged several miles down a dusty, red clay road to visit another Carter farm. It is now rented to a few farmers in town. But the ghostly ruins of a sharecropper's shack remain as an ugly reminder of the exploitive sharecropping system that was once practiced here.

On an abandoned, battered, old kitchen table sat an empty coffee cup and a high-heeled shoe. The rusting skeletons of a couple of automobiles reposed in the tall grass, which had overgrown the yard.

Bernton made a search for the last family who had occupied the shack and found them living in improved circumstances. The former sharecropper, Felton Shelton, spoke softly about his years of toil for the Carters.

"You hear how Mr. Jimmy's a good farmer," said Shelton. "Well, he is. But it's other folks that are doing the work." Commenting on his own relationship with Carter, Shelton said: "If you didn't borrow anything from him, then you stayed on top."

'All the News
it's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Mostly cloudy, c
showers today through to
Temperature range: toda
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HUMPHREY AND FORD ALMOST TIED IN POLL

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and President Ford are in a virtual tie for voter support, according to Gallup Poll's latest test Presidential election survey. But in a race between Mr. Humphrey and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, the Senator would lead 52 to 42 percent, with 6 percent undecided.

Similar polls in January showed Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Ford in close contention, but in February and March the President led. In April Senator Humphrey moved ahead. He now leads the President 46 to 45 percent with 9 percent undecided, according to the latest survey taken from May 21 to 23 among 1,001 registered voters.

A poll in January showed Mr. Reagan trailing Mr. Humphrey 45 to 47 percent, and one in February showed him leading the Senator 48 to 45 percent.

This was the question asked in the survey: "Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Senator Hubert Humphrey were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?" The same question was asked with Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate.

Some Republicans Fearful Party Is on Its Last Legs

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 30—Is the Republican Party over? Divided by a contest for its Presidential nomination and debilitated by the events since the last national election, the party may face a new disaster in November and perhaps beyond.

President Ford and Ronald Reagan are waging a toe-to-toe fight for the party's ultimate prize. At ringside sit such potential contenders as Vice President Rockefeller and former Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, awaiting an unlikely mutual Ford-Reagan knockout that would give them a shot at the Presidential nomination.

But Republicans of varying philosophical hues said in interviews over the last few days that the 1976 nomination might not be worth winning. Some said that the party itself might be beyond repair.

Young progressives spoke dejectedly of the 1976 campaign as their "last hurrah" as Republican activists. Conservative purists described specific contingency plans aimed at "destroying the Republican Party" as a means to create a new major party. And campaign professionals beholden to neither ideological wing said they feared the party might do no more than "stagger along as a cripple" for another decade.

The alarmists could well be wrong. Like fringe sects that wait atop mountains for the world to end, American politicians have tended to read premature fatality into electoral calamity. Republicans survived 1964. Democrats are rebounding from 1972.

Yet what is ironic about

Continued on Page 16, Column 2

Many Republicans Are Fearful That

Their Party Is on Its Last Legs

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

1976, when they already have a Republican in the White House, is that many in the Grand Old Party are acting as if it were a wake before, rather than after, the nomination and election process has run its course.

'Devastation Is Likely'

"There's just no comparison with 1964," said a California veteran of that year's landslide Republican defeat. "Our party was viable then. The devastation in 1976 is likely to be far deeper than just a party losing in a Presidential campaign."

The potential for devastation is reflected in the attitudes of those at opposite fringes of the contest for the White House nomination.

If the President wins at the Kansas City convention, right-wing Republican activists are ready, they said, to join the remnants of George C. Wallace's 1968 third-party movement in a new, ideologically pure party. They contend that they had the knowledge, money and mechanisms to get a Presidential ticket on the ballot in 40 or more states this year.

Should Mr. Reagan emerge as the nominee, moderate Republicans said they were prepared to duplicate their disappearing act of a dozen years earlier, when they fled the Presidential candidacy of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

Statements for Effect

Some of what was said on either side of the Republican ideological divide was undoubtedly for effect, to try to help avert the nomination of the President or of the former California Governor.

But the far right insists that its objective is not so much to win the election next November as to hasten the demise of the Republican Party.

The party, said Richard A. Viguerie, a prime mover in the Committee for a New Majority, "is just not a viable vehicle for conservatives.

"It's like a disabled tank on a bridge," he said, "impeding the troops from crossing to the other side. You've got to take that tank and throw it in the river."

Conversely, moderate Republican leaders and officeholders in such states as Ohio, California and Illinois express concern that a Reagan nomination might be the death knell for an already enfeebled party.

"It would be just disastrous to the party to nominate Reagan," said John Deardourff, a consultant to Republican state tickets in several Middle Western states. "It would accelerate an almost inevitable trend toward the end of the party. And the party is already perilously close to that point where it lacks the critical mass just to stay alive."

Upward Trend in South

Dire predictions are discounted by leaders of state Republican organizations, particularly in the South, where the trend has been for Democratic conservatives to cross over to the Republican Party in recent years.

Concern about disruption of the party in his state is "grossly exaggerated," said Ray Hutchison, the Texas Republican chairman. "I don't see any deep scars," echoed Clarke Reed, the Mississippi leader, "if people keep their cool." William F. McLaughlin, the chairman of Mr. Ford's homestate party in Michigan, said trouble would erupt "only if we resorted to 1964 tactics, and I don't see that happening."

But their remarks contained ominous undertone for their party, as did those of Senator Robert Dole of Kansas, a former national Republican chairman, who said:

"You'd think the only way to go is up, but not necessarily. I'm not a doomsayer—yet."

If others in the party are already doomsayers, and remarkably open ones, it is because they say they sense that 1976 is not comparable to anything Republicans have undergone before."

Primaries Are Barometer

The closeness of the Republican nominating contest, after 24 Presidential primaries, is one barometer of a changed political climate.

"I think it's unique in our history to have an incumbent President, with an improving economy, in political trouble," F. Clifton White, the architect of Mr. Goldwater's 1964 candidacy, said recently.

"The voting [in Presidential primaries] is erratic this year because the voters are erratic," said Mr. White. "A lot of traditionalists are not voting. There is also this total turnoff on politics and government. A whole kind of revolt is there. Clearly, the search for new political institutions is going on in both parties, has been going on for the last 8 to 10 years."

The electorate's volatility was suggested in the latest national survey of American voters conducted by The New York Times and CBS News. If the election were held now between President Ford and the Democratic frontrunner, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, 41 percent of those who considered themselves Reagan Republicans said they would vote for Mr. Carter. In a Reagan-Carter contest, 23 percent of those identifying themselves as Ford Republicans said they would defect to Mr. Carter.

Hazards of Ambivalence

Voter ambivalence about party allegiance poses greater risks to Republicans than Democrats. A survey described last year to Republican state chairmen detected only 18 percent of the national electorate willing to commit themselves to the party, as against 42 percent who regarded themselves as Democrats and 40 percent as independents.

The Republican figure—lower than the 22 percent recorded last week by the Gallup organization—was not markedly larger than the 13 percent of the vote Governor Wallace obtained as an independent candidate for President in 1968. It persuaded the right wing, as Mr. Viguerie put it, "that if you take the White House away from the Republican Party, the whole thing is going to collapse like a house of cards."

William A. Rusher, the publisher of National Review, said that because Republicans had not controlled Congress "since God was a child, I am assuming they would not win the Presidency" if Republican conservatives deserted the party to join the remnants of Mr. Wallace's independent movement.

Touts Conservative Party

According to a book by Mr. Rusher, a conservative party could quickly supplant the Republicans as the principal opposition to the Democrats and ultimately could dominate national politics.

Party regulars debunk such theories and doubt the intentions of the Republican far right. "By and large, they'd be overwhelmingly rebuffed" in his state, said Gov. Christopher S. Bond of Missouri. Representative John B. Anderson of Illinois, the third-ranking House Republican, said that efforts to "put together the ragtag elements of the Wallacite wing of the Democratic party with the right wing of the Republican Party" sounded to him "like an illusion."

The American Independent Party, founded in 1968 has, to be sure, splintered and resplintered into three distinct factions. But Mr. Rusher and Mr. Viguerie contend that leaders of at least two of the factions are ready to join the Republican right in a new, unified conservative cause. The Committee for a New Majority has a huge legal outline of steps needed to qualify for the ballot in every state, and the nucleus of a Wallacite party has done so in three dozen states.

What the committee does not have is a potentially strong nominee. Mr. Wallace, by all accounts, lacks the enthusiasm for another third-party candidacy. Mr. Rusher urged Mr. Reagan last November to keep that option open, but is now convinced that Mr. Reagan has closed it, barring some cataclysm at the Republican convention.

"All his life he has worn a white hat and enjoyed it," Mr. Viguerie said of Mr. Reagan. "He doesn't like doing anti-establishment things like destroying the Republican Party."

Mr. Viguerie made what he called a "strong pitch" to John B. Connally—the former Texas Governor, former Treasury Secretary and former Democrat—to become a former Republican too, but the overture was rejected.

There are "no heavyweights sitting in the waiting," said Mr. Viguerie, but he and Mr. Rusher said there were prospective strong candidates and that the objective was to establish a new party rather than win on its first venture.

Grabbing the Torch

"If Reagan pulls it off, great," Mr. Viguerie said, "but if he's not elected, the torch will not so much be passed as taken away by younger conservatives."

The last Presidential nominee of the far right, Senator Goldwater, encountered a deluge of mail from wounded conservatives after he publicly chastised Mr. Reagan a few weeks ago for opposing a new Panama Canal treaty sought by the Ford Administration. Friends of his said the Senator was not trying to choose sides in the nominating contest but merely warning that "he knows what a split in the party can mean."

The possibility of a Reagan nomination by the Republicans appalls moderates such as Robert E. Hughes, the party leader in Cleveland. Should the convention choose Mr. Reagan, "I'll support him," Mr. Hughes said, without enthusiasm, "but it had better be for Ford."

"Reagan would be coming out for all kinds of weird things," Mr. Hughes continued. It would be 1964 all over, when Goldwater buried the Republican ticket."

Similarly, a Western Republican leader who is on neither end of the party, said he had already written off the White House contest this year.

"If it's Ford," he said, "the party could stagger by with no success at the Presidential level but at least holding our own at state and local levels. If it's Reagan, so many of us will turn away from him it will destroy the fabric of the party, what's left of it."

For all the mutual hostility, no one on either side raised the possibility of a compromise candidate emerging from a deadlocked convention.

Mr. Rockefeller, whose control of the New York delegation gives him a presumed base at the convention but who is still the object of conservative scorn, threw his support and that of 118 other New York delegates behind Mr. Ford last week. Mr. Connally, who has been devoting his attention to strengthening the party's Congressional minority, remained neutral in the Texas primary, and Mr. Reagan swept it. Mr. Connally may not even make it to the convention as a delegate.

The Ripon Society, whose moderate members draw their name and inspiration from the Wisconsin town where the Republican Party was born 122 years ago, endorsed President Ford earlier this week. It was, according to Glenn Gerstell, the Ripon President, "an unhappy compromise" for many members.

Ford 'Not Ideal'

"They didn't exactly feel Ford was their ideal candidate," he said, "But Ford is obviously much better than the alternative."

A Reagan nomination, Mr. Gerstell said, would produce "electoral disaster" and prompt "grave questions about the survival of the party."

Some in the party, in a few unlikely places, already are raising those questions. A senior White House official said he would "not be surprised if both major parties were entirely different, and more ideological, within 10 years."

Rogers C. B. Morton, the chairman of Mr. Ford's campaign and a former national party chairman, said he was optimistic that the President could avoid "bitterness" in the party if he won the nomination.

But Mr. Morton added that he too was concerned that voters were not committed to parties because of their diffuse images, their efforts "to be all things to all people" and their "failure to sit down and decide what they're for.

"People want leadership," he said. "Republicans have got to offer a way to go, not just a way to stop the Democrats. Where do we go in the next decade? That's the question we have to answer."

The irony of a party bereft of theme and beset by division only four years after Richard M. Nixon's landslide victory is not lost on Republican leaders.

Brown Seeks New Victory To Slow Carter Campaign

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

CRANSTON, R.I., May 30—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, searching somewhat desperately for a way to rekindle the spark created by his upset victory in the Maryland Democratic Presidential primary election two weeks ago, brought his belated campaign to Rhode Island for the long Memorial Day weekend.

But as a holiday somnolence settled over this tiny state, his schedules, largely improvised at the last minute, have been able to produce little in the way of crowds clamoring for the "new generation of leadership" that the 38-year-old Governor says he would provide, although at the resort city of Newport this afternoon he did draw a crowd of several hundred.

At most, Rhode Island does not offer much of a reward to the winner of Tuesday's primary. It will send only 22 delegates to the Democratic National Convention in New York in July. Eighteen will be chosen Tuesday and those selected will pick four more at-large delegates later.

Still, Governor Brown feels he needs another triumph to help slow former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter's drive for the nomination and to restore credibility to his own bid before the two meet in the California primary on June 8.

'Doesn't Have It'

"He's getting close, but he doesn't have it," Mr. Brown insisted yesterday in a news conference at his hotel here on Narragansett Bay. "He may have reached his high point and started to slip back."

To many who have followed the late-starting Brown campaign, that sounds a bit like whistling in the dark. The Governor and the other active challengers to Mr. Carter, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Representatives Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have all acknowledged that they are engaged in an uphill battle to block the Georgian's nomination on the first convention balot. Only if they do that, they agree, will they have a chance to be considered as alternatives for the nomination.

Governor Brown took what he and his advisers concede was a long shot to try to win a write-in victory in the Oregon primary last week. If the had succeeded, Mr. Brown's chances of being considered the most likely candidate to stop Mr. Carter at the convention obviously would have risen measurably.

But they didn't.

Despite a write-in vote of about 100,000, which was widely accepted as a strong showing, he finished third behind Senator Church, the winner, and Mr. arter.

Staff Disappointed

Although the Brown camp has since tried to put the best possible interpretations on the sizable write-in vote, there was visible disappointment on the faces of many of its members last Tuesday night as the count was coming in from Oregon. At least some senior aides had expected to bring off another upset in that contest.

Mr. Brown did win an overwhelming victory over Mr. Carter in Nevada that day, but it counted for little in the way of momentum since he had been expected to do well in that neighboring state of California.

That left the Brown campaign with the problem of how to reestablish the notion that the Governor was an exciting dark horse who could pull the convention together if Mr. Carter was stopped on the first ballot.

For a couple of days last week, no one in the Brown entourage seemed to know what to do to stage a psychological comeback. the Governor was not on the ballot in any of the three states with primaries scheduled Tuesday: Montana, South Dakota and Rhode Island.

Moreover, for the moment at least, Senator Church, on the strength of his three victories in three primaries, suddenly appeared to the Brown camp as a real threat to take over the role of most likely dark horse that the Governor had been attempting to stake out for himself.

Focus in California

Last Wednesday Mr. Brown seemed more or less resigned to having a campaign all cranked up but with not much of any place to go. He said at a news conference in Sacramento that California would be the "focus" of his efforts through the warming days of the primary season. Most experts expect him to win easily over Mr. Carter and Mr. Church, his only active opponents in his home state, with the only question being how many of the 280 delegates he will capture under the proportional representation rule.

So he was scheduled for three days of "state business" last week within the peripheral campaigning in the evenings. Then he was to campaign yesterday in the Los Angeles area before taking a late-night fligh to Rhode Island to lend some moral support to the 19 uncommitted delegates here who had come out for him.

Suddenly, on Thursday, the Brown people decided to take another gamble as they had in Oregon. The Governor announced that he would fly to Rhode Island yesterday and devote three days to stumping for his uncommitted slate.

They Knew the Odds

But since Mr. Carter and Mr. Church have slates under their names on the ballot and have been campaigning here, the odds were long again. And Mr. Brown and his aides were aware of it.

So the young Governor has been combing the state, urging somewhat lukewarm crowds at shopping malls, senior c itizens events or environmentalist meetings to "vote uncommitted for a commitment to change."

But as time grows short, the odds, most observers feel, are long that his personal appearances here and his $25,000 advertising campaign on radio and television and in newspapers will win him many delegates and a core victory for "uncommitted" on the preference line of the Rhode Island ballot.

Jackson Is Taking On Role Of a Potential Kingmaker

Noncampaigning Senator, With Third Largest Delegate Total, May Free Them for Humphrey or Carter

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

CLEVELAND, May 30—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who had hoped by this stage of the campaign to hold a commanding lead in the race for the Democratic presidential nomination, finds himself instead in the lesser but potent role of potential kingmaker.

Mr. Jackson abandoned active campaigning shortly after the Pennsylvania primary on April 27. But he did not release his delegates; indeed, he has added a few more since then, and now seems likely to have the third largest total at the convention, after former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

What will he do with them? It is a question that Mr. Jackson, who will be 64 years old tomorrow, had been pondering as the active candidates marched through Michigan and Maryland to Oregon and now here to Ohio. According to those closest to him, he has yet to reach a decision.

No Stop-Carter Move

His campaign manager, Robert Keefe, has given some advice to the stop-Carter forces. But the Senator has made it plain that he will take no active part in the movement, even though Mr. Carter's success in usurping the Democratic center, more than anything else, ended Mr. Jackson's Presidential hopes.

"He played the role of the heavy at Miami Beach in 1972 against [Senator George] McGovern," one of Mr. Jackson's friends said, "and he has a strong hangover of negative feelings from then. You won't see him doing anything like that again."

Mr. Jackson has been a colleague of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota for decades, and it is entirely possible, sources close to him said, that he will simply hold on to his delegates and, if the opportunity develops, attempt to deliver them to Mr. Humphrey.

Could Pick Carter

But there is a chance that the Washington Senator might choose Mr. Carter, according to one of his staunchest supporters.

"Those of us who are semi-hard-liners on communism, the old-line liberals and the labor people," the supporter commented, "feel that Humphrey has gone softer and softer on the foreign policy issues that matter to us.

"Carter hasn't wooed the left as passionately as Humphrey has. Scoop knows that, and he appreciates it."

In addition, Senator Jackson and many of his backers were embittered by Mr. Humphrey's tactics in Pennsylvania. The Minnesota Senator flew to Pittsburgh at a crucial point in the campaign to make a speech to a labor gathering, which gave him a rousing reception, and from that point on, Mr. Jackson had to struggle against daily depictions of himself as a stalking horse for Mr. Humphrey.

are not, and those in Florida and Wisconsin are bound only if he gets at least one-third of the vote.

Since Mr. Carter is expected to have between 1,100 and 1,250 delegates of his own following the final primaries on June 8, Mr. Jackson's 249, or a substantial majority of them, would put him within easy striking distance of the 1,505 that constitute a convention majority.

That would just about scuttle the strategy of the stop-Carter movement, so Mr. Humphrey, the most likely beneficiary of that movement, can be expected to try to prevail on his old friend to make no early move to Mr. Carter.

"There's no question that he has the quo's," Mr. Keefe commented in a telephone interview, "but Jackson has no quid's. He doesn't want the Cabinet, he doesn't want to be Vice President, he doesn't want the Court.

"All he wants to be is a Senator from Washington, and he's capable of accomplishing that without help."

Mr. Carter and Mr. Jackson have reportedly talked several times by telephone, and the Georgian has won the support of a few Jackson delegates, such as Mayor Beame of New York.

Approached Wallace

The former Georgia Governor has also approached Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama about releasing his delegates.

According to an account in this week's Time magazine, which will appear tomorrow, Mr. Wallace made no promises but is expected to release his 163 pledged delegates either just before or just after the first ballot.

Most of those delegates are Southerners, who may find it difficult to vote against Mr. Carter, the most serious Southern Presidential contender in a century, especially if the Georgian's chief opposition is Mr. Humphrey, who has never been popular in the South.

Winning the nomination with Jackson and Wallace support, however, would probably cause Mr. Carter considerable difficulties with the liberals he has courted, so far with indifferent success.

According to The New York Times tabulation, Mr. Jackson now has 249 delegates, including the following sizable blocs: New York, 103; Massachusetts, 30; Pennsylvania, 28; Washington, 24; Florida, 21; Puerto Rico, 17; Maryland, 10, and Wisconsin, 7.

Most Bound to Him

Most are bound to him by state law or party rule for at least one ballot, although those in Maryland and Washington

RHODE ISLAND GAIN SENSED BY CHURCH

Senator Stresses Record as He Seeks to Extend His Primary Victories

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

CRANSTON, R.I., May 30— Senator Frank Church, the late bloomer of this season's crop of Democratic Presidential aspirants, has the best record of any of them: He has won every primary he's entered—all three of them.

For the last three days, Mr. Church has been campaigning in Rhode Island in an effort to extend what he calls his "string of victories" on Tuesday. He feels fairly confident of winning in Montana that day, and said today that he sensed a "surge" here that reminds him of Nebraska, where he won his first primary. He has also won in Idaho, his home state, and in Oregon.

Tomorrow night, Mr. Church will fly to Ohio, and divide this last crucial week between that state and California where he hopes to run a "good second" to Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr. Both states hold primaries on June 8. About Ohio, he said this weekend, he cannot yet make a prediction, since he has barely campaigned in the state. But he is optimistic.

Here in Rhode Island, where four days of campaigning is almost time enough to shake the hands of a decent percentage of this tiny state's registered voters, Mr. Church has the endorsement—and the active invisible support—of Senator Claiborne Pell and Representative Edward Beard.

Today he also announced the "personal endorsement" of a number of officials of local unions, including the vice president of the Rhode Island Federation of Teachers and officials of the United Steelworkers of America and the barbers' union.

It is based on the premise that Jimmy Carter, the front-runner, will not win on the first ballot and that, in Mr. Church's words, "the convention is going to turn to somebody else." That is the foundation for the hopes of all of Mr. Carter's rivals, and Mr. Church, like the others, has his own reasons for feeling that he would be the most likely second ballot choice.

Thoughts on Opponents

Mr. Church said that the nomination of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who has not run in any primary, could well provoke a "dangerous backlash" against the party and Senator Church said that Morris K. Udall, who unsuccessfully implored Mr. Church to leave him a clear field against Mr. Carter in Ohio, "just hasn't been able to win in states he should have carried."

Mr. Church does not think that Senator Edward M. Kennedy will run this year. What about the chances of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California? "No," Mr. Church said firmly, adding one of his standard lines: "I don't think the American people are ready for instant Presidents."

His wife, Bethine, who is never far from his side, broke in to say: "I think the main thing is that people want to talk about the issues." But on the issues, Mr. Church's positions seem generally unremarkable except for an emphasis on the importance, even in domestic matters, of foreign relations. Mr. Church, who is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has made foreign affairs his specialty.

He has also stressed the needs of older people

Here in Rhoda Island he has talked about the need to reopen closed naval bases to reduce employment, in Nebraska he talked about wheat and in Oregon, about the environment. But what appears to be the central issue of his campaign is Mr. Church himself, his record and his experience. In a quiet way that has little to do with "charisma," Mr. Church has emphesized his own character and achievements.

He has talked about the need to restore the people's faith in its government — and about how investigations by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, of which he is chairman, have shown how little the Government has justified that faith. He has talked about curbing the growth of multinational corporations and thus stemming the losss of jobs in this country —and he is the man who led the Senate investigation of the multinationals.

He speaks earnestly and even eloquently about the importance of restoring a sense of justice and vision to this country.

Able Campaigner. He lets no hand pass unshaken, and those few who slip by are caught by his wife, who smiles and says, "I'm Mrs. Church". And the Senator can, with aplomb, share an ice cream cone or autograph a teen-ager's cast.

He has been battling a cold that today, in his first appearance at a brunch for supporters at Point Judith, made him hoarse but did not stop him from speaking.

Mr. Church maintains that those who have voted for him have been Democrats of all persuasions and that it is "my ability to coalesce" squabbling factions that is his great strength. "I'm not part of the liberal bloc, I draw from the whole spectrum of Democrats.

In Search of Jimmy Carter

ABROAD AT HOME

By Anthony Lewis

CINCINNATI — Deep inside, what moves Jimmy Carter? The question obviously troubles some thoughtful people. They worry about this outsider who has become the likely Democratic nominee. They wonder about his principles—not his views on this issue or that but his basic beliefs.

He is so calm and detached, most of the time, that one has no sense of glimpsing the inner man. But I thought something was revealed here the other day, when Mr. Carter spoke to the annual convention of the Ohio A.F.L.-C.I.O. It was a hostile audience, and he knew it, but he chose to deliver an ambitious new text.

"I have a vision of a new America," he said. "I see an America that has turned her back on scandal and corruption and official cynicism. . . . I see a government that does not spy on its citizens, that respects your dignity and your privacy and your right to be let alone. . . . I see an American foreign policy that is as consistent and generous as the American people."

A long series of "I see an America" echoed Dr. Martin Luther King's "I have a dream," but the rhetoric was not delivered in Dr. King's uplifting rhythms. Mr. Carter's voice was soft, his delivery almost flat, but he conveyed an unmistakable toughness, a determination. The same was true when, in another part of the speech, he took on those he called his critics.

"They want to preserve the status quo," he said, "to preserve politics as usual, to maintain at all costs their own entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power. They know I do not believe in business as usual or politics as usual, or a blind acceptance of the status quo."

In his words and tone it was easy to sense his ambition. But there was something deeper, I thought: Jimmy Carter really does see himself fighting entrenched power, the status quo. He resents privilege, official arrogance, unfairness. He thinks of himself as one of the outsiders, those without power in society. In short, he is an authentic modern voice of that old American strain, Populism.

That basic outlook explains many things in Mr. Carter's campaign. He talks often about the right of people on welfare to respect. In his main foreign policy speech he dwelt on human rights and racial justice. Just about every day he mentions C.I.A. and F.B.I. abuses and the war in Cambodia. I doubt that there are easy votes in those subjects. I think he mentions them because he instinctively identifies with the victims of official abuse, the poor, the disadvantaged.

Populism sounds more natural to Northern liberals in the accents of a Hubert Humphrey. In fact, it has a long history in the South, but one too often marked by rabble-rousing and racism. That may help to explain Northern suspicions. But there has always been something better in the South, waiting to find expression.

Listening to Jimmy Carter in Cincinnati, I suddenly thought of the greatest Southerner of our century. Hugo L. Black was a Southern Populist in the most profound sense, really connecting back to Jefferson. But it took a long time for people to understand that—to understand the steel in his soft voice.

Justice Black was much feared in the North when he moved from the Senate to the Supreme Court. Then, as he demonstrated his extraordinary commitment to the Constitution, Southern politicians denounced him as a renegade. But he always remained a man of the South. At the end of his life he would still say privately that Northern prejudice played a part in antagonism toward some Southern judge or politician.

In a conversation after the Cincinnati speech I asked Mr. Carter whether he had had any particular feeling about Justice Black.

"We felt a kinship with him," Mr. Carter said. "From the beginning of the civil rights debate there were some in the South who had an appreciation for Southerners like Estes Kefauver and Justice Black and Harry Truman—he was from a border state.

"It's hard for people to understand the South, even people who live there. Our leaders in the 1950's and 1960's were from the elite. We didn't have one man, one vote. Blacks couldn't vote, and even in the white population there was almost an inherent domination by the powerful. When Dr. King came along, a lot of white Southerners began to realize that there was a new freedom available for them, too."

It is understandable if people feel uneasy about Jimmy Carter as something new in their political experience. But some of the doubts seem to me to reflect unreasoning suspicion. There is, for example, the sly suggestion that Mr. Carter is like Richard Nixon. It would be hard to imagine a more contemptibly unfair comparison. Jimmy Carter is the opposite of insecure or rootless. He cares about the powerless in society—genuinely, I am convinced—because he knows who he is himself.

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Stop-Carter Movement

'Last-Gasp Operation'

By R. W. APPLE JR.

WASHINGTON (NYT) — The stop-Carter movement is alive but not particularly well in Washington.

"Movement" may be too strong a word. Certainly there is no cabal functioning here. Rather, there is a loose and shifting alliance of people who either dislike Jimmy Carter or like someone else better and know that the Georgian must be stopped short of the 1,505 delegates needed for nomination to give the other aspirants any chance.

It will not be easy, because Carter seems certain to emerge from the final primaries on June 8 with between 1,100 and 1,250 delegates, and the record of "stop" actions — against John F. Kennedy in 1960, Richard M. Nixon in 1968, George McGovern in 1972—is unimpressive.

But the effort is under way, accompanied by comments such as the following, from Alan Baron, one of the strategists, who works for Sen. McGovern: "A lot of our people see Carter as a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committed to no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman."

Carter has counterattacked, accusing his opponents in Cincinnati on Thursday of striving to "maintain at all costs their own entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power." He said his adversaries were "ganging up" on him to deny him what he had already earned.

To which Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, one of Carter's main rivals, responded Saturday with uncharacteristic acerbity, "nobody ever promised him a rose garden."

"The Carter people are clever," commented Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, another Carter opponent.

"They win in Pennsylvania and they tell you to lie down, go away, you're unpatriotic if you don't. I reject that."

He added:

"Now they want to make me feel guilty because I have a common interest with Jerry Brown and Hubert Humphrey and Frank Church in stopping Jimmy Carter. Well, I won't. If you mow your lawn and get rid of the dandelions, it makes you neighbor's look nice, too, and so much the better."

But it is not a secret meetings of the candidates of their staffs that the stop-Carter stragegy is being hammered out. Those involved are mainly operatives, not officeholders, people like Joseph F. Crangle, the former New York state Democratic chairman; Jack Quinn, a former Udall campaign manager; Mark Shields, a political consultant, and Abron. few state chairman and a governor or two have occasionally contributed an idea or manpower.

"It's an odd lot," said an official of the Democratic National Committee. "Ideologically incoherent, spotty in its power base, a last-gasp trench operation."

"I'm not impressed," said a politician who has managed national campaigns. "except for a few of them, they don't know how to get to Capitol Hill from downtown."

Crangle began a draft-Humphrey committee earlier this month, along with Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois. Much of its strategy was planned in two meetings with Baron and others — the first on the morning of May 18, just before the Michigan and Maryland primaries, the other at Baron's house on the evening of May 25, while the returns from six more primaries came in.

Operating out of offices at 1030 15th St. in Washington, the committee will begin on Tuesday making systema telephone calls to uncomm ted delegates and those co mitted to inactive candidat urging them to stand fast.

"There's no war room v a field marshal telling wh candidate where to go," Cr gle said in an interview. "I it's obviously been our pr ise from the start that so of the active candidates wo have to beat Carter in so primaries for our strategy work."

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Sen. Edward M. Kennedy Massachusetts has a more equivocal relationship to the stop-Carter movement. He has made no secret, among his friends, of his dislike for Carter's stands on such issues as national health insurance. Last week, he denied a report in the New York Daily News that he was available for a draft, but he made no effort to forestall the publication of the report, which, according to one source, originated with Crangle.

"No, he isn't available," said one of Kennedy's confidantes. "Yes, he was willing to do his part to slow Carter down, perhaps to force him to address the issues more directly."

The report had enough impact, especially after Humphrey and Kennedy engaged in a mutual admiration act in Minneapolis on Thursday night, to persuade some liberals that they should keep their distance from Carter.

One liberal labor leader, who supports Carter, worried aloud Friday that liberals would ultimately force Carter to turn to Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington or Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama for the delegates needed to put him over the top, with dire consequences for liberal goals.

The Crangle operation has only tenuous links to the active candidates, who, after beating Carter five times in the last six heavily contested primaries by taking him on one at a time, have suddenly abandoned that strategy.

"It's a sign of weakness in ABC (Anyone But Carter)" commented an anti-Carter state chairman. "Church should have stayed out of Ohio, because Udall was there first, but he didn't. Brown should have stayed out of Rhode Island, beoause Church was on the ballot, but he didn't."

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Carter Boyhood Not Really Poor

It is entirely predictable that if Jimmy Carter becomes president the country will magnify the romantic fable, now being spun by the Carter campaign, that he is a salt-of-the-earth farmer who fulfills the American dream that a poor boy can grow up to be president.

MERRINER

It is predictable because exactly the same thing was done with Presidents Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson. Like Carter, they had rural boyhoods.

When Truman died we were treated to obituaries relating how he grew up with the Missouri soil between his toes but later walked with kings and prime ministers. And so forth.

Actually, Carter, Truman and Johnson all emerged from what was the upper middle class of their time and place.

They were poor by today's standards, but not by theirs.

The Carters suffered the privations of the Depression, but they were the reigning family of the Plains, Ga. area, accustomed to deferential treatment from blacks and whites alike. Earl Carter, the candidate's father, served in the General Assembly.

"I'm a farmer," the way Cater introduces himself to campaign crowds, is interesting, coming from a man who has devoted most of his adult life to getting out of Plains.

He states that he turned a profit of only $200 in his first year of trying to run the family agribusiness after resigning from the Navy. But the paper profit would seem misleading because "Miz Lillian," Cater's mother, said the business actually had an uncollected $90,000 owed to it that year.

Carter often says he will be the first farmer since Jefferson to occupy the White House. What about Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Dwight Eisenhower or Lyndon Johnson, who also "farmed"? Or imagine Teddy Roosevelt, the rich New Yorker who worked out West during his twenties, running for president in 1904 on the slogan, "I'm a Dakota rancher."

In Truman's case, he was the son of a prosperous farmer, mule trader and local Democratic party functionary. Despite these advantages, at the age of 33 Truman was a failure at everything except playing poker and the piano.

As a boy Truman desired a career as a professional musician, which would have been an impossible ambition in the Midwestern pioneer family of folklore living off blackberries, squirrels and catfish.

As for Johnson, who made the poor mid-Texas "caliche soil" a totem of his career, both his parents came from established, well-connected families. Lyndon's father and grandfather both served in the state legislature.

Lyndon had a network of successful relatives who secretly looked after him even when he was supposedly tramping through California as a hobo in the 192[illegible].

In the 20th century we have had a president who really was poor, who really did climb his way out of the lower middle class into the White House—but it is embarrassing to assign him his place in our cherished rags-to-riches mythology. His name is Richard Nixon.

Candidates Jockey for R.I. Votes

PROVIDENCE, R.I.(AP)—Three Democratic candidates gathered on Sunday in Rhode Island, scene of one of Tuesday's three primaries, but political action was generally slow as some candidates used the Memorial Day weekend for a short break in their campaigns.

Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California spent the day in this tiny New England state and they were joined here Sunday night by the man they want to stop, Jimmy Carter.

Carter picked up three more committed delegates Saturday in Iowa's caucuses and now has 883, far more than any other Democrat.

In addition, Time Magazine reported on Sunday that Carter has been talking with Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama about releasing his delegates, which now total 169. Time said Wallace is expected to release them just before or just after the first ballot at the convention and most are expected to go for Carter.

But Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, denied the report.

"Gov. Carter continues to feel it is not proper to solicit from candidates who are actively campaigning," Powell said. "We have said that we have and will seek and welcome support from uncommitted delegates, from candidates who are no longer active or when delegates are released."

Wallace's press secretary, Billy Joe Camp, said, "There is nothing to the report. The governor has not been negotiating with Carter. This is not the time to be thinking about that."

STOP-CARTER BLOC KEEPING UP FIGHT AGAINST THE ODDS

But Loose Alliance Shows Signs of Weakness and Lacks Key Support

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

WASHINGTON, May 29—The stop-Carter movement is alive but not particularly well in Washington.

"Movement" may be too strong a word. Certainly there is no cabal functioning here. Instead, interviews with a wide range of Democrats indicate, there is a loose and shifting alliance of people who either dislike Jimmy Carter or like someone else better and know that the former Governor of Georgia must be stopped short of the 1,505 delegates needed for nomination to give the other aspirants any chance.

It will not be easy, because Mr. Carter seems certain to emerge from the final primaries on June 8 with between 1,100 and 1,250 delegates, and the record of "stop" actions—against John F. Kennedy in 1960, Richard M. Nixon in 1968, George McGovern in 1972—is unimpressive.

But the effort is under way, accompanied by comments such as the following, from Alan Baron, one of the strategists, who works for Senator McGovern: "A lot of our people see Carter as a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committed to no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman."

Carter Counterattacks

Mr. Carter has counterattacked, accusing his opponents in Cincinnati on Thursday of striving to "maintain at all costs their own entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power." He also said his adversaries were "ganging up" on him to deny him what he had already earned.

Senator Frank Church of Idaho, one of Mr. Carter's main rivals, responded to these accusations today with uncharacteristic acerbity. "Nobody ever promised him a rose garden," Mr. Church said.

"The Carter people are clever," commented Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, another Carter opponent. "They win in Pennsylvania and they tell you to lie down, go away, you're unpatriotic if you don't. I rejected that." He added:

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Continued on Page 23, Column 2

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1976 —

Stop-Carter Bloc Fights Despite Odds

Continued From Page 1

you mow your lawn and get rid of the dandelions, it makes your neighbor's look nice, too, and so much the better."

But it is not at secret meetings of the candidates or their staffs that the stop-Carter strategy is being hammered out. Those involved are mainly operatives, not office-holders, people like Joseph F. Crangle, the former New York state Democratic chairman; Jack Quinn, a former Udall campaign manager; Mark Shields, a political consultant, and Mr. Baron. A few state chairman and a governor or two have occasionally contributed an idea or manpower.

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Strategy Meetings

Mr. Crangle began a draft-Humphrey committee earlier this month, along with Representative Paul Simon of Illinois. Much om its strategy was planned in two meetings with Mr. Baron and others—the first on May 18, the day the Michigan and Maryland primaries were held, and the other at Mr. Baron's house last Tuesday night, while the returns from six more primaries came in.

Operating out of offices at 1030 15th Street in Washington, the committee will begin making telephone calls this Tuesday to uncommitted delegates and those committed to inactive candidates, urging them to stand fast. It will also plan convention operations and send surrogates to talk to state conventions and to delegation meetings after June 8.

There's no war room with a field marshal telling which candidate where to go," Mr. Crangle said in an interview. "But it's obviously been our premise from the start that some of the active candidates would have to beat Carter in some primaries for our strategy to work."

Mr. Humphrey has winked broadly at this operation, while withholding from it his official endorsement.

Kennedy Role Uncertain

Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts has a more equivocal relationship to the top Carter movement. He has made no secret, among his friends, of his dislike for Mr. Carter's stands on such issues a national health insurance. Last week, he denied a report in The New York Daily News that he was available for a draft, but he made no effort to forestall publication of the report, which according to one source, originated with Mr. Crangel.

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'A Sighn of Weakness'

"It's a sign of weakness in ABC [Anyone But Carter]," commented an anti-Carter state uhairman. "Church should have stayed out of Ohio, because Udall was there first, but he didn't. Brown should have stayed out of Rhode Island, because Church was on the ballot, but he didn't."

"And it makes no sense for the uncommitted slate in New Jersey to support both Brown and Humphrey," the state chairman added. "That just confuses the voters."

Mr. Udall, who pulled out of the Nebraska and Oregon primaries to give Senator Church a clear field, and who is avoiding California, has played the "stop" game by the rules, and he resents Mr. Church's decision to compete with him in Ohio.

"I don't want him in Ohio, and I think everyone on God's earth knows it," Mr. Udall said of Mr. Church. "I would hope he could seeee eethe logic of that."

But, despite discussions between Hnry Kimmelman, a fund-raiser for Senator Church, and Stewart Udall, Representative Udall's brother, who are business partners, Mr. Church committed himeslf to Ohio yesterday by beginning the purchase of $50,000 for radio and television advertisements.

"We have to display some strength in a large Northern industrial state," said Carl Burke, Mr. Church's campaign manager, "and Ohio is the only one available to us."

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California reportedly offered to spend four days and $250,000 in New Jersey if state Senator James P. Dugan, the state Democratic chairman and leader of the uncommitted slate, swung it behind him. Instead, at a meeting on Wdnesday night, the slate endorsed both Mr. Brown and Senator Humphrey, leaving the California Governor dissatisfied.

Campaigning in Rhode Island today, Mr. Brown Governor was asked what he planned to do in New Jersey. "That's open," he replied. And he was later overheard saying of Mr. Humphrey, "He's got to back off there, because he's muddying the waters."

In at least three respects, stopping Mr. Carter is expected to be harder than stopping Mr. McGovern in 1972.

First, even Mr. Carter's opponents believe that he would probably run a strong race in November, whereas most of Mr. McGovern's opponents were persuaded all along that his campaign would be the debacle that it turned out to be. Many Democrats are reluctant to blondy a possible winner.

Second, the stop-Carter forces have been unable to recrult a number ofkey leaders who influence large blocs of delegates. Neither Governor Wallace nor Senator Jackson, with almost 500 between them, is taking any part in the movement. Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, who is reportedly eager to deliver the decisive 100 votes to Mr. Carter, is not taking part, either, nor is George Meany, the president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Labor Insider Quoted

In the June 5 New Republic, Ken Bode quotes a labor insider on Mr. Meany's refusal to take part in a stop Carter action: "He's not Meany's first choice or even his second. But Carter is not sufficiently unacceptable."

Third, the stop-Carter forces have no mechanism fo rreducing Mr. Carter's delegate total as the stop-McGovern forces tried to do with the California challenge in 1972. Mr. Bode an expert on credentials and procedures, believes it might be possible to challenge Mr. Carter's big delegate hauls in Texas and Georgia, where a loophole in party rules was used to escape proportional representation, but no challenge is being prepared.

Poll Shows Carter Is Still Front-Runner

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia holds a substantial lead over both President Ford and former Gov. Ronald Reagan, of California in the latest trial P GSi en ial election survey, according to the Gallup Poll.

The survey results indicated that at Eresent Mr. Carter would lead President Ford 52 to 40 percent with 8 per cent undecided in a Presidential election and that the Georgia Democrat would lead Mr. Reagan 55 to 37 percent, with 8 percent undecided.

The survey, taken from May 21 to 23, indicated that voter sentiment had changed little since the beginning of the m nth when Mr. Carter led Mr. Ford 52 to 43 Percent WitH 5 Percent undecided, according to a poll taken from April 30 to May 3.

The latest survey also showed saver l strengths and weaknesses of the three contenders.

Both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan suffarsd from Republican defections to Mr. Carter, who got nearly one-fourth of the Republican. votes in the poll.

Fewer fo rReagan .

Among voters with a college education, Mr. Ford and Mr. trailed the Georgian by 2 to 1.

The California Republican was behind Mr. Carter in all regions of the country except the West, where the two showed equal strength, according to the survey.

The poll indicated a similar pattern of voter popularity in a Ford-Carter race, in which the two would split the vote in the President's native Middle West, but Mr. Carter would lead in every other region.

This was the question asked of the 1,001 registered voters in the survey: "Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Jimmy Carter were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?" The same question was also asked with Mr. Reagan as the Republican candidate.

Carter split the vote, but Mr. Reagan drew fewer of these votes than did Mr. Carter.

Likewise, among voters between 18 and 29, Mr. Ford and aabout equally, but Mr. Reagan

Changed Their Minds

Louis Harris, the pollster, says 5 to 10 percent of the people who said they would vote forJimmyCarter in their state Presidential primaries changed their minds when it came time to cast ballots, according to The Associated Press. He said unpublished polls, conducted for the other candidates, had shown the same phenomenon.

Mr. Harris said that should the trend continue and should Mr. Carter become the Democratic nominee, the polls would have to adjust their estimates of his strength or they would be wrong in November.

CALIFORNIA VOTE HOLDS BIG PRIZES

Reagan and Brown, Home Starters, Aim for Major Gains on June 8

By WALLACE TURNER
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 29—The political tides seem to run in favor of the home towners as the wave of Presidential primaries crests in California June 8.

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan looks to the winner-take-all Republican primary for the 167 delegates that could give him a commanding lead at the Republican National Convention.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. hopes for a big enough bite when the Democratic delegation of 280 is divided to give him a strong position at New York six weeks from now.

Senator Frank Church, a Westerner from Idaho, went to college at Stanford University and can be expected to talk about it as he chases votes up and down the state.

But the third Democratic candidate who will be active here, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, and the other Republican candidate, President Ford, a former Michigan Congressman, have no California ties.

Those local relationships are of more than usual importance here, for this is an extremely complex place, where the subtleties sometimes escape even the seasoned campaigner.

There are more than 21 million people living in the state now. About 8.5 million of them have jobs; 900,000 are unemployed. This population is clustered in urban complexes—as with 7 million living around this city, and 4.5 million around San Francisco.

For a quarter-century, the pattern here has been for fields and orchards and even vineyards to disappear under the gradually spreading carpet of real estate developments.

The inner cities of Oakland, San Francisco and Los Angeles have changed radically in those years as the middle class moved to the surburbs—Orange County, Walnut Creek, the San Francisco Peninsula and so forth.

This immense physical change was accompanied by sociological change that has been at the root of some of the most startling developments in American life.

The litany of "first" developments that came out of California to sweep the country has been repeated endlessly—student revolt that began at Berkeley, black militance with the Black Panthers, senseless mass murder by such as Charles M. Manson's group and others, the Sexual Freedom League of a decade ago in Berkeley—all were on those lists.

A year or so ago, editors began to commission articles that suggested that California was calming, as a volcano cools after eruption. Then two women, one a Manson follower, the other a former Federal Bureau of Investigation informant, tried to shoot President Ford in separate incidents. Patricia Hearst was tried and convicted of bank robbery committed with the radicals who had kidnapped her.

This is a big place. The topography is awesome. It is about 780 miles from Tijuana, Mexico, to the Oregon border. A great deal of the 156,895 square miles of California is rugged mountain.

A lot of it once was desert, and still is, but thousands of acres are under irrigation with water that fell as snow and rain in the damp northern counties and has been moved hundreds of miles in a state-financed system of canals to the desert country.

The agricultural labor force has been one of the causes of social friction, for the "factories in the field" have been built on cheap labor by immigrants. Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers built national support for boycotts to attempt to organize field workers, only to be supplanted in many areas by the teamsters' union.

Agricultural Law Moribund

Governor Brown points proudly to all Agricultural Labor Relations Act passed with his administration's leadership, but his critics point out that the law is moribund because the Governor has not been able to get the Legislature to renew financing.

The conflict over the farm labor bill involves an industry in which total employment is 256,000. But there are 1.7 million Federal, state and local employees in California.

There is no state law providing special union protections for state employees, although at one time Governor Brown spoke favorably of legislation to provide for collective bargaining for public workers.

Labor's position historically has been strongest in northern California, while in the southern California counties there still are many nonunion enterprises.

So when public employees in San Francisco struck the city, curtailing many functions, such as public transit, it was assumed that members of other unions would support the strike. They did not.

It is unclear to most observers what the effect of this strike loss will be in the long run on labor's strong influence on political life here. That influence was in part constructed on labor's ability to give big contributions at campaign time.

But a campaign reform law adopted in a statewde vote in 1974 has had a deep effect on that ability to, in effect, buy into a campaign and then dominate it. The state continues to change quickly so that today's truisms are tomorrow's mistakes.

There will be 8.24 million registered voters for the primary. About 57 percent are Democrats and 36.4 percent are Republicans.

The state has no firm records on numbers of black and Chicano voters. Activists in both groups have estimated that there are 600,000 registered blacks, and 700,000 to 900,000 registered Mexican-American voters.

The state has printed 515,000 voter pamphlets in Spanish and English for distribution in 38 of the 58 counties. There also are 25,000 voter pamphlets in Chinese, which will be distributed only in San Francisco.

No major state offices are at issue, but Senator John V. Tunney, a Democrat, is running for re-election this year. In the Democratic primary his chief opponent is Tom Hayden, the one-time campus radical leader.

On the Republican side of that race, the leader seems to be S.I. Hayakawa, the semanticist who was president of San Francisco State College during a student revolt eight years ago.

The Presidential primary campaigning will dominate political thought here in the next week. Mr. Reagan is thought by most oberver to enter this final drive with a substantial margin over President Ford.

Despite the fact that he was a film actor and television personality with no previous political experience. Mr. Reagan managed in 1966 to win the governorship from Edmund G. Brown, father of the present Governor, and then to hold onto it by a comfortable margin in 1970 against Jess M. Unruh, one of the most influential Democrats here in the 1960's.

Mr. Reagan did this by a combination of the same qualities that have enabled him to mount a credible challenge to sitting President of his own party—an attractive and compelling speaking style that is used to articulate a political and economic philosophy that is anti-Washington.

Governor Brown, meantime, has in 17 months in office articulated his own brand of anti-government philosophy, which together with hometown advantages has given him a lead over Mr. Carter and Senator Church, as the stretch drive begins.

A Single-Minded Band

Runs the Carter Drive

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 29—Dr. Peter Bourne, the British-born psychiatrist who runs Jimmy Carter's campaign outpost here, still thinks of himself as a "latecomer" in the inner circle of Carter confidants because he has been in the group for only five years.

"Everyone else I regard as close to Jimmy was there prior to me," Dr. Bourne observed the other day, speaking of the half-dozen or so mostly rural Georgians who made the long march with Jimmy Carter from the political wilderness toward the Democratic Presidential nomination.

There are family kinds of connections among them—literally in the bond between Mr. Carter and his wife of 30 years, Rosalynn Smith Carter, who may well be his most persuasive political adviser. Many friends see a father-son relationship between the 51-year-old Mr. Carter and his two closest aides: Hamilton Jordan, 31, his visionary strategist and campaign manager, and Jody Powell, 32, his traveling press secretary.

A Lawyer Coach

Some see a son-father relationship between the candidate and Charles Kirbo, a superficially rustic South Georgia lawyer who pressed Mr. Carter's claim against ballot fraud in his first race for the State Senate in 1962, and who has been coaching him at political chess games ever since. At 59, Mr. Kirbo is the eldest member of the Carter circle and the only man, it is said, to whom Jimmy Carter defers in group meetings.

Far from expanding in success, the knot of old Carter associates is tighter now than ever, all the more so, Dr. Bourne believes, because of the hazards disclosed in the case of Robert Shrum. Mr. Shrum, in 1972 the chief speech writer in turn for Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, joined the Carter inner circle in the Pennsylvania primary campaign but bolted 10 days later with a public warning that Mr. Carter was not what he seemed.

The problem, Dr. Bourne said, was that Mr. Shrum had his own ideology, had not demonstrated his loyalty over time, and was drawn less by Jimmy Carter than by the chance of helping a winner.

"To take somebody like that and bring him in close runs just that sort of risk," Dr. Bourne commented.

Not Newcomers

"The campaign's reached a point now," he went on, "where anybody who comes has to be coming in an opportunistic sort of way. The time has passed for the person who's coming purely out of commitment."

It is not, Dr. Bourne and others say, that they mean to be exclusive. But as Hamilton Jordan explained in an interview when asked whether Patrick J. Caddell, the campaign pollster for the last 6 months, was "close" to the center of things, "Pat's getting close, but it's not easy to come into a set of relationships that are eight or 10 years old."

By all accounts Jerry Rafshoon, 42, an Atlanta advertising man, is "close" to Mr. Carter and to all strategic planning, not simply to the design of television commercials.

Three other men are sometimes pictured as the outer rim of the inner circle: Robert Lipshutz, a 54-year-old Atlanta lawyer who serves as treasurer and controller of the campaign; Frank Moore, 40, briefy Mr. Carter's executive secretary in the Governor's office and a campaign jack-of-all-trades, and Landon Butler, 34, a Harvard Business School graduate who did economic planning for the state of Georgia and backs up Mr. Jordan as the "political director" of the Presidential campaign.

'Band of Brothers'

That completes the list of what Carter insiders themselves seem to think of as the board of directors, the "band of brothers," the people with wide authority and the most relaxed access to the candidate.

But for Dr. Bourne they are all Georgians, born or adopted, whose country drawls helped disarm many better known and more cosmopolitan professionals as well as a host of political reporters. All newcomers to national politics, they have served to underline the lesson of John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign, confirmed in the McGovern campaign of 1972, that the most effective tacticians tend to be inspired novices. But there are striking differences in the Carter circle at large.

Not only do they share a single-minded interest in Jimmy Carter; most of them felt no call to politics before they met him, and many of them even now cannot imagine being in politics with anyone else.

"It's a one-shot kind of deal for me," said Mr. Jordan, who, except for a stint in Vietnam with the International Voluntary Service in 1967 and 1968 has worked for Mr. Carter all his adult life. "It's Jimmy Carter, and I think Jody feels the same way. My commitment to politics is a commitment to Jimmy Carter. I'm not going to run for office; I couldn't spend my life running campaigns."

Mr. Jordan, whose universal greeting is "Hey, good buddy," has a relaxed air about him, the face of a well-fed cherub and a certain slick rascality in his conversation. Because Jimmy Carter gets chided in some quarters for too lofty a moral tone, Mr. Jordan says he and Jody Powell in their travels try to restore a sensible average to the campaign.

One of their privately celebrated exploits on the candidate's behalf involved plying the then press secretary of the Democratic National Committee with liquor one summer evening in 1974 and then rewriting his announcement of Mr. Carter's supposedly nominal role as national director in the off-year campaigns.

"We just expanded the assignment a little bit," Mr. Jordan says, savoring the prank that gave Mr. Carter a quiet dry run through national politics two years ago.

Mr. Jordan seems typical of the campaign circle in his sense of Election Day as the end, not the beginning, of the Carter adventure—and in his baffled retreat from questions about his role in a Carter Administration.

"I haven't any idea," he said. "I'd just want to help for a little while. I've never thought about it much—or talked about it to Jimmy."

Charles Kirbo, who left Bainbridge, Ga., to become a partner in Kind & Spaulding, one of Atlanta's most respected law firms, insists he would not consider moving to Washington if Mr. Carter won the Presidency. He speaks with uncommon assurance on that point as the man who rejected then Governor's Carter's offer of an appointment to the Senate when Senator Richard B. Russell died in 1971.

Even Jody Powell, another quick, tough South Georgia farm boy whose life and personality have seemed to fuse with Mr. Carter's in their six years together, is unsure about what follows the campaign.

"I don't honestly have any particular desire to be part of an Administration," he said the other day.

Mr. Jordan never learned to handle administrative detail, it appears, but he managed to shift it, in several neat compartments, to others. The Carter campaign today is remarkably decentralized, reflecting the candidate's self-restraint as much as Mr. Jordan's.

Doesn't Plan Schedule

Mr. Carter does not plan his own travel schedule and does not generally know where he is going until Atlanta headquarters tells him. His television commercials had been on the air for three months before he saw them, almost by accident, at a fund-raising meeting in April.

Discovering critical decisions and other individual influences of the Carter advisers is more of a puzzle than in many campaigns, for two reasons.

First, Mr. Carter himself has shaped the campaign to an extraordinary degree, from its basic strategy (running early and running everywhere) to its telegenic smile, from its evangelical and anti-bureaucratic "issues" through the many turns of tactical rhetoric.

Second, while it took the rest of the political world by surprise, the week-by-week evolution of the campaign has looked to insiders like the methodical progress of a daring but simple plan that is almost four years old. In that sense, there have been few critical decisions in the Carter campaign since the end of 1972; and in the same

sense, the important relationships within the Carter circle were defined long before the public campaign took flight.

When It Began

Esteem inside the circle has a lot to do with the moment at which different individuals hailed the Presidential idea.

Dr. Bourne, now 36 years old, a medical graduate of Emory University in Atlanta who had been drawn into Georgia statehouse politics while organizing community mental health centers around the state, was evidently the first to put the idea in writing.

"I hope you will consider it and I think you can win," he wrote Mr. Carter on July 25, 1972, on his return from the Democratic National Convention that had just nominated Senator McGovern in Miami Beach.

It was Hamilton Jordan who opened a meeting at the Governor's mansion in September 1972 with the line, "Governor, we've come to tell you what you're going to do about your future."

He then proceeded to compose a 10,000-word plan of attack, an outline not only of political realities but of the Machiavellian flexibility that Mr. Carter as a candidate would have to adopt.

Jerry Rafshoon had already submitted his plan for "building the national image." Then year 1975, for example, was to be devoted to Phase Three: "Carter as a heavyweight thinker and leader in the party (developed in Phases One and Two) who has some ideas for running the country and is going around the country talking about them and may have Presidential ambitions."

Then and later, Charles Kirbo "made us all slow down and think things through," Hamilton Jordan says.

"If Jimmy Carter were running against Charlie Kirbo," Mr. Jordan adds, "I'd vote for Charlie."

The most important thing about the strategic plan, Mr. Kirbo said, was that it have its own integrity, regardless of imponderables like the sequence of primaries and the field of opposition candidates. That implied the decision to run an all-out national campaign; yet the seminal idea of running everywhere, Mr. Kirbo insists, belonged originally to Mr. Carter.

Jody Powell, oddly enough, had the strongest reservations in 1972 because he thought that rumors of Mr. Carter's ambition would ruin his difficult relations with the Georgia Legislature. Even then, however, Mr. Powell was regarded as the closest thing to a Carter alter ego, having spent most of the year before the 1970 governorship election driving the candidate through most of the back roads of Georgia.

Mr. Powell is one of several in the Carter inner circle to volunteer that Jimmy Carter in 1976 might have done as well without them. The sidesiders, by that light, may be outsiders, too.

Legal, Normal Politics Is Continual Back-Scratching

By FRANK LYNN

The political scientist Harold Lasswell once defined politics as "who gets what, when and how;" the political practitioner George Washington Plunkitt said he would accept as his epitaph, "He seen his opportunities and he took 'em."

Neither time nor the intentions of politicians has changed much. A modern successor of Plunkitt of Tammany Hall, Democratic State Chairman Patrick J. Cunningham, was accused last week with, in effect, crossing Plunkitt's exquisitely fine line between "honest and dishonest graft."

Many politicians will admit in private that influence peddling, backscratching and cronyism often take precedence over the merits of an issue or an appointment. When that happens, the public good may still be served, but only coincidentally. Mr. Cunningham is legally innocent unless a jury declares him guilty; but it is clear now that there is a lot of traditional activity on the legal side of Mr. Plunkitt's line. Some examples:

• Top aides of President Ford changed their minds about closing down part of Griffis Air Force Base in upstate New York, with the prospect of the loss of 1,294 jobs, after Republican Representative Donald J. Mitchell, whose district includes the base, switched his vote on an emergency job bill. Mr. Mitchell conceded that he had discussed his vote and the base closing with Presidential aides; he denies he was trading his vote.

• Bernard Bergman, the nursing home operator, had bipartisan entrée to the highest councils of the state government through his influence with top aides of Governor Rockefeller and the Democratic leadership of the Assembly. Mr. Bergman in turn provided entrée to Jewish philanthropic circles for some of these politicians. At least one of them received a legal fee from Mr. Bergman; others received campaign contributions.

• The Stavisky Bill, which limits education cuts in the city budget, was approved by the Legislature despite a gubernatorial veto because the United Federation of Teachers, which contributes heavily to legislators' campaigns, lobbied for the measure. Many legislators openly admitted they were dubious about the wisdom of the bill.

• The contractor looking for friends in government might start at the Grand Brokerage Insurance Agency on Broadway, a few blocks south of City Hall, for his insurance. Meade H. Esposito, the Brooklyn Democratic leader and friend of Mayor Beame, is a partner in the agency. Until last year, another partner was the Assembly's top Democrat, Speaker Stanley Steingut, also a long-time intimate friend of the Mayor.

• Banks, railroads, utilities—even the Kidney Foundation of Genesee Valley Inc.—find it wise to hire lobbyists to advance "friendly" bills or kill "unfriendly" ones in Albany and Washington. The merits of the lobbyist's arguments are presumably enhanced when he is Joseph F. Carlino, a former majority leader; Victor F. Condello, a former New York City legislative representative, or Thomas J. Mackell, a former district attorney and state Senator. All are at least honorary members of The Club in Albany.

The Club is open to former members in other ways. Assembly Majority Leader John E. Kingston of Nassau County was defeated for re-election in 1974 at least partly because he had been indicted for violations of the election law, an indictment that was later dismissed. Mr. Kingston was put on the State Senate payroll, receiving $20,000 for a part-time job. Other defeated legislators are given "seldom-show" posts to maintain their state pensions. Even Rockefeller administration refugees are still tucked away in obscure state commissions under Governor Carey to maintain their pension rights.

• Democrats planning a $500-a-person dinner-dance Tuesday evening at the Waldorf Astoria are boasting that they have attracted many Republican businessmen and bankers who will help reduce the nearly $2 million debt still left over from Governor Carey's 1975 campaign. It is a reasonable conclusion that the Republican bankers are saying thank you for present or future business, and not merely showing their devotion to financing the democratic process.

• Stephen Gottlieb, a West Side Democrat, once threatened to challenge then Senate Minority Leader Joseph Zaretzki in a primary. Governor Rockefeller liked Mr. Zaretzki and worked closely with him—too closely, many Democrats said. Mr. Rockefeller appointed Mr. Gottlieb to a seldom-show job on the State Liquor Authority. Mr. Gottlieb dropped his primary challenge.

• Mr. Cunningham himself knows the normal uses of political position. He was hired as counsel to the New York Yankees and managed to convince city officials they should spend up to $100 million to rehabilitate Yankee Stadium. Mr. Cunningham is Bronx Democratic chairman with easy access to City Hall; his law firm represented a company that took over the Bronx Terminal Market from the city in what some contend was a "sweetheart" contract highly favorable to the Cunningham client.

• Appointments to the Carey and Beame Administrations, as well as to those of their Republican predecessors, almost invariably went to campaign workers or to those recommended by county leaders. The new chairman of the State Thruway Authority, Gerard Cummins, was the Carey campaign manager. The new chairman of the State Tax Commission, James H. Tully, was the Carey campaign treasurer.

During campaigns and afterwards, political leaders make statements on public policy with varying degrees of wisdom, and sometimes show the leadership to make those policies law. That is part of the political process.

But the backscratching and favor trading is not the imagining of a cynical public or the creation of an overzealous press. It, too, is part of the process and, as the bureaucrats say, it is ongoing.

Frank Lynn is a political reporter for The New York Times.

The Deceptive Primary Results

The results of the voting in six states last week illustrated a persistent theme of the primary election season: appearances can be deceiving.

On the Democratic side, Jimmy Carter seemed to suffer a serious setback, for a frontrunner, by losing in three states, yet his wide lead in the delegate count remained essentially unimpaired. In the Republican contest, President Ford seemed to continue his recovery from a series of serious defeats by Ronald Reagan, yet he and the former California Governor remained so close in delegate totals that a convention struggle for the nomination remains almost certain.

The voting also illustrated another persistent primary theme: that one week's results merely emphasize the importance of the next major contest. In this case, it is the set of primaries, the last of the 1976 campaign, to be held on June 8 in three major states, California, Ohio and New Jersey.

The Delegate Count*

REPUBLICANS—
Needed to nominate: 1,130

Ford	771
Reagan	643
Uncommitted	148

DEMOCRATS—
Needed to nominate: 1,505

Carter	879
Udall	298½
Jackson	249
Wallace	163
Stevenson	86
Humphrey	67½
Church	48
Brown	17½
Others	32
Uncommitted	386½

*All figures are unofficial totals
**Favorite son in Illinois

President Ford, who began his recovery in Michigan two weeks ago, lost half of last week's primaries, in Arkansas, Idaho and Nevada. But Mr. Ford's advisers had feared that Mr. Reagan might strike a crippling blow by winning five out of six. Two of Mr. Ford's victories, moreover, were especially persuasive, albeit narrow, because they were in Kentucky and Tennessee, where Mr. Reagan had been thought to have strong support. The President won, as expected, in liberal Oregon.

Mr. Ford now has 771 delegates out of the 1,130 needed for nomination; Mr. Reagan has 643. A struggle at the convention is inevitable unless Mr. Ford can beat the former California governor in his home state in the winner-take-all primary for Republicans. Right now, Mr. Reagan is considered the favorite there.

In the Democratic primaries, Mr. Carter, the ex-governor of Georgia, won overwhelmingly in Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, but lost in three Western states to Western candidates. Oregon and Idaho were won by Idaho Senator Frank Church, and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. finished first in Nevada: Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the last of Mr. Carter's original opponents, finished in third place or worse in the five primaries he had entered but was carrying on in hopes of becoming the choice of a deadlocked convention.

Governor Brown and Senator Church have done remarkably well in the few weeks since they entered the race, winning two and three victories respectively against Mr. Carter. In Oregon, Mr. Brown ran one of the most snccessful write-in campaigns of any Presidential primary, winning 22 percent of the vote. Their two candidates' success may be partially a product of their "freshness" as late entrants or their appeal as regional favorites; Mr. Carter has also shown the greatest strength in his native region.

The cumulative effect of Mr. Carter's losses to Mr. Brown and Mr. Church and of a too-narrow victory over Mr. Udall in Michigan two weeks ago has been to hinder Mr. Carter's search for delegates in state caucuses. Last week, he received only 28 instead of his hoped-for 40 or 50 in Missouri and also gathered fewer than expected in Virginia.

Nevertheless, Mr. Carter already has 879 delegates, compared to less than 300 for Mr. Udall, his nearest competitor. When the state caucuses are completed, Mr. Carter is likely to hold 1,000 delegates; he is also expected to add about 200 more in the June 8 elections. A candidate with 1,200 of the 1,505 delegate votes needed for nomination at the Democratic convention in July is in an extremely strong position to bargain for the remaining delegates. One source of that strength is the general awareness that to deny him the nomination is to invite turmoil in the party. So far, all "stop-Carter" efforts have failed to coalesce around a single opponent. Last week he won by wide margins in Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee.

The Nation / Continued

Carter as Southerner Is A Pioneer . . .

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

WASHINGTON—Sixteen years ago this fall, John F. Kennedy destroyed one of the shibboleths of American politics, that a Roman Catholic could not be elected President. So completely did he erase the memory of Alfred E. Smith's disastrous 1924 defeat that in every Democratic primary campaign since then, at least one of the contenders has been Catholic.

As early as 1955, Mr. Kennedy and his advisers had concluded that a Catholic base could help rather than hurt a Presidential aspirant. As early as 1973, Jimmy Carter of Georgia reached the same conclusion about a Southern base. Mr. Carter was flying in the face of revealed political wisdom as surely as Mr. Kennedy. No Southerner who was not an incumbent—a qualification needed to exclude Lyndon B. Johnson, who inherited the job and proceeded to portray himself more as a Westerner than a Southerner—has been elected since the Civil War. None has been nominated by a major party. Few have even contended for the nomination: John Nance Garner of Texas, who settled for the Vice Presidency; Richard B. Russell of Georgia, a perennial regional favorite, and Estes Kefauver of Tennessee are among the relative handful.

But Mr. Carter understood some changes that few others did. He saw the tremendous growth of the Sun Belt, which, by 1975, gave the 11 states of the Confederacy plus the four Border states 32 percent of the national population. The region has become a considerable electoral force. Indeed, of the 1,505 delegates needed this year for the Democratic Presidential nomination, more than half, 782, are from those 15 states, even though only two of the 10 biggest states are in the region.

Mr. Carter saw that Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, the accomplished vulgarian who had dominated the area's politics for more than a decade, had been rendered vulnerable by overexposure and physical paralysis; if Mr. Carter could overcome Mr. Wallace, he would achieve instant national renown and also refocus regional pride.

And Mr. Carter saw that the South was changing, not only in its own habits and concerns but also in the way it was perceived elsewhere in the nation. No longer were Al Lingo's dogs and nightsticks and the moonshine still and Senator Claghorn the operative symbols. As Southern passions like country music and stock-car racing became national passions, Northerners read of the bustling city of Atlanta and classrooms integrated more peacefully than many in the North and a new, cooler, non-racial political style.

The self-assured former governor of Georgia has made the changed circumstances work for him. He has won seven of the nine primaries in the South and the Border states, excluding the West Virginia contest, which he did not enter; he lost only in Maryland to California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. and in Alabama to Mr. Wallace. Last Tuesday, he swept through Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas. (Elsewhere, Carter has done much less well, taking eight of 14 states, including four where he had no major opposition, just enough to avoid the charge that he is a regional candidate). Already, he has assembled a block of 417 delegates in his home region, and by the time the delegate-selection process has been completed and some of the uncommitteds make their choices, he will certainly have well over 500 there, fully one-third of the total he needs for the nomination.

Mr. Kennedy did not feel compelled to confront the Catholic issue until the general election. He did so in a speech to the Houston Ministerial Association on Sept. 12, 1960, arguing that the entire nation would suffer if he lost because "forty million Americans lost their chance of being President on the day they were baptized." Mr. Carter met the question of his Southern origins head-on from the start of his campaign, in Iowa. He proclaimed in every speech that the civil-rights revolution was the best thing that had happened to the South in his lifetime, and in a television commercial filmed at Concord Bridge in Massachusetts he appealed to that state's voters to treat him as fairly as Protestant Georgia had treated Mr. Kennedy. He has faced nothing comparable to the flood of anti-Catholic literature and the organized opposition that plagued Mr. Kennedy in 1960.

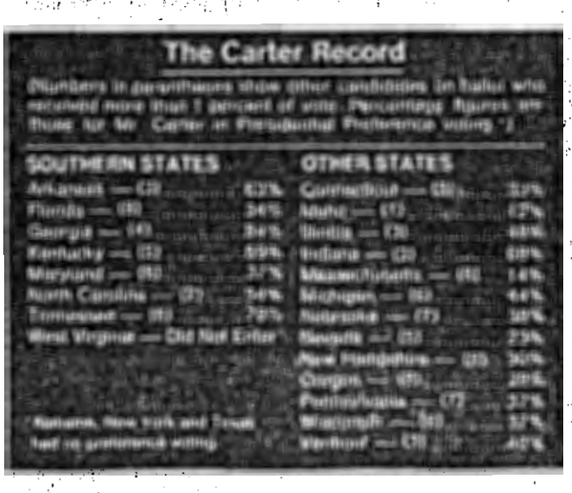
But there are signs that the Southern issue, though far less virulent than it once might have been, still lurks quietly below the surface. The influential liberals of Cambridge, Manhattan and Georgetown resist Mr. Carter for many reasons, not least for his non-ideological approach, but in their less guarded moments some betray a regional bias.

The bias extends to the Government establishment. One reason that Mr. Carter is considered more an outsider than a Midwestern or Western governor would be that he is from the South and has never been naturalized by residence in Washington. The bias extends also to many average voters, although there are no poll data to tell us how many. A typical expression of one view was voiced by a woman a few weeks ago at a Lansing, Mich., shopping center: "I really have trouble thinking of a Southerner as anything but a foreigner," she said. "I voted for Wallace, but everyone knew he wasn't going to be President. Carter might actually be *elected*."

Party hierarchies, always resistant to change, seldom reach into new pools of talent for their candidates, however compelling the electorial arithmetic. The first Irish-Americans, the first Italian-Americans, the first blacks to win major public offices had to wrest nominations from organization favorites. So it is with Mr. Carter. Robert S. Strauss, the Democratc national chairman, who is himself a Texan, wants to believe that a Southerner can win the Presidency, but he worries.

Nevertheless, Mr. Carter has begun something. Whether he is nominated or not, whether he is elected or not, the day of a Southern President is coming. Win or lose, Mr. Carter is the most serious Southern Presidential contender in 100 years; emboldened by his success, other Southern politicians will aspire to the White House, and that very fact will further transform the region's politics. The office-holder who sees the prospect of holding office beyond his region will inevitably speak to national as well as regional goals, something that few Southern politicians have felt compelled to do in decades past.

R. W. Apple Jr. is a national political correspondent for The New York Times.



...Carter as 'Man of Integrity' Is in a Classic Mold

By CHARLES MOHR

Jimmy Carter's credibility and truthfulness have become issues in the 1976 Presidential campaign because he made them so. The former Georgia Governor realized very early in the planning stage of his campaign that there was what he calls "a deep hunger" for assurance among voters shamed by Watergate, by revelations of illegality by the C.I.A. and F.B.I. and a decade of evasion and half-truths about the Vietnam war.

He was not, of course, the only politician to recognize that mood. Former Oklahoma Senator Fred R. Harris in his now defunct candidacy made a habit of answering every conceivable question bluntly—and with what appeared to be unwavering consistency — no matter what the nature or temper of his audience. Representative Morris K. Udall spoke unblushingly of his own "integrity," and was able to enlist a number of highly respected figures in public life to testify to his character. No one in fact in a once long list of Democratic Presidential hopefuls was less than serious about credibility.

Mr. Carter, however, was a particularly unknown and obscure outsider with few testimonials to offer that would have much national value. He chose boldly to promise the small audiences he began to meet in January of 1975 that he would never lie to them, mislead them or evade any issue. He made it not merely a promise but a kind of contract. If I ever do these things, he said in his always solemn manner, "don't vote for me." He went further, saying he would "rather die" than betray the trust shown him by black leaders such as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Sr. He would even withdraw from the race if it were proved that he had ever lied, Mr. Carter recently said in a televised interview.

How useful all of this was to Mr. Carter in his rapid rise to the status of front-runner is difficult to judge. It may be that his superb sense of campaign strategy and tactics and his meticulous and nearly flawless ability to plan were far more important. It seems reasonable to think, however, that his promise of unqualified personal virtue was an important factor in his success.

It also represents a serious hazard. Although it is not easy to believe Mr. Carter would really withdraw, the revelation of a substantive falsehood could be fatal to his campaign, to the extent it was perceived by the electorate. In a more immediate sense, Mr. Carter's contract has cramped and restricted his personal campaign style. It is not easy, perhaps not even plausible, for Mr. Carter to admit simple error or a mistake or an ordinary political vice such as telling one audience what it seems to want to hear and trimming those remarks for a different forum.

During the flap about his use of the words "ethnic purity," Mr. Carter told one journalist that, if he were trying to make something of it I resent it." Both resentment and the attempts to "make something" of Mr. Carter's record seem certain to continue.

At times his adversary relationship with the press (a healthy enough concept in itself) can degenerate nearly to bickering. As when exasperated reporters finally called him on his daily assertions that he had entered "all" of the primaries and had "not skipped a single state." Reminded that he had not entered West Virginia, Mr. Carter wavered at first between qualification and sticking to his original claim. Then he evolved a formula which is now found in almost every speech, saying: "There are 30 states in which you can win a committed delegate, and I am in all of them."

As a man and as a wordsmith, Mr. Carter likes absolutes and superlatives, which compounds his problem. He had "never" gone to any other politician to seek his endorsement, Mr. Carter said on April 28. It later transpired that he had done so the day before in a telephone call to Senator Birch Bayh; but Mr. Carter says they were talking about "support and confidence" and not "endorsement."

But several factors far more important than bickering are involved. There are a number of cases in which Mr. Carter's positions have undergone subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, evolution. Examples would include his positions on public service jobs and the "importance" of repealing legislation that permits states to forbid the union shop.

Toward the Mainstream

On these and a number of other issues Mr. Carter had early in the campaign taken a "moderate" or mildly conservative stance, which may have helped him win early primaries against crowded fields of orthodox liberals. As his national stature and his chances have grown, he has moved cautiously but perceptibly toward a mainstream Democratic position and that or organized labor on such questions. Such shifts are neither immoral nor amoral politically. They may, in fact, be evidence of maturity and mental flexibility. But Mr. Carter's sensitivity to any suggestion that he would act for reasons of expediency makes it difficult to acknowledge the changes at all.

Even more important is the question of character itself, which as Mr. Carter seems to suggest is perhaps central to Presidential politics this year.

This month Mr. Carter told a black church congregation that the Vietnam war had been not only a mistake unratified by the American people but had been racist in character in that the deaths of civilian men, women and children had been less regretted because their skins were yellow. It could not have happened in a European country, he said.

Mr. Carter, who has had great success with black voters, was warmly received. However, in 1971 when First Lieut. William L. Calley Jr. was convicted for murdering men, women and children in a ditch in My Lai, a storm of protest about the conviction arose in Georgia, where the trial took place. Mr. Carter never supported Lieutenant Calley directly, but he proclaimed an "American Fighting Men's Day," attacked those who he said were using "these events" to cheapen and shame servicemen and to shake the confidence of citizens in their own country. He did not condemn Lieutenant Calley, whom he called a scapegoat.

There is no reason to think that Mr. Carter, himself once a professional military officer, ever felt any sympathy for Lieutenant Calley, or that he did not, as he says now, feel "abhorrence" for the young officer.

Mr. Carter says now he acted to draw a distinction between honorable, blameless fighting men and Lieutenant Calley. The act could be read, however, as an attempt then to quiet the passions and retain the support of enraged conservatives, largely white, among Governor Carter's constituency; just as his more recent remarks could be seen as an attempt to appeal to a larger constituency today. Because motives can never be easily proved much will depend on the judgment of voters, which Mr. Carter says he respects.

Charles Mohr is a Washington-based correspondent of The New York Times.

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Udall Shows How Far Desire Can Take a Losing Candidate

By LINDA CHARLTON

"Who would have believed," Representative Morris K. Udall asks his audiences these days, that the last survivors of the gaggle of Democratic Presidential aspirants that clogged the airlines in January would be a peanut farmer and "this old basketball player?" Who, indeed? The impression is inescapable, somehow, that Mr. Udall himself wouldn't have taken odds on himself back in the snows of New Hampshire. But now, in Ohio, Mr. Udall believes.

Thus far, and it is now almost the end of the primary season, Mr. Udall has won nowhere but in his home state of Arizona. As he points out, with almost no perceptible audience reaction, he has beaten Jimmy Carter twice, coming in second to Mr. Carter's fourth place in both New York and Massachusetts. He is confident of a victory in thinly populated South Dakota on Tuesday and predicts a win in delegate-heavy Ohio on June 8.

But an Ohio victory does not seem probable, especially now that Senator Frank Church has decided to campaign heavily there. One of Mr. Udall's major problems is that there has been no liberal rush to him as the last hope, a fact he regards more with sorrow than with anger. As he says, again and again, "My problem is recognition." His name is pronounced correctly more often these days, but his outline is still vague to many voters despite the persistence of his campaign and his large collection of delegates.

The fact that he is still in the race, however, is a victory over the odds this far. Not since 1880 has the House of Representatives sent one of its members to the White House. And Mr. Udall would, without doubt, be the first divorced, one-eyed, 6-foot 5-inch former Mormon ever to become President.

He has survived an identity problem matched, in recent memory, only by that of Bill Miller in 1964. (Mr. Miller, a former Congressman and Republican National Committee official, was Barry Goldwater's running mate). He has survived the enthusiasm and inefficiency of a largely volunteer staff. He has survived money troubles that manage to be both acute and chronic. He has survived months of schedules that consider meals irrelevant and sleep a sometime thing. And he has kept his sense of humor.

While Mr. Udall does not show the outward signs of candidate-itis, that belief in one's inevitable triumph that afflicts many seekers of high office, he does hold stubbornly, in the face of questioning that has somethimes amounted to badgering, to the belief that he can win the Democratic nomination.

His scenario, which accepts Mr. Carter's strong lead in numbers of delegates, causes him to rejoice in the triumphs of others; the others include Senator Church, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. and Ronald Reagan. He sees Mr. Church's and Mr. Brown's recent defeats of Mr. Carter as weakening the "invincible" image that has served the Georgian well. As for Mr. Reagan, Mr. Udall loves to rmind audiences that not long ago, the White House and the media were administering last rites to the former governor. Mr. Udall says he sometimes "lights a candle" for Mr. Reagan.

If Mr. Udall does win Ohio, he feels he can go to the convention with "momentum" and deprive Mr. Carter of some of his. Udall strategists feel that a first-ballot victory for Mr. Carter is impossible if he loses Ohio and that Mr. Udall has a better chance than anyone else to be everyone's second-ballot compromise choice. Mr. Udall will have, as he says again and again, more delegates than anyone but Mr. Carter—although the difference will be several hundreds.

If Mr. Udall does not come through in Ohio, the scenario is less optimistic; but he still clings to the second-highest-number-of-delegates scheme.

Mr. Udall disagrees with the current conventional wisdom that there is a conservative tide running; in speech after speech, he introduces a mythical guy with a lunch-bucket who *says* that he is conservative and anti-Washington but who, it turns out, favors such "liberal" programs as a full-employment bill, national health insurance, and breaking up the big oil companies. He does not go so far as to call himself a libearl, unless directly questioned as to whether he is or isn't, but uses that grand old word, progressive, instead. "Liberal," he says, is a "worry word" this year, reminding Democrats of the catastrophe of 1972. But a liberal he is, except on gun control, where he votes his Arizona district.

He is, however, a backer of the Equal Rights Amendment and a supporter of the United States Supreme Court ruling that struck down anti-abortion laws. He says that busing is not always the preferable response to segregated schools but that if a citizen's civil rights are being violated and busing is the only remedy, then busing it must be. He supports the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill and the national health insurance proposals of Senator Edward M. Kennedy. He favors legislation to break up the major oil companies and to control multinationals. He wants tax reform. He would prune the defense budget to "lean" strength.

The unanswered question is whether Mr. Udall can put together the necessary ingredients to win the nomination. Mr. Udall says he does not need to be President in a visceral, absolute way. But he does want to be President.

Linda Charlton is a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times.

What Makes Jimmy Win?

By James Reston

FIERY RUN, Va., May 29—The most interesting thing about the Presidential election is that so many people in this secularized and largely agnostic country have given their votes to a devout evangelical Southern Baptist.

This hasn't happened because Governor Carter is an elegant preacher like Woodrow Wilson, with a compelling vision of the future. He does not have the muscular vigor of President Ford, or the theatrical charm of Ronald Reagan, or the youthful good looks of Governor Brown. He is, on the whole, a pleasant, intelligent, courteous, hopeful and determined man, but no more so than many others, like Governor Askew of Florida, who might have come forward.

What, then, explains his success? I believe it is that he has come along at a time of reaction against the pessimism and moral anarchy of the present age, when so many people are depressed by the histry of the past decade, and perplexed by the consequences of their own lack of personal faith. represents. And this is not merely the their strongest base.

It might have been supposed that so liberated and even defiant a generation would have rejected Mr. Carter precisely because he gives public witness to his religious convictions—and of course, many people do. Quite a few people regard him as a throwback to the age of illusion and even as a personal rebuke to their hard-won emancipation, and their liberating "life style."

But it seems that, while Mr. Carter will lose this particular vote, he is getting the support of a much wider constituency in America that longs for something it has lost and thinks he represent. And this is not merely the church-going "regulars" though they

WASHINGTON

'He has the philosophy that is infuriating the liberal minority in his own party but touching the hopes of the majority.'

are a numerous and powerful political force—but also the social weekend "believers" who are not very happy with the "liberation" or "style" of their lives.

Mr. Carter's power with these folk, which the political and labor union leaders of his party cannot ignore, and Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan fear, is that it is strongest in the Republican conservative regions of the South and Middle West. He is doing with personality and theology what Messrs. Goldwater, Nixon and Ford have tried to do with conservative political ideology—he is not only holding his own with the Democratic organizations in the North, but cutting into the "silent majority" of the "Middle America" that the Republicans thought was their strongest base.

For the moment, Mr. Carter is stumbling and may do no more than hold his own in the remaining primary elections, but that's really all he has to do. He has most of the convention delegates and even more important, he has the philosophy that is infuriating the liberal minority in his own party but touching the doubts and hopes of the majority. It will not be easy for his opponents to get rid of him, for they cannot dump him without risking the loss of the people who see him as a new personality appealing to the old but not quite forgotten values.

This struggle between belief and unbelief has been going on in America for a very long time. The old faith may have been destroyed but the longing for faith remains. Even in Mr. Lincoln's day, he felt that we were "bereft of faith but terrified of skepticism."

It is the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandals, the revelations of moral squalor around the White House, and also the latest reports of the corruption in the office of Representative Wayne Hays that have brought all this now to a critical point in the election of 1976.

It is merely more obvious now. Walter Lippman defined the modern dilemma better probably than anybody else in "A Preface to Morals" in 1929. "Among those who no longer believe in the religion of their fathers," he wrote, "some are proudly defiant; and many are indifferent. But there are also a few, perhaps an increasing number, who feel that there is a vacancy in their lives.

"What most distinguishes the generation who have approached maturity since the debacle of idealism at the end of the First World War, is not their rebellion against the religion and the moral code of their parents, but their disillusionment with their own rebellion. It is common for young men and women to rebel, but that they should rebel sadly and without faith in their own rebellion, that they should discuss the new freedom no less than the old uncertainties—that is something of a novelty."

This is the spirit of regret Governor Carter seems to have touched, and it is a formidable moral and political force.

DD

WEATHER
Partly cloudy Sunday; sunny and warmer Monday. Details on Page 13-C.

The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

Vol. 26, No. 58 ** P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Sunday, May 30, 1976 274 Pages, 18 Sections ***** Outs

Carter's Counting Noses, Not Ballots

By ANDREW J. GLASS
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

Despite recent setbacks at the polls, presidential candidate Jimmy Carter is likely to have cornered about 1,250 of the Democratic party's 3,008 delegates when the long primary season ends June 8.

The 1,250-delegate figure is based on an updated analysis of Carter's strength by the Democratic National Committee. It tallies closely with current estimates prepared by Carter's political staff.

Both projections leave the former Georgia governor some 250 votes short of the majority needed to capture the Democratic presidential nomination. But they give Carter three times as many delegates as his nearest rival, Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona.

A successful surge by two late-starting candidates, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund "Jerry" Brown Jr. of California, has dashed Carter's hopes of emerging from the primaries with the nomination in hand.

Yet Carter's sights remain fixed on a first-ballot victory when the Democrats convene at New York's Madison Square Garden on July 12. "We are a lot stronger than we look," Hamilton Jordan, Carter's campaign manager, said in an interview.

Carter now has a solid core of 880 delegates. But hidden pockets of strength in Texas, Colorado, Missouri, Virginia and Delaware and uncommitted delegates who have yet to surface bring the total to 1,004.

Primaries to be held Tuesday in Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana should net Carter another 21 delegates, bringing the count to 1,025.

Democrats in California, Ohio and New Jersey will elect a total of 540 delegates on June 8. Carter is expected to score poorly in California against Brown. The outlook in Ohio and New Jersey, where Udall and uncommitted slates are the main competition, is a lot brighter.

Turn to Page 24A, Column 1

Carter Counts Delegates Not Ballots

Continued from Page 1A

Rick Hutchenson, Carter's delegate-counter, says at worst Carter should come away with 150 delegates. But sources at the Democratic National Committee say 225 would be a more likely figure. If it turns out that way, Carter would leave for a week's vacation on June 9 with 1,250 delegates.

Although there are several more or less plausible ways in which Carter could go over the top, the most promising appears to stem from a firm decision by Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington to steer clear of the stop-Carter coalition.

Jackson, who dropped out of the presidential race May 1 after being beaten by Carter in the Pennsylvania primary, has 249 pledged delegates. They include New York Mayor Abraham Beame, who endorsed Carter last week.

In the month before the convention opens, Jackson plans to make a recommendation to his delegates after soliciting their views. "We are keeping all our options open," the senator said in a recent interview.

But Jackson left the strong impression that he will endorse Carter provided Carter does well in Ohio and provided he meets his criteria on several national security questions.

Sources in the Carter camp suggested a Jackson-Carter deal would be a prime goal in June. Both sides hint Jackson would be satisfied with a broad statement of principles on defense issues. Carter would be reluctant to sign a specific commitment on military force levels, weapons systems and Pentagon outlays.

"There's no basic reason for Scoop and Jimmy to have problems," said Charles Kirbo, a long-time Carter adviser.

Kirbo noted the late Sen. Richard Russell, D-Ga., had brought Jackson and Carter together. "Dick asked Jimmy to help Scoop, which he did," Kirbo recalled. "Dick said he (Jackson) was the smartest man in Congress and would make a good President."

Eighteen months after Russell's death, Carter nominated Jackson for the presidency at the 1972 Democratic convention in Miami Beach.

"There's a good chance of foreclosing (the 1976 nomination) before the convention," Kirbo said in an interview at his Atlanta law office. "We'll be close enough to put the rest together."

But all the members of Carter's inner circle, including Kirbo, acknowledge the campaign and the candidate are now stretched to the limit. Their main concerns include:

— A campaign debt that Treasurer Robert Lipshutz places at "several hundred thousand dollars." The need to buy TV ads, lease airplanes and install telephones has put a severe strain on ready cash. (Some $100,000 is tied up just in security deposits for telephones at the Atlanta campaign headquarters, which represent only a fraction of national requirements.)

— A decision by Udall to shoot the works in Ohio with an ad campaign bent on discrediting Carter. "He's not going to beat Jimmy," Kirbo said. "But he'll hurt him and hurt the party."

— The prospect of a relatively weak showing by Carter in Tuesday's three primaries, when a total of 56 delegates will be elected. Brown is campaigning for an uncommitted slate in Rhode Island, where Church is also strong. Udall aims to beat Carter in South Dakota while Montana looks like a runaway for Church.

"Jimmy runs best as an underdog," observed Gerald Rafshoon, the candidate's media adviser. "But wherever he goes these days, he's surrounded by establishment people who want to be around a winner and it's hurting him."

Rafshoon also said the frantic campaign pace has left insufficient time for Carter to deal with urgent planning problems. "We haven't been able to clear a single day for that since the New Hampshire primary," he said. "The only reason we've been able to keep going was the detailed planning that occurred before the primaries began."

Rafshoon is eager to scuttle the issues-oriented TV ads that were aired in response to charges by Udall and other critics that Carter was too fuzzy. He wants to return to the basic "love and compassion" farmer-scientist themes that gave Carter a strong start in the primaries.

"It was a mistake to change, no matter what the polls said," Rafshoon said. "It has lumped Carter together with the others and doesn't reflect his real appeal."

Jordan said he is spending only 10 per cent of his time on planning the national campaign against the Republicans. He would obviously like to spend a lot more.

Just like a baseball team is obliged to print World Series tickets before it manages to lock up the pennant, so the Carter campaign must map its next moves. Among the key decisions already reached:

— The campaign headquarters will remain in Atlanta. But the Democratic National Committee's offices in Washington will be converted into an important satellite station.

— The campaign will be entirely financed with a $22 million federal grant. But Carter must still involve himself in fund-raising for state and local candidates, who are not covered under the new subsidy law. (Carter's primary campaign will have cost between $8 million and $9 million, including federal matching funds, by convention time. Lipshutz will try to erase the debt in June, when expenses will ease.)

— An extensive list of potential Carter running mates has been prepared and background checks of the prospects are being discretely pursued. Kirbo said Carter would probably reach a decision on the vice presidential slot before the convention, but that he will keep it to himself until the delegates assemble.

Finally, a drive to draw fresh reserves of talent into the national campaign is under way. So far, Carter's campaign inner circle has been limited to long-standing Georgia allies: Jordan, Lipshutz, Kirbo, Rafshoon and press secretary Jody Powell.

"We're not so stupid as to believe that we can do it all by ourselves," Lipshutz said. "We'll be bringing new people in as fast as they can be absorbed."

EE

FF

Politics SOUTH

Carter Must Smile While Ducking Rocks

BY DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio — With a little more than a week before the end of the presidential primaries, and with the Democratic nomination almost, but not quite, in his hip pocket, Jimmy Carter is facing one of his biggest challenges as a politician and his first real test as a national leader.

His plight might be compared to a small boy with a captive bird in his hands. If he relaxes his grip too much it may fly away. But if he squeezes too hard he may maim or kill it.

Carter's dilemma is one of having too much success and yet not quite enough. He is on the threshold of becoming the Democratic nominee, and therefore an automatic favorite to become President. But he is still not quite there. He needs a few more official delegates to wrap it up.

And he'll have to fight his latest team of fresh challengers and their powerful backroom allies for every one of them between now and June 8.

But the Georgian, bone weary and brain weary after 16 months of nonstop campaigning that would have killed a Viking, is now faced with the treacherous task of whipping his challengers, both seen and unseen, without doing anything to offend them.

He Must Take Some Lumps

His fighting instincts are still up, and his adrenalin screams at him to pull out all the stops, go after his opponents with every means at his disposal, lock up the prize he has pursued so long and so desperately and then take a rest.

But he can't do it that way. He's got to keep one hand behind his back and his fist open while his adversaries flail away at him with brass knuckles, spelling each other in one round, then rushing him as a team in another.

The dilemma he faces in New Jersey, Ohio, and California—the three big states which should realistically decide Carter's fate on June 8—is mind-wracking.

He can't be too hard on the Jerry Browns, the Frank Churches, the Hubert Humphreys or the Edward Kennedys, or even Morris Udall. He's going to need them all desperately if he wins the nomination.

So at a time vital for rethinking and renegotiating, Carter has to be preoccupied with the problem of deciding where to draw the safe line between being a warrior and a peacemaker.

The reality of the situation came down hard on him this week as he campaigned in New Jersey and Ohio, and it will came down even harder next week as he moves into Brown's California in a direct head-to-head matchup.

Is He a Fighter Or a Lover?

That's why he was found Tuesday in New York expressing bitterness against Humphrey and Kennedy, who appear to be becoming more visible as key "stop Carter" figures, and the next day was praising them in New Jersey.

That's why he fiercely denounced the stop Carterites as opponents of reform who want to protect "their corrupt, irresponsible, unresponsive, bankrupt political power" then later in the day described Church and Brown as "good men" who have run laudable campaigns.

That's why on Thursday he went back to his soft-sell campaign pitch in Cleveland, made an overt love offering to his opponents in Akron and lanched into a tooth, claw and fang attack on Udall in Youngstown.

Carter's changes in direction as he sought the right formula last week had newsmen frantically scurrying after clarifications and clarifications of clarifications and afraid to relieve their kidneys or release their notebooks less Carter switch once again from lover to fighter, or vice-versa, while they were away from his side.

Trends were established, written up, and then discarded before they could be put into type.

At one point, in Akron, he seemed to be apologizing for everything to everybody when he said that in the heat of a political campaign harsh things are sometimes said that should have been left unsaid.

Asked for an example, he said at one point he thought Humphrey had called him a racist, and he responded by saying that Humphrey was too old to be President.

"When I found out that he didn't call me a racist I found out that he wasn't as old as I thought he was," Carter quipped.

The ex-Georgia governor no doubt has a bag full of healing one-liners reserved for use if he gets the 200 or so additional delegates most observers believe he needs to become finally instoppable during the June 8 primaries.

But right now if Carter appears stooped its no doubt from having to carry a sack full of olive branches on one shoulder and a quiver full of arrows on the other.

SUNDAY, MAY 30, 1976

Sheltered Life Unrealistic, Sister Ruth Says

ANN ARBOR, Mich. (UPI) — Jimmy Carter's sister says she found deliverance through "inner healing" from the effects of being caught in a childhood trap between her father's lavish praise and her mother's equal treatment of all the young Carters.

Evangelist Ruth Carter Stapleton, wife of a Fayetteville, N.C., veterinarian, describes her ministry and early home life in a new book, "The Gift of Inner Healing" (Word Books, $4.95). She does not mention her older brother, the Democratic presidential contender, but offers a rare glimpse of the Carter parents.

She focuses especially on her father, James Earl Carter, now dead, who reared her to believe that "I was God's gift to the world, the most beautiful child ever born, the most talented, the most gifted, the queen of the universe."

Mrs. Stapleton writes of her sheltered childhood. She grew up on a farm in south Georgia but never saw an animal born, never attended a funeral and never made a decision of any importance.

She played with black children. "I never knew until I became an adult that there had been an unwritten law, spawned by centuries of prejudice, that the white children must be allowed to win all the time," she wrote. "So every game I ever played throughout my entire childhood, I won."

She says: "I grew up believing I was the most gifted, most loved person in the world."

Her mother, Lillian Gordy Carter, about whom Mrs. Stapleton says little, didn't indulge her that way. "She treated all the children alike," something her daughter interpreted as rejection.

Later, in college and in marriage, "I was shocked to discover an inability to cope normally with life. I was not the best, the most beautiful, the most loved of all. I didn't have all the answers, and I was almost totally unable to make decisions."

As she related to people, she unconsciously expected what she felt as a child — "love to a point and then what felt like rejection." She felt "terrifyingly unprepared" for marriage.

During this period, she says she discovered "a living faith in God. Jesus Christ became my life, and I surrendered control of my troubled existence to the Spirit." But she struggled with the old weaknesses.

A car she was driving smashed into a utility pole. A friend told her, "Ruth, you wanted to die."

"Over a period of months, the man who prayed for the healing of my deep mind led me back behind the locked doors of my memory," she writes. "I began to see the jealousies and hates that tortured me and hurt and disappointed others."

As a result of this, she developed her own ministry of "inner healing." She defines this as the process when "the Holy Spirit restores health to the deepest area of our lives by dealing with the root cause of our hurts and pain."

"Since Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today and tomorrow, he is able to go back into our lives and heal the traumatic episodes," she says.

Much of the book is an account of several case studies — Mary Ann, unhappily married, whose early hurt was caused by a father who never gave her affection and love; Jeff, a pharmacist, who discovered his aloofness sprang from the time his father struck him as a 5-year-old for leaving a barn door open; Mrs. Joiner, whose bad self-image led to a mental breakdown.

Mrs. Stapleton says she worked with each person to see Christ entering the scene at the moment the hurt occurred. Then healing came.

Mary Ann's marriage was restored to happiness, she writes. Jeff envisioned Jesus going with him to the barn in darkness to lock the door, and he learned forgiveness. Mrs. Joiner envisioned first Jesus, then her mother embracing her.

Mrs. Stapleton acknowledges she has encountered criticism, even from ministers, because she is not a psychologist or psychotherapist. She replies that she undertakes her search of memories only after she prays to Christ.

"We ask his divine blessing on the search. Do you believe that Jesus is Lord of all? Lord of the imagination? Lord of the subconscious? Lord of the repressed memory? I have suggested nothing but his healing presence."

GG

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

6/3

Latest Results of Voting

Folowing are the latest tallies from Tuesday's Presidential primary elections in Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana and the new delegate-vote totals resulting from the balloting.

Rhode Island

REPUBLICANS

Ford	9,341 (66%)
Reagan	4,419 (31%)
Uncommitted	498 (3%)

Delegates: Ford 19, Reagan 0.

DEMOCRATS

Uncommitted	19,066 (32%)
Carter	18,171 (30%)
Church	16,767 (28%)
Udall	2,672 (4%)
McCormack	2,369 (4%)
Jackson	748 (1%)
Wallace	534 (1%)
Bayh	236 *
Shapp	111 *

*Less than 1 percent.

Delegates: Uncommitted: Brown 9, Carter 7, Church 6.

South Dakota

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	42,967 (51%)
Ford	36,873 (44%)
Uncommitted	4,038 (5%)

Delegates: Reagan 11, Ford 9.

DEMOCRATS

Carter	24,100 (41%)
Udall	19,487 (33%)
Uncommitted	7,732 (13%)
McCormack	4,574 (8%)
Wallace	1,428 (3%)
Harris	646 (1%)
Jackson	629 (1%)

Delegates: Carter 9, Udall 7, Uncommitted 1.

Montana

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	55,636 (63%)
Ford	30,814 (35%)
Uncommitted	1,535 (2%)

Delegates: Twenty to be awarded later at a state convention.

DEMOCRATS

Church	62,753 (60%)
Carter	25,921 (25%)
Udall	6,610 (6%)
Wallace	3,672 (3%)
Uncommitted	2,968 (3%)
Jackson	2,861 (3%)

Delegates: Church 11, Carter 4, uncommitted 2.

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

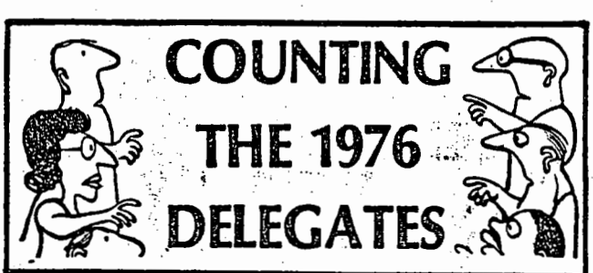
	New	Total
Ford	28	799
Reagan	11	653
Uncommitted	0	152

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

	New	Total
Carter	20	905
Udall	7	307½
Jackson	0	249
Wallace	0	169
Stevenson*	0	86
Humphrey	0	67½
Church	17	64
Brown	9	28½
Harris	0	18
Shapp	0	6
McCormack	0	5
Walker	0	2
Bayh	0	1
Uncommitted	3	392½

*Favorite son in Illinois.



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Brown	Carter	Church	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Ala.*	35	—	2	—	—	—	27	—	6
Alaska	10	½	—	—	—	—	—	—	9½
Ariz.	25	—	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Ark.	26	—	17	—	—	1	5	—	3
Canal Z.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Colo.*	35	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	2
Conn.*	51	—	17	—	5	15	—	—	14
D.C.	17	—	8	—	—	5	—	—	4
Fla.	81	—	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Ga.	50	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii*	17	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Idaho	16	—	2	14	—	—	—	—	—
Ill.	169	—	60	—	—	—	3	92	14
Ind.	75	—	51	—	—	—	10	—	14
Iowa	47	—	17	1	—	10	—	7	12
Kan.*	34	—	14	—	1	3	—	1	15
Ky.	46	—	37	—	—	2	7	—	—
La.	41	—	13	—	—	—	9	—	19
Maine	20	1	10	—	—	6	—	1	2
Md.	53	—	32	—	10	7	—	—	4
Mass.	104	—	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Mich.	133	—	69	—	—	58	2	—	4
Minn.*	65	—	—	—	—	1	—	43	5
Miss.	24	—	5	1	—	—	11	3	4
Mo.*	71	—	28	—	1	3	1	—	38
Mont.	17	—	4	11	—	—	—	—	2
Neb.	23	—	8	15	—	—	—	—	—
Nev.	11	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	1
N. H.	17	—	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
N. M.	18	1	8	—	—	6	—	2	1
N. Y.	274	—	33	—	103	73	—	—	65
N. C.	61	—	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Okla.	37	—	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Ore.	34	9	11	14	—	—	—	—	—
Penn.	178	—	73	—	28	23	3	6	45
P. R.	22	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
R.I.	22	—	7	6	—	—	—	—	9
S. C.	31	—	11	1	—	—	8	1	10
S.D.	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tenn.	46	—	36	—	—	—	1	—	9
Texas	130	—	94	—	—	—	—	9	27
Vt.	12	2	3	—	—	3	—	—	4
Va.*	54	—	23	—	—	7	—	—	24
V.I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Wash.	53	—	—	—	24	5	—	—	11
W. Va.	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
Wisc.	68	—	25	—	7	25	10	1	—
Wyo.	10	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	7
Totals	**2,419**	**21½**	**900**	**65**	**246**	**305**	**170**	**189**	**464½**

* Process incomplete

52A

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Syrian troops stayed in the positions short of Beirut they took up Tuesday as Palestinian and Lebanese Moslems reiterated that their troops would resist any advance in that direction. For the first time in Lebanon's 14-month civil war, a meeting of two leaders of the opposing factions—Kamal Jumblat of the leftist-Moslem alliance and Pierre Gemayel, son of the leader of the right-wing Christian military and political organization—was publicly announced. It was arranged by a leader of Al Fatah, the main guerrilla group of the Palestine Liberation Organization. [Page 1, Columns 1-2.]

Ethiopia's political and social upheaval since radical soldiers deposed Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 has left the country sliding into economic disarray, armed repression and a mood of disillusion and fear. The Government's current move in sending an army of peasants against the most powerful rebel group in the northern province of Eritrea is regarded by many as risky. [1:1.]

National

President Ford told members of his Cabinet to press for action that the White House said would severely limit court-ordered busing to achieve racial desegregation of schools. He is studying draft legislation that would limit court action to specific areas within a community or school system where such segregation existed. His press secretary said that the draft would prevent court-ordered busing in cases where nongovernmental factors such as housing patterns caused school segregation. In California, former Gov. Ronald Reagan called school busing for desegregation a "pernicious" instrument of the Federal courts and said that if elected President, he would order Federal departments to "get off the back" of local school boards. [1:8.]

There was at least one victory in Tuesday's three-state Republican and Democratic Presidential primaries for every major candidate except Representative Morris K. Udall. Evidently disheartened by his loss in South Dakota to Jimmy Carter, he said that if he did not win in Ohio next week "it may well be over." The most remarkable success was scored by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in Rhode Island, where final tabulations gave him nine convention delegates to seven for Mr. Carter and six for Senator Frank Church. President Ford won among Republicans in Rhode Island, while losing in Montana and South Dakota to Ronald Reagan but gained 28 delegates to 11 for his challenger. [1:7.]

House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill asked Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio to yield his committee chairmanships pending Federal investigations of his activities. Mr. Hays, who has admitted an affair with a staff employee, said he would make a public statement today. [1:5-6.]

Metropolitan

The Temporary Commission on City Finances will urge major cutbacks in fringe and leave benefits of city employees, which it says are costing $2 for every $3 the city spends on base pay. Its report, to be released with negotiations of new contracts for unions covering most municipal workers about to begin, drew scorn from Victor Gotbaum, head of the largest union. [1:3.]

Mayor Beame rejected Governor Carey's call for the city to increase its support for the City University in 1977. He also withheld his endorsement of the introduction of tuition for undergraduates, considered in Albany a prerequisite for passage of any state aid program. The Mayor called for a law to bar requiring the city to spend more on the university than is contemplated in its financial recovery plan. [1:4.]

Maurice H. Nadjari has told friends and associates that he will refuse to stay on as special prosecutor if the State Attorney General, Louis J. Lefkowitz, agrees to any request by Governor Carey to appoint a second prosecutor with full powers to handle new corruption cases as of July 1. This could again touch off the politically explosive issue of his tenure. [1:5-6.]

Sweeping changes in New York State law to allowing equitable distribution of marriage property in the event of divorce, have no chance of enactment this year, the chairman of the State Senate Judiciary Committee said after polling its members. [1:5-7.]

With Mayor Beame's support, the Democratic leaders of the Bronx, Brooklyn and Queens are preparing to support City Council President Paul O'Dwyer for the United States Senate nomination. The move has contributed to "second thoughts" by Daniel P. Moynihan on his own candidacy. [1:8.]

The Other News

International

Government and Politics

General

All the News
t's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITI
Weather: Partly sunny tc
tonight. Mostly sunny t
Temperature range: tod
Wednesday 51-68. Details.

XV .... No. 43,230 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1976 — 75 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. M 20 C

LAST 3 PRIMARIES NOW CRUCIAL TEST

Standoff in 3 Smaller States Shows Neither Party Has Certain Nominee Yet

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Republican and Democratic Presidential candidates battled to a standoff in Tuesday's three primary elections, with five or six major candidates winning at least once as the voters continued to send conflicting messages about their preferences.

The voting, in three of the nation's dozen smallest states, underlined the importance of next week's tests in California, Ohio and New Jersey, the final primaries on the exhausting, 30-state schedule. In neither party did the results seem to give any one contender a significant boost toward victory.

President Ford won in Rhode Island, lost to Ronald Reagan in Montana and South Dakota, yet gained 28 delegates for the day to his challenger's 11.

Jimmy Carter won in South Dakota, lost in Rhode Island and Montana, yet gained 20 delegates compared with 17 for Senator Frank Church of Idaho, 9 for Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and 7 for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

The nonwinner, this time as in his seven other primary attempts, was Mr. Udall. Despite the backing of both South Dakota Senators, George McGovern and James Abourezk, despite the investment of four campaign days that he could otherwise have devoted to his last stand in Ohio, Mr. Udall lost South Dakota to Mr. Carter by 4,500 votes.

Evidently disheartened, Mr. Udall said that if he did not win in Ohio, "it may well be all over," with Mr. Carter the inevitable nominee. Mr. Church, the third contender in Ohio, who

Continued on Page 29, Column 2

Last 3 Primaries Now Crucial Tests

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

won by 3-to-1 in Montana, suggested that the time had come for Mr. Udall to step aside.

"If I had run in a series of primaries and had not won any of them," the Idaho Senator said in Columbus, Ohio, "I would recognize that the convention would not turn to me. If I couldnt win, I would stop running."

Mr. Brown, the 38-year-old bachelor Governor with a fondness for Zen Buddhism and Thomas Aquinas, emerged in the final tabulations as the candidate who most clearly exceeded on Tuesday what had been expected of him in the balloting.

The Brown Victory

In that sense, at least, Mr. Brown was the big winner.

Excluded from the ballot in Rhode Island because of his late entry into the Presidential contest, Mr. Brown in less than a week persuaded 32 percent of the Democratic voters to support the "uncommitted" position in the state's preferential primary.

More than that, his improvised organization distributed thousands of palm cards to voters advising them which of the "uncommitted" delegate candidates supported Mr. Brown and which did not. Some of the candidates in the separate delegate elections backed Mr. Carter and some Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

Early yesterday morning, it appeared that the California's Rhode Island victory over Mr. Carter and Mr. Church would be a hollow one because he would gain few delegates. But a tabulation of delegate races by The Providence Journal-Bulletin, the only one available last night, showed that Mr. Brown had got his message across in the face of the confusing ballot situation.

The final delegate count gave Mr. Brown 9, Mr. Carter 7 and Mr. Church 6—totals that were accepted by the Carter camp.

"To me, it's extraordinary," commented Governor Brown.

Party officials in Rhode Island agreed. Charles T. Reilly, the state Democratic chairman, who has supported Mr. Humphrey, said the Californian had been helped to some degree by his Roman Catholicsm in a state that is 67 percent Catholic.

"But he did it by the force of his personality, more than anything else," Mr. Reilly added. "He took the state by storm. The uncommitted vote was a Brown vote, not a vote for the party organization or for our Governor or for anyone else."

The Rhode Island results raised questions about Mr. Carter's prospects in New Jersey next Tuesday, another race in which Mr. Brown has been trying to co-opt an uncommitted slate. But the situation is complicated by the fact that the uncommitted delegate candidates have endorsed both Mr. Brown and Mr. Humphrey, creating a contest where predictions are difficult.

Mr. Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, said by telephone from Atlanta that the two states were not comparable.

"Brown can go into a small state and have a huge impact," he commented. "But he can't just breeze into New Jersey and turn it around in four days."

At a news conference in Los Angeles, Mr. Carter said he remained confident of a first-ballot victory but felt even more confident he would win if it went to a second, despite four losses to Mr. Church and three to Mr. Brown in the last month.

The Georgian was pleased that his opponents had failed to shut him out, as they had hoped, and he seemed in a benigh mood. Told that Mr. Brown no longer considered him the front-runner, Mr. Carter, who has a huge lead in delegates, remarked that by his own "twisted logic" he remained ahead, but added, "Perhaps my opinion wouldn't stand up under Zen analysis."

Mr. Carter has continued to pick up endorsements in recent days, including those of Don Fowler, the influential party chairman in South Carolina, and Jerry Apodaca, the Governor of New Mexico.

Reports that an announcement of support by Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago aws imminent circulated in New York and Washington last weekend. But sources close to the Mayor said that although "things are on track," the time was not yet ripe.

Mr. Carter dined 10 days ago at the Washington house of Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois, who, with Mr. Daley, controls 86 convention votes. The Georgian was also careful, the sources said, to clear with the Mayor in advance the endorsement of Gov. Daniel Walker, one of Mr. Daley's bitterest critics.

Iowa, Colorado and possibly Missouri (on June 12) to seek support at state conventions.

Mr. Ford has dropped plans to return to California. He will campaign instead in New Jersey and Ohio on Sunday and Monday, hoping to win at least 140 of the 164 delegates there.

Mr. Reagan, confident that he is well ahead in California, canceled this week his pplans to spend next weekend on the West Coast and instead will fly to Ohio to campaign there.

Broke 900 Mark

As a result of Tuesday's voting, Mr. Carter broke through the 900 mark, reaching 905 delegates in The New York Times tabulation, with 1,505 needed for nomination. Mr. Udall, his nearest rival, has 307½.

The former Governor's own count, which includes projections in states where delegate-selection has not been completed, as well as some private commitments from uncommitted delegates, is 1,031. Most politicians consider that figure realistic.

If he can win 200 delegates in next week's three primaries, a goal that appears within reach, Mr. Carter could enter the convention with about 1,250, even without major new commitments.

"If he pops through that 1,200 level," said Rhode Island's Mr. Reilly, the Humphrey man, "our only course is to get people moving behind Jimmy Carter. Does Hubert Humphrey really want to be remembered as the divisive happy warrior? Do we really want to defeat ourselves as a party again? I doubt it."

On the Republican side, the tally now stands: Mr. Ford 799, Mr. Reagan 653, with 152 uncommitted. If Mr. Ford has big victories in New Jersey and Ohio, as expected, and Mr. Reagan sweeps California, as expected, the President would have about 940 delegates and his conservative challenger about 845.

The scene would then shift to state conventions in late June and July, including those in Iowa on June 19, with 36 delegates at stake; Washington the same day, with 38; Minnesota on June 25, with 28; Colorado on July 10, with 31, and Connecticut on July 17, with 35.

Rogers C. B. Morton, Mr. Ford's campaign chairman, said the President would travel to

Poll Finds Voters Unsure About Candidates' Positions

By The Associated Press

Economic problems and crime top the list of Americans' concerns in this election year, but an Associated Press poll has found that more than half the people are confused about where the contenders stand on major issues.

However, this inabilty to match candidates and issues may not be crucial to the campaign results. The overwhelming majority of those interviewed said the personal qualities of the candidate, not his stands on issues, were more important in deciding whom to support.

The poll, taken for the news service by the Roper Organization of New York in the second week of May, demonstrates that even after 3½ months of primary campaigning and intensive coverage of the candi-

The interviews were taken May 8 and May 15, the same week that Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Frank Church of Idaho gained their first primary victories. Because the national perceptions of Mr. Brown and Mr. Church had not then taken shape, the poll did not test their supporters' attitudes.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama had stopped campaigning during the second week in May, so, his supporters' perceptions were also not tested.

The poll results come four months after the first primary and five months before Election Day.

The poll is based on face-to-face interviews with 2,001 Americans over 18 across the continental United States. In a survey of this size, one can say with 95 percent certainty that the results will vary no more than 2.2 percentage points either way solely because of chance.

Each respondent was given a card listing 14 issues. The person being interviewed was asked which one or two of these he considered the most important in this election year.

On each of five major issues —abortion, government-guaranteed jobs, welfare, military spending and breaking up the oil companies—an average of half the people said they did not know what their chosen candidate was advocating.

And of those who said they were familiar with their candidate's position, the supporters of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former California Governor Ronald Reagan—and to a lesser extent, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington—were right more often than wrong in picking the candidate's stand.

The supporters of Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, were the most likely to name the wrong stand for their candidate on four issues. Most said correctly that he supports government-guaranteed jobs. But supporters of all the Democratic contenders listed in the survey said correctly that their candidate supports such a program.

President Ford's supporters correctly named his stand on three issues—increased military spending, opposition to an amendment banning abortion and his position on breaking up the big oil companies. Most mistakenly said he favored transferring welfare back to the states. As many of his supporters were wrong as were right in naming his position on government guaranteed jobs. He opposes such a bill.

Liberal Democrats Retreat on Pentagon's Budget

By LESLIE H. GELB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 2 — Liberal and moderate Democrats, determined to prevent Republicans from making military spending a major issue in November, are going along with a $114 billion Pentagon budget that they privately believe to be excessive.

More than a dozen Democratic legislators who voted for or did little to oppose the $14 billion increase in defense spending over last year acknowledged in interviews that this had been their strategy.

Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia; Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, and Senator Frank Church of Idaho are consciously muting their positions on reducing military expenditures, according to their aides.

In large part, these Democrats were reacting to what they perceived as Ronald Reagan's success in using this issue against President Ford in the Republican primaries.

'Machismo Pressures'

Tied to this political calculation, according to Senator John C. Culver, Democrat of Iowa, was a mixture of "pride, frustration and machismo pressures" after the collapse of the Saigon regime. He also cited growing Soviet military power and what he called "a desire not to send out the wrong signals about American will."

"There aren't a great number of profiles in courage up here," said Representative Patricia Schroeder, Democrat of Colorado, and one of the better-known Pentagon critics who voted for the increase this year. "The members want to get re-elected, and they got scared."

Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, was the only member of the House Armed Services Committee to vote against the committee's own bill, which was almost $2 billion higher than the Administration's request.

He saw several additional factors affecting his Democratic colleagues: fear of defense cutbacks leading to greater unemployment, pressures from pro-Israeli lobbies that used to support cuts but now oppose them and the anti-big government sentiment in America that has weakened the argument for reordering national priorities.

"The feeling among many voters," he said, "is that the Government can't walk and chew gum at the same time, so why take $2 billion away from the Pengaton and give it to H.E.W., if H.E.W. will waste it, too."

Carter Advisers Meet

These same calculations seem to be weighing on Democratic Presidential contenders.

Two weeks ago, a group of foreign policy advisers to Mr. Carter met in New York to discuss what speeches their candidate should make it. According to Carter aides, the view of the group was that Mr. Carter should downplay his proposal for a reduction of $5 billion to $7 billion in military spending by giving no speeches on the subject, only answering questions.

Mr. Carter had already adopted this posture on the ground that he did not want to get in the middle of the Reagan-Ford confrontation on the issue, and because he wanted to wait and see which man would win. As one member of the Carter camp put it, "If it's Reagan, we have the center; if it's Ford, we have to think about what to say."

When asked about this, Mr. Aspin said, "If I were advising Carter, I'd advise him the same way. I'm advising [Representative Morris K.] Udall, and I tell him that the issue is a bummer."

Governor Brown has talked about "rethinking" the need for some military bases overseas, but in an interview in April he said, "I'd be surprised if there were dramatic savings to be made" in defense spending. "Military costs have gone up, and I don't realistically think the budget will be cut."

'A Bunch of Garbage'

A Brown aide said, "He thinks the Pentagon budget is a bunch of garbage, but doesn't want to mix into the issue yet, with the California defense industry and all that." The aide said that Mr. Brown was to meet in California next week with several Democratic defense experts and decide what to say next.

Senator Church, who has a long record of voting for defense cuts, does not talk about the subject on the campaign trail. "He mostly stresses the need to reorder our foreign policy priorities and if asked says he's against the new B-1 bomber and for the new Trident submarine," said one source close to him.

Mr. Udall has taken a consistent public stand in favor of a 10 to 15 percent cut in military spending as part of a program to reorder national priorities.

Even the Council on National Priorities and Resources — a coalition of labor unions, religious groups and Common Cause —which was established several year ago with the express purpose of seeking "reduction of unneeded military spending to free resources for more pressing social needs," has changed course.

Reuben McCornack, its director, said that his "No. 1 priority now is to get the economy going."

"Freshman Democratic Congressmen keep telling us that their constituents don't want cuts, and that they do not want to expose themselves needlessly in the elections," he said.

All of those interviewed felt that the current promilitary climate had been conditioned by the Ford-Reagan debate over whether the United States was doing enough to forestall what they saw as the trend toward Soviet military superiority.

Most Democratic legislators dispute that there is such a trend, but some, like Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia, believe it and are supported by lobby groups.

"There has been a fundamental shift in the attitudes of pro-Israel groups on defense since the 1973 war, when it became clear that Israel could rely only on the United States for arms," Mr. Aspin said. "A lot of poeple here now vote with the Pentagon for this reason."

Representative James H. Scheuer, Democrat of Brooklyn, said:

"For eight years, I voted against every Pentagon bill because of Vietnam. Today, we have a real geo-political interest in the Middle East and Europe. It would be inconsistent to vote against final passage of the defense bill and still want arms for Israel."

Many Democrats like Mr. Scheuer have voted for small cuts in military spending and against the B-1 bomber. But as most of those interviewed said, no one is proposing cuts even approaching the $7.5 billion reduction made by Congress last year.

Jersey Efforts Mounted By Humphrey and Brown

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Special to The New York Times

TETERBORO, N.J., June 2—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California toured New Jersey today in a final, cooperative effort to stop former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia in next Tuesday's Democratic primary.

Governor Brown made several campaign stops in his late bid for the Presidential nomination, and Senator Humphrey, who has declined to declare his candidacy and has not entered any of the primaries, held a news conference here and attended private fund-raising affairs later in Teaneck and Florham Park.

Tomorrow the Senator is scheduled to give what his office described as a "major address" before a state convention of the New Jersey Building and Construction Trades Council in Cherry Hill.

The party's uncommitted delegate candidates voted last week to support both Governor Brown and Senator Humphrey. State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman and the architect of the Democratic Party's uncommitted strategy, said it was the first time that any state offered a complete Democratic national ticket in one primary vote, presumably—but not explicitly—Senator Humphrey for President and Governor Brown as his running mate.

However, last week's uncommitted merger seemed to be somewhat shaky today as Governor Brown suggested that Senator Humphrey was not really a candidate, and that he was, even though he conceded that a majority of the uncommitted delegates favored the Minnesota Democrat. Governor Brown went on to say that it might have been a lot simpler if the delegation had come out for him.

At stake Tuesday are New Jersey's 108 Democratic votes, the eighth largest bloc at the convention. Along with uncommitted slates fielded by party regulars and led statewide by Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., there also are delegate slates pledged to Mr. Carter, the acknowledged frontrunner here, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, and a partial slate for Senator Frank Church of Idaho.

Governor Brown met briefly with Mayor Kenneth A. Gibson of Newark. He also spoke to several hundred students at the predominantly black Weequahic High School there, shook hands at the Livingston Shopping Mall and held a news conference at a motel in East Orange.

Mayor Gibson's Response

Mr. Gibson gave Mr. Brown what he has given every other Democratic Presidential contender: a warm smile, a few words of encouragement, but no endorsement.

Mr. Brown said after his meeting with Mayor Gibson: "I got his blessing, but no edorsement."

But Mr. Gibson smiled and said that he usually left blessings up to "religious leaders."

At the high school in Newark, Governor Brown was asked what he later said was the best question he has been asked in weeks. "If you weren't running, who would you vote for."

Mr. Brown thought for a moment, then replied, "I don't know, I may not even vote." Later, howeYer: he 0id he Wds loyal dnd would support the Democratic nominee.

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Power And Illusion

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, June 2—At his ranch after he left the Presidency, Lyndon Johnson would meet with four or five field hands early in the morning. His voice was as urgent as it had been with the White House staff, but this was the sort of thing he had to say.

"Now I want each of you to make a solemn pledge that you will not go to bed tonight until you are sure that every steer has everything he needs. We've got a chance of producing some of the finest beef in this country if we work at it, if we dedicate ourselves to the job. . . . But it'll mean working every minute of every day. Now I want you to write down the following symbols. HP means high priority. . . ."

That strange, painful scene is from Doris Kearns's new book, "Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream." How revealing a vignette it is. His immense political power gone, Johnson was still driven by the need that had driven his life—the need for control. And so he kept himself close to the ranch, a tiny kingdom that he could still govern.

The Kearns book offers extraordinary insights into Johnson the man: his dreams, his hopes, his obsessions. No other President has had a biographer who observed him so sympathetically, who had such access to his private thoughts, yet who was able to write with the critical detachment of a scholar.

It is a remarkable book not for the Johnson portrait alone but for the way

ABROAD AT HOME

that is set in a larger view of the Presidency and American politics. Lyndon Johnson was a unique figure. But Miss Kearns makes us understand that his rise and fall were connected with our political expectations—especially with what we have come to expect from the man in the White House.

Until forty years ago there was only a tiny White House staff, and most of the Executive functions were carried out in the separate departments. Then, under public pressure for Presidential action, the process of concentration began. It was well along when there came a President whose deepest instinct was to keep control in his own hands, whether of a ranch or a country.

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He wanted to help people. That was his justification for seeking power—a sincere one, Miss Kearns rightly says. He believed that "in controlling others he was acting in their best interests, giving them things they could not provide for themselves."

But the giving was on his terms. He insisted on secrecy and surprise for his plans—as if they were birthday presents. He admitted to Miss Kearns that he concealed the facts about shortcomings in Great Society programs, because he did not trust the public to understand.

And he expected gratitude in return for his gifts. He expected them to create a bond of "dependence, interest, even love." When the public turned against him he actually asked: "How is it possible that all these people could be so ungrateful to me, after I had given them so much?"

But there can be, in Miss Kearns's phrase, a tyranny of benevolence. What Lyndon Johnson did not understand is that even people who want help may come to resent benevolences thrust upon them. Or alternatively, they may grow too dependent. Paternalism, however well-intended, may have unhappy consequences.

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Miss Kearns draws all these threads together in her discussion of the issue that wrecked the Johnson Presidency: Vietnam. Even there, with people beyond his experience, he insisted that he could control events. He assumed that the Vietnamese were like United States Senators, subject to the same pressures and logic. He needed, Miss Kearns says, "to create a Vietnam in his mind."

The modern President is encouraged to think himself omniscient and omnipotent because he is treated like a king in the White House. George Reedy made that point, and Miss Kearns provides glorious new examples. When Mr. Johnson spoke of dieting, by the day's end the White House was stocked with 150 pounds of cottage cheese; 275 containers of yogurt and 10 pounds of diet candy flown in from his favorite store in San Antonio.

The danger of benevolence grows greater with the inflation of ego. No person is wise enough to decide everything for everyone. Lyndon Johnson could not face that truth. Fearing to lose any control, he lived the personal and political nightmare of losing it all. That was his tragedy, but it should be our lesson.

For the point of this book is much larger than Lyndon Johnson. A modern President's command of the media, his huge staff, his technological apparatus all give him a feeling of control that may be false. The resources of the White House, Miss Kearns says, provide "both power and illusion."

The Weather
ain, high in upper 70s, low
Chance of rain is 60 per
s. 30 per cent tonight.
--Cloudy, high near 70.
--3 p.m. air index: 50:
nce: 87-68. Details on C2.

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Carter and Ford Win One, Lose Two

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter won the South Dakota presidential primary yesterday, but his image as the front-runner in the race for the Democratic nomination was tarnished somewhat by two new defeats in Rhode Island and Montana.

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., whose name was not on the Rhode Island ballot, parlayed a heavy media blitz in the state into a narrow victory over Carter for a slate of uncommitted delegates that Brown had endorsed. In Montana, Sen. Frank Church of neighboring Idaho, like Brown a late-starting Democratic candidate, overwhelmed Carter.

In the Republican primaries, President Ford easily defeated Ronald Reagan in Rhode Island, sweeping all 19 of the state's GOP convention delegates, while Reagan won in South Dakota and Montana.

Unofficial complete returns from Rhode Island gave the Brown-endorsed uncommitted slate 31 per cent of the vote and Carter 30 per cent. Church, who also campaigned in the state, was not far behind with 28 per cent of the vote.

Carter's lone victory yesterday came in South Dakota, where with about 90 per cent of the vote counted, he led Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona by 41 to 34 per cent, possibly delivering a fatal blow to Udall's struggling campaign.

A slate of uncommitted delegates who openly support Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) was winning 13 per cent of the vote in South Dakota.

The Montana Democratic primary was no contest as Church quickly jumped into a 3-to-1 lead over Carter.

The President won the Rhode Island Republican primary just as impressively, racking up 66 per cent of the vote compared with 31 per cent for uncommitted delegates. Under state law, Reagan's failure to win at least 33 per cent of the popular vote deprived him of any of Rhode Island's delegates.

With 90 per cent of the vote counted in South Dakota, Reagan led Mr. Ford by 50 to 45 per cent, while in Montana his lead over the

See PRIMARIES, A4, Col. 5

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Carter, Ford Win 1, Lose 2

PRIMARIES, From A1

President was 57 per cent to 41 per cent.

Yesterday's mixed results in the Democratic race were most discouraging for Udall and most encouraging for Brown and Church.

Udall, who has now finished second to one rival or another in eight primaries, had predicted that South Dakota would give him that elusive first primary victory.

His failure to gain that victory increased the pressure on him to step aside in favor of other Democratic candidates, most notably Brown and Church.

In Cleveland, Church said last night that Udall's defeat in South Dakota means that the Arizonan is no longer "a viable candidate." He strongly implied that Udall should withdraw from the race before next Tuesday's primary in Ohio, where both are contesting Carter.

Asked in Columbus to respond to Church's suggestion that he should now withdraw, Udall said:

"I don't think Frank Church should be pronouncing me dead or out of the race. He has 50 to 60 delegates. I have over 300. I expect to win Ohio and go into the convention as a viable candidate."

Referring to his own earlier request for Church to stay out of the Ohio primary, Udall said, "He hasn't taken my advice during this campaign and I'm not likely to take his."

Udall continued to make an optimistic appraisal of his candidacy. "If Carter slips and falters, I'm in better position than anyone else to get the nomination. I know it's a long shot. I can recognize a long shot as well as anyone else. I look at one every morning when I shave."

The voting in Rhode Island, meanwhile, demonstrated the power of the two newest faces in the Democratic race, Brown and Church, who in effect are now spearheading the "stop-Carter" movement in the Democratic Party.

Together, Church and the Brown-endorsed uncommitted delegates captured close to 60 per cent of the vote amid extremely light voting in the heavily Democratic state. It rained through much of the day in Rhode Island and the turnout in the Democratic primary was estimated at less than 10 per cent of registered voters.

Before yesterday's voting, Carter had admitted that he would be "disappointed" if he did not win in Rhode Island.

None of yesterday's primaries was considered crucial to the candidates, who have been concentrating their energies in the larger states of California, Ohio and New Jersey, where the year's final primaries will be held next Tuesday.

But for Udall, the psychological impact of yet another loss to Carter in the South Dakota primary may mean that next week's results will hold little meaning, a fact that Church attempted to drive home last night.

"He [Udall] cannot be a viable candidate after having gone so many times to the voters" without a victory, Church said, "and he must realize that himself."

"Those who are looking for an alternative candidate [to Carter] in Ohio will have to look for a winner," Church said.

The Idaho senator spoke with reporter before the final results of Rhode Island were known, but said the close race there "was a very strong showing" for him.

Asked if he was suggesting that Udall withdraw from the Ohio race, Church said, "That is a judgment he himself must make, but he's had ample opportunity to win."

Church said he "had come from way behind" Carter in Rhode Island and tried to brush aside the showing of the Brown-endorsed uncommitted slate by saying, "It is hard to interpret."

He conceded that every time Carter wins another primary "he comes a little closer" to nomination, but insisted that the Georgian's "momentum has been slowed" in the last four weeks."

Even with the boost that Brown and Church received in Rhode Island and Montana, hte front-running Carter continued to accumulate delegates in his quest for the nomination.

Carter won six delegates in Rhode Island, compared with five for Church and seven for the uncommitted slate. Another four delegates will be selected by the delegates who were chosen in yesterday's balloting.

The Rhode Island delegate picture, however, was clouded by the fact that some of the delegates on the technically uncommitted slate have declared a personal preference for Carter.

Brown aides at his Rhode Island headquarters claimed last night that the seven uncommitted delegates elected yesterday all support the California governor. Brown himself, seeking the support of uncommitted delegates in New York, called the Rhode Island results "a significant victory."

In South Dakota, Carter appeared likely to win nine delegates while Udall won seven. One uncommitted delegate who supports Humphrey also appeared likely to win.

The early Montana results gave Church 11 delegates and Carter four, with two uncommitted.

If those totals remain unchanged, Carter will come through the day with 19 new convention delegates, more than any of his rivals in the crowded Democratic field.

On the Republican side, in addition to his sweep of the delegates in Rhode Island, the President appeared likely to split South Dakota's 20 GOP delegates evenly with Reagan.

No Republican delegates were chosen in Montana's purely advisory primary. The state's 20 GOP delegates will be selected at a state convention June 26.

In Washington, the President's national campaign manager, Rogers C. B. Morton, proclaimed himself satisfied with yesterday's results.

"The President, I believe, did a little bit better than expected Tuesday," Morton said.

Carter entered yesterday's primaries with 871 pledged delegates, more than half of the 1,505 needed to gain the nomination. Udall was second in the crowded Democratic field with 298 delegates.

In the Republican race, the President had 776 delegates before yesterday's voting, compared wiht 645 for Reagan. The votes of 1,130 GOP delegates are necessary to win the nomination.

For the candidates in both parties, yesterday's primaries were largely a prelude to the major, final showdowns next Tuesday in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

In contrast to the 56 Democratic and 59 Republican convention delegates that will come from Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana, the three primaries next week will select 540 Democratic and 331 GOP convention delegates.

Neither the President nor Reagan campaigned in any of yesterday's primary states. Republican voters were to select 19 delegates in Rhode Island and 20 in South Dakota.

Carter, Church and Brown all campaigned in Rhode Island, with Brown, whose name was not on the ballot, relying on a media blitz to urge votes for an uncommitted slate of delegates.

Rhode Island Gov. Philip W. Noel, the state Democratic leader and a U.S. Senate candidate, remained neutral in the presidential race. However, Church was accompanied on his campaign rounds by Sen. Claiborne Pell and Rep. Edward P. Beard.

Washington Post staff writers David S. Broder and Paul G. Edwards also contributed to this article.

Summary

RHODE ISLAND

100% of 225 precincts

Republicans

Ford	9,329	or 66%
Reagan	4,406	or 31%
Uncommitted	497	or 3%

Democrats

Uncommitted	18,902	or 31%
Carter	18,141	or 30%
Church	16,698	or 28%
Udall	2,672	or 5%
McCormack	2,360	or 4%
Jackson	745	or 1%
Wallace	534	or 1%
Bayh	238	or 0%
Shapp	110	or 0%

SOUTH DAKOTA

99% of 1,348 precincts

Republicans

Reagan	42,627	or 51%
Ford	36,684	or 44%
Uncommitted	3,511	or 5%

Democrats

Carter	24,755	or 41%
Udall	20,160	or 34%
Uncommitted	7,177	or 13%
McCormack	4,227	or 8%
Wallace	1,218	or 2%
Harris	632	or 1%
Jackson	557	or 1%

MONTANA

49% of 986 precincts

Republicans

Reagan	25,010	or 61%
Ford	15,222	or 37%
Uncommitted	789	or 2%

Democrats

Church	33,743	or 61%
Carter	13,043	or 24%
Udall	3,406	or 6%
Uncommitted	1,781	or 3%
Wallace	1,755	or 3%
Jackson	1,510	or 3%

Carter Campaigns Among Ill

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

OAKLAND, Calif., June 1 —Ah, California.

The search for votes in next Tuesday's presidential primary here has seen President Ford jump onto a tuna boat to talk to fishermen, Ronald Reagan make a speech from a horse. And today Jimmy Carter led a camera-laden throng of reporters through the respiratory wing of a local hospital to dramatize his health care program.

Even in this state of media-oriented politics, the former Georgia governor's campaigning among bed-ridden patients at Alta Bates Hospital was a stand-out "media event."

A woman in her 70s, shaking and breathing with difficulty despite respiratory assistance, kept saying into television microphones, "Where's Jimmy Carter, I want to see Jimmy Carter . . ." as the Democratic presidential front-runner made his way toward her bed.

A younger woman, who like the other patients agreed to tell her health insurance problems to the candidate, turned her face to the wall after Carter left, as scores of reporters and photographers filed past the glass window between them and her.

For Carter, who is fighting to pick up a share of delegates from favorite son Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. next Tuesday, the event was tailor made—a chance to overcome criticism that he is soft on the hard issues while projecting his highly personalized style over local as well as national television.

The patients, hand-picked by the hospital, in cooperation with the Carter campaign, told Carter similar stories of personal financial crises caused by health insurance that did not cover all their medical costs, particularly post-hospitalization rehabilitation.

One woman patient, Carter said later at a news conference elsewhere in the hospital, faces $57,000 in expenses beyond what her insurance policies cover. Her husband, whom Carter identified as a moderately affluent lumber dealer, will have to sell all his assets to finance her recovery, Carter quoted the woman's daughter as saying.

At the news conference, Carter decried the lack of a comprehensive health insurance system and outlined in general terms his own programs to emphasize preventive care, establish cost and quality controls for medical services and improve distribution of medical personnel.

Asked about the cost of his proposed program, including mandatory insurance coverage that he has proposed to be financed through payroll and general tax revenues, he said it would cost no more than existing health care, which he said averages more than $550 a year for every American.

Avoiding any direct criticism of Brown, which he has acknowledged was a mistake he made in losing Maryland to the California governor last month, Carter acknowledged that this state has a crisis in a handling physicians' malpractice insurance, but placed no blame for it.

One solution, he said, would be a voluntary system under which patients in health maintenance organizations would agree to submit malpractice claims to arbitration. Juries would be unlikely to expand on arbitration awards.

Later, to more than 1,000 senior citizens at a Long Beach rally, Carter criticized Mr. Ford's proposals for increasing Social Security tax rates, and said he would raise the amount of income to be taxed and tie benefit levels to wage rates rather than to cost-of-living increases.

Signs advertising "Free Food for Senior Citizens" were removed from the rally area shortly before Carter and his press entourage arrived. Fred Monroe, a rally organizer, said they were removed because such signs are illegal, not because they might have given the impression that the crowd had come for free food rather than to hear Carter.

Earlier in the day Carter spoke and shook hands at the truck yard at the Sacramento Municipal Utilities District, where he obliquely chided Brown for failure to make "decisions" that could end the controversy over farm labor unionization in California.

Carter tends to dismiss Brown as a nice young man who isn't really running for President, at least not this year.

"I think he's a fellow just looking for publicity," Carter told supporters as he arrived at the Senator Hotel across the street from the capitol in Sacramento last night.

J

Personalities

John Dean III, formerly of Watergate, is now with Rolling Stone magazine. "We have here one of the more unique observers of Republican politics," who "knows exactly what power politics is like when it gets to the high stakes," said editor **Jann Wenner.** What stakes Nixon's former lawyer will be paid remains undisclosed.

Campaign notes: from all over, **Chip Carter,** 26, who says unequivocally that his father, presidential candidate **Jimmy Carter,** "doesn't think homosexuality is right, but doesn't want to inflict his morals on other people," entered a gay tricycle race in San Francisco Monday and lost. He raced "to show support for handicapped people's services"—it benefited Guide Dogs for the Blind—"and for gay people's political situation," but his handlebars broke when he sat on them.

Meanwhile, **Robert Trugman** said in an Atlantic City press conference that Carter "needs help." Trugman was the winner of the New Jersey Open Masters Championship for hairdressers and cosmetologists, and he also had unkind words for **President Ford, Gov. Edmund Brown Jr.,** and **Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey,** all on the subject of their hair. He likes **Ronald Reagan's** hairdo.

If former President Nixon's televised memoirs are worth $1 million, how much would you pay for former British Prime Minister **Harold Wilson's? David Frost,** the purchaser of Nixon's post-election interview, is said to be forking over another $1 million for Wilson's, but Wilson has to do 13 programs for it—three on himself and 10 on other British prime ministers. The series will be shown on commercial television in Great Britain next fall.

Truman Capote has demanded to be tried by his peers in a Long Island drunken driving charge—provided, of course, 12 peers can be found to try him. Most of his peers, otherwise known as the Beautiful People, aren't speaking to the writer since the appearance of his book about them, "Answered Prayers." Capote was picked up Sunday after a minor accident in Bridgehampton, smelling of alcohol and unable to pass the breath test, according to police.

"Of course I want to marry him," said **Rosabella Burch,** 43, of **J. Paul Getty,** 83, the zillionaire.

"I'm far to old" to marry anyone, said Getty.

This romantic exchange took place in an interview in the British magazine Woman, although Burch and Getty could possibly have talked the matter over more privately, since they share an estate in London. Burch also volunteered why she prefers Getty to younger men: "If they have money, they lack personality. If they have personality, they have no money and you end up eating hamburgers for the rest of your life. Getty is a complete man."

The Soviet Union is boycotting the World Chess Olympiad in October because it is being held in Haifa, Israel, the president of the International Chess Federation confirmed. **Marion Jayne** and **Patricia Keefer,** a mother-and-daughter pilot team, won the Angel Derby air race from Quebec City to Fort Lauderdale Monday, flying the 1,732-mile course in about 8¼ hours.

—*Judith Martin*

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Showdown in Ohio For the Democrats

CLEVELAND—Rep. Morris Udall, liberal darling of fashionable suburban salons, arrived here last week and immediately drove to Klein's Bar for a payday beer-and-chaser with auto workers—setting the tone for a campaign whose outcome could determine the Democratic Party's fate in 1976.

Udall, the clear underdog against Jimmy Carter in next Tuesday's Ohio primary, is perceived well to Carter's left in a state where Democrats disdain flaming liberals. Nevertheless, cheered by beating Carter among Michigan blue-collar voters, Udall is concentrating here on wooing working men, particularly around Cleveland.

The stakes are enormous. A Carter win in Ohio would neutralize his probable California loss and all but assure his nomination. A Udall upset, however, would so fortify suspicions of growing voter resistance to Carter that a battle to the death at Madison Square Garden would be guaranteed.

This poses an irony for a party that has suffered grievously from sectarian strife. Udall, self-appointed guardian of the party's liberal tradition, can only stop Carter's consensus nomination by defeating him in white neighborhoods where anti-black emotion runs high.

Outwardly, the odds against Udall seem prohibitive. With Ohio measurably less liberal than Michigan, Carter leads both in southern Ohio and in conservative areas within the Udall-targeted Cleveland area such as west side Cleveland and suburban Parma. To complicate matters, Sen. Frank Church has scheduled six days in Ohio, threatening Udall's liberal suburban base.

But Udall enjoys an asset there that he lacked in Michigan: help from the United Auto Workers (UAW). Despite UAW president Leonard Woodcock's endorsement of Carter, politically potent UAW regional director Bill Casstevens has put the union behind Udall in Cleveland (and was at Udall's side at Klein's Bar).

Carter and Udall both started from scratch in Ohio last week. Carter's newly arrived manager here is Tim Kraft, architect of Carter's triumphs in Iowa and Pennsylvania. But a new face for Udall arrived in Cleveland May 2 as his Ohio manager: political consultant Mark Shields, who had resisted Udall's year-long pleas for help until personal misgivings about Carter changed his mind.

Shields, who managed John J. Gilligan's 1970 election as governor of Ohio, immediately transferred Udall's state headquarters from Columbus to Cleveland, establishing the new emphasis. Shields is operating autonomously, without direction from Udall's brother and nationaal campaign manager, Stewart. That frees Ohio from Stew Udall's dogma, giving priority to precinct organization that handcuffed his brother's campaigns in New York, Wisconsin and other primaries.

Consequently, Shields is concentrating the $250,000 Ohio budget (lavish by Udall standards) on radio and television, especially in the Cleveland market reaching over 40 per cent of Ohio Democrats. One newly filmed TV spot compares the Udall and Carter records to underscore Udall's attack on Carter as a trimmer not to be trusted by working men.

Besides going after blue-collar votes, this attack is intended to provoke Carter into losing his icy composure.

Accordingly, Udall strategists were delighted when Carter opened his Ohio campaign with an angry indictment of anybody opposing his nomination as an enemy of change and reform.

Carter's vulnerability and Udall's difficulty in exploiting it are typified by reactions of the influential leader in one ethnic Cleveland ward. He has rejected Carter's courtship because "there's something about Jimmy Carter that scares me." But after listening to Udall address the Cleveland City Club last Friday, the ward leader told us: "I'm afraid he's too intelligent, too much like Jack Gilligan." Thus, this leader sees a shaky Carter plurality in his ward.

What night have saved Udall, paradoxically, is white resentment over Carter's substantial black support. Endorsement of Carter last week by Zeke Forbes, brother of black city council President George Forbes, "could give Udall the west side," according to one powerful Democrat there. Detriot's black Mayor Coleman Young, who lost white votes for Carter in Michigan with his absurd attack on Udall as a Mormon, could do the same here during an Ohio speaking tour. Udall operatives have been delightedly passing word that former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, now an NBC commentator in New York but still the black most hated by this city's whites, joined the anti-Mormon attack on Udall in a network radio commentary.

But this was neutralized over the weekend by endorsements of Udall from George Forbes and Rep. Louis Stokes, the former mayor's brother. The Carter forces were delighted.

Moreover, Udall is so doctrinaire a liberal that he displays little empathy for urban whites, chiding Carter for not supporting forced racial busing. That makes winning the Ohio primary all the more essential for Carter. If he cannot carry Cleveland's west side against the champion of the liberal suburbs, how would he fare there against Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan?

David S. Broder

What the Party 'Owes' Jimmy Carter

COLUMBUS, Ohio—It now appears probable that Jimmy Carter will complete the primary season next Tuesday with about 1,200 of the 1,505 votes needed for nomination. He is likely to have three to four times as many delegates as his closest challenger and will—unless beaten in all three of the final primaries—undoubtedly claim that his delegate total entitles him to the nomination.

On the face of it, that claim is nonsense. The Democratic Party no more "owes" Carter the nomination than Carter "owed" the party or its leaders the right to be consulted on his initial decision, almost four years ago, to run for President in 1976.

He is entitled to what he can win—and nothing more. But there are powerful prudential considerations that could persuade uncommitted delegates and those whose commitment to other candidates is less than iron-clad that Carter should be nominated. And that is what the debate will be about after next Tuesday.

On the positive side, rallying behind Carter would clearly be the best guarantee of a harmonious convention and, in all likelihood, also the best bet for a winning general election campaign.

Those factors are normally uppermost in the minds of politicians, and there is no good reason why they should not operate to Carter's benefit this year.

A consolidation of Carter's support would reduce the danger of divisive battles over platform, credentials or party rules, and would spare the Democrats from a closed-door "brokering" process in Madison Square Garden that might antagonize a television audience already cynical about backroom politics.

Moreover, as previously noted in this space, a Carter-led ticket would probably be a strong contender for victory. As a Southerner with support from black voters and demonstrated appeal to farmers, independents and even some Republicans, there are very few states Carter would not have a chance to carry in November—particularly if joined by a vice-presidential candidate who supplements his own strengths.

Conversely, rejecting Carter would raise the danger that the Democrats would antagonize the South, which finally has a credible nominee; the blacks who have been Carter's most consistent supporters; and thousands of volunteers who have enlisted in his cause this year.

And it is by no means clear who the alternative is that would reconcile those Carter fans to his being rejected. Would a Hubert Humphrey who was off delivering a testimonial for Wayne Hays instead of competing in the primaries be accepted as a better candidate than Carter? It seems unlikely.

All these practical matters would point the uncommitted Democratic delegates in Carter's direction. But that is not the only relevant consideration for them.

The uncomfortable truth the Democratic Party now confronts is that, since Carter has not won a majority of the delegates by his appeal to the people in the primaries, it is clearly the responsibility of the party to decide whether he is its best man.

That responsibility cannot be avoided. It is obvious that Carter has created doubts about himself in the minds of many, even as he has gathered in the delegates. Confidence in his character and understanding of his governmental purposes have not grown apace with his vote count. On the contrary, the skepticism about what makes Carter run, which was once confined to the ranks of his colleagues in Georgia politics, has been spread across the landscape.

Those who decide whether to provide the votes that make Carter the nominee cannot escape the implications of their role. Like the Walter Reuthers, the David Lawrences and the Richard Daleys who tipped the 1960 Democratic convention to John Kennedy, and like the Strom Thurmonds, the John Towers and the Barry Goldwaters who turned the critical 1968 Republican votes to Richard Nixon, they will either be honored or censured by history for their judgment.

A particularly heavy burden falls on the Democratic governors, from whose ranks Carter came. Not only their states but the country should be able to look to them, either to vouch for or reject Carter's credentials for the presidency.

Some of them will recall that in 1972, it was Jimmy Carter who insisted that prospective nominee George McGovern present himself to the Democrats attending the National Governors Conference in Houston to justify his claim to lead their party. McGovern did so, and it is not a bad precedent.

The governors meet a month from now in Hershey, Pa., just a week in advance of the Democratic convention's opening. It might be a prudent thing for the Democratic Party to withhold judgment on its nominee until that meeting.

Rain again
Showers likely today and tonight, high in 70s, low in 50s. Cloudy tomorrow, high in 60s. Details: C-4.

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How the Liberals Campaign Against Carter

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

COLUMBUS, Ohio — The primaries are almost over now, but the questions about the candidacy of Jimmy Carter are just what they have been all along. Will the Democratic liberals finally accept him? Or will they insist on their own definition of political and ideological purity, whatever the potential cost?

If Carter wins the primaries in Ohio and New Jersey next Tuesday, these questions may be academic for all but the most extreme cases on the Democratic left. In that event, he would be likely to reach the convention with 1,300 or more delegates which would seem to be beyond the tipping point for Attila the Hun.

But if the results are less clear cut — if, let us say, Carter wins New Jersey but loses narrowly in Ohio or the reverse — the moment of truth will have arrived. Carter will still be light years ahead of anyone else competing for the nomination in delegate strength but still tarnished goods.

ANOTHER WEAK showing next Tuesday, coming after the Rhode Island results yesterday, would lend some weight to the liberal argument that the outsider from Georgia has been a shooting star whose brilliance has been expended long before the general election in the fall. The only flaw in that reasoning, of course, is that the national opinion polls still show Carter defeating either Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan by comfortable margins, something which cannot be said for those who are actively competing against him for the nomination in these late primaries — Morris K. Udall, Frank Church and Jerry Brown.

But the liberal case against Carter has never been based primarily on poitical pragmatism. It is, instead, an emotional reaction that finds its own rationalization in the circumstances of the moment.

This is nowhere more apparent than in the widespread consensus among Democrats, liberals and otherwise, that the only realistic alternative to Carter is Hubert H. Humphrey. The party is intrigued by Jerry Brown, who made another strong showing yesterday in Rhode Island and surprised by Frank Church whom the professionals had written off long ago as a serious competitor for the nomination. And none of the most knowledgable Democrats have ever believed that Mo Udall was a realistic possibility this year.

But, for the liberals to accept

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Politics Today

Questions on Carter Still Are the Same

Continued From A-1

Humphrey requires them to make a 180-degree reversal of their position four years ago, when he was the devil incarnate because he refused to yield gracefully to George McGovern and insisted on the California challenge at the National Convention. Liberal affection for Humphrey today implies that he has become somehow different between the ages of 61 and 65, and it implies that the Democratic left is willing to forget the war in Vietnam and his history as the agent of Lyndon Johnson.

BUT THE NATURE of the anti-Carter phenomenon is such that Humphrey is not examined by the same standards. The liberals see Carter, with some justification, as a trimmer who has been both expedient and inconsistent on a whole range of issues. But the same purity that cannot countenance Carter's waffling on, for example, breaking up the oil companies is able to blink at Humphrey's history of accepting tainted milk money and tax deductions and gifts from foreign governments.

The explanation is revealing. "Everybody knows," the liberals say, "that old Hubert isn't crooked." Fair enough. But the operative phrase is "everybody knows" about Humphrey while nobody knows about Jimmy Carter. After all these months and all these primaries he is still the alien intruder who threatens dislocations within the Democratic party they are unable to accept.

The extent of this essentially hysterical reaction against him was demonstrated a few days ago when one of the most prominent liberal activists, Alan Baron, compared his chief advisers to Haldeman and Ehrlichman, a mind-boggling comparison to anyone who knows the individuals involved.

That, however, is the point about the liberal view of Carter on the eve of the Democratic convention. It is far more emotional and personal than rational.

THE LIBERAL favorite, however lightly he is treated as a potential nominee, is Morris K. Udall. But, again, Udall is not subjected to the same standards that are applied to outsider Carter. For example, Udall is making the point in Ohio, as he did in Michigan, that Carter has waffled on his opposition to Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows right-to-work laws. But Udall himself once actually voted against the repeal of 14B.

He explains these days that he had promised his constituents he would do so and felt obliged to keep that commitment once he had reached Congress. Udall was past the age of consent when he made that commitment, but no one in the liberal community asks him why he made such an anti-labor promise in the first place. In Udall's case, it is boys will be boys. In Carter's case, it is evidence of some dark design.

There is nothing morally wrong or even politically unfair about a "stop Carter" movement. That is what politics is all about, and if Udall were ahead at this stage there would surely be a "stop Udall" movment too. The only question in that situation is when the opposition decides that yielding to the obvious is more prudent than refusing to yield, particularly in terms of the party's prospects in November.

But, at this stage, the liberal reaction to Carter is more an "anyone but Carter" movement than simply an effort to prevent him from winning the nomination. And that could be fatal to the Democratic hopes for approaching 1976 more realistically than they approached 1972.

New Poll Results

Carter's Key Voters: Blacks

By Robert Reinhold
New York Times News Service

The major reason that Jimmy Carter appears to be leading President Ford as the choice of the electorate at this point is Carter's overwhelming support among blacks.

This conclusion, drawn from the latest national political survey conducted by The New York Times and CBS News, suggests that the black vote would be pivotal if the election were held today between Ford and Carter. Carter was chosen by blacks in the survey by more than 5 to 1.

The finding may seem ironic to some because the concerns of black citizens have not been a high priority of either major political party in recent years.,

THE DEMOCRATS can traditionally count on heavy majorities among blacks. Sen. George McGovern was said to have received 87 percent of the black vote in 1972. But Carter's lead this year is all the more significant because he seems to be retaining that strong black support, even though he is a white Southern politician, and because the white vote is so evenly divided.

The reason the black vote may loom so large is that new survey results suggest strongly — at least if the November election were to be held today — that the President and Carter would run about even among white voters, with Ford possibly edging out the former Georgia governor by a slim margin. But when blacks are added they go overwhelmingly for Carter, giving him the victory by about 6 percentage points.

If these findings are reflected in Carter's private polls — as seems likely — they help explain why he has so assiduously courted the black vote, and why he exerted so much effort to counter the adverse effects of his recent controversial comments about preserving the "ethnic purity" of urban neighborhoods.

THE NEW RESULTS also indicate that Ford's pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon holds the potential of damaging him greatly if the Democrats choose to make an issue of it. The majority of those questioned — which included Republicans, Democrats and independents — said they opposed the pardon, and these people said they would prefer Carter by a heavy margin.

The Times-CBS News survey indicates that Carter would defeat Ford by about 46 to 40 percent, and Ronald Reagan by an even larger margin, 48 to 36. Carter is the only Democrat who would overwhelm the President, according to the survey.

The whites divided almost evenly, 43 to 42 for Ford. But the blacks preferred the Georgian, 73 to 14. Even though blacks made up only 12 percent of the sample, their preference was so lopsided that they gave Carter the overall edge over Ford, 46 to 40.

A PROBLEM for Carter could be to reduce the political apathy among blacks that usually results in low election-day turnout. Four years ago, only 52.1 percent of voting-age blacks went to the polls, as compared with 64.5 percent of whites. This could well spell the difference in a close election.

Carter did very well among liberals, average among moderates and less well among conservatives. The results for Ford were the converse.

Formal education and incomes also were correlated with choice, with the Republican doing best among the better educated and highly paid. Carter did particularly well among blue collar workers and union members.

Church in Ohio, Asks Democrats For Unity

DAYTON, Ohio (UPI) — Frank Church said yesterday that the key to his successful primary campaigns in Oregon and Nebraska was that he was able to consolidate Democrats behind his candidacy, and "I hope to have the same success in Ohio."

Church and his wife campaigned in the rain on downtown streets in Dayton, then held a news conference.

In Cleveland, Church called his third-place finish in the tight Rhode Island primary race "very encouraging" and hinted strongly that Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., should drop out of the running for the Democratic presidential nomination.

"If there is to be an alternative candidate to Carter it must be someone who has gone into the primaries and won," Church said. "Obviously, that can't be said of Udall."

Brown's Uncommitteds Take R.I., Carter and Church Split West

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

COLUMBUS, Ohio — In a preliminary to the main event next Tuesday, Democratic voters in three small states offered another measure of confusion to the competition for their party's presidential nomination yesterday.

The winner, if there was one, was Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. And the loser, if there was one, was the frontrunning Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

The nearly 900-vote victory in Rhode Island of a slate of delegates — designated as "uncommitted" but unofficially supporting Brown — represented a sharp rebuff to Carter in the penultimate week of the Democratic competition. But Carter apparently stopped another liberal challenger by defeating Rep. Morris K. Udall by 7 percentage points in South Dakota, a state the liberal challenger had made his major testing grounds in the voting yesterday.

Only 56 delegate votes were involved among the Democrats, who will need 1,505 to be nominated at the party convention in New York City six weeks from now. And Carter, as he has done all year, won more of those than anyone else.

BUT THE FORMER governor of Georgia was stung in Rhode Island when an uncommitted slate that had become adopted by Brown defeated him there despite 11th hour campaigning. With all the vote counted, the uncommitted delegates had 32 percent of the vote to 30 percent for Carter and 28 percent for Sen. Frank Church.

Church, another 11th hour entry, won as expected in Monoana, capturing the 60 percent of the vote to Carter's 25.

Taken together the results added new questions about Carter's hold on the Democratic nomination on which he seems to have at least a loose grip. His defeat of Udall in South Dakota represented a clear setback to the Arizona liberal, but it was difficult for Carter to explain the loss, however narrow, in Rhode Island.

Democratic politicians were inclined to write off the results from the nation's smallest state as a product of organizational resistence to Carter and Roman Catholic support for Jerry BroN, A FORMER Jesuit seminarian. But they conceded that Carter had been a walkaway frontrunner there until Brown took over the uncommitted delegation less than 10 days before the primary..

NONE OF THE results yesterday was expected to have an important impact on the ultimate showdown among the Democrats in California, Ohio and New Jersey next Tuesday. But there were several warning signs in the results from the three small states.

For the fourth week in a row Carter showed something less than the strength he had displayed in winning the supposedly pivotal Pennsylvania primary April 27. Since then he has lost to Church in Nebraska, Brown in Maryland and Church again in Oregon. Another defeat of the kind he suffered yesterday, if it were to come in a major state next Tuesday, would seriously undermine his position as the assured frontrunner for the nomination.

Carter won some new momentum, however, by defeating Udall in South Dakota, a state in which Carter had been considered vulnerable in the final days of the campaign. Udall had boasted he would win there after winning the endorsement of both Sen. George McGovern and James Abourezk in the final week before the voting. Carter's victory gave his supporters new hope that he could defeat Udall in the major confrontation between the two longtime adversaries here next Tuesday.

CHURCH, STILL seeking a victory outside his own region, won as predicted in Montana but also made a strong showing in Rhode Island after several days of personal campaigning there in the final week before the primary. He is making a similarly intense effort this week in both Ohio and California and is, once again, rated as a possibility to finish second without necessarily capturing another attention-getting prize.

The key result yesterday, however, was unmistakably that in Rhode Island.

As he had done in Nebraska, Maryland and Oregon, Carter had made a special effort to stave off late challenges, but had failed to establish a convincing case that he should be nominated on the strength of his showing ih earlier primaries.

THE RHODE ISLAND results raise particular questions about his putative lead in New Jersey next Tuesday. That, too, is a primary in which his principle opposition comes from an uncommitted slate that Brown has been trying to convert into his own. In that case, however, the situation has been complicated by the decision of State Democratic Chairman James Dugin to advertise the slate as an either Brown or Hubert Humphrey cover. But, at the least, the possibility now exists that Carter could suffer another sharp setback in the Northeast at a time when he is trying to establish himself as a candidate who can win anywhere at any time.

Udall, who has staked his entire candidacy on the Ohio primary, conceded he was "disappointed" by the loss in South Dakota. The setback was made the more striking by his success the last time out in running a close race — less than 1 percentage point against Carter in the May 18 Michigan primary.

None of the results yesterday was expected to have a major impact on the Democratic competition, if only because so few delegates and so few Democratic voters were involved. But for Carter, the returns from Rhode Island were one more piece of evidence he still has a way to go in persuading Democrats he is the "obvious" choice for the nomination.

BROWN, THE 38-year-old governor of California, once again has confounded the Democratic establishment by defying conventional wisdom. In his first outing, in Maryland May 18 Brown beat Carter by more than 10 percentage points after an intensive personal campaign. Last week he finished a strong third to Church and Carter with 25 percent of the vote that was made more impressive by the fact he was a write-in candidate and the other two appeared on the ballot.

Brown is favored to win the primary in his own state of California next week, but the impact there is likely to be less than it has been from the three primaries he has entered in smaller states.

Church, who defeated Carter in Nebraska and Oregon, made a major effort in Rhode Island in an attempt to establish himself as something other than a regional challenger. Although he ran third in Rhode Island, his strong showing apparently accomplished his purpose. And it will mean that he will be regarded far more seriously next Tuesday in the test in Ohio in which he has entered himself against Carter and Udall.

Carter explains – or does he?

Jimmy Carter is seeing a stop-Carter movement behind every bush on the primary campaign trail.

The other day, in Ohio, he used the strongest language to date in denouncing the stop-Carterites, real or imagined. They are, he said, trying "to maintain at all costs their own entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power."

Well, who are those ganging up to stop Mr. Carter from getting the Democratic nomination?

Sen. Frank Church, who beat him in Oregon and Nebraska? No, said Mr. Carter.

Jerry Brown, the California governor who has come on strong lately but so far has a pitifully small number of convention delegates? No, said Mr. Carter.

Rep. Morris Udall, who said he will pull out all stops to beat Mr. Carter in Ohio? No, said Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, indicating that it was an oversight that Mr. Carter hadn't said no himself when questioned as to individuals out to stop him.

If it isn't any or all of these three active candidates, then it must be Hubert Humphrey, who has made it plain he wants the nomination and is available for a draft? No, said Mr. Carter.

Teddy Kennedy, about whom there has been renewed speculation? No, said Mr. Carter.

Okay, we give up. Who?

Other Democrats, said Mr. Carter. They can't be named, said Mr. Powell, because Mr. Carter "hopes to be the nominee and he doesn't think it's proper to take these things to a personal level."

Who else? Why, President Ford and Ronald Reagan, said Mr. Carter.

President Ford and Ronald Reagan, the Republicans? We thought they were busy trying to stop one another in their own primaries.

Come on, Jimmy.

Charles Bartlett

Jimmy Carter never leaves them laughing

Humor is the lubricant of politics and Jimmy Carter's lack of it may be the reason for the reluctance to accept his conquest of the Golden Fleece.

The public is perhaps tired of laughing at Washington. At least some voters would plainly like to turn it over to a severe outsider who will stop the clowning around. But Washington survives by laughing at its own foibles because politics is the essence of what is droll as well as noble in human dealings. Some see in Carter's grin a warning that he may not get the joke.

Some kingmakers who are taking the Carter plunge have been disconcerted by his cold disinterest in humor, but they are counting on other virtues. The candidate himself, in ticking off redeeming national qualities like love, compassion and godliness, never mentions humor. He does not seem to rely on its saving grace. Old friends claim this is an aberration caused by the campaign. "He has a fine sense of humor," insists Atlanta attorney Charles Kirbo. "I think he's put it aside for the time being. Whatever has become of it, I suspect it's still lurking around and you'll see more of it."

It is hard to conceive of a humorless man emerging from the South, where the art of banter has long been enriched by the drawl. But Carter's autobiography, penned before the campaign, conveys no intimation that humor intrudes upon his recollections, assessments or aims. The book takes its tone from Reinhold Neihbuhr's grave epitaph on the frontispiece: "The sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world."

The Watergate events have given currency to this view of politics as an unsmiling crusade against all the evils. Washington bristles these days with stern young reporters and officials bent on tightening everything that is loose. But the human being is intrinsically a loose configuration so no society can be people-proof. The crusaders will wind up laughing or behaving like hypocrites. Man's fallibility obliges most smart politicians to lean heavily on their talent for grasping the funny side of the absurdities which confront them. None of the nation's good Presidents since Woodrow Wilson has lacked humor, and Wilson wound up in the grip of a nervous breakdown. It was Wilson who noted that men grow or swell when they reach high office. Those like Henry Kissinger who grow and swell are saved by ability to laugh at themselves.

The rising pressures on the White House have made humor increasingly crucial to Presidents. A significant part of the tragedy of Richard Nixon can be ascribed to his habit of finding solace in hostility instead of humor. He lost the perspective that enables a President to stay healthy amidst the tumult.

Instead of blustering now at the "entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power" of those attempting to stop him, Carter would do well to echo the quiet humor of Leonard Woodcock. The UAW leader drily observes that the liberals trying to keep Carter from being nominated are the same ones who kept Hubert Humphrey from winning the election of 1968. Or as John Kennedy said of the liberals: "My job is to keep them one jump short of revolt."

No Democratic candidate in history has taken as many primary jumps as Carter and it is easy to understand how his sense of humor may have been swept into a corner by ambition and exhaustion. But he had better retrieve it before he tries to settle into Washington.

Carl T. Rowan

Where's Carter going to get the votes?

I note with ill-concealed smugness today that way back when most of my colleagues were talking about a Jimmy Carter runaway, I insisted we'd get down to June 8 with the Democratic choice for President still riding on crucial primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio.

And so it is.

I now stick my neck out further and say that after all the votes are counted next Tuesday the former Georgia governor will still be so far from the 1,505 delegates needed to nominate, he will not be able to horsetrade for what he needs before the Democrats convene in New York City in July.

And let me reiterate what I have said before: President Ford is still in trouble for the simple reason that the Republican party is drawn to the far right the way a moth is drawn to a flame.

Mr. Ford now has an on-paper delegate lead over Ronald Reagan, thanks to some maneuvering in New York and Pennsylvania to get uncommitted delegates committed to the President before the big shootouts on June 8. Reagan and Mr. Ford will battle for a total of 331 delegates next Tuesday, or well over a fourth of the 1,130 needed to nominate in Kansas City in August.

Reagan may win California and the President may prevail in Ohio and New Jersey, but it is unlikely that either man will do well enough to insure a first ballot nomination. If Mr. Ford cannot wrap up 1,130 delegates before the first ballot, however, he had better do a lot of worrying. Reagan's showbiz articulation of a host of right-wing frustration just might overwhelm the convention.

Carter also had better win nomination on the first ballot or start pondering second place. I've made a few calls around the country and I'm told that a substantial number of his delegates may abandon him once they've discharged the legal requirement to support him on the first ballot. Quite a few blacks who were happy to see Carter destroy the candidacy of Alabama Gov. George Wallace are now a bit leery of Carter. They are not as quick to forget and forgive Carter's remarks about "ethnic purity" and "black intrusion" as some black politicians have been.

Then, some white Democratic liberals think they have received "a message" in those published rumors that Teddy Kennedy would submit to a genuine draft, or even accept as Hubert Humphrey's running-mate.

These Democrats think the signal says: "Don't stampede into Carter's corral; a couple of tough hombres may yet ride into town and save the situation."

Given these reservations by blacks and forlorn expections by white liberals, where does Carter get the 300 to 400 delegates needed to put him over the top? Will Wallace's instincts as a fellow Southerner provoke him to turn his delegates over to Carter, or will Wallace say "never" to the man who wiped him out in Florida and North Carolina?

You can bet that neither Mo Udall, Humphrey, Sen. Frank Church nor Gov. Jerry Brown is going to make a first-ballot deal with Carter. It is not much more likely that Sen. Henry Jackson can be induced to give Carter his 240 delegates.

Could Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley favor Carter with the 86 delegates now nominally pledged to Sen. Adlai Stevenson III? Hardly on the first ballot.

None of the Democratic candidates or power blocs remotely accepts the Carter camp's argument that if Carter goes in with 1,200 delegates and is denied the nomination, "it would wreck the party."

Supporters of candidates other than Carter insist, rightly I think, that the rules say the candidate who gets 1,505 votes is the nominee. No delegate number short of 1,505 entitles any candidate to any claim on the party, although pragmatism might suggest that the candidate who reaches 1,200 votes and fails to get the presidential nod ought to get primary consideration for the vice-presidential spot. But what I started out to do was brag about my prediction that June 8 would be a super political day — and that there'll be suspense aplenty at the conventions.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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California, Here They Come

Candidates Ante Up $2 Million for Finale

By ROBERT LAMB

Major candidates are spending more than $2 million on political advertising in the last three presidential primaries of the season.

Half that amount will go into Tuesday's California primary, with the remainder split between primaries set for the same day in Ohio and New Jersey.

The biggest single media budget, between $500,000 and $600,000, will be spent in California by that state's former governor, Ronald Reagan.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter will spend $300,000 in California, according to his advertising manager, Gerald Rafshoon, and he will throw another $300,000 into the Ohio primary and $200,000 more into the New Jersey sweepstakes.

Other media budgets for California include $200,000 for President Ford's campaign and $100,000 for the campaign of Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho.

Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., who, like Church, is struggling with limited financial resources, will spend nothing in California, said his administrative assistant, Ed Coyle.

Udall, Coyle said, will focus on the Ohio primary, spending $125,000 there, and will spend another $25,000 in New Jersey.

Steve Russell, media coordinator for Church, said the senator will spend nothing in New Jersey and $100,000 in Ohio.

Ford's campaign budgeted nothing for either New Jersey or Ohio, said Grace Marie Prather, deputy press secretary. And Reagan will skip New Jersey, too, Nofziger said, but will spend about $50,000 in Ohio.

AT LEAST $500,000
Ronald Reagan

$300,000 BUDGETED
Jimmy Carter

TO SPEND $200,000
President Ford

The media budget for California Gov. Jerry Brown's effort in his home state was not available.

All of the major candidates except Carter and Reagan, and possibly Brown, find themselves in a financial bind as the primary season winds to a close.

Russell, speaking for the Church organization, said, "We'd like to spend more, but we just don't have the budget of Gov. Carter."

Told how much, $750,000, Carter would spend in the three closing primaries, Russell said, "Good God! We've only raised that much in the whole campaign."

Speaking for the Udall organization, Coyle said, "We would love to be able to spend $250,000 in California, but we don't attract the money that a front-runner does."

The Ford campaign spokeswoman said, "The truth is, we're really stretched. We've already spent over $10 million on the campaign."

Rafshoon said that Carter actually spent a bit more in the Florida primary than he will spend in California.

"We had a longer period in Florida," he explained, "and we were

See CALIFORNIA, Page 8-A

CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN

Mankiewicz Joins Carter

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

FRESNO, Calif.—Frank Mankiewicz, a political operative who moves in the highest echelons of the Democratic party, has joined the Jimmy Carter presidential campaign in California.

Mankiewicz flew to San Francisco Wednesday morning to make a surprise appearance at a Carter rally. He then joined Carter on a campaign flight to Fresno and later moved on to Los Angeles "to make speeches to two groups tonight and three tomrorrow."

A top-level aide to presidential candidates Robert Kennedy in 1968 and George McGovern in 1972, Mankiewicz, 51, had previously turned down a spot on the Carter staff to make a run for Congress in Maryland.

Mankiewicz narrowly lost the Democratic nomination for the suburban Washington, D.C., congressional seat in the Maryland primary last month.

In an interview Wednesday, Mankiewicz said he is doing volunteer work for Carter for the former Georgia governor's June 8 California primary race against California Gov. Jerry Brown.

After the primnary, Mankiewicz said, he will "make a few phone calls" for Carter but is not seeking a staff post because he is finishing a book "on the impact of 25 years of saturation television coverage on America."

He may work for Carter full-time after the Democratic national convention in July if Carter wins the nomination, he said.

Although Brown has scored some surprising successes in a late-starting campaign, Mankiewicz dismissed the California governor's chances of winning the nomintion.

"I would be working harder for Carter if I though he (Brown) had a chance," Mankiewicz said.

Frank Mankiewicz

Brown is favored to win most of the 280 delegates at stake in the June 8 primary here. However, Carter claims to have accumulated 1,031 delegates already, which is within striking distance of the 1,505 needed for nomination.

On the matter of Sen. McGovern's firing of two staff aides this week for publicly spearheading a "stop Carter" movement, Masnkiewicz said, "They had been warned."

Former McGovern Press Secretary Alan Baron had been told to stop his anti-Carter activities from McGovern's Senate offices, but then Baron was quoted as denouncing Carter in a New York Times article Monday. "That was the last straw," Mankiewicz said.

Mankieicz said McGovern would not rehire Baron but may rehire Jack Quinn, who had been on McGovern's staff only for a couple of weeks after leaving the Morris Udall presidential campaign.

Unlike many persons close to McGovern, Mankiewicz had been favorable to Carter since early this year. He is considered a prime candidate for a top-level Carter staff position in the staff expansion that will be necessary if Carter is the nominee.

California

From Page 1-A

trying to get name recognition there. We no longer need it."

All the campaign spokesmen said that most of the media budget is going into television.

Rafshoon said Carter's advertising in California is emphasizing "Jimmy's experience, wisdom, his reorganization ability and his time in office as compared to Brown's lack of record."

"Brown is, of course, the front-runner, but there are a lot of delegates out there," Rafshoon added.

He said Carter's $300,000 budget for California was relatively small. "A major budget in California would be three times what we're spending," he said.

Meantime, Carter was raising still more money in California. At a fund-raising reception in Los Angeles Tuesday night, Carter supporters raised about $45,000 more in a $1,000-per-couple get-together at the home of Robert and Susan Whittaker, wealthy political activists.

"We are spending all the money that we can raise in California to improve our media presentation," Carter said.

He added: "I think the next week will be much more significant than any other single week we have had so far."

Carter said he expects to pick up at least 70 delegates in California.

New Nationwide Poll Has Carter Leading All Announced Candidates

By LOUIS HARRIS

HARRIS POLL

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter holds a comfortable lead nationally over his three opponents in next Tuesday's critical primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio. Among a national cross section of Democrats and independents, Carter wins over Gov. Jerry Brown of California by 49-40 per cent, over Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona by 57-34 per cent and over Idaho Sen. Frank Church by 59-29 per cent.

However, when pitted against Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who has avoided the primary contests, Carter runs behind by a 50-44 per cent margin. Since March, Humphrey has consistently beaten Carter in head-to-head pairings.

However, two questions must be raised about the prospects of an ultimate Humphrey nomination at the Democratic convention in July. One is whether the Minnesota veteran would continue to run well in the polls if he became a declared candidate. Another is whether the majority of delegates who have been elected in primaries or state caucuses would be willing to accept a candidate who had not taken his chances in the preconvention selection process.

The two most interesting pairings in this latest Harris Survey are those that pit Carter against Humphrey and Brown.

Here are the key dimensions of the Carter-Brown pairing:

— In their respective home regions, Carter and Brown clearly dominate the voting. Carter runs 60-32 per cent ahead in the South, while Brown wins by a comparable 61-34 per cent in the West. In the Midwest, Carter holds a wide 55-35 per cent edge. In the East, where Brown defeated Carter in the Maryland primary and will be contesting him for New Jersey's delegates next Tuesday, Carter holds a narrow 43-40 per cent lead.

— Carter defeats Brown among those who never went beyond the eighth grade by 61-26 per cent and among the high school educated by 50-37 per cent. However, among the college educated, Brown wins by 50-43 per cent.

— Carter swamps Brown among Democratic conservatives by 57-31 per cent and leads among middle-of-the-road voters by 49-41 per cent. However, among liberals, Brown forges ahead to a 53-41 per cent lead.

— Carter wins easily among white Protestants by 58-34 per cent, has a narrow 44-42 per cent lead among Catholics, but loses among Jewish voters by 52-27 per cent. Among blacks, Carter holds a 50-40 per cent lead.

— When analyzed by income, Carter's support includes all groups below $15,000, but Brown is ahead among the more affluent Democrats and independents by 49-40 per cent.

In a Carter-Brown contest, the former Georgia governor clearly is the choice of conservative, small-town, older and less educated voters, while Brown has more appeal among younger, better educated, suburban and affluent voters. Carter's margin over Brown perhaps is determined by his lead among blacks and union members (49-43 per cent). This vote will be hotly contested in both California and New Jersey next Tuesday.

Against Humphrey, Carter wins only the South (59-36 per cent), but runs behind in the East by 58-35 per cent, in the Midwest by 49-44 per cent and in the West by 60-35 per cent. He loses to Humphrey in the cities and suburbs nationally, but easily wins the small town and rural areas. He carries the vote of people under 30, but is behind among people 50 and over.

Carter defeats Humphrey among Democratic conservatives by 50-42 per cent, but loses the liberal Democratic vote by 65-34 per cent. He loses the Democrats as a whole by 54-42 per cent, but wins the independents by 48-42 per cent. He takes the white Protestant vote by 54-39 per cent, but loses the Jewish vote by a massive 85-11 per cent.

Late last month, the Harris Survey asked 1,022 Democrats and independents nationwide:

"Suppose in the race for the Democratic nomination for President, it came down to a choice between Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. If you had to choose right now, would you prefer Carter or Humphrey for the Democratic nomination?"

CARTER VS. HUMPHREY TREND

	Carter	Humphrey	Not Sure
May	44%	50%	6%
April	43%	48%	9%
March	43%	48%	9%

The cross section was also asked:

"Suppose in the race for the Democratic nomination for President, it came down to a choice between former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. Jerry Brown of California. If you had to choose right now, would you prefer Carter or Brovn for the Democratic nomination?"

CARTER VS. BROWN TREND

	Carter	Brown	Not Sure
May 1976	49%	40%	11%
April	52%	33%	15%

The Harris Survey also asked:

"Suppose in the race for the Democratic nomination for President it came down to a choice between former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona. If you had to choose right now, would you prefer Carter or Udall for the Democratic nomination?"

CARTER VS. UDALL

	Carter	Udall	Not Sure
May 1976	57%	34%	9%

Finally, the cross section was asked:

"Suppose in the race for the Democratic nomination for President, it came down to a choice between former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. If you had to choose right now, would you prefer Carter or Church for the Democratic nomination?"

CARTER VS. CHURCH

	Carter	Church	Not Sure
May 1976	49%	29%	12%

Final Week of Primaries Crucial for Ford and Carter

By STEVE GERSTEL
United Press International

President Ford and Jimmy Carter headed for crucial, perhaps decisive, battles in California, New Jersey and Ohio Wednesday as the long and arduous presidential primary campaign moved into its final week.

With Ronald Reagan in hot pursuit, Ford held a sizable but vulnerable lead going into the three delegate-rich primaries next Tuesday which could decide the GOP presidential nomination.

Carter, far out front among Democrats, battled liberals Jerry Brown, Frank Church and Morris Udall who have mounted a final, desperate campaign to deny the Georgian a first-ballot nomination.

Tuesday's tuneup primaries in Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana produced a virtual standoff that was not expected to have any impact on next week's showdown results.

Reagan, the conservative crusader from California, won decisively in Montana and narrowly in South Dakota. But Ford trounced Reagan in Rhode Island and finished the night with a net gain of 17 delegates.

Carter beat Udall in South Dakota, once again denying the liberal Arizona congressman his first primary victory. But Church beat Carter in Montana and uncommitted delegates, backed by Brown's marathon three-day campaign, finished on top in Rhode Island.

Despite two more defeats, his sixth and seventh in the last 12 primaries, Carter picked up 20 more delegates and boosted his lead to 904 with 1,505 needed for nomination. Udall remained a distant second with 308 delegates.

Heading for what has become known as "Super Tuesday," Ford leads Reagan 822 to 651 in pledged delegates. Nomination requires 1,130 votes.

But Reagan is favored to win California's winner-take-all primary and pick up 167 delegates while Ford is expected to take, according to estimates from both camps, the bulk of the delegates from Ohio (97) and New Jersey (67).

If Ford could spring an upset in California, he would be assured a virtual lock on the nomination. If not, he and Reagan probably will have to scramble for votes in caucus states which have not finished their delegate selection, and forage though the uncommitteds.

There are 540 Democratic delegates at stake — 280 in California, 108 in New Jersey and 152 from Ohio.

Although Brown, the 38-year-old governor, is the heavy favorite in homestate California, Carter is expected to carve away some delegates. The former Georgia governor is favored in a three-way fight with Church and Udall in Ohio and faces an uncommitted slate — partial to Brown and Hubert Humphrey — in New Jersey.

Carter, who established himself as the leader with his march through the early primaries, discounted the impact of his latest two defeats.

"The so-called 'Stop Carter movement' has much less significance than it did a week or so ago," Carter said in Los Angeles. He warned that an attempt to stop him now would be "divisive to the Democratic party and might contribute to a Republican victory in the fall."

But Brown, Udall and Church gave no indication they are willing to clear the way for Carter.

After Udall's loss in South Dakota, Church strongly suggested that the Arizona congressman step aside and give him a clear shot at Carter.

"If there is to be an alternative candidate to Carter it must be someone who has gone into the primaries and won," said Church. "Obviously, that can't be said of Udall."

But Udall, campaigning in Ohio, said the state's primary would "turn this country around. If we beat him (Carter) in Ohio, we've got a whole new ball game."

RELEASE OF PAYOFF INFORMATION

Carter Demands Lockheed Data

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

SAN FRANCISCO—Speaking Wednesday to a lunchtime throng of several thousand, Jimmy Carter demanded "immediate public release of all information connected with the Lockheed payoff" made to a Japanese official.

The government's refusal so far to hand over all Lockheed bribery information as requested by the Japanese government is "rigid and insensitive" and has badly injured U.S.-Japanese relations, Carter charged.

Yoshio Kodama, behind-the-scenes power in Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, has been charged on several counts in connection with Lockheed's payment of $12 million to promote the sale of its planes in Japan.

The old-fashioned political rally here was a shift in gears for the Carter presidential campaign in California, which has previously relied on "media events" designed to get maximum television coverage.

Carter stressed the issues of Japanese relations and environmental protection at Market and Montgomery streets, a traditional place for Democratic rallies.

"The Lockheed bribery scandals" amount to "continuing damage to the fabric of Japanese democracy," Carter stated.

The Japanese people interpret the corporate bribes and the U.S. refusal to make full disclosures as intolerable meddling.

At a Los Angeles press conference earlier Wednesday, Carter humorously chided California Gov. Jerry Brown, his chief rival here for the June 8 primary.

Carter was asked about Brown's insistence that the former Georgia governor has not proved himself to be the undeniable Democratic frontrunner.

"Maybe he can't count delegates," Carter said, adding, "I would say that someone who has 1,000 delegates is ahead of someone who has 25. That is just my twisted logic. Maybe it would not stand up in front of a Zen Buddhist analysis."

Brown is a former seminarian who says he is attracted to the Zen philosophy.

Although he narrowly lost to an uncommitted slate in the Rhode Island primary Tuesday, Carter said, "I really feel very good about the campaign. It is right on track."

In California, the "media events" Carter has relied on have included a walking tour of the respiratory unit of an Oakland hospital, drawing only handfuls of people but producing invaluable minutes of television exposure.

Media attention is deemed more important than political organization in this huge, 780-mile-long state with 280 Democratic delegates at stake.

After the San Francisco rally, Carter campaigned in Fresno and then flew to Cleveland, Ohio, Wednesday evening to prepare for campaigning for the June 8 Ohio primary.

Hal Gulliver

The ABC Boys Still Take Hope

The beat goes on.

Jimmy Carter, the long distance runner of this presidential election year, was once again the only candidate running in all of Tuesday's primaries and once again ran better in more places and picked up more delegates than anyone else.

And once again, let it be added, the Anybody But Carter crowd saw great portent in 32 per cent of the votes going for an uncommitted slate in Rhode Island, just ahead of Carter's 30 per cent total of the vote. And Sen. Frank Church defeated Carter in Montana, a state next door to Church's home state, yet even here Carter polled more than 25 per cent of the vote. The ABC folk had less to say about South Dakota where Carter once again soundly defeated his main challenger there, Congressman Morris Udall. Udall has yet to win a primary, making the odds long indeed that Udall could finally defeat the Georgian in the important Ohio primary next week.

This week's primary were all (in terms of delegates) in small states, Montana and Rhode Island and South Dakota, but important nonetheless in showing voter sentiment. The returns are mixed, as Carter opponents like to point out. It is true that Carter did not sweep all before him as a conquering hero. Church did well in his neighboring state. California Gov. Jerry Brown can take some comfort in the uncommitted delegate showing in Rhode Island, though when some of the uncommitted delegates have already announced that they will vote for Carter at the convention it is a little hard to see the "victory" Brown claims.

This week's primaries are really preface to the Super Bowl of the primary season next Tuesday.

That is the big one, the day that three large states, Ohio and New Jersey and California, all vote and select more than 500 delegates.

The Stop Carter crowd have been going all out for different candidates in different states, Anybody But Carter, and the pattern for next week is similar. Brown is expected to do well in his home state of California. Udall is making a last desperate try in Ohio. Both Udall and Church and even Brown are fooling around to some extent in New Jersey. Yet Carter's main opposition in New Jersey will be from an uncommitted slate (coveted by Brown and the others) which has got strong support from some prominent New Jersey Democrats. This is the slate that really started out as Holding for Hubert (Humphrey, that is) and basically is still that, willing to be for anybody that might help head Carter off.

But the beat goes on. Carter has not made a single major mistake in the most stunningly successful national campaign since John F. Kennedy went the primary route to win the Democratic nomination in 1960. He will move well past the 1,000 delegate mark in next week's primaries and will end up with three or four times as many delegates as any other candidate. The only outside chance that Carter will fail to win a first ballot presidential nomination at the Democratic convention is a slight one; he would have to make a major blunder, some absolutely incredible mistake, of such serious order that prominent Democrats would rally aggressively against him. Otherwise, the ABC boys don't have much going for them.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

6/10

Quotation of the Day

"The primaries now are over and Governor Carter has a commanding lead. He is virtually certain to be our party's nominee."—Hubert H. Humphrey. [U.S.]

United Press International

Jimmy Carter celebrated with a soft drink in Georgia

55A

B

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Syria agreed to the stationing of some troops from other Arab countries in Lebanon to help establish a durable peace. The announcement in Damascus followed a meeting of President Hafez al-Assad with Arab League representatives who had pressed him to withdraw all Syrian troops, to which he did not agree. Washington reports said Syria had moved several thousand more troops up to the Lebanese border but had delayed attacks to await the outcome of cease-fire negotiations. [Page 1, Columns 1-2.]

Reports from Beirut said Syrian armor had halted in the mountains east of the Lebanese capital. Cease-fire negotiations were reportedly being conducted by two Arab mediators, Libya's Prime Minister and Algeria's Minister of Education, meeting with Syrian and Palestinian leaders. [1:2.]

Spain's Parliament approved a bill to legalize political parties, forbidden since 1939. Less than seven months after the death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco, the vote was 338 to 91, with 24 of the 561 members abstaining and slightly over 100 absent. The Government will still have the power to reject a party and has indicated it would bar the Communists. [1:3.]

Dame Sybil Thorndike, Britain's preeminent actress, whose career began in the Edwardian era, died at the age of 93 in London. Her last stage role was six years ago, her last public appearance this year at the closing of the Old Vic Theater. [1:1-2.]

National

Jimmy Carter appeared assured of a first-ballot victory at the Democratic convention, as opposition to his candidacy crumbled. Endorsements came from Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington promised support, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts said he expected his nomination, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota called off his plan for an active drive if Mr. Carter failed in the final primaries. On the Republican side, President Ford seemed to have a stronger bargaining position as well as 93-delegate lead over his challenger Ronald Reagan, and Melvin R. Laird, a Ford strategist, told Washington reporters, "It's all over!" [1:1-8.]

A survey of Republican voters in the California, Ohio and New Jersey primaries indicated many would vote for Mr. Carter in November if their preferred Republican candidate, whether President Ford or Ronald Reagan, failed to get the nomination. About 35 percent of those questioned indicated this readiness to defect, even higher than the Republican defection rate of 20 percent in 1964 to vote Democratic rather than support Senator Barry Goldwater. [1:5-6.]

Mr. Carter, at home in Georgia, sought to discourage speculation on his possible choice as a Vice-Presidential running mate. He said that he would almost certainly withhold an announcement until after he had been nominated, adding that yesterday's endorsements left him free to choose without regard to politics or delegates. He said geographical or other balance would be of very remote importance. [1:7.]

A Rand Corporation national follow-up study of a sample of 1,340 alcoholics showed that 18 months after entering treatment, 70 percent were no longer drinking abusively though only 10 percent were abstinent. Most had adopted a pattern of "normal" drinking, averaging one drink a day, usually consumed as the alcoholic equivalent of four beers once every three days. [1:1.]

The Blue Cross Association has ordered a feasibility study on comprehensive nonhospital treatment of alcoholism, which afflicts an estimated 9 million Americans, as a health problem that could be covered for subscribers to its services. [1:2.]

Metropolitan

Mayor Beame vowed to resist Governor Carey's pressure for additional budget cuts if they were designed "merely to permit the state to avoid its responsibilities." It was his strongest complaint about Mr. Carey's fiscal prodding. Mr. Beame said that the state was realizing "windfall" savings in matching funds as the city was forced to cut its budget and that it should return some of this money to the city. [1:3.]

Albert H. Blumenthal, majority leader of the New York State Assembly, announced he would retire this fall at the end of his seventh term to spend more time with his family. The surprise announcement drew many tributes to the 47-year-old Manhattan Democrat, an early leader in the party's reform movement. [1:4.]

The Other News

"All the News hat's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDI

Weather: Mostly su warm tonight. Partly row. Temp. range: Wednesday 63-91. Dec

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SHIFT TO GEORGIAN

Humphrey Stays Out —Wallace, Jackson, Daley Give Support

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Opposition to Jimmy Carter's candidacy for the Democratic Presidential nomination crumbled yesterday, and he appeared to be assured of victory on the first ballot next month.

Capping one of the most brilliantly plotted nomination drives in American political history, the 51-year-old former Governor of Georgia won endorsements yesterday from Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, plus a promise of support from Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

The three party leaders control or influence enough delegates to give Mr. Carter the final votes that he needed for a clear convention majority.

"I expect the nominee will be Mr. Carter," said Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, to whom many anti-Carter Democrats had looked for help in stopping the Georgian.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who had been prepared to start an active drive for convention delegates this week in the event of failure by Mr. Carter in Tuesday's three final primaries, said in a statement yesterday that he would not do so.

"The primaries now are over and Governor Carter has a commanding lead," said the 65-year-old former Vice President, who has sought his party's Presidential nomination three times. "He is virtually certain to be our party's nominee."

G.O.P. Outcome in Doubt

President Ford and Ronald Reagan, meanwhile, prepared for a six-week battle through 11 state conventions with the Republican nomination still in doubt. Having won Tuesday in Ohio and New Jersey and lost in California, the President held a 105-delegate lead and seemed to occupy the stronger bargaining position.

Melvin R. Laird, re-emerging as a Ford strategist, told reporters in Washington that "it's all over," with the President assured of nomination. Mr. Ford himself commented late in the afternoon that his "electability" would put him across.

But John P. Sears 3d, Mr. Reagan's national campaign manager, said the Californian's nomination was "inevitable." As Mr. Reagan repaired to his ranch hideaway above Santa Barbara to rest, Mr. Sears and other "headhunters" flew east, from California in search of uncommitted and wavering delegates.

Dark Day for Liberals

The next test will come this weekend at the Republican state convention in Springfield, Mo., which both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan plan to attend. Among Missouri delegates chosen so far, Mr. Ford has 15, Mr. Reagan 12 and three are uncommitted.

Both sides have been manuevering frantically to try to capture the 19 delegates that the convention will choose to complete the state's 49-member delegation. Gov. Christopher S. Bond, a Ford supporter, said the competition was "a toss-up."

For the Democratic Liberals,

Continued on Page 42, Column 4

Carter Seems Due to Win on 1st Vote

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

it was a dark day.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who had tried in vain to stem the onrushing Carter tide, refrained from releasing their delegates but conceded that any further attempts to stop Mr. Carter would surely prove futile.

Only Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., the enigmatic Californian who trounced Mr. Carter in California on Tuesday and backed the uncommitted slate that beat him in New Jersey, proclaimed his intention to keep fighting. Nvertheless, the Governor curtailed his heavy travel schedule, evidently persuaded that the die was cast.

The stampede to Mr. Carter was set off by his sweep in Ohio, where he gained 126 delegates, trampling Mr. Udall and Mr. Church in the last of a series of pivotal primaries. That more than made up for his expectedly poor showing in California and his unexpectedly weak performance in New Jersey. His total delegate gain for the day, late tallies showed, reached 218.

In another context, the New Jersey results might have severely damaged Mr. Carter and helped Mr. Brown. The 38-year-old Governor has beaten the Georgian in Maryland, Nevada, California and Rhode Island, helped to beat him in New Jersey and come close in Oregon even though he had to rely on write-ins.

Brown Surge Too Late

But Mr. Carter had won so many delegates earlier, and accumulated so many even in losing states where proportional representation is used, that the Brown surge came too late.

The fact that he had been unable to defeat Mr. Brown in a head-on fight was the only colud on Mr. Carter's horizon.

He was quietly pleased, though not exultant, as he conducter a news conference yesterday morning at the old railroad station in Plains, Ga., that he has converted into a hometown headquarters. Mr. Carter, wearing a denim jacket and trousers and a shirt open at the neck, said his nomination was "as certain as it can be, under the particular circumstances."

What could intervene? he was asked. "The vote has to be taken at the convention, and there could be some catastrophe," he observed.

By his own count, the candidate said, he has at least 1,260 of the 1,505 delegates needed for nomination—a figure that neither news organizations nor other politicians disputed.

Mr. Carter went to unusual lengths to head off speculation about his probable Vice-Presidential choice, then disclosing that Mayor Daley and Senator Jackson had agreed to throw as many of their delegates his way as they could influence.

Assured of Victory

As a result of the endorsements, someone wanted to know, was Mr. Carter assured of 1,505 votes? "Yes," he replied, "much more than that."

Mr. Wallace controlled 168 delegates, Mr. Daley 86 and Mr. Jackson 248 before yesterday's developments. Spot checks with some of the delegates indicated that the vast majority would respond to their leaders' wishes. But even if only two-thirds of them did so, the Georgian would be clearly over the top.

Most state laws regarding pledged convention delegates cease to operate when a candidate releases his delegates.

Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's campaign manager, said at a briefing in Plains yesterday afternoon that the candidate's travel would be "severely reduced" immediately. Jody Powell, his press secretary, remarked that Mr. Carter would probably have enough delegates to make platform controversies "less serious than might have been expected."

The first endorsement for Mr. Carter came from Mayor Daley, whom he had courted with great care for three years.

"The ball game is over," said the Mayor as he arrived at his office. "The man has such a strong amount of support throughout the country, there is no use in hesitating now."

Asked whether he would like to see Mr. Carter pick Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d as his Vice-Presidential running-mate, Mr. Daley replied, "It would be a great ticket." But there was no indication that the Georgian had made any commitment in return for gaining the Mayor's support.

Shortly after Mr. Daley spoke, Mr. Stevenson released the 86 Daley-backed delegates who were pledged to him as a favorite son. As for the Vice Presidency, he commented, "It is not a nomination one seeks or rejects." Mr. Stevenson said he could "enthusiastically support" Mr. Carter but would not endorse him.

The next to speak was Mr. Wallace. At a brief and anticlimactic news conference in Montgomery, the Alabama Governor said of the man who shattered his own Presidential hopes, "The people want Carter, and he's entitled to the nomination."

Mr. Carter and Mr. Wallace talked by telephone at 1 A.M. yesterday, and the two will meet this weekend when Mr. Carter travels to Alabama. But the Alabamian, stripped this year of his once-awesome political power, said no commitments had been asked or given.

"In the heat of the campaign," Mr. Wallace recalled, he had called Mr. Carter "a liar," but added, "We've got to overlook many things. He'll make a fine candidate."

Askew on Bandwagon

Several hours later, another sometime critic of Mr. Carter, Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida, said he was switching his support from Mr. Jackson to the Georgian, adding that his "substantial differences" with Mr. Carter "are in the past."

Mr. Jackson made no official endorsement, but promised a statement next week. Observing that Mr. Carter would clearly win the nomination on the first ballot, the Senator continued:

"We can all add. But what I want to do more than anything else is to get all the candidates who participated in the campaign to come out on a unified basis, so we can have a unified convention. My whole theme is one word now: 'unity.'"

Finally, on Capitol Hill, Mr. Humphrey said his piece.

"I have stated that I would seek the nomination only in the event that there was no clear front-runner following the final three primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio," the Senator declared, reading his statement for television cameras.

Because Mr. Carter was so far ahead, he added, "I will not authorize any Presidential political activity on my behalf."

Humphrey Hurries Off

Uncharacteristically, he hurried out of the studio without answering questions. When a reporter called to ask him whether he was releasing his handful of delegates, Mr. Humphrey threw up his hands and answered, "whatever they wish to do."

That left the ddaft-Humphrey operation high and dry, and Representative Paul Simon of Illinois, one of its organizers, said it was "a probability at this point that Jimmy Carter will be the nominee of our party."

And so it went. Mr. Udall said he knew "the difference between a sure winner and a sure loser." Mr. Church said the convention might well "be decided before it even convenes."

Mr. Brown, evidently frustrated because the biggest night of his brief campaign had been followed by a massive switch to his opponent, left Los Angeles for Louisiana to court uncommitted delegates there as the guest of Gov. Edwin W. Edwards.

"It just may be that Mr. Carter, while gaining momentum among the delegates, has peaked among the people," Mr. Brown said at the Los Angeles airport in virtually the only comment of the day from a major Democrat that sounded like something other than a concession.

But the young Governor's aides saying privately that he would probably not be making delegate-hunting trips to New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut that he had planned.

Scramble for Delegates

While the Democrats were all but annointing Mr. Carter, the Republicans were talking of scrambles for delegates by ones and twos and threes. With 238 delegates still to be chosen, neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Reagan was within 150 votes of the 1,130 needed for nomination.

After the Republican meeting in Missouri this weekend, other newly important dates on the calendar are as follows:

June 18-19—Conventions in Delaware (Mr. Ford is favored), Washington (Mr. Reagan is ahead) and Iowa (a toss-up).

June 26-27—Conventions in Montana and New Mexico, strong Reagan territory, and Minnesota, which is Ford country.

July 9-10—Conventions in Colorado, where the President has high hopes, and North Dakota, where he does not, both on the eve of the Democratic convention in Madison Square Garden.

July 16-17—Conventions in pro-Ford Connecticut and in pro-Reagan Utah, which will at last end the selections.

"I'm electable," the President told reporters in the White House Rose Garden when they asked how he would build a majority, "and I can help elect more Republican members of the House and Senate. Delegates understand that. They want to vote for a winner in November."

To his present total of 961 delegates — tabulated by The New York Times and confirmed by Mr. Ford's strategists — the Ford camp hopes to add about 150 at the conventions, which would still leave them short of victory.

The President is considering travel to the conventions in Utah, Montana, Colorado, Iowa and Connecticut, aides said. And he has already begun telephoning key members of uncommitted delegations and leaders in convention states—an indication of his need to squeeze out every conceivable delegate vote.

Working from briefing papers dealing with the delegates' backgrounds, Mr. Ford has even talked to some of their wives and children.

Each camp believes that it can raid the other, taking away "soft" supporters. Mr. Sears of the Reagan organization is considered particularly adept at such work, and he said on Tuesday night, "we know exactly where to probe for softness."

Spokesmen for both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Ford, attempting to convince reporters that they would win, distributed projections indicating that their candidates would win about 1,150 delegates on the first ballot at Kansas City in August.

The Californian told cheering supporters in Los Angeles, gathered in the same Ambassador Hotel ballroom where Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated eight years ago, "I think the train is pulling out."

"It's going to Washington," shouted someone in the crowd. "Yes," replied the candidate, "by way of Kansas City."

Nominate Muskie Opponent

PORTLAND, Me., June 9 (AP)—Maine Republicans have nominated Robert A. G. Monks, a 42-year-old millionaire businesman from Cape Elizabeth, to oppose Senator Edmund S. Muskie, a Democrat, in the Nov. 2 election. Mr. Monks, a former state energy director, won 83.7 percent of the Republican vote in yesterday's primary, defeating Plato Truman, a Biddeford businessman.

E

CARTER RETICENT ON RUNNING MATE

Says He Won't Tell Aides or Family Whom He Likes—Discourages Guessing

By CHARLES MOHR,
Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., June 9—Jimmy Carter, now virtually sure of the Democratic Presidential nomination, made a vigorous effort today to discourage speculation about his possible choice of a Vice-Presidential running mate.

He said that he would not inform even his family or closest associates of his thinking on the subject or permit them to speak for him.

But, as political dams broke around the country, bringing a flood of new delegates to the already delegate-rich Mr. Carter, attention began to shift from a Presidential race that most people now believe is settled to the Vice-Presidential nomination. The speculation that Mr. Carter hopes to avoid will probably increase.

In the political world, attention is focusing on several figures, including Senator Frank Church of Idaho, Senator Adlai

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Carter Discourages Guessing On Choice of a Running Mate

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois and Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota. Senator Harry M. Jackson of Washington indicated yesterday that he was interested, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona said long ago that he would not refuse a Vice-Presidential offer.

Mr. Carter said previously that he had been studying a list of two dozen names. Hamilton Jordan, his 31-year-old campaign manager, said today that the list included some women and blacks. But Mr. Carter has been careful throughout his long campaign to avoid even a single public expression of special interest in any individual.

The former Georgia Governor said today at a news conference at the old railroad station that is his headquarters in this South Georgia hamlet of 683 population, "There's going to be a lot of speculation, obviously, about the Vice Presidency."

"No one is authorized to speak for me," he added: "No one, neither my campaign manager, nor my wife, nor anyone is authorized to speak for me."

His wife, Rosalynn, who was standing behind him, smiled.

Mr. Carter, dressed in a denim work jacket and trousers, said that he did not "intend to indicate to any of my staff members, or any of my family, any time soon who I will recommend." He said that he would almost certainly withhold an announcement of his choice until after he had been nominated for President by the National Convention in July.

The Best Qualified

Mr. Carter said that he felt "free to choose a running mate without regard to politics or without regard to delegates."

He said that he wanted "the person best qualified to be President" if Mr. Carter was elected and died in office. He also said that he would give "a very remote degree of importance" to "someone geographic or other balance" for the ticket.

In recent weeks, however, Mr Carter hinted at other factors that might influence his decision.

Yesterday, for instance, he told reporters that while geographic balance was not a major factor in his thinnknig, he might be interested in balancing the ticket with a partner who was strong in areas where Mr. Carter had not run well, for example the West.

He has also said that he would look for a Vice-Presidential candidate who could fill what he once described as "absences" in his own experience. He listed foreign policy as one such personal weakness.

To some observers, at least, such arrows might seem to point to Senator Church. Mr. Carter has always praised him as a clean, "nondivisive" candidate in the primary elections hurly-burly. But, in fact, no reporters in Mr. Carter's entourage have had the slightest hint of whom the Governor may favor.

However, it has not been difficult to identify men who have annoyed the Georgian. One is Mr. Udall, whose campaign Mr. Carter recently called "vituperative." Another is Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who seems to set Mr. Carter's nerves on edge for reasons that are not entirely clear.

At news conferences last night and today, Mr. Carter emphasized that none of the major party figures he wooed in the last two days had asked him for any political favors. He seemed to say this to discourage speculation that he was using the Vice-Presidential nomination to bargain for delegates.

Advice is already being heard. Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, who endorsed Mr. Carter this morning, said that a team of Mr. Carter and Senator Stevenson would be "a great ticket" with good geographical balance.

FORD NOMINEE SEEN WITHDRAWING NAME

Special to The New York Times

CONCORD, N. H., June 9—President Ford's nominee for chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commerce, Warren B. Rudman, has scheduled a news conference here Friday at which he is expected to withdraw from consideration for the post.

Mr. Rudman, former New Hampshire Attorney General, was nominated for the I.C.C. post last February. Senate Commerce Committee hearings on the nomination were set to begin June 24. However, committee staff members have privately indicated to Mr. Rudman that his confirmation was not likely, and he has told friends that he will withdraw later this week.

When President Ford first nominated him, his confirmation was thought certain. However, since then opponents have worked behind the scenes to block his confirmation.

Mr. Rudman has indicated that he will discuss the circumstances of his withdrawal at his news conference.

Defection to Carter In G.O.P. Is Hinted

By ROBERT REINHOLD

An unusually large proportion of Republican voters who backed President Ford or his challenger, Ronald Reagan, in Tuesday's final primaries said they would abandon their party in November to vote for Jimmy Carter if their choice lost the nomination and Mr. Carter was the Democratic candidate.

This was shown by surveys of voters in California and Ohio conducted by The New York Times and CBS News, and in New Jersey by The Times alone. About 35 percent of both the Ford and the Reagan supporters indicated that they would prefer Mr. Carter if their Republican favorite was not the nominee.

Winning '72 Defectors

At the same time, the polls found that Mr. Carter was winning back two-thirds of the Democrats who defected to President Nixon in 1972, while keeping three-fourths of those who voted for his rival Democratic rival, George McGovern of South Dakota.

These results, if translated into national scale by November, indicate that, unless the Republican Party can patch up its internal differences, it may well suffer its largest defection in recent history—even greater than that in 1964, when 20 percent of the nation's Republicans voted for President Johnson, the Democratic nominee, rather than for Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the Republican candidate.

The 35 percent Republican defection rate contrasted sharply with that among Democrats who opposed Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor who is the Democratic front-runner. On the average, only about 17 percent of those who backed Church of Idaho said they would desert the party if Mr. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona or Senator Frank Church said they would desert the party if Mr. Carter won.

These figures, which are echoed in recent national polls, reflect a stunning reversal of

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James Farley Dies

James A. Farley, who plotted the strategy that swept Franklin D. Roosevelt to two Presidential victories, died last night at his home in the Waldorf Astoria. He was 86. Obituary, page 62.

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party roles in just four years. At about this time in 1972, after the last primary, a Times survey in California showed that the Democrats were deeply divided over the rising candidacy of Senator George McGovern, with about 40 percent of the disappointed Humphrey voters saying they planned to vote for President Nixon. That November, one-third of the Democrats voted Republican, giving the election to Mr. Nixon.

Today the Democrats are rapidly uniting under the Carter banner while the Republicans are showing unmistakable signs of disintegration over the rancorous Ford-Reagan duel.

Averting Defeat

The party patterns emerge from a sampling of 5,681 voters in the three states. The voters were interviewed as they came out of the polling places in the windup primaries of this long and unpredictable race for the Presidential nominations.

Much can change before November, of course, and the results can be applied directly only to the three states—California, Ohio and New Jersey. Still, the three states represent vastly different regions—the West, the Middle West and the East—and are the nation's first, sixth and eighth largest, respectively. Thus, they typify the diversity of the American electorate.

If the sentiments of the people who voted in these states Tuesday give any hint of the shape of the ucoming election campaign, then they lend substance to President Ford's fears, expressed Monday in Ohio, that the Republican Party ma suffer a "debacle" and a "tragedy."

The President implied that a debacle could be averted by nominating him because only he could unite the party. While the urveys do suggest that Mr. Ford is a somewhat stronger candidate than Mr. Reagan among all voters, they contain little evidence that he can stem the Reagan defections.

The Reagan voters were just as likelyto abandon the party as the Ford backers if denied their preference.

The Republican troubles seem to be rooted in the party's internal schism and in the ability of Mr. Carter to attract Republicans and conservative Democrats, who in the past have often provided Republican Presidential candidates with their majorities.

Both in national polls and in the latest primaries, Mr. Carter, a self-proclaimed "outsider" whose candidacy has been resisted by party regulars, has been highly successful in drawing wayward Democrats back into the party fold.

Winning the 'Nixon Democrats'

In Ohio, for example, the "Nixon Democrats" — those who bolted in 1972—said they would prefer Mr. Carter over Mr. Ford by more than 3 to 1, and over Mr. Reagan by more than 2 to 1. At the same time, the overwhelming bulk of those who remained loyal and voted for Senator McGovern said they would also vote for Mr. Carter.

The Republican defection problem was well typified in Ohio. In that state, 38 percent of the Reagan voters said they would prefer Mr. Carter to President Ford, and 36 percent of the Ford voters said they preferred the Georgian to Mr. Reagan. About 40 percent in each camp said they would stand by the Republican nominee, with the remainder undecided. (The figures were similar in New Jersey and California, except that the California Reagan backers tended to be a little more loyal than average.)

Independents Are Key

This means that, at this early stage of the Presidential campaign, many Republicans are undecided. It is possible that the party will find ways of smoothing over the rift by August, when it holds its national convention. On the other hand, a particularly bitter convention battle between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan may drive the undecided into the Carter column.

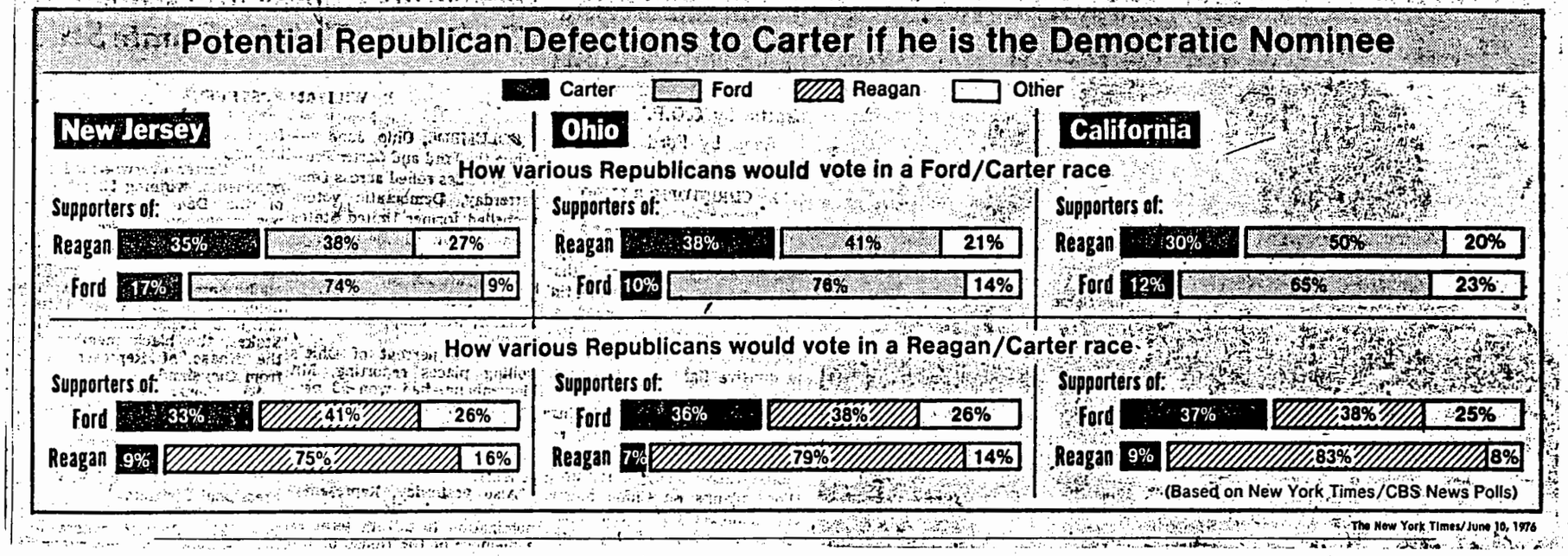
Whether a 35 percent defection rate would be enough to tip the scales against the Republicans in November is impossible to say with a certainty, because it depends on the behavior of independents, who have had less of a chance to vote yet, and of Democrats. In addition, primary voters may not be entirely representative of the national electorate as a whole.

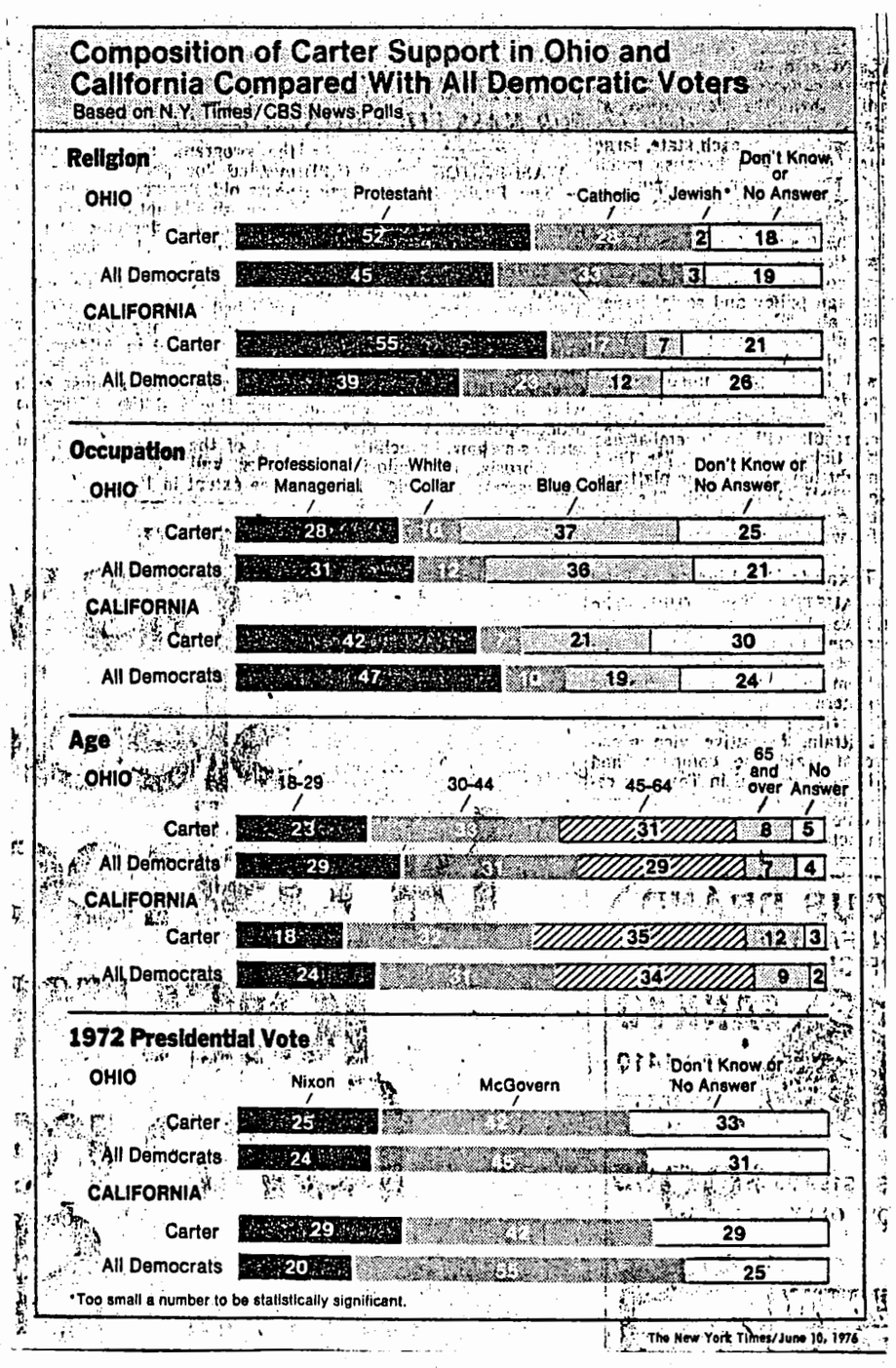
But a 35 percent defection rate in each Republican camp is the equivalent to the loss of one of every four Republican votes overall in the primary states.

Such defections are potentially more damaging to the Republicans than to the Democrats because, as a minority party, Republicans have traditionally depended on winning by combining loyal party members with independents and disaffected Democrats.

Excluding the 1964 election, the Republican defection rate in Presidential elections has averaged only 6 percent.

Assisting The Times in its survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the department of government at Harvard University.


Potential Republican Defections to Carter if he is the Democratic Nominee
Carter
Ford
Reagan
Other
New Jersey
Ohio
California
How various Republicans would vote in a Ford/Carter race
Supporters of:
Reagan 35% 38% 27%
Ford 17% 74% 9%
Supporters of:
Reagan 38% 41% 21%
Ford 10% 76% 14%
Supporters of:
Reagan 30% 50% 20%
Ford 12% 65% 23%
How various Republicans would vote in a Reagan/Carter race
Supporters of:
Ford 33% 41% 26%
Reagan 9% 75% 16%
Supporters of:
Ford 36% 38% 26%
Reagan 7% 79% 14%
Supporters of:
Ford 37% 38% 25%
Reagan 9% 83% 8%
(Based on New York Times/CBS News Polls)
The New York Times/June 10, 1976


Composition of Carter Support in Ohio and California Compared With All Democratic Voters
Based on N.Y. Times/CBS News Polls
Religion
OHIO
Protestant
Catholic
Jewish*
Don't Know or No Answer
Carter
52
23
2
18
All Democrats
45
33
3
19
CALIFORNIA
Carter
55
17
7
21
All Democrats
39
23
12
26
Occupation
OHIO
Professional/ Managerial
White Collar
Blue Collar
Don't Know or No Answer
Carter
28
10
37
25
All Democrats
31
12
36
21
CALIFORNIA
Carter
42
21
30
All Democrats
47
10
19
24
Age
OHIO
18-29
30-44
45-64
65 and over
No Answer
Carter
23
33
31
8
5
All Democrats
29
31
29
7
4
CALIFORNIA
Carter
18
32
35
12
3
All Democrats
24
31
34
9
2
1972 Presidential Vote
OHIO
Nixon
McGovern
Don't Know or No Answer
Carter
25
42
33
All Democrats
24
45
31
CALIFORNIA
Carter
29
42
29
All Democrats
20
55
25
*Too small a number to be statistically significant.
The New York Times/June 10, 1976

New York Party Misses Carter's Express Train

By FRANK LYNN

The New York State Democratic Party, the host for next month's Democratic National Convention, was left standing on the platform yesterday as the Jimmy Carter Presidential Express roared out of the station.

With few exceptions, most notably Mayor Beame, New York's top Democratic and public officials brushed off the Georgia Democrat until recently as a nonserious candidate and supported other Presidential contenders or remained uncommitted.

A notable uncommitted Democrat was Governor Carey, who had hoped to head a united uncommitted delegation that could make him a power broker and possibly a candidate at the convention. Friends of the Governor said that he and other prominent New York Democrats would probably endorse Mr. Carter "in the next day or two."

The Governor signaled a likely endorsement yesterday when he said that Mr. Carter had run a "brilliant" campaign that united rather than divided the party. "By doing this, he has proven that the primary system can wrok to produce a clear-cut winner," Mr. Carey added in a statement.

There will be an opportunity for a mass endorsement next Monday when the New York delegates meet at the Statler Hilton Hotel to hear the former Georgia Governor. Other Presidential hopefuls were also invited to speak, but may pass up the opportunity in view of the virtual certainty of Mr. Carter's nomination.

Delegates Divided

Although New York has the second largest delegation at the convention, with 274 members, only 33 are pledged to support Mr. Carter as a result of his poor showing in the April 6 Presidential primary in the state. The remaining delegates are divided among Senator Henry M. Jackson, 103; Representative Morris K. Udall, 73; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, 16, and uncommitted, 49.

If, as expected, the other candidates endorse Mr. Carter, their supporters will be released for a first-ballot vote, and thus the New York delegation may be for him nearly unanimously.

The switch to Mr. Carter was signaled by many Democrats who had opposed him. Borough President Donald R. Manes of Queens, the state chairman of the Jackson campaign, said, "it's all over—it's only a question of timing an announcement."

Jo Baer, who headed the Udall campaign in the state, said that Mr. Carter "is going to get the nomination." She said that she was awaiting word from Mr. Udall on what action the Udall delegates should take.

Careers Revived

The Carter breakthrough, which few New Yorkers expected even three months ago, served to resurrect at least two political careers that had been on the wane.

William vanden Heuvel, a Manhattan lawyer and unsuccessful aspirant for several offices, led the Carter campaign in the state, and Howard J. Samuels, who lost his fourth bid for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1974, played a major fund-raising role for Mr. Carter.

Only a handful of major Democrats were among the early Carter supporters. They included City Councilman Samuel D. Wright of Brooklyn, Westchester County Executive Alfred Del Bello, Margaret Costanza, the Vice Mayor of Rochester, and Assemblyman Maurice D. Hinchey of Saugerties.

In the New York Presidential primary, Mr. Carter won only two delegates downstate—both in Bedford-Stuyvesant—and the rest upstate, largely in the central New York area.

After the primary, Mr. Beame's endorsement proved to be a major factor, since it tended, Carter supporters said, to belie charges that the Georgian was insensitive to the problems of big cities.

A Political Coup

Beame aides also looked upon the relatively early endorsement as a political coup for the Mayor, whose political stock has been at a low point because of the city's fiscal crisis and Governor Carey's virtual takeover of the city management.

"Abe will have a friend in the White House now," a Beame aide said yesterday. beame aides had also described the Carter endorsement as a declaration of independence from the Governor's uncommitted stance.

However, other prominent New York Democrats still withheld endorsement, with only two freshmen Democratic Representatives—Thomas J. Downey of Suffolk and Edward W. Pattison of Troy—endorsing him in recent weeks.

Effects of Tuesday Voting

Following are the latest tallies in Tuesday's Presidential primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio, and the new Republican delegate-vote totals that resulted from those elections. Democratic delegate totals are not included because shifts to Jimmy Carter yesterday by other candidates and leaders make precise figures impractical.

California

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	1,536,400 (66%)
Ford	800,572 (34%)

Delegates: Reagan 167, Ford 0.

DEMOCRATS

Brown	1,992,714 (59%)
Carter	690,454 (21%)
Church	248,696 (7%)
Udall	169,213 (5%)
Wallace	102,122 (3%)
Uncommitted	76,410 (2%)
Jackson	38,750 (1%)
McCormack	28,995 (1%)
Harris	16,875 (1%)
Bayh	11,253 *

*Less than 1 percent.

Delegates: Brown 204, Carter 67, Church 7, Udall 2.

New Jersey

Delegates: Uncommitted (Ford) 67, Reagan 0.

DEMOCRATS

(Vote for at-large delegates)

Uncommitted	194,673 (42%)
Carter	129,455 (28%)
Udall	59,365 (13%)
Church	30,722 (7%)
Wallace	28,944 (6%)
McCormack	19,700 (4%)

Delegates: Uncommitted 83, Carter 25.

Ohio

REPUBLICANS

Ford	495,523 (55%)
Reagan	403,855 (45%)

Delegates: Ford 94, Reagan 3.

DEMOCRATS

Carter	568,486 (52%)
Udall	230,189 (21%)
Church	152,056 (14%)
Wallace	62,095 (6%)
Donahey	43,255 (4%)
Jackson	35,297 (3%)

Delegates: Carter 126, Udall 20, Stokes (favorite son) 6.

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

	New	Total
Ford	161	961
Reagan	170	856
Uncommitted	0	159

Times Polls 5,681 at Primaries In Ohio, California and Jersey

The New York Times polled 5,681 voters Tuesday in the three primary election states—Ohio, California and New Jersey.

In Ohio, 1,651 voters were questioned, 978 Democrats and 673 Republicans; in New Jersey, 1,657 voters, 1,160 Democrats and 497 Republicans, and in California, 2,373 voters, 1,455 Democrats and 918 Republicans.

The surveys, in which voters were questioned after they cast their ballots, were conducted jointly by The Times and CBS News in Ohio and California; the one in New Jersey was a Tims operation, with the assistance of George Fine Research Inc.

Twenty-five voting precincts were chosen in each state. Within each precinct, each voter had an equal chance of being selected.

One possible source of error in a survey such as this is sampling error, which varies according to the number of persons interviewed. In addition, as in any survey of public opinion, there is an additional margin of error because of unavoidable imperfections in the way the survey was constructed and because some voters refused to be interviewed.

The normal margin of error on a sample of the size used among New Jersey Democrats would be 8 percent, but in The Times poll the actual error on some questions was about 14 percent. This led The Times, in the first part of its early edition, to indicate incorrectly that Jimmy Carter was leading in the delegate race. Although it is imposible to determine the exact cause of this error, it appears that because of the complexities of the ballot, voters confused a question about their delegate vote with their vote in the preferential race.

New Jersey Delegate Vote

NEWARK, June 9 (AP)—Following is a county-by-county breakdown of the voting Tuesday for at-large delegates in the Democratic Presidential primary in New Jersey:

County	Uncommitted	Carter	Udall	Wallace	Church	McCormack
Atlantic	2,756	1,79	839	220	1,064	201
Bergen	19,987	21,944	6,504	1,903	5,532	2,144
Burlington	7,226	10,010	1,875	933	2,750	743
Camden	15,429	7,019	3,527	1,914	1,890	785
Cape May	1,136	1,665	226	97	255	168
Cumberland	2,772	4,802	625	607	476	146
Essex*	21,200	14,810	8,600	8,957	3,944	1,438
Gloucester	3,669	4,489	667	500	1,052	315
Hudson	29,395	11,508	3,087	3,640	2,429	4,577
Hunterdon	1,627	1,364	659	106	196	228
Mercer*	5,632	5,930	3,239	780	1,838	810
Middlesex	19,778	8,123	4,914	1,905	1,443	1,897
Morris	8,391	7,062	2,692	587	1,148	789
Monmouth	12,762	8,922	6,891	1,564	1,304	1,030
Ocean	4,281	4,209	1,869	595	1,850	659
Passaic	8,526	4,879	2,215	798	2,037	680
Salem	802	1,075	148	171	167	21
Somerset	3,568	2,395	1,235	1,000	607	483
Sussex	1,238	1,680	279	206	217	143
Union	18,070	8,780	4,341	2,753	4,624	2,196
Totals:	189,707	151,263	54,665	29,513	34,997	19,700

*incomplete

Carter Strategy From the Start: 1976 Was Year for a Gambler

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA—Right from the start, Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign has moved on the fragile premise that 1976 was a gambler's year.

"We figured the odds as best we could," he said recently, "and then we rolled the dice."

Now that brassy wager, made a year and a half ago, looks like the most solid bet of the year. With more than a month before the Democratic national convention in New York, Mr. Carter seems to have assured himself of the nomination.

While there are few certainties in American politics—his success is ample evidence of that—the Carter gamble and the strategy into which it evolved have unquestionably become one of the most important elements of the 1976 campaign, regardless of its eventual outcome.

Effect on Opponents

Not only did it lift him from rank obscurity to national prominence, but it also shaped to a large degree the efforts of his opponents while suggesting the broader outlines of the general election campaign later this year and providing key insighits into the character of Mr. Carter himself.

That such substantial effect should emerge from such improbable cause is, perhaps, one of the campaign's more fascinating developments, for from its embryonic beginnings to its currently impressive stature, his thesis was always tenuous, his strategy always a gamble.

'Different Sort of Year'

"There were certain probabilities, of course, but there was nothing even probably certain," his national campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, aid recently. "We hoped 1976 would be a different sort of year politically—we believed it would be—and we geared our campaign to that faith."

Paramount in the Carter strategy, according to Mr. Jordan, were these basic gambles:

¶That regardless of the size of the fleld the Democratic nomination could be won in the grueling parade of primary elections and state caucuses, not In back-room struggles at the convention next month.

¶That, despite his immense popularity in past years, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama could be persuasively beaten and his role in 1976 politics reduced to a nearly irrelevant minimum.

¶That his own Southern origins and his image as an unknown newcomer without Washington connections would eventually become rather formidable assets, not crippling liabilities.

¶That most voters would be more favorably inclined toward a candidate stressing personal qualities such as integrity and confidence than toward those emphasizing ideological stands on the issues..

Indication of Success

On those assumptions, the former Georgia governor carefuly constructed the campaign that has now brought him such a commanding lead in the Democratic race.

He entered and ran in every primary except one (West Virginia), he actively wooed delegates in most of the state caucuses, he took on Governor Wallace head-to-head in Florida and North Carolina, and he consistently focused much of his rhetoric on his role as an outsider critical of Federal policies and performance, avoiding as much as possible definitive ideological positions.

His success is well documented. He won 17 the 30 Democratic primary elections, (no one else won more than four), accumulated large blocs of support in the caucus-convention state, and amassed at least 1,100 delegates in the process, more than three times as many as his nearest opponent, at the end of the primary season yesterday.

In the latter days of the primary season, Mr. Carter's momentum seemed to slow and his first gamble—to run everywhere on the premise that the nomination could be won before the convention—seemed less promising. But it appears to have succeeded.

Mr. Carter "planned all along to fight it out" for the last decisive delegates between the final primaries and the convention, Mr. Jordan said, and he believed all along and still believes that he will win a first ballot nomination in New York.

"That is where we differed with everybody right from the start," Mr. Jordan responded. "We presumed there would not be a 'brokered' convention. The others all presumed there would be. That's the basic difference in our campaign and the others."

That difference, in the view of the Carter strategists, translated itself into a pair of advantages.

With 700 delegates selected in the first three months of the year, they reasoned that the major political confrontations of 1976 would take place during that period.

"It was a 'high-risk' approach," Mr. Jordan said, "but we expected that even though there were relatively few delegates at stake during that period, there would be a high level of public attention, which, if we can do well, will not only provide us with psychological momentum but also eliminate some of the other candidates."

So the plan was to "survive with grace" in January, February and March, Mr. Jordan said, establish Mr. Carter as a "candidate running all over the place," and go into April — when 700 more delegates were chosen—"still alive and well."

The second advantage in presuming that the nomination could be wrapped up before the convention was in Mr. Carter's own availability to pursue such a goal. Unlike most of his opponents, he held no public office and was not therefore bound to legislative or executive responsibilities.

Delegates All Over

"So, believing that the delegates were out there to be taken and knowing that a part of the strategy of all the others was to run only in selected spots, we spent an appropriate amount of time and resources In states that they had written off for one reason or another," Mr. Jordan said.

Mr. Carter now has "clusters of delegates" in almost every state as a result, Mr. Jordan continued, "including, for instance, five in Arizona, which is [Represenative Morris K.] Udall's home."

Such feverish campaigning "put us in the posture to develop momentum on the front end and even more importantly, because we were running every Tuesday, we were able to turn around one bad Tuesday on the next."

As an example, Mr. Jordan cited Mr. Carter's loss to Senator Harry M. Jackson and other opponents in Massachusetts, followed quickly by his substantial victory the next week in Florida.

The Florida contest is remembered now as Mr. Carter's first win over Mr. Wallace, the second essential gamble in the stategy. If he could not beat the Alabamian in the South, Mr. Carter reasoned, he could not expect to be accepted as a "real" candidate anywhere else.

So, Mr. Carter went at that task llke a man fighting for his political life; but he chose not to take the orthodox southern liberal's traditional course against Mr. Wallace.

Instead of attacking him, he questioned his credentials as a realistic candidate, suggesting over and over thit while there was little wrong with the "Wallace message," the Alabama Governor could never become President.

Attempt to Keep Peace

"We had to have his people, or at least some of them, to do it," Mr. Jordan said. "We tried very hard not to compromise ourselves with the Wallace wants but we also tried very hard not to offend the people who had been drawn to Wallace in th past. It was a gamble, but it worked."

The third basic gamble inherent in the Carter strategy was the presentation of the candidates who de-emphasized clear ideologies in favor of persona qualities.

"There aren't many people including me, who really under stand all the issues," Mr. Jordan said. "They're so damne complex, the average fellow ou there is looking beyond then to what sort of person the can didate is."

Mr. Jordan discounted an suggestion that Mr. Carter wa merely giving voters what h sensed they want by changin his own positions and belief to match theirs.

"That's just not true," h said. "What happened here wa that Jimmy was the right candi date at the right place in th right year; what he happens t be happens to match what th people happen to want—a can didate who goes beyond ideolo gy to personal honesty and in tegrity and confidence."

Memo on McGovern Race

Back in 1972, at Mr. Carter' request, Mr. Jordan wrote long memo in which he pu forth the argument that th Presidential candidacy of Sena tor George McGovern that yea most certainly had a mora base that was manifested in hi several successes but remained unfulfilled because of the alie nation produced by his ideolo gy.

"So we made a conscious de cision against offering minut details on future positions dur ing the heat of the campaign," Mr. Jordan said. "We decided we would offer a basic appea to voters, just like every othe candidate. 'Scoop' [Senato Jackson] talked about jobs Carter talks about trust and hi faith that the country is bette than it seems to be."

But both Mr. Carter and Mr Jordan rejected the suggestion offered by many of his critics and his allies that he has been "fuzzy" on issues and therefore a purposely enigmatic candidate.

"Jimmy has never dodged a question," Mr. Jordan said "He's got position on every thing—but the point is he's no basing his campaign on the re petitive expression of those po sitions. He's basing it on hi view that the American govern ment can be and should be a good as the American people."

That approach has taken Mr Carter a long way in the yea and a half since he formally announced his candidacy at th National Press Club in Wash ington, and his basic strategy with few exceptions, seems in retrospect a masterful plan, a blend of chutzpah, common sense and good fortune.

If he has played it right, the quiet-spoken peanut farme will almost certainly become his party's Presidential nominee next month, and perhaps the next President of the United States next January.

But if his original hunche were wrong, Mr. Carter's lon gamble, strikingly successful a it has been, will become jus another footnote to the chron icle of American politics.

Humphrey-Brown Victory In Jersey Is Called Futile

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Democratic leaders in New Jersey agreed yesterday that the overwhelming victory for the Humphrey-Brown uncommitted delegates in Tuesday's Presidential primary apparently came too late to stop Jimmy Carter and that the principal political victim of the onslaught appeared to be Governor Byrne.

With most of the vote counted, the uncommitted campaign elected 77 delegates, while Mr. Carter won 21. Adding 17 more to be selected proportional to the vote that was cast on Tuesday, the final total should be 83 for Humphrey-Brown and 25 for Mr. Carter.

In the Republican Presidential primary, President Ford won the unanimous delegate victory that was predicted for him, giving him virtually all of New Jersey's 67 delegates.

In the Democratic race, the uncommitted-delegate victory in support of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California seemed a futile one, even as jubilant party officials were calculating its landslide delegate count.

Opposing Views

Although State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman and the main architect of the parth's uncommitted strategy, maintained early yesterday that the New Jersey victory meant that Mr. Carter had oeen stopped, at least for the moment, other Democratic leaders around the country were lining up behind the former Georgia Governor.

Governor Byrne, a Democrat who endorsed Mr. Carter in April, held a news conference yesterday in his State House office and appealed to Democrats in the party to rally behind Mr. Carter.

"In our own state, the people have made it clear in the preferential vote that they want Governor Carter," Mr. Byrne said. An in an oblique challenge to party leaders who oppose him, Mr. Byrne said he fully expected to lead New Jersey's delegation to the convention and that he wass still the party leader at home.

And while there was no quick shift detected last night, Democratic leaders anticipated that there would be considerable party movement toward Mr. Carter before the week ended.

The Effect on Byrne

An uncommitted delegate leader said, "If it is shown that Carter now has enough to win the nomination on the first ballot, then everybody here will go for him."

As for the primary's impact on Governor Byrne, the same party forces who were intent upon stopping Mr. Carter are also intent upon denying the Governor renomination to a second term next year.

While the Governor's influence on the primary itself was regarded as minimal since he did not actively campaign for Mr. Carter, his enemies in the party are interpreting the huge uncommitted delegate count as a sharp political blow to his renomination chances.

However, the actual returns do not support a repudiation either of Mr. Carter and Mr. Byrne.

For example, Mr. Cater received nearly 200,000 votes in the apreferential portion on the primary ballot, a vote that was meaningless since the preferential was not binding and thus devoid of any real political value. In it, Mr. Carter was pitted against candidates who had either pulled out of the race of whose chances were minimal or nonexistent to begin with.

The Part That Counted

But in the dlegae section of the ballot, or the part that really counted, the uncommitted slate's vote approached 190,000, while Mr. Carter got only 138,300.

If, as the returns show, Mr. Carter received 203,000 votes in the preferential segment, and only 134,300 in the crucial delegate count, nearly half of his support was lost as it traveled from one part of the ballot to the other.

The explanation, according to party officials, was that the ballot was so confusing in most districts that Carter voters who cast ballots in the preferential part either thought they were voting for delegates, too, and ignored the rest of the ballot, or simply stumbled, out of confusion, to delegates slates committed to someone else.

For example, in Essex County, the ballot was so crowded with rival delegate slates that the one committed to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama was moved into the Row A position that was reserved for the regular party organization's local candidates.

Voters Must Search

As a consequence, Governor Wallace nearly won the delegate race in the virtually all-black central Ward district in Newark.

But both sides in the election conceded that were no villains seeking an edge on the ballot at the expense of a rival. This is because ballot position in the primary segment was decided by lot and then arranged crazy quilt so that everyone could be squeezed in on one machine.

"Ever see a track meet in a bowling alley, well that's what it was like, "remarked one county election official.

Elsewhere, voters had to search for delegate slates after voting the preferential portion. Apparently, the name of Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., who led the statewide uncommitted slate, attracted a large number of them.

"It's incredibly strange, "said Dan Gaby, the leader of Mr. Carter's New Jersey forces. "We got more votes and they got more delegates."

In any event, the results clearly indicated that the old-line Democratic organizations in places like Hudson, Camden and Middlesex Counties had recovered from the inertia that has gripped them over the last few elections. They produced big pluralities for the uncommitted slate.

Brown's Success

In Jersey City, Democratic leaders likened the uncommitted campaign there to political maneuvers, shaping up the machine for a run at Governor Byrne in next year's primary.

Toward that end, the Democratic organization there was heartened considerably by the poor showing of the rival Essex County Democratic organization. The Essex Democratic leader, Harry Lerner, an ally of Mr. Bryne who followed the Governor's lead in endorsing Mr. Carter, failed to produce for him Tuesday as the uncommitted slates trounced his candidates.

As for Governor Brown, his success in the state was not diminished by its apparent futility. In fact, Democrats who supported him enthusiastically apparently were attracted more by the excitement he generated than by his actual chances of winning the nomination.

"It was the most beautiful Presidential practice run you'd ever want to see." remarked one Democratic leader last night.

Finally, the results constituted a political humiliation for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. Barring last-minute changes in the delegate count Mr. Udall was shut out in a state that has a strong liberal constituency within the party.

What's the Difference?

By Anthony Lewis

Public cynicism about politics is an old story in this country, but the feeling seems especially strong this year. Pollsters telephoning prospective voters in the primary states met this sort of reaction again and again: "Oh, don't ask me about politicians. They're all the same. I'm not voting."

Indifference will be a particular threat to Jimmy Carter as the nominee. There remains a good deal of doubt about him among traditional Democratic voters in the North, and they have to be motivated to go to the polls. Among liberals especially there is a sour mood; some say Mr. Carter is really a conservative at heart, no different from President Ford, and they would just as soon vote for the known quantity of Mr. Ford.

Would a Carter Presidency make a difference? We still have five months to go in this interminable election year, and they will be spent in good part drawing distinctions. But it is possible already to make up a sizable list of specifics that would be handled differently by Carter.

Take an issue of peculiar symbolic import: amnesty for Vietnam draft resisters and deserters. It has no world significance, but it seems to me to matter a very great deal in terms of conscience and internal peace in this country.

Neither Gerald Ford nor Ronald Reagan could be expected to do anything for the thousands of young men who still face prosecution for Vietnam-era offenses. The Ford "clemency" program turned out to be a bitter joke; Mr. Ford has not even acted on any recommendations of his own board. Mr. Carter has said that, the week he took office, he would "pardon" all those who "defected" from service for reasons of conscience. I see no reason to doubt that he would.

On what could be described generally as issues of humane concern, a President Carter would be very different. At least one has to think so on the basis of his campaign statements and of his efforts as Governor of Georgia to improve such things as mental health services and prison conditions.

It is extremely unlikely that Mr. Carter would take drastic administrative action to cut back food stamp benefits for the working poor, as the Ford Administration has just done. There is next to no chance that he would veto a bill providing funds for needy children in day-care centers.

Similarly, those concerned for civil rights could expect a more sympathetic ear in the White House. Mr. Carter would not suggest that the Supreme Court should re-examine the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. He would not be ignorant of his Justice Department's legal position on racial questions.

In foreign affairs, too, the indications are that a Carter Administration would be more concerned with human rights. In the main foreign policy speech of his primary campaign, Mr. Carter emphasized that subject. He condemned "policies that strengthen dictators." He scorned Secretary of State Kissinger for praising the Brazilian military Government's respect for "human dignities."

Chile is a litmus test of attitudes. President Ford has explicitly refused to criticize American intervention in Chile's democratic processes. Secretary Kissinger, evidently feeling the weight of criticism, now notes the brutalities of the regime he has so crucially aided. Mr. Carter has criticized the U.S. role in Chile and said, "it is un-American to interfere in the free political processes of another nation."

The likely choice of a Secretary of State is a highly significant standard of comparison at this point. A good bet in either a Ford or a Reagan Administration would be John Connally, who in his foreign operations as Secretary of the Treasury was known

ABROAD AT HOME

for suddenness, secrecy and crude disregard of allies.

The most likely possibilities in a Carter Administration are George Ball and Cyrus Vance. Both have emphasized the need to be steady, to choose long-term goals, to eschew sudden opportunism, to respect allies. It is unlikely that either would be sucked into Angola, for example, or would feel it necessary to prove his manhood in a Mayagüez affair.

On defense, Mr. Carter would certainly not be a radical reformer. He spent years as a naval officer, and he is no dove on defense spending. On the other hand, he has said he is against the biggest proposed new weapons system, a main target of military budget criticism, the B-1 bomber. And he is more likely to appoint a reformist Secretary of Defense.

There are innumerable other specific differences that have already surfaced. Even Mr. Carter's critics, for example, generally credit him with a deep commitment to environmental protection. He would not be likely to veto a strip-mining bill—or to leap aboard a tuna boat, as Mr. Ford did recently in the search for votes, and denounce a judge's decision to enforce the law against the wanton slaughter of porpoises.

Of course, such an exploration of particular differences does not touch the deeper instincts that may move voters. Jimmy Carter still has to satisfy doubts about his philosophy and person—has to convince some natural Democratic voters that he can be trusted. But it is not really possible to say, in logic, that there is no difference between him and Ronald Reagan or Gerald Ford.

Reagan vs. Carter

By William Safire

CHICAGO—The clearest indication that Gerald Ford is going to lose the nomination to Ronald Reagan came at the conclusion of one of the President's television spots in California.

"Governor Reagan couldn't start a war," the Ford commercials said. "President Reagan could."

That was the Ford campaign's equivalent of the "daisy spot," the television ad that depicted Senator Goldwater in 1964 as likely to cause a war that peaceful Lyndon Johnson would avoid. It worked for L.B.J.; it will work against Mr. Ford.

When the president personally decided to smear his challenger as a warmonger—a trigger-happy extremist—he delighted Democrats who will exploit that theme in the fall, and dismayed Republicans who will have to scrub off the smear.

Accordingly, we can expect to see much learned commentary that President Ford would make a far stronger candidate than Mr. Reagan, but this commentary will come from people most of whom fully expect to vote for the Democratic candidate.

We can also expect to see Republican delegates in states like Missouri react against the below-the-belt attack by the panicked White House. It is one thing for Mr. Ford to adopt a negative, my-opponent-can't-win strategy; but it is another for him to attempt to permanently cripple his Republican opponent. Nelson Rockefeller did that, and the G.O.P. elephant never forgot.

Moreover, Republican delegates will come to see that the Ford nomination strategy is self-defeating, since it will ultimately be based on public opinion polls. For a "cant win" strategy to work—as it did when Boss Thurlow Week blocked Henry Clay in 1840—it must prove that one candidate would win while the alternative would surely lose.

But logic suggests that events will undermine that strategy. In the next six weeks, bandwagon publicity and endorsements from all sides will elevate Jimmy Carter in the polls; his peak of popularity will be in the month between the Democratic and Republican conventions.

At that time, the polls are likely to show that both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan "can't win." In the flush of the Carter acceptance speech and the unifying choice of a Vice President, both Republicans will be swamped in the polls that month—and if the polls show the President slightly stronger, it won't matter.

In that light, let us try to think like uncommitted Republican delegates.

1. *If we're going to lose anyway, I might as well enjoy the ride.* The sentimental favorite is Mr. Reagan; more important, conservatives believe that he better represents their principles than a President who has abdicated half his job to defeatist Henry Kissinger, and who grimly promises four more years of the same.

2. *If we're going to have to catch up, I might as well go with a campaigner who won an uphill fight to victory in the primaries.* Mr. Ford is a good President and a terrible candidate; Mr. Reagan would make a good President and is an excellent candidate. Most delegates would rather shoot for a long-shot Reagan upset than settle for a dignified Ford loss.

3. *If Reagan "can't win," it's because Ford's warmongering charges made it impossible—which means that the right won't let Ford win.* Such nightmarish thoughts are to be put quickly out of mind.

4. *If any Republican is to win, he will have to be able to carry California and Texas, and to take the Wallace vote in the North from Carter—which Reagan could do, in spite of George Wallace's endorsement of Carter.* Ford still thinks in outdated left-right spectrum terms, while Reagan is picking up blue-collar support with new majority appeals.

5. *If this turns out to be a close campaign, a good staff would make the difference.* The Ford staff—exhausted Rogers Morton, gut-fighter Stu Spencer, and hack writer Bob Hartmann—are no match for the Reagan men. Delegates are impressed with John Sears, Prof. Martin Anderson, writer Pete Hannaford, a talented young group which easily outclasses the White House hangers-on, and which has more experience than the Carter coterie.

6. *If this is indeed the year of the Outs, an anti-Washington campaigner like Reagan can help me locally.* In those areas where most of the uncommitted delegates are, resentment of bureaucracy is high and Carter poses a special threat which Reagan, not Ford, could best counter.

For those reasons (which liberals are certain to label a "death wish") the un-Presidential attack by the President will probably deliver the nomination to Governor Reagan. Then it will be "Reagan vs. Carter"—and the Californian's turn to move up in the polls, as Mr. Carter does his ambiguous best to stay tall in the straddle.

ESSAY

Carter Closes In . . .

Former Governor Carter's triumph in the Ohio primary has brought the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination almost within his grasp. Barring some unexpected turn of fate, his long quest for the nomination is now virtually certain of being crowned with success.

Yet it remains true that he won the support of only 1,200 of the 3,000 delegates who will participate in the convention in Madison Square Garden next month. It is also true that the voter response on Tuesday was less than overwhelming, as in most of the recent primaries. While winning in Ohio, he was swamped by Governor Brown in California. More significantly, he was defeated in New Jersey by a slate of delegates which, although nominally uncommitted, favored Governor Brown or Senator Humphrey.

Mr. Carter nonetheless seems the probable nominee because his opposition is so divided and so mutually antagonistic. It is difficult for the dovish Representative Udall to make common cause with the hawkish Senator Jackson. Governor Wallace has abandoned his now-hopeless candidacy and endorsed Mr. Carter. Senator Church has a small bloc of delegates assembled from his recent primary victories in the Far West, but, wisely, he would rather join a Carter ticket as Vice President than take a far-out gamble on benefiting from a stop-Carter coalition.

It is easy to conceive a scenario in which either Senator Humphrey or Governor Brown might have emerged as formidable a rival to Mr. Carter in the Democratic race as Ronald Reagan is to President Ford in the Republican. But Governor Brown entered the primaries too late and Mr. Humphrey refused to enter them at all. If the former seems to many Democrats too new, the latter seems too familiar. Senator Humphrey yesterday acknowledged that fact in a statement reaffirming his earlier decision not to seek the nomination.

Mayor Daley of Chicago had already decisively weakened the chances of a draft-Humphrey movement when he announced that he and the Illinois delegates under his control would back Mr. Carter. The Daley move signified that although many Democrats, particularly in the big cities of the East and the industrial Middle West, still regard Governor Carter as something of a stranger, they are neither angry at him nor suspicious enough of him to resist his nomination if it seems inevitable.

For Mr. Carter, a political outsider, to have come so far and done so well without arousing the irreconcilable antagonism of any of the party's principal power centers is a measure of his skill as a political leader.

The Weather
Sunny, high near 90, low
The chance of rain will be
ent tonight. Friday—Sunny,
ar 90. Yesterday—3 p.m. air
index: 130; temperature
95-67. Details on Page C2.

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Endorsements Clinch Carter Victory

His Delegates Put At 1,514, Indicating A First-Ballot Win

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter locked up the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, a month before convention time, with a rush of endorsements from the foes he had beaten and old political pros he had impressed in his long and often lonely battle for that prize.

The former Georgia governor, who gained 218 delegates Tuesday with a win and two seconds on the final day of the primaries, picked up at least as many more yesterday in a cascade of endorsements. They spanned the breadth of the no-longer-warring factions of the Democratic Party.

By nightfall, Carter was as certain of being chosen for the presidential nomination next month in Madison Square Garden as any political mortal can be of anything. The scorecard in the Democratic National Committee headquarters credited him with 1,514 delegates—nine more than are needed for a first-ballot victory.

Characteristically, Carter was far from the corridors of power in the capital when his triumph came. He accepted his hard-won victory in his tiny south Georgia hometown of Plains. Wearing blue jeans and work boots as he stood on the platform of an abandoned train station, Carter told reporters that only "some catastrophe" could deny him the prize he began planning to capture within a month of the 1972 Democratic convention.

For most of that time, the ambitions of the self-styled peanut farmer from Plains had seemed ludicrous to most of the Democratic power-brokers.

But no one was laughing when Carter completed his string of presidential primary successes by finishing first in Ohio and second in both New Jersey and California—gaining more delegates than he had won in any other single day of the 31-primary campaign.

The first to react yesterday morning was Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, who endorsed Carter and said Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois would make a "great" running-mate for the Georgian.

Stevenson promptly released the 86 delegates that Daley had corralled for him in the Illinois primary, tacitly turning them over to Carter for whatever consideration that might give his hopes for the No. 2 spot.

Within an hour, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace—the crippled spellbinder whose claim to speak for the alienated of the South and the nation had been destroyed by his losses to Carter in Florida and North Carolina—had endorsed his conqueror and urged his 168 delegates to follow suit.

Wallace, ending his 16-year estrangement from the Democratic Party, said that all he asked of Carter was "to try to make all of the people of this country one of the finest Presidents we've ever had."

Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, another beaten rival, promised he will deliver his support and 249 delegates. Liberal Democratic leaders like the 1972 nominee, Sen. George McGovern, and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy—both of whom had been critical of Carter's coolness to the

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Carter

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Wallace said that in the early morning telephone conversation with Carter, "all I asked of him is that he would promise, if elected president, he would use all the resources at his command to try to make all the people of this country one of the finest presidents we've ever had."

Wallace said he did not discuss the Democratic Party platform in his telephone conversation with Carter.

Wallace called on all other candidates to drop out of the race before the convention in order "to make this thing unanimous before we get there."

"I have 173 delegates and believe that most of the delegates who are pledged to George Wallace will go along with George Wallace," he said. He conceded a few delegates indicated they did not want to support Carter.

Carter said in Plains he has "no doubt about (Jackson's) support and as many delegates as he can influence."

Urging all the Democratic contenders to join ranks behind Carter, Jackson said Wednesday in Washington he had told the former Georgia governor that "I would be supportive" of his campaign although he is not ready to make a formal statement.

Jackson indicated such an endorsement might come next week after he contacts various party leaders and presidential candidates personally.

Humphrey said Wednesday Carter "is virtually certain" to be the Democratic presidential nominee and therefore Humphrey will not enter the race.

"The primaries now are over and Gov. Carter has a commanding lead," Humphrey said in a statement issued by his office.

The Minnesota Democrat, who was his party's presidential candidate in 1968, added, "I therefore will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf. And I will do all I can to help unite our party behind the candidate chosen by the delegates at the convention."

In contrast to his early morning call to California, Carter stopped just short later Wednesday of claiming outright victory.

"The vote has to be taken at the convention" before the nomination is guaranteed, he said.

Carter plans to spend most of his time in Plains during the remaining five weeks before the convention, with occasional forays out of state for delegate meetings and fund raisers.

"We have a campaign debt of several hundred thousand dollars...It is difficult to put a specific figure on it today," Jordan said.

Carter Savors Triumph at Home

Friends, Relatives Dance in Street for Favorite Son

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., June 9 — Wearing blue jeans, plaid shirt and dust-covered work boots, pausing briefly for a freight train to roar by, Jimmy Carter stood today on the loading platform of an abandoned train station here and—for all practical purposes—accepted the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

As flies buzzed around his head and network cameras rolled, the 51-year-old peanut farmer who answered to "Jimmy who?" just months ago, reeled off the names of men who were now coming to him: Daley of Chicago, Jackson of Washington, Wallace of Alabama and maybe even Humphrey of all those presidential races of years gone by.

It was a moment for humility in the triumph for contrasts as stark as his Georgia clay roots and his ambitions of world leadership. Carter made the most of it, just as he did, step by careful step, with every opportunity for votes that came his way.

What, he was asked, could possibly stand now between him and the leadership of the Democratic Party which many of its most powerful men were—and probably still are—reluctant to see him claim?

Well, he said, smiling that smile that often says more than his words, "the vote has to be taken at the convention." Only "some catastrophe," he added, appeared now to block the goal that he has been seeking for more than 16 months and in 48 states.

Jimmy Carter was born and raised in this rural South Georgia farming community of 683 people, as Carter told countless crowds from New Hampshire to California, Friends, neighbors and relatives danced in the street last night for the favorite son and some of them, including his mother, "Miss Lillian," came out again to see all the fuss over their local boy who made good.

But they were not the gallus-snapping good ole boys of George Wallace's South and they were not overwhelmed by the strange rites of the media or the stunning success of their neighbors. They did not fit the Southern stereotype (or any other stereotype for that matter) and reflected the same capacity for surprising strangers that helped Carter capture the nation's attention for his sometimes rather gauzy message of reassurance and faith.

See CARTER, A4, Col. 1

5

Public Feels Welfare Is A 'Very Serious' Problem

By LOUIS HARRIS

Although 80 per cent of the American people feel that the problem of welfare is "very serious," and large numbers are critical of the way the system now works, most of the public is against handing welfare back to the states or having it taken over by the federal government. Instead, a plurality opts for continuing to have welfare costs shared by the states and the federal government.

Fundamentally, the people are ambivalent about welfare. They have compassion for the less privileged, but they are also deeply disturbed by the operation of the welfare system.

On the positive side, two key views dominate:

— By 94-4 per cent, a nearly unanimous public feels that "it is not right to let people who need welfare go hungry." The traditional American notion of caring for those who cannot care for themselves is very much alive.

— By 74-22 per cent, a sizeable majority also believes that "many women whose husbands have left them with several children have no choice but to go on welfare." Welfare is widely seen as the only viable solution to this problem, which elicits deep sympathy among the public.

On the other hand, three major criticisms are also leveled at the way welfare works:

— An 89-6 per cent majority holds the view that "too many people on welfare could be working."

— An 85-9 per cent majority feels that "too many people on welfare cheat by getting money they are not entitled to."

— A 64-23 per cent majority also feels that "the criteria for getting on welfare are not tough enough."

Recently, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of 1,512 adults nationwide:

"The way welfare works now, the costs for welfare are partly paid by the federal government and partly by each state. Several Democratic governors have asked that the federal government take over all welfare in the country. Their main argument is that as long as some states have more liberal provisions for welfare than others, those states are paying much more for welfare than others. If the federal government took over welfare, the rules for going on welfare would be the same all over the country. Ronald Reagan totally disagrees and thinks all welfare should be given back to the states. Reagan says that each state should decide what to do about welfare and if people on welfare don't like it in one state, they can move to another state where welfare is more liberal.

"Do you think welfare should be taken over by the federal government, should be given back to the states, or should welfare costs continue to be shared by the states and the federal government?"

HARRIS POLL

FUTURE COURSE FOR WELFARE IN U.S.

Take over by federal government	24%
Give back to the states	23%
Continue to be shared	45%
Not sure	8%

To determine how people feel about the need for a welfare system and how the system is working, the Harris Survey also asked: "Now let me read you some etatements about welfare that some people have made. For each, tell me if you tend to agree or disagree."

STATEMENTS ABOUT WELFARE

	Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
It is not right to let people who need welfare go hungry.	94%	4%	2%
Too many people on welfare could be working.	89%	6%	5%
Too many people on welfare cheat	85%	9%	6%
Many women whose husbands have left them with several children have no choice but to go on welfare.	74%	22%	4%
Criteria for getting on welfare are not tough enough.	64%	23%	13%
The welfare system allows no dignity for the poor.	45%	46%	9%
Most people go on welfare only as a last resort.	39%	54%	7%
People on welfare should just be given the money and end all the red tape.	16%	77%	7%

At the same time that people demonstrate a deep ambivalence on the issue of welfare, nonetheless a sizable majority acknowledges that it is a very serious problem. The Harris Survey asked: "Do you feel that the problem of welfare in this country is very serious, only somewhat serious, or hardly serious at all?"

HOW SERIOUS IS WELFARE PROBLEM?

Very serious	80%
Only somewhat serious	15%
Hardly serious at all	3%
Not sure	2%

Primary Election Summary

Associated Press

CALIFORNIA

Republican

Reagan	1,536,400	or 66%
Ford	800,572	or 34%

Delegates (167)

Reagan	167
Ford	0

Democratic

Brown	1,992,714	or 59%
Carter	690,454	or 21%
Church	248,696	or 7%
Udall	169,213	or 5%
Wallace	102,122	or 3%
Uncommitted	76,410	or 2%
Jackson	38,750	or 1%
McCormack	28,995	or 1%
Harris	16,875	or 1%
Bayh	11,253	or 0%

Delegates (280)

Brown	204
Carter	67
Church	7
Udall	2

OHIO

Republican

Ford	495,523	or 55%
Reagan	403,855	or 45%

Delegates (97)

Ford	88
Reagan	9

Democratic

Carter	568,486	or 52%
Udall	230,189	or 21%
Church	152,056	or 14%
Wallace	62,095	or 6%
Donahey	43,255	or 4%
Jackson	35,297	or 3%

Delegates (152)

Carter	126
Udall	20
Stokes	6

NEW JERSEY

Republican

No preferential contest.

Delegates (67)

Uncommitted (Ford)	67
Reagan	0

Democratic

Uncommitted	194,673	or 42%
Carter	129,455	or 28%
Udall	59,365	or 13%
Church	30,722	or 7%
Wallace	28,944	or 6%
McCormack	19,700	or 4%

Delegates (108)

Uncommitted	82
Carter	25
Udall	1

Presidential Preference

Carter	203,657	or 57%
Church	67,803	or 19%
Wallace	1,201	or 9%
Jackson	31,102	or 9%
McCormack	21,109	or 6%

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Hal Gulliver

The Decisions Facing Carter Now

Jimmy Carter has run the most stunningly successful national campaign to win the presidential nomination of a major political party since perhaps Franklin Roosevelt had Jim Farley travel the country in his behalf more than four decades ago, while FDR kept up a steady flow of letters and notes from the governor's office in Albany to Democratic party leaders over the nation.

All things considered, Carter's achievement is the more remarkable in that FDR was the governor of the nation's largest state, while Carter was the outgoing governor of a Southern state, a region of the country where political figures by definition have not really been taken seriously as potential presidential candidates.

In some ways, Sen. George McGovern ran as brilliant a tactical operation to win the Democratic nomination in 1972. But there was a difference. McGovern split the party down the middle, left it in shambles, and went on to lose by the biggest margin in history in the general election.

Carter has been criticized for being sometimes vague on issues but that very vagueness in primaries now becomes an asset; there is no major element of the national Democratic party unable to unite behind Carter for the November election, as the series of endorsements by prominent Democrats has already indicated. Carter in Tuesday's primaries even picked up substantial support from traditionally liberal and Jewish voter strongholds, two groups that until now had not offered him much support.

There is another important side to Carter's strong showing in the last primaries.

He is assured now of a first ballot nomination at the Democratic national convention in New York next month.

He is assured of the nomination without any last minute, strenuous effort to woo uncommitted or favorite son delegates.

That very fact frees Carter to spend a good deal of his time on matters literally more important to the country than delegate counts, specifically the selection of a vice presidential running mate and the shaping of the Democratic party platform.

McGovern's forces in 1972 were bitterly opposed to the end by Stop-McGovern elements of the party. There was a critical fight over the California delegation in the first day or so of the convention itself. McGovern and some of his closest supporters said later that they might never have picked a vice presidential nominee, Sen. Thomas Eagleton, who later had to be dropped from the ticket because of a then-undisclosed history of mental illness, if they had not all been so thoroughly exhausted and had had more time to consider the matter.

Carter's early lock on the Democratic nomination means that he will indeed have that time to consider carefully a running mate and the direction of the Democratic party going into the November election.

State-by-State Voting

in Tuesday's Primaries

Jimmy Carter apparently clinched the Democratic presidential nomination Tuesday, but oddly enough, he really did not do that well in the day's three primaries.

He lost two of the three by rather sizable margins—in California and New Jersey.

He cleaned up in the third state—Ohio—which politicians and the press had pretty well agreed in advance was the day's most important contest.

As on other Tuesdays during the long primary season, moreover, the former Georgia governor managed to pick up respectable numbers of delegates even in the states he lost.

In California Carter won 67 of 280 at stake, in New Jersey 45 of 108. Added to his 126 from Ohio, out of 152 up for grabs there, these gave him a total of 218 for the day. That was the number that made his drive for the nomination seem unstoppable, and set off yesterday's stream of endorsements and concessions.

On the Republican side, Tuesday was about a draw. President Ford won two of the three states—Ohio and New Jersey—capturing an apparent total of 155 delegates to a mere nine for rival Ronald Reagan. But Reagan hit back as expected by taking all 167 delegates in his home state of California, whose big primary was a winner-take-all affair.

Thus while the Democrats are trying to make peace in the next few weeks, the Republicans will still be making war as Mr. Ford and Reagan continue to scrap for uncommitted delegates and delegates from the remaining non-primary states.

Here, state by state, is what happened Tuesday.

NEW JERSEY

In some of the states whose primaries he won—Pennsylvania, for example — Carter, the self-styled political outsider, was able correctly to claim he beat the machine, In New Jersey the machine beat him.

There was a non-binding preferential primary or "beauty contest" in New Jersey, which most of the state's political professionals ignored, and which Carter won handily, 57 per cent to 19 per cent for his nearest rival, Idaho Sen. Frank Church.

In the complicated balloting for delegates, however, the party professionals rolled up their sleeves, put workers at the polling places, handed out "palm cards" to guide the faithful to the chosen names—and came away with a victory.

Of the 108 delegate slots, 82 were won by the party regulars, to be sent to the Democratic convention ostensibly as "uncommitted" but actually for Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. or whoever else emerged as an alternative to Carter.

By yesterday afternoon, however, even some of these "stop-Carter" delegates were reported to be edging nervously in the Georgian's direction, lest they be left stranded in opposition.

Carter won 25 delegates, Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, who had hoped to do fairly well in this state, won only one.

Carter, as expected, did his best in black and suburban-rural areas, while the party pros, whose slate was led by Sen. Harrison A. Williams, did best in blue-collar neighborhoods.

The physical makeup of the ballot was so confusing that in one black section of Newark, voters nearly elected — by mistake — a delegate slate pledged to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, which looked as if it was the Humphrey-Brown slate. That was why the organization and its palm cards were so important.

On the Republican side, President Ford won 67 delegates to none for Reagan, thanks to the state GOP organization. Reagan did not seriously contest New Jersey.

OHIO

In the competition for the 38 Democratic delegates elected statewide, Carter crushed his opposition. He had 52 per cent of the vote, to 21 per cent for nearest rival Udall, who campaigned hard in this state and simply could not make it. Church had 14 per cent of the vote, with the rest scattered, including 4 per cent for state treasurer Gertrude W. Donahey.

The remaining 114 delegates were chosen by congressional districts. Carter finished with a total of 126 to 20 for Udall and 6 for Rep. Louis Stokes of Cleveland.

Carter had been expected to pile up heavy majorities in the more rural and conservative western and southern parts of Ohio, and he did. But his margins were also decisive—sometimes of near-landslide proportions—in the urban areas where Udall and Church had hoped to do better.

Udall won six of his delegates in Rep. Charles A. Vanik's relatively liberal district on the east side of Cleveland, another in Rep. Thomas L. Ashley's district encompassing Toledo, the rest from his share of the statewide vote. Carter won everywhere else except on Stokes' home turf.

In the race for statewide delegates to the Republican convention, President Ford bested Reagan 55 per cent to 45 per cent. Reagan, however, beat Mr. Ford in three of the congressional district match-ups. Those were in the districts of Reps. John M. Ashbrook, William H. Harsha and Samuel L. Devine.

His victories in these district contests gave Reagan 9 delegates. The President got 88.

The President campaigned hard in Ohio. Reagan, by contrast, was a late starter there, and in fact failed to enter delegate slates in many districts. Some delegates thus went to Mr. Ford by default.

CALIFORNIA

Brown and Reagan, the present and former governors, were expected to win at home and did, easily.

Reagan swamped President Ford, 66 per cent to 34 per cent. According to interviews by NBC of voters as they left the polling places Tuesday, Mr. Ford ran ahead of Reagan among Jews, but behind him among all other groups of voters, including all age groups.

But California pollster Mervin Field found a quirk in the Reagan victory. He said that, even though Reagan carried California 2 to 1, Reagan does not do as well as Mr. Ford when matched up in trial heats in the state against such Democrats as Carter, Brown and Humphrey.

Trial contests he ran this week, Field said, show Carter with 41 per cent of the vote to 40 per cent for Mr. Ford with 19 per cent undecided. Against Reagan, on the other hand, Carter pulls 46 per cent to 38 per cent with 16 per cent undecided, Field found.

Ford adviser and state GOP chairman Paul Haerle noted yesterday that Reagan, apart from being a native son, is "the best campaigner going in either party," and "was widely perceived as a good governor." These factors, plus the fact that Mr. Ford only campaigned hard in California once, help explain the outcome, Haerle said.

Among Democrats, Brown walked off with 59 per cent of the vote to 21 per cent for Carter and the rest scattered. That gave Brown 204 delegates to Carter's 67 and 7 for Church, with 2 for Udall.

Field said yesterday the Democratic vote reflects the obvious fact that Brown is better known in California than Carter, as opposed to any hostility toward Carter.

Carter did not campaign that heavily in California, and Field said he was "up against a big electronic continental divide."

A month ago, Field explained, he polled and found more than 50 per cent for Brown, but "people were still saying in the same breath that he ought to have more experience."

But he continued: "When it came down to voting on someone you know against someone you don't know, they went for Brown."

Washington Post staff writer Peter Milius wrote this story from reports filed by staff writers William Claiborne, Paul G. Edwards and Bill Richards.

Endorsements Clinch Carter Victory

DEMOCRATS, From A1

traditional liberal issues—acknowledged the realities and promised him their campaign aid.

Leaders of liberal labor unions met to discuss their support for Carter and while AFL-CIO president George Meany maintained his public neutrality, associates emphasized that Carter was on Meany's acceptable list.

By mid-afternoon, when Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, the main hope of the dwindling stop-Carter forces, emerged from meetings with his advisers, there was little suspense left to his decision.

The words with which Humphrey ended his 20-year dream of reaching the White House were these: "Gov. Carter has a commanding lead. He is virtually certain to be our party's nominee. I, therefore, will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf. And I will do all I can to help unite our party. . . ."

With that, the efforts of a "Draft Humphrey" committee faded to futility. Two others who had tried unsuccessfully to brake Carter in the primaries, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, came back to Washington, acknowledging their failure.

Udall said he would concentrate on expressing liberal concerns on the platform and give his delegates at least that much say in the convention.

Church said he was putting his late-starting campaign into a holding pattern and acknowledged he would be happy to be considered for Vice President if that did not sound "presumptuous" to Carter.

The last of the other contenders to get the word was California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. Brown and his delegates had beaten Carter in five of the six states where the Californian had campaigned and Brown said that gave him "momentum and leadership" in the race.

But as word of the endorsements floated west, Brown apparently reassessed. He canceled scheduled forays into Massachusetts and Connecticut to woo the uncommitted delegates in those states.

Everything fell into place so quickly for Carter yesterday that it was hard to remember how long and how hard he had labored to make that moment inevitable. His victory clearly marked a fundamental shift of power within the majority party—from the North to the South, from the capital to the countryside, and from the programmatic liberals to the critics of bureaucratic big government.

But every bit as significant was the remarkable unity that seemed to be emerging in a party sorely beset for the past decade by the divisions over Vietnam, civil rights and the social issues of conflicting life-styles.

Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, told reporters in Plains that Carter was anxious to head off "any major confrontation on issues" in the platform. He said Carter will curtail his campaign plans for the remaining state conventions, but will confer with Democratic mayors and governors at their annual conventions later this month, and talk with many other Democrats by phone.

Carter himself moved to squelch speculation and controversy over a running-mate, saying "no one is authorized to speak for me" on that subject. He said he would not disclose his choice until he is nominated.

Carter's options on the vice presidency are as broad as the coalition he assembled in his successful nomination drive. Even Democrats who had viewed his qualifications with skepticism acknowledged yesterday that he promised the Democrats victory in November over a Republican Party so divided it may deny nomination to its incumbent President.

Kennedy referred to Carter's "impressive victories" and promised his support to him if nominated. So did Wallace, who called Carter shortly after midnight to offer his congratulations and arranged to meet with him later this week in Montgomery.

Thus, Carter can look forward to standing on the platform in Madison Square Garden with the two men with perhaps the most fervent and opposed followings in the pre-Carter Democratic Party.

Washington Post staff writers Jules Witcover, Helen Dewar, Paul G. Edwards, William Claiborne and Robert G. Kaiser contributed to this story.

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	1,117
Udall	327
Jackson	249
Brown	225
Wallace*	168
Stevenson*	86
Humphrey	73
Church	72
Harris	16
McCormack	3
Walker*	2
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	538
Total chosen to date	2,877
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in all states except Texas, Connecticut, Colorado, Missouri and Puerto Rico, which have yet to complete delegate selection; and Delaware, Utah and North Dakota, which are still to select delegates.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	958
Reagan	863
Uncommitted	155
Total chosen to date	1,976
Needed to nominate	1,130

Republican totals are based on completed delegate selection in all states except Illinois, Texas, Minnesota, Missouri, Idaho and Colorado, which have yet to complete delegate selection; and Washington, Iowa, Delaware, New Mexico, North Dakota, Connecticut, Montana and Utah, which are still to select delegates.

*has released delegates

The Washington Post

The Primaries

Joseph Kraft

Can Carter Unify the Democrats?

CLEVELAND—Jimmy Carter tied up the Democratic presidential nomination by his big win here in Ohio. In the process he showed all the skills and appeal that haved served him so well throughout the primaries.

At the same time, he lost in California and New Jersey. So in the process he also exhibited anew the weaknesses that, unless corrected, are apt to make him vulnerable to President Ford in the election this fall.

Carter's skills are by now well known. He is above all a tireless campaigner. He was the only candidate with the stamina to visit California, New Jersey and Ohio in the last days before the primary.

He steers clear of divisive issues, emphasizing instead religious and patriotic themes that have a universal appeal. In this state he ran very strongly down on the farm (winning by better than 5 to 1 in rural Scioto County over any other competitor, for example), fairly well in the smaller cities (winning Franklin County, or Columbus, by nearly 2 to 1) and not too badly in the highly urban areas (40 per cent in Cuyahoga County, embracing Cleveland, as against a total of 43 per cent for Rep. Morris Udall and Sen. Frank Church combined).

Finally, through a combination of strategic flair and acute polling, he has always been up for the "must" primary. He would have sunk from sight if he had not won in New Hampshire. Similarly if he had not beaten George Wallace in Florida and Henry Jackson in Pennsylvania.

Ohio, a large representative state, was his "must" primary of the three held on Tuesday. His big win here brings his delegate count to nearly 1,100 out of the 1,505 necessary for nomination, and sets the stage for a mass cave-in.

The boss of bosses—Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago—pointed the way with the comment that "if Carter wins in Ohio . . . he will be the candidate." George Wallace and Sen. Jackson have already taken the cue. Sen. Church, who seems actively to be seeking the vice presidency, is getting ready.

Finally there is a large bloc of uncommitted delegates in New York and Pennsylvania who are equally apt to jump to Carter. So despite the continued opposition of Gov. Jerry Brown of California, who has shown extraordinary pulling power in his home state and in other primaries, a Carter nomination on the first ballot in New York seems certain.

Yet even as he was nailing down the nomination Gov. Carter revealed all the weaknesses that have dogged him throughout his brilliant campaign. The fact is that except for Ohio—a state without any important liberal base—Carter has done poorly in the big states of the industrial North.

He lost badly in California, the biggest state in the union, with only one-third of the votes given to Gov. Brown. He had previously run fourth in the second-biggest state, New York.

He ran second to favorite-son Adlai Stevenson in the third-largest state, Illinois. Though he won the fourth-largest state, Pennsylvania, he took less than 40 per cent of the vote. His victory in Michigan was by a tiny fraction. He lost the delegate fight in New Jersey to an uncommitted slate, and ran fourth in Massachusetts.

What all this says is that Mr. Carter is going to have to have help if he is to win the big industrial states in the November election. The help will have to come from precisely the group Mr. Carter has been running against in the primaries.

That is the big city organizations and the labor unions. Their support, in registering people and getting out the vote, will be all the more necessary since the new campaign-financing law places a relatively low limit (about $22 million, or at least $10 million less than George McGovern spent in 1972) on what each candidate can put out for the election.

It is not impossible, of course, for Mr. Carter to form alliances with the city organizations and trade unions. He has a number of political operators who can deal easily with the traditional Democrats. Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss can help. So can the choice of the right vice-presidential running-mate.

But the fact is that so far Mr. Carter has not had unified labor support in any major northern state. Nor organization support. He has tended to put off followers of other candidates (according to the CBS-New York Times poll, large numbers of those who voted for Udall or Church would vote for President Ford in November) by invidious comments in emhasizing his repeated victories. So it is now a question whether he can personally show the grace and nobility he will need to unify the Democratic Party for victory in the fall.

Georgian Savors Triumph

: CARTER, From A1

"From peanuts to President," read a sign outside the turn-of-the-century train station that now serves as Carter's local campaign headquarters.

Throughout the campaign, Carter stressed simple virtues that had seemed to go out of style in political rhetoric, telling voters he "loved" them and wanted to share an "intimacy" with them, expressing faith in the "basic goodness" of the American people despite their leaders' transgressions and vowing never to tell a lie.

(Asked if she would ever tell a lie, 77-year-old "Miss Lillian" laughed and told reporters, "Oh, my Lord, yes, I have to make up for Jimmy.")

But asked yesterday how he came "so far, so fast," Carter rather grimly noted that 18½ months of campaigning didn't seem very fast.

When Carter began campaigning in early 1975 he traveled almost alone around the country, begging, as he tells his audiences now, for just one reporter to ask him a question.

Now he often gives the impression that they are asking too many of them and the loading platform sagged under the weight of all the major news media of the country, with some European correspondents thrown in for good measure.

As Carter buoyantly fielded a question about what criticism he has of the nation's patchwork-quilt system of primary elections ("I think it's an absolutely superb system," he exulted), a freight train rumbled into town.

The press conference halted for the whistles, roars and toots. "This," said Carter, apparently referring to the passage of the train rather than the press conference, "is not a frequent occurrence in Plains."

Carter actually has never been far from Plains in his speeches, always referring to the place of his birth, to past and present family members and often to the values of small-town America.

He asks voters to join "my family," meaning the extended family of his campaign supporters. Even in big cities, he talks about the smallness and intimacy of Plains and its people, appearing to evoke in his listeners a nostalgia for the old days and simple ways, in many cases a life they never knew.

These crowds rarely respond with emotional bursts or fervent applause, as they do with many of his less successful rivals, but they appear to be listening carefully—and frequently returning his smile.

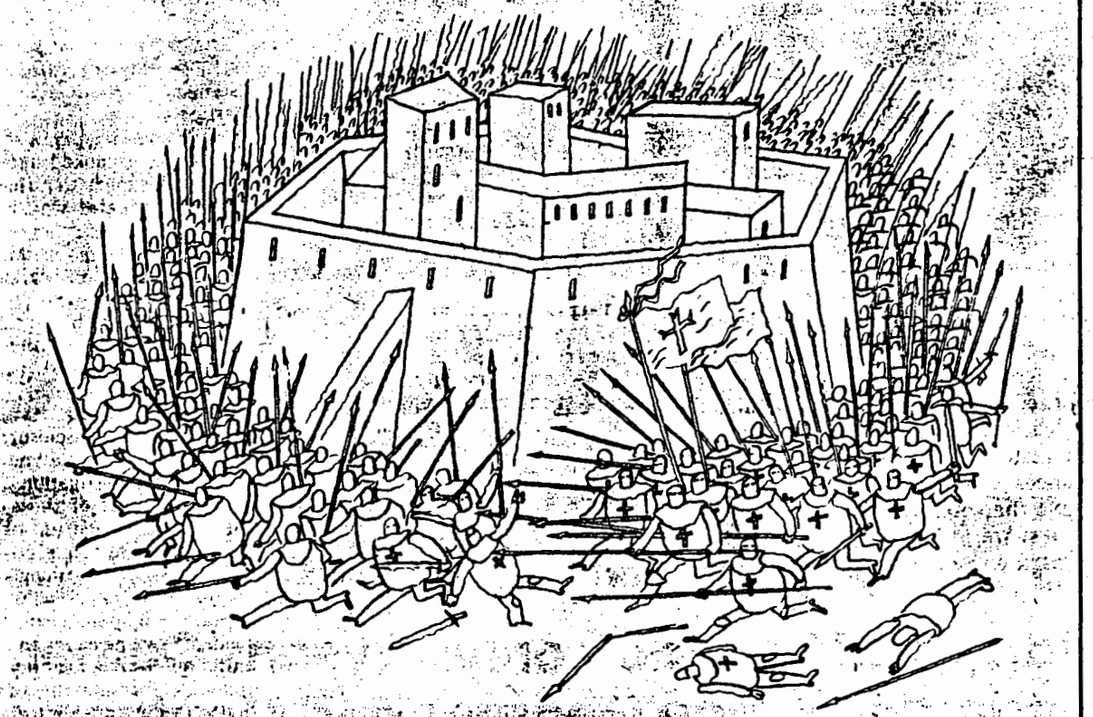
Carter himself does not show much emotion beyond an occasional steely-eyed stare that tends to wilt its target, or the smile that sometimes seems to mask his reactions as much as express them. But he has appeared more relaxed in the last few days, seeming almost to sense the outcome of the final test of his campaign strategy.

On Saturday night, at the Best Western Motel in nearby Americus, the 1941 graduating class of the local high school will have its 35th annual reunion and Jimmy Carter will be there.

When Carter was a youngster, going to Americus, 10 miles away, was a big event. It is sure to be a bigger event this Saturday night.

Chalmers M. Roberts

"The Primaries Have Demonstrated Their Value"



By Maris Bisofs for The Washington Post

This year's 30 presidential primaries, with all their imperfections, have demonstrated their value far beyond what anyone might have hoped when they began in New Hampshire last February. They have told us a lot about the mood of the voters and about the candidates and about the condition of the two major parties.

First of all, they have demonstrated a considerable discontent with things as they are. Yet they also have shown that the voters are proud of their country and want a leader who will voice that feeling and who will accent the positive. Issues are important, but not as important as the man—and the voters seem to want, above all, a man they can trust. Among the Democrats the appeal of Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown surely rests in the man more than in what each has espoused. Among the Republicans the result is somewhat different. Ronald Reagan seems to be perceived as both a leader and a genuine conservative, while President Ford has apparently been looked upon as an honest, well-intentioned incumbent who wasn't elected and ought to be given a chance in his own right.

The country seems to be in a centrist mood. Thus Morris Udall felt the need to abandon the label of "liberal" in favor of "progressive." And George Wallace, although his health surely played a part, seemed too far right. The other Democrats who fell by the wayside in the primaries did not measure up in terms either of leadership or of issues.

The role of the primaries to winnow out the candidates has proved itself. In this process the one flaw has been the crossover vote, which was allowed in 13 states. But it is doubtful that the results would have been materially different if the rules had been different. Slates of uncommitted delegates present a more difficult problem.

Carter brought the South back into the Union, as far as the Democrats are concerned, by ending the Wallace dream. Yet Wallace has a point in saying that his "message" has gotten through, that all the candidates came to recognize that some major changes need to be made in Washington.

Carter also has resurrected religion in politics. The primaries have allowed large numbers of Americans to express their feeling that moral and religious principles have a role to play in our political life.

The 30 primaries have been exhausting, and the voter turnout has demonstrated that millions of Americans have tuned out of politics. Yet none of the candidates collapsed from sheer fatigue, which in itself tells us something about those who have survived thus far.

Carter, but they know a lot more about him than they otherwise would have. They now know he is rugged and tough, that he has a temper and not much humor. It is evident that a Carter administration would be full of fights with Congress and full of surprises for Washington and probably for the country and the world as well. A one-to-one contest in the fall would tell us more about him, but the primaries laid the groundwork.

The primaries have shown us that the Republicans have a potent right wing, that the Goldwater dream of 1964 is still alive and that the liberal wing of the GOP is in serious trouble. President Ford has demonstrated that he is a decent man, that he has restored a sense of decency to the White House, but not very much else.

It is evident that Americans are ambivalent about Washington. They think government is too big, too nosey, too insensitive. But they also want the benefits that flow from government to them personally and indirectly through all or many of the federal

American, though what that entails in the voters' minds in terms of defense and diplomacy is hard to judge.

Perhaps the single greatest failure of the Founding Fathers was their device for choosing a President. The original system has been abandoned, and in its place has grown up a party method, now developed into the 30 primaries plus state caucuses of 1976.

Imperfections are evident enough. But this year's primaries deserve a positive vote of approval. On the Republican side, they have given Reagan a fair crack at an incumbent President, which may or may not be good for the party, but it is, in principle, a healthy thing. On the Democratic side, a party outsider, from the South, has been given an equally fair opportunity against tremendous odds to overcome both of those handicaps. And that too is entirely in keeping with the idea that the people, as distinct from the political bosses and those entrenched in positions of power, ought to have

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Happy Warrior Humphrey Bows Out for Last Time

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

They always said that Hubert Humphrey would do anything for a chance to be President. Yesterday he proved them wrong.

Faced with the futility and divisiveness of an 11th-hour challenge to Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination, Humphrey voluntarily bowed out, at age 65, doubtless for the last time.

Declaring that Carter "is virtually certain to be our party's nominee", the Minnesota senator and former Vice President said he "will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf" and "will do all I can to help unite our party behind the candidate chosen by the delegates at the convention next month." He said delegates pledged to him are free to vote as they choose.

Humphrey's decision enabled him to carry his reputation as a legislator to a different battle—a fight for the job of Senate Majority Leader.

Humphrey promised to say more today about seeking his party's top Senate leadership post, being vacated by retiring Mike Mansfield of Montana.

For liberals in the party, doubtful about the degree of Carter's commitment to causes dear to them, Humphrey remains an advocate in party councils of government as innovator of social welfare and change.

As a leader, or the leader, of Senate Democrats in a Carter administration, Humphrey would be well-positioned to defend that government role in dealing with a President who has campaigned consistently against the do-everything Washington that Humphrey over the years has come to personify.

That Humphrey would prefer continued high recognition in the Senate to what would have been his fourth overt bid for the Democratic presidential nomination should have come as no surprise.

He had been saying all along that while he was available for the nomination, he was not going to scramble for it.

But like the boy who cried wolf, Humphrey had coveted the White House so long and so publicly that many

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found it hard to grasp that he really meant what he said.

Had Carter stumbled on the final primary day, Humphrey might have answered the bell one more time. But Carter did not stumble and Humphrey can count, and so the wisdom of age and experience prevailed.

The point of no return really came not yesterday but six weeks ago, when after much soul-searching and fanfare, Humphrey strode into the Senate Caucus Room and elaborately declined to enter the New Jersey primary, as an active candidate.

That decision took the wind out of the sails of Democrats in New Jersey and elsewhere who hoped he would move into the anti-Carter breach left by the collapse of Sen. Henry M. Jackson's campaign in the Pennsylvania primary.

Few men have sought the presidency for so long or have come as close to winning it. Humphrey made his first run 16 years ago against John F. Kennedy, losing to him first in Wisconsin and then in West Virginia in the primary that dispelled the notion that a Catholic could not be elected President.

With the vigor and enthusiasm that he displays to this day, the 1960 Humphrey toured the mine communities and hollows of the rugged West Virginia countryside by bus, extolling the role of a government that cared for its people.

Over the years, in 1964 as the successful vice presidential nominee, in 1968 as the presidential nominee who lost to Richard Nixon by a whisker, and in 1972 when he failed to wrest the nomination from George McGovern, Humphrey remained always the "Happy Warrior" whose zest for campaigning persuaded many he would never pass up an opportunity to run for higher office.

But if his enthisiasm for pet liberal causes had not waned, his tolerance for disappointment, and even public ridicule, had dropped perceptibly.

He did not relish the image of not only the happy but the hungry warrior. As he settled again into Senate life, he told interviewers he had lost his stomach for the scramble, especially the fundraising.

He enjoyed being a near-institution on Capitol Hill and he knew that an active candidacy would resurrect stories about the conviction of his 1972 campaign manager on charges of receiving illegal contributions.

And so he elected for 1976 to leave the trench-fighting to younger, less scarred Democrats, and to tend to business in the Senate, but always with a watchful eye to opportunity. He said at the year's outset he expected the primaries to produce the nominee but, if not, he would be available.

What continued to make the presidency attractive to Humphrey in 1976 was awareness that this fall's campaign was likely to be waged heavily on issues of the economy, the Minnesotan's forte.

There are few men in the Senate who can discuss and debate economics with Humphrey, especially in terms of impact on working-class America. He spoke often and with relish in private about the opportunities for the Democrats in such a debate with the Republican nominee.

Now that Humphrey has decided not to lend himself to any last-ditch stop-Carter effort, he is free to join that debate from a position of influence and prestige, and also to play a leading role in another task he set for himself at the year's start—to be a vehicle for party unity.

After 28 years in Democratic national politics, he is a man with many friends, but also many detractors.

To many early and vehement critics of the Vietnam war, he is still a villain for not publicly breaking with President Johnson on that issue and making his 1968 campaign for the presidency a referendum on that war.

But he remains, for all that, the embodiment of old liberal, New Deal policies and ideals, popular with labor, minorities and old-line Democrats the country over.

His demonstration that in 1976 he is no windmill-tilter in his lifelong ambition to be President enhances his value to the party, and to Carter, in the party fence-mending that now faces the Democrats' prospective nominee.

Scorching
fostly sunny today, igh in mid-90s. Fair to-ight, low in mid-60s. hance of rain near ero through tonight. 'etails: B-3.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Carter's Bandwagon

. . . AND IN PLAINS THERE NEVER WAS ANY

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga. — Billy Kimble — he's the dentist in town — had to miss it all. He had to go home to relieve the babysitter.

But Billy and the two children were the only ones in the family — maybe the only people in Plains — to miss Jimmy Carter when he came home at 1:24 in the morning.

Carter stepped out of his car on Main Street, hugged his mother — everyone here seems to call her "Miss Lillian" — and then he made a prompt decision: "I'm not going to kiss everybody; I've been kissin' all night!"

He did a lot more hugging, though, as he moved through a crowd that spilled over the platform of the depot, lined the top of a flatbed truck, and filled the street for a block, from Thomas Grocery all the way to the trailer house where "Chip" Carter and his wife live.

"Looks like Saturday!" Carter said with real suprise as he saw the

See CARTER, A-8

OHIO LANDSLIDE WIPES AWAY DOUBTS . . .

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter has moved to within a kiss of winning the Democratic presidential nomination in a remarkably healthy position for the general election campaign in the fall.

The outsider from Georgia has done it, first, without irrevocably alienating any substantial bloc in his own party and, second, without giving the Republicans any issue that automatically compromises his candidacy in November.

The key figure in the Democratic equation today is probably Sen. Henry M. Jackson, who has won 250 delegates and can deliver perhaps 200 of them to Carter if he chooses to embrace him. And, according to those in a position to know, that decision is becoming more and more inevitable in Jackson's eyes.

Personal factors are significant in Jackson's perception of his place in the scheme of things today. One is his sensitivity to the criticism he suffered in 1972 when he was a last-ditch holdout against George McGovern.

See DEMOCRATS, A-13

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The Elections: A Reversal of Roles

OHIO, MOTHER of six Presidents, now has at least a 2-1 chance of being foster mother to a seventh. And California, mother of Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown (we would just as soon not venture any further into California's matriarchal role in this country's recent political history), has at least a 50-50 chance of mothering the disintegration of the Republican Party as a vital and effective force in American politics. That's pretty much the way we read the returns from Tuesday's primaries. We would not wish to demean the role of New Jersey, which helped offset President Ford's crunching defeat at the hands of former Gov. Reagan in California, and did its poor best to confuse the Democratic contest by electing a majority of delegates committed to a composite candidate called Humphrey/Brown. But the confusion lasted only long enough for Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley to clear his throat. If Jimmy Carter wins in Ohio, Mr. Daley said, before the votes were all in, "he'll be the candidate." Since the mayor of Chicago has a great deal to say about the ultimate disposition of some 86 delegates, this strong suggestion of a Daley endorsement, once it was accompanied by Mr. Carter's thumping Ohio victory, effectively broke the back of the stop-Carter movement and ensured, to the extent that these things can ever be entirely certain, that the former Georgia governor will win his party's nomination at Madison Square Garden in July.

Mr. Ford has no such easy road ahead. With only a slim lead in total delegate strength right now, he is thought to have not much better than an even chance to beat Mr. Reagan in Kansas City in August, after what most people seem to agree will be a battle so brutal and embittering—and divisive in its impact upon party solidarity—that the nomination may be of doubtful value to either candidate. But without Ohio, of course, Mr. Ford would not have had even this much chance.

So what we have been presented with by Ohio and Californa and all the rest of the primaries now behind us is the almost certain prospect of a genuinely astonishing reversal of roles. Here are the Democrats, famous for their public displays of disunity right out on the convention floor, apparently headed for a convocation in New York that will be distinctive for its harmony and fellowship. There is not a walkout in sight. Yesterday, in the general and surprisingly rapid opening of the delegate floodgates by George Wallace, Hubert Humphrey, Adlai Stevenson III and others, there was scarcely a sour note—only Jerry Brown was breathing any fire. For the Democrats, this suggests that a splendid—and unaccustomed—opportunity may be on hand. It is the opportunity to build party positions on a broad base of support, in an atmosphere free of factional or regional rancor. Not within recent memory have the Democrats been so free to grapple with issues on their merits and to resolve differences without resort to the sort of expedient tradeoffs so often indulged in for the sake of a spurious "unity" in other years.

The same cannot be said, alas, about the Republicans, given their unsettled and, some would say, nearly suicidal state. The wonder of it is that President Ford, after starting with five straight primary victories, should now be so embattled, and that Ronald Reagan should be posing so formidable a threat. But that is the stuff of post-mortems, better left to another day. For now, it is enough to deplore the unhappy prospect of a party, once famous in its own way for its self-control, seemingly poised for a self-destructive, dog-eat-dog struggle between two factions that themselves represent only two mildly differing gradations of the same conservative ideology. It is not an ideology, we suspect, that can hope to command broad Republican support, let alone the sort of support from independents and moderate Democrats that could provide a Republican majority. And if that would be the case with President Ford as the nominee, it would be all the more so with Mr. Reagan.

If this is what the expanded primary process has given us, in its second trial, what does that say about the primaries? Good things, by and large, it seems to us. They have provided a means for an outsider, with no established power base, to challenge an incumbent President and to sustain that challenge against repeated adversity, which strikes us, in principle, as a healthy thing. If this has meant nothing but trouble for Mr. Ford, his troubles are very largely of his own making, poignant as his predicament may be; he had never sought the presidency, and the irony is that he has proved on balance to be better at doing the job than at seeking it.

As for Mr. Carter, how else but by doggedly—and brilliantly—contesting every primary, and winning more often than not and in all parts of the country, could a one-term Georgia governor, out of office and outside the established party hierarchy, nail down the nomination this early in the game? It is this self-evident success with voters, in fact, that validated his candidacy and accounted in large measure for the quick and relatively gracious collapse of most of his remaining opposition yesterday; his record gives little grounds for grievances. In short, having taken the highest risks by going to the voters in every primary, he earned in the hardest way the high reward of a large degree of party harmony and broad backing for his candidacy in the fall. And that, too, strikes us as a healthy thing.

DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

The other is a dissipation of the antagonism he felt toward Carter during the pivotal Pennsylvania primary campaign six weeks ago.

TWO THINGS are obvious about Carter's position today in wake of his stunning victory in Ohio yesterday — first, that he can be stopped now only by some unimaginable gaffe of his own and, second, that he is in position to capture the nomination on the first ballot without making a deal with any of the party's power brokers.

The latter became strikingly apparent even before the votes were counted in Ohio, California and New Jersey last night when one of the premier power brokers, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, signaled unmistakably that he — and the 100 to 105 convention delegates he will control at the convention — were ready to throw in with Carter if he won in Ohio.

And win Carter did, running up a landslide over Morris K. Udall and Frank Church that wiped away much of the doubt that had been raised about his appeal in the last few weeks and that completely overshadowed the returns from New Jersey and California.

With 79 percent of the precincts reported from Ohio, Carter had 52 percent to Udall's 21 and Church's 14. And he was winning 119 of the 152 delegates there.

THE PROPORTIONS of the victory so far exceeded expert expectations that it blotted out the defeat he suffered in California at the hands of Gov. Edmund G Brown Jr. and the fact that his delegate candidates were running behind those in New Jersey listed as "uncommitted" but identified as favorable to either Brown or Hubert H. Humphrey.

With 84 percent of the vote counted in New Jersey, the uncommitted slate led for 75 seats and Carter for 25. Carter, however, won a preferential vote in which Brown and Humphrey were not involved with 57 percent to 19 for his nearest competitor, Church.

In California, with 57 percent of the vote counted, Brown was winning his home state in a landslide, with 59 percent to Carter's 20 and Church's 8.

But Carter captured 67 delegates in California, which brought his total for the day to 211 — and his total for the campaign probably to within 275 of the 1,505 needed for the nomination.

What was most significant, however, was that Carter had reduced all of his competitors except a defiant Brown to what amounted to statements of concession.

UDALL, still managing a smile although he had suffered his worst defeat of the year and was spending the night in Cleveland, said he had "not really very much" hope left and began talking about how he intended to "influence" the platform Democrats will adopt at their convention in New York July 12.

"I'm a realist and I can count," the Arizona liberal said.

Church, who had defeated Carter earlier in Nebraska and Oregon, was similarly pragmatic. Asked if it were all over, he replied: "Well, it looks like it's very close to being."

Brown was a different dish of tea, telling one network interviewer that "I'm not going to yield this nomination until it is crystal clear in my mind" that Carter has a first-ballot triumph assured and another that he would continue to campaign "until it becomes completely obvious" that Carter cannot be stopped.

Brown based his tough talk on the success of the uncommitted delegate candidates in New Jersey. "I do claim that victory in New Jersey," he said, "Every state I've gone into Jimmy Carter has lost. I think the Democratic nomination is still open."

THE ONLY other Democratic politician who seemed to think so was Joseph Crangle, the Buffalo party leader who has leading the draft-Humphrey movement for the last several weeks. He was tellling reporters the returns from New Jersey were "fantastic" and that he intended to "go out now" in search of delegates elsewhere.

But the Humphrey hopes were probably ultimately destroyed by Mayor Daley's praise of Carter and biting judgment that "our party isn't in bad enough shape to go to someone and demand him and draft him." Of Carter, the Chicago boss declared:

"We understand one another. We've known each other for a long time. I have great respect for any man with the courage he's got. He started months ago and entered contests in any state. He's won some and he's lost some and, by God, you have got to admire him."

And, at a press conference held before the returns came in, Daley said that if Carter won Ohio, "he'll walk in under his own power."

This was particularly significant because Daley has made no secret of his hopes of placing Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III on the national ticket as the vice presidential nominee, which would immensely improve the chances of his personally chosen candidate for governor there, Michael J. Howlett. What Daley was acknowledging was that Carter had moved to a position where he would not obliged to make any trades.

AND CARTER was moving vigorously to swing enough delegates into his column so he could be certain of winning on the first ballot without any single party leader's being able to claim the role of kingmaker. Carter said he had telephoned Jackson, Udall, Church, Humphrey, Daley and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and that all of them "had indicated their belief that I'd be the nominee." In none of those conversations, he told reporters in Atlanta, was there "the slightest insinuation" that some quid pro quo — such as the vice presidential nomination — would be required.

"We are now in a position where we do not have to wheel and deal and we do not have to trade off any responsibilities," Carter said in a call to California supporters last night.

However it might be accomplished, the man in the most obvious position to put the clincher on the Carter nomination was Jackson, whom Carter had driven to the sidelines with a runaway victory in Pennsylvania April 27.

Four years ago Jackson ran a weak campaign in the primaries but fought to the bitter end against the nomination of George McGovern, even to the point of conspiring with Wallace until the hour of the first rollcall. It was a desperate adamance that made him a target of ridicule in the party — and one, his intimates now say, he has regretted ever since. Thus, for Jackson, the opportunity to make the definitive gesture is an oppportunity for a kind of political atonement.

A FEW WEEKS ago the chances of any Jackson-Carter rapprochement seemed distant, because the veteran candidate was bitterly resentful of the obscure outsider who was driving him into the ground. But Jackson advisers say that anger has passed with time, and no little personal attention from Carter, to the point that Jackson now views the Georgian as no worse than a green candidate who has been "poorly informed" on some issues but is basically acceptable.

Jackson met with his New York delegates in Queens last night without disclosing any decision on how he intends to proceed. And he has another meeting tomorrow with about 40 supporters who have been among the most active in raising money for him. But his principal concern now is deciding how he should carry out what one adviser calls his "responsibility to advise his delegates" where he stands.

Wallace, whom Carter reduced to the role of also-ran in a series of Southern primaries earlier this year, also could contribute valuable support to his fellow Southerner simply by releasing his 172 delegates, most of whom would be expected to fall in line behind the former Georgia governor. But Wallace is known to want to have his name placed in nomination at the convention so that he will be assured of the moment in the spotlight that will confirm his political respectability after more than a decade as the Peck's Bad Boy of national Democratic politics.

UDALL, WITH 331 delegates, also could provide the clincher, but his reaction to disaster in Ohio last night suggested he intends to stick to his resolve to go to the convention as "the leader of the progressive forces" and try to exert some influence there. The dimensions of his defeat in Ohio, however, unquestionably will persuade hard-headed Democratic professionals that the "progressive forces" are not such a force, after all.

Perhaps the most significant development yesterday, however, was the likelihood that Carter's delegate gains were substantial enough to finally force Humphrey to abandon his public agonizing over whether or not to mount an "active" campaign after months of waiting for some political deus ex machina to lift him to the nomination.

There were reports that Humphrey was telling friends he had given up the ghost, but their accuracy seemed academic after the votes in Ohio had been counted.

THE SIZE of Carter's victory there came as a surprise largely because Udall had run him such a close second — less than a percentage point — in neighboring Michigan just three weeks ago. But astute politicians have always judged Ohio to be far less liberal than Michigan. And the

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Race for the Bandwagon

At 8 a.m. Wednesday, Democratic congressmen held their weekly breakfast meeting and gravely considered swallowing their misgivings about Jimmy Carter to endorse him for President in order to beat George Wallace to the punch. Unknown to them, they were seven hours too late.

At 1 o'clock the same morning, Gov. Wallace placed a telephone call from the executive mansion in Montgomery, Ala., to his longtime political manager, Charles Snider. While sharing the liberal congressmen's misgivings about Carter for opposite reasons, Wallace saw the future more clearly, and quickly came to a hard decision: He told Snider he would endorse Carter for President.

The spectacle of Wallace and the liberals racing each other for Carter's bandwagon explains how Carter could back into clinching the presidential nomination only hours after losing two of Tuesday's three primaries against ragtag opposition.

That Wallace, so long the devil to liberal Democrats, should tip Carter over the top with his own delegates is the supreme irony. It also underlines the extraordinary tour de force of Jimmy Carter, who originally sold himself to those same liberals as the outsider from Plains, Ga., who would slay the Wallace dragon.

The tour de force resulted from Carter's flat refusal to yield to demands from politicians, the press and his own advisers that he make far more specific his positions on issues. That refusal left the road open for both Wallace and the liberals. By fudging on the issues, then, Carter became the Democratic consensus nominee no one dreamed would be possible.

Carter's feat is all the more remarkable because his campaign emerged from obscurity as solely an anti-Wallace commando raid. Other candidates cleared out of the Florida primary and such prominent liberals as President Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers and California political philanthropist Max Palevsky were first drawn to Carter only for the Florida campaign. But once Wallace faded, Carter became the second choice of many Wallace voters.

Having thus used the Democratic Party's lurid fears of Wallace as a pretext for his candidacy, Carter turned this reasoning on its ear last week when he mused publicly he might not make it on the first ballot but Wallace delegates would put him over on the second ballot anyway. The warning to liberals: Climb aboard or I'll ride to triumph with Wallace.

A few liberals—such as doughty old ADA crusader Joseph Rauh—have resisted this. "I'm going to wait to see whether Carter clarifies his fuzzy position in our direction or in the other direction," Rauh told us. But he also acknowledged that he will be waiting alone while his colleagues leap for the Carter bandwagon.

The reason Rauh is a voice in the wilderness is the inevitability of Carter, which can be partly traced to Sen. Hubert Humphrey's decision of April 29 not to become a candidate following the fall of Sen. Henry M. Jackson in Pennsylvania. That opened Carter's way to an unmolested rampage for delegates the next three weeks until late-blooming candidacies confronted and frequently defeated him (Carter then lost 9 of the last 15 primaries and finished behind Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in every confrontation).

The importance of Humphrey's decision was pointed up Tuesday, which might have been a near sweep for Humphrey, leading to a fateful—and undoubtedly bloody—duel in Madison Square Garden.

Carter's poor showing in losing to an uncommitted slate in New Jersey cannot be explained away as the factional triumph of the party organization against pro-Carter, unpopular Gov. Brendan Byrne. Nor can Carter's humiliating 20 per cent against Gov. Brown in California be dismissed as a Golden State aberration. Even Carter's impressive win in Ohio was recorded against the hapless Rep. Morris Udall, whose doctrinaire liberalism made him a worst-possible candidate for Ohio.

This foreboding voter resistance—implacable in the West and stubborn in the Northeast—helps explain why the certainty of his nomination in a bloodless convention has created not exultation but an air of resignation. To some thoughtful Democrats, the fact that Jimmy Carter does not wear that well suggests that his victory in November, even considering the deplorable condition of the Republicans, cannot be taken for granted.

But the lack of fervor among politicians, approximating the eerie coolness that greets him on the road, makes Carter's tour de force only more a matter of wonder. Enthusiastically or not, Wallaceites and liberals alike are climbing onto the bandwagon of the first non-incumbent Democrat in memory to enter a national convention with enough delegates in hand to be nominated by acclamation.

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In our column yesterday on the Missouri Republican Convention, an error in transmission misstated the estimated delegate totals. They should have read up to 680 for Reagan to Mr. Ford's 620; with 150 uncommitted.

HOW IT WAS IN CALIFORNIA OHIO AND NEW JERSEY PRIMARIES FOUR YEARS AGO

California's primary secured the first ballot nomination of Democrat George McGovern in 1972, while Hubert H. Humphrey edged out McGovern in that year's party primary in Ohio.

Four years ago, 69 percent of California's registered Democrats turned out to give McGovern a 44 to 39 percent edge over the Minnesota senator.

McGovern received 1,550,652 votes; Humphrey 1,375,064; George C. Wallace 268,551, 7 percent; Rep. Shirley Chisholm 157,435, 4 percent. Other candidates got 212,816 votes.

Richard M. Nixon whalloped his only challenger in the 1972 Republican primary in California. Sixty-seven percent of the registered Republicans turned out and gave Nixon 2,058,-825 votes, 90 percent, to 224,922 for Rep. John Ashbrook.

In Ohio, Humphrey was the 1972 winner by edging McGovern by 19,000 votes. The totals: Humphrey, 499,680 votes, 41 percent; McGovern, 480,3220, 40 percent; Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, 107,806 votes, 9 percent; Sen. Henry M. Jackson, 98,498 votes, 8 percent; former Sen. Eugene McCarthy 26,026 votes, 7 percent.

Nixon, running unopposed in the 1972 Republican primary in Ohio garnered 62,828 votes.

Ohio does not require registration by party and does not maintain voter enrollment figures on a statewide basis. In 1972, 38 percent of an estimated 5,0722,000 Ohio voters participated in the presidential primaries.

New Jersey's primary four years ago was preferential only and had no connection to the state's delegate selection process. Only 2 percent of the Garden State's voters participated in the Democratic voting. Chisholm received 51,443 votes, 67 percent. Others got 25,401 votes. There was no Republican contest.

New Jersey voters need not register by party. Yesterday, 3,511,364 were eligible to vote.

An estimated 4,700,000 Ohio voters were eligible yesterday. Ohio Secretary of State Ted W. Brown predicted that 54.4 percent would participate.

About 400,000 fewer Californians were on the rolls for yesterday's primaries than were qualified to participate four years ago. "Voter disillusionment and Watergate" were cited by Caren Daniels, press secretary to the California secretary of state, for the paring of the rolls. Yesterday, 4,987,795 Democrats and 3,165,495 Republicans were eligible to vote.

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Post-Primary Delegate Chase

Badly outorganized and slightly outnumbered, the two shining young lights of the Missouri Republican Party—Gov. Kit Bond and State Attorney General John Danforth—took to their telephones this week to open the crucial post-primary phase of the Ford-Reagan struggle with a message of party-splitting volatility.

The calls, about 60 each from Bond and Danforth, went to delegates to the June 12 Republican State Convention in Springfield, Mo., who are still undecided. Their message was tough:

If you want *me* to win in November—Bond for reelection as governor and Danforth for the U.S. Senate—do not nominate Ronald Reagan for President; he would guarantee my defeat. Nominate Gerald R. Ford.

The contention that Reagan means Republican catastrophe, while infuriating the Reaganite hard core, is the principal Ford tactic in the post-primary delegate search. The hard-nosed line by Bond and Danforth comes straight from President Ford Committee (PFC) headquarters in Washington as the way to frighten grass-roots conservative diehards into ignoring their hearts and following their appointed President.

Missouri is a test case. Although the state's district caucuses gave President Ford a lead in national convention delegates (15 to 12, with three undecided), Reagan now has a slight edge at the state convention for election of 19 at-large national convention delegates. Such a Reagan win in a state generally conceded to Mr. Ford would be shattering.

So significant are those 19 delegates that Mr. Ford will make a late Friday round-trip to Springfield to shake hands with state convention delegates at Gov. Bond's convention-eve reception. Reagan long ago was scheduled not only to arrive Friday night but to address the convention Saturday morning.

An incumbent President scheduling a 1,812-mile one-day round-trip for a paltry 19 delegates attests the closeness of his delegate chase with Reagan. Equally important, it also is needed to compensate for inexcusable past failures of his campaign. Yet, Missouri is not only a test case but the prototype of Ford-Reagan state contests still being waged across the country.

In Missouri as elsewhere, the PFC quickly signed up all the big names, from Bond and Danforth on down. Shunned by the party establishment, Reagan found his state chairman in John Powell, a 50-year-old lumber yard owner whose highest political office was membership on the State Central Committee. Reagan's first endorsement by a Missouri Republican of any reputation came only last week from Tom Curtis, former congressman and just resigned chairman of the Federal Election Commission.

Having signed up the establishment, the PFC then characteristically forgot all about Missouri—to its misfortune. While the establishment slept, Reaganites derailed plans to hold the state convention in the university town of Columbia and scheduled it instead at the southwest Missouri metropolis of Springfield, smack in the heart of traditionally rock-ribbed Republican territory and currently Reagan country. "The fact we're going to be in Springfield is a sign of how much we've blundered," a Ford operative conceded.

Besides a friendly gallery, Reaganites control some convention machinery, including the credentials committee. Most important, Reagan has the superior organization at a time when it is too late for the President's big names to catch up.

The result: Out of 1,439 state convention delegates, Reagan has the backing of up to 620 to Mr. Ford's 629 with at least 150 uncommitted.

To reduce that margin with less than a week remaining and with Reagan's prospective victory in California posing a convention cliffhanger, Bond and Danforth began telephoning state convention delegates to sound the alarm that Reagan's heading the ticket means disaster for the entire ticket—a warning intensified by the overblown Rhodesia flap.

But that technique is highly questionable not only in Missouri but nationwide because of what's really going on inside the Republican Party. In forging their remarkable successes in an overwhelmingly Democratic state, liberal young Republicans led by Bond, 37, and Danforth, 40, have not forged a true alliance of the spirit with grizzled old conservative stalwarts. Just how much their appeal for help will sway delegates is at least debatable, particularly since Bond is given an unsurpassable lead in November and Danforth a comfortable one.

Moreover, the stalwarts argue that Reagan will run much better than Mr. Ford in Republican southwest Missouri, where a huge plurality would be needed to defeat Jimmy Carter statewide and where Reagan's blunder on Rhodesia presumably counts for little.

Nobody is sure whether arguments over which Republican can run best in Missouri will have much impact on Fred Whaley, the "Old Bear" of Missouri Republicans who leads the officially uncommitted 3rd District (suburban St. Louis County) delegation. At this writing, nobody can even guess—whither Whaley? Yet, following the multi-million-dollar, four-month chase from New Hampshire to California, the struggle for the soul of the Republican Party now pivots on Fred Whaley of Missouri and his counterparts in a dozen other states with critical "undecideds."

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Carter Assured of Nominatio

As Ex-Foes Join Bandwagon

Bookies Favor Carter to Win

LONDON (AP) — Britain's major bookmakers, Ladbroke's, said Wednesday that bets totalling $200,000 have been placed with them on Jimmy Carter to become the next president of the United States.

In Ladbroke's book, Carter is an even-money favorite to win. President Ford is a 6-4 shot.

Third ranked is Ronald Reagan at 7-2. Hubert Humphrey is listed 10-1; Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. 20-1; Edward M. Kennedy 20-1; Frank Church 33-1; Nelson A. Rockefeller 33-1, and Morris K. Udall 50-1.

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

PLAINS—With kingmaker Richard Daley and former foes George Wallace and Henry Jackson swinging to his side, Jimmy Carter of Georgia was assured the Democratic presidential nomination Wednesday.

"There is no doubt in my mind now that I will win the nomination on the first ballot and be the next president," Carter declared in a phone call from his hometown here to his California supporters at 2 a.m. Wednesday.

"The historians will write it that Jimmy Carter won the Democratic nomination on June 9th," Carter campaign manager Hamilton Jordan stated in confidential memo to the staff.

"Before the day is out," Jordan wrote, "Senator Jackson, Governor Wallace and Mayor Daley will release their delegates and announce their personal support."

Chicago Mayor Daley endorsed Carter Wednesday, Alabama Gov. Wallace asked his delegates to vote for the Georgian, Jackson called on all Democratic presidential contenders to "join in a united appeal" behind Carter, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey renounced any hope of being drafted at the convention.

In contrast to the Democratic closing of ranks, the Republicans are still involved in a fractious neck-and-neck race between President Ford and Ronald Reagan.

Ford predicted Wednesday he will win a first-ballot nomination but said he wants to do it by a sizeable vote and will try to woo uncommitted convention delegates by telling them he is electable and can help other Republicans win on his coattails.

Ford and Reagan go to Springfield, Mo., Friday to make personal pitches on the eve of the selection of 19 at-large delegates in Missouri's Republican convention.

Reagan, former governor of California, spent Wednesday at his home in Pacific Pallsades, Calif.

Carter strategists said he had 1,040 delegates before the primary "superbowl" in New Jersey, Ohio and California Tuesday. He picked up 220 more in those primaries for a total of 1,260 out of the 1,505 needed for the nomination.

Daley, Wallace and Jackson control a total of about 500 delegates.

If only half of these delegates swing to Carter, he would still go over the top with a total of 1,510.

"We think we have 1,505 now, projecting very conservatively the delegates that we hope to obtain," declared Jordan.

Carter, dressed in jeans and boots and relaxing after 17 months of campaigning, beamed with pleasure in saying he could avoid political bartering to win the nomination.

"We won't have to wheel and deal (at the convention) or trade away any responsibilities except to the people themselves," he said.

Carter had talked with Daley and Wallace Tuesday, before the primary results were known, and was surprised that their endorsements Wednesday came so quickly.

Carter's decisive victory in Ohio turned the trick, according to Carter strategists and Daley himself, who called Ohio "the ball game." Carter drubbed Rep. Morris Udall there by 52 per cent to 21 per cent.

Wallace, previously a bitter adversary of his fellow Southern governor, called Carter at 2:15 a.m. Wednesday to declare his support.

Carter, who had been up for 22 hours, went to bed without telling reporters what Wallace had said.

Later, at an 11 a.m. press conference at the Plains railroad station, Carter announced the support of Daley and Wallace.

In a press conference in Montgomery, Wallace asked his presidential delegates to support Carter because he appears to be "the choice of the people" and predicted Carter will win the nomination on the first ballot in July.

See CARTER, Page 20-A

CARTER

Continued from A-1

size of his homecoming crowd, the town of 683 turned out, and people came as far as 100 miles from Tifton, to join and wait two hours for him to come.

While they waited, they stood around a color TV set (price tag, $469.95, still on it) donated by Stone Sound Co. of Americus, and they watched the votes roll in for Jimmy.

IT WAS ANOTHER Tuesday night in Plains, and another gathering to celebrate another Carter victory. Maxine Reese — she's Billy Kimble's mother-in-law — stood up to introduce Plains' favorite son.

"Well, here he is!" she said. "We've been having these every Tuesday — now, Jimmy, I have just one question for you: From now on, what are we gonna do on Tuesday nights?"

Then she handed him an oil painting of the depot — now converted into Carter's campaign headquarters — done by her daughter, Sheri.

Carter, his shirtsleeves rolled halfway to his elbow, was quiet and hopeful as he talked of his campaign for the presidency that began 16 months and 2 weeks ago.

"It has been a good campaign for us. We have found a lot of people around the country just like us — people who work for a living, who live close together and love one another, who love this country, who are disappointed at some of the things that have happened, and who are ready now to correct some mistakes and eliminate divisions once and for all."

AS HE TALKED, he became more joyous, telling his neighbors: "A lot of people want to dance in the street again, have close friends again and laugh again."

He praised warmly the character of the people of Plains, and said that if he could reflect that character as candidate and as president, "I believe I can make everybody in this country proud."

Of his long campaign, one of the longest of any presidential candidate in history, Carter said:

"I think this is a kind of learning process. I feel better about our country now, I really do.

"I've seen a kinship between the people here in south Georgia and the ones making maple syrup in New Hampshire, making cheese in small factories in Wisconsin, raising tall corn in Iowa, raising cotton in the Imperial Valley of California and fruit in the citrus groves of Florida. I have found a common purpose and a kinship that makes us all one American family."

Promising to go on with a "clean, decent, honest, open and thoughtful" campaign, Carter finished by saying:

"There is no doubt in my mind that the next president of the United States will be from Plains, Ga."

Then he shook many hands before going into his depot headquarters to resume the role of politician and campaigner.

ONE OF HIS telephone calls, as he sat on a green desk with his feet up on a chair, was to Alabama Gov. George Wallace. They talked politics, but Carter would not comment on a rumor that Wallace was ending his campaign in favor of Carter's candidacy.

Carter also placed a call to talk to a California politician, Jesse Unruh, in Los Angeles. During the call, he also praised California campaign workers who were gathered around a loud speaker hooked to the telphone there.

As he talked to Unruh, Carter was briefly interrupted as the night freight train sounded its whistle and it moved past right outside the window.

While her husband was doing his political thing, Rosalynn Carter was embracing her neighbors and remembering her own campaign. She was precise about when it had begun: On April 14 of last year, with a two-week stint in Florida.

She has been in 39 states since, she said, "and now I am just glad to come home. You cannot believe that it's over. I want to just stay home with my house, my baby girl, and my things."

She and her husband will stay in Plains until Saturday, with him on the telephone and her writing letters, until they go to the beach at Sea Island, Ga., for about a week of vacation.

Carter had looked tired earlier in the evening when he held a press conference in Atlanta, but he was beaming and his face was ruddy with excitement as he came home to Plains.

"I'M TIRED. But I feel better than I did when I began on Jan. 20, 1975. I haven't been in all the states yet; I haven't been to North Dakota and Montana. But I'll get there before the election, I believe."

More than at any time in the last month, Carter was brightly optimistic as he told reporters and then his neighbors in Plains that there is "no doubt in my mind that I will win the nomination on the first ballot."

Then, remarking that "this is about as late as we've ever stayed up in my home town," Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter took "Miss Lillian" and went home for the night.

Carter Free to Build as Ford, Reagan Squabble

NEWS ANALYSIS

By ANDREW GLASS
and ANDREW MOLLISON

The Democrats have finally settled a drawn-out quarrel over who should be their presidential nominee, while the Republicans have yet to do so.

That is the main message from 30 state primaries and the political aftershocks that followed with stunning speed and force Wednesday.

The Democratic developments mean that Jimmy Carter, once a long-shot contender, is free at last to build the grand coalition he will need to seek the presidency in the fall.

On the other hand, President Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan remained mired in a war of attrition for the GOP nomination. Their battle will be waged for most of the summer in 11 convention states and will probably be settled only on the convention floor in a bitter and divisive showdown.

Indeed, the contest for the Republican prize is so tight that the President feels obliged to fly to Missouri Friday to plead his case before a handful of convention delegates who haven't yet been locked up by one side or the other.

Reagan, flying eastward from his native California, will also be there to seek nuggets in the same political mine pit.

In politics, as in nuclear physics, something pops once a "critical mass" is achieved. That is what happened Wednesday to Carter — who once had a short career as an atomic engineer and who became a full-time presidential candidate 18 months ago.

Alabama Gov. George Wallace, the faltering symbol of the Old South, and Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, the last of the big-time city bosses, put Carter, a son of the New South, on the fast track for a first-ballot nomination.

Both Wallace and Daley decided that Carter had shown enough political speed on his own to grant him the final extra push he needed to cross the finish line.

Another moderate, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington, was also ready to throw in with Carter. But Jackson waited until he could be sure of being able to deliver his 250 delegates.

In Washington, a pride of important Democratic senators who only months ago had neither the time nor inclination to answer Carter's phone calls were saying now that the Georgian could not be stopped.

Only California Gov. Jerry Brown, who beat Carter nearly everywhere they met, held out, talking of a floor fight. But it seemed as if Brown would soon be bypassed by the fast-moving events.

In the end, it was the liberals who were left in the cold by Carter's triumph. Carter had courted them in the wake of his April victory over Jackson in Pennsylvania. But, for Carter, this proved to be a false dawn.

While the Democratic left was clearly unhappy with Carter's ascendancy, there was no sign that it would take a walk.

Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota, who carried the liberal banner to defeat in 1972, waded in mildly with a minority opinion that "it's certainly not locked up."

McGovern said he still favors Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, a perpetual runner-up in the primaries. Yet Udall seemed prepared to accept the reality of a new Democratic world dominated by Jimmy Carter.

Another late-arriving realist was Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the 1968 nominee. Some 100 days ago, Humphrey had circled June 9 on his calendar as the day he would jump into the presidential race.

Humphrey expected the primaries would be a nasty muddle. But now he thinks that Carter is "virtually certain" to be the nominee.

In his new position, Carter must try now to fashion a strategy for his run at the White House in the general election.

He starts with the natural advantage of a southern base. He is the first national Democrat since Franklin Roosevelt who enjoys the prospect of achieving a clean sweep in the old Confederacy.

Blacks and independents also rank high on Carter's list of groups to be wooed. Carter has shown strength in both areas. Indeed, endorsements by several key Atlanta blacks were largely responsible for making Carter an acceptable, and even attractive, figure in some liberal quarters.

But the main body of what is called the "liberal establishment" has yet to be won over. So Carter could pick a liberal as his running mate to win their support.

Carter's "short list" of potential vice-presidential nominees is reliably known to include several liberals, including Sens. Frank Church of Idaho, John Glenn of Ohio, Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois.

Neither Ford nor Reagan has the time to focus on a running mate. Both are too busy trying to secure the nomination.

In a meeting with reporters Wednesday, the President again claimed that he was more electable than Reagan — a contention that Reagan, California's former two-term governor, stoutly disputes by pointing out that he has won big in a strongly Democratic state.

So far, national opinion polls tend to support Ford's position. Yet, in stressing his alleged electability, Ford has made himself a hostage to the polls: His argument could sound hollow in August if they show that Reagan stands the better chance of vanquishing Carter.

One Ford insider, former Defense Secretary Melvin Laird, claimed Wednesday that Ford would have 1,114 of the 1,130 needed to nominate when the GOP convention opens Aug. 16.

Reagan, he said, would have 1,058 votes with the remaining 87 delegates on the fence.

Reagan won 167 delegates in California and nine in Ohio Tuesday, while Ford was winning 88 in Ohio and could expect support from nearly all 67 "uncommitted" delegates elected on a pro-Ford slate in New Jersey.

That showing — the second in two weeks in which Ford did slightly better than expected — gave him 959 certain delegates in The Associated Press's count against 868 uncommitted for Reagan with another 149 and 283 still to be selected.

The biggest fear in the Ford camp is that the Reaganites will dominate the party's platform committee, which will be selected on the basis of two members from each state. This would allow the Reagan forces to draft planks on such issues as the Panama Canal, relations with Communist China and abortion, which Ford would then have to partially or totally disavow.

PRIMARY RECAP

Here is a listing of candidates and the primaries they won during the 1976 campaign:

Democrats

- JIMMY CARTER — 18 — N.H., Vt., Conn., Fla., N.C., Wis., Pa., Texas, Ga., Ind., D.C., Tenn., Mich., Ky., S.D., Ill., Ark., Ohio.
- FRANK CHURCH — 4 — Neb., Idaho, Ore., Mont.
- EDMUND G. BROWN JR. — 3 — Md., Nev., Calif.
- HENRY JACKSON — 2 — Mass., N.Y.
- GEORGE WALLACE — 1 — Ala.
- ROBERT BYRD — 1 — W. Va.
- UNCOMMITTED — 2 — R.I., N.J.

Republicans

- PRESIDENT FORD — 15 — N.H., Vt., Mass., Fla., Ill., Wis., Tenn., Md., Mich., Ky., Ore., W.Va., R.I., N.J., Ohio.
- RONALD REAGAN — 12 — N.C., Texas, Ala., Ga., Ind., Neb., Idaho, Nev., Ark., Mont., S.D., Calif.

VOTING RESULTS IN CALIFORNIA

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Here are the California presidential primary vote totals with 35 percent of the Republican and 57 percent of the Democratic vote counted. There are 24,080 precincts in the state.

REPUBLICANS

Reagan: 473,009 — 63%
Ford: 278,977 — 37%

DEMOCRATS

Brown: 1,137,259 — 59%
Carter: 395,188 — 20%
Church: 50.443 — 8%
Udall: 97,746 — 5%
Wallace: 57,801 — 3%
Uncom.: 43,888 — 2%
Jackson: 22,538 — 1%
McCormack: 15,500 — 1%
Harris: 10,816 — 1%
Bayh: 6,784 — 0%

OHIO PRIMARY VOTE RESULTS

COLUMBUS, Ohio. (AP) — Here are the vote totals in Ohio's presidential primary, based on slate voting for delegates at large, and the overall allocation of delegates with 79 percent of the state's 12,948 precincts reporting:

REPUBLICANS

Ford: 413,301 — 55%
Reagan: 334,793 — 45%

DEMOCRATS

Carter: 438,087 — 52%
Udall: 177,369 — 21%
Church: 117,605 — 14%
Wallace: 46,989 — 6%
Donahey: 36,240 — 4%
Jackson: 30,092 — 3%

VOTING RESULTS IN NEW JERSEY

NEWARK, N.J. (AP) — Here are the vote totals in New Jersey's Democratic presidential primary, based on slate voting for delegates with 84 percent of the state's 5,584 precincts reporting:

DEMOCRATS

Uncom.: 159,785 — 42%
Carter: 108,102 — 28%
Udall: 47,221 — 12%
Church: 26,935 — 7%
Wallace: 25,406 — 7%
McCormack: 16,329 — 4%

Michigan result may have been distorted by the fact the contest there was not perceived as close and many Democrats and independents may have chosen to vote in the Ford-Reagan Republican primary. Such crossovers are difficult and rare in Ohio.

Udall also may have suffered from the negative character of his campaign in Ohio, which relied almost solely on commercials and his own speeches depicting Carter as ambiguous and inconsistent on the issues. Indeed, the liberal candidate's own managers had grown noticeably uncomfortable with that approach as the Ohio vote approached and they smelled defeat.

The liberal antagonism toward Carter that Udall expressed is not likely to dissolve overnight despite his dominant position today. But it is by no means comparable in dimension to the hostility toward McGovern that old guard party regulars developed four years ago. Nor has the cautious, shrewd Carter yet fallen into a campaign trap comparable to McGovern's $1,000-for-everyone "Demogrant" plan or his 1,000 percent backing of Thomas Eagleton as his running mate.

It is still possible, of course, that Carter — like any politician — may destroy himself with a single stroke. But today he holds a position that seems unassailable.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

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JACK TARVER
Publisher

HAL GULLIVER
Editor

★★★★★

PAGE 4-A THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1976

Patch Up and Go

Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of their party, especially if they are Democrats. It didn't take a master mathematician to look at the results of Tuesday's so-called "Super Bowl" primaries and all the other primaries and know that Georgia's Jimmy Carter is all but assured of winning of the Democratic presidential nomination. Indeed, within hours after the primaries ended, some of his old party rivals came to his aid with promises of help from their delegates at the July nominating convention in New York.

He needs 1,505 delegates to capture the Democratic standard and he is closing fast on that number now. Conversations with key uncommitted delegates and some former adversaries in the next few days should make certain his nomination on the first ballot. Then comes the onerous job of picking a running mate—one who will enhance Carter and the Democratic party's chance of retaking the White House and adding more Democrats to the Congress and state houses around the country.

There, of course, may be some last-minute shuffling by a few deluded Democrats who have lost touch with reality and who believe that Carter can still be denied the nomination. But the pros have read the figures and know the nominating battle is over.

Carter's longtime Southern rival, Alabama Gov. George Wallace who has more than 165 delegates pledged to him, already has endorsed Carter as has powerful Democrat, Chicago Mayor Richard Daley. Sen. Henry M. Jackson, another Democratic presidential contender, also is joining the Carter camp. Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who came so close to winning the Presidency in 1968 and in 1976 became the symbol of hope for the Stop Carter movement, has fallen in line. Only the ceremony remains, and then the long campaign against the Republicans. So Carter and other leaders of the party already are working toward patching up the wounds of the primary fights and presenting a united front against the GOP.

* * *

Jimmy Carter has proved not only that a Southerner can emerge as a leading contender for the Presidency but has shown that the nation's primary system works. As grueling and cruel as it seems, it gave the electorate a true voice in picking the nominees of both parties. In the case of the Democrats, it picked the man at the start who seemed least likely to succeed: A farmer, an ex-governor, a Southerner.

But he withstood the tests of the 30 primaries and the many state caucuses and proved he knew how to organize, raise money and win votes. He seemed also to prove that he is well up to the job of being President of the United States.

* * *

The Republican contest is not so clear and appears to be far from over, even if the primaries that began way back in February are. Incumbent Gerald Ford finds himself in nearly a dead heat with former California Gov. Ronald Reagan.

In the weeks ahead before the GOP convention in August in Kansas City, both men will be struggling to win a decisive edge over the other by gathering pledges from now uncommitted delegates and by button-holing leaders of state conventions where many Republican presidential delegates will be chosen.

At the end of the primary season national polls show that Carter is currently the favorite to win the White House in November. There remains many-a potential slip between the primary night victory celebrations and the final gathering of the ballots at the November general election.

MM

COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES

DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Brown	Carter	Church	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Ala.*	35	—	2	—	—	—	27	—	6
Alaska	10	½	—	—	—	—	—	—	9½
Ariz.	25	—	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Ark.	26	—	17	—	—	1	5	—	3
Calif.	280	204	67	7	—	2	—	—	—
Canal Z.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Colo.*	35	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	2
Conn.*	51	—	17	—	5	15	—	—	14
D.C.	17	—	8	—	—	5	—	—	4
Fla.	81	—	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Ga.	50	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii*	17	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Idaho	16	—	2	14	—	—	—	—	—
Ill.	169	—	60	—	—	—	3	92	14
Ind.	75	—	51	—	—	—	10	—	14
Iowa	47	—	17	1	—	10	—	7	12
Kan.	34	—	16	—	1	3	—	—	14
Ky.	46	—	37	—	—	2	7	—	—
La.	41	—	13	—	—	—	9	—	19
Maine	20	1	10	—	—	6	—	1	2
Md.	53	—	32	—	10	7	—	—	4
Mass.	104	—	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Mich.	133	—	69	—	—	58	2	—	4
Minn.	65	—	—	—	—	1	—	56	8
Miss.	24	—	5	1	—	—	11	3	4
Mo.*	71	—	28	—	1	3	1	—	38
Mont.	17	—	4	11	—	—	—	—	2
Neb.	23	—	8	15	—	—	—	—	—
Nev.	11	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	1
N. H.	17	—	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
N.J.	108	—	25	—	—	3	—	—	75
N. M.	18	1	8	—	—	6	—	2	1
N. Y.	274	—	33	—	103	73	—	—	65
N. C.	61	—	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Ohio	152	—	119	71	—	20	—	6	—
Okla.	37	—	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Ore.	34	11	10	13	—	—	—	—	—
Pa.	178	—	73	—	28	23	3	6	45
P. R.	22	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
R.I.	22	—	7	6	—	—	—	—	9
S. C.	31	—	11	1	—	—	8	1	10
S.D.	17	—	9	—	—	7	—	—	1
Tenn.	46	—	36	—	—	—	1	—	9
Tex.	130	—	94	—	—	—	—	9	27
Vt.	12	2	3	—	—	3	—	—	4
Va.	54	—	23	—	—	7	—	—	24
V.I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Wash.	53	—	—	—	24	5	—	—	11
W. Va.	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
Wisc.	68	—	25	—	7	25	10	1	—
Wyo.	10	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	7
Totals	2959	227½	1112	71	246	330	170	207	541½

* Process incomplete

With Jerry Brown and the Tribal Dancers

It's a Different Kind of Election Night

By Mary McGrory
Washington Star Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — An old headquarters type would have been lost at Gov. Jerry Brown's victory celebration. There were no cigars, no balloons, no drunks — and practically nobody over 30 years of age.

The odd affair was staged in the vast reaches of the Sam Yorty Hall of the Los Angeles Convention Center, where some Californians think the Democratic party might be meeting next month, if Jerry Brown were not so monumentally unconcerned about such things.

The old headquarters type would have noted at once that the hall holds 7,000 people and that by 8 o'clock only several hundred had shown up. One Brown campaign aide explained that while they had not exactly made a secret of the occasion, they had not bothered to advertise it, which is, she said resignedly, "typical."

YOUNG WOMEN wearing long dresses and hostess badges politely greeted the celebrants and escorted them to round tables, where they sat around sipping wine and soft drinks, while a six-piece band played show tunes.

On the stage stood a green board with the names of Carter and Brown chalked on each side, but apart from the television crews banked on a stand in the middle of the great plain of the floor, the old headquarters type might have thought that he had blundered into a freshman mixer.

The master of ceremonies, Bob Hanley, who was wearing a white suit and a pleasant expression, went to the microphone at 8:24, stopped the band and waved a piece of paper torn from a notebook.

The results so far showed Udall at 4 percent, Church at 12, Carter at 13 and 59 for Brown. There was polite applause. A few couples braved the dance floor and Sue Welsh passed out copies of a song she had written about Gov. Brown, which she hoped would be sung to the tune of "Sweet Georgia Brown."

TWO MINUTES later Hanley was back on the stage to announce he had made a mistake: The score for Brown was not 59, it was 60.

The old headquarters type might have perked up when he heard from Hanley that the entertainment for the evening was about to begin. It was, Hanley said, "a special program which would reflect the diversity of the interest and constituencies of Gov. Brown."

He urged the audience to relax and feel the spirit of the Aztec dance to the sun-goddess which was about to be performed.

Two Indian braves wearing three-foot-tall pheasant feather headdresses and silver-worked loin cloths and rattles around their ankles bounded onto the stage. One carried a bongo drum, the other, a hollow log, and they began to beat in syncopation.

Another brave leapt forward with a pot of incense, which he ceremonially ignited.

One of the few gray heads in the room wearing a Brown button said a little wistfully that he really didn't like this sort of thing too much, although he liked Gov. Brown a whole lot.

"IT'S NOT AS BAD as the political prayer breakfast he gave," said the fan. "He had the Sufi Choir, and I think they all ate nuts instead of bacon and eggs."

DeRamirez, still holding the chihuahua, which was quivering uncontrollably at the drumming, announced that the chief priest in the Aztec dance would not hold his feet to the fire — which was practically the only recognizable political term used during the evening.

A brave, clad in a silver and black cape, began dancing around the brazier, when suddenly the outside world intruded in the presence of a fire marshal, who had been attracted by the smoke from the incense. He demanded to know who was in charge.

And when DeRamirez identified himself the marshal asked him if he had a permit. DeRamirez retorted that his troupe had danced in many schools and colleges without a permit, and the fire marshal, perhaps reminding himself that the strange events unfolding had been sanctioned by a man who was rolling up the highest presidential primary vote in history, shrugged his shoulders and withdrew.

FINALLY, at 10:30 Brown, accompanied by his mother, his sister, his father — the former governor of California — and Mayor Tom Bradley, came into the room to remind the audience that the evening was about politics and not folklore.

Brown acknowledged the applause without smiling. "I can't show you any teeth," he said. "I never had them capped. It's something I never got around to."

The crowd laughed in friendly appreciation, but they could see that their hero was subdued, and that his declaration that, "we're just beginning," seemed to lack a certain ring. He got another rise out of them when he said, "I'm coming after you, Jimmy Carter, wherever you are."

They love him and his strange ways, it is clear. They love the absence of old headquarters types around him. But even they didn't seem quite sure that the celebration in the big, bare hall meant much more than "maybe next time" for Jerry Brown.

What followed was something that has never before been seen in the history of election nights.

The young people gathered around the stage. They were, most of them, as casually dressed as their predecessors in the McCarthy and McGovern campaigns, but they were neater and cleaner and infinitely quieter.

Three young women dressed in Cambric costumes filed onto the stage and solemnly performed Filipino tribal dances. They were followed by four more dancers wearing gold skirts, two with colored streamers, two with gold cardboard fans, and they did another tribal dance.

ABOUT 10 O'CLOCK, after several hundred more celebrators had arrived and rumors were circulating that California's favorite Democratic son was about to descend, a man called Larry DeRamirez went to the microphone holding a chihuahua and announced that the next number would be "something a little bit different."

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Politics Today

Grip Is Unbreakable, But Man's a Mystery

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Cleveland is the kind of town that makes a body wonder about things like the meaning of life and is it all worthwhile and how did we ever get in a fix like this and is there any hope and what is Jimmy Carter really like. And last week, in the final days before the Ohio primary, that last question was much on the minds of the political operatives whose devotion to Morris K. Udall had sentenced them to see out the primary season on the banks of the Cuyahoga, which has not caught on fire lately.

In some cases, there were obvious practical reasons for asking. If you are a young political professional, it can be unnerving to contemplate maybe eight years in the White House for somebody you have been cutting into small pieces. Carter has not come through as a politician with a short memory.

BUT FOR MOST of the Udall advisers who were asking that question, it was an expression of genuine bewilderment. And that is a remarkable thing. Jimmy Carter has been campaigning full time now for 18 months, has won 18 primaries in 30 attempts, has been profiled repeatedly in what George Wallace calls "the Newsweek and the Time" and has fastened a probably unbreakable grip on the Democratic presidential nomination — yet he is still very much of a mystery to his party and to the voters.

Among the voters, it was probably enough by the time of the voting in Ohio yesterday that it was Jimmy Carter they kept seeing on the television news every night. Thus, it was not particularly surprising that a reporter who asked 18 Carter voters on Cleveland's West Side and 16 in suburban Parma just why they were supporting him found that only 8 of the 34 were able to offer a specific reason.

MORE OFTEN, the replies were like the one of a factory worker named Stanley Machewicz. "You know, I know him because I seen him on television," he said, "These other humpties, I never heard of them. So I'm going with the known quantity." But when pressed on just what it was about Jimmy Carter, he shrugged: "He's honest, I guess, that's enough for me."

But that is not enough for the Udall operatives, and it is not enough for all the voters. "I'm embarrassed when you ask me that," said a young teacher in Parma, "because I'm voting for him, but sometimes I think it's just that nice smile of his."

What this means is that the primary election process has worked very well in one way because it has produced a candidate for the Democratic Party without a lot of plotting and conniving. But it also means that the primary process has failed if one of its purposes is to lay bare the essence of that candidate.

ONE PROBLEM, of course, is that Jimmy Carter is a politician of extraordinary complexity and contradiction.

He gives you the openfaced country boy just running a little old campaign, but in his briefcase, it turns out, is this plan for everything up to the inaugural address. He is just a peanut farmer and a businessman, but he isn't faking on either Bob Dylan or Dylan Thomas. He says he'll never mislead you, but he is the one who got himself elected governor of Georgia on redneck votes and then promptly announced that was it for racial discrimination. He is a Southern Baptist with a family life out of Reader's Digest who is being canonized in Rogling Stone by none other than Hunter Thompson.

With all of that, however, Jimmy Carter is not the first complex personality to run through the primaries. But the others who come first to mind — the Gene McCarthys and Lyndon Johnsons and Richard Nixons — somehow were at least outlined by the process, if not defined. And that hasn't happened this year, at least to the satisfaction of many in his own party.

"I WISH," one of the Udall men was saying in Cleveland, "that I just had some fix on him that I thought was right, good or evil, up or down."

The explanation may simply lie in where Jimmy Carter came from — both politically and geographically. We are used to judging our presidential candidates by such things as voting records and who their friends are. But Carter has no voting record and he had no place in the national political community at all until he took a notion to run for president. So those standards don't apply.

And, perhaps more important, he is a Southerner of a political generation still too new to be understood, let alone accepted easily. He is one who wins the black vote rather than explaining why he signed the Southern Manifesto. He is one who is as at home with rock musicians as peanut farmers. He is one who can run a nonunion business and find common ground with Leonard Woodcock.

It is probably too much to expect such social change to be taught even in 30 primaries. It is just something to think about when the delights of Cleveland pall.

William V. Shannon

The Southern connection

The decision of the Democratic party on whether to nominate Jimmy Carter goes to the fundamental problem of the South's political relationship with the rest of the nation.

For the last 30 years, two racial developments have proceeded simultaneously in this country. In the South, blacks, with considerable help from the federal government, have broken down segregation. As this struggle proceeded, the once solidly Democratic South has been in political turmoil.

The old solidarity had been based upon the national Democratic party's tacit acceptance of a segregated, white-dominated South. When in the Truman administration the national party began to intervene on behalf of blacks to disrupt the status quo, whites in the Deep South rebelled. Their rebellion took various political forms, including the Dixiecrat third party in 1948, independent electors in 1960, Goldwater Republicanism in 1964, George C. Wallace's third party in 1968 and Nixon Republicanism in 1972.

Meanwhile, in the North, blacks migrated to large cities where some blacks had always lived and to many smaller cities where they had formerly been almost unknown. Racial problems that had once been thought of as primarily or peculiarly Southern now became familiar in the North.

As racial problems became nationwide, there arose the danger that the politics of the whole country would take on an increasingly Southern character. In the South, discussion of serious economic and social issues had repeatedly been frustrated as demagogues turned every question into a racial issue. Gov. Wallace showed how this demagogic technique could be applied in the North. He exploited racial fears and antagonisms in Michigan and Indiana as skillfully as he did in Alabama.

As recently as this spring, he swept the city of Boston in the Democratic presidential primary on the busing issue. Thus, there lurked in the national consciousness a nightmare of a nationwide politics based on racial demagoguery, of an America become Alabama writ large.

Jimmy Carter's accomplishment has been to put an end to this Wallaceite nightmare. It is logical that the cutting edge of his national candidacy has been his black support.

In effect, black voters have had a veto power over the aspirations of Southern white politicians. As long as the South maltreated blacks, the rest of the country would not trust a Southerner with the Presidency. The confidence that blacks in Georgia have in Mr. Carter is the guarantee to the rest of the nation of good faith.

It is a profoundly encouraging development for the whole nation that the South has produced a leader that the rest of the country can accept. After wandering down various dead-end streets such as the Goldwater candidacy and the Dixiecrat and Wallaceite third parties, the South is at last moving back into the main road of American politics.

If the Democratic party were now to reject a Southern politicain with a national outlook, centrist convictions and black support, many Southerners might reasonably conclude that he had been the victim of regional prejudice.

In many ways, Mr. Carter's situation resembles that of John F. Kennedy in 1960. He, like Mr. Kennedy, has shown himself to be a superb politician with the potential to be a creative national leader. He, too, has an ideological problem with some of his party's liberals. He has liberal alliances and commitments without having been a certifiable liberal throughout his career or on all issues.

Mr. Kennedy's obstacles were old religious antagonisms and musty fears of the papacy. Mr. Carter's cultural problem is that many Northern Democrats do not readily identify with a rural Southern Baptist from Georgia.

He, like Mr. Kennedy, has largely stripped himself of the cultural cliches of his region and his religion. He is no more Sen. Claghorn than Mr. Kennedy was James Michael Curley.

Mr. Kennedy broke the taboo against Catholics. Now Mr. Carter is attempting to do the same for the Deep South.

His task is more complicated than merely lining up those 1,505 delegates needed for the nomination. By private negotiation and public gesture, he has to demonstrate that he understands the interests and the needs of those members of his party with whom he has least in common and that he truly seeks to be President of all the people.

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Carter Plan For Primaries Is Vindicated

Run-Everywhere Decision Pays Off In Delegate Totals

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter came to the end of the long 1976 primary trail last night vindicated in his run-everywhere strategy.

It was the 14th primary night of the year, and on each one Carter extracted a victory in some state, always offsetting his losses and, more importantly, building his delegate total.

Having won psychological victories in the early caucus states such at Iowa and Oklahoma and the early primary states such as New Hampshire and Florida, Carter was able to leave pursuit of the psychological impact to others and go after the "hard" delegate count.

He finished the primaries by his own count about 250 delegate votes short of the 1,505 needed for nomination and with

News Analysis

his most persistent challenger, Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, virtually conceding Carter the nomination.

Even before yesterday's three primaries, Carter probably could have claimed more than 1,000 delegates.

Most media counts of his strength have tallied only "hard" votes—delegates publicly pledged to Carter. But if delegates leaning to Carter and those yet to be chosen at state conventions are added, Carter's delegate count would be much higher. The latest Washington Post count of "hard" delegates for Carter was 898.

Rick Hutcheson, Carter's chief delegate pursuer, said yesterday that the former Georgia governor had public assurances of 1,040 votes. Democratic Party experts expected that with the end of the primaries, pressure from the Carter camp on other delegates, Southerners in particular, to come out for Carter will be hard to resist.

Last night, Carter's overwhelming victory in Ohio kept his campaign moving toward the Democratic nomination despite a setback in California and a close delegate contest in New Jersey and kept his opponents clinging to slender reeds.

See ANALYSIS, A10, Col. 1

Carter Strategy In the Primaries Is Vindicated

ANALYSIS, From A1

Yet, because the Carter strategy and performance did lag in the closing weeks of the primary season, those hopes remained flickering today.

With Carter still short of the nomination, however, a draft compaign on behalf of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey was poised to go yesterday if only he would say the word.

The Minnesotan last night was weighing whether he should make another try for the presidency against long odds or run for Senate majority leader. In advance of the final returns, Humphrey was saying that "the odds are" he would bow out once and for all from presidential consideration and seek the Senate post.

Joseph Crangle, the Erie County, N.Y. Democratic chairman heading the draft-Humphrey effort, said last night that the mixed results had convinced him to go to Humphrey today to urge him to run.

Crangle said his delegate count made in direct telephone calls to most of the elected delegates around the country convinced him that Carter was well short of the 1,304 delegates needed, and that uncommitted delegates were ready to declare for Humphrey in droves if he entered the race.

Crangle said negotiations were under way to make a $16,000 deposit toward charter of a commercial jet for Humphrey's use in pursuing delegates between now and the start of the national convention in New York July 12.

Other candidates still in the running indicated that while they realized Carter was inching ever closer to the nomination, they were staying in, for now at least.

Sen. Frank Church of Idaho said: "It looks like it's very close" to being all over. He denied he had talked yesterday to Carter about the vice presidential nomination, but said he told Carter the Georgian had established "an entitlement that would be difficult for the convention to deny."

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., however, said that "it's not over at all. I'm doing very well in California, the key," as well as in New Jersey. "I think this nomination is wide open."

Udall called Carter "the likely nominee, and he has every opportunity to put it together." Udall said it was now likely that Carter would do so before July.

Even as Humphrey was trying to decide between another try for the presidency and the Senate majority leader post, pressures were increasing on him from within the party establishment to stay out of the presidential race.

Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, in an afternoon press conference, expressed opposition to a late Humphrey entry. He praised Carter for his "courage" in entering all the primaries and for injecting "a religious tone" into the campaign.

"This man Carter has fought in every primary," Daley said, "and if he wins in Ohio he'll walk in under his own power. . . . He's got courage. I admire a man who's got courage. He started out months ago and entered into every contest in every state and he won 'em and he lost 'em and by God you have to admire a guy like that."

Of Humphrey, he said: "Who says he . . . should be a man on a white horse . . . I don't think anyone should be so honored, no matter who he is and I don't think they will."

Daley's remarks were particularly noteworthy not only because he is an influential leader in Old Guard Democratic ranks, but because he is said to control about 100 Illinois delegates, including the 86 elected committed to Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, considered a vice presidential hopeful.

Stevenson was cautious in commenting last night on the final primaries and on Daley's remarks. "I still think we should have a convention," he said, "and based on my conversations with the mayor, I think he agrees. [That is] not to say Jimmy Carter isn't the probable winner or shouldn't be."

Delivery of the Daley-Stevenson bloc likely would provide the final push Carter needs to nail down the nomination in advance of the convention.

But even without such an arrangement, the former Georgia governor said last night that he anticipated no difficulty rounding up the remaining delegates.

"I'm close enough not to have to make any deals," he said, adding that many uncommitted delegates were "ready to move" in advance of the convention.

Carter aides said their candidate would resume phone calls with delegates and key party leaders, continuing a "tracking" effort that began several weeks ago but was somewhat curtailed by Carter's difficulties in the final primaries.

One other candidate who had been rumored to be ready to release his delegates to Carter, Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson, said last night after a meeting with his Queens, N.Y., delegates that he would remain a candidate and hold onto his support.

Jackson denied a report that he had been offered the vice presidential nomination by Carter. "I have never discussed it and I'm not getting involved in any, shall we say, deals, agreements or understandings at all with any candidate," he said.

He said his delegates are very strong in their commitment to me, very firm, and there is a reluctance even to think of anyone else. They want me to stay in."

A substantial number are opposed to Gov. Carter based on a lack of understanding on their part as to what his position is on a number of issues."

But even before last night's results, in a campaign marked from the outset by supreme self-confidence without any major switches of support, the Carter forces were moving in one other way to demonstrate their assurance that the nomination would soon be theirs.

According to a high Democratic National Committee source, the Carter campaign—which has had its headquarters in Atlanta from the start—has leased space at 1625 Mass Ave. NW—the building that houses the national committee.

SS

Georgian Trails in N.J.; Brown Wins Calif.

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter was winning only one of the final three primaries yesterday but gained enough delegates so that he and his major rivals calculated his presidential nomination was a near certainty.

Carter—victorious in Ohio, close in New Jersey but trailing in California—predicted he would secure the votes needed for a first-ballot victory between now and the start of the Democratic convention July 12.

Rivals Morris K. Udall and Frank Church conceded that was likely and Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley, a veteran power-broker, said, "He'll be the nominee."

The major dissenter was California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who beat Carter in California—his fourth primary win in five tries—and provided the campaign impetus for an uncommitted delegate slate that was running neck-and-neck with the Carter delegates in New Jersey.

Brown vowed that he would go "throughout the country and contest Mr. Carter for every delegate."

Left unsettled by last night's mixed returns were the prospects of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, co-favorite of the uncommitted New Jersey slate.

Humphrey's unofficial "draft committee" in Washington said it would push him to begin active campaigning for the prize. But Daley threw cold water on that prospect, asking at a Chicago news conference, "Who says he . . . should be a man on a white horse? Our party isn't in bad enough shape to have to go to someone and demand him and draft him . . ."

With returns trickling in about midnight, Carter was leading for 174 of the 540 delegates chosen in the three states. He said in Atlanta that he would have more than 1,250 delegates—about 250 short of nomination—by the time the count was completed, but most neutral scorecards showed him 100 to 200 votes further removed from victory.

In Ohio, Carter was gaining more than half the popular vote, with Udall second and Church third. Carter led for 112 delegates, Udall for 17, with five for Rep. Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) in his congressional district, and one each for Church and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

See DEMOCRATS, A7, Col. 1

Carter Wins Ohio; Brown Takes Calif.

DEMOCRATS, From A1

In New Jersey, Carter led 4 to 1 over Church in the nonbinding preference poll. But the more important delegate race was much closer, with uncommitted supporters leading the Carter delegates, 37 to 35.

In California, Brown led 3 to 1 over Carter in early and partial returns, with Church further back. Brown was ahead for 122 delegates, Carter for 40 and Church for four.

Carter told reporters the day's results confirmed his expectations of a first-ballot victory at the convention and said, "I'm close enough not to have to make any deals."

He said he had called Church, Udall, Wallace, Humphrey and Daley during the day and "all as a general group indicated I would be the nominee." He added that Humphrey "did not concede anything."

Udall told reporters in Ohio that he had congratulated Carter on his victory there and told him "he is now the heavy favorite for the nomination."

The Arizona congressman, probably Carter's sharpest and most persistent critic through a series of second-place finishes, said he thought it likely that Carter "will have it put together before July."

Udall said he would not release his delegates, but added, "I'm not going to be part of any destructive, stop-Carter movement."

Church, who entered the race late and beat Carter in several small midwestern and western states before running out of gas in the larger states, said, "It looks like it's very close to being all over."

The Idaho senator said Carter has "an entitlement that would be difficult for the convention to deny," but, like Udall, he rejected any suggestion that he would turn over his delegates or stop his campaigning until Carter had the nomination sensed.

Carter said he expected to find his remaining votes among the "many uncommitted delegates who are ready to move" soon because they want to avoid a divisive convention.

That hope was encouraged by Daley, who said before the polls closed that if Carter won Ohio, "he'll walk in under his own power. He'll be the candidate."

But Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, favorite-son of the 94 Daley delegates, demurred at any immediate endorsement of Carter. "I still think we should have a convention," he said.

Go-slow comments also came from Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp and from some leaders of smaller blocs of uncommitteds. Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson, a defeated Carter rival, met with a group of his New York delegates and reported, "They want me to stay in."

But many of these expressions were viewed by party leaders as tactical moves by men who want to test Carter's willingness to discuss the vice presidency or other prizes in return for their support.

As Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine observed of Carter: "He's got a lot of room for maneuver."

Joseph F. Crangle, director of the draft-Humphrey group in Washington, brushed off Daley's comments and said, "I think the senator should go now for sure."

Crangle argued that Carter had won clean victories "in only five of the last 15 primaries, three in the South," and said, "people will have blinders on if they don't look at the whole pattern."

The candidate who seemed eager to tackle Carter, however, was Humphrey's New Jersey partner, Brown. "I'm going to make a very strong contest of it," the California governor said, adding that he would begin his bid for uncommitted delegate support immediately in a trip to Louisiana, Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

At a private reception in Los Angeles, Brown walked over to actor Warren Beatty and said, "Listen, we've got to get Hubert off his his — — —, we've got to get him going. Tomorrow, we'll start working on Hubert."

But Humphrey, reached at his home early this morning after attending the ballet, said, "I made up mind I wasn't going to say anything until later."

He said he would review the results this morning and meet some of his supporters to discuss his decision.

The selection of 540 delegates yesterday completed the long journey down the primary trail that began last February in New Hampshire. All told, Democratic voters in 31 states and the District of Columbia cast ballots in some form of primary—more than ever before in history.

Carter, who began planning his campaign less than a month after the 1972 Democratic convention ended, entered more primaries and won more than anyone else.

Along the way, more than a dozen candidates of varying degrees of seriousness took a run at him. Only the two late starters, Church and Brown, were able to beat him more often than he beat them.

The former Georgia governor scored strongly in the primaries in his home region, but also won more often than he lost in the East and Midwest. Only in the West, where Church and Brown monopolized the primaries, was Carter unable to demonstrate impressive voting strength.

A study by Congressional Quarterly showed that new Demooratic Party rules outlawing winner-take-all primaries had relatively little impact on the distribution of the delegate votes. It said that 13 states changed their laws to conform to the new rules, either by apportioning delegates according to candidates' shares of the popular vote or by permitting delegates in individual districts to be elected on a plurality basis.

Despite this widespread change of rules, the study indicated, there was little shift of delegates. Had the primaries preceding yesterday's been run under the 1972 rules, Carter would have been only 23 delegates ahead of his 1976 total before yesterday's voting.

He would have gained 91 more delegates from his victories in Indiana, Wisconsin, Florida, Tennessee, South Dakota and the District of Columbia. But he would have lost 68 delegates in five other states where the trailed in the delegate count.

The twin ingredients of Carter's success were his defeat of Wallace in the South and his ability to pick his way through a divided liberal field to victory in the North.

The key contest in the Carter-Wallace battle was the Florida primary March 9, which Carter won by slightly fewer than 50,000 votes out of slightly more than 1 million cast. Later victories over Wallace in North Carolina and Texas wrote a finish to the Alabama governor's 12-year quest for the White House.

Staff writers William Claiborne, Paul G. Edwards, Helen Dewar and Sally Quinn contributed to this article.

Time Inc., Guild Negotiate in N.Y.

NEW YORK, June 8 (UPI)—A federal mediator today called striking Time Inc. editorial employees and company representatives together for the first face-to-face negotiations since their contract dispute resulted in a walkout last Wednesday.

Despite the strike by the Newspaper Guild of New York, Time magazine's 80-page issue dated June 14 was on the newsstands as scheduled Monday, a company spokesman said. The firm publishes Time, Money, People, Sports Illustrated and Fortune magazines and Time-Life Books.

The union said the walkout was primarily over how wage increases should be distributed. Guild-covered employees have been working without a contract since Feb. 1.

Study Finds Carter Support Deeper Than Some Realized

By Stephen Isaacs

Jimmy Carter's strength among Democratic delegates runs considerably deeper than has generally been perceived, according to an analysis of the delegates by The Washington Post.

Even without considering the delegates Carter won in yesterday's three primaries, he can probably lay claim to more than 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates needed to win the Democratic presidential nomination.

Most media reports have estimated Carter's strength at around 900 delegates. The most recent count of Carter's "hard" delegates in The Post was 898.

But such counts do not include delegates who have told candidates and others —although they have not announced publicly—that they would support Carter. They also do not include probable Carter support that will come from states that have yet to pick delegates (in state-level conventions) or from uncommitted or at-large slates that will not be apportioned on the basis of primary votes.

Yesterday, before voting results, conservative estimates of Carter's delegate strenght by Democratic experts outside the Carter campaign put him at more than 1,000.

Carter's chief delegate pursuer, Rick Hutcheson, said the Georgian had public assurances of 1,040 votes as of yesterday morning, with many more private assurances that would be announced publicly in the coming week or weeks.

Democratic Party experts said also that, starting today, pressure on Southern state delegates to come out for Carter will be "enormous."

That pressure is being generated from Carter headquarters on Peachtree Street in Atlanta, where telephone callers are urging senators, representatives, governors and other elected officials to force an almost unanimous "front" for Carter so as to enhance chances of Democratic candidates at all levels in November.

The pressure is being applied not just on the few Southern delegates elected as "uncommitted," but on those pledged to other candidates, especially those elected in support of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

"At least 95 per cent of Wallace's people want to go with Carter," said one Southern politician.

In some states, the pro-Carter vote has been understated, as in Wallace's Alabama. There, Wallace won 27 delegates, Carter three and five are uncommitted. Those five uncommitted delegates are black, and all clearly will go with Carter, officials said yesterday.

Carter's support in Texas also has been understated. So far, 92 of Texas' 130 delegates have been allotted to Carter, with six uncommitted. Thirty-two delegates will be chosen June 18 at a state convention. Almost all will go to Carter, it was reported yesterday, and a move may be made at the convention to have the entire delegation declare for Carter.

In Virginia, where "hard" counts give Carter 23 of 54 delegates, experts familiar with the canvassing going on within the delegation say that Carter's support is underestimated by at least 10 delegates.

Carter's "boiler room" has been operating under the 24-year-old Hutcheson for several months. It now consists of eight people, each assigned a geographic region, with responsibility for keeping count of all the delegates, keeping dossiers on them, and maintaining contact with them.

At some points Carter himself has made calls to on-the-edge delegates. The knowledge Carter has demonstrated of such people—which some recipients of calls have regarded as extensive—has come from the 8½-by-11-inch dossier forms the boiler room prepares on every delegate.

The forms have been airlifted in shifts to Carter wherever he has been campaigning so that in spare evening moments he can make his one-on-one contacts to move delegates into his column.

Recently, Hutcheson said, Carter has been so busy that he has been unable to make delegate calls, but he will be stepping that up in the coming week.

The other principal delegate "action" nationwide has been the draft-Hubert Humphrey effort begun a week ago and some late effort by California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.

Joseph Crangle, the former New York State Democratic chairman from Erie County (who got 21 Humphrey delegates elected in his home area), has headed a Humphrey-for-President headquarters here.

In the last four or five days, Crangle said yesterday, a dozen volunteers made 2,000 calls to delegates on 15 telephone lines hastily installed at the committee's headquarters at 1030 15th St. NW.

What those calls have found, Crangle said, is that "the vast majority of the uncommitted delegates out there are for Hubert Humphrey. If he announces, they'll start declaring for him."

But there was little enthusiasm in Crangle's voice when he was asked to run through a list of Carter's probable delegates, state by state, and show where the Minnesota senator might cut into it.

Crangle talked of the relative handful of delegates yet to be chosen in Colorado (28), Connecticut (3), and Missouri (17).

He also mentioned the uncommitteds he would "have a shot at," like the big bloc in Illinois that now is under the control of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, the nine in Iowa and the six in Maine.

Hutcheson, meanwhile, is sounding confident that Carter will come up with at least 62 of the 98 delegates to be elected in the next two or three weeks.

For instance, Carter hopes to win all or most of the 32 to be decided in Texas, at least four of the 18 to be picked in Utah June 18, nine of the 17 in Missouri Saturday, seven of the 12 to be selected in Delaware this weekend, one or two of the three to be chosen in Colorado this weekend and nine of the 13 to be picked in North Dakota June 24-26.

Meanwhile, the pitch goes out nightly from Atlanta, the thrust of which is, Hutcheson says, "The candidate can win; the candidate can carry other Democrats into office with him."

That message is being delivered particularly hard in the South, where Republicans have made significant inroads in recent years.

One state where the argument has not worked, so far at least, is Louisiana, where Carter officially won 13 delegates and Wallace nine in the state-run primary.

The state's remaining 41 delegates have been controlled by Gov. Edwin W. Edwards.

After 16 Months on the Road, Georgian Comes Home

Carter: 'We Have Something to Cheer About'

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA, June 8 — After more than 16 months, 2050 speeches, travels to 48 states and countless airports, shopping malls and living rooms, Jimmy Carter came home tonight — his smile, if possible, broader than ever.

His strong showing in today's Ohio and New Jersey primaries, he told several thousand cheering supporters in a Hyatt Regency Hotel ballroom, exceeded his expectations and puts him within striking distance of the Democratic presidential nomination.

"I'm glad we have something to cheer about and we do have," said the 51-year-old peanut farmer, whose momentum from early primary and caucus victories slowed in the past month, but picked up in today's final round of primary voting.

"It's a long way from Plains [Ga.] to Washington, D.C. but we've made a great deal of progress," said Carter, who took off immediately after his appearance for an early morning hometown welcome in Plains, 120 miles from here.

The former Georgia governor paid special tribute to his supporters in the North, saying their acceptance of a Southerner for the presidency shows the country shares "one common hope, one common dream, one common vision." His success, Carter said, also shows that Southern "pride can be expressed in a positive way."

Earlier in the day, flying home from New Jersey where he wound up the long primary trek at the gates of a United States Steel plant at 6:30 a.m., a fatigued but still buoyant Carter talked with reporters about the opportunities—and problems—he still faces with his fellow Democrats.

Suspicion among Jewish voters is waning, Carter asserted, but he still faces resistance among many liberals who "look upon me as unacceptable" for reasons including his Southern background, evangelical Baptist faith and slowness to condemn United States involvement in Vietnam. Another reason, said Carter bluntly, is that "I'm not liberal enough for them."

But he said they were important to him and would have a voice in his campaign and many were coming around. Liberals, he said, are no more homogeneous than "Southerners or Baptists or farmers." His biggest talking point with them, he said, was his "demonstration of strength and inevitability of nomination."

Now that the primaries are over, he said, he will feel free to contact other active candidates in hopes of picking up their delegates, perhaps on the first ballot—a move he said he was reluctant to take earlier because it would be "inappropriate" and "insulting" to those who are still campaigning.

After arriving in Atlanta, he went straight to his headquarters where he greeted about 150 workers, some of whom he had not previously met, and said: "If we don't win, it'll be my fault, not your fault. But together I don't think anyone can beat us."

David S. Broder

The Paradoxes of the Primaries

Well, the primaries are over, and the country has survived. The only serious damage that was done was the shattering of a lot of conventional wisdom and journalistic cliches. And, of course, the wreckage of some inflated ambitions.

A weary reporter, unpacking his suitcase and sorting through his jumbled impressions of the last five months, is struck by the paradoxes of the primary season. Almost any generalization is immediately contradicted.

The primaries are described as elimination contests, and of the dozen Democratic candidates who tried, 11 are now eating the winner's dust. But the Republicans began with two candidates who might win—and that's still the situation today.

Before 1976, all pundits knew you couldn't challenge an incumbent President in a time of peace and growing prosperity. Ronald Reagan proved that wrong.

But we also knew that an incumbent could not survive a primary defeat without being forced from the race. Gerald Ford has been beaten a dozen times—and he's still running.

We knew from Ed Muskie's unhappy experience that no one could run in all the primaries without being exhausted and defeated. But no one told Jimmy Carter, so he did it—and beat the odds.

Carter demonstrated the importance of early victories in establishing momentum. But no one told Reagan that rule, so he blew the first five primaries—and still came roaring back.

A dozen other cliches were bent and twisted in this winter and spring competition. And if you ask why there were so many contradictions and surprises, the answer is that there is very little "system" in our presidential selection system.

The political parties—whose nominations are still the prizes in this primary game—are increasingly irrelevant to its outcome. They have lost their old role as mechanisms for recruiting, evaluating and selecting candidates for successively higher levels of governmental responsibility. Increasingly, they are viewed by the contestants as vestiges of the past, obstacles to overcome on the way to the plebiscite in November.

The power of selection has been given to the people—but under circumstances and conditions that are almost guaranteed to distort the public choice. Those who actually vote in the primaries constitute a painfully small fraction of the national electorate. And the rules for determining who can vote and how the votes will be counted are so antic as to defy logic.

In Oregon, a conscientious citizen who had registered in advance could vote only in the party in which she had registered. If she were a registered Independent, she could not vote in the primary at all. But a sluggard who delayed until primary day, could walk into the courthouse, register and vote on the spot—in whichever primary she preferred.

That's crazy. But the counting rules made the concept of the "public voice" even more ludicrous. In the Republican party, a million votes were worth no delegates in California—if someone else got a million and one. But 9,000 votes in Rhode Island gave Mr. Ford all 19 of its delegates.

The primaries are supposed to bring the candidates close to the people. But the Reagan campaign revived only when he stopped shaking hands and headed for a Hollywood television studio to film his half-hour speech.

The imperatives of mass communication reduced Morris Udall, the most issue-oriented Democrat, to using cartoon caricatures and jack-in-the-box comics as TV spots. And Carter, who began by saying he was seeking an intimate, personal relationship with the voters, ended his campaign by deciding the best way to reach them was to buy five minutes of simultaneous time on all three networks.

The primary campaign gave us a sharper focus on the candidates. But it remains to be seen how relevant the Reagan-Ford disputes on Panama and Rhodesia or the efforts to probe Carter's mysterious tax reform and government reorganization "plans" will be to what happens at the White House in the next four years.

Despite the efforts to promote meaningful debates, the Republican contenders never appeared together. And Carter mostly snoozed or sulked when forced to share the platform with his rivals.

The only real issue that emerged was the choice of an "insider" or an "outsider." And there the primaries had a great effect. They help the "anti-" candidates—those whose credentials are most suspect in the eyes of their political peers. Neither Carter nor Reagan would have had a prayer in a convention dominated by those in their parties with whom they will have to work—in Washington and the states—if elected President.

But the primaries don't belong to the politicians. They belong to "the people," or those of them that bother to vote and are lucky enough to have their votes counted in this complex game. One hopes the product will be better than the process.

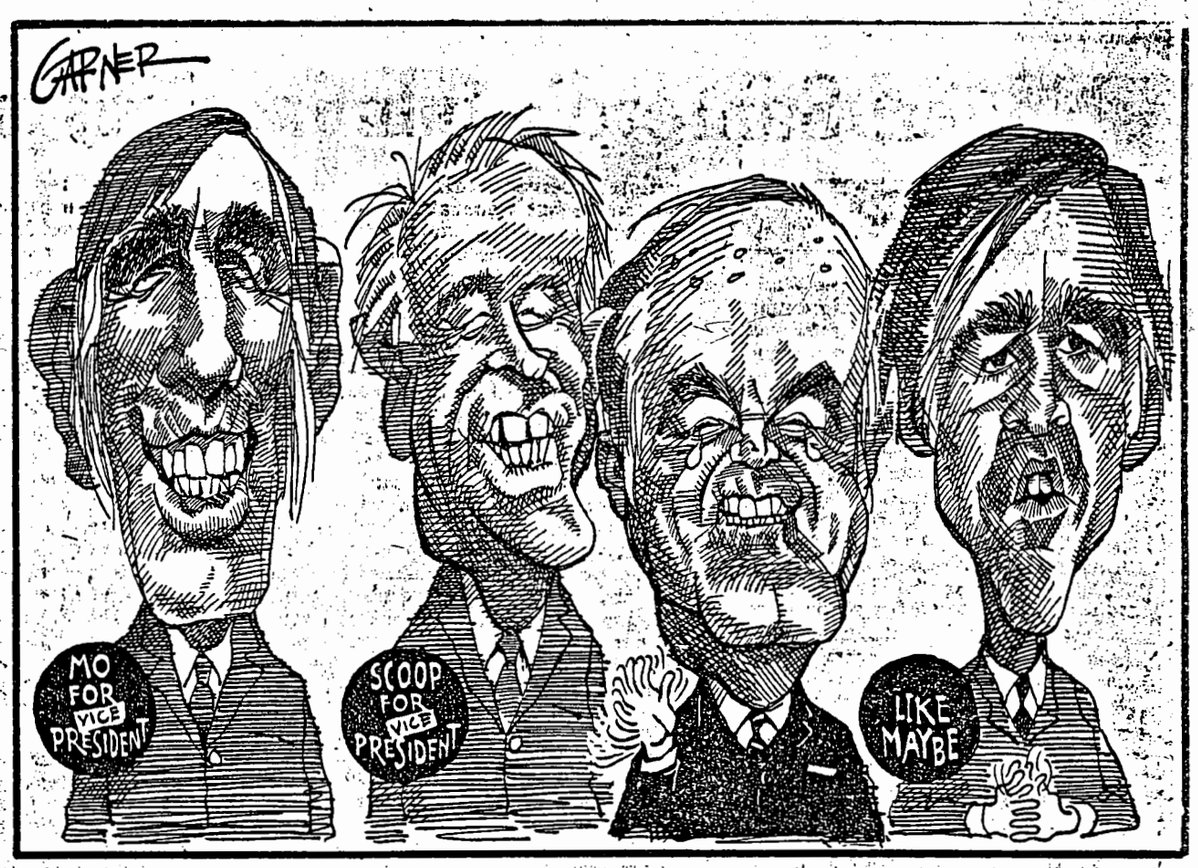
Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

The Washington Post,Star,

and Baltimore Sun.

6/10 thru 6/21.



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Democratic Unit Defers To Carter

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic Party rules committee, regarded by some party officials as the only likely outlet for spirited debate at next month's nominating convention, yesterday acquiesced to supporters of Jimmy Carter by either rejecting or banishing to study committees virtually every controversial rules change put before it.

The 153-member committee turned back an attempt by party reformers to relax the rule requiring dissidents on convention committees to obtain petition signatures from 25 per cent of the units before offering a minority report to the convention floor.

Under intense pressure from several representatives of Carter's campaign, the committee also watered down a women's caucus resolution that would have required future national convention delegations to be evenly divided between men and women.

Instead, the rules committee substituted for the equal representation proposal a call for future conventions to "promote" equal division between men and women delegates with the implementation of the policy left to state Democratic committees.

Looking ahead to a possible renomination of Carter at the 1980 national conven-

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DEMOCRATS, From A1

tion, the committee even decided against restricting the candidate in his choice of a vice presidential nominee four years from now.

The committee overwhelmingly rejected a plan under which vice presidential nominees would be either limited to contenders in a presidential primary or persons who had announced their candidacy for the vice presidency at least two weeks prior to the convention.

Also eligible would have been candidates whose names were submitted by a presidential candidate two weeks before the convention.

The rationale behind the proposed rules change, some members argued, stemmed from the fact that the last three Presidents have served in the vice presidency. They also noted that hurried convention decisions on the vice presidency resulted in the nomination of Spiro T. Agnew and Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.), with Agnew subsequently resigning under criminal indictment and Eagleton withdrawing from the campaign after disclosures that he had been treated for a psychiatric disorder.

William VandenHeuvel, Carter's campaign manager in New York state, noted that the former Georgia governor had already pledged to submit a list of 14 vice presidential candidates for study before the convention, and that the rules change proposal would be "unnecessarily restrictive."

He urged the committee to give Carter four years to devise his own vice presidential selection procedure, which, if acceptable, would make the rules change moot.

The proposed 50-50 split between men and women delegates, which the women's caucus said could be enforced at the local delegate-candidate selection level of the party, attracted the most lively debate of the session.

Its sponsors argued that the National Democratic Committee, state Democratic committees and even local party organizations already require equal representation between men and women, and that the rules change would simply reflect the true proportion of women participating in party affairs.

Opponents, however, said it represented a quota system, in effect, and that the party already had dismissed quotas for blacks and other minority groups as being arbitrary and undemocratic.

The Carter forces had Averell Harriman, former New York governor and U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, introduce the substitute resolution to "promote" equal representation, and the measure passed 66¼ to 46½, with a sizable proportion of women voting for the watered down version. A Carter campaign official said later the women's caucus issue necessitated the applying of more party "discipline" than any other resolution.

By a startlingly narrow margin in an otherwise placid day of business, the rules committee voted, 58½ to 58¼, to send to a study commission a proposal barring the unit rule and the winner-take-all process in state primaries.

Members said the primary vote resolution, which has been before the party for four years, would eliminate "disparity" and "inequity" in the delegate selection process. The states involved would have to change election laws to conform to the proposal, however.

The group also rejected, 56 to 50, a resolution that would have lowered from 25 to 15 per cent the proportion of committee signatures needed to force a minority report onto the convention floor. Some members, including some Carter supporters, noted that the platform committee now has only one minority report before it—that dealing with Hatch Act restrictions against political activities by federal workers—and that the 15 per cent rule would result in unnecessary debate.

The group voted unanimously to amend the party's affirmative action program to include specific goals and timetables for inclusion of blacks, Hispanics, women, Indians and young people in all Democratic organizations and among future state delegations to national conventions.

The proposal was sponsored by the Caucus of Black Democrats, which noted that the proportion of black delegates this year has dropped four percentage points from 1972 to 10 per cent.

By adopting the measure, the committee avoided overturning the Democratic National Committee's rejection of a quota system. Some black committee members had urged a 25 per cent representation, which is the number of George McGovern voters in 1972 who are estimated to represent the black community.

The committee also voted to ask the convention to convene a national party conference in 1978.

There's More to Carter's 'Closest Friend' Than 'Flaky Accent'

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

Peter Bourne was the first person to tell Jimmy Carter four years ago that he should run for President. And when Carter felt he was misunderstood by Washington's political and journalistic establishment, he called on Bourne to get him known here.

Bourne, the man who runs Carter's Washington office, has roots that are far different from the Plains, Ga., background of Carter.

A 36-year-old English born psychiatrist, Bourne emerged from the civil rights and antiwar protest movements to work in the Carter government in Georgia.

He testified for Dr. Howard Levy in a landmark antiwar trial, helped found Vietnam Veterans Against the War, organized the case that led to the Supreme Court's striking down state antiabortion laws, and demonstrated in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

He also planned early strategy for Carter's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination while working on drug abuse problems as a Nixon White House staffer.

Carter calls Bourne "about the closest friend I have in the world," and says he has been "a great help to me" as a strategist, a recruiter of advisers and a listening post in Washington.

Bourne appears to have survived a recent attempt by Carter's Atlanta-based aides to cut his role in the rest of the campaign.

After a staff meeting in Sea Island, Ga., Bourne remains chief of Carter's Washington operation, allowing, he said, "maximum accessibility for people in Washington who feel they don't have adequate input into the campaign because its headquarters is in Atlanta."

One of Bourne's strong points is his "knack for getting along with a lot of different people," said Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary.

"Here was a guy with a great flaky British accent running around Georgia trying to get support for a bunch of addicts. But he did a hell of a job," Powell said.

Bourne moves through the corridors of Washington power in a way few of Carter's other close aides can. When there was talk that some Washington politicians and journalists were trying to derail the Carter campaign, Bourne set up a highly publicized dinner for Carter at columnist Clayton Fritchey's Georgetown home.

Yet, says his longtime liberal, Southern friend Charles Morgan Jr., former head of both the Atlanta and Washington offices of the American Civil Liberties Union, "Bourne comes out of a different mold than most folks in Washington even though he blends well."

While Bourne still maintains friends dating back to his civil rights and antiwar days, there are some who regard him with suspicion.

A government official who worked with him during his White House days called Bourne "indistinguishable, but somewhat more diplomatic, than the rest of the Nixon crew." The official, who asked that his name not be used, described Bourne as "extremely bright, aggressive, somewhat ruthless and unafraid to step on toes."

"After 1½ years," he continued, "I had no ideas where his values are."

Bourne said he had no problems with his values. "I was totally negative in my attitude toward the White House," he said.

Bourne was hired in 1972 as assistant director of the White House's Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, set up by President Nixon to battle the nation's drug problem.

The White House did not appear to care either about his past history or his involvement with Carter, probably, Bourne said he

thinks, because almost everyone working in the drug program was considered an outsider.

"The White House was really just a good place to wait, but I felt I could do something in the drug field. That was the place to be and to have some kind of impact," said Bourne.

He said he was careful not to work for Carter on White House time. He quit the White House in 1974 to take consulting jobs, he said, because the Carter campaign planning was taking too much of his time.

Bourne learned the drug field in the late 1960s while taking a master's degree (he already had an MD degree and had taken advanced training in psychiatry) at Stanford University. While there, he said, he worked in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury free clinic, where the explosion of teenage drug use began in this country.

Bourne, who came to Atlanta from England in 1957 to go to Emory University, returned to the school in 1969 to teach, do research and run a community mental health center. He was soon introduced to Carter, who was then running for governor, by a mutual friend, and later was made a health and mental health adviser in the Carter administration. When the drug problem exploded in Georgia, his California experience made him a natural to set up the state's drug-abuse program in 1971.

"I never really viewed myself as a great drug expert," he says, "but I suddenly found myself the only person in Georgia who knew anything about drug programs."

It was then that Bourne and Carter became close. Carter's wife, Rosalynn, picked mental health as her major interest while she was first lady of the state. And Carter paid special attention to attempts to ease the drug problem, Bourne said.

Both Carter and Bourne won high marks from mental health professionals for their achievements. "There was real accomplishment and real change in Georgia in providing more services to more people in more places," said Dr. Bertram S. Brown, director of the National Institute of Mental Health.

Dr. Frank Ochberg, an NIMH psychiatrist, said he would expect "positive steps for the mental health community" from a Carter administration because of Bourne's influence.

In Georgia, he was attacked by the medical establishment for trying to limit payments to doctors under Medicaid. Nonetheless, Carter said in his health statement that doctors' fees would be limited under his national health insurance plan.

Bourne has influenced Carter to soften his stance on Vietnam war resisters to the point where he would offer them pardons but not amnesty, which he feels implies he condones their actions.

"Peter is basically a very liberal person," says Dr. Sidney Wolfe, who heads Ralph Nader's Health Research Group.

Wolfe first knew Bourne when they worked on the Medical Committee for Human Rights, an organization of doctors and nurses who provided health care during civil rights demonstrations.

"He's an extremely ambitious person," Wolfe continued, "but that's not necessarily bad. I'd feel more comfortable if there were five more people advising Carter that we know about as much as we know about Peter."

Bourne developed his opposition to the Vietnam war while serving there as a research psychiatrist. He spent three months in 1966 at a Green Beret camp on the Cambodian border, collecting urine samples from the troops to be frozen and shipped back to the U.S. to test the effects of extreme stress on hormone levels.

"I came back totally disenchanted with the war," he said.

F

Carter to Pick Running Mate

Hamilton Jordan, Jimmy Carter's campaign manager, yesterday ruled out the possibility of Carter's turning over the choice of a vice presidential running mate to the Democratic convention. He also said Carter would not designate Cabinet choices before the election.

Asked on "Meet the Press" (NBC, WRC) if Carter might submit a list of four or five names from which the convention could choose, the 31-year-old campaign strategist said, "The potential next President has a right to select someone who's compatible [with him] on the issues."

Carter, who was at home yesterday in Plains, Ga., is preparing procedures for the vice presidential selection process. He is expected to disclose them early this week, along with names of some of the advisers who will help make the selection.

Asked about designating Cabinet members so voters could judge Carter's prospective government, Jordan said this was a "tremendous and critical" set of decisions that should not be made during the heat of a campaign.

Carter Leading

Regardless of which man the Republican Party nominates this year, President Ford or Ronald Reagan, the GOP nominee faces a steep uphill struggle against his apparent opposition, Jimmy Carter.

In the latest Gallup Poll, conducted the weekend after the final set of primaries on June 8, the former Georgia governor leads Mr. Ford 53 to 39 per cent and Reagan 58 to 35 per cent, margins which, if they remained until election day, would amount to a reversal for the GOP of President Nixon's landslide win in 1972.

Carter vs. Ford

	Carter	Ford	Undecided
National	53%	39%	8%
Republicans	25	69	6
Democrats	71	22	7
Independents	48	40	12

Carter vs. Reagan

	Carter	Reagan	Undecided
National	58%	35%	7%
Republicans	28	66	6
Democrats	77	17	6
Independents	51	42	7

Texas Seat Filled

Attorney Sam Hall Jr. won 72 per cent of the vote in a special election Saturday to fill the unexpired term of the late Rep. Wright Patman.

NOTES '76

Patman, who represented the 23-county 1st Congressional District in East Texas for nearly half a century, died last March. His seat is up for grabs in November, and Hall already has been elected as the Democratic nominee.

Hall, 52, of Marshall, Tex., will be opposed by Republican James Hogan, 51, of Atlanta, Tex. Hogan entered the special election for the unexpired term but polled just 1,400 votes to 20,555 for Hall.

Dr. Glen Jones, 35, a Jacksonville Methodist minister and college professor, collected 6,321 votes in Saturday's special election.

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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Challenge Left to Carter: Step Lightly, Look Carefully

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — When someone suggested to Jimmy Carter the other day that the key to the November election might be simply whether he makes a serious mistake during the campaign, he nodded soberly and replied: "I know that." Then he grinned broadly and repeated with more emphasis: "I know."

The response seemed to reflect with mirror accuracy the mood of the Carter camp as it looks ahead to the general election campaign, a mood that perhaps can be best described as cautious and aware confidence.

That confidence is based in large measure on the almost unanimous finding of opinion surveys, both public and private, that Carter holds comfortable leads over both President Ford and Ronald Reagan and thus would be favored to defeat either one.

AND, USING THEIR OWN polls made by Patrick Caddell, the Carter managers have begun translating the raw figures into potential electoral votes. The bottom line in every computation seems to be that there is no way Carter can lose to either Ford or Reagan — unless he makes that serious mistake somewhere along the way.

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CARTER

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Carter is ideally positioned to see that this does not happen. The collapse of his opposition after the Ohio primary has given him a month before his own convention and two months before the Republicans will settle on a candidate to get his ducks in a row. Moreover, he can look ahead to opposition that almost surely will be divided and embittered.

Indeed, no presidential candidate representing a party out of power has been able to enter a general election campaign in such a dominant position since Thomas E. Dewey ran against Harry S. Truman in 1948.

There are, however, questions about the Carter campaign that must be answered over the next 120 days, and those answers are likely to determine who wins the presidency Nov. 2.

THE MOST BASIC is simply whether Carter can defeat a Republican with the same campaign approach he used in defeating a dozen other Democrats along the way to the nomination.

In his remarkable march through the primaries Carter relied on what became known as a "thematic approach" — meaning that rather than rely on specific programs or proposals, he presented himself as a different kind of politician offering at least the hope of a genuinely fresh concept of national leadership if he became president.

This has been successful for two reasons.

First, there have been no issues of overriding concern to the primary electorate, either practically or emotionally. There has been no genuine preoccupation with anything as volatile as the war in Vietnam or race or crime in the streets.

Secondly, it is now apparent — at least in retrospect — that to the extent issues were involved, there were few basic differences between Carter and the other Democrats who competed along the way. It is true that Carter has been unwilling to go as far as, for example, Morris K. Udall on such issues as health insurance, public employment policy and the fate of the oil companies. But the differences have been largely those of degree, rather than direction. Carter does favor a national health insurance system; he is just not willing to support one now that would be totally operated by the federal government.

CARTER'S TECHNIQUE was demonstrated here again Saturday when he answered questions from a panel of leaders of the National Education Association for a television film that will be shown at their convention. Carter took note of NEA's demand for greater federal funding of education and pointed out it would require $8 billion to $20 billion a year to achieve.

"I think that is a good goal but I can't say when it ought to be done," he told the NEA officials.

When pressed, he refused to give them a figure but promised "I'll be committed along with you to a substantial increase."

It was not everything the teachers' group wanted but it did position Carter on the side of the angels from their viewpoint.

In the general election campaign, however, there will be real differences between the presidential candidates, whether the Republican nominee is Ford or Reagan. It is no secret that either Republican will try to force Carter to the left on such questions as busing and welfare and crime in an attempt to portray him as a latter-day George McGovern. And there will be obvious pressure on Carter not to abandon his basic Democratic constituency by making a me-too reponse.

THE TRICK for the Democratic candidate will be to keep the faith without giving the Republicans an opening, particularly to the blue-collar Democrats who deserted to the Republican line in such numbers four years ago.

Carter will seek to avoid such a situation by trying to set an agenda for the campaign before the Republicans settle on a nominee. He plans a series of speeches that, taken together, will claim to be the issues on which the campaign should be based. How successful that approach will be depends, of course, on who wins the Republican nomination.

Carter and most of his advisers seem to consider Ford the more formidable opponent. This is based to some extent on the advantages any incumbent president enjoys. But it is based even more on Caddell's finding that Reagan is extraordinarily weak in big industrial states — meaning that his strength in terms of electoral votes is even less than that reflected in national opinion polls.

If Carter can be sure of capturing almost all of the South, and few quarrel with that, neither Republican can win without taking several of the major industrial states of the Midwest and Northeast.

EVEN IF REAGAN were conceded the entire Far West, including California, and were able to add to that Texas, Florida, Indiana, Kansas, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Virginia, he would end up with only 175 electoral votes, or 95 short of the required 270. And that scenario requires a lot of "even if."

Ford's problem is somewhat different. He would be given a better chance to win in some of the major Northern states — Michigan, Ohio and Pennsylvania, for example — but he would be rated far less capable of defeating Carter in Texas and Florida or of sweeping the Far West.

Reagan, however, represents a different kind of a threat to the Democrat from Georgia. Ford is a level quantity in national politics — known, measured, lacking the potential to either excite great zeal or to outrage the electorate. Reagan is a different dynamic, a provocative campaigner not yet so well perceived by voters everywhere and possessed of the potential for political peaks and valleys.

THIS COULD MEAN disaster for Reagan if, for instance, he frightened the electorate with saber-rattling on foreign policy. But it could mean, as well, that he might bring heavier pressure on Carter on the emotional issues such as busing, crime and welfare. At this point few Democrats see how this could make enough difference to make Reagan a threat in Ohio or Pennsylvania or Illinois or New York — unless, of course, Carter made that serious mistake in reacting to Reagan.

The best defense is Carter's well demonstrated natural shrewdness and caution. But the Democratic leader is making plans, too, to broaden his campaign to put more lines into more of the elements of the Democratic party.

Carter and his advisers held a series of planning meetings last week that dealt largely with campaign mechanics. They talked about things as diverse as the method for selecting a vice presidential nominee and whether the campaign airplane should be configured with first class or tourist class seating.

BUT THEY ALSO approached at least some tentative decision on strengthening their organization before the fall. The inner circle will remain unchanged — meaning Hamilton Jordon, Jody Powell, Charles Kirbo, Robert Lifshutz, Gerald Rafshoon, Morris Dees, Peter Bourne, and Caddell, and a few others.

But another layer of professionals is likely to be added to give the campaign contacts where it has lacked them so far. One example: The Carter managers are now negotiating with Robert Keefe, Henry Jackson's campaign manager and a former executive director of the Democratic National Committee who has a wide range of association with both party regulars and the leaders of organized labor.

Other Democratic professionals will be sought out for advice on strategy without being brought into formal roles in the campaign. One possibility in this category is Fred Dutton, an old Kennedy hand with an uncanny visceral feel for campaigns.

In the end, however, Carter's fate against the Republicans will depend on his own ability to pick his way through the tricky currents of the general election as well as he did through those of the primaries.

Parity for Women in 1980 Rejected by Democrats

New York Times News Service

The Democratic rules committee has refused to guarantee women an equal share of the seats at the party's national conventions beginning in 1980, provoking what may be the only controversy to reach the floor in next month's convention in New York City.

Instead, the committee yesterday approved a resolution requiring that the call for conventions after 1976 "shall promote an equal division" between male and female delegates, something less than the women's caucus had been willing to settle for.

The committee, preparing recommended changes to submit to the convention that is expected to nominate Jimmy Carter, approved unanimously a plan designed to encourage selection of women, blacks and people under 30 as delegates to future sessions without reinstating quotas.

UNDER THIS PLAN, the national and state parties would establish "specific goals and timetables for achieving results" to strengthen the largely voluntary "affirmative action" plans in effect for 1976. Preliminary figures indicate "affirmative action" has thus far produced fewer female, black and young delegates than participated in the 1972 convention.

In effect, the new plan would require each state to calculate how many of its 1980 Democratic delegates should be female, black or under 30, based on the percentage participation of such groups in the Democratic vote in the state.

These figures would become goals for the party, to be achieved according to a timetable it determines. Unlike 1972, however, these figures could not form the basis for refusing to seat a state delegation.

The new plan, virtually assured of approval by the convention since no alternative plan can now reach the floor, had the collective approval of Carter's representatives, all blacks on the committee and reformers, who found it a more significant improvement on affirmative action than they had expected.

CARTER'S campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, and his official committee representative, Anne Wexler Duffey, also supported the move to "promote" equal division of convention delegates between men and women, rather than require it.

That motion was approved by a vote of 66¼ to 46⅓ after a debate in which the "equal division" formula was attacked as "the strictest possible quota of all quotas" by Averell Harriman, the former New York governor. He had sponsored the proposal to "promote" such equality.

The women's caucus of the rules committee held a half-hour meeting at which the Harriman proposal was rejected in favor of "equal division," but a number of female committee members voted for the less compelling language.

On the whole, despite a long agenda and some fairly controversial issues, the rules committee session ran smoothly, with the Carter representatives and Democratic National Committee aides working to avoid any embarrassment to the prospective candidate and continuing to ensure the kind of placid convention for which the party has yearned after 1968 and 1972.

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Democratic Party Rules Panel Glides Through Day of Harmony

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic Party Rules Committee, meeting here in an atmosphere of unusual harmony, yesterday began preparing for a national conventon that party leaders hope will be free of the procedural infighting that marred the 1972 nomination.

The 153-member panel glided through a day of routine business with barely a raised voice, putting off until today votes on such potentially thorny issues as delegate quotas for minority groups and a rules change that would make it easier to get minority reports out of convention committees to the floor for general debate.

The group will also take up the question of vice-presidential selection and proposals for changing the presidential primary process.

The committee was presented a report from Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert S. Strauss showing that the percentage of blacks, Hispanics, women and youths chosen this year as convention delegates has dropped significantly from the 1972 convention.

The report said that of the 1,301 delegates chosen in the first 25 states to complete their convention selections, blacks comprised 10.6 per cent, down 4.5 per cent from 1972; women, 34.4 per cent, down 4 per cent; Hispanics, 3 per cent, down 1 per cent, and youths, 14.8 per cent, a decline of 6 per cent.

Strauss noted that the degree of minority, women, and youth participation is generally twice that at the 1968 convention, which led to the creation of quotas for minority groups. The quotas were subsequently abolished in favor of affirmative action programs to involve more minorities.

Some black members of the committee have proposed that future conventions include 25 per cent blacks, which is one estimate of the proportion of those who voted for Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.) in 1972.

The committee today also is to consider a rules change that would reduce from 25 per cent to 15 per cent the number of convention committee members needed to force a minority report to the convention floor. Another proposal would require 300 delegates from at least 10 states to sign a petition before permitting general debate on a platform plank.

Rep. James G. O'Hara (D-Mich.) urged the committee to change the convention rules to require that a vice-presidential hopeful obtain 200 signatures on a petition before being placed in nomination. Currently 50 signatures are required.

The change, O'Hara argued, would prevent the kind of "frivolous" nominations that in 1972 delayed proceedings so long that McGovern's acceptance speech was delivered in the early morning hours.

In that convention, seven persons were nominated for Vice President, including Stanley Arnold, a New York businessman. Each was given time for lengthy nominating and seconding speeches.

While saying he understands the "voracious appetite" of many politicians for television coverage, O'Hara called the 1972 vice-presidential nominating process "a travesty."

An exception to the rules change would be made in the case of a vice-presidential candidate nominated by the presidential nominee.

The Rules Committee elected former Rep. Martha Griffith of Michigan as permanent chairman, and voted to add to the Democratic National Committee a seat for the president of the National Federation of Democratic Women.

The group voted down a proposal to call the roll on convention votes on the basis of lot, rather than alphabetically, as is currently done.

Vermont A-Plant Closed for Repairs

VERNON, Vt., June 19 (UPI)—Vermont's only nuclear power plant was closed today for seven weeks to replace fuel rods and build a special protective wall. The shutdown at the Vermont Yankee Plant began following a gradual reduction in power late Friday.

Spokesman Lawrence Keyes said 136 new fuel assemblies will be installed in the plant's reactor. Used fuel taken from the reactor will be kept indefinitely at the facility's storage pool because of the lack of a regional plant to recycle spent fuel, he said.

Associated Press

Carter hugs a 3-year-old admirer, Erin Fluke, after speaking in Lafayette, Ind.

Carter Links U.S. Failings To Excessive National Pride

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

LAFAYETTE, Ind., June 19 — Jimmy Carter, in the first of two appearances today before large Protestant groups, told about 2,000 Disciples of Christ laymen that the nation has suffered from excessive pride.

"I always thought my political leaders told the truth and that our nation stood for what was right in the eyes of God," said the prospective Democratic presidential nominee. "Maybe it was too much for the national pride.

". . . In the last few years we've seen — with the Vietnam war, the bombing of Cambodia, the Watergate tragedy, the CIA revelations — that the goodness of our nation and the rightness of our nation is not as sure anymore as it once was."

Carter's two religious addresses — one to the predominantly white Disciples of Christ men's conference at Purdue University here, and another tonight at an African Methodist Episcopal national conference in Atlanta—came as he resumed a scaled-down campaign schedule, following the collapse of opposition for the nomination after the last primaries June 8. He and his family vacationed earlier this week on Sea Island, Ga.

Carter's low-key, largely personal and non political remarks to the Disciples of Christ group underscored the subtle but important role that Carter's "born-again" Baptist faith plays in his campaign emphasis on compassion, honesty and competence in government.

In his 40-minute speech to the Purdue audience, Carter talked of his own widely publicized religious reawakening and how he broke down in tears once after hearing a Cuban-born Baptist missionary deal with a bereaved Puerto Rican widower.

He said he asked the Cuban how he could appear so tough and yet be so moving. He quoted the man as responding, "Our Saviour has hands that are very gentle. He can't do much with a man who is hard."

Christian laymen, said Carter, tend to be "stalwart, unemotional, proud and hard when a truer demonstration of strength would be concern, compassion, love, emotion, sensitivity, humility — exactly those things that Christ taught us about."

He continued: "If we can demonstrate...this awareness of our own failures, individually and as a group, we can provide a core of strength and commitment and unchanging character that our nation searches for."

Pride, he said, "separates us from a very important aspect of human life, and that's the searching that comes from humility."

Carter touched only briefly on the question of national pride. He often says in his standard speech that the United States, despite Watergate and Vietnam, is still "the greatest nation on earth," a claim he did not repeat today.

After his address, Carter spent nearly an hour signing copies of his autobiography, "Why Not the Best?", for hundreds of conference guests.

Speaking later to the larger, more enthusiastic AME audience at the Atlanta civic center, Carter said there is "no parallel in American public life" to the positive influence of black clergy men.

He singled out AME Bishop William D. Johnson, whose rural south Georgia church he attended frequently as a child despite the segregationist traditions of the times.

From this, Carter said, he developed a "sense of mutuality," stemming from a "commonality of suffering . . . of hopes, dreams and aspirations" of white and blacks in the South, that helped shape the rest of his life.

Carter's Special Appeal

Among Blacks

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA — Among the photographs on the walls of Jimmy Carter's campaign headquarters here is one showing Carter being congratulated by the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr.

That nationally circulated picture of the former Georgia governor with the father of the slain civil rights leader, coupled with endorsements from such other widely respected blacks as Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), contributed greatly to the substantial and often crucial number of blacks' votes Carter received during the Democratic presidential primaries.

There are, of course, other reasons why Carter has done well among black voters in an election year when the black vote could provide the victory margin for a presidential candidate. According to interviews with black leaders and others, they include:

- Carter's public embrace of Protestant fundamentalism and his understanding of the role of the church as the social and political center—as well as the spiritual center — of black life.
- Blacks' fear of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.
- The intensity of the Carter campaign in the black community.
- Blacks' tendency to vote Democratic in overwhelming numbers.
- Carter's charm and effectiveness as a one-on-one campaigner, and his ability to sell his main product — himself — without fully opening the package.

This is not to say that all blacks support Carter. Many — including influential blacks such as Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond and the Rev. Jesse Jackson, national president of the Chicago-based Operation PUSH — have reservations about Carter's candidacy.

Even though he has numerous misgivings, Bond, who supported Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, said he is awed by Carter's use of "reference politics."

"Rev. King's endorsement and Congressman Young's endorsement have been the key. They made Carter legitimate in the eyes of blacks all over the country," Bond said.

"Everywhere I've gone for Udall, black people say: 'How come you're not for Carter? Daddy King [Martin Luther King Sr.] is for Carter. Andy Young is for Carter. What's the matter with you?' "

Initially, Carter was acceptable to Young because he represented the best chance blacks had to defeat Wallace, Young said.

"You can't underestimate the importance of the Wallace phenomenon. Black folks knew what Wallace represented," said Young, who helped organize civil rights marches in Selma and Birmingham, Ala., against a hostile Wallace administration.

Young campaigned hard for Carter in the March 9 Florida primary, where Wallace was regarded as a major contender. Carter won, with the help of 75 per cent of the black vote.

Young, who also is a minister, said he stayed with Carter after Florida because he found some liberal candidates "unacceptable" and he believed that others, like Udall, could not win.

Carter's direct appeal for black votes made Young's support wholehearted.

"Blacks are tired of being taken for granted by the liberals," Young said. "There is more of a feeling of black participation in Carter's campaign . . . Black folks understand what the issues are. They realize that we've had very hard times and that we've had them because a lot of the liberals in 1968 couldn't realize the difference between [presidential candidates] Nixon and Humphrey."

Young also credited what he called the use of "the Atlanta Connection"—which includes black politicians such as Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson and Georgia state Rep. Ben Brown, and a host of black educators, ministers and businessmen—for Carter's showings among black voters in the primaries.

"Atlanta has been the center of black education for more than 100 years. It means something to blacks all over the nation because it was the center of the civil rights movement," Young said.

One of those touched by "the Atlanta Connection" is the Rev. T. Garrett Benjamin, pastor of the 1,300-member Second Christian Church in Indianapolis.

Benjamin said he did not trust Carter at first—that he "came in critical" but "left convinced" after speaking to Carter personally.

The minister said he believes Carter has a special appeal to blacks, even though he has been accused of being reluctant to speak on "black issues" and, when he does, of saying the wrong thing—for example his "ethnic purity" remark.

"The whole thing about Carter and black folks has little to do with issues," Benjamin said. "It has more to do with feeling. Black folks feel that Carter is deep in their corner.

"What I mean is that he speaks from roots; he's a born-again Christian and he's out of the South . . . It's a spiritual thing — the fact that he claims the church. When he talks about the Lord Jesus Christ, he talks about Him as somebody he knows, and the people believe him."

However a Washington Post poll conducted in early May showed that Carter had virtually no support among those black Protestants who never, or almost never, attend religious services, while 17 per cent of whites in the same category said they could vote for him.

On the other hand, 44 per cent of the black Protestants who said they regularly attend church services said they preferred Carter, as did 45 per cent of the whites in that category.

Still—even with Carter's personal and religious appeal, with Wallace now out of the race and supporting him and with the Georgian's apparent capture of the Democratic nomination—the question is whether Carter will be able to draw blacks to the polls in sufficient numbers in November.

Surveys by the Census Bureau and the Washington-based Joint Center for Political Studies—an information clearinghouse for black elected officials—show that many blacks have stayed home in past national elections. According to the surveys:

- About 34 per cent of the black electorate reported voting in the 1974 congressional races. That was 10 percentage points less than the black turnout in the 1970 congressional elections and 18 percentage points less than the 1972 presidential election turnout.
- Blacks were less likely than whites to be registered to vote, and were less likely to vote if registered.
- The registration rates for blacks in the last two presidential elections were lower in the South—where Carter is expected to enjoy his most solid black support—than in the North and the West, where he has received his strongest challenges.

However, the Census Bureau reports that the black voting-age population will number 15 million this November, a 10 per cent increase over 1972.

Georgia state Rep. Brown, Carter's deputy national campaign director, and Marie Brookter, a black Chicago resident who has campaigned nationwide in black communities on Carter's behalf, say they will go after those new potential votes.

The get-out-the-vote effort could be helped by blacks' traditional political preferences.

For example, according to a survey released last year by the University of Michigan's Institute of Social Research, half of all black Americans identified themselves as Democrats between 1956 and 1960, compared with 85 per cent in 1968 and 69 per cent in 1972.

Sen. George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee, received 87 per cent of the black vote, according to the Joint Center for Political Studies.

Brown is convinced that Carter's "saleability" will bring out the black vote this November.

"We've organized and we've invested a lot in Carter . . . People know we have not been bought," he said. "Carter is the most 'saleable' candidate blacks have been able to carry in years. People truly believe that Jimmy Carter will reorder things at the national level so that blacks will be better situated in the federal government."

Why blacks believe that is not clear.

Some people, like Mayor Jackson, point to Carter's gubernatorial appointment

of blacks to key Georgia commissions (for example, the state real estate commission) and to his symbolic actions as governor (hanging a portrait of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in the capitol rotunda). But even they admit that that record, by itself, is not enough to account for the kind of black support Carter has received.

Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York, nationally known black social psychologist, believes the answer is "systematic ambiguity."

"Mr. Carter has used a most effective technique . . . He has systematically made himself available for individuals to project into him, or extract from him, anything and everything they want to see in him," Clark said.

Clark likened Carter to "the Father Divine phenomenon" a spiritualist movement in Harlem in the 1930s.

"I once asked a man who knew Father Divine how he got so many followers," Clark said. "The man told me: 'Kenneth, don't you know that Father Divine is much too brilliant to be coherent. People like him because they don't really understand him.'

"If you would ask the average black why he's voting for Carter, he probably couldn't tell you," Clark said. "He probably would say he's voting for Carter, well, just because he believes in him."

David S. Broder

Reagan-Carter Debates?

John Sears is only 35 years old, but he has lived more politics in the past 10 years than most people will in a lifetime. He came out of Notre Dame, joined Richard Nixon's law firm, served as delegate-scout and head-counter in the 1968 campaign, and went into the White House with the new administration.

His reward for his labors was to be purged by John Mitchell, a year later, on the grounds of insufficient hard-boiledness. That tells you more about Mitchell than it does about Sears.

Like a lot of other good Irish politicians, Sears lives by the motto, "Don't get mad; get even." Evening up for him is electing another President, with no one higher in the campaign structure to boot him out when the job is done.

This year, he is Ronald Reagan's manager. Sears can be as convivial as the next man in those political gatherings where wisdom flows as the spirits rise. But when he gets serious, his voice drops to a whisper and the listener must strain to catch the uninflected words. The strain is usually worth it.

The other day, Sears was leading a breakfast meeting of journalists through the mathematics of the Republican delegate race. His manner, as much as his math, was persuasive evidence that Reagan might well win that nomination.

But, he was asked, would it be worth anything against a Jimmy Carter? "It's worth a great deal to us," he said, and proceeded to explain why.

It was, at first, a strange explanation. "The polls will show us behind" on Labor Day, Sears said. In fact, Gallup has Carter leading Reagan, 55-to-37 per cent, already, and the savagery of the Republican infighting may well weaken Reagan further, even if he survives as the Republican convention winner.

But Sears recalled that Richard Nixon enjoyed just such a lead over Hubert Humphrey when the conventions ended in 1968—and barely held on to win.

"I can tell you from experience," he said, "that it's very difficult to take a very broad and somewhat internally inconsistent coalition and drag it all the way through an election campaign."

"We were all right until the Salt Lake City speech," Sears said, referring to the 1968 campaign speech in which Humphrey finally moved off the defensive on Vietnam. "But then it becomes very difficult. Humphrey kept hitting us on specific issues, and we had to decide whether to respond by sharpening our own position, even at the cost of narrowing our support, or staying vague and fuzzy and conceding the challenger the initiative.

"We took the second option," he said, "but it's hard to maintain your momentum that way, and we barely made it."

As Sears talked, one remembered the last weeks of that 1968 Nixon campaign—the pretense of activity, the flood of pseudo-policy statements, all designed to cloak his desperate eagerness for the vote to come before his support evaporated.

And one remembered, too, the not dissimilar atmosphere in the closing weeks of Jimmy Carter's 1976 primary campaign—as opponents picked apart his broad, diverse coalition with specific issues attacks. Carter lost 9 of the last 14 contests.

There is one major difference between 1968 and 1976. Humphrey waited until half-way through the campaign to take the offensive with the Salt Lake City speech. Reagan, as Sears made plain, would move more quickly to the attack, if nominated, by challenging Carter to televised debates.

"We'd be very pleased to debate Mr. Carter," was Sears' way of putting it.

Carter often has stated his willingness to debate, and, as a nonincumbent, he could hardly avoid such a challenge. But debates in any format have not been his strong suit.

He did not shine in competition with a less-than-inspiring field of Democratic rivals. In Reagan he would be facing a television performer as polished as anyone in politics except perhaps John Connally—and a man who has held his own in debates with tough Democratic competitors from Robert Kennedy to Hubert Humphrey.

Reagan may not make it through the convention. And if he does, he may be so cut up in the process, he's beaten before he starts. But if Sears should be right in his assumptions, the Reagan-Carter debates could be as much of an equalizer for the underdog as were the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960.

The Democratic Platform

AFTER THE BITTER intra-party battles of 1968 and 1972, some people may think that a Democratic National Convention is hardly official without a major platform fight. But in the wake of the platform committee's meetings that ended last week, only one minority report has been filed, on repeal of the Hatch Act—hardly an issue that will tear the party apart. Attempts may be made to take a few other questions to the convention floor. None of these, however, seems likely to be volatile or divisive enough to undercut the general—and rather remarkable—concord that the Democrats have achieved.

In the last two presidential election years, the Democrats' platform debates were not only confrontations over extremely inflammatory issues; they were also tests of strength for the various factions and candidates in advance of the nomination votes. This year there are no issues as explosive as the war. With the nominee already in effect selected, the platform becomes the launching pad for the general election campaign. Two other factors encouraged accommodation and flexibility. One was the common desire to recapture the White House. The second was Jimmy Carter's determination to continue an inclusive nonideological campaign surmounting regional and factional differences, and also bridging the distance between "outsiders" committed to change and "insiders" wed to particular policies.

Domestic Issues

The resulting unity platform is, as one might expect, a catalog that reflects at least in part the concerns of virtually every segment of the party. The domestic sections include planks favoring open government, energy conservation, consumer cooperatives and the family farm. The general direction, toward more energetic federal policies and greater attention to the needs of moderate and low-income citizens, comes through distinctly, as does the party's critique of Republican policies, especially in economic and energy fields.

On the most emotional issues, busing and abortion, the language is deliberately low-key. In the category of high-cost economic and social programs, the platform calls for "a simplified system of income maintenance" with substantial federal financing, a comprehensive and universal national health insurance system, and a jobs program incorporating the principles of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill. In each case, however, the plank is hedged and qualified enough to acknowledge economic constraints and leave Mr. Carter and congressional candidates a great deal of running room.

Foreign Affairs

Consensus marked, too, the platform's approach to foreign affairs. The Vietnam issue, formerly so divisive, appeared only as a fading shadow. With surprising ease, the platform drafters settled on a general foreign policy line. Foreign policy should be made openly, with congressional "involvement" and public support. It should flow from "traditional American principles," in particular, regard for human rights. Detente should be pursued but carefully, with a proper skepticism of Russian intentions, and from a foundation of a strong defense (although the defense budget can be cut a bit). Closer ties should be fashioned with traditional allies in Europe and Japan. Friendship should be accorded Israel, East Europe, black Africa and "Third World nations" in general. "The most important contribution a Democratic administration will make to the returning health of the world economy will be to restore the health of our own economy."

If this sounds like a statement meant at once to cure all the ills ascribed to the incumbent administration's policy, and to appeal to various elements composing the coalition that is the Democratic Party, then you have got it about right. Though not without its gaps and inconsistencies, it embodies a traditional Democratic "liberal" internationalist outlook. In general, the rhetoric, bearing down heavily on a commitment to world "freedom," is more vigorous than many of the actual policy prescriptions.

Is it so different from the foreign policy that the Ford administration, at least or especially in its last year, has been conducting? That detente has its limits is not strictly a Democratic discovery. The administration on its own has become more attentive to Third World economic and political concerns. Secretary of State Kissinger's emphasis on human rights in Chile on his recent trip there, and his diplomatic foray in black Africa are efforts applauded by Democrats. The pledge by the Democrats to firm up relations with Europe and Japan, and with China, overlaps a range of administration initiatives.

Future Policy

As is the way with platforms, the very qualities that make this useful as a campaign document—its generalities, its broad reach, its lack of sharp priorities—make it an inadequate guide to what Mr. Carter might do if he were elected President. Indeed, in several areas, notably tax reform, the language differs from what some Democrats are now promoting in Congress. The platform and the process that shaped it are more meaningful as indications of the spirit now prevailing within the party—a cooperative spirit reflecting the passing of old issues of disunity and the emergence of a highly pragmatic sense of opportunity. In any event, stated positions are only a part of any administration's approach to the use of power. The vision in a President's mind, the quality of his judgment, the circumstances he encounters: These are what circumscribe the value of any platform and what finally define his actual policy.

Thunder!
Showers and thunderstorms today and tonight. High near 84, low near 68. Showers tomorrow, high in 80s. Details B-6.

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Carter to Seek Congressional Aid on Speeches

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ATLANTA — Jimmy Carter said yesterday he intends to ask leading congressional Democrats to join him in preparing a series of campaign speeches designed to flesh out his positions on major planks in the party platform.

The speeches would be spaced out over both the pre-convention and post-convention periods and would serve several purposes for Carter, not the least of which would be to assure voters they would not be voting for a pig in a poke.

"We want to give people confidence that we'll do what we say we're going to do," Carter said.

But the plan also would have the virtue of tying congressional Democrats closely to the Carter presidential campaign, a goal that could strenghten his prospects in November and — if he were successful then — his relationship with Congress after the inaugural.

CARTER SAID, for example, he would solicit the help of Rep. Al Ullman, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, in preparing such a speech spelling out in more detail the party position on tax reform. Other similar efforts are likely on such issues as welfare reform and government reorganization.

Carter recognizes, however, that some questions on which such cooperation from Congress might be helpful will prove to be difficult to bring to consensus. On health insurance, for example, Carter has a basic disagreement with Sen. Edward M. Kennedy and Rep. James C. Corman, the sponsors of the major health protection legislation now before Congress. They disagree with his insistence on a role for private insurance carriers.

In cases in which the most prominent congressional Democrats identified with an issue do not agree with him, Carter said he could seek out others with views closer to his own in preparing his positions.

"They don't have to do it if they don't want to," he said. "It's up to them."

CARTER discussed his approach in an interview on his chartered jet as he spent a 14-hour day campaigning, flying from a vacation at Sea Island, Ga., to Lafayette, Ind., then back to Atlanta and finally home to Plains.

The notion of a candidate involving congressional leaders of his party in his campaign is not unique, but rarely — if ever — has a candidate carried it to the point of seeking their help in preparing such a series of campaign speeches.

"What I want to do," Carter said, "is get help not only from the academic community, the staff and places like Brookings (Institution)."

A series of speeches of the kind Carter is considering has several political values for a candidate in his position.

FIRST, THEY can help him overcome the lingering doubts among Democratic liberals about his commitment to specifics on major questions. Carter's opinion polls show that one of his strengths with the electorate is that he is not perceived as having promised too much. These surveys also show that no specific issue has gained the status of overriding concern with the electorate this year.

But repeated attacks on Carter by Rep. Morris K. Udall in the late primary campaign have persuaded some activist Democrats and some uninvolved voters that Carter has been avoiding firm position on sensitive questions. Unsurprisingly, Carter disagrees.

"To the extent that I could," he said, "I've firmed up my positions on issues. But there really aren't any issues (of broad concern), just the word 'issues' itself."

Carter also intends a series of speeches over the next several weeks and into the fall campaign on foreign policy in an obvious attempt to shore up his credentials in that area.

THE USE of the platform as a framework for Carter's campaigning is also intended to help him take the initiative and, in effect, set the agenda for the fall campaign before the Republicans even decide who they will nominate for President.

Whether this succeeds or not depends, of course, on whether President Ford or Ronald Reagan is the opponent and how the winner of that contest approaches the campaign.

At the moment, the goal of the Carter strategists is to use the time he has gained by locking up the nomination early to try to define the ground on which the campaign will be waged and to unify his own party by involving as many of its spokesmen as possible.

Meanwhile, Carter intends to follow a schedule busier than might be expected for a candidate apparently assured of the nomination that will be decided at the Democratic convention opening in New York July 12. Yesterday, he spoke to a national convention of the men's division of the Disciples of Christ Church in Lafayette, held an autograph party at the University Book Store for those buying his autobiographical "Why Not the Best?" then returned to Atlanta to be questioned by representativea of the National Education Asssociation and speak last night at a national conference of the African Methodist Epicopalian Church.

Eliot Janeway

Carter in Position To Launch 'No Deal'

By Eliot Janeway
Special to The Washington Star

The shot that catapulted Theodore Roosevelt into the White House simultaneously triggered the modern era in American history.

While one of FDR's favorite indoor sports was telling stories which showed up "Cousin Theodore" as a hypocrite, the fact remains that it was Theodore Roosevelt who first asserted the regulatory responsibilities of government over business.

This initiative in making government vigorous enough to cut big business down to size started big government on its present growth to full-fledged elephantiasis.

Until Theodore Roosevelt went after the trusts, the idea was that business was business, which covered a multitude of sins; that governing meant doing nothing; and never the twain shall meet.

Once Roosevelt took on the trusts, the myth of the market place was superceded by the interplay of political and economic pressures. From that time on, the political character of our economic society became unmistakable.

THE FIRST ROOSEVELT had more bounce than sense, as his cousin Franklin's posthumous resentment suggested, and as Mr. Dooley's satire still reminds us. When Theodore Roosevelt published his account of his Rough Riders' exploits in the Spanish-American War, the title Mr. Dooley gave his review of it was "Alone in Cuba."

But for all his faults, Theodore Roosevelt was the first modern political mass retailer. The brand name of his program was the Square Deal.

Ever since, presidential candidates felt the need to top Theodore Roosevelt by offering bigger and better deals. Woodrow Wilson simply inserted the word "new" into his bid for the takeover of the Square Deal, and christened his administration the New Freedom.

Brandeis was the unforgettable figure who really turned Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal into Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom.

As a young lawyer, he turned up in a Federal Court hearing on a routine New Haven Railroad bankruptcy case and replied to a challenge from Chauncey Depew, representing the Morgan interests. "Ask him whom he represents," Depew instructed the judge who was less than independent. "I represent the situation." Brandeis replied.

HIS ANSWER scored a triple play for him: A litigious fortune in opposition to the Republican regime, a power-broker's panache and a seat on the Supreme Court when his turn came; and the respect due an elder statesman during the interregnum between the New Freedom and the New Deal.

The New Deal was recognized as the compound of the Square Deal and the New Freedom that it was. FDR was quick and frank to agree that his performance would be judged alongside that of his bumptious cousin and his pedantic ex-boss.

His determination to succeed where Wilson had failed was particularly outspoken. Wilson scuttled the New Freedom when the time came for him to evolve from being a reform President to a war President. By the time peace came, the Wilson administration's defenses against a postwar depression were shattered.

FDR made no claim to keep the New Deal going during his war presidency, but he did succeed in breaking the cycle ofud wartime boom and postwar bust.

THE NEW DEAL begat the Fair Deal. FDR's heritage set the terms of Harry S Truman's commitment. Truman demonstrated the same ability to retail his case that marked his predecessors at their best.

His upset of Dewey in the 1948 campaign stands as a relevant reminder that selling on the campaign trail is the precondition for trying to produce in the Oval Office.

Eisenhower made it into the White House on the cult of personality, and he rode out his presidency on the same appeal. Stevenson established a countercult in defeat. It was more articulate and more urbane, but it, too, fell short of sounding a programatic call to action.

The return of Camelot provided a pageant but not a program.

Johnson's invitation to take the high road to the Great Society got bogged down when he detoured to Saigon. Nixon perpetrated a raw deal. Ford has presided over a fizzle.

Suddenly, Jimmy Carter has precipitated himself into the political mainstream whose currents are still running on momentum stirred up by the great programmers who came before.

But if Carter stands in a great tradition, he has moved into it in a different way. The banner he has raised already has his distinctive

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slogan imprinted on it. His promise is to launch the No Deal administration.

Clearly, a deep-rooted ambiguity is built into any rallying cry for a No Deal administration. Superficially, the ambiguity seems incompatible with the responsibilities of government to manage a business system whose chief executives in turn act more like creatures of their own public relations and legal strategists than operators in their own right; the country's businessmen and bankers are pushovers in constant search for a housemother in the White House, and their lack of political moxie and maturity is a deterrent to the full flowering of the country's economic potential.

ON THE POLITICAL side of the ambiguity implicit in the promise of a No Deal administration, Mr. Clean reborn has proven personally irresistible or at any rate, unbeatable. In our political economy, even more in a world economy dominated by governments everywhere distorting market pressures, a No Deal administration could lay itself open to criticism as a do-nothing administration.

But a No Deal administration could also follow through on the unorthodox start Carter has made as a candidate. It could ignore the power brokers who expect to do well from controlling the lines of force between the White House and the participants in the economy.

A No Deal administration could be an administration committed to direct selling of its present customers who pay taxes now, and even of its prospective customers who don't, but one day may.

Viewed in the perspective of personal presidential politics as distinct from programmatic presidential politics, Carter enjoys a unique freedom to project a No Deal administration.

He is the first presidential candidate since John Quincy Adams able to boast of walking into the White House in the stance of Longfellow's Village Blacksmith: he owes no man.

THERE'S NO DOUBT that Carter is an incomparably better politician than the second Adams was, and a wilier Yankee trader. But he can afford to be every bit as aloof from power brokers, political barons and pressure groups.

In this regard, for example, a No Deal administration would lay the monstrous ghost of Joe McCarthy to rest. Because Carter will come to Washington above suspicion, he will have a chance to protect a new class of public servants from the backwash of Watergate.

Carter's reassurance that the FBI would not have veto power over his selection of a running mate provides a foretaste of the contribution he can make to purification of our political atmosphere.

The striking advantage of Carter's freedom is being taken for granted even by his supporters, much less by his critics. But it is news when the American political system invites a takeover bid by a free man.

THE LIST of presidents who wooed the angels and trafficked with the Devil is long and scary.

Jefferson's memory has not been tarnished by his deal with Burr, but he felt the need to buy what Burr had to sell. Lincoln spent his presidency paying off his political creditors and maneuvering between his political rivals, his martyrdom was not tarnished by his opportunism.

FDR bought his nomination from Hearst. When Roosevelt's time came to legitimize the succession, he proclaimed that the choice he made was the choice his political creditors forced him to make.

When Truman took over, Forrestal and Stimson forced him to take Byrnes as Secretary of State, and Byrnes announced that his first job would be to tote up all the chits that were out.

Eisenhower owed his Republican nomination to Rayburn's Democratic sponsors. Ford's chance to manage was foreclosed by the terms Nixon set for his takeover.

WHO HOLDS any chits from Jimmy Carter? And who dares call his hand?

Momentous consequences for the stock market are bound to be activated by the impact of a No Deal administration, and a President intent on nonstop retailing.

In fact, the latest takeoff in stock prices is the real thing. It is certainly more meaningful than the springing of a bull trap on the shorts, or than a sporadic buying panic on the part of the institutional portfolio managers could be. The real trouble with the stock market these past 10 erratic years has been due to the departure in droves of the "Maw and Paw" investors. This latest surge into the danger zone advertised by 1,000 on the Dow may be the first to suspend this exodus, if not actually reverse it.

The question I invite Wall Street to ponder is whether the spectacle of a No Deal president retailing a prospectus for a clean, strong America with one hand, and clutching a Bible with the other, can do more to bring the thundering herd back into the stock market corral than all the Merrill Lynches and their branch offices put together.

IT WOULD TAKE only a couple of million recaptured refugees from stockholding to send the Dow Jones average on a new start toward the 2,000 mark, with the general run of stocks following. This disillusioned public is an easier sell for a No Deal appeal than the constituency Carter found in the Democratic primaries, if only because it does not consist primarily of Democrats.

Last week's stock market takeoff "gave proof through the night" that the professionals were getting the message. Though Carter himself is remote enough from the working of Wall Street to disregard the pontificating of the pundits, he's gathering in the faithful.

Michael Novak

Majority Is Emerging, But on Which Side?

A certain excitement grips conservative Republicans about the potential demise of the Republican party and the coming formation of a New Majority party. Ford would lose to Carter anyway, the theory goes, and if Reagan were to lose to Carter, perhaps *he* could lay the foundation of a New Majority party for the future.

This hope for a New Majority party seems to be based on a faulty premise. The fallacy lies in thinking that conservative Democrats would support a Reagan-like party. Some would, some wouldn't — and the latter are the central actors in the contest.

I am sympathetic to the argument of the new majoritarians. In *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, I made a comparable argument, concluding however that the new majority should, could and would be a majority of the left. I argued for the development of a new form of liberalism, concrete, diverse, and intent on strengthening those institutions that stand between the individual and the massive state.

Michael Novak has just completed two months as The Star's *writer in residence. He will continue to write for the Comment section of* The Star *each Sunday.*

William Rusher, Kevin Phillips, and Patrick Buchanan err, I believe, in their analysis of the Euro-ethnic voters; i.e., those 40 to 50 millions of our population that descend from the Eastern and Southern European migration after 1880. They argue that a candidate like Reagan can win in the Sun Belt, including California, Texas and Florida. Such a candidate could, they add, win the Mountain

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states. Then, they believe, he could capture and expand "the Wallace vote" in enough North Central and Northeastern states to win.

This conservative analysis rests on a faulty analysis of Democratic weakness. It is true, as the conservatives say, that the Democratic party is divided into (at least) two wings. They are, one might say, the Alan Baron-George McGovern Democrats versus the George Meany Democrats. The conservatives think of these wings as a liberal wing and a conservative wing. They believe that a new majority party can capture the conservative Democrats — or enough of them — to hold power for a generation.

This analysis has a *prima facie* plausibility because the left wing of the Democratic party does, sometimes, treat George Meany, Mayor Daley, and those they represent as though they were enemies rather than allies. The partisans of the New Politics have sometimes climbed the ladder by stepping on the faces of those of the Old Politics.

The faulty premise lies in thinking of George Meany and Richard Daley as "conservatives." Meany and Daley may not have liked McGovern. This does not mean that they would support Reagan, or even Ford. Indeed, they did not support Nixon.

A sharp distinction ought to be drawn between economic conservatism and cultural conservatism. The conservatism of Goldwater and Reagan is based on the strong Anglo-American tradition (a la Ayn Rand) of the strong individual, laissez-faire and nativism. The cultural base is rural, Republican and Protestant. Such conservatism is both cultural and economic. It is anti-union. Its strength lies in the most Protestant and anti-union sections of the nation.

In general, Protestant traditions in America stress "the individual." Even President Ford has announced that the third century of the nation's history ought to witness a rebirth of the "Age of the Individual."

In general, Catholic and Jewish traditions in America carry an almost unconscious sense of solidarity, of communality, of family, and organization. The Catholic and Jewish immigrants were a critical force in the success of trade unionism in the Northeastern and North Central states. To this day, the more Protestant the region of the nation, the more difficult it is to unionize.

Underlying various economic positions, therefore, one usually finds cultural predispositions. Protestant populism usually takes a highly moralistic, evangelical tone: bring down great powers ("break up the trusts"), for example, or let the great powers know the people exist ("send them a message.") It is not given to permanent organizing and long-range institutions. It depends on spasms of experience and fervor.

By contrast, Catholic and Jewish traditions favor organizing over demonstrating; and the building of long-range institutions over fervor. They respect power mightily. Catholics and Jews tend to have a certain cynicism about high moral language in politics, and to look quickly to locate the real power and the real money. "When a fella says, "Taint the money, it's the principle,' it's the money." Mr. Dooley and Mr. Plunkett portray ancient and classical attitudes. Politics is about money and power. The rest is window-dressing. "Voting your pocketbook" is, in these traditions, sound moral principle. It is not, as some try to suggest, vulgar or faintly amoral. It is serious.

Conservatives like Rusher, Phillips and Buchanan grasp perfectly well the outrage many working class Catholics and Jews feel at upper class liberals. They see that there is a cultural chasm there. But they neglect the even deeper cultural chasm that separates the same working class from Sun Belt economic conservatives. At least the Northern liberals, for all their power in the media and their airs of moral superiority, have residual loyalties toward progressive economic policies.

Thus, in an interesting way, both the New Majority conservatives and the chastened liberal radicals of the New Politics misperceive the mainstream of the Democratic party in the North. (The Democratic party in the South is another question.) A chasm separates each of them from that mainstream. The partisans of the New Majority hope that *cultural* issues will force the Democratic mainstream of the North in their direction. The partisans of the New Politics hope that *economic* issues will force the same Democratic mainstream in their direction.

Actually, the most likely outcome is that the Democratic mainstream will develop a new generation of leaders of its own, more closely in tune both with its own cultural conservatism and its own economic liberalism. I call this, "the new ethnicity" or, sometimes, the new ethnic Democratic party — a new coalition of the many cultural streams and many races that make up our common culture.

The problem has been, ironically, that the Democratic mainstream is so vital that its many champions from the older generation still maintain considerable power and influence — Humphrey, Daley, Meany, Jackson, Muskie, Kennedy. Such leaders do not signal the new possibilities. They don't quite represent the underlying cultural and economic shifts that call for a new focus. Neither the old progressive politics, precisely, nor the recent liberal-radical cultural values, precisely, represent the new energies among our people.

In 1968, George Wallace received only 7.7 per cent of the Catholic vote. In 1972, the Eastern European Christians went 53 per cent for McGovern. Nixon, it is true, won a slim majority of Catholic votes — 52 per cent. This was not, as opinion polls at the time suggested, so much a vote for Nixon as a resistance to McGovern. (Professionals and academics, by the way, voted 69 per cent and 63 per cent for Nixon.) Watergate was a profound shock to many who strayed to the conservative line for the first time. Their grandfathers rolled in their graves, and God punished them.

I look for a strong liberal tide in the future, but in a more traditional kind of liberalism, not so fixated on massive central government alone. The liberalism of the New Politics was aberrant, and took an illiberal direction. Liberalism abandoned its own tradition. It became illiberal in its quotas, its coercions, its moral absolutes, and in its hedonistic and sybaritic passions. A liberalism come to its senses and rooted in families, neighborhoods, and the work place, is a much more likely home of an emerging New Majority than is provided under the glaring ideologies of the Sun Belt.

Why Carter? He Fought Them, And He Produced

By Robert Coles

Atlanta — a city razed by Yankees, and a city that would be increasingly regarded by many Southerners, later on, as "Northern bought." To understand Jimmy Carter, of Plains, Georgia, population 550, even now three and a half hours by car from Atlanta, one must realize what swinging, bustling, ever-so-rich-and-powerful Atlanta has meant to those who live in the counties of Webster, Sumter, Dooly, Crisp, in towns like Americus or Cordele, in communities like Vienna or Plains.

When Jimmy Carter ran for governor of Georgia in 1970 he did so as yet another political spokesman for those who felt "outside" — ignored, cheated, exploited, looked down upon and scorned. Atlanta has always been a mixed blessing for many Georgians, including a good number who were born there, but feel their "roots" to be elsewhere. Atlanta is the state capital, the center of political and economic power, a place of "progress," opportunity, sophistication. But Atlanta is also seen as potentially dangerous, as an alien presence. Deals are made there: high profits and high-rise buildings and highfalutin talk and a lot of airs — and the same old story of a few raking in a whole lot, at the expense of the overwhelming majority of the people who are lucky to be able to hold their own and stay out of the reach of various bill collectors.

Carter's opponent was Carl Sanders, a former governor, and very close to Atlanta's business community. Carter won, an underdog fighting the capital city boys, the big interests, the self-confident and well-to-do and proudly urbane Atlanta businessmen and bureaucrats, with their Brooks Brothers suits and revolving restaurants and exposed elevators, and plastic credit cards and guardedly liberal pieties — "we're too busy to hate"; and not rarely, their arrogance, condescension, smugness, hypocrisy.

He won and he promptly spoke out as no Georgia governor had ever before dared to do. He wanted to help advance his people's cause and free them, at last, from the brutish satisfactions of racial fear. He was not altogether successful. Georgia's state and county political system has a life of its own. The governor has quite limited power, can even be described as a leader at the constant mercy of various mercenaries and opportunists. To Atlanta they come: Smooth talking, manicured agents of national firms with local interests; political Snopeses; itinerant and pushy and loudmouthed lawyers or sheriffs or school officials or yes, ministers, all intent on some favors, some gravy.

Robert M. Coles, a Harvard research psychiatrist and child psychologist, is a prolific writer. Among his major works is the series "Children in Crisis," during the research for which he spent much time in Georgia.

Jimmy Carter wanted to change the structure of the state's government, make it not only more efficient, but less amenable to the vultures he scanned from his executive mansion, or his office downtown at the capitol. He also worked to give blacks more power, real and symbolic. He fought

See CARTER, G-5

CARTER

Continued from G-1

an encrusted bureaucracy. He tried to cut a lot of patronage fat out of government. He advocated a more equitable tax system — one that would favor the working people rather than corporate interests and the rich. He caused to be investigated and strived to reform a barbaric penal system. He showed himself to be mindful of dangers to Georgia's land, water, air. He was a strong governor; and he was personally honest.

He failed in various respects. He was stymied by entrenched interests — governmental and private. He found out that reforms, too, can be hurtful to relatively marginal people — especially in a poor state whose bureaucracy has been a stable source of employment. He made promises that he could not deliver. He found himself defending a record that was not at all perfect. (Every governor of the state is, immediately on assuming office, a lame duck, because he cannot hold two consecutive terms.) And he came up with self-serving apologies, with rather too insistent defenses of his record, and with claims others disputed or mocked. He was, he is, an American politician.

But he also earned the trust and confidence of men like Andrew Young, Martin Luther King Sr., and on the white side, Charles Morgan, for years an American Civil Liberties attorney in the Southeast. They are among the most honorable and fearless people of the region, of the whole country, and they are no fools. Nor are they taken in by rhetorical flourishes or pietistic drivel, the homespun country variety or the slick, televised urban kind. They have survived on courage and conviction, have learned to say no to the most important and seductive politicians. They are pragmatic, unsentimental, and in the non-pejorative sense of the word, calculating. They knew him as the chief executive of a large Southern state, and they believe they know quite well what he hopes for, believes in, will try to bring about if elected president.

Why have others, less involved in the civil rights struggle or other social reform movements, been so responsive to Gov. Carter? The conventional answers explain a lot.

Among the ordinary families I visit in connection with my work — so-called blue collar workers and white collar workers — a strong and so far unrelenting suspicion of and disenchantment with Washington, D.C. have indeed developed. Of course, many Americans always have half distrusted or laughed at politicians, and often enough believed the worst of their motives and behavior. And not only political analysts or columnists or outspoken intellectuals have consolidated the Vietnam War, the Watergate conspiracy, the Agnew affair, the exposures of FBI and CIA transgressions into a sense of outrage and disgust. Who do these so-called "leaders" think they are, one hears asked repeatedly, and how are we to be rid of them? With no clear-cut answers at hand, there is a tendency for many to say something like this out loud or to themselves: "I don't trust any of them, and I don't want to vote for any of them, and I don't care who is running."

Yet, the same people know full well that it does make a difference who is president, or senator, or governor. For millions of Americans, disgusted by what has happened at the highest levels of this government, and doubtful of new promises from national politicians, the federal government is, nevertheless, a source of money and support — a potential ally in a complicated, often unfriendly social and economic system. Social Security checks come monthly; so do payments for the blind, the handicapped. The government keeps an eye on big corporations, even if half-heartedly, and has over the decades been a help to unions in many ways — through laws passed, executive actions initiated, pledges of support made. Many who denounce Washington, and even say they want little from it, have in fact more than a few hopes or expectations from the president and the Congress: a health insurance program; strengthened unemployment benefits; a guaranteed minimal family income; provision for emergency work programs; efforts on behalf of the environment, and so on.

"Small is beautiful," say some, and thousands agree wholeheartedly, while all the while taking for granted dozens of services, actual or potential, from "big" government — or taking for granted enough of a personal income and a situation in life that afford the privilege of detached even-handed social criticism, the impact of which if realized, is regarded (mistakenly or not) by millions of other people as a direct threat to their jobs and to their lives.

For many white people in the North as well as the South, Gov. Carter comes across not as an evasive, banal, and endlessly reassuring preacher, ready to pat a gullible electorate on the back in exchange for support, but a tough, hard-working, intelligent and likable man who has not been part of Washington, has run rather well a Southern state, despite its racial tensions, has managed to secure strong backing from both black and white working people and their leaders, and has demonstrated a sensible balance of respect for valuable federal programs, along with proper loathing for the recent corruptions of act and spirit. As for blacks, they knew that upon his election as governor Jimmy Carter began to deliver the goods quickly and persistently, against substantial odds. Blacks are, anyway, increasingly disappointed by, if not enraged at, Northern pretensions and airs of superiority, in matters of social and racial justice. In recent years there has been a significant exodus from the ghettos of cities like Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland; they are crowded, offer wretched housing, high unemployment rates, a stifling, desperate, murderous atmosphere. The net migration of blacks for the first time has switched directions, goes from above to below the Mason-Dixon line — a return to a South that Ralph Ellison all along has insisted is the home of his people, their country of origin before they became our latest immigrant to Yankee cities.

As Governor Carter keeps reminding his audiences in a courteous, soft, unassuming accent, the South's black and white people know one another well, now quite often send their children to integrated schools, and seem far less angry or nasty with one another than is the case in, say, Boston, Massachusetts. The Georgian comes across to many as proud of his country as well as critical of it; as no one's captive or voice; as capable and well-educated, but not a man inclined to wave his finger at people, make them feel individually to blame for the failures of their leaders or of a political and economic system.

There has been and there no doubt will continue to be an element of sectional mistrust of Carter. Substantial opposition to him is based on class preferences if not prejudices. For years in the South — in Georgia, as a matter of fact — I heard expressed the resentments of people who felt themselves to be the scapegoats of hypocritical and patronizing upper-middle-class Northerners, anxious to change things in distant terriorty, but quite content to enjoy their own considerable privileges as college students, as professors, as aroused social critics, writers, social observers and activists who were quick to take offense at a Southern racial tragedy, but were able to ignore glaring inequities in backyard places like New England, New York, California. Unquestionably "outsiders" were desperately needed in the deep South of the early 1960s; and so was the civil rights legislation that President Johnson fought to enact. But soon enough any number of political activists had gone elsewhere, and in the end it has been the region's own people who have been left to work things out — and given what is happening in various Northern cities (Boston, again, for example) the result has not been so bad.

In Plains, Georgia, Carter's lively, intelligent, unaffected eight-year-old daughter, Amy, attends a thoroughly integrated school, plays easily and warmly with black children, and shows no fear or hatred of blacks.

I remember a comment of Jimmy Carter's: "People ask where I stand on the issues. I stand with my daughter. She's not in some all-white suburban school, or some private school with a black or two in it for show; she's in a class that's more than half black, and she doesn't keep count, I'll tell you."

No doubt there is in him an edge of "defensiveness," as it is, unfortunately, put in our all too psychiatrically obsessed age. But he can rouse himself, go on the attack: "I don't know if anyone from my part of the country can please some

people up North — the ones who cheered me when I took on George Wallace, but then walked away shaking their heads and upset with this or that after I beat Wallace. In order to win against Wallace, in the South and in the North, I had to speak to his supporters in a way they could understand and respond to. It's not in me to talk down to people, to give them lectures, to make them feel like they're below others and they're the only ones who make mistakes or don't have charity in their hearts. I did my best to appeal to a lot of people who had turned to George Wallace out of frustration and anger and confusion. I wasn't being 'evasive' with those people. I was talking straight to them, and I believe a lot of them heard me."

As for his religious beliefs, so much mentioned and analyzed these days, he is less edgy when they come up for discussion. He is not self-righteous, not complacent when he talks or writes about his beliefs and his "condition" before God. Nor does he find his tough political instincts, his obvious ambition, his adroitness as a campaigner, his admitted pride, his not at all concealed desire for power, for the highest office in the land, as necessarily, in sum, evidence of lack of faith, or of a serious psychological inconsistency. He tries to be a believing Christian, yet knows he is a human being, living in a world of men and women, not angels.

He can become quite subtle and thoughtful, theologically, when talking about such matters — the stuff, really, of Christian existentialism. He sees himself as no great exception, religiously speaking. Millions of Americans think and feel about the Bible and God as he does, and integrate those thoughts and feelings into lives that are, inevitably, flawed, sinful, materialistic — but not impulsive, bizarre, irregular or crazy. If he were elected president he might, though, feel enough carried away by a confidence in his own faith to rid the White House corridors of Billy Graham.

Who is the "real" Jimmy Carter? What does he "really" stand for? One watches him campaign, visits his hometown, meets his family, talks with him and, eventually, puts questions like those to him, and all their brusque, crude, somewhat patronizing quality. So it must be in politics, he realizes. Who is the "real" anybody, he muses, half seriously, half facetiously. What do people "really" stand for in their lives, he asks, earnestly, philosophically.

There are indeed tensions, contradictions, ambiguities in his life; he has written of them — and knows that they by no means render him unique. He was a witness to his father's business and political conservatism, which had to live side by side, in a family, with his mother's compassionate, energetic, emotional liberalism. His own scientific mind has had to come to terms with a strong religious faith. He is a private, serious, reflective person who clearly enjoys public acclaim, and exposes himself to demanding and exhausting situations that do not exactly encourage meditation, or even, at times, much thought. He is, the black people of Plains say — and they may know him as well as anyone does or will — a kind, generous, considerate, idealistic man; yet, he has been for many years now in a profession, politics, that brings out in people, as they run for various offices, the cynical, the ruthless, the mistrustful, the manipulative.

In any event, if Mr. Carter were nominated, then elected president, he would, upon taking the oath of office in January 1977, probably remind himself and his supporters that they "stand for the yearning, upward tendency of the middle and lower classes, " and that they are "the scorn foes of monopoly — not monopoly in the narrow sense of the word — but monopoly of power, of place, of privilege, of wealth, of progress." That's about what I've got from the governor when we have talked; it's about what his mother thought her father used to believe and her son now believes; and it is what my friend Tom Davey, no stranger to the rural South, picked up when talking with a gas station attendant outside of Americus, Ga., on our way back, one time, from Plains to Atlanta: "I think Jimmy Carter will keep his eye out for the average person, like myelf. I believe that we'll be on his mind a lot. He'll bring the South back into the country, that I can tell you. And like anyone else, we can offer the country something, too. Maybe now is our turn, at last." Maybe.

The Weather
Today—Rain, high in the 80s, low near 63. Chance of rain is 60 per cent through tonight. Sunday—Rain, high in the 80s. Yesterday 1-3 p.m. Air Index: 37. Temp. range, 58-74. Details on Page D2.

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The Washington Post

Victor Zorza

The Kremlin's Campaign Strategy

The Kremlin must now be deciding who its own favorite should be in the U.S. elections, and what it can do to help him. If the final contest should be between Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, then the answer would be easy, for the Soviet press has repeatedly denounced Reagan as a blustering cold warrior. But if the choice narrows down to Carter and President Ford, the Kremlim would be in a quandary.

The first question for the Kremlin is whether it should get into the election game at all, and no doubt there will be those who will advise it against becoming involved in anything as unpredictable as the U.S. political process. Khrushchev used to boast that he had helped Kennedy win the 1960 election against Nixon, but it was Kennedy who then inflicted on Khrushchev his most painful foreign policy defeat, in the Cuban missile crisis. Brezhnev invited Nixon to Moscow for a summit spectacular that was clearly meant to influence the 1972 election, but Nixon proved unable to repay the political debt he had incurred.

The argument that the Kremlin can grant election favors to Western politicians has, however, a respectable history. Among those who have travelled to Russia in search of votes for their domestic elections are Prime Minister Harold MacMillan of Britain, President Georges Pompidou of France, and Chancellor Willy Brandt of Germany, to say nothing of Richard Nixon. In each case they had good reasons of foreign policy, as well as of domestic politics, for their journeys. But their visits also taught the Kremlin that it had something to give, as well as to withhold, that the others wanted.

Whether this comes to apply to the present election would depend on the extent to which foreign policy became a campaign issue. Most U.S. experts believe that elections are decided by domestic issues, but the most sophisticated Soviet analysis of the campaign to appear so far, in the Moscow journal "USA," takes the contrary view. It presents a whole series of arguments, culled from the U.S. press, to suggest that foreign policy could be President Ford's "winning issue"—provided, of course, that he sticks to the policy of detente.

If this is the kind of analysis the Kremlin is getting—and it probably is, since "USA" is the journal of the Kremlin's own "Americanologists"—then it follows that some of its advisers believe that the Soviet Union could influence the election result. If foreign policy and detente are to be Mr. Ford's "winning issues," then the Kremlin would be in a position to gain more votes for him by making his foreign policy seem more successful than it now appears.

Soviet policy on Angola, for instance, seemed to make a mockery of detente, and therefore must have cost Mr. Ford some votes. But if the Kremlin were now to act as if it had given way on Angola in response to White House pressure—as, for instance, by withdrawing the Cuban troops—then it might be argued that Mr. Ford would stand to gain some votes. There are many other issues, from the Middle East to SALT, on which a more accommodating Soviet policy could prove to be of electoral advantage to Mr. Ford—or so the proponents of an activist Kremlin policy would argue.

But what's in it for the Kremlin? Those Soviet leaders and diplomats who have dealt with the Nixon-Kissinger and then the Ford-Kissinger team may well have come to believe that a Republican administration is more likely to support a policy of detente than a Democratic one. One of the early Soviet arguments in favor of dealing with Nixon—also publicized at the time in the "USA" journal—was that a Republican President could afford more easily to make the concessions necessary to reach agreements, because the right wing would trust him more than it would trust a Democrat.

Another advantage, as Moscow would see it, is that Ford is already committed to detente and to SALT, whatever reservations he might have about some of the details, while Carter is not. Better the devil you know, Moscow would say. If and when Reagan is out of the way, Moscow could help Ford to exploit detente for election purposes by accepting SALT terms that would allow Kissinger to claim that he has made yet another historic breakthrough.

If Moscow helped Ford to win now, his next term would be his last—which would leave him free to ignore electoral considerations during the next four years, thus allowing him to negotiate a more comprehensive disarmament agreement and to earn his place in history. The Kremlin would reason that a President who is seeking re-election, be it a Nixon, a Ford or a Carter, must pay more attention to the inevitable objections from the right. If Carter is the next President, he would have to be looking over his shoulder, but if it is Ford, he could afford to be looking to posterity.

All these arguments would seem to incline Moscow in favor of Ford—but only provided that he stood a good chance of beating Carter. If Ford should lose, then any help the Kremlin has given him might alienate and anger Carter, so that in the end Moscow too would be the loser. The prospects of detente and SALT under the next administration would be diminished instead of being promoted. These are the arguments that the Kremlin's foreign policy strategists must now be turning over in their minds, while preparing for the decision that they will have to make when Ford and Carter are named as candidates—if they are named as candidates.

Bearable cloudiness, humid today, o 89. Low to- upper 60s. f rain 60 per- y and tonight. -8.

The Washington Star

SATURDAY MORNING FINAL

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Brown Inching Closer To Yielding to Carter

By John Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California is inching closer to conceding the Democratic presidential nomination to Jimmy Carter, but he is not ready to go all the way just yet.

Brown, who made a spectacular entry into the presidential race by defeating Carter in the Maryland primary a month ago, came to Washington yesterday to talk to his state's congressional delegation and to address the National Press Club.

There, he explained that he has decided to cut back on his travel schedule and devote the major part of his time to running the state of California.

HE HAD KIND words for Carter, saying the former Georgia governor had run a "great campaign" and that he was "very precise on a number of issues."

"My expectations have been lowered in recent days at an increasingly accelerating rate," Brown quipped.

Some politicians facing Carter's lead might be tempted to "endorse the candidate and then look for the best deal you can make," Brown said, adding that he is not yet ready to fall into that category.

"I always do things unorthodoxly . . . why push reality faster than it wants to move?" he asked.

Brown, who noted that he has been chided in the past for giving evasive answers to questions, was asked whether he will now seek the vice presidency. "No," he replied. "You see I can answer some questions."

He conceded that "barring some unforseen circumstance, which I shall not as yet foreclose," Carter appears to have the delegates needed to win.

BROWN'S campaign organization has purchased a half hour of network television time scheduled for Friday evening. So far, the candidate has refused to disclose what he will speak about.

Discussing other matters, Brown referred to the current sex scandal on Capitol Hill and said he would like to see Congress set up a "political reform commission" to curb the influence of lobbyists and the power of special interests.

Still, Brown said he did not like to see politicians campaigning on what they refer to as "moral issues." "Politics is a rather mundane business. As I learned it in my theology, politics is a secular business and I hope it stays that way," Brown said.

James J. Kilpatrick

The Republican struggle to stay a major party

The Republican party has been getting doomsday warnings off and on for nearly 50 years, ever since it lost its majority in the House in the elections of 1930. One more warning may seem as groundless as those that have been voiced before, but I venture the warning anyhow: Pull it together, you guys, or the old ship sinks.

Perhaps "warning" is the wrong word, for it carries a connotation of misfortune, even of disaster. Certainly in the view of many persons, the end of the Republican party would rank as no catastrophe. The party has no particular claim on immortality. If it goes, it goes.

All the same, our basic political organization, both in the states and in the federal government, rests upon a structure of two major parties. The Republican party has served in this capacity since it rose in 1854, like the legendary phoenix, from the ashes of the Whigs.

It has survived the lean years of the Thirties; at one point, the GOP had only 89 members in the House and only 16 in the Senate. It survived the Goldwater debacle of 1964 and elected its own president just four years later. It is a very durable outfit.

Yet a gloomy feeling cannot be dispelled that the Republican party, as a political vehicle, this time is driving itself to the scrap yard. As a conservative, I admit the gloom; the GOP has been the principal political mechanism for conservative thought, and one perceives no other mechanism that might immediately take its place.

Our national parties, strictly speaking, are sometime things. They blossom every four years like some exotic plant, and then revert to state parties instead. In either flowering, the GOP has the puny look of a wilting philodendron.

The Republicans now hold only 13 of the 50 governorships. Six of these 13 seats are up for grabs this year; by January the Republican governors won't be able to get up three tables of bridge.

The party holds only 38 seats in the Senate. Eleven of those 38 will be contested in November, and eight of the races will be exceedingly close.

In only two states do the Republicans hold a majority in both houses of the legislatures; even those slim pickings may not last for long. Verily is it written that from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.

The national party, so called, is even punier than the various state parties. The pollsters can find only 18 per cent of the electorate who identify themselves as Republicans. Among voters 18 to 25, the proportion is even smaller. To describe such a party as a "major" party is to give the adjective a generous stretch.

In years past, when the doomsday warnings were sounded, the two-party system itself was in healthier shape. The system maintained its vitality in municipal, county and state elections.

Now the system, as such, is in deep trouble. The parties no longer bring scuttles of coal or Thanksgiving turkeys to the faithful; public welfare does that. The parties no longer give or withhold public jobs; the civil service does that. The parties no longer stage rallies; television has taken their place. Only the fund-raising task remains, and that is not long for this world.

Given these circumstances, the bitter presidential contest between Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford seems all the more unfortunate. And it is a bitter contest. The candidates are like two doomed swimmers, bringing each other down.

My pro-Reagan friends are furious at Ford; my pro-Ford friends regard Reagan as a monster. A *New York Times*-CBS poll indicates that in Ohio, California and New Jersey, more than one-third of the regular Republicans will be sore losers: They will defect to Carter if their favored candidate is denied the party nomination.

In a McGovern situation, such wholesale defections would not matter. No such situation is in prospect for November. The Democrats now give at least the appearance of unity.

Jimmy Carter has demonstrated enormous talent as a campaign organizer. Against a divided Republican party, he will be a formidable candidate — and he might well carry a host of state legislators, county commissioners, representatives and senators on his denim coattails.

For regular Republicans, and for independent conservatives also, loss of the White House would be a grievous blow. The prospect embraces loss of the veto power that now provides the only brake against the Democrats' liberal express.

This is doubtless a sunny vision for the peanut farmer and his friends, but it is a cold drizzle-drazzle on the right.

The Weather
Today — Humid, high in mid to upper 80s, low near 70. Chance of rain is 30 per cent through tonight. Saturday—Humid, high in 80s. Yesterday—3 p.m. Air Index, 40; Temp. range, 83-72. Details on Page C2.

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99th Year · No. 196

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1976 Phone (202) 223-6000 Classified 223-6200 Circulation 223-6100 Higher beyond Metropo... See Box A...

GOP Camps Unite Against Common Foe

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Top officials of the Ford and Reagan campaigns put aside their delegate battle long enough yesterday to launch a combined effort to prepare for the fall campaign against the Democratic Party.

They met with an 18 member task force that has been chartered by Republican National Chairman Mary Louise Smith to plan "the mechanics" of the race for either President Ford or Ronald Reagan.

The task force is coordinated by Norman Turnette, the director of field organization for the Republican National Coumittee. Turnette is a Californian who has worked in the past with both Stuart K. Spencer, deputy chairman of the President Ford Committee, and Michael K. Deaver, Reagan's chief of staff.

Representing the rival camps at yesterday's organizational meeting were Ed DeBolt, consultant to the chairman of the Ford committee, and Lyn Nofziger, a Reagan veteran who most recently ran his California primary drive.

Committee sources said that despite the bitterness of the closing stages of that primary, yesterday's meeting was amicable. An unstated purpose of the task force is to maintain communication between the rival camps in the weeks before Aug. 16 Republican convention opening in Kansas City.

Officials said the national committee moved in when it became obvious that the intensity of the nomination battle was preventing both the Ford and Reagan organizations from planning seriously for the general election campaign.

The Republicans will have less than three weeks between the end of their convention and the traditional Labor Day campaign kickoff.

Turnette and his boss, Eddie Mahe, executive director of the national committee, emphasized that the task force would focus on the mechanics of the campaign and not attempt to dictate strategy to the nominee.

Among its major assignments:

- A catalogue of all major events, political and non-political, that could provide forums for the presidential and vice presidential candidates and other GOP. spokesmen. This is intended to help campaign schedulers.
- A rundown by national committee field personnel of the health of existing Republican and candidate organizations in all 50 states and in each of the major metropolitan areas. This is designed as a guide to the organization efforts of the nomination winner.
- A state-by-state inventory of the mass media and direct mail options available to the candidate, with special reference to those that can be used to reach specific target groups.
- A study of those target groups, their leaders and their potential contributions to Republican vote totals. This "targeting" operation will be aided by a major voter poll, designed in cooperation with both the Ford and Reagan campaigns, which is being conducted for the national committee by Market Opinion Research Corp. of Detroit.

A second national committee task force has been at work since April researching the record and statements of the likely Democratic presidential nominee, Jimmy Carter.

This group, headed by Don Dancer, is now indexing a virtually complete audio record of Carter's speeches in the period and cataloguing extensive film of Carter and his major Democratic rivals, shot by a crew hired by the national committee.

In addition, members of this task force are conducting a more traditional compilation of newspaper clippings and other public records on Carter, going back to his first campaign for the Georgia state senate.

The product of this "negative research" will also be turned over to the nominee's organization.

MARY LOUISE SMITH
. . . chartered task force

AA

BB

Ca ter to Name Pane o e p Him Choose a Running Mate

Jimmy Carter airs strategy with (from left) Hamilton Jordan, Morris Dees, Greg Schneiders and other aides.

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

ST. SIMONS ISLAND, Ga., June 17—Jimmy Cater, conceding that a faulty vice presidential choice could be a "fatal mistake" for his campaign, announced today he will immediately assemble a panel of 12 to 15 "distinguished Americans" to help him mak the choice.

But he said he is reluctant to accept President Ford's offer of FBI assistance in probing the background of prospective candidates for the No. 2 Democratic spot. He indicated he would do so only if the candidate agrees to submit to an investigation and if the Attorney General rules that such probes are legal.

Carter also backed off at least partially from his earlier statement that he would ask the 3,008 convention delegates for their advice on a vice presidential nominee, saying that time remaining before the July 12 convention may not permit such a survey.

Use of a public advisory group would give him a broad-based "sounding board" for selection of a running mate, Carter said. The Carter campaign hopes it also would help provide a check against a recurrence of the Democrats' 1972 plight, when presidential nominee George McGovern dropped Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) after it was discovered that he had been treated for a mental illness.

Carter—tanned and relaxed from two days of fishing and swimming with his family at Sea Island near here—disclosed the plan after a two-hour strategy session with a dozen or so members of the top echelon of his campaign staff.

It was the prospective nominee's first meeting with them since his opposition crumbled in the face of his relentless, 15½ month drive for convention delegates.

According to Carter and others, the meeting covered plans for paying off Carter's $1.2 million primary campaign debt, convention logistics and fall campaign plans as well as the vice presidential selection.

Carter also said the group went over "some mistakes" that the campaign organization had made during the primaries, but he did not elaborate.

Later, press secretary Jody Powell said Carter complained during the meeting that the staff "In some cases had gotten a little cocky about this thing" (the nomination) and he wanted more humility.

Powell said Carter wanted the word passed through his entire campaign organization to "take great pains to make sure we did not give the impression that we are more important than we really are."

And, said Powell, smiling, "he explained just how important we are."

Briefing reporters on the lawn of a resort hotel where his staff is staying during his five-day vacation, Carter said he would have more details within a few days on his vice presidential selection plans, including names of at least some representative members of the advisory group.

Aides said Carter appeared to have a "fair idea" of whom he intended to choose for the panel but did not want to disclose names until he had contacted them. Carter told reporters that no prospective vice presidential nominees would be on the panel, which, he said, would be composed of "distinguished Americans . . . whose judgment I respect."

Carter did not spell out exactly how the panel would operate, but Powell said it would probably be on an informal basis, without actual meetings.

Carter said he would "accumulate as many different opinions" as he could among members of the group and, if there are any "deleterious or critical" of any of the possible choices, further investigations would be made.

"I don't know about the use of the FBI. We're reluctant to do that," said Carter. "The only way I would do that is if the Attorney General tells us it would be legal and if the nominee approved the interrogation or investigation."

He said he felt it was "important in this process to honor the privacy" of those who are under consideration for the nomination, and did not want "a full background check" of all who are being considered, regardless of their chances of being chosen.

The Carter campaign has already commissioned its polling firm, Cambridge Survey Research, to conduct a voter survey on 14 possible nominees: Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), Frank Church (Idaho), Walter F. Mondale (Minn.), Alan Cranston (Calif.), John Glenn (Ohio), Edmund S. Muskie (Maine), Adlai E. Stevenson (Ill.) and Birch Bayh (Ind.); Govs. Michael S. Dukakis (Mass.), Wendell Anderson (Minn.) and Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.); Reps Peter W. Rodino (N.J.) and Barbara Jordan (Tex.), and Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles.

Strauss Won't Seek Another Term

By Craig Smyser
Special to the Washington Post

HOUSTON, June 17 — Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss said today he will not seek another four-year term as head of the party.

Strauss said, however, he would remain as chairman during the presidential campaign if asked to do so by the Democratic presidential nominee.

Strauss told a press conference that Jimmy Carter had indicated he wanted Strauss to remain as head of the party through November. Strauss said a top Carter aide, Charles Kirbo, told him: "Bob, we made up our minds we want you."

Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, said today that "the governor and the chairman have not discussed the chairmanship at all." The Carter camp has made it clear in the past that at some time Carter will replace Strauss.

Tonight, however, Carter called from Sea Island, Ga., where he is vacationing and asked Strauss to stay on as party chairman after the convention.

Strauss said he "looks forward" to working with Carter. Also, Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey and Edward M. Kennedy called the dinner, commending Strauss for his party leadership.

Among the party luminaries scheduled to appear at the dinner but who did not were Sens. Kennedy, Humphrey, Frank Church, and Morris K. Udall, Barbara Wendell Ford, and Reps. Jordan and Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.

Most pleaded the press of work in Congress. Nonetheless, Texas Gov. Dolph Briscoe, a strong Carter supporter and a force behind the dinner, called it a "rousing success."

The only current star of the party who made the salute was California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who defended his candidacy and vowed to turn down any vice presidential offer.

Strauss said he thinks it likely that he will remain through the November election.

Strauss, who was elected chairman of the party in December, 1972, said his term expires after the Democratic National Convention next month.

Party rules provide for the election of an interim chairman, the choice of the presidential nominee, to serve during the three months of the fall campaign.

"But I can assure you that after the end of November I will return to what is known in Washington as the private sector," Strauss said.

He said that Carter's absence at a testimonial dinner for him here tonight was not a sign of a rift between the two men.

"Jimmy Carter and I have never had a harsh word," he said. "The press has continued to play up the Carter-Strauss feud because it makes good reading."

Strauss said he would return to his private law practice in Dallas after he steps down as chairman.

Gordon Wynne Jr., the producer, said the dinner was a financial success, netting more than $110,000, enough to retire the state party's debt and ease the expenses of the state convention.

The people who paid from $25 to $1,000 to see a show and eat were served a box of cold fried chicken. A patriotic message was delivered by Lorne Green.

ROBERT S. STRAUSS
. . . denies feud

Moist
Warm and humid today, high in 80s. Low tonight in 60s. Chance of showers tomorrow, high in 80s. Details C-5.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

94th Year. No. 170

WASHINGTON, D.C., FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1976

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Eliot Janeway

A 'Carter Market' Is on the Way

By Eliot Janeway
Special to The Washington Star

It's too soon for a "Carter market" to start on Wall Street but there's one on the way.

The operators who make the noise in the stock market haven't been able to decide whether to expect him to be good or bad for the market. They're suffering from the same ambivalence about Carter that he is criticized for expressing about issues.

This very ambivalence has been the key to Carter's success on the campaign trail. The country has had enough of the conventional thinking embodied in pat answers to "can't win" questions.

CARTER'S nimbleness in talking his way out of corners, and into maneuverable positions, has clearly intrigued enough people to win top rating for his campaign.

Wall Street is always gung-ho on what the great American philosopher, John Dewey, scoffed at as "the quest for certainty." Stock market buffs clutch at hard and fast answers when they would be better off living with uncertainty.

Richard Russell, who writes the well-known Dow Theory Letters for a wide stock market audience, has just chided Carter for keeping the market up in the air with his calculated indecisiveness.

Russell has caught the spirit of stock market resistance to Carter. It's not as if Carter really needs the additional source of support Wall Street's opposition guarantees a country-boy candidate; but it may come in handy later on.

The Street's uneasiness with Carter's patter suggests that it may be on the verge of repeating its familiar history. Again and again, it has done well with political figures it has neither liked nor trusted.

market's appetite for money is obvious and continuous.

THE VARIABLE that makes the difference is not the number of dollars traded, but the number of people doing the trading.

A market that is losing its retail public cannot continue to make money for its wholesale dealers.

So long as the number of stockholders is shrinking, the profit taking invited by higher prices will put more pressure on the market than it can support.

The Wall Streeters who make the markets in stocks and the opinions about the state of the world always have stocks for sale. They depend on the voting public for their customers.

Carter's corn may revive the faith of Wall Street's departing flock while nothing being talked about on Wall Street will. His distinctive blend of muscle and mysticism offers the market its next best chance of broadening its narrowed base of public participation.

Jimmy Carter's scripture selling has provoked snorts of derision from the intelligentsia, but he may turn out to be the best stock salesman Wall Street has seen since the thundering herd was a baby calf.

→

THOUGH CARTER has been too shrewd to come up with academic answers to press conference questions, he may have the practical answer to what's wrong with the stock market.

It's easily summarized: All year long, the market has been winning bets on stocks while losing bodies; the members of the investing public have been cashing in their necessarily small stacks of chips. They've been stampeding to take their money out of stocks and squirreling it away in savings accounts.

One sure way to tell whether the stock market is vigorous or anemic is to think of it as if it were just a sprawling neighborhood supermarket.

No advanced business school degrees are needed to figure out when a shopping center is doing well: Its parking lot is full. A shopping center with an empty parking lot is ready to fold.

When the Main Street public takes its money out of the market, it leaves Wall Street looking like a shopping center with an empty parking lot. The

William V. Shannon

Carter and the civil creed of secularism

The religious issue raised against Jimmy Carter says more about the people raising it than it does about him.

From time to time, Carter has talked about religion because it has been a shaping influence in his life. Like any good politician, he has tended to dwell on it more with audiences who he knows share his particular experience than with those who do not, more likely in the primary in heavily Baptist North Carolina, for example, than in heavily Catholic Rhode Island. But that is only to be expected.

In a pluralist society with different races, religions and ethnic groups, a politician has to thread his way through a cultural maze. Inevitably, he tries to maximize the strengths he enjoys because of his affiliations with some groups and to offset the weaknesses he incurs because of a lack of identity with other groups.

Since cultural suspicions exist, it is healthy to get them out in the open and talk them out. Because the fundamentalist Bible Belt has produced politicians in the past like Tom Watson of Georgia who were anti-Jewish as well as anti-Negro, both minorities understandably approach any candidate from that background with initial reserve. Similarly, those Catholics deeply offended by the Supreme Court's abortion decision are interested in a candidate's opinions regarding that issue.

Carter, like every other candidate, expected to be closely interrogated on these and similar issues. What has been surprising and significant is that many people resent that he has any strong religious beliefs and that those beliefs may actually influence his conduct. The very fact of his being religious seems threatening.

Why is this so?

Many Americans, some of them church members and some of them non-religious, believe in what may be called the civil religion of secularism. Secularism denies the relevance and importance of religion as a factor in society. It would banish religion altogether from the public scene and relegate it to a purely private sphere.

But secularism is a false and distorting creed with which to bind the richness and variety of the American experience. From the very beginning when French missionaries explored the wilderness and the Pilgrim Fathers came here to pursue their religious vision, religion has been central to the nation's history. Not only have Americans been a religious people, but Christianity and Judaism are animating forces in the Western Civilization of which America is a part.

Unfortunately, the Supreme Court in recent decades has gone far toward affirming this secularist creed as the one, true constitutional gospel. That poisonous methaphor, "a wall of separation" between church and state, has given secularist notions a power in the law that they do not possess in the plain language of the First Amendment or in the rich pluralist experience of American life.

To pretend that state and church can be walled off from one another is to found a constitutional theory upon a social fiction, never a sound basis for any law. The social reality is that religion has in the past and does now play an important part in the lives of many people as it does in Carter's. The intertwining of religion and the state can be seen in everything from inscriptions on our money to the provision of chaplains in the armed forces to the granting of tax exemption to church-owned property.

Rather than simply obeying the constitutional command to be neutral toward all churches, the court in trying to construct its imaginary wall has been led into much grave nonsense. Thus, what began as a niggling fear that some child might be psychologically damaged by hearing the Lord's Prayer in the classroom has forced public schools to ban the singing of Christmas carols and the observance of Hannukah.

Similarly, the Supreme Court strives to distinguish why if it is constitutional to pay for a bus to drive a student to a church-related school, it is unconstitutional to pay for teaching him physics or geography once he gets inside the school.

It is this aggressive secularism that finds Carter's religion worrisome. Ironically, the Baptist Church of which he is a member is a strong supporter of the wall-of-separation theory. There is no reason to suppose that he will try to overturn the Supreme Court's decisions banning prayer in the schools and severely restricting financial aid to church-related schools.

His religious faith probably accounts, in part at least, for his empathy with poor people and with blacks, an empathy that leads him to espouse programs which many secular liberals approve. But since he admits that he likes to pray and to read his Bible and to teach Sunday School,

> Carter is a standing contradiction to the outlook and the legal fictions of those who believe that God is dead and should not be mentioned in polite society.

EE

The Weather
Rain, high in mid 80s, low. Chance of rain 60 per cent tonight. Friday ly cloudy, high mid 80s. Yes- 3 p.m. AQI. 21; Temp. 75. Details are on Page B2.

The Washington Post

FINA

Amusements C11 Food
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Financial D13 TV-R
Inside: The Week

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'Assured' Tucker Endorses Carter

By Judith Valente
Washington Post Staff Writer

District of Columbia City Council Chairman Sterling Tucker yesterday endorsed Jimmy Carter for President saying he has been convinced Carter will not oppose a commuter tax.

Tucker said he "received assurances" from Stuart Eizenstadt, Carter's national affairs aide and liaison to the Democratic Platform Committee, that Carter supports a platform plank recommending "full home rule for the District of Columbia, including authority over its budget and local revenues."

Eizenstadt, however, said the language in the plank "does not represent a change in the governor's previous opposition to a commuter tax."

He said the government and human needs task force of the platform committee had drafted a plank that called for "repeal of the commuter tax prohibition in the D.C. Home Rule Act."

The platform committee later eliminated the commuter tax clause "because we did not want to take a position on a local issue," according to Eizenstadt.

He called more general wording of the plank "compromise language which does not deal with the commuter tax specifically."

Tucker had been a member of the task force that drafted the original plank.

According to Tucker, "The language of the (current) plank states that the District should have the authority to raise revenue in any way possible. I believe that language allows for a commuter tax," Tucker said.

He said he had not discussed the specifics of a taxing program for Washington with Eizenstadt. "There will be further discussions on how to implement the revenue program when the governor comes to Washington," Tucker added.

He said he had held off endorsing Carter "because I was concerned about the governor's position on the nonresident tax."

D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy said late yesterday that the slate of four uncommitted convention delegates that he heads "are having further discussions with the Carter people and will probably endorse the governor before the convention."

Fauntroy said the four Unity '76 delegates "are ready" to endorse Carter as a result of Tucker's discussions with Eizenstadt.

"Our main concern as an uncommitted slate was to get the recommendations we were advocating on the party platform. Because the party plank language has been changed to include full home rule, we feel that we can endorse Carter," he explained.

Mayor Walter E. Washington announced his support of Carter last week.

Jimmy Carter Debt Put at $1.2 Million

United Press International

Jimmy Carter has run up a $1.2 million debt in his successful campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Official campaign reports, filed with the Federal Election Commission showed yesterday that Carter had the biggest debt of any of the presidential contenders.

Ronald Reagan, who last month reported a $1 million debt, has paid off all but $150,000, largely as a result of funds raised from his nationwide television broadcast.

The reports for campaign spending through June 1 showed Reagan and President Ford carrying on the most expensive campaigns and matching each other almost dollar for dollar. Reagan has raised and spent $11.3 million, and Mr. Ford, who filed his report last week, has spent $11.4 million.

While Reagan's campaign was still in debt, Mr. Ford reported a surplus of about $330,000.

George C. Wallace is the next biggest spender in the presidential races, having spent $10 million and reporting debts of over $175,000. Wallace's debts included a $93,144 unpaid Master Charge bill.

Carter's debts included more than $500,000 owed the Gerald Rafshoon Advertising Agency in Atlanta, and loans of $600,000 from the Fulton National Bank and $175,000 from the C&S Bank, both in Atlanta.

He listed debts of $1.8 million, offset by $600,000 in money owed him by telephone companies for deposits and by reporters and Secret Service agents for travel on his campaign plane.

Morris K. Udall spent a total of $3.7 million in his unsuccessful Democratic campaign, and is $450,000 in debt. His debts included personal loans totaling $55,000 and an American Express bill of $112,526.

Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., who entered the primary season late and beat Carter in Maryland, Oregon and California, spent just over $1 million and listed debts in excess of $100,000. Another latecomer, Frank Church, who won four primaries, spent just over $1 million and is $125,000 in debt.

Democrats To Weigh Hatch Act

Unless something unforeseen occurs, only one amendment to the Democratic platform will be in order when the party holds its national convention next month: a proposal to repeal the Hatch Act.

Party aides said that was the only proposed amendment to be supported by the required 39 members of the 153-member platform committee by the close of business yesterday, the deadline for such submissions.

The only other way a platform amendment could get to the convention floor would be by suspension of the rules, they said, which requires a two-thirds vote of the delegates.

The Hatch Act, passed in 1939, restricts partisan political activity by federal employees. Congress passed legislation earlier this year relaxing these restrictions, but the bill was vetoed by President Ford, and his veto was sustained in the House. The vote to override was 243 to 160, or 26 short of the necessary two-thirds.

The platform committee finished its work Tuesday night, a day ahead of schedule with none of the splits on emotional issues that hurt the party so badly in 1972. The absence of proposed platform amendments on anything other than the Hatch Act was another sign of the unity.

The convention will be held in New York City starting July 12.

NOTES '76

Delegates to Carter

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) released his Democratic National Convention delegates and urged them to vote for Jimmy Carter on the first ballot.

Jackson pledged to campaign hard to see that Carter is elected president in November.

Jackson said the former Georgia governor has earned the nomination, shown the ability to draw support from all Democratic factions and has "shown the unique capacity to inspire confidence among the people."

Maddox on Carter

Lester Maddox, a frequent and bitter critic of his former political rival, Jimmy Carter, says Carter will be the next President.

"I think he's got the thing wrapped up," Maddox said in Atlanta. "He's made history. It's regrettable that he's not an honest man."

From staff reports and news dispatches

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Winning Lottery Numbers — B-4
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ight, low in 60s. Tomor-
ow's high in 80s. Details
-4

The Washington Star

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Ford, Regan Both to Appear at Iowa Dinner

United Press International

President Ford and Ronald Reagan, for the first time in this presidential campaign, plan to be in the same room at the same time.

Both candidates will address a Republican dinner in Des Moines, Iowa, Friday night. Each seeks support in the Iowa GOP convention which will name 36 national convention delegates Saturday and Sunday.

Both sides consider the Iowa contest close. Ford currently leads Reagan in national convention delegates, 1,009 to 893, with 1,130 needed for the nomination.

FORD TALKED politics with former Texas Gov. John Connally at the White House yesterday, but there was no official word on what they said.

Connally, often mentioned as a vice presidential prospect, has yet to endorse Ford or Reagan for the nomination.

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who has refused to concede the Democratic nomination to Jimmy Carter, yesterday announced the purchase of 30 minutes of network time from NBC-TV for a broadcast June 25. There was no indication what Brown would say, but a spokesman said Brown had "no current plans to endorse Carter."

CARTER, meanwhile, spent most of yesterday deepsea fishing off the Georgia coast, but his catch of the day was an endorsement by Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., who called Carter "the strongest possible candidate" and urged his 232 delegates to support the Georgian on the first ballot.

Reports filed with the Federal Election Commission showed that Carter's expenditures of nearly $7 million on his campaign includes a $1.2 million debt, largest of any of the candidates.

Reagan and Ford have spent more than $11 million each seeking the GOP nomination. Ford showed a $300,000 surplus. Reagan wiped out most of a $1 million debt that was listed in last month's report.

TWELVE FUNDRAISERS between now and the July convention are planned by Carter to wipe out his campaign debt.

Carter said yesterday that there probably will be portions of the Democratic platform with which he won't agree. He objected specifically to the federalization of welfare, which he said would be "too costly at this time."

"Let's wait until I see the platform before I say whether I will or will not run on it," Carter said.

* * * *

AIDES OF JIMMY CARTER, who seems certain of winning the Democratic presidential nomination next month, are preparing reports on the makeup and problems of various federal agencies, including the troubled Civil Service Commission.

Should Carter win the presidency, a housecleaning at the CSC involving some top career jobs seems almost certain. And at least two and probably all three CSC commissioners would be replaced.

CSC Chairman Robert Hampton has already announced he will retire at the end of the year.

Meanwhile, the House Civil Service Committee has turned over to the Justice Department data of its investigation of the CSC for possible criminal p rosecution on charges of perjury, destruction of federal records and defrauding the government.

* * * *

Politics Today

No Room for Error In GOP 'Shoot Out'

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

The struggle for the Republican presidential nomination is like a B-grade movie script in which the two protagonists have one of those marvelous Hollywood fights that ranges the length of Main Street and back and seemingly lasts as long as the Crusades.

The problem in real life, however, is that the GOP winner is in danger of being so beaten up when it's over that he's a pushover for the guy in the black hat, the Democratic nominee who almost certainly will be Jimmy Carter. The fight for the Republican nomination is so close that it seems possible that the final delegate vote needed to nominate, that 1,130th body, could be won in a fist-fight on the convention floor in Kansas City.

By most delegate counts Ford leads Reagan by about 90 votes, with Ford having about 1,000 — give or take a few depending on whose count it is — to a little more than 900 for Reagan. Those who have an embezzler's talent for juggling figures and a poker player's realization that there is more — the crucial element, in fact — than what shows on the table can see where Reagan could close it up in the next few weeks.

START WITH THE 259 Republican delegates remaining to be chosen. Slightly more than half, 135, come from Western states Reagan expects to come close to sweeping — Colorado, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington, plus four each remaining to be picked in Idaho and Texas, which he expects to get. He has a chance of getting a fair share of the 36 Iowa delegates and a split or better of the 18 from North Dakota, enough to give him 150 or possibly more of the 259.

Of the 67 formally uncommitted delegates, Reagan's strategists think they can get as many as 40. This includes a half-dozen of the 13 in Illinois, possibly all 5 in Louisiana, maybe 4 in Minnesota, 3 in Missouri, possibly most of the 16 in New York, 6 in Virginia, 4 or 5 from Wyoming, one here in states such as North Carolina and Vermont, a couple there. "Nickel and diming," it's called.

Then it gets interesting. Reagan's delegate counters think their delegates are pretty firm, partly because Reagan supporters tend to be true conservative believers who have already stood up to the President and in many cases their state and local party leaders. "Most who are for us have gone through the agony of admitting it," says Reagan's campaign manager, John Sears.

They think some of Ford's support is soft, however. They hope to chisel some out of the nonbinding states, possibly as many as a dozen out of New Jersey, a few out of New York, maybe 3 from Ohio, 4 out of South Carolina, 2 or 3 from Vermont, possibly a handful from West Virginia, 2 or more out of Hawaii and the District of Columbia.

Reagan's counters also hope to get a handful of delegates from the states that have yet to pick their delegates and that Ford is expected to dominate, possibly 2 or 3 from Delaware, a half dozen from Connecticut, 4 or 5 out of Minnesota. Add up all the hopes and possibilities and you get as many as 1,150 for Reagan, 20 more than needed to nominate.

ANYTHING THIS close prompts second-guessing of all the twists and turns in the long road. Why, for instance, did Reagan concede so many delegates to Ford in the large industrial states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, and Illinois?

Of the 419 delegates from those states, Ford has 354 committed to him, in varying degrees of firmness, according to the Reaganites. Reagan didn't even enter delegate slates in New Jersey and didn't have a full slate in Ohio. A more even break in those states obviously would have given him the lead instead.

"It's a question of money and what we could have won at the time," says Sears. "He (Ford) had the organization in those states and we would have had to spend twice as much. In April we probably couldn't have elected many more in New York and Pennsylvania than we have now. And now we can talk to some of the delegates because we didn't force them into difficult and expensive races. Besides, they were running as uncommitted."

THERE ARE TWO ways of looking at that. Reagan had more success in fund-raising in April and May than Ford, by about $1.2 million and a better showing in New York and Pennsylvania might have helped. On the other hand he has spent about one million dollars less than Ford, which means he has more to spend delegate hunting between now and the convention than Ford because of the $13,000,000 spending ceiling for each candidate.

It is also tempting to speculate where the campaign might be if Reagan hadn't yielded to his ideological leanings and made his statements about investing the Social Security trust fund in American industry and turning $90 billion in federal programs back to local governments. These hurt in New Hampshire and Florida, where Ford's victories threatened an early knockout.

There are two ways of looking at that, too. Right now Reagan's advisers think his ideology is an asset. It means, they think that more of his delegate support is solid than Ford's. And in anything this close, every little bit counts.

The Weather
Hazy, high near 90, low
The chance of rain is 30 per
and 40 per cent tonight.
Hazy, high near 90. Yes-
p.m. Air Index, 105: Temp.
72. Details are on Page C2.

The Washington Post

FINA
88 Pages—4 Sectio
Amusements B 8 Metr
Classified C13 Obit
Comics B12 Spor
Editorials A26 Styl
Financial D10 TV
Bicentennial Calend

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Associated Press

Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter chats with reporters during informal meeting aboard his chartered jet Monday night.

Relaxed Carter Muses on Presidency

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

SEA ISLAND, Ga., June 15—Jimmy Carter's chartered jet was speeding smoothly through the night from Dallas where, in 90 minutes of sociability with his Texas backers, he picked up pledges of nearly $250,000 to help pay off his primary campaign debts.

The candidate was clearly feeling good. He had started in a grim mood Monday when the press bus went to the wrong airport, causing him to start late on his roughly 3,200-mile round trip to New York and Texas. But he had survived a meeting with the New York convention delegation, replenished his treasury in Texas and was now headed for four days of relaxation with his family at the beach.

So when he emerged in shirtsleeves from his first-class cabin, stopping just beyond the galley, leaning back against an aisle seat and tacitly inviting reporters to cluster around him, the mood was different from the countless other times he had done the same thing in his long quest for the Democratic presidential nomination. Carter seemed to want to talk about himself, and the reporters, many of whom are still trying to peel through all the layers of Jimmy Carter, were happy to oblige.

What makes you different, he was asked, from the other 20 members of the Plains, Ga., high school graduating class of 1941 who gathered for their 35th annual reunion last Saturday night?

Carter thought for a minute, then speculated that none of his classmates had finished college. And he couldn't remember any of their parents even going to college.

It was his father, he continued, not his strong-willed mother, who had the ambitions for him. "Daddy was always probing to do things in better ways . . . He didn't just sell tomatoes, he made catsup out of them in the backyard." Even before his son knew what West Point and Annapolis were, the elder Carter instilled in him the drive that

See CARTER, A10, Col. 1

CARTER, From A1

finally took him to the Naval Academy.

Did you play with black children?

"That's all I played with. That change (the separation of the races in the South) didn't take place until we got about 14 or 15 years old. We used to wrestle, fight, fish, swim and have footraces and play baseball. There was never any deference shown to me because I was white."

What would you do as President about the fact that blacks are still proportionately poorer than whites?

"First of all, there's the attitude that changed in 1968 . . . The people that lost were the blacks, the elderly, the illiterate, the sick. It changed when Johnson and Kennedy went out and Nixon came in.

"Another thing is, the policy-makers. Kennedy and Johnson, in my opinion, didn"t do enough to bring blacks into the policy-making positions in government. I think Johnson had a much greater feel for it than Kennedy did. Kennedy was not one of them. He didn't understand their special needs. In Georgia we did this (put blacks into policy-making positons).

"I don't mean just the university system but judges . . . (boards that regulate) beauty parlor operators, barbers, funeral directors and licensed practical nurses, people that would have never had a chance because of all the rules, the written examinations that were always tailor-made for white people."

Johnson "did an excellent job" on social programs, Carter said, but there is still a long way to go on health care, reform of the welfare system and tax reform.

Won't that cost you votes?

"I don't think so. If it does, so be it . . . I don't make those commitments idly. This is something that should be done. I say that we need a national health insurance program. I mean to do it. Nobody's ever done it. It's been talked about by very fine Presidents since as early as Harry Truman. That'll be the difference."

What makes you uniquely qualified to be President?

Carter said he is not uniquely qualified, but "I do have unique experiences . . . my relationship with poor people. That's where I came from. That's where I lived. Those are ny people, not only whites but particularly blacks."

He is accepted, too, Carter contended, by the "conservative farmer-businessman who is not particularly committed to civil rights and human rights but just wants to see the government run right . . . I think I can do that. There's no doubt in my mind that before I go out of office the budget will be balanced, and we will have zero-based budgeting and the government reorganization will be proper and we'll have a 'sunshine' law [requiring open governmental meetings]. And the harmony between the White House and the Congress will be restored." The relationship might be "contentious . . . even combative" but "I think the Congress is eager to see some cooperation now."

Do you think George Wallace is "mean and ugly," as his severest critics charge?

> *" . . . I say that we need a national health insurance program. I mean to do it. Nobody's ever done it. It's been talked about by very fine Presidents since as early as Harry Truman . . ."*

"I don't know what would have happened had I been governor back in 1960, or 1955 . . . but I was lucky enough to come along after the crisis took place in the south. When I was trying to exemplify as a church member . . . equality of the races in a fairly timid way compared to what I could have done, (I) was just (in) the embryonic stage of my political life . . .

"So Wallace is anachronistic in that he's come over into this modern age. But it's not quite fair to say that he was malevolent or that he was ugly. And I think he capitalized on the racial issue by standing in the schoolhouse door. I don't know if he had any visions of who might proceed from that. My guess is that he did it for Alabama consumption . . ."

It's too easy to look back now and say the South was wrong, Carter continued. If he had blamed the South for its wrongs in his successful campaign for governor of Georgia in 1970, he said, he wouldn't have gotten "10 per cent" of the vote. "The point I'm making is that the South, including Georgia, has moved forward primarily because it hasn't been put into the position of having to renounce itself."

Why do you think you can be accepted by the liberal establishment when Lyndon Johnson wasn't?

"I'm sure of myself. I'm not sure Johnson was ever sure of himself when he was President. I don't feel ill at ease when I'm in a Harvard professor's house . . ."

But then he backed off a bit. "I feel just as much at home around Billy's [his brother's] filling station as I do in a black Baptist church, as I do with a bigshot Texas businessman," he said. "I don't feel quite as much at home, say, with the ADA [the staunchly liberal Americans for Democratic Action]."

Carter continued: "I'll never forget the night I went to the ADA meeting in Washington." He had made a special trip to Washington for an ADA cocktail party some months ago after missing an earlier candidates' session because of a North Carolina campaign commitment, he said.

"Don Fraser [a Minnesota congressman and former president of ADA) said I had come up to Washington to be with him, which I had. And he asked the group to let me stand on a chair and say a few words. I got up on the chair to try to speak and Joe Rauh [prominent ADA leader in Washington] was screaming at the top of his voice, "Hell, no, don't let him speak. He wouldn't come when we invited him, so we don't want to hear him.' I don't even understand somebody like that. To me, that's just a different world."

Does the presidency frighten you?

"No . . . But it's a sobering thought . . . when I compare myself to the White House and the presidency as an office, I feel inadequate. When I compare myself to other people who might be there instead of me, I feel adequate . . . While I don't fear the job, I certainly respect it and know how much work it's going to take to do a good job. I would like to be a great President."

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Platform Unit Goes Along With Carter

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

A cautious Jimmy Carter got exactly what he wanted from a docile Democratic platform committee yesterday on every issue except one—the pardoning of Vietnam war deserters and draft resisters.

Even on the emotional pardon issue, their departure from Carter's wishes was more symbolic than substantive—a way of letting him know they disagreed, but would go along.

The committee went on to prove how unified the Democrats are this year by easily completing its work last night, a full day ahead of schedule.

So few were the unresolved differences last night that it seemed the platform might go to the floor of the Democratic national convention in July without a single minority report in opposition.

Without such minority reports the platform can not be amended on the convention floor, under existing party rules. A minority report requires the signatures of 39 of the 153 platform committee members. A few such proposed reports were being circulated among committee members as they scattered last night, but none had even 30 signatures, and the filing deadline is 5 p.m. today.

The pardon issue came up early yesterday afternoon.

By a roll-call vote of 54¾ to 44—the first roll call of its sessions here—the com-

See PLATFORM, A11, Col. 1

Carter Gets His Way on Platform

PLATFORM, From A1

mittee went on record in favor of "a full and complete pardon" for everyone still "in legal or financial jeopardy" because of "peaceful opposition to the Vietnam war."

That went well beyond the Carter position of a pardon for resisters, no mention of anyone else.

The strengthening amendment was offered by Sam Brown, the early antiwar organizer of the 1960s and an advocate of a general amensty for Vietnam-era resisters and deserters. Carter and his advisers want to keep the platform free of such controversial issues and words as amnesty.

Brown said he had bowed to that cautiousness in drafting his amendment. "This is a reasonable, moderate platform, and I have a reasonable, moderate amendment," he began. But "sometimes," he went on, "we are faced with fundamental moral questions of such overriding importance we have to stand up and be counted."

Having won on the roll call, Brown then bowed a little further in Carter's direction. He proposed an additional amendment saying pardons for deserters should be "considered on a case-by-case basis," a point of some importance to Carter.

Brown said he was "not enthusiastic" about this qualification, "but it is the position of our candidate." The qualification was adopted by voice vote.

Brown is Colorado State treasurer.

Stuart Elzenstat, Carter's leading spokesman in the platform committee, called the outcome "a clear message to the American people that the people in this room, in the Democratic Party, are prepared to unite as we have not united for some time. We go out of this room united on one of the most emotional issues we have."

Associated Press

Chairman Wendell Anderson presides at platform session.

In other action yesterday, the platform panel:

- Refused, by voice vote, to endorse the "decriminalization" of marijuana.
- Declined, 28 to 75, to alter the abortion section of the draft platform, which opposes an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution.
- Declined, 27 to 57, to insert in the draft a two-word endorsement of gay rights, on which the document is silent.

Carter himself spoke out several times in the primaries in opposition to "discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation," but Eizenstat and other Carter aides kept the subject out of the platform.

The committee changed the D.C. home rule and voting representation section of the platform slightly yesterday. Condemnation of the D.C. home rule ban on a commuter tax was replaced with less specific language opposing "federal restrictions" on "purely local" matters.

The 153-member committee also fine-tuned the welfare reform and national health insurance sections of its draft yesterday to suit likely nominee Carter.

The draft had implied that the federal government would take over all welfare costs now borne at the state and local level. This was changed to emphasize:

That the new welfare system Carter envisions would be only "substantially" and not completely financed at the federal level; that the shift in financial burden would not all come at once; and that able-bodied welfare recipients would be required to work where jobs could be found (but mothers with dependent children would not have to work).

On health insurance, yesterday's amendment stressed Carter's stated view that the proposed new system should be financed "by a combination of employer-employee shared payroll taxes and general tax revenues." The draft had said simply that the system should be "publicly financed."

The Carter people think their phrasing will help assuage voter fears if the Republicans attack the Democrats in the fall for proposing a vast health program involving huge new taxes.

The health and welfare sections were part of a plank on "human needs" the committee finished about 2 p.m. Later in the afternoon it sped, with only minor changes, through a plank on energy, then did the same with the final plank on foreign policy and adjourned.

Sweaty
Warm and humid today, high near 90. Rain likely tonight, low in 70s. Tomorrow's high in 80s. Details B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Democrats Quietly OK Platform Carter Likes

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

Led by a shrewd band of Carter operatives, the Democratic Platform Committee has threaded its way through a minefield of potentially explosive issues to give the party a platform that is not likely to cause the embarrassment at convention time or the trouble in the fall campaign as happened in 1972.

The 153-member committee finished debate on the 15,000 word document last night after one of the more harmonious platform sessions in the memory of old party pros. Emotional issues like amnesty, abortion, busing and divestiture by major oil companies were blunted by language that either avoided them or made only token gestures to their supporters.

THE CARTER organization was led by a 33-year-old Atlanta attorney, Stuart Eizenstat, who took the floor repeatedly to resist moves to insert what he called "emotional" language.

While Carter operatives avoided most emotional pitfalls, they accepted the demands of liberals and labor unions for vast new social programs — including a system of income maintenance for the poor and mandatory, publicly financed health insurance for all citizens.

Eizenstat, however, successfully fought off language that would have called for the implementation of the new programs immediatly and preserved clauses stating that they should be phased in as the nation recovers its economic health. He said he could give no estimates on their eventual cost.

A cool, deliberate, seemingly humorless man, Eizenstat stood soberly in the pandemonium after the meeting in the Mayflower Hotel broke up telling reporters that it was a "balanced" platform that Carter could run on. As Democrats were applauding each other and autographing the paper placecards placed on each delegate's table, he told a reporter: "We succeeded in not overpromising."

IT WAS NO MEAN feat. The hallways of the hotel teamed with operatives of rival campaign organizations shattered by Carter in the primaries. Some of them were bent on inserting various pet causes into the cautious, largely Carter-inspired language in the original platform draft.

Many were veterans of the 1972 McGovern campaign and the anti-war movement. Sam Brown, an early hero and organizer of the political movment against the Vietnam war, functioned as their power broker, a catalyst who led many of their attacks on the floor.

However, despite a great deal of oratory, they won only one victory against the Carter forces and that, as it turned out, was largely a symbolic one. Eizenstat, a Harvard-educated member of a large Georgia law firm who has functioned as issues director for Jimmy Carter since Carter ran for the Georgia governorship in 1969, had spent hours working on a clause calling for "a pardon for those who were guilty of selective service violations because of their opposition to the Vietnam war."

CARTER, in his campaign speeches, has insisted on using the word pardon because it implies guilt, and Eisenstat said the clause was restricted to draft law violations because desertion cases, according to Carter, should be handled on a case-by-case basis to catch those instances in which desertion under fire may have caused casualties.

While Udall operatives and others were repeatedly beaten back trying to substitute he word amnesty and to extend it to include all war resisters, Brown hit on a formula to include "full and complete pardon" for everyone in "legal or financial jeopardy" because of his opposition to the war.

"We're faced with fundamental moral questions that are of such overriding importance that we have to stand up and be counted," said Brown, and the committee supported him 54-44 in a rare roll-call vote. Immediaty afterward, Eizenstat was on his feet, moving to the microphone to ask for an additional phrase calling for deserters to be handled on a case-by-case basis.

See PLATFORM, A-26

Continued From A-3

BROWN, surprisingly, agreed. "Our job," he explained, is to find as many people as we can to vote for us."

Afterward, in the lobby, some of Brown's supporters seemed disgruntled. "Boy, I couldn't imagine him (Brown) agreeing to all of that conservative stuff," said one young man. "He used to be really radical."

"He's mellowed up some," said a female companion, a veteran of the McGovern campaign. "We all have. Haven't you?"

After the voting was over, some of the more disgruntled participants began passing around petitions necessary to collect enough signatures to bring an issue to the convention floor in July. Issues that seem to be headed toward floor consideration include divestiture by major oil companies, abortion and a proposal to repeal the Hatch act, which prohibits government workers from active participation in politics.

AMONG THE major decisions described in the 90-page document, the platform committee:

- Proposes to use a variety of federal tools including changing Federal Reserve policies and creating public works programs, if necessary, to reach a target of 3 percent unemployment within four years. The measure is designed to raise at least $30 billion in additional federal tax revenues to help pay for additional social programs.
- Calls for a "comprehensive national health insurance system with universal and mandatory coverage." The program would be paid for through payroll deductions and other federal tax revenues and would be phased in over a period of years.
- Asserts that the existing federal-state welfare system should be replaced with a "simplified, federally financed system of income maintenance" with requirements that able recipients should be required to accept jobs or job training. The program would be phased in gradually, first shifting the welfare burden of the citles to the federal government, then phasing the $7 billion state welfare bill into federal hands.
- Avoids the divestiture issue by calling for "restrictions" on the right of oil companies to own all phases of the oil business only when inadequate competition is shown to exist.
- Handles the abortion issue by stating: "We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subect of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision in this area." (A move to strike this language was defeated 75-28.)
- Contains no language specifically calling for civil rights for homosexuals or for legalization of drug use. (Several proposals were defeated.)
- States that mandatory busing to achieve desegregation should remain "a judicial tool of the last resort for the purpose of achieving school desegregation." (There were no serious challenges to this language.)
- Calls for mutual reductions of nuclear weapons in conjunction with the Russians but rejects any international agreements that would "limit the U.S. to lower levels of intercontinental strategic forces than those maintained by the Russians."
- Says that the District should have full home rule including authority over ts budget and local revenues and asks for the elimination of congressional restrictions over matters "which are purely local." It also calls for "full voting representation in Congress." (A motion calling for repeal of Congress's ban on a commuter tax was defeated by Carter forces.)

Carter: 'We Can Start Again' on a Better U.S.

By James T. Wooten
New York Times News Service

SEA ISLAND, Ga. — Jimmy Carter was the picture of confidence Monday night in an expansive conversation about politics, people, prejudice and the presidency he firmly believes he will win.

It will be a time of national healing, he promised, and an era of social progress that he said had been born in the Kennedy-Johnson administrations but dissipated by their own weaknesses and ultimately aborted by President Nixon.

Now virtually assured of his party's nomination, the 51-year-old Democrat said that even if it cost him votes, his autumn campaign would include commitments to guarantee civil rights, end racial discrimination and alleviate poverty, hunger and inadequate housing.

"THIS COUNTRY is resilient. We can start again," he said. "I believe it can be done and mean to do it."

His remarks came in a long, informal chat with reporters aboard his chartered plane after a day of campaigning that took him from here to New York to Dallas and finally back to this seaside resort, where he resumed his vacation yesterday.

It was a good day for him — the capitulation of two of his last three active opponents persuaded many that his nomination is now a fait accompli — and although he was tired from his travels, Carter enthusiastically bounded up the steps of his plane in Dallas.

"Howdy, boys! Howdy, boys!" he chirped to the journalists and television technicians who had preceded him on board, and his campaign smile was replaced by an unmistakably genuine grin as he stepped spritely to his seat at the front of the big jet.

THEN, MOMENTS after takeoff, as the plane headed east, there he was again, standing in the aisle in the press section — relaxed, smiling, ebullient, eager to talk.

And talk he did — for the next hour and 15 minutes — about his childhood and his family, his campaign and his Christian faith, his rural roots and his White House aspirations. The conversation ended only when the reporters, already tired from the 2,100 mile trip, finally wilted one by one.

It was a wide-ranging discourse.

Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter talks informally with newsmen aboard his chartered jet en route from Dallas, Tex., to Sea Island, Ga. In the background, with chin in hand, is Carter's press aide.

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He said, for instance, that in 1968, with the election of Richard Nixon, there was a significant attitudinal change at the federal power centers "and the people who lost were the blacks, the elderly, the illiterate, the sick."

BUT NEITHER Presidents Kennedy nor Johnson had done "enough to bring blacks into policy-making positions," he said, although Johnson "had a much greater feel for it than Kennedy did. Kennedy was not one of them. He didn't understand their special needs."

But, said Carter, he does, because of his long relationship with poor people. "That's where I came from," he said. "That's where I live. Those are my people — not only whites, but particularly blacks."

See CARTER, A-26

—Washington Star

JOSEPH RAUH
Carter recalls rebuff

CARTER

Continued From A-3

Carter said his support from such prominent black Americans as Rep. Andrew Young, D-Ga., and the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., was "not an accident. They know that I understand their problems. They know that I've demonstrated an eagerness to solve them."

His ability to deal with racial inequities and similar social problems as president has been enhanced, he said, by the ideological coalitions harvested in his primary campaign and by his growing acceptance at various levels of the American community.

DESPITE HIS contributions in the field of social progress, President Johnson "was never accepted by the liberal Eastern establishment," Carter said. "I don't know why."

But, he suggested, he could be acceptable in such circles — as well as others — because of his self-assurance. "I'm not sure that Johnson was ever sure of himself when he was President."

Still, like Johnson, the liberals occasionally do rankle Carter, and he told the story about trying to make an informal speech in 1975 at a cocktail party in Washington given by the Americans for Democratic Action. He said he was shouted down by Joseph Rauh Jr., a noted figure in the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

"I'll never forget the night," he said — and there was a hard edge to his voice that persuaded those who heard him that he would probably never erase it from his mind. "Joe Rauh was screaming at the top of his voice, 'hell, no, don't let him speak'."

CARTER PAUSED. "I don't even understand somebody like that. That's just — to me, that's just a different world," he said, shaking his head slowly from side to side.

Carter also had some words for a former opponent and two possible ones.

He said Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama was "the last remaining public official on the scene who was part of that nationwide attitude" of the acceptance of racial segregation. Therefore, he said, Wallace "is anachronistic in that he's come over into this modern age."

He said he had no preference as to the eventual Republican presidential nominee, but he discounted suggestions that perhaps Ronald Reagan would be a tougher opponent in the South than President Ford. He said he would beat either of them in his own environs and elsewhere, but he conceded that Reagan might be somewhat more formidible for him in Texas.

CARTER SPOKE of the presidency frequently throughout the talk with the reporters.

"It doesn't frighten me," he said at one point, "but it's a sobering thought . . . when I compare myself to the White House and the presidency as an office, I feel inadequate. When I compare myself to other people who might be there instead of me, I feel adequate."

Jimmy Carter Lists the Nation's Problems and His Priorities

By Jimmy Carter

Dozens of issues are considered during a political campaign, but candidates do not create the issues. They exist in the minds and hearts of our

Last of seven articles

citizens. It is exceedingly interesting and sometimes surprising to learn which subjects are of most interest, and which questions are of most concern. In the first chapter of this series, I stated the two basic and generic questions:

Can our government be honest, decent, open, fair, and compassionate?

Can our government be competent?

THE FIRST question springs from a quiet bewilderment and personal sense that we have lost something precious which formerly made us proud. In my judgment, the answer to that question is a resounding YES, providing we can succeed in stripping away secrecy and letting our government be what our people are. Politically this question does not have a sharp cutting edge, because any candidate who personally professes to be honest immediately reminds the listeners of the pious pronouncements and protestations of our convicted former leaders.

For too long political leaders have been isolated from the people. They have made decisions from an ivory tower. Few have ever seen personally the direct impact of government programs involving welfare, prisons, mental institutions, unemployment, school busing, or public housing.

The confidence of people in our own government must be restored. But too many officials do not deserve that confidence. Politicians who seek to further their political careers through appeals to our doubts, fears, and prejudices must be exposed and rejected.

WE NEED all-inclusive sunshine laws so that special interests will not retain their exclusive access behind closed government doors. Except in a few rare cases, there is no reason for secret meetings of regulatory agencies, other executive departments, or congressional committees. Such meetings must be opened to the public, all votes recorded, and complete news coverage authorized and encouraged.

Absolutely no gifts of value should ever again be permitted to a public official.

Complete revelation of all business and financial involvements of major officials should be required, and none should be continued which constitute a possible conflict with the public interest.

Public financing of campaigns should be extended to members of Congress.

The activities of lobbyists must be more thoroughly revealed and controlled.

MINIMUM SECRECY within government should be matched with maximum personal privacy for citizens.

All federal judges, diplomats and other major officials should be selected on a strict basis of merit.

For many years in the State Department we have chosen from among almost 16,000 applicants about 110 of our nation's finest young leaders to represent us in the international world. But we top this off with the disgraceful and counterproductive policy of appointing unqualified persons to major diplomatic posts as political payoffs. This must be stopped immediately.

We must insure better public understanding of executive policy, and better exchange of ideas between the Congress and the White House. To do this, Cabinet members representing the President should meet in scheduled and televised public interrogation sessions with the full bodies of Congress.

THE SECOND basic question, "Can our government be competent?" is more definitive and concrete. Evidence seems to be plentiful that the answer is NO, but the answer again is YES.

We must give top priority to a drastic and

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thorough revision of the federal bureaucracy, to its budgeting system, and to the procedures for constantly analyzing the effectiveness of its many varied services. We must abolish and consolidate hundreds of obsolete and unnecessary federal programs and agencies.

Our nation now has no understandable national purpose, no clearly defined goals, and no organizational mechanism to develop or achieve such pruposes or goals. We move from one crisis to the next as if they were fads, even though the previous one hasn't been solved.

WE ARE STILL floundering and equivocating about protection of our environment. Neither designers of automobiles, mayors of cities, power companies, farmers, nor those of us who simply have to breathe the air, love beauty, and would like to fish or swim in pure water have the slightest idea what is coming out of Washington next! What does come next must be a firm commitment to pure air, clean water and unspoiled land.

Almost 20 years after its conception we have not finished the basic interstate highway system. To many lobbyists who haunt the capitol buildings of the nation, ground transportation still means only more highways and more automobiles — the bigger, the better. We must have a national commitment to transporation capabilities which will encourage the most efficient movement of American people and cargo.

Gross tax inequities are being perpetuated. The most surely taxed income is that which is derived from the sweat of manual labor. Carefully contrived loopholes let the total tax burden shift more and more toward the average wage earner. The largest corporations pay the lowest tax rates and some with very high profits pay no tax at all.

THERE ARE about 25,000,000 Americans who are classified as poor, two-thirds of whom happen to be white and half of whom receive welfare benefits. At least 10 percent of these are able to work. A massive bureaucracy of 2 million employes at all levels of government is attempting to administer more than 100 different programs of bewildering complexity. Case workers shuffle papers in a morass of red tape.

Federal education laws must be simplified to substitute education for papershuffling grantsmanship. Local systems need federal funds to supplement their programs for students where wealth and tax base are inequitable.

As a farmer, I have been appalled at the maladministration of our nation's agricultural economy. We have seen the elimination of our valuable food reserves, which has contributed to wild fluctuations in commodity prices and wiped out dependable trade and export capabilities. Grain speculators and monopolistic processors have profited, while farmers are going bankrupt trying to produce food that consumers are going broke trying to buy.

I know this nation can develop an agricultural policy which will insure a fair profit to our farmers and a fair price to consumers.

IT IS OBVIOUS that domestic and foreign affairs are directly interrelated. A necessary base for effective implementation of any foreign policy is to get our domestic house in order.

The time for American intervention in all the problems of the world is over. But we cannot retreat into isolationism. Ties of friendship and cooperation with our friends and neighbors must be strengthened.

Our nation's security is obviously of paramount importance, and everything must be done to insure adequate military preparedness. But there is no reason why our national defense establishment cannot also be efficient.

Misdirected efforts such as the construction of unnecessary pork-barrel projects by the Corps of Engineers must be terminated.

The biggest waste and danger of all is the unnecessary proliferation of atomic weapons throughout the world. Our ultimate goal should be the elimination of nuclear weapon capability among all nations. In the meantime, simple, careful and firm proposals to implement this mutual arms reduction should be pursued as a prime national purpose in all our negotiations with nuclear powers — present or potential.

Udall would be the best running mate

Now that we know who will be the Democratic nominee for President, an admittedly fruitless guessing game begins about the second prize.

An exotic or two always turns up in this kind of speculation; but is rarely chosen, with good reason. Candidates for President do not want to take chances. A vice presidential nomination is an instrument for cutting risks rather than increasing them — unless one is politically suicidal, like Barry Goldwater in 1964.

This season's exotics seem to be Barbara Jordan and Ella Grasso, one woman a black Texan, the other an ethnic governor of the Northern industrial state of Connecticut. Texas, admittedly, is a large state, and Republicans have a chance to win it in November. But Ford could neutralize the Jordan factor by appointing John Connally or Senator Tower as his running mate. More important, Carter has regularly won the black vote during the primary season — and the vice presidency should woo those not already on board.

But more important than that, Carter is conservative in temperament and appeals to those of similar tastes. A woman on the ticket — whether Ms. Jordan or Ms. Grasso — would affront defense of tradition in much of Carter's constituency. It is one thing for Carter to abjure the racism of the South. It is quite another for him to oppose its vague distrust of innovation. Better play it safe.

Of those who ran against Carter, Governor Brown and Senator Jackson can be eliminated. Carter needs to move toward the Democratic establishment, not even farther out from it. Brown is "far out" in several senses, none of which supplements Carter's own insurgency. Brown seems to know this. That made it possible for him to keep running against Carter longer than anyone else. He has nothing to lose. Jackson is to Carter's right, hawkwise — the wrong direction for him to move.

The automatic assumption is that a Southerner like Carter should go north for his running-mate — or (Senator Church is praying) to the Northwest. That could give him an Adlai Stevenson or John Glenn, a Peter Rodino or Walter Mondale.

But a better choice, it seems to me, would be Morris Udall. That would give the Democrats an entirely sun-belt ticket, reflecting the massive shift of political power to that region. But weakness in the North would not necessarily follow from the choice. Udall showed he could win the liberal suburbs in Northern primaries — just the area where Carter was weakest. Udall has good ties with labor, which would help them in the Northern industrial states. He is a veteran of Capitol Hill, yet with a touch of the maverick in him to blunt any "anti-Washington" backlash against him.

Udall's family connection with the Kennedy administration and old Democratic politics could help Carter assure the bosses that he can do business with them.

There is another important consideration. Udall won more delegates in the primaries than any other candidate except Carter. Carter could claim, in nominating him, that he was accepting the people's verdict. Udall was the only liberal who stayed the entire course of the primaries, and the liberal wing of the party is the last redoubt of real coolness toward Carter.

Carter could also say, with reason, that running for president as Udall has is the best preparation for the vice presidency. Udall has had to acquaint himself with the presidential issues, prove that he can sustain the tough pace of the campaign, mix with voters, keep up ties with a wide party network.

Would Udall be willing? There's no reason to doubt it. He seems dissatisfied on the Hill but not ready to go back to Arizona. His differences with Carter could be negotiated, to the party's benefit. His "two-faced" campaign ads against Carter no doubt strained relations; but that just makes it possible for Carter to show he can rise above personal clashes to strengthen the ticket — as John Kennedy did when he chose Lyndon Johnson for the second spot.

Who can ask for anything more? But, also, who can say? The thing that makes this speculation so idle is the fact that only one thing matters in choosing a vice presidential nominee — the will of the presidential nominee.

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Righteous Ford Talks Like Carter, Wows Baptists

By William Willoughby
Washington Star Staff Writer

NORFOLK — President Ford tread where angels would fear to — at least in an election year — but by the time he finished talking to more than 14,000 Southern Baptists here on the need for a righteous government, most agreed that Jimmy Carter, their favorite, couldn't have said it more forcefully, had he been invited.

Ford, speaking yesterday of the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon and of the sex scandals in Congress, was interrupted 16 times by applause. He said that public officials have a special responsibility to "set a good example for others to follow — in both their private and public conduct."

"The American people," he said, "particularly our young people, cannot be expected to take pride — or even to participate in a system of government that is defiled and dishonored — whether in the White House or in the halls of Congress."

THERE IS a limit to forgiving hearts and tolerant attitudes in the life of the nation, he said. "Forgiving hearts and a tolerant attitude are among the greatest lessons of Christian teaching, but at some point we must take a stand and say, 'This is right; this is wrong; there is a difference.'"

"Personal integrity is not too much to ask of public servants. In fact, we should accept nothing less," he said.

Ford came to the conference of Baptists that was disgruntled — first of all that he was going to address them and that Carter, the Democratic front-runner in the presidential campaign, and an active Southern Baptist, was not asked to speak.

The Baptists were disgruntled, too, because they had to wait in line to get into their own convention due to the tight security placed on Norfolk's convention center. When all was said and done, nearly 4,000 of them couldn't get into the hall to hear the President because it would not hold all of them.

TO MAKE MATTERS worse for the President, he had to delay speaking to the convention until five hours later than originally planned. And to the dismay of many partisians of another presidential campaign — electing a new president of the 12.7 million-member denomination — it was an intrusion.

But the biggest fuss was over why the President was there at all. Several editors of state convention newspapers had protested inviting a president to a church convention, contending that it violates the staunchly held Baptist belief of separation of church and state, making the church appear to be involving itself too much in politics.

See FORD, A-15

It was the first time in the 131-year history of the FBC, the largest Protestant church in the country, that a president had ever addressed one of its annual conventions. The prevailing side in the feud argued that since this is the nation's Bicentennial there is nothing inappropriate in having the President on the dias.

THE MAN WHO wasn't there — Carter — was the main concern of others. Carter may still get an invitation to address the convention, if, under the circumstances, he wants to. Hours before the President addressed the convention, a messenger introduced a resolution which would ask Carter to appear, "for at least 10 minutes." Ford spoke for nearly 20 minutes.

Despite the bickering, the President left the Baptists in much better spirits than they had been. It was not election-year rhetoric that turned them on. It was it his hard hitting evangelical tone and his remarks.

He nearly brought them to their feet when he said, "What is required of us all, if we are to lead successfully, is a strong moral foundation. We cannot stand very long on shifting sands of situation ethics. History proves that power and prestige are slippery peaks from which the mighty have often fallen into disgrace.

"JESUS SAID, 'What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul?' We stand in danger today of losing the soul of America to the seductions of material gain and moral apathy, to a new code of conduct which reviles the basic truths and mocks the basic beliefs on which this nation and much of religion was founded. . . .

"The American people have seen too much abuse of the moral imperatives of honesty and decency on which religion and government and civilized society must rest. To remedy those abuses, we must look not only to the government, but, more importantly, to the Bible, the church, the human heart."

If Carter is invited to address the Baptists, Ford's appearance clearly will have made it a hard act to follow. For Baptists, even if other things weren't going that smoothly, Ford was saying all the right things, the right way

Politics Today

Horse Race in Which Only Riders Are Bad

By Jack Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Everyone knows that the reason Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan are doing almost as well as Liz Ray this year is that the voters are suspicious about their government. But it turns out that is wrong.

It is not the government, it is the people who are running it. It is like the fellow at the track who says, "I trust the horses all right, it is those guys riding them that worry me."

Jimmy Carter had that figured out from the beginning, and his whole campaign has been designed to free the voters from their shame over the way the politicians have been behaving. You are America, he has been telling them, but you aren't to blame for Watergate or Vietnam or the excesses of the assassination plots. That was "those guys riding them." That was an aberration.

BUT THE yearning of the voters goes beyond that. A reporter riffling through the notebooks of the primary campaign — from New Hampshire and Massachusetts to Florida and Illinois to Pennsyvlania and Oregon and Ohio — finds repeated evidence that they are seeking far more than simple absolution for the sins of the past. Indeed, they are obviously still believers that things can work out if only "the right man" can be found.

"Let's give somebody else a chance," they say. "We need a real leader," they say. The implication is, of course, that the system is fine with the right stewardship. And, when you think about it, Americans have to believe that. They were brought up believing that. It is seventh-grade civics. Things may have gone sour with Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew, but what about Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Delano Roosevelt?

At this point, no one has mistaken either Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan for Lincoln or Roosevelt. But what the voters do recognize is that they seem to offer a fresh start.

IN FLORIDA last winter an old lady with a face tanned to leather straightened out a visitor this way: "You can't tell me that we have to settle for some mediocrity because that's all that's available. We don't have to wait until those fools in Washington hold some kind of silly elimination contest and tell us who is going to be president. My heavens, we've got 200 million people in this country."

On the south side of Chicago, a bent and white-haired black man showed a similar optimism. "There's one wonderful thing about this country," he said. "Every time we get in a bad fix, it seems like somebody comes along and knows what to do. You can depend on it, and that's why I never worry."

In Milwaukee a couple of weeks later, a housewife who lives in a lower middle-class Eastern European neighborhood interrupted her bowling. "Every four years," she said, "we hear the same thing, 'the country's going to hell in a handbasket' but it never happens for long. We'll get a whole new batch of people in there and it'll be like we never heard of Watergate or any of that."

AND IN Portland, Ore., a serious young student explained why she was having trouble deciding between Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown.

"I refuse to believe," she said, "that our government can't make a difference but I do believe that everybody in Washington is stale. They're too rigid in their thinking, and we have to take a chance on someone different. I just don't know how different we dare to be."

It is this ultimate confidence in the system, after all, that lies behind so many of the phenomena of the 1976 campaign. It explains, at least in part, the emotional reaction to the muscle-flexing super-patriotism of Ronald Reagan. It explains, at least in part, the voters who are supporting Jimmy Carter but are unable to articulate the reasons for that support. It explains, more than any other single factor, the lack of interest in specific issues. The voters have learned not to put much stock in the promises that Humphrey-Hawkins or Kennedy-Corman or whatever will lead to the promised land.

But if this essentially subliminal confidence in the system has been an asset for Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter throughout the primary season, it also represents a challenge to them — to Carter in the fall campaign he seems certain to enter as the Democratic nominee, to Reagan in the final weeks of struggle against President Ford for the Republican nomination.

THEY HAVE made it this far because the voters believe they can verify the wisdom of that confidence in the system they learned back in seventh-grade civics. And the challenge now is to make it the rest of the way without revealing themselves to be just like the other politicians, after all.

But the opportunity is clearly there. The voters are like the horseplayers. They may be dubious about "those guys riding them" but how they love the races.

The Weather
Warm and humid today, chance of thunderstorms this afternoon and tonight. High, 90; low, 73. Yesterday's high, 92; low, 70.
(Details and Map, Page C2)
Vol. 279—No. 27— E**

THE SUN

BALTIMORE, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 16, 1976

Oakland sells thre
in $3.5 million de

Jimmy Carter talks to Wes Pippert (left), a United Press International correspondent, and other reporters on a flight late Monday to Jekyll Island, Ga. Mr. Carter was returning from a fund-raising appearance in Dallas.

Welfare, health top Carter priorities

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Sun Staff Correspondent

Jekyll Island, Ga.—Approaching the fall campaign with the same confidence he displayed through the Democratic primaries, Jimmy Carter has already decided to make welfare reform and national health insurance the first two goals of his presidency.

He hopes the relationship he is beginning to develop with the Democratic congressional leaders will enable him to make a quick start and says he expects to have specific welfare and health insurance proposals ready for action by January 1.

Even before his formal nomination at next month's Democratic National Convention, the former Georgia governor has launched his planning for both the general election campaign and the administration he hopes to lead starting January 20.

"I hope that I can put together the fall campaign and the early stages of my administration with the same meticulous detail" used in his successful drive through the Democratic primaries, he said.

Mr. Carter revealed his plans and some of his thoughts of the months ahead in an informal, wide-ranging conversation with reporters as he flew late Monday night to his vacation retreat in nearby Sea Island, Ga., from a fund-raising appearance in Dallas.

He disclosed that his staff is allocating the amount of time he will spend in different states this fall, noted the importance of bringing more blacks into top government policy-making positions and said he hopes to become accepted by the "liber-

See CARTER, A6, Col. 2

Welfare reform, national health insurance are top Carter priorities

CARTER, from A1

al Eastern establishment" that never accepted President Lyndon B. Johnson.

"I'm sure of myself. I'm not sure that Johnson was ever sure of himself when he was president," he said, although he admitted he still doesn't feel entirely at home before groups such as Americans for Democratic Action liberals and the New York Democratic delegates who gave him a cool reception earlier Monday.

Talking about his native South, Mr. Carter said, "It is not right to stigmatize people into generic groups or as individuals because of the times they lived in and when they got their reputation and shaped their political image," noting that both blacks and whites in the South and elsewhere long accepted racial segregation.

"The South, including Georgia, has moved forward primarily because it hasn't been put into the position of having to renounce itself," he said.

Mr. Carter declared, "It is not quite fair to say" that Alabama's Gov. George C. Wallace was "malevolent" or "ugly" but rather called him "anachronistic" as "the last remaining public official on the scene" to embrace what had once been a national attitude.

The man who often said he never saw a Democratic primary rival who could beat him—and was right—said "I have the same sense of confidence" about the fall campaign.

"But I recognize the amount of hard work involved. And I recognize the chance for damaging political mistakes. And I don't take it for granted that I would win.

"I want to win, and I don't intend to lose. But if I had lost, or if I should lose now, I could go back to Plains without regret, or despair, without fear."

He said the thought of being president "doesn't frighten me" but called it "a sobering thought.

"When I compare myself to the White House and the presidency, as an office, I feel inadequate. When I compare myself to other people who might be there instead of me, I feel adequate.

"I'm a good student. I study more than anybody in this room can imagine. I feel confident in ways that prove I can fill the gaps in my own knowledge.

"While I don't fear the job, I certainly respect it and know how much work it's going to take to do a good job. I would like to be a great president."

He said he recognizes the hazards to his life of being president but said, "It's something that I accepted a long time ago," adding, "I don't have any fear of death. I don't think I'm going to die—I'd much rather live. But I don't have any fear of death at all."

In looking at the fall campaign Mr. Carter said he will have "some built-in advantages that I didn't have before. And that is the inclination of the people to support a Democrat and the tremendous resources of a unified party.

"I don't think either one of the Republican candidates would have that sense of unity in the Republican party, which is by definition the minority party," he added.

He said he doesn't have any preference between running against President Ford or Ronald Reagan. "I've thought about it a lot," he said. "The general wisdom is that Ford would be the more formidable opponent. I don't see it that way. I think it will be a toss-up."

He said he expects to carry the South against either GOP rival, declaring that while Mr. Reagan might be more formidable there, he thinks Texas "is the only state I can think of where I have a concern if Reagan is nominated. But I still think I can take Texas."

He said his talks during the past week with congressional leaders and the close way in which he has been able to work with the Democratic party's platform drafters are good omens for the future. He praised the attitudes of the congressional leaders, "their eagerness to co-operate with me," and said the party's platform unity shows "everybody is really trying to put the thing together.

"I intend to take advantage of that in a very rapid fashion," he went on. "I'm not going to wait, although it's going to take a full 12 months to assess specifics on tax reform and government reorganization.

"On welfare reform, national health insurance and so forth, I intend to be ready to go with that at the first of the year. I'll do as much as I can before the inauguration," he said.

Mr. Carter said he doesn't make such commitments "idly. I say that we need a national health insurance program—I mean to do it. Nobody's ever done it.

"It's been talked about by very fine Democratic presidents ever since as early as Harry Truman. That will be the difference."

He said he will be helped by what he termed his "unique experiences," adding, "One of the strongest and best of these is my relationship with poor people. That's where I came from. That's where I lived.

"Those are my people. Not only whites but particularly blacks. And it's not an accident that Andy Young [Representative Andrew Young of Georgia] and Daddy King [the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr.] support me. They know that I understand their problems. They know that I've demonstrated an eagerness to solve them."

Although he praised the attitude toward the poor displayed by President John F. Kennedy and President Johnson, he said he felt neither appointed enough blacks to top government positions. "I think Johnson had a much greater feel for it than Kennedy did. Kennedy was not one of them—he didn't understand their special needs."

He cited his appointments while governor of Georgia and added that he doubts such an attitude will cost him votes but that "if it does, so be it."

4 governors endorse Carter candidacy

Fort Robinson, Neb. (AP)—The governors of four Western states endorsed Jimmy Carter as the Democratic presidential nominee yesterday.

The four governors—James Exon of Nebraska, Ed Herschler of Wyoming, Thomas L. Judge of Montana and Arthur A. Link of North Dakota—issued the endorsement statement during a regional governors meeting here.

Carter bandwagon is finally winning over N.E. delegates

Southern New England, which contributed no more than a penny whistle to the Jimmy Carter bandwagon early in its journey, is now supplying numerous voices for the chorus.

In Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, more than two dozen delegates have moved to Carter in the last few days, and more are expected.

Massachusetts gave Carter its worst defeat of the primary season in its March 2 primary, but the Georgian is now drawing support from delegates originally pledged to most of his opponents.

Moira Egan, who has been coordinating the delegate effort here for the Carter campaign, said yesterday in a telephone interview from Washington that individual delegates from the Fred Harris, Morris Udall, Henry Jackson and George Wallace campaigns were all leaning to Carter.

Frank Sullivan of Brockton, head of the George Wallace campaign here, said last night he expects about 19 of Wallace's 21 Massachusetts delegates to vote for Carter.

Sullivan said some opponents of court-ordered busing are resisting the move because they oppose Carter's failure to endorse a constitutional amendment against busing.

In Rhode Island, where Carter lost the June 1 primary to an uncommitted slate, he has picked up five of the six delegates who had been pledged to Sen. Frank Church.

In Connecticut, where Carter won narrowly over Udall in the May 11 primary, he has picked up eight uncommitted delegates and three others pledged to Jackson.

(Udall's 16 Connecticut delegates last night refused to join Carter's bandwagon and urged the former Georgia governor to name Udall as his running mate, United Press International reported.)

Carter inexperience doesn't worry Ball

Former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball doesn't think Democratic presidential frontrunner Jimmy Carter is "fuzzy" on issues.

Ball told newsmen here yesterday that one cannot expect during a primary campaign "chapter and verse" on everything.

On the other hand, Ball said Carter did speak out in Chicago on a foreign policy issue; he also detailed his nuclear policy at a New York speech and next week will spell out his points of view on foreign policy in another New York speech.

Ball, spoke to newsmen after a talk at the World Affairs Council of Boston. In his remarks Ball attacked present foreign policy as one of maneuver. He called it a unilateral policy which has angered Congress because it felt shut out.

In response to a question as to whether or not a needs to habe experience in foreign policy, Ball said: "No. All he needs is an open mind ... sound advice and his instincts (that) work well.

Carter reminisces about childhood, says the poor are 'my people'

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post

SEA ISLAND, Ga. — Jimmy Carter's chartered jet was speeding smoothly through the night from Dallas, where, in 90 minutes of sociability with his Texas backers, he picked up pledges of nearly $250,000 to help pay his primary campaign debts.

So when he emerged in shirtsleeves from his first-class cabin, stopping just beyond the galley, leaning back against an aisle seat and tacitly inviting reporters to cluster around him, the mood was different from the countless other times he had done the same thing in his long quest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Carter seemed to want to talk about himself, and the reporters, many of whom are still trying to peel through all the layers of Jimmy Carter, were happy to oblige.

What makes you different, he was asked, from the other 20 members of the Plains (Ga.) high school graduating class of 1941 who gathered for their 35th annual reunion last Saturday night?

Carter thought for a minute, then speculated that none of his classmates had finished college. And he couldn't remember any of their parents even going to college.

It was his father, he continued, not his strong-willed mother, who had the ambitions for him. "Daddy was always probing to do things in better ways . . . he didn't just sell tomatoes, he made catsup out of them in the backyard." Even before his son knew what West Point or Annapolis were, the elder Carter instilled in him the drive that finally took him to the Naval Academy.

Did you play with black children?

"That's all I played with. That change (the separation of the races in the South) didn't take place until we got about 14 or 15 years old. We used to wrestle, fight, fish swim and have footraces and play baseball. There was never any deference shown to me because I was white."

What would you do as President about that fact that blacks are still proportionately poorer than whites?

"First of all, there's the attitude that changed in 1968 ... the people that lost were the blacks, the elderly, the illiterate, the sick. It changed when Johnson and Kennedy went out and Nixon came in."

"Another thing is, the policymakers, Kennedy and Johnson, in my opinion, didn't do enough to bring blacks into the policymaking positions in government. I think Johnson had a much greater feel for it than Kennedy did. Kennedy was not one of them. He didn't understand their special needs.

"In Georgia, we did this. I don't mean just the university system but judges, beauty parlor operators, barbers, funeral directors and licensed practical nurses, people that would have never had a chance because of all the rules, the written examinations, that were always tailor-made for white people."

Johnson "did an excellent job" on social programs, Carter said, but there is still a long way to go on health care, reform

> 'When I compare myself to the White House and the Presidency as an office, I feel inadequate. When I compare myself to other people who might be there instead of me, I feel adequate.'

of the welfare system and tax reform.

Won't that cost you votes

"I don't think so. If it does, so be it ... I don't make those commitments idly. This is something that should be done. I say that we need a national health insurance program. I mean to do it. Nobody's ever done it. It's been talked about by very fine presidents since as early as Harry Truman. That'll be the difference."

What makes you uniquely qualified to be President

Carter said he is not uniquely qualified, but "I do have unique experiences .... My relationship with poor people. That's where I came ffom. That's where I lived. Those are my people, not only whites but particularly blacks."

He is accepted, too, Carter contended, by the businessman who is not particularly committed to civil rights and human rights but just wants to see the government run right ... I think I can do that. There's no doubt in my mind that before I go out of office the budget will be balanced, and we will have zero-based budgeting and the government reorganization will be proper and we'll have a 'sunshine' law. And the harmony between the White House and the Congress will be restored." The relationship might be "contentious ... Even combative" but "I think the Congress is eager to see some cooperation now."

Why do you think you can be accepted by the liberal establishment when Lyndon Johnson wasn't?

"I'm sure of myself. I'm not sure Johnson was ever sure of himself when he was President. I don't feel ill at ease when I'm in a Harvard professor's house . . ."

But then he backed off a bit. "I feel just as much at home around Billy's (his brother's) filling station as I do in a black Baptist church, as I do with a big-shot Texas businessman," he said. "I don't feel quite as much at home, say, with the ADA."

Carter continued: "I'll never forget the night I went to the ADA meeting in Washington." He had made a special trip to Washington for an ADA cocktail party some months ago after missing an earlier candidates' session because of a North Carolina campaign commitment, he said.

"Don Fraser (a Minnesota congressman who is now president of ADA) said I had come up to Washington to be with him, which I had. And he asked the group to let me stand on a chair and say a few words. I got up on the chair to try to speak and Joe Rauh (prominent ADA leader in Washington) was screaming at the top of his voice, "Hell, no, don't let him speak. He wouldn't come when we invited him, so we don't want to hear him.' I don't even understand somebody like that. To me, that's just a different world."

Does the Presidency frighten you?

"No . . . But it's a sobering thought ... when I compare myself to the White House and the Presidency as an office, I feel inadequate. When I compare myself to other people who might be there instead of me, I feel adequate ... while I don't fear the job, I certainly respect it and know how much work it's going to take to do a good job. I would like to be a great President."

Do you ever think of the hazards of the office? He faced the possibility of death when he went into the submarine corps, Carter said, and "once I accepted that chance, I never worried about it again ... I don't have any fear of death. I don't think I'm going to die. I'd much rather live . . ."

Which would you prefer as an opponent, President Ford or Ronald Reagan?

"I've thought about it a lot," he said, and come to the conclusion that the choice is a "toss-up."

The Weather
...ally sunny, high near 80, ...0. Chance of rain 20 per ...uesday — Partly cloudy, thunderstorms, high near ...day -- 3 p.m. AQI: 28; ...e: 64-84. Details on C2.

The Washington Post

FINA
76 Pages—4 Sections

Amusements	B 9	Financi...
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N.Y. Democrats: Solidly Splintered

By William Cl...
Washington Post St...

NEW YORK, June ... ter brought New York's ... National Convention ge... feet today in what ap... rousing display of part...

But then so did ... Edmund G. (Jerry) Br... tumultuous reception... caucus was followed by ... uberant outpouring fo... Morris K. Udall.

Mayor Abraham D. ... the meeting to a close ... faced proclamation that ... is more "solidified" th... upon the splintered ... trundled off for a gala ... beer party at the Roc... enade—many of them ... praises of all three pr... didates.

"The proof of unity ... vember, when we deli... concluded Joseph Cra... lient Erie County Den... man, who said he is kee... ty's ostensibly uncomm... H. Humphrey delegatio... the time being.

See YORK, A7, ...

Sen. Church endorse... ter for the Democratic ... nomination.

...Jimmy Car... ...presidential ...
Page A8.

Associated Press

...leading Udall's bill signing Carter [illegible]

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DDD

were empowered merely to decide, by majority vote, whether proposed amendments could be brought before the full platform committee as it works to complete the document by Wednesday. Amendments can also be brought up on the floor, if at least 15 members second them.

The drafting subcommittee did not speak directly on abortion. Its draft noted simply that the Supreme Court had come down in favor of abortion, and "we feel . . . it is undesirable . . . to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court . . . . in this area."

Anti-abortion members tried to win task force approval of an amendment to strike these sentences from the draft, and have no mention of the subject at all. They lost.

Similarly on busing: no one even proposed an amendment to the subcommittee draft, which merely notes noncommittally that busing "remains a judicial tool of last resort."

An amendment was cleared by a task force calling on the federal government to take over half of the states' present welfare costs, as a way of giving state and local governments some fiscal relief.

The federal government already pays all welfare costs for aid to the aged, disabled and blind, and about half the costs of aid to families with dependent children. The amendment, if ever carried out, would lift its share of these AFDC outlays to about 75 per cent, at a cost of about $3.5 billion a year.

The Carter people are not entirely happy with the welfare section of the platform as it now stands. It goes further and faster toward a full federal takeover of all welfare than Carter has gone during the campaign.

A task force also ruled in order, at the behest of D.C. City Council Chairman Sterling Tucker, an amendment to a sentence in the draft that already called for "full home rule and voting representation" for the District.

(The amendment would put the party on record against the present prohibition on a commuter tax in D.C., and against the present provision under which the President and Congress can amend the D.C. budget and veto council legislation on what Tucker called "purely local matters."

The central section of the economy plank is a commitment to lower adult unemployment to 3 per cent within four years. There was not a dissenting word on the floor.

There were several amendments to the governmental reform plank. One, an endorsement of public financing of congressional as well as presidential campaigns, was adopted by more than 2 to 1. The committee also adopted language committing the federal government to the improvement of the Postal Service after Carter's aides won a clarification that this did not mean making the Postal Service a government agency again.

By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

Sen. Church with his wife, Bethine, at press conference.

Church Endorses Carter Nomination

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Frank Church endorsed Jimmy Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, praising the former Georgia governor for "a stamina and self-discipline, an assertion of will, and a firmness of character which promise to make him a strong President."

Church estimated he had "something over 100 delegates" either pledged to him or "in the pipeline." He said he is releasing them all and urging them to support Carter at the Democratic convention. (The most recent Washington Post count of committed delegates gave Church 72.)

The Idaho senator declined to discuss the possibility that Carter will choose him as his vice presidential running mate, a post for which Church is reported to be a possible selection.

"I have no expectations one way or the other" on the vice presidency, Church told a Capitol Hill press conference.

Church said the best chance for the Democrats to capture the presidency is to unite behind Carter and exploit the "cleavage" in the Republican Party resulting from the fight between President Ford and Ronald Reagan for the GOP nomination.

He said, "Mr. Ford is a weak President and. . .the Republican Party obviously shares that view." But he said Mr. Ford would nevertheless be hard to beat if he gets the nomination because a sitting President, clothed with the majesty of office, is always difficult to oust.

He said that he expects to pay off all his own campaign debts shortly with the help of the federal subsidy for presidential primary candidates.

For Church, the withdrawal was a premature end to a late-starting campaign that for a short time provided surprises for the American public and headaches for Carter.

Delayed in entering the race by his responsibilities as chairman of the Senate investigation into activities of the Central Intelligence Agency, Church was a sleeper winner against Carter in Nebraska, Oregon, Idaho and Montana.

He hoped to upset Carter also in Rhode Island, but ran behind him and an uncommitteed slate, and then a series of troubles beset him. First he suffered a severe ear and throat infection that forced him to cancel most of his California campaigning. A burst dam in Idaho later obliged him to miss more than a day on the stump in Ohio. He ran a poor third in both states.

Throughout the final week of campaigning, Church was careful not to criticize Carter directly, a posture that fed speculation he would like to be Carter's running mate.

EEE

FFE

Korea Mission

Harvard professor Jerome Alan Cohen, one of Jimmy Carter's foreign policy advisers, has just returned from Seoul, Korea, where he sought to get one of President Park Chung Hee's political opponents, Kim Dae Jung, released from jail.

Cohen said yesterday he has warned the Park regime that Carter, if elected, is going to take a much firmer stand on the issue of human rights than previous U.S. Presidents. Cohen added that he has made so many enemies among the South Koreans that he received assassination threats and had body guards assigned to him when he was traveling in the Far East

See VIP, B4, Col. 6

vernon) were absent.

Mandel Rift With Carter Seen Healing

A spokesman for Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel said yesterday he is sure that Mandel's differences with Jimmy Carter, which have kept Mandel from endorsing the probable Democratic presidential nominee, "can be worked out" at an upcoming meeting between the two.

"After all, the governor is a Democrat, and he always supports the nominee of the party," said Frank A. DeFilippo, Mandel's chief political adviser. "I'm sure all of this can be worked out."

Carter called Mandel last week, DeFilippo said, and "said he realized they had some differences, but he thought they could be repaired, and needed all the support he could get."

Mandel left town on a scheduled vacation the next morning, DeFilippo said, after accepting Carter's invitation to a meeting. DeFilippo said the meeting will take place either before or during a governor's conference scheduled for the July 4 weekend.

A Carter campaign aide in Atlanta said he could not confirm or deny that Carter has approached Mandel. The aide said Carter has called hundreds of Democrats across the country to consolidate his now overwhelming support in the aftermath of his victory in Ohio's June 8 last Tuesday.

Walters: Reluctant Approval

VIP, From B1

this time and on a previous trip in January.

Potpourri

There never was anything pompous about former Kentucky Sen. John Sherman Cooper, currently on leave from his post as the first U.S. Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic. So no one was surprised the other day to see him sitting in the lobby of the Cosmos Club, giving dictation to a stenographer . . . Rene Carpenter, ex-wife of astronaut Scott Carpenter who was fired from her television job at Washington's WTOP without warning last February, has gone to work as media director for the labor-backed Committee for National Health Insurance. "I'm issuing a Sherman-like statement," she said yesterday. "I will NEVER go back into television. NEVER."

Although Commerce Secretary Elliott Richardson has held four cabinet posts here since 1969, his face still isn't well-known. At Wolf Trap the other night, he had forgotten to bring his ticket and the usher wouldn't let him pass until someone vouched for both his identity and his importance . . . Florence Mahoney, the health lobbyist whose Georgetown house was used in the filming of "The Exorcist," was an early supporter of Jimmy Carter. She tried to place a first-ballot nomination bet in Las Vegas months ago but was told her $100 was peanuts. No presidential bets under $10,000 were being taken.

Some Like It Hot
Hot and mostly sunny today and tomorrow, highs near 92. Fair tonight, lows in 60s. Details B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Calculating the Chances of a Presidential Run

Sixth of seven articles

By Jimmy Carter

Before becoming governor I had never met a president, although I once saw Harry Truman at a distance, when we laid the keel of the first atomic submarine, Nautilus, in New London, Conn., in 1952. Great presidents like Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Roosevelt have always been historical figures to me, and even the intimate biographical information published about them has never made them seem quite human.

Then during 1971 and 1972 I met Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, George McGovern, Henry Jackson, Hubert Humphrey, Ed Muskie, George Wallace, Ronald Reagan, Nelson Rockefeller and other presidential

Jimmy Carter

hopefuls, and I lost my feeling of awe about presidents. This is not meant as a criticism of them, but it is merely a simple statement of fact.

After the 1972 convention I began with the help of those close to me to think seriously about a presidential campaign and to assess my own strengths and weaknesses. In fact, the frank assessment of my shortcomings became one of the most enjoyable experiences for my staff, my friends and my family and was a time-consuming process. We talked about politics, geography, character, education, experience, appearance, age, mannerisms and lack of fame. In spite of these critical assessments, I decided to run.

Let me try to relate a brief list of the kinds of things we discussed.

● I am a farmer. That seemed a disadvantage to some, but the other side was that this would not hurt the farm vote, a real factor. And, over the period of a lifetime, being a farmer makes one willing to face apparently insuperable difficulties and still take a chance even though the future — the weather, the economy, the variables — may seem just one big gamble. Also I can claim with credentials to be an engineer, a planner, a nuclear physicist, a businessman

See CARTER, D-2

GGG

CARTER

Continued From D-1

and a professional naval officer. So for those who might have an aversion to farmers for whatever reason there are some alternative ways of looking at what my candidacy has to offer.

• I live in the Deep South and no southerner has been elected president in more than a hundred years. And yet I remember 15 years ago when the political analysts said that southerners would never vote for an Irish Catholic from Boston, but when the returns were counted in 1960 John Kennedy got a bigger margin of victory — not in Massachusetts but in Georgia! Also, in a predominantly white voter district in 1972 we elected a man who came into his first public visibility as the young field worker for Martin Luther King Jr. — Congressman Andrew Young. In 1974, even as a freshman congressman, his opposition for a second term was hardly detectable. Sectional or geographical prejudice is becoming a minimal political factor.

MORE DISADVANTAGES:

1. My home is Plains, Ga., population about 600. This gives me little urban base, but in microcosm, nonetheless, our people in Plains represent very well the people of the nation — and I know all of the Plains people. We live and work together in a spirit of friendship and harmony.

Our 250 white citizens and our 350 black citizens learn from one another, and always have. There may even be some political advantage with voters because rural people sometimes have the reputation (perhaps undeserved), of living close to the earth, close to God, close to poverty and closer to their government.

2. I would not be holding office while running for the White House in 1976; but this would give me full time to campaign, unlike members of Congress who at least in theory would be obliged to pay attention to their proper responsibilities in Washington.

3. The national news media are concentrated in Washington, a disadvantage for a former Georgia governor, age 50, politically unemployed. True again, as a disadvantage, but on the other hand there are 535 members of Congress reaching for every microphone and struggling for every headline.

In the meantime, I reasoned, I likely would be the only presidential candidate that day in Sioux City, or in St. Petersburg or Phoenix or Rochester. Furthermore, a lot of national news people stop over in Georgia and Atlanta on their way to Montgomery for their monthly interview with Alabama Gov. George Wallace! Maybe later the word might drift back to Washington about me.

4. A fault: I don't know how to compromise on any principle I believe is right. Georgia Secretary of State Ben Fortson, probably the most respected statewide-elected official in my home state, a white-haired patriarch who speaks as eloquently about American history as any man I have ever heard, once called me "as stubborn as a South Georgia turtle." Unthinking noncompromise is of course foolish; but maybe this is a time, on matters of principle, for an absence of compromise.

5. Others might have a head start on financing. True enough, three other candidates had already raised more than a milllon dollars before the new campaign finance law went into effect. Yet with a small, effective staff, and the hope of a large group of politically attractive volunteers plus plenty of personal effort by me and my family, and a total commitment to campaign full-time throughout the nation, it seemed likely that it would be possible to attract enough financial support to help win the nomination and the election.

HOW DOES ONE prepare for such an undertaking? Of course, the first step was to assess my own current and ongoing responsibilities that had to be fulfilled. As governor of Georgia I had completed the most critical and demanding portion of my term, but there were hundreds of administrative duties which I enjoyed and which I had to perform. My routine of arriving at the capitol office early and working a full day continued until I completed my final day in office. But I began to discern from the governor's job special experiences that would be similar to those of a president. The administration of federal programs involving welfare, health, education, transportation, environment, recreation, energy, housing and urban renewal took on additional meanings. Long-range planning techniques, budgeting procedures, government organization, tax measures, prison reform, criminal justice, foreign trade and social problems became more challenging subjects as they were analyzed for comparative application to both state and federal government service delivery systems.

WE CONTINUED to accumulate names of those who attended the numerous conventions in Atlanta. Since part of my job as governor was to give a welcoming talk or a more substantive speech, it was easy for us to ask for a list of the conventioneers and their home addresses. Foreign travel and my numerous meetings with visitors from other nations became more interesting to me, and I used each such opportunity as a means for studying the country involved.

As chairman of the National Democratic Party 1974 Campaign Committee it was my responsibility to learn as much as possible about all the states and congressional districts involved in the elections. We began to monitor the 35 gubernatorial campaigns, the 34 campaigns for U.S. senator, and all of the 435 elections for Congress. During 1973 and 1974 I met frequently with leaders of groups who ordinarily support Democratic candidates. These leaders, from about 25 different organizations, represented labor unions, farmers, Spanish-Americans, teachers, environmentalists, women, local officials, retired persons, government workers, blacks and the House and Senate campaign committees.

FOUR OR FIVE of the major opinion pollsters worked closely with me and helped to delineate the most important issues among the American electorate as the elections approached. With the help of a volunteer staff, we recruited several experts in each of about 30 issue subjects to give me their opinions of what our nation should do about that particular question, and then we edited those disparate suggestions into one coherent issue paper on each subject. These were printed in a standard

format and mailed out to more than 1,000 Democratic candidates for high political office. Later, after the primaries were over and nominees of our party had been selected, I went out into more than 60 campaigns to work personally with the candidates and their staffs. Our staff members from the Democratic National Committee worked in dozens of other campaigns. All of this was also a good learning experience for me.

A major factor in any political campaign is always the identity and characteristics of potential opponents, and, of course, we discussed in some detail those who might run for president in 1976. There was never any hesitancy about our plans because of other prospective candidates.

OUR STRATEGY was simple: make a total effort all over the nation. After leaving office as governor during the first months alone, I visited more than half the states, some of them several times. Each visit was carefully planned — by my small Atlanta staff and a local volunteer in each community — to be included during the week's trip.

Our purposes during this early stage of the campaign were: to become known among those who have a continuing interest in politics and government; to recruit supporters and to raise campaign funds; and to obtain maximum news coverage for myself and my stand on the many local and national issues. The most important purpose of all was for me to learn this nation — what it is, and what it ought to be.

Tomorrow: What can be done.

JJJ

Not Everybody Scrambling onto Carter's Wagon

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Although Jimmy Carter's bandwagon is picking up new passengers at every stop, many national convention delegates who are resigned to the front-runner's nomination are not yet ready to welcome it.

Carter got a decidedly cool reception yesterday from the bulk of New York's 274-member delegation, the second-largest in the nation, even though state Democratic leaders from Gov. Hugh Carey on down dutifully endorsed him in the name of party unity.

And a smattering of delegates elsewhere in the nation indicated they are not about to join the Carter parade, even when asked to do so by candidates they had supported.

IT DIDN'T really matter much, in the larger scheme of things.

Two more primary contenders, Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, and former Sen. Fred Harris, D-Okla., yesterday released their own delegates across the nation and urged support for Carter, who is closing fast on the 1,505 votes he will need for a first-ballot victory next month.

And Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., acknowledging that Carter's nomination is inevitable "unless the sun rises in the west," said he would give individual releases to any of his delegates who wish to be with the winner at Madison Square Garden.

Nonetheless, the reaction of the New York delegates who heard from Carter, Udall and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. indicated there are still plenty of Democrats who are gritting their teeth at the outcome of this year's presidential primaries.

Ignoring the signals from their generals, rank-and-file New York delegates gave Carter polite applause as he appealed for their support and then uncorked a stomping, cheering ovation for Brown, the only active candidate still challenging Carter's claim to the nomination.

THE ACCLAIM for Brown, although noisy, was more a roar of frustration than a demonstration of real support for the 38-year-old governor. "He's an interesting candidate, but I think he's eight years away," said Fred DeMatteis, a delegate pledged to Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.

"There's a lot of Jackson people here who simply wanted to show their frustration, and Brown's the only guy left we could cheer," he added.

Carter finished a poor fourth in New York's pri-

mary on April 6, behind Jackson, Udall and "uncommitted." He won only 33 delegates, compared with 103 for Jackson and 73 for Udall.

Jackson, who has already indicated his personal support for Carter, is expected to release his 246 delegates tomorrow and urge them to vote for the former Georgia governor.

But he may have trouble delivering some of those delegates to Carter, especially here in New York, where Democrats are a fractious bunch who see no great virtue in party unity.

"Dissension is not necessarily evil," said Max Wernik, a Jackson delegate. "Sometimes it can be a force for good."

Richard T. Tibbehs, a Udall delegate, echoed that sentiment. "I realize, as Mo has said, that there's no sense participating in a kamikaze effort. But Carter didn't sell me, and I'm still going to vote for Mo on the first ballot."

CARTER backers were confident that most of the recalcitrant New Yorkers will come around, probably within two or three weeks.

"They'll come in dribbles," predicted Margaret Costanza, vice mayor of Rochester and co-chairman of Carter's New York state campaign. "They want to be asked, individually. They all worked hard to get elected, and there's no way they'll let anyone else deliver their votes for them."

Costanza said she and other state party leaders who have now endorsed Carter will be calling the holdouts over the next week or so, and the candidate promised he will personally join the search for converts.

"I'd like all of you to give me your support when you feel it is appropriate," Carter told the delegation. "I will do everything I can to make you proud of me."

Costanza said she expects Carter to wind up with 125 to 150 of New York's 274 delegate votes. Other party leaders estimated the total could go as high as 200.

CHURCH, who has an estimated 71 delegates by The Star's count, folded his own late-blooming candidacy yesterday and urged his backers to vote for Carter, "a candidate behind whom all Democrats can and should unite."

Harris, who had only 18 delegates, followed suit in telegrams sent to all those pledged to him.

But the gestures were not uniformly welcomed by the delegates involved.

"He can go to hell," said Ted Haynes, an Oklahoma City attorney who was pledged to Harris. "If I'm released, I will go where I want to."

KKK

Labor Leaders Cautiously Step Toward Carter

By Edward Cowan
New York Times News Service

Cautiously and with varying degrees of enthusiasm, labor leaders are moving toward public support of Jimmy Carter.

They are preparing to embrace the man who appears to have locked up the Democratic presidential nomination not because they know and trust him — by and large, they describe him as an unknown political quantity — but because they perceive no good alternative to backing the Democratic nominee.

Talks with officials of the AFL-CIO and a clutch of its affiliated unions indicate no inclination to back either of the leading Republican contenders, President Ford or Ronald Reagan, and little desire to sit out the election campaign in a posture of neutrality.

"WE KNOW that we've got to get involved in politics more than ever," says Howard McClennan, president of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Like several other union chiefs, McClennan said he would withhold any endorsement until after the Democratic nominating convention in mid-July.

The AFL-CIO executive council meets here the week after the Democratic National Convention and is expected to endorse the nominee.

The labor federation was officially neutral in 1972; its president, George Meany, would not support the Democratic contender, Sen. George McGovern. But neutrality is unsatisfying, emotionally and politically.

Labor has a long agenda of unfinished business — laws and programs it wants from Congress and the President — and labor leaders relish the idea of their being restored to a position of some influence with the White House

MOREOVER, there is the desire to punish President Ford for his vetoes of public works, education and welfare bills, and the bill to broaden union picketing rights at construction sites.

In his march to his present pre-eminent position among the Democratic candidates, Carter has had the public support of only one nationally known labor leader, Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers.

This poses a question of whether it already is too late for labor to achieve major influence in a Carter White House, especially in view of the former Georgia governor's presentation of himself as a politician who is independent of the regulars in Washington and in the Democratic party.

It is a suggestion that labor leaders are quick to reject. "No Democratic candidate can be elected President of the United States without the support of the trade union movement," asserts Albert J. Zack, Meany's principal spokesman. But, he adds, "the support of the trade union movement doesn't automatically mean victory," as Adlai Stevenson learned in 1952 and 1956 and Hubert Humphrey learned in 1968.

"THE LABOR movement is going to be needed in the election more than ever before," says William B. Welsh, the chief political operative of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, "simply because of the monetary limits on expenditures. This enhances the importance of institutions that can reach the membership and do things that

don't count against the limits."

He also said that, as president, Carter would need the unions to help get his legislation through Congress. But there is concern that Carter, who is perceived as a loner, may be too caught up in his anti-Washington posture to realize this need.

Enthusiasm for Carter is temperate. "I'm not really waiting to climb on a Carter bandwagon," says Edward J. Carlough, president of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association. "It's so full now they don't need guys like me. We don't have many options. Hell, we don't have any."

CARLOUGH and other labor backers of Sen. Henry M. Jackson are scheduled to meet with the Washington Democrat today. Some will urge him to accept second place on a Carter ticket, a pairing that would bolster labor support for the Georgian.

Labor men who leaned toward liberal Democrats mention as attractive Carter running mates Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois.

that he is innocent of any wrongdoing and the target of a setup. Salt Lake City police say no setup was involved in the 9:45 p.m. arrest after Howe allegedly propositioned a policewoman posing as a prostitute for $20.

Salt Lake City police released the transcript of a tape recording made during the alleged solicitation. The two policewoman involved carried recording devices.

Howe was formally charged yesterday with the misdemeanor which carries a maximum penalty of six months in jail and a $299 fine. He was to plead to the charges today.

Howe is unopposed in the primary. Four Republicans are competing for the chance to oppose him in the general election.

NNN

Carter can win on GOP mistakes alone

In contrast to the Democrats' remarkable harmony and growing solidarity behind the candidacy of former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, the Republican party today is in a state of disintegration from which it may never recover.

It was all quite unnecessary. The major problem for the Republicans has been an incumbent so aware of the inherent weakness of his position that he lost his composure and good sense in the face of an improbable challenge from the former governor of California. As the result of mismanagement and overreaction to the threat from Ronald Reagan, Gerald Ford's nomination is now in serious jeopardy, and the election of either of them next November is highly improbable.

Even so, until the California primary last week, it seemed that no permanent damage to the party itself might be the result. The destruction of party unity that was inflicted in California — in an election which Mr. Ford stood no chance of winning — will not be repaired before November or long after. And the President — who undoubtedly will suffer most in the reaction of the electorate and the judgment of history — has only himself to blame.

Ronald Reagan no doubt made his own contribution by suggesting in one of his more vacuous moments that it might be a good idea to send American troops to Rhodesia. The best that can be said is that he quickly recognized his blunder and did his best to defuse it. But the President, who for a Mr. Nice Guy can be talked into some pretty brutal tactics at times, responded with a last-minute torrent of television commercials that were neither justified nor effective, attacking his opponent as an irresponsible warmonger.

And so the damage was done. It is not just that Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan are not the best of friends anymore. The result of the California primary has been to revive all the latent ideological antagonisms in the Republican party that date back to 1964 and far beyond that. Combined with bitter divisions over Watergate and the Nixon pardon, the whole facade of Republican solidarity has now vanished, along with the party's political prospects for a long time to come.

The GOP since California has been in a self-destruct configuration, and the process will not end there. Between now and mid-August, the contest for new and uncommitted delegates will continue apace in the remaining 11 states that still have to pick delegates to the convention in Kansas City. If the struggle will be less public, it will be no less murderous to the chances of either candidate. And the prospect is that neither will enter the convention with enough votes to win the nomination on the first ballot.

The major beneficiary of this carnage, of course, is Jimmy Carter. The Republicans were in trouble enough as it was, what with Watergate, an ersatz incumbent and a shrinking popular base in the electorate. Republican chances in November were not improved, either, by a perception of many voters that a Democratic victory would do much to restore normal relations between the White House and Democrat-controlled Congress and give the country an effective government for the first time in a long while.

It is possible, of course, that the outlook could change between now and November. Jimmy Carter, as his party's nominee, could fall on his face. Even an ersatz incumbent has presidential powers to make things happen that can affect the outcome of an election. But first it will be necessary to patch up and paper over the bitter division of the Republican party itself. And this, as things stand today, will call for something more than a minor miracle.

Unity Rules At Democratic Platform Talks

Carter Aides Busy on Floor As First 3 Items Are OKd

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

With only minor skirmishing, the Democratic platform committee has approved three major sections of its 15,000-word draft platform.

The sections, representing about half of the platform, call for full employment, reform of the federal programs, and aid to states, cities and counties. They were passed yesterday as Carter delegates and floor leaders maneuvered to avoid any issues which could divide the party in November.

During a marathon session which lasted from 9 a.m. until midnight, Stuart Eizenstat, an Atlanta, Ga., lawyer and national issues director for Carter, took the floor repeatedly to dissuade committee members from approving amendments that might prove embarrassing to the candidate or harmful at the polls.

AT ONE POINT, opposing a move to protect homosexuals from prosecution for sexual acts, Eizenstat pointed out that the 15-member committee which drafted the platform carefully opposed "emotional issues like this."

Stating that the Democrats will be running against "one of two conservative Republicans" in the fall, Eizenstat argued that such amendments would "raise emotional red flags and give Republicans pot shots."

The Carter leader also headed off an amendment to abolish capital punishment.

He demonstrated the strength of the Carter vote in the committee after an amendment already had been adopted which proposed restoring the U.S. Postal Service to full status as a government agency.

WHEN EIZENSTAT objected that the current law, which gives the Postal Service quasi-independent status, should not be reversed, the majority which had supported the amendment reversed itself and rejected it.

Earlier, a committee task force assigned to review draft language of a proposed "government and human needs" section, carefully fended off a series of amendments concerning amnesty and abortion.

A major clash came after Udall and Brown supporters attempted to broaden the Carter-favored position, written into the draft, which promises a "pardon for those who were guilty of selective service violations because of their opposition to the Vietnam War."

Joe Duffey, a Carter floor leader, reminded the task force that his candidate did not want the pardon extended to deserters who, he said, should be dealt with on a case-by-case basis. That move was defeated.

THEN FORMER Ohio Gov. John Gilligan, the task force's chairman, spoke out against the Udall move to substitute the word "amnesty" for pardon. Amnesty, he said, was a "politically offensive" word. The drafting committee, he pointed out, "wanted to avoid the refrain that ran through the McGovern campaign of amnesty, abortion and acid."

See PLATFORM, A-12

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PPP

PLATFORM

Continued from A-3

Beaten back by Gilligan and Duffey, pro-amnesty delegates made several other unsuccessful attempts to get the word amnesty into the platform, prompting Gilligan to exclaim at one point:

"The desire for self-immolation knows no bounds."

The drafting subcommittee attempted to finesse another potentially devisive issue — abortion — by stating that while the party recognizes the "religious and ethical nature" of the concern over abortion, it would be "undesirable" to have a constitutional amendment banning abortions.

A MOVE TO strike this section was also defeated by the task force after the panel's vice chairman, Ms. Marian Humes, argued that the drafting committee had "stayed up nights" working to get the proper balance on the issue. "Trust us," she said.

There was no move in the task force to amend the language on another controversial issue — busing. The draft calls for "mandatory transportation of students beyond their neighborhoods for the purpose of desegregation" only as a "judicial tool of last resort."

One major floor amendment that did pass calls for partial federal financing of congressional elections. The measure, which passed by a 68-30 vote, was designed to help remove the built-in advantages of incumbents and to lessen the power of private pressure groups over Congress.

STERLING TUCKER, chairman of Washington's city council, persuaded a committee task force to broaden its amendment calling for wider home rule for the District of Columbia. As amended, the section now calls for the District government to have complete authority to appropriate its budget and seeks repeal of the law which prohibits it from passing a commuter tax on workers from Maryland and Virginia suburbs.

The Tucker amendment would also strike down provisions which give Congress a veto over local laws passed by the District. The amendment must still be approved by the committee as a whole.

The keystone of the platform as it stands is its first section, which calls for the government to use a variety of measure to reduce the unemployment rate to three percent within four years. The measure calls upon the government to use public work programs and the wield the powers of the Federal Reserve, if necessary, to loosen up interest rates enough to sustain the higher employment level.

ACCORDING TO the chairman of the subcommittee which drafted the platform, Massachusetts Gov. Micheal Dukakis, the measure would help pay for the costs of other social programs because for every percentage point reduction in unemployment, the federal government brings in an additional $16 billion in tax revenues.

A second major ingredient of the platform is a package of proposed reforms for the federal government which includes "zero-based budgeting" and a "sunset law," measures which would force the government to make periodic reexaminations of the worth of a given program.

While it takes up 89 pages in draft form, the platform is still considerably smaller than the party's 1972 platform which ran to 20,000 words.

The Weather
...day—Mostly cloudy, high near 80, ...w in the 60s. Chance of rain is 30 ...r cent through tonight. Tuesday—...rtly cloudy, high in the 80s. Yes...rday—Noon Air Index, 37; Temp. ...nge, 76-84. Details on Page C2.

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Carter, Class of '41 Recollect High School Days in Plains

By Helen Dewar.
Washington Post Staff Writer

AMERICUS, Ga., June 13—One by one they stood up—graduates of the Class of '41 at Plains High School who had become, among other occupations, farmers in Georgia, a tour bus driver in California and a corrections official in the District of Columbia—and told about their work, their families, their memories.

Finally it was time for a few words from the classmate they all remembered as studious, shy, and "always aiming for the top," as one of them put it.

"I'm Jimmy Carter," he said softly, "and I'm semi-retired."

His family, he added, is "in the lemonade-stand business."

Carter has been doing a lot of just hanging around his peanut farm in Plains, watching his 8-year-old daughter, Amy, grow rich off a thriving lemonade-stand business, ever since his long campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination seemingly ended Wednesday, about a month before the national convention, when his opposition collapsed.

Even before he knew he had the nomination sewed up, Carter had planned to attend his 35th annual high school reunion. It was held Saturday night in a small banquet room at the Best Western Motel in Americus, about 10 miles from Plains, because there was no place large enough in Plains for the 21 graduates and their spouses to have dinner together.

It was a friendly, simple, down-home kind of affair, complete with warm welcomes, recollections that have faded over the years and several exchanges of gifts, including a hand-crocheted red, white and blue afghan for the prospective presidential nominee.

Aside from the press corps, which considerably outnumbered the graduates, nobody made a big fuss over Carter, whom everyone called "Jimmy."

"Watcha do with Jimmy, throw him away?" asked Lottie Wise Tanner when

See CARTER, A4, Col. 1

By Frank Johnston—The Washington Post

Amy Carter, 8, hugs her dad outside her lemonade stand at Plains home.

999

Carter, Class of '41 Reminisce at Reunion

CARTER, From A1

Rosalynn Carter arrived before her husband.

The mood seemed to have an effect on the normally straight-laced, no-nonsense Carter. When Evelyn Lewis Hudson finished telling about her family by noting that she was a secretary to a Superior Court judge in Milledgeville, Ga., the candidate blurted, "Can you type?"

The crowd, well-versed in the stories of extracurricular activities of congressmen that have been pouring out of Washington recently, broke into startled laughter. Carter blushed.

After the ceremonies, Carter stayed to reminisce with his former classmates, particularly about Plains School Supt. "Miss Julia" Coleman and others who left lasting impressions on him, and got into a conversation about the time he got a whipping for playing hooky.

It seems he and several friends took off from school one day to see a movie in Americus and got caught when one of them wrote an account of the trip in the local newspaper as an "educational project." They were given a choice: leave school or bend over. "All of us took a whipping," Carter recalled.

Carter's class reunion was extended overnight when, to Carter's apparent surprise, it was announced that the class would attend the Plains Baptist Church this morning. Carter had planned to be vacationing on Sea Island, Ga., by churchtime, but, after asking for a show of hands to indicate how many were going to church, and discovering he'd be in the minority if he didn't go, he changed his mind.

The simple, white-frame, high-steepled church that Carter has attended since childhood has become a symbol in his campaign of his early support for desegregation—an important link in the chain that made it possible for a former governor of Georgia to wrap up the Democratic presidential nomination.

By Frank Johnston—The Washington Post

Jimmy Carter and brother, Billy, right, meet press during walk through a peanut field.

Carter had been a minority of one in efforts to admit blacks to the church in the late 1950s, and there was not a black face among the roughly 200 parishioners who gathered to worship at the church this morning.

But the issue was very much alive in the sermon delivered by guest preacher Lamon Moates, a professor of psychology at Georgia Southwest College in Americus.

While never mentioning the race issue or Carter's stand on it, Moates talked about the parable of the Good Samaritan and the difficulties of overcoming deep-rooted prejudices.

"It isn't easy to disregard parents and church and school. It isn't an easy lot to oppose all the things you've been taught," Moates said.

"To be candid for a minute, we have dug a chasm to separate us; we have built fences to partition us, all one from the other. We have been concerned with ideas to separate us, one from another, and we have found it ever so hard to love one another. As the parable taught, our neighbor is everyone."

Carter, in the front pew, was asked to give a personal prayer, in which he called for "open hearts and open minds," for "love of Thee and our fellow man." In a voice so soft it could hardly be heard at the rear of the church, he said, "There need be no disharmony among us; we are all equally sinful."

Carter's high school class at the Plains school—which still serves the area although it has 12 grades now instead of 11 and is desegregated instead of all-white—numbered 26 when he graduated in 1941. One classmate was killed in World War II and two others were killed in a plane crash. Of the remaining 23 classmates, 21 attended the reunion—from as far west as Whittier, Calif., and as far north as Dover, N.J. Most, however, live in Georgia.

Although almost everyone remembered Carter as a good student and a friendly, but shy, boy, they also said he was highly competitive, almost from the first grade. "He excelled in everything he did . . . He was a stickler for facts," recalled Richard Salter, a D.C. corrections officer and union official.

Speaking briefly to his classmates, his voice almost drowned out by a rock band in a bar across the hall, Carter said those who grew up in Plains (population 683) never felt handicapped "even though we were isolated from the rest of the world." People like "Miss Julia" and other teachers "opened up a new world for us" at Plains High School.

Added Carter: "I want to be close to you. . .I always want to make you proud of me."

Women's Unit Formed To Advise, Aid Carter

SEA ISLAND, Ga., June 13 (AP)—Pledging to make the fullest possible use of women in advancing his programs Democratic presidential front-runner Jimmy Carter announced today the formation of a committee of women to assist and advise him.

To be known as the Committee of 51.3 Per Cent, Carter said the group will assist his political campaign, advise him on issues and help him find qualified women to serve in his administration.

Carter said the group was organized by Mary B. King, his adviser on women, who was assisted by former Tennessee state Sen. Mary Mize Anderson and Washington businesswoman Joan Tobin.

The group's name was based on the fact that women make up 51.3 per cent of the U.S. population.

In announcing the committee, Carter issued a statement saying he intends to "make the fullest possible use of the women of America in helping carry out my program for America." He also reaffirmed his support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Del. Fauntroy To Head D.C. Delegation

D.C. Del. Walter E. Fauntroy was elected last night to head the District of Columbia's 17-member delegation to the Democratic National Convention next month.

With the help of delegates pledged to Morris Udall, Fauntroy, an uncommitteed delegate, won the chairmanship by one vote over Lillian Huff, a delegate for Jimmy Carter.

School board member Barbara Lett Simmons, also a Carter delegate was elected vice chairman and Meg Alyward, a Udall delegate, was elected secretary with no opposition.

The delegation also elected City Council Chairman Sterling Tucker to serve as the District's representative on the platform committee, although he is not a member of the delegation. Huff will serve on the rules committee and William Reap on the credentials committee.

The District delegation consists of 17 delegates and 17 alternates of which 16 are Carter supporters, 10 for Udall and eight uncommitted.

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William Raspberry

Voting for a Personality

I have a friend who is furious over the support Jimmy Carter has received from people who, in her view, ought to know better. Not just surprised, or astounded, or disappointed. Furious.

What gets her dander up is the fact that a one-term governor of uncertain competency, unproven as a national politican, has been able to pull off such a political coup without taking hard, definitive positions on the issues. It is, she insists, not fair.

And who does she like for the Democratic nomination? Why Jerry Brown, of course.

She will acknowledge, when you force her to, that she is attracted to Brown for reasons that have little to do with demonstrated competence or clear-cut positions on hard issues.

"It's an aura," she says. "A tone. That's all a President can do anyway, really, is set a tone. He doesn't run the country.

"If you made me list some reasons why I like Brown, I would say—not in any particular order—that he is fresh and new and intelligent, that he is not mixed up (to my knowledge) in this whole political bag, that he is a human human being, a compassionate human being. Maybe I'm just in tune with him."

And when she sees her words in print, she'll recognize that they could be appropriated by any of those infuriating Carter-backers to describe their own man.

Equally reversible is her recital of why she dislikes Carter. "He shows me nothing," she says. 'He says nothing to me. I don't think he begins to know what's going on, or has the slightest idea of how to cure it. I don't like his grin. I see nothing in his face or his manner to make me believe anything he says."

Her assessments aren't typical, or Carter wouldn't be in his present shoo-in position for the Democratic nomination. But the *basis* for her assessment may be a lot more typical than journalists, political leaders and intellectuals are prepared to acknowledge.

For all our talk about "the issues," voters tend to make up their minds based on general feelings about candidates. This is a political fact that we discover, as though for the first time, every four years. We keep thinking that if we can pin candidates to the wall on "the issues," we can make a difference in how they are viewed by the voters.

That's true, but primarily because the way candidates react to being pinned to the wall (rather than the way they react to the issues as such) becomes a part of the electorate's general feeling.

The issues themselves rarely determine an election. How many votes turned on John Kennedy's "missile gap" and how many on the people's perceptions of Kennedy and Richard Nixon as men? Was there any issue between Adlai Stevenson and Dwight Eisenhower more influential than the general's grin? Was FDR's storied charm of no electoral consequence?

In fact, the only President in recent memory whose election turned on "the issues" was Richard Nixon. Except for a hard core of Nixon loyalists, the people who voted him into office seemed not to be particularly awed by the general "aura" or "tone" of the man.

It would be hard to find among them people who want their sons to be like Nixon — even pre-Watergate Nixon. They voted for him (it seems to me) not because they admired him as a person but because they liked his stand on such issues as law-and-order, school busing and defense. They liked him for the enemies they had in common.

But Nixons don't come around very often, and in most presidential elections, personality will be paramount—to the utter chagrin of the intellectuals.

It seems somehow wrong for people to vote their instincts and their viscera rather than their brains. But is it? Do even those of us who fancy ourselves intelligent choose our candidates on the basis of their stands on issues? Or do we make "issues" the test for others after we've made up our own minds?

I know people who, if their issue-based requirements had been fed into a computer four years ago, would have found the computer print-out saying: McGovern. And yet many of these same people, given a candidate whose issues were their issues, whose positions were their positions, could bring themselves only to lukewarm support of George McGovern. The reason, I think, is that his personality, his general "aura," left them unmoved.

And some of these same people are now lambasting Carter for not being specific enough on the issues.

I suspect that this is because they know enough history to understand how deadly dangerous it can be to elect to high office demagogues who play on the emotions. And they conclude that a candidate with unusual emotional appeal must necessarily be a demagogue.

They mention Hitler and Mussolini to prove their point. I mention Jesus Christ and Martin Luther King Jr. by way of rebuttal.

My point is that there can be communication in ways more direct than words and policy statements and positions on hypothetical issues. But when that communication happens between the people and a candidate other than our own, we tend to dismiss it as emotionalism.

Having said all that, I must say, too, that the Carter spark, the "aura" that is impelling him toward the White House, hasn't yet hit home with me. But that doesn't mean that the people who do feel it are stupid.

And while it may yet turn out that Carter will be a disastrously limited and shallow and platitudinous President, it won't be because of his grin, his fuzzing of the issues or any of the other things that so infuriate my friend.

Joseph A. Califano Jr.

Jimmy Carter's Opportunity

If elected President in November, Gov. Jimmy Carter will have the greatest opportunity to alter the course of our nation and our government since Franklin Roosevelt's election in 1932 and Lyndon Johnson's landslide in 1964.

The special opportunity for Carter derives in part from the fact that only a Democratic President can hope for a Congress led by members of his own party. But a new President from either party would share the same opportunity offered by an even more important fact of contemporary American political life: the depth and breadth of the citizen consensus that we are in the throes of a crisis of confidence in government that the people expect the next President to resolve. That consensus stems from three crises that beseige the national executive: 1) a crisis of confusion as to its role in our society; 2) a crisis of competence as to performance of its tasks; and 3) a crisis of corruption of person and institution.

There is first the crisis centered on the confusion over the proper role of the national government—the executive's relationship to the Congress and the courts; its relationship to the state and local governments; and its relationship to the private sector, and to the people.

Mr. Califano, a Washington attorney, was President Johnson's special assistant for domestic affairs. This article is adapted from a recent address before the Women's National Democratic Club.

To what extent are the failures of our foreign policy the result of executive dominance to the exclusion of the Congress over the past 15 years? Is it this dominance and secrecy that has permitted the combination of misjudgment, dissembling and abuse of power that so scars the years from Kennedy to Kissinger?

To what extent is the failure of federal intervention at home a result of its attempts to perform functions that by its nature it is incapable of performing? Some of its intrusion into private sector regulation—the railroads, the airlines and shipbuilding—has been noticeably ineffective and indeed destructive. Is this because such intimate regulation is not the role of the national government in a Democratic welfare-capitalist state?

In view of contemporary technology, communications, transportation, economic and social realities, should the federal government seek to perpetuate large cities on the scale of New York as they are? Why not, for example, permit the dispersion of New York's concentration of corporate, financial, communications and legal resources—and disadvantaged as well? Put even more bluntly, if American citizens and private institutions want to leave disintegrating cities, should the federal government spend billions to encourage them to stay there?

To what extent is it appropriate for the federal government to enter the life of the American family? Here the problems range from the pressures on family life created by the welfare system and the tax laws, to the more intimate intrusions of the federal government in areas like family planning and the potential leverage, through the provision of federal funds, on abortion and euthanasia issues. Absent war and perhaps capital punsihment, should the national government determine when life begins and ends, who should live and who should die?

Modern technology, complexity and secrecy have enhanced the opportunities for the mischievous expansion of federal power beyond the limits of constitutional propriety. The illegal activities of the CIA and the FBI are most recent examples. But where should the line be drawn in the interest of national security, domestic tranquility and individual freedom?

Aggravating the confusion over the proper role of the federal executive and the limits on the exercise of federal power, is the crisis of competence so evident to those who deal with the national government. Individuals as politically varied as Harvard University President Derek Bok, corporate board chairmen, state social workers receiving federal funds and anyone who has lost a Social Security card and tried to get a new one, echo each other. To quote from Mr. Bok's annual report: "In

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a few short years (we) have become encumbered with a formidable body of regulations, some of which seem unnecessary and most of which cause needless confusion, administrative expense and red tape."

Finally, the national government suffers from a crisis of corruption. By this I mean not simply the downright corruption of sex and money, bribery and extortion, that may unfortunately be as rampant in our nation's capital as it has been in some big city halls.

Vice President Agnew takes cash-on-the-line bribes in his office. President Nixon cheats on his income taxes. Army Secretary Calloway uses his public office to enhance the value of his commercial ski lodge. Maurice Stans and John Mitchell, cabinet officers and top presidential advisers, close their public lives as convicted criminals. One

"A new President wins only the opportunity to direct—and hopefully redirect—the executive branch. He does not win control of it."

of the most powerful House committee chairmen turns out to be the opening chapter in a sex scandal, allegedly at the taxpayers' expense, that continues to rock this capital.

The two elements of the crisis of corruption to which I refer are more insidious and subtle than these sordid front-page stories reveal.

Its first element is the rampant hypocrisy that so aggravates the public reaction to the money and sex corruption of several years. Agnew preached from the vice presidential pulpit with a vengeance. Nixon may have been the most visually and rhetorically moralistic President of this century, with his Sunday White House church services and his televised homilies. The Congress opens each day with a prayer and fills our statute books with high sounding phrases. Its members incessantly preach to their constituents. Yet, from 1955 to 1975, 16 members of the Congress were indicted; to date 12 have been convicted. In the present Congress, one representative was indicted recently for illegally taking bribes to pass special immigration laws; another has been convicted of bribery; two have plea-bargained for misdemeanors; five more are under investigation by the Department of Justice, the Watergate Special Prosecutor's office or the House Ethics Committee; and another has now been accused of keeping a mistress on the public payroll. No wonder Ronald Reagan, Ralph Nader, John Gardner, Jimmy Carter and Jesse Jackson all agree that something is morally awry in Washington.

The second element of the crisis of corruption also finds Reagan and Nader on the same side—in their attack on what the former California governor calls the Washington "buddy system," the cozy relationship in this town that has winked at marginal corruption for decades.

Labor is cozy with its executive department, the National Labor Relations Board, and its congressional committees; business with its executive department and friends in the Congress; agricultural interests with their department and congressional committees.

Woodward and Bernstein's greatest service may not be the fall of Richard Nixon, but rather that they busted open (however briefly) the buddy system between the reporters and the high government officials on their beats. It is interesting to note how few significant Watergate revelations the White House press corps broke over the years that that story was daily front-page news.

Gerald Ford in his own quest for the presidential nomination has contributed to the people's suspicion of subtle corruption. Any President will use his incumbency to further his own nomination. In 1976, however, President Ford's blatant promises seem almost like buying votes and feed the suspicions of the electorate about Washington. During the recent primary campaign in Ohio, Ford promised the construction of a $2 billion nuclear fuel plant in Pikeville. In another part of that state where stainless steel is manufactured, he announced the imposition of quotas on the importation of stainless steel. To the citizens of defense-contract-conscious Cincinnati, President Ford expressed his determination to build the B-1 bomber. During the Florida primary, he promised the Cubans in Miami special immigration rules and regulations. In Orlando he had a mass transit package.

There is a true consensus among the American people on these three crises —of confusion as to the role of the fed-

eral government, of its competence and of its corruption. On these crises Nader, Reagan, Bok, the antibusers, Jesse Jackson and the corporate board chairmen can agree.

As a Democrat, Jimmy Carter would face these crises not only with a citizen consensus pressing for action, but with an opportunity for a superb congressional partnership. By inauguration day, the House and the Senate will have elected new leaders. That leadership will be Democratic, and it will be strong. Rep. Thomas P. O'Neill, the certain Speaker, will be more like Sam Rayburn than Carl Albert. Robert Byrd, the likely Senate Majority Leader (or Hubert Humphrey, the main competitor for that post), will be more like Lyndon Johnson than Mike Mansfield. And a new Democratic President would find many enthusiastic new members in each House—50 House members and eight senators have already decided to relinquish their seats. Their replacements and others who unseat incumbents or move from freshman to sophomore status would be arriving with the same mandate.

But even with that congressional partnership, the new President must work fast. Carter's early nomination victory gives him the chance to be prepared for a running start should he be the one to assume office on Jan. 20, 1977. He should not be sidetracked by petty party squabbles over the platform or any lingering credentials fights. He must, of course, focus on winning the November election, but he must give some time to preparing to govern.

For a new President wins only the *opportunity* to direct—and hopefully redirect—the activities of the executive branch. He does not win control of it.

Such is the self-sufficient nature of the federal bureaucracy that the most difficult administrative task of the new President will be to parlay his electoral majority and his 2,000 plus presidential appointments into policy control over the executive branch.

The executive branch is made up of people, budgets, and departments and agencies. The most cursory review of these three elements demonstrates why in 1976 popular election as President is no more than an opportunity to be seized—and one that must be seized promptly:

—There are now 3 million civilian employees and 2 million men and women in the military. They have their own interests and programs, and too often they serve a new President as chief executive and commander-in-chief more in theory than in practice.

—A new President would have an opportunity to alter President Ford's fiscal 1978 budget, but the first budget he puts together completely will be for the fiscal year beginning on Oct. 1, 1978, and ending on Sept. 30, 1979. It will likely be the first budget of one-half trillion dollars and the expenditure of fully 75 per cent of those funds will be effectively beyond his control. These are the expenditures to pay federal civilian and military personnel and to fulfill prior commitments, like Social Security, grants to states and cities and long-term contracts. If his redirection of the budget is to be felt during his first term, he must succeed in setting future expenditures in both his adjustments to President Ford's fiscal 1978 budget and his own fiscal 1979 budget.

—The departments and agencies of the federal executive are a minefield of bureaucratic interests jealous of their jurisdictional turf. Each federal program has a constituency within the executive branch itself, in the committees and subcommitttees on Capitol Hill, and among the interest groups and individuals who benefit throughout the nation. They will be poised to oppose any change in the status quo.

—Assuming policy direction and control of the foreign policy apparatus of the U.S. government (including State, Defense and CIA) presents its own special problems. Even from a running start it is likely to take a new President a full two years to have his men and his policies in place.

The opportunity of the new President to reshape the federal executive branch and recast the budget, assuming a substantial Democratic majority, is not likely to extend beyond his first 18 months in office. His opportunity to pursue his own foreign policy depends on his early success in taking control of the national security apparatus. Presidential candidate Carter should begin preparing to seize that opportunity now.

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THE WASHINGTON POST
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Democrats Agree on Defense Cut

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic platform drafting subcommittee adopted a foreign policy plank yesterday that calls for a $5 billion to 7 billion cut in defense spending.

The subcommittee took the proposal from campaign speeches of the party's all-but-certain presidential nominee, Jimmy Carter. The former Georgia governor has called for a spending cut of that size, which he says could be made "without endangering the defense of our nation or commitments to our allies."

President Ford has taken the opposite view, arguing that such a cut would impair the national defense—and the Democratic Congress agreed this year with the President.

Mr. Ford proposed that defense spending be increased from this fiscal year's estimated $92.8 billion to $101.1 billion in the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. Congress agreed approximately to the President's request in the budget resolution it passed last month.

The foreign policy plank was the last to be adopted as the 15-member platform drafting subcommittee completed its work uneventfully yesterday. Today, the proposed draft will go before the full 153-member platform committee, which is supposed to finish with it Wednesday. It must then go to the party's July convention for final approval.

Subcommittee liberals and those favoring a harder line both went into yesterday's session prepared for a fight on foreign policy, but it failed to develop. Each side won something, and both said they were fairly happy with the result.

Sam Brown, one of the first antiwar organizers in the 1960s, called it a good plank. So did Ben Wattenberg, an observer for Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), a strong Pentagon supporter.

The liberals liked the proposal for a Pentagon spending cut, and won approval of a section critical of multinational corporations.

The other side was pleased when the subcommittee refused to go on record in opposition to the B-1 bomber (even though Carter did so during the primaries). The hard-liners also liked the section on the Soviet Union, which does such things as condemn Soviet "oppression" in Eastern Europe.

In other action yesterday, the drafting panel gave final approval to an energy plank that opposes instant and total deregulation of natural gas prices, but also says it may be necessary to let those prices rise somewhat to stimulate increased production.

The energy plank is fuzzy on the subject of so-called vertical divestiture—breaking up the major oil companies so that those that take the oil out of the ground and refine it are not the same ones that sell it.

There is legislation to that effect pending in the Senate, and proponents urged the subcommittee to back the bill. Instead, it endorsed unspecified "effective restrictions on the right of major companies to own all phases of the industry" when it can be demonstrated that "competition is inadequate to ensure free markets."

On another matter, the subcommittee finally approved a sentence endorsing pardons for all remaining fugitive Vietnam War draft resisters, but did not endorse any such concession to deserters. That is essentially Carter's position. Earlier, the panel had voted to drop all mention of both resisters and deserters, mostly because the issue is still so divisive.

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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Finding Satisfaction Within

300,000 Visits for Myself And Only 140 for God

By Jimmy Carter

We have a tendency to exalt ourselves and to dwell on the weaknesses and mistakes of others. I have come to realize that in every person there is something fine and pure and noble, along with a desire for self-fulfillment. Political and religious leaders must attempt to provide a society within which these human attributes can be nurtured and enhanced.

In 1965 my oldest son was graduated from high school, and our whole family took a rare extended vacation. Since all of us were able to speak some Spanish, we decided to go to Mexico, and we spent three weeks just traveling slowly around that country, trying to stay in places

Fifth of seven articles

where English was not spoken and where we could learn most about the Mexican people. It was the best vacation we ever had and we thoroughly enjoyed being with the farmers, workers, shopkeepers, priests and others who lived in the small towns and rural areas.

One day as we drove down one of the main highways, we saw a tiny village in a nearby valley, and the name of it in Spanish was the same as our hometown of Plains. It seemed a nondescript and poverty-stricken little place, and we decided to take a photograph of the road sign with the little hamlet in the background. It was in the desert, and consisted of about 10 adobe huts, no trees and a few goats. As we stood on the side of the road and adjusted the camera, a small group of children about 8 or 10 years old ran toward us. They surrounded us, held out their hands and in Spanish begged for something. I told Rosalynn to get out her pocketbook and give them some coins, and then finally understood what they were saying. They were not asking for dinero," which means money." They were saying two other words: lapiz" and papel," meaning pencil" and paper." This moved us deeply, and we gave all the children coins and all the reading and writing material we had in the car.

Jimmy Carter preaching in 1972.

AS WE DROVE ON in our air-conditioned automobile, I thought about the hunger of those children to learn more about themselves, and about the outside world. They also exemplified to me the people of my own country whose yearnings for a better life have not been realized.

A few years ago I was sitting in church in Plains thinking about the title of the morning sermon. I do not remember anything our pastor had to say that morning, but I have never forgotten the title of the sermon: If you were arrested for being a Christian, would there be enough evidence to convict you?"

I was then a member of the largest and most prestigious church in town, a Sunday School teacher and a deacon, and I professed to be quite concerned about my religious duties. But when asked that question I finally decided that if arrested and charged with being a committed follower of God, I could probably talk my way out of it! It was a sobering thought.

Every year we have a one-week revival service, when a visiting preacher comes in to work with our church members in an evangelistic effort. In preparation for this week the leaders of the

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Continued From C-1

church go out into the community and invite the non-church members to worship with us during the revival week. As a deacon, I had always participated in this effort, and would go with our pastor or with another deacon on one or two evenings. We would take our Bibles, visit a couple of homes each year, and tell them about the scheduled activities. We would read a Scripture, have a prayer, say a few words about our religious beliefs, talk about the weather and the crops, and depart. I was always proud enough of this effort to retain a clear conscience throughout the remainder of the year.

One day I was invited to speak to a nearby church group in Preston, Ga., which is a small town with a population of about 300 (about half that of Plains). The subject assigned to me was Christian Witnessing." I thought immediately that they had undoubtedly heard about the wonderful work I was doing in my own church.

WHEN I WENT INTO the front room to write my speech about witnessing, it was with some sense of self-satisfaction. About halfway through composing the speech I decided to make a real impression on the audience. I began to figure how many individual visits I had made for God. Since it had been 14 years since I had returned home from the Navy, and I had visited an average of two families a year, and assuming two parents and three children per family, there were a total of 140 visits! I proudly wrote the figure down on my notes, and still have it.

While I was congratulating myself, suddenly I remembered the 1966 governor's election. It was very late when we decided to make the campaign, so we had to work furiously to overcome the handicap of the late start. I left everything I cared for — my farm, my family, my bird dogs — and my wife and I spent 16 to 18 hours a day trying to reach as many Georgia voters as possible. We went in opposite directions, shaking hands and telling everyone what a wonderful man I was and why they should vote for me. At the end of the almost successful campaign we had met more than 300,000 Georgians.

The comparison struck me — 300,000 visits for myself in three months, and 140 visits for God in 14 years!

I began to read the Bible with a new interest and perspective and to understand more clearly the admonitions about pride and self-satisfaction.

I BEGAN TO EXPAND my personal service in the church, and to search more diligently for a closer relationship with God among my different business, professional and political interests. An invitation came for me to go to another state to witness for a week within about a hundred families among whom there were no believers in God. I was told that no special qualifications were required, just the willingness to give a week of my life to God, with no strings attached." After accepting the invitation I realized that during the more than 30 years of my church membership there had probably not been one hour of total commitment to God with absolutely no strings attached." It was an exhilarating week, and similar experiences were repeated in subsequent years.

But there is always the continuing temptation to be content with meager accomplishments in our religious lives, as we lower our standards of service to match worldly expectations or our own convenience. There is also the temptation to judge other people without charity, and I have been tempted to do this since I was a small child.

We must constantly search for ways to make our own lives more significant and more meaningful, regardless of our

apparent lack of talent or influence. A great modern-day theologian, Paul Tillich, said in one of his profound books that religion is the search for the truth about man's existence, and his relationship to God. He pointed out that when we think we know it all and are satisfied with what we have accomplished in the eyes of God, we are already far from God.

OUR PERSONAL PROBLEMS are magnified when we assume different standards of morality and ethics in our own lives as we shift from one responsibility or milieu to another. Should elected officials assume different levels of concern, compassion, or love toward their own family or loved ones? Should a businessman like me have a lower standard of honesty and integrity in dealing with my customers than I assume as a Sunday School teacher or a church deacon? Of course not. But we do.

Our own personal standards are varied, but the expectations we have for politics and government are even more disturbing. We are quite often happy to achieve mediocrity in government. This low expectation, admittedly based on unhappy experience, can only contribute to the perpetuation of low standards of achievement. There is no legitimate reason why government should not represent the highest possible common ideals and characteristics of the people who form and support it. Its example should be inspirational and not embarrassing. Its competence should equal that of any person or business entity. Its hopes and aspirations should mirror those of its finest subjects. Equity and fairness should be basic and unquestioned. Are these characteristics impossible to achieve? No. They should be the least that we demand.

OF COURSE, IT IS important to have an effective mechanism of government. There is no way to insure justice, reduce crime, tax equitably, relieve suffering, protect the quality of life, transport cargo and people, marshall a common effort, or maintain peace without a trusted and competent government. If we insist that the golden rule be applied in all public matters, then potential inequities can be prevented, and wrongs can be righted. A simple and well-structured government, operating with minimum secrecy and with its goals and policies clearly expressed, will be much more likely to represent what we as people are or ought to be. To establish and maintain such a government is the proper purpose of public service.

Tomorrow: *Presidential Plans.*

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Carter Forms Group Of Women Advisers

By Isabelle Shelton
Washington Star Staff Writer

Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter yesterday announced the formation of a women's committee that he said will advise him on women's issues and help him find qualified women to serve in his administration if he wins the presidency.

The group will be called the "Committee of 51.3," Carter said, because that is the percentage of women among the U.S. population.

The former Georgia governor also announced a nine-point program for women, leading off with a strong statement of support for the Equal Rights Amendment, which must be ratified by four more states before it becomes law.

"I will try to make it clear to the American people that, despite propoganda to the contrary, ERA is not an elitist issue, but a very basic matter of social justice that directly affects the personal and economic well-being and freedom of every woman in this country," he said.

Carter also pledged to oppose any Constitutional amendment outlawing abortion, to "vigorously enforce" laws prohibiting sex discrimination and to support legislation banning sex discrimination in Social Security and income tax laws, health and disability insurance, and improved child-care services for working parents.

He also promised to appoint "substantial numbers" of qualified women to important jobs throughout the federal government.

Members of the candidate's new committee include Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Col.; consumer advocates Esther Peterson and Carol Tucker Foreman; United Auto Workers vice president Odessa Kolmer; Midge Costanza, vice mayor of Rochester, N.Y.; and Betty Talmadge, a Georgia businesswoman and the wife of that state's Sen. Herman Talmadge.

Mandel Tells Carter He'll 'Back Nominee'

Associated Press

Jimmy Carter has apparently extended an olive branch to Maryland's Gov. Marvin Mandel in hopes of burying their long-festering differences before the July 12 Democratic National Convention.

Frank DeFilippo, Mandel's press secretary, confirmed yesterday that Carter phoned Mandel last Wednesday and the two talked for quite a while" before Mandel left on vacation.

The spokesman said they discussed the differences which led to Mandel's decision to support California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in Maryland's May 18 primary.

"THEY CHATTED for quite a while and Carter told the governor he hoped they could sit down and reconcile their differences," DeFilippo said. He asked the governor for his support, and the governor assured him he would back his party's nominee."

Carter and Mandel have been feuding ever since Mandel was president of the National Governor's Conference and Carter was Georgia's governor. The details of their dislike for one another have never been made public.

Mandel agreed to a face-to-face meeting with the Democratic front-runner prior to this summer's convention. DeFilippo said Mandel had not made Carter's phone call public because he wanted to meet with him first.

DeFilippo added that the two politicians might meet with several other governors either before or during the National Governor's Conference in Hershey, Pa., which begins July 4.

ACCORDING TO the press secretary, both men agreed their differences could probably be ironed out for good at a personal meeting.

Mandel will go to the convention in New York City as a delegate pledged to Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash. Last week, the Associated Press learned that Mandel was still undecided about backing Carter on the first ballot.

Two other Jackson delegates from Maryland announced after the end of the primaries last Tuesday that they would support Carter.

Carter Set For N.Y. Votes Bid

Associated Press

Jimmy Carter's efforts to wrap up the Democratic presidential nomination moved to New York City today where he was to appear on a platform with Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.

On the Republican side, President Ford scheduled a meeting here with civil rights critics of his stand on school busing after spending yesterday relaxing at Camp David.

Rival Ronald Reagan planned a delegate foray in Iowa next weekend after 18 of 19 GOP convention delegates at a state party convention Saturday in neighboring Missouri declared themselves for Reagan.

Ford has 994 of the 1,130 delegates needed for the GOP nomination, Reagan has 903. The spotlight now is on 10 states where Republicans have yet to make a choice.

NEWSWEEK magazine said yesterday its own survey indicated Ford would hold his narrow lead, going to the Republican National Convention with 1,160 delegetes to Reagan's 1,089.

Former Treasury Secretary John Connally agreed on NBC's "Meet The Press" the contest would be sewn up before the Aug.16 GOP convention, but he wouldn't say by whom.

Carter picked up 23 delegates over the weekend, 11 in Missouri, 10 in Delaware and the rest from scattered delegate switches.

His appearance today before the New York delegation to the national party convention along with Udall and Brown capped a busy week of fence-mending among party leaders and former rivals.

One former rival, Idaho Sen. Frank Church, canceled an appearance in New York after telling Iowa supporters this weekend that he planned to endorse Carter today.

And Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson, another former rival, said Saturday he would work for Carter "if I am asked, and indications are I will be." Jackson added, however, that he would not formally release his delegates.

ALABAMA GOV. George Wallace released his delegates and announced support for Carter last week.

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Russell Baker

Grimsby goes fishin' for power

At first I did not recognize Grimsby. He had undergone a radical change of clothing since our last meeting in Washington during the Kennedy administration. In those days he always wore a dark three-button suit with narrow lapels and a hard nose, which was the uniform of the New Frontier.

Now he was wearing a frayed straw hat, bare feet and overalls, and was carrying a fishing pole. On Park Avenue he looked so out of place that I would have passed by hurriedly — New York streets teem with maniacs, many of whom think they are Huckleberry Finn — had he not extended his hand and said, "Howdy, y'all."

It was Grimsby, all right. Despite the hayseed he was chewing, there was no mistaking the familiar lust for fancy office space and government limousine service which burned in those eyes.

Under Kennedy he had been one of the giants of the foreign-policy establishment, advising at all the great policy disasters. Washington sycophants had exhausted every cliche in the Federal Flattery Lexicon to describe the hardness of his nose, the ferocity of his steel-trap mind, the unassailability of his powerful logic and the glacial power of his mighty Ivy League education. Now he was reduced to this.

I wept a small tear, which Grimsby quickly blotted with a bandanna. "Weep no more, my noble son of the South," he declared, referring to my Virginia antecedents. "The time of the boll weevil has passed at last."

"Are you going fishing?" I asked.

"I'm agettin' ready for the day of Jubilo," he said. "There's a great day a-comin'. There's gonna be a great new president up in Washington, and we're all gonna dance at the Jubilee Ball."

"Ah," I murmured, for it was becoming clear now. It had been 12 years since Grimsby had last enjoyed the federal payroll. He was looking for a job in Foggy Bottom, but preferably at the White House.

"The way I see it," said Grimsby, "this country needs a secretary of state who knows how to outsmart a catfish underneath the sweet perfume of the sycamore trees."

"Listen, Grimsby," I said, "if you're hoping to tie onto Jimmy Carter, you've got to learn that sycamore trees don't have any perfume. It's the magnolia trees that have perfume. Also, the catfish aren't found under the sycamore, the magnolia or even the cottonwood trees. The place where you outsmart the catfish is down by the creek, pronounced 'crick.' "

Grimsby sighed. "I've got a lot to learn," he said. "You're handicapped by your brilliant Ivy League education," I told him.

"Let's talk about it over a heapin' plate of okra and fatback," Grimsby suggested. He was clearly desperate to escape from the campus backwaters and get back into power. "When you're dressed like that," I explained, "I couldn't be seen with you eating okra and fatback, or even a whole boiled alligator floating in a tub of hog grease, and neither would Jimmy Carter."

Shucks," said Grimsby, "I'm just a good ole boy."

Now Grimsby is anything but a good old boy, as can be attested by a whole generation of his students in world affairs, all of whom he failed in order to hold down competition for the big foreign-policy jobs in Washington. "Give it up, Grimsby," I urged. "Let the word go forth from this time and place that the torch has passed to a new generation. Go back to your three-button suit. Put on some shoes. Write your memoirs."

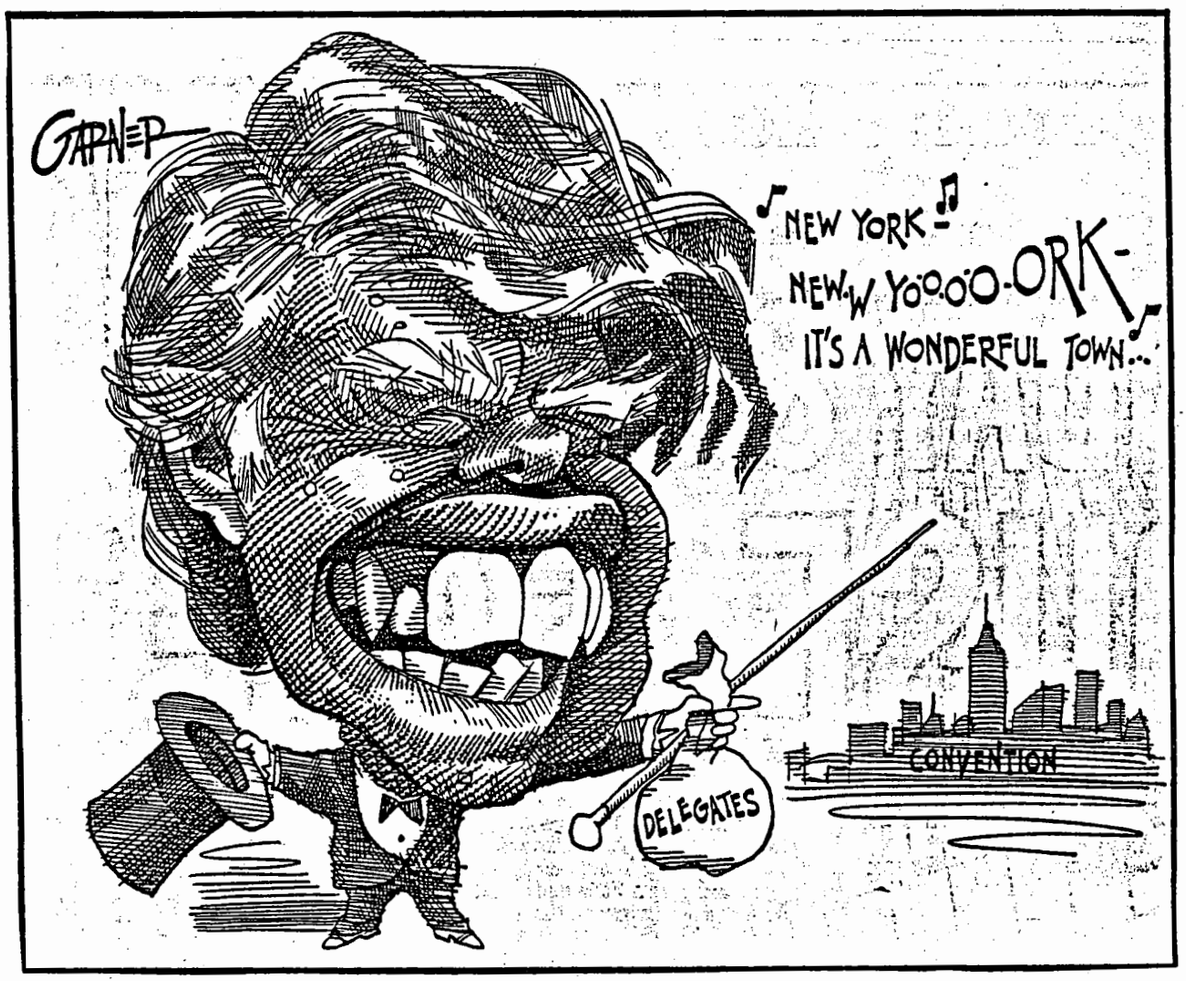
Grimsby did not take this advice well. A little of the old hardness broke out on his nose, and by the way he whipped his fishing pole through the air you could tell he would have outsmarted me like a catfish under the sycamore trees except for my powerful Southern antecedents.

"I'm sick and tired of having nothing but students to push around," he said. "I'm asking not what I can do for my country, but what my country can do for me."

One does not like to cross Grimsby. Those who tried it in the old days often found themselves being bombed for the preservation of world peace or dropped from the lists of those invited to eat canapes at State Department receptions.

Fortunately, our walk had brought us to the offices of the Council on Foreign Relations, where Grimsby was to read a brilliant new position paper on country-ham exports to the Soviet bloc.

As we parted, Grimsby waved his fishing pole at three women leaving the building and said, "Howdy, ma'ams. I love you all." At which one of the women hit him with her purse and fled. No New Yorker has to look twice to recognize a mugger.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The Washington Post

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Democratic Platform Panel Backs Guaranteed Income

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Democratic platform drafting subcommittee went on record yesterday in favor of a national income floor or guaranteed annual income, and against a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion.

The decisions came on the 15-member subcommittee's second of three scheduled days of deliberations—a day that was almost tranquil considering the subject matter, which ranged from welfare and abortion to busing, aid to parochial schools and pardons for Vietnam war draft resisters and deserters.

Part of the smoothness was due to a general desire to avoid dividing the party. Part was also due, on the abortion issue at least, to some coaxing by putative presidential nominee Jimmy Carter's platform committee spokesmen, Joseph Duffey and Stuart Eizenstat.

The drafting subcommittee originally voted 10 to 3 yesterday morning to drop all mention of abortion in the platform, on grounds the Supreme Court has spoken on the subject, and the issue is divisive.

That first decision angered lobbyists for various pro-abortion women's organizations waiting in the hotel corridor outside the closed-door subcommittee session. To placate them, the Carter representatives persuaded the subcommittee to reverse itself, and it finally voted 8 to 4 to insert two sentences:

"We fully recognize the religious and ethical nature of the concerns which many Americans have on the subject of abortion. We feel, however, that it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court . . . in this area."

The Carter aides were also trying last night, though not so hard, to persuade the subcommittee to reverse another decision. The platform drafters voted early in the day to drop all mention of pardons for Vietnam-era resisters and deserters. Carter has advocated pardoning all remaining fugitive draft resisters; his views are less clear toward deserters.

At the urging of former U.N. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a subcommittee member and now a seeker of this year's Democratic nomination for U.S. senator from New York, the drafters toughened their welfare reform plank, taking it a little further than Carter has been willing to go.

Moynihan, as a White House aide in 1969, was the principal author of Richard Nixon's celebrated welfare reform proposal, the so-called family assistance plan.

He successfully urged the subcommittee yesterday to adopt a plank embodying the principles of that plan, most

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important of which, according to language Moynihan suggested, is that the plan "provide an income floor for all citizens, both for the working poor and the poor not in the labor market."

Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, the drafting subcommitte's chairman, said at a news conference later that the plank might not actually include the words "income floor," but acknowledged that would be the meaning. Carter, for his part, has called for one "fairly uniform nationwide payment" to welfare recipients instead of the present state-by-state patchwork of payment levels.

The drafting panel also voted yesterday to strengthen somewhat its plank on national health insurance, though its exact position on such crucial questions as whether all such insurance should be provided by the government or some by private companies remained uncertain last night, subject to a final vote today.

The subcommittee, acting again at Moynihan's suggestion, went on record in favor of "a constitutionally acceptable method of providing tax aid . . . in nonpublic schools," though it did not say what it thought such a method might prove to be. The Supreme Court has restricted most forms of public aid to private schools in the past.

As to busing, the subcommittee merely observed, almost noncommittally, that it was a "judicial tool of last resort." It added that housing integration is plainly the best long-term way to achieve school integration.

The drafting panel yesterday morning unanimously approved the first two of the six planned sections of the platform, on the economy and government reform. It had taken a first look at these sections Friday, and overnight they had been rewritten slightly.

The economy section is essentially a commitment to expansionist policies to reduce unemployment. The reform section pledges in various ways to clean up the government and make it more "responsive."

In other action yesterday, Carter's aides released a kind of open letter to the platform committee from their candidate, saying the platform should be a "binding contract with the . . . people" setting out "realistic goals and achievable, affordable policies."

Most of the 37-page letter was given over to restating Carter's views on leading domestic and foreign policy isues. His aides said one purpose of the letter was to offset the impression that he has, as Eizenstat put it, "not been addressing issues with specificity."

The platform is scheduled to go to the full 153-member platform committee Monday for approval by Wednesday. It then must be approved by the party's July convention as well.

Georgian Gets All 35

Ala. Delegates Go to Carter

From News Dispatches

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., June 12 — Jimmy Carter today picked up the support of all 35 Alabama delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

Five uncommitted delegates agreed after meeting with the former Georgia governor to support his presidential nomination at the July convention.

The 27 delegates pledged to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace agreed to abide by his wishes and vote for Carter on the first ballot. Carter had three delegates of his own.

Alabama's slate of delegates was completed today when the Democratic Party's executive committee selected eight at-large delegates, based on candidates' showings in the May primary.

Wallace had asked his delegates Wednesday to vote for Carter. The governor met with his delegates before the executive committee meeting to ask them to vote for Carter. There was no opposition to his request.

The five uncommitted delegates—all of whom are black—met with Carter in Montgomery today and afterwards pledged their support to the Georgian.

In Connecticut, where Gov. Ella Grasso shifted her support from Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson to Carter today, Democratic district meetings moved six delegates out of the uncommitted category. Carter gained two, Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall one, and Jackson three. Of the state's 51 delegates, Carter now has 19, Udall 16, Jackson eight, and eight are uncommitted.

In a single congressional district meeting in Colorado, Udall got two delegates, Carter one, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. one, Idaho Sen. Frank Church one, and two were uncommitted.

Democrats also named already-apportioned delegates in Kentucky, Michigan, North Carolina and Washington. Friday night, Carter picked up 10 more delegates in Delaware; the other two delegates were uncommitted.

The Illinois Republican state convention selected five at-large delegates to the national convention, all of whom are expected to support President Ford, giving him 77 to Ronald Reagan's 13.

GGGG

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New York Gov. Carey Backs Candidacy of Jimmy Carter

New York Gov. Hugh Carey yesterday endorsed the presidential candidacy of Jimmy Carter, saying the country needs a Democratic President to solve its urban problems.

The endorsement came in response to a reporter's question during a news conference held after a bill-signing ceremony in Carey's Manhattan office.

The governor was asked whether, in view of reports that Carter was considering him and other big-city mayors as possible running mates, he had changed his mind about endorsing the Georgian.

"As far as I'm concerned, if we're going to be able to cope with the problems of our state . . . in the urban areas of our country, we need a Democratic President in Washington in 1977," Carey replied.

Meanwhile, Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) endorsed Carter's bid.

Sparkman said he feels Carter has "virtual assurance" of being the party's nominee and an "excellent chance" of being elected president.

'Compatibility'

Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson (D-Ill.) said he is not seeking the Democratic nomination for Vice President, but called himself politically compatible with Jimmy Carter.

He did not rule out the possibility of accepting a Carter request — were it offered—that he be Carter's running mate in November, a recommendation being promoted by Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley.

'Dutch Boy'

California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. told Missouri Democrats in Jefferson City yesterday that his late run for the presidential nomination was like the fable of the Dutch boy trying to plug a leak in the dike.

"Here I am with my finger in the dike with water coming over my head," he said. "But I'm still standing here."

Brown was making a last-ditch effort to woo the 17 at-large national convention delegates being chosen at the state convention. Jimmy Carter, who had the backing of state party leaders, was expected to pick up most of the delegation.

Jordan Pleased

Rep. Barbara Jordan (D-Tex.) said in Houston that she has no illusions about being selected as a vice-presidential candidate, but she is pleased to be listed among 14 possible choices of Jimmy Carter.

Jordan's name was reported as among those included on a national poll being conducted by the campaign of Carter, the Democratic presidential nomination front-runner, to determine the vote-getting strength of 14 possible vice-presidential candidates.

From staff reports and news dispatches

A Farewell to the Old South

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., June 12—The Old South was buried here today on the grounds of the Alabama governor's mansion.

It was an informal ceremony, attended by former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, reporters, Secret Service agents and a host of casually clad blacks and whites standing outside in the late afternoon sun.

Carter, the apparent Democratic presidential nominee and a symbol of the New South, had come here to pay his respects to Wallace, a symbol of the Old South, whose defeat by Carter in the recent primaries marked the death of an era.

Carter had also come to say thanks—for the delegates he will receive as a result of Wallace's political will and because Wallace, as Carter put it, paved the way for a Deep South politician to go to the White House.

The two men wanted to hold a private ceremony behind the doors of the white stucco mansion and, eventually, they did just that. But, recognizing the significance of the moment, they consented to say a few words first on the mansion porch, in full view and earshot of many who had lived through the racial and social turmoil that was so much a part of this city and this region less than 20 years ago.

Carter, dressed in a charcoal-gray suit and standing military-like with his hands clasped downward in front of him, spoke first.

Wallace had been "a formidable opponent," he said.

"Yes," he responded to a question, "I don't think there's any doubt" that Wallace gave Southern Politicians national acceptability.

But Carter, by careful omission, made it clear that national acceptability did not come because of Wallace's historical "stand in the school house door" and what that meant to the nation.

It came, Carter said, "because in many ways, the issues that Wallace raised in 1972—welfare reform, tax reform, the concerns of the masses—were immediately adopted by his opponents."

And it came, Carter said, "because of the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the removal of the race question from the consciousness of the South."

"Those two things were major factors" in what took place here, Carter said. The statement seemed to override an earlier Carter disclaimer that today's events marked "no dramatic change."

Wallace, sitting in the wheelchair he was forced into as a result of a 1972 assassination attempt but looking quite well in his light blue summer suit, replied so quietly that onlookers could not hear him.

Carter ended the outdoor comments. The crowd cheered the birth of something fresh, and applaudsed, celebrating different and promising in place of the Old South. And the two men went inside to confer in private.

They stayed in the mansion about 15 minutes and then came out together. Carter quickly waved to a lingering crowd and then darted off to the 35th reunion of his high school class in Americus, Ga.

But Wallace was not left alone immediately a group of reporters, sensing he wanted to say something and hoping for a repeat of his earlier comments, clustered around.

"What I said before was that I wanted to thank Gov. Carter for coming to Alabama to say hello, not only to me, but to the people of Alabama," Wallace said. "We all appreciate his coming here."

"We feel that he will be the next President," Wallace said. He paused. "The only agreement that I ever talked to Gov. Carter about was that he would do the best he could, with the resources at his command to make all the people of our nation one of the finer Presidents."

Wallace seemed to stress "all the people," as if, perhaps, to apologize for the past and to recognize that things have changed.

Bitterness? "No," said Wallace. "There never had been . . . We have to realize that we can't win all the time . . . I lost. The people voted for Carter. . . . That was it."

Reporters had to leave the governor to catch up with the man who, many believe, has a good chance to become the next President.

Wallace said, "Good-bye," and then he was wheeled back into the mansion.

Joseph Kraft

The New Regional Balance

The primaries, now mercifully over, have registered a new regional balance in the country. The Northeast and perhaps the Middle West, too, are stagnating regions that find it increasingly difficult to surface leaders with appeal to a national majority.

The West is an advancing area, with political claims that have found expression in a multitude of different candidates. The South, a hundred years after Reconstruction ended, has surged forward to the point where it is finally able to put forward a candidate capable of winning a national mandate.

Underlying the shifting regional balance is a change in global economic influence. In general the heavily industrialized consumer societies have lost power to the producers of raw materials—notably the stuff that makes food and energy.

In this country, of course, the heavily industrialized consumer societies are concentrated in the great cities of the Northeast and the Great Lakes. These cities are now increasingly in trouble, especially because of the last recession. Local industry tends to be declining, and there is a strong disposition to turn to the federal government for help in meeting claims for higher salaries, more jobs and better facilities for schools, transport, housing and health.

The producer areas are the South and West, which are rich in agriculture, oil and gas. They prospered even during the recent recession. They have a strong political interest in not transferring their new wealth to the older, afflicted states.

These conditions find their most impressive political example in the Northeast. In the past the area has been a seedbed of presidential candidacies (Smith, Roosevelt, Harriman, Kennedy and Muskie on the Democratic side, and Coolidge, Dewey, Eisenhower, Rockefeller on the Republican side) for both parties.

But this year the Northeast has fielded no candidate of consequence in either the Republican or Democratic primaries. My sense is that the region is now so deeply in trouble, so much on the take in its attitude toward Washington, that it cannot throw up a candidate capable of winning national support.

The Middle West has been only slightly less hard-hit by industrial overconcentration. Whether Republican or Democratic, its congressmen, senators and governors have to cope with the massive problems of central cities and the low income groups. This year, no Democrat emerged from the area to bid for the presidency.

President Ford from Michigan has, of course, been in the thick of the Republican race. But Mr. Ford is on the presidential scene by accident of succession. While running well in his own region and the Northeast, moreover, the President has experienced trouble in the South and West. To a large extent that is because of his identification with a Washington hated for giveaway programs.

As to the West, it has been steadily gaining in national stature. There is a craving for a bigger political say in Washington. Five candidates from the West—former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California on the Republican side; and among the Democrats, Gov. Edmund Brown of California, Sens. Henry Jackson of Washington and Frank Church of Idaho, and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona—entered the primary and made creditable runs.

The area as a whole, moreover, preferred its favorite sons over candidates from other regions. Even the formidable Jimmy Carter was beaten in California, Oregon, Idaho, Nevada and Montana.

Gov. Carter, of course, is the shining symbol of the New South. The region has been moving forward steadily in population, income and levels of education for 25 years. School desegregation has lifted the burden of racism that used to disqualify all southerners from national politics.

As a result, Mr. Carter ran well not only in his own district. He also won victories in such states as New Hampshire, Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio, carrying voters of all kinds, including many blacks.

Beyond announcing that the stigma of race is off southern leaders, these victories may promise the end of another southern specialty. I have in mind the tendency to be uncritical boosters of American armed strength, hawks in all military engagements, finders of subversives under every bed. To me, anyway, the great hope of the new regional balance is that, much as the Kennedy presidency pulled the Catholics away from hysterical anticommunism, so a Carter presidency, and the final end of the Civil War, would relieve the South of the need to be super-American.

P. J. Wingate

Peanuts Do Not Grow On Trees

With peanut farming becoming more and more a topic for discussion these days, it seems in order to offer some instruction on this vital subject because, except for some areas in the rural South, the general public probably knows very little about it.

Certainly a group of young men who sat in front of me at a baseball game several years ago were abysmally ignorant as to where peanuts come from, even though these lowly delicacies have been a favorite at baseball games for a century or so.

I had read that Connie Mack Stadium in Philadelphia was going to be abandoned as a ball park and decided to make one last sentimental journey there before its demise. It was late in the season and neither the Phillies nor their opponents of the day were in the pennant race, so it wasn't surprising to find a very small crowd. That didn't matter because I had gone more to stir up memories than to watch the then current cast of ballplayers. I was hoping to catch a glimpse, in my mind's eye, of Lefty Grove throwing a marble-sized baseball past the batters or to see the "Maryland Broadback," Jimmy Foxx, hit one out of Shibe Park, as Connie Mack Stadium was called in those early days of glory.

Alas, nothing noteworthy happened on the field, and the memories were all rather gray and sad. It would have been a totally wasted afternoon except for the conversation that I overheard among a group of young men and boys sitting in front of me.

The writer is former chairman of the Board of Visitors and Governors of Washington College.

There were about eight of them, ranging in age from 15 to 20, I would estimate. They were eating peanuts, drinking beer and from time to time watching the ball game. Along about the fifth or sixth inning one of them said to no one in particular: "Where do they get the peanuts?"

No one paid any attention so he rephrased his question: "Where does peanuts come from?"

There was a brief pause and then one of the younger fellows replied: "They dig them out of the ground down in North Carolina."

This simple statement of truth brought an instant reply from the biggest and most powerful-looking fellow in the group: "Shut up, boy," he said, "peanuts grow on trees just like walnuts and hickory nuts."

This startling information brought no reaction from the others in the group, but the young boy who had given the first answer replied rather apologetically: "My uncle lives in North Carolina, and he told me they grow on the roots of the peanut plant."

Whereupon the big fellow repeated his warning: "Shut your ignorant mouth, boy," he said. "I told you peanuts grow on trees."

And there the matter rested because the others said nothing, and I was alone with no inclination to dispute the big man with the firm opinion as to where peanuts grew.

However, I did think back on the peanuts that my brothers and I had grown on the Eastern Shore of Maryland during the 1920s. Peanuts were never a commercial crop in Maryland, so far as I know, but they grew well in Dorchester County where my father lived, and he encouraged Vic, Mark and me to grow as many in the garden as we thought we could eat during the winter.

The peanuts we grew were lush green plants about two and a half feet high with leaves looking something like a cross between a lima bean and a green pea. The nut did indeed grow under the soil, as the nephew of the North Carolinian had said, but the way they got there was anything but ordinary. The big powerful-looking repressor of truth in Connie Mack Stadium would never have believed the facts:

When the vines are about a foot high they begin to produce yellow blossoms. And as these blossoms fade, a red-brown stem, about the size of an old-fashioned darning needle, grows out of the blossoms and points downward. These stems keep right on growing until they penetrate the soil an inch or two. Then at the end of this stem a peanut forms.

My father said the peanut's process of propagation was almost as remarkable as that of the Australian duck-billed platypus, which lays eggs and suckles its young after they hatch.

A year or so after I had overheard the conversation at Connie Mack Stadium I attended a business dinner with a group of young chemists. There were peanuts on the table, left over from the cocktail hour, and I told the story of the fellow who said peanuts grew on trees. They were not much interested, but one of them, a Ph.D. physical chemist, asked: "What do peanuts grow on if not on trees?"

I thought he was pulling my leg so I said: "They grow on bushes, about the size of a blackberry bush but without thorns."

No one said anything, but after the young Ph.D. looked at me gravely for a few seconds, he said: "Why do the Germans call them *erd nusse*? An earth nut should come out of the earth."

Whereupon I told him I had been kidding and that, in truth, peanuts did grow in the earth.

However, it was a period when everyone over 30 was suspect, and I did not wish to strain my credibility. So I said nothing about those yellow blossoms and red-brown stems going down into the ground.

Nevertheless, it is all true. If you don't believe it, ask Jimmy Carter. He knows, and he will not lie to you.

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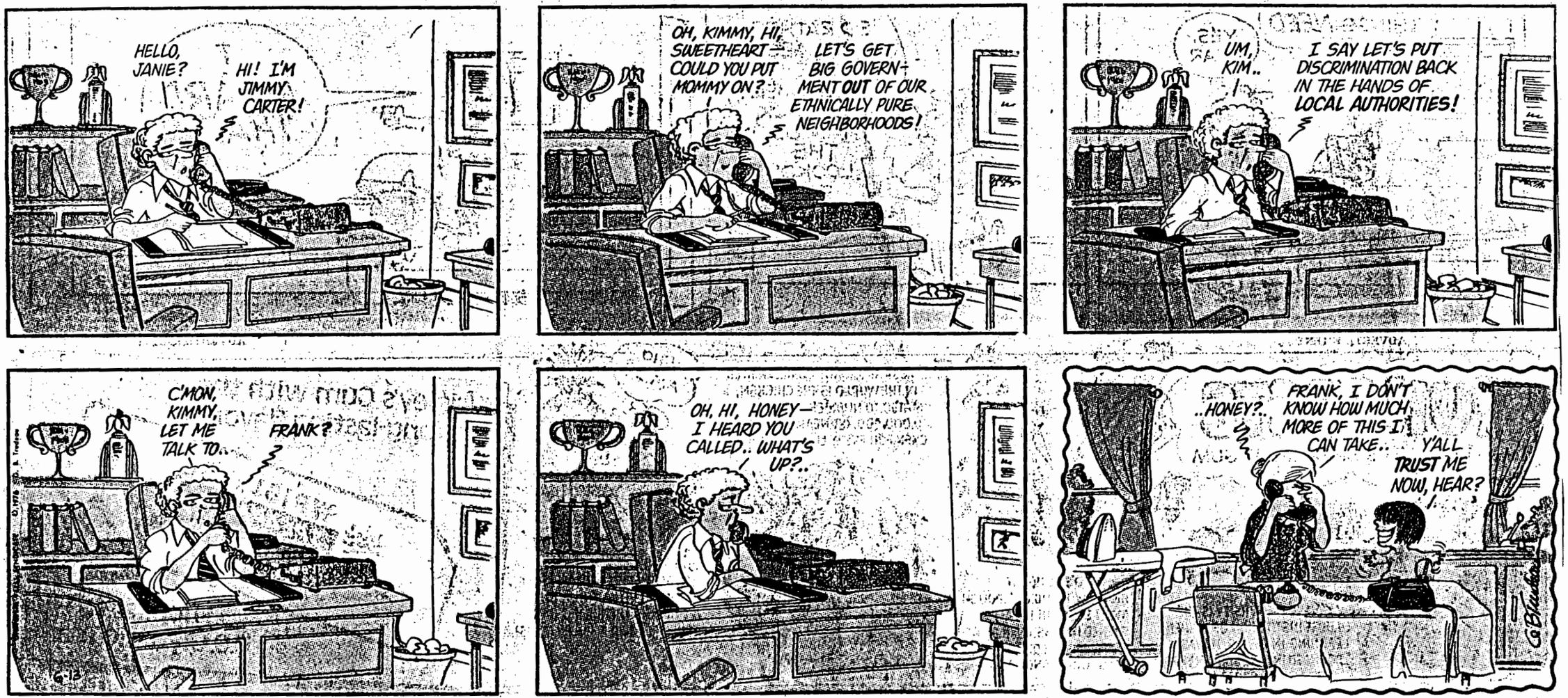
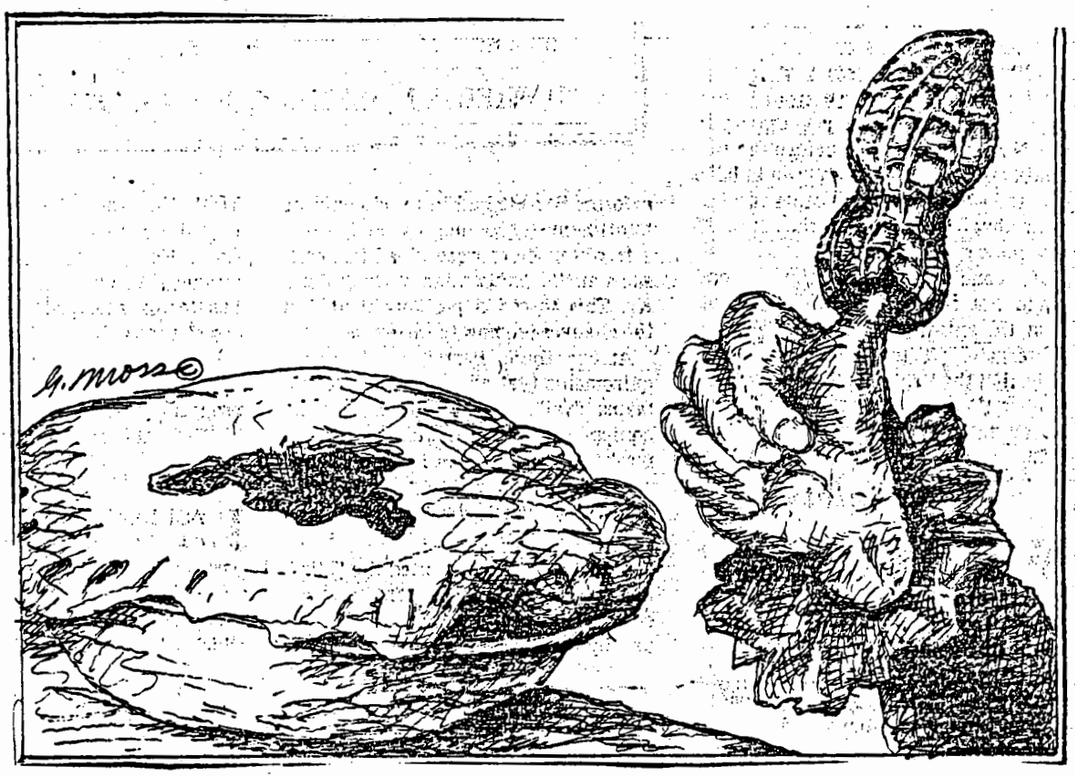
DOONESBURY

by Garry Trudeau





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Pleasant
Mostly sunny today, high 78 to 82. Fair tonight, low near 60. Sunny tomorrow, highs in low 80s. Details: C-6.

The Washington Star

SUNDAY EDITION

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Amy Carter, something of a business tycoon, clamps her hand over her father's mouth near their home at Plains, Ga., yesterday in an attempt to keep him from repeating a whispered confidence as he met with newsmen. Frequent boss of a sidewalk lemonade stand, particularly in hot weather, Amy suggested that perhaps she should charge photographers 10 cents for each picture they took. Amused, the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination turned to repeat the remark. He was cut off in mid-sentence.

Carter, Wallace Issue Call For a 'Harmonious' Party

From News Services

MONTGOMERY, Ala. + Jimmy Carter began a pre-convention goodwill tour of Democratic leaders yesterday by shaking hands with Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and joining with him in a call for a "unified and harmonious party."

The one-time political foes, meeting on Deep South turf that is no longer their personal battleground, spoke privately for 20 minutes in the Alabama governor's mansion, then parted with mutual praise.

It amounted to a sunny Southern summit, with Carter thanking Wallace for his newly announced support. They said little was discussed beyond general party topics.

A PLANNED hour-long meeting was cut short because Carter arrived 15 minutes late. They said there was no discussion of specific platform problems or vice-presidential possibilities.

Carter emphasized he made the trip from his Georgia home mainly to thank Wallace for his endorsement.

After the former Georgia governor departed, Wallace said he harbored no ill will against Carter.

Wallace conceded defeat Wednesday, releasing his delegates, and scheduled the meeting with Carter.

Asked whether the meeting symbolized a truce between representatives of two Southern political eras, Carter replied, "I don't consider it a changing of the guard."

CARTER ALSO planned a meeting in New York tomorrow with his strongest challenger in the primaries, Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona. And Carter aides said he has called other Democratic figures such as Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts and Sen Frank Church of Idaho.

Carter returned to his home at Plains, Ga., last night for a reunion with 22 classmates from the Class of 1941 at Plains High School.

In urging his delegates to join the Carter camp Wednesday, Wallace said supporting Carter "will appeal to a broad spectrum of the people."

He also said he would not try to "have a voice" in the selection of a vice presidential running mate if Carter wins the nomination.

Carter yesterday also won Connecticut Gov. Ella T. Grasso's support and 24 of the state's Democratic National Convention delegates and others seemed likely to soon jump on his bandwagon.

MRS. GRASSO, originally a supporter of Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., announced her expected switch at an afternoon news conference as the state's 51 convention delegates were named.

Carter supporters elected 19 delegates and Mrs. Grasso announced shortly after the balloting that four other Jackson delegates would join her in endorsing the former Georgia governor for the Democratic presidential nomination.

An uncommitted slate won eight delegates and Jackson — after the defections — was left with three

Picking a Path to the Governor's Mansion

-Planning and 600,000 Handshakes Helped

From 1966 through 1970, I worked with more concentration and commitment than ever before in my life. I tried to expand my interests in as many different directions as possible, to develop my own seed business into a profitable and stable enterprise, and to evolve a carefully-considered political strategy to win the governor's race in 1970.

I helped to organize an eight-county planning and development commission, and served for several years as its chairman. I studied the techniques of long-range planning as it related to regional development. We tried to assess what our rural counties and people pos-

Third of seven articles

sessed in natural and human resources, what we would like to be in years to come, and the alternative courses of action open to us. We learned as planners to assume the roles of servants and not masters, and we also learned to combine practical implementation plans with theoretical concepts of planning.

Jimmy Carter

A SMALL GROUP of us later decided to organize a statewide planning society, primarily to correlate the experiences we had had within the regional planning commissions, colleges, and private business — all devoted to planning and development. I was elected the first state president and we began to discuss how the business and professional communities might join with government in a more cooperative approach to make services more beneficial to our people. We talked about government organization, budget priorities, economic development, recreation and tourism, transportation, health, and social justice.

On a typical day I would go to the warehouse or farm early and perform my extra-curricular duties, along with my regular business work until late in the afternoon. Then I would drive somewhere in Georgia to make a speech, and return home late at night. Names, information about the community, and speech notes for later use were all dictated into a small tape recorder in the automobile. The next day Rosalynn wrote thank-you notes on an automatic typewriter which also recorded names, addresses and code descriptions of the persons I had met.

AT OTHER TIMES I studied issues and prepared speech notes on subjects relating to state government. I wrote my own speeches, sometimes spending several days and reading three or four books to prepare an original one on environment, or health, crime control or criminal justice, or certain aspects of education. All of this was an enjoyable and ultimately fruitful experience.

We had a superb group of young volunteer workers who helped me with the analysis of issues, the preparation of a future campaign platform, and the detailed study of all voting results since 1952. For each of the

See CARTER, B-2

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CARTER

Continued From B-1

159 Georgia counties we prepared colored charts and graphs showing how the people there had voted in state and federal elections for all different kinds of candidates, emphasizing all kinds of issues. Since we knew the candidates and issues, it was intructive for us to compare the relative strengths of the candidates from one election to another. After a little study, the general impression of voter motivations in the individual counties began to form.

The overwhelming favorite in the 1970 governor's election was former Governor Carl Sanders, although many other candidates were also mentioned, and several entered the campaign. With the exception of my family and a few close workers, almost all of my best friends advised me not to run for governor. Most of them advocated a campaign for lieutenant governor, and some thought that I should run for commissioner of agriculture. There was never the slightest hesitancy on my part about what to do. I thought I could run and win, and I never worried at all about who else might be in the race against me.

AS THE ELECTION approached, I stepped up the pace of the campaign, and ultimately made about 1,800 speeches during the four-year campaign. Rosalynn and I in that time personally shook hands with more than 600,000 people in Georgia — more than half the total number who vote. During the last few months each of us would meet at least three factory shifts each day.

We shook hands with entire crowds who came to high school football games, livestock and tobacco sale barns, rodeos, college athletic events, and horse shows. Between these we would visit every barber shop, beauty parlor, restaurant, store, and service station in a town, and then move on to the next one. We stood for hours in front of swinging doors at major shopping centers, meeting every customer who entered the most heavily patronized business places. When it was too early in the morning for people to be at work, we met them at downtown bus terminals, or went to the assembly points for municipal policemen, firemen, maintenance crews or garbage collectors.

Neither we nor our staff workers stayed in hotels or motels for which we had to pay. We lived with supporters all over the state, and the late-night visits did more than anything else to cement permanent friendships and to let an effective exchange of information take place between campaign headquarters and people in the individual communities of Georgia.

MY CHIEF OPPONENT in the 1970 campaign got almost all of the endorsements — from newspapers, judges, sheriffs, legislators, bankers, lawyers and organized groups of all types. We made an issue of the big shots standing between him and the people, and eventually almost every endorsement (which he avidly sought) cost him votes in some fashion or other.

We had several serious setbacks and made some bad mistakes. Money was always a problem. We set a quota for the primary of 15 cents for every person in the state. If campaign workers volunteered to help, we asked how big an area they would cover. Then we computed the population of the area, multiplied by 15 cents, and assigned that as a fund-raising quota to the worker. In a few areas it worked. We eventually raised about half this primary amount for all three campaigns combined — the primary, runoff and general election. We often just cut back our budget when money was scarce, recruited more volunteers, and worked harder.

My biggest problem and worst mistake involved one of the Atlanta newspapers. The editor early in the campaign began to characterize me as an ignorant and bigoted redneck peanut farmer. Editorial cartoons showed me standing in the muck of racism while all the other candidates disappeared into the sunrise of enlightenment. These attacks had a serious effect on some of our tentatively committed liberal and idealistic supporters who did not know me personally, particularly those in the Atlanta area who might have helped us financially. Since the newspaper strongly supported former Gov. Sanders, I presume that the editors had recognized me as his major potential opponent and wanted to destroy me early in the campaign. The attack actually backfired, because it projected me into a position of prominence among the many candidates in the race.

I WROTE AN ill-tempered letter attacking the newspaper, but it was not published. When all the candidates were invited to address the annual convention of the Georgia Press Association, I used my time on the program to read the letter to all the state's editors. It was a mistaken and counterproductive action.

This altercation also hurt me among the black voters in the primary. Throughout the campaign I had established a standard practice of working among them on an equal basis with whites. I was the only candidate who visited all the communities in cities, and who spent a large part of my time within the predominantly black stores, restaurants, and street areas. Although I did poorly among black citizens in the Democratic primary, I did well in the general election.

With a last-minute surge, we won the election handily.

Tomorrow: My Administration as Governor.

Associated Press

Gov. and Mrs Carter ride in a July 4 parade after his election as governor. Amy sleeps through it all.

Brown Sees Self At Dikes

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. (UPI) — California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. told Missouri Democrats yesterday his late run for the presidential nomination is like the fable of the Dutch boy trying to plug a leak in the dike.

"Here I am with my finger in the dike with water coming over my head," he said, "but I'm still standing here."

Brown was making a last-ditch effort to woo the 17 at-large national convention delegates being chosen at the state convention.

BUT BROWN FAILED to win a single delegate. His supporters finished fifth in total numbers to Jimmy Carter, uncommitted, Morris Udall, Hubert Humphrey and anti-abortion candidate Elien McCormack.

Carter gathered in 11 more national convention votes from Missouri, the largest state without a primary. The Democratic State Convention also chose six uncommitted delegates.

Jackson County Executive Mike White of Kansas City submitted Carter's nomination, saying, "I think Jimmy Carter has demonstrated he is a proven winner throughout the primaries across the United States.

"The time has come to realize it is inevitable that Carter will be nominated," White said.

With sweat beading his forehead, Brown won his only good ovation as he was leaving the crowded, sweltering high school gymnasium where the convention was held.

"I THINK THIS thing is a real long shot," said Brown, his voice a near-shout as he reached the end of his speech. "But I'm not going to go home until the last ballot is counted."

Brown met with supporters jammed into a classroom before his speech, and told them, "I'm a realist. I recognize that the numbers and the arithmetic obviously favor Governor Carter, but the number of legally obligated delegates (to Carter) are somewhere in the number of 1,100. Beyond that there are only delegates who have expressed a preference. I think I have a chance."

Before coming to the state capital, Brown met with reporters in St. Louis.

"I NEVER THOUGHT it would be right to all of a sudden go into seclusion and take a vow of silence so that this convention can be held even before it's begun," he said.

"If he (Carter) has an overwhelming number of delegates, what's the rush then? I don't understand the logic of casting a vote before it is legally possible."

Brown said not all the delegates released by other presidential candidates are likely to switch to Carter.

"We haven't heard from all the individual delegates and I think it's important that they be treated as individual people," he said.

HE SAID HE realizes the odds against his candidacy.

"My expectations are rather low but my hopes are very high," Brown said. "I recognize the numbers — I'm a realist — but I don't think it'd be right and proper to prematurely stop the process of this nomination or to lock the doors of the convention even before they open."

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Democrats Agree On Jobs Growth, Argue on Busing

By R. Gregory Nokes
Associated Press

A program intended to reduce adult unemployment to 3 percent in four years was approved yesterday by the Democratic party's 1976 platform drafting subcommittee.

However, the subcommittee was unable to agree on wording for platform planks dealing with national health insurance and busing to achieve racial integration of schools.

Gov. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts, the subcommittee chairman, said there probably would be only a slight change in wording of an earlier draft on busing, but he said a "slight difference may make a significant difference in this case."

The earlier draft supported mandatory busing as a "judicial tool of last resort," but also said the party would be "an active ally" of communities that want to achieve school desegregation without busing.

DUKAKIS SAID new wording was being drafted and a final vote probably would be taken this morning.

On the jobs issue, the panel said the party should back legislation to make "every reasonable effort" to slash the adult unemployment, which was 6.2 percent in May.

Among measures to use, it said, would be an antirecession program to create government jobs when necessary, although it made it clear it prefers creating jobs in the private sector first.

The panel also reached general agreement on a statement on abortion and on an income maintenance program to provide minimum income payments to poor and elderly Americans.

Dukakis said the subcommittee agreed on wording on abortion. It would put the party on record as acknowledging the "religious and ethical concerns" of many Americans regarding abortion, but would oppose a constitutional amendment to overturn Supreme Court rulings upholding abortion rights.

HE SAID THE subcommittee agreed on the need for a comprehensive national health insurance program, but hasn't decided whether it should be operated by the government, by private insurance carriers, or a combination on both. Also unresolved was how the program would be financed, he added.

He said precise details of the income plan also remained to be worked out. But he said it probably would provide some sort of minimum federal payment to the poor and elderly, which could be supplemented by the states.

He said the welfare proposal probably will include a provision requiring that persons on welfare who can work should be required to take jobs, even if they are government public service jobs.

Dukakis said the subcommittee agreed to endorse the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, which would reaffirm women's rights.

DENOCATIC presiden-

tial front-runner Jimmy Carter called on the subcommittee to set "realistic and affordable goals and . . . not mislead the American people."

"I believe you have an obligation to write a platform that will be a binding contract with the American people," Carter said in a 37-page statement to the subcommittee.

The subcommittee is supposed to have a final platform draft ready for the full party platform committee that meets for three days beginning tomorrow. Once the draft passes that hurdle, it will go to the Democratic National Convention for final approval as the party's official policy statement for the fall election campaign.

A spokesman for Carter, Stuart Eizenstat, told newsmen the former Georgia governor is not trying to dictate the content of the platform, but he added that so far "we are in general agreement with most of the platform."

THE ECONOMY section is similar to provisions of the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill now before Congress, although specific endorsement of the legislation was not included.

Key provisions of the economy section, which reportedly was approved with little dissent, if any, include:

- Support of legislation to achieve 3 percent adult unemployment within four years.
- Establishment of a national economic planning capability to set annual targets for employment, production and price stability, as well as longer-term planning.
- Making the Federal Reserve System a "full partner" in national ecoomic decisions, responsive to the economic goals of Congress and the President.
- Antirecession grant programs to state and local governments, and public employment programs and stimulus for the private sector. They would be automatically phased in during rising unemployment and phased out when unemployment declines.
- Special help for regions with high unemployment, including low-interest loans to businsses state and local governments in chronically depressed areas.
- Consideration of a domestic development bank or federally insured taxable state and local bonds to make low interest assistance available to such areas.
- "Responsible" tax reform to save over $5 billion the first year, including a requirement that high-income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income. It did not attempt to define "high income."

THE LONG document Carter sent to the subcommittee was described as a summary of the positions taken by the former governor during the primary election campaigns.

Eizenstat said it should "belie the notion that we are not dealing with the issues with any specificity." He said Carter has not been vague on the issues, and that criticism of alleged vagueness was "mainly political criticism" by people who oppose him.

The Carter document did not mention the busing issue.

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Carter Private On Choice of VP

By Jack W. Germond and James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writers

Don't pay too much attention to the Who's-up, Who's-down speculation on Jimmy Carter's choice for a Democratic vice presidential nominee.

The presumptive presidential candidate can be a very private man on such a question, and no one close to him expects him to make a final choice until his own 1,505 votes have been tallied.

There is, however, reason to believe that Carter will make a politically conventional choice — meaning, in his case, a liberal with Washington experience from somewhere other than the South who could help the ticket where it is weakest ideologically and geographically.

Political Notebook

There are several senators who fit that description, including **Walter Mondale** of Minnesota, **Frank Church** of Idaho, **Adlai Stevenson** of Illinois, **Alan Cranston** of California and **Edmund S. Muskie** of Maine. The last has the added advantage of being a Catholic, and Carter has not done well with Catholic voters this year.

The "disclosure" late this week that Carter's pollster, **Pat Caddell**, had conducted surveys on the the relative pulling power of 14 possible candidates, was greeted with some amused cynicism by those in the political community who recognize that the only thing better than having 14 people "being considered" for vice president is having 28.

Va. Democrat Chief Sees Ford-Connally Ticket

NORFOLK (UPI) — State Democratic Chairman Joseph Fitzpatrick predicts President Ford will win the Republican nomination and choose John Connally as his running mate, making the South the "battleground of the 1976 election."

Fitzpatrick made the prediction Friday night, saying Ford would pick Connally to appease Ronald Reagan conservatives and cut into Jimmy Carter's southern support.

Fitzpatrick said in a telephone interview he expects Carter to win an easy first ballot nomination at the Democratic national convention and that the former Georgia governor could sweep the South in a race against Ford without Connally.

Governors Wading Off the Sandbar

When a campaign caves in as fast as the opposition to Jimmy Carter collapsed last week, there are always a few politicians caught out on a sandbar. Among this year's most notable losers were three governors — **Marvin Mandel** of Maryland, who made a point of establishing that his opposition to Carter was personal as well as political; **Hugh Carey** of New York, who held on too long to his dreams of power brokerage before finally endorsing Carter yesterday; and **Reubin Askew** of Florida, who did little to conceal his hostility toward a fellow Southerner, then endorsed him after the tide had come in.

THE SUNDAY SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
JUNE 13, 1976
SECTION K

The Jews and Jimmy Carter

"Is Jimmy Carter good for the Jews?" This is the "liveliest and most anxious" question in the Jewish community, according to Rabbi Marc Tannenbaum, director of inter-religious affairs for the American Jewish Committee. If it is not a good question, it is an understandable one. The overwhelming majority of American Jews live outside the South. They are not used to hearing evangelical Christian rhetoric interwoven with political rhetoric.

For many Jews (and other non-Southerners), George Wallace has been the most audible spokesman for the South for over a decade. Ten years of him and a generation of lynchings before him have made it easy for Southerners to be stereotyped in Northern eyes. Like most stereotypes, it is based in large part on ignorance, and like all stereotypes, it assumes that characteristics that are often found in a group are also found in all individual members of that group.

Southerners of Jimmy Carter's ilk have often been strongly supported by Southern Jews. One reason is that many Southern Protestants, particularly those who have grown up in an environment in which fundamentalist views prevailed, are strongly committed to the idea of a state of Israel. Some Southern Jews believe the concept of dual allegiance to the United States and Israel is more readily accepted in the states of the old Confederacy than elsewhere.

Southern Jews also know the danger of stereotyping their Southern Baptist neighbors. Morris B. Abram, now a New York attorney, a former president of Brandeis University and national chairman of the American Jewish Committee, wrote recently that when he was growing up in a small Georgia town in the 1920s "my father's best friend was a 'hardshelled' Primitive Baptist." The elder Abram was an eastern European immigrant. His Baptist friend was sheriff. When the Klan—then in its heyday—came to town to enlist him, he ran it off.

To consider only the Klan and not the sheriff is to employ the same prejudice and mythology against Jimmy Carter that some Southern Protestants employed against Al Smith in 1928 and John F. Kennedy in 1960. (Georgia voted for both, giving Mr. Kennedy one of his largest majorities.) One trait Mr. Carter shares with that hardshelled sheriff is a belief in separation of church and state. As a state senator he tried to change the Georgia Constitution to make its religious paragraph more encompassing. As governor he eliminated ostentatious Sunday worship services at the mansion.

Morris Abram, who considers Mr. Carter the best governor Georgia ever had, says of him: "I do not claim that Jimmy Carter knows all the nuances of American pluralism. But on his record, and knowing him, I believe he wants to learn." This is one witness to Mr. Carter's personal record. It may be a more pertinent approach to the "religious issue" than what Southern Baptists "in general" believe.

Jimmy Carter's stunning achievement

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF

Washington.

In the closing days of the primary campaign, Jimmy Carter often told his audiences that, when he started out 18 months ago, "I didn't have any power base. Nobody knew who I was."

"But I had confidence in my country and I had confidence in myself," said the 51-year-old south Georgia peanut farmer whose spectacular sweep through the Democratic primaries was as unexpected as it was dramatic.

Now, one month before the Democratic National Convention will choose its 1976 nominee in New York, Mr. Carter has a virtual lock on that nomination, the first time since their last victory in 1964 that the party's race was settled before the convention met.

In contrast, a Republican nomination that in mid-March appeared to be safely in President Ford's grasp remains open as both Mr. Ford and Ronald Reagan scrounge for the last 400 delegates in non-primary states and among uncommitted delegates.

Mr. Reagan's strength in the more conservative Southern and Western states, whose power in the Republican party has grown steadily, has enabled him to battle Mr. Ford to a virtual standstill. And his greater personal magnetism still gives him a chance at the nomination.

But the story of the 1976 primary season, an unprecedented array of 31 Democratic tests choosing some three-fourths of the 3,008 convention delegates, is the story of the rise of Jimmy Carter.

Though some close to him feel that he really had his eye on the White House from the day he first entered local politics, Mr. Carter says his relentless pursuit of the presidency began when, as governor of Georgia, he met President Nixon, Vice President Agnew and the top Democratic contenders.

"The more I got to know them, the more I knew that I was just as well qualified to be president as these people," says the man whose steely blue eyes convey the drive and determination that his courtly, Southern tone and manner often conceal.

His 1976 battle plan was drafted in 1972. Though some assumptions proved faulty—for example, that his chief rivals would be Senator Edward M. Kennedy and Governor George C. Wallace—the basic pattern prevailed.

He took advantage of a chance to serve as national Democratic campaign chairman in 1974 to get to know the country and top party leaders; set out to school himself on issues and the national mood, and drafted a day-by-day travel plan that concentrated largely on exposing himself to local, as opposed to national, news media.

He concentrated first on three states, organizing thoroughly and allotting substantial amounts of time to Iowa, scene of the first 1976 caucuses; New Hampshire, traditionally the first primary, and Florida, the place where he took on Mr. Wallace and planned to supplant him as the top Southern candidate.

The relentless campaigning paid off—the 110 towns he visited in Iowa (his wife Rosalynn appeared in 150), the 35 trips to Florida (she spent 75 days there)—but Mr. Carter was also very lucky. The opposition was divided without a genuinely strong rival in the field, and a pair of tactical decisions by his opponents turned out to be enormously helpful.

When Senator Henry M. Jackson decided to bypass New Hampshire, Mr. Carter was left unchallenged to the right of four liberal contenders.

When the liberals, in part because they saw it as futile and in part because of the entreaties of labor leaders, bypassed Florida, Mr. Carter stood unchallenged on the left of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson.

With unerring instinct, Mr. Carter followed up those first three victories by setting his sights on Representative Morris K. Udall in Wisconsin and Senator Henry M. Jackson in Pennsylvania.

A month later, after his narrow victory in Wisconsin over Mr. Udall, the enormity of Mr. Carter's achievement tended to be overlooked: the fact that a small-town, one-term former Southern governor had defeated a liberal with a majority of labor support in a state with a long progressive tradition.

But no one minimized his achievement when he swept to victory in industrial Pennsylvania, taking a higher percentage and more popular votes than had Hubert H. Humphrey in winning the primary four years earlier.

When Mr. Humphrey backed off from a late primary challenge to Mr. Carter, the race was, in fact, over. Mr. Carter's strategy of running everywhere enabled him to pile up delegates at such a pace that he only needed to hold his own over the final month of the campaign.

To be sure, his late-primary setbacks represented a certain lack of enthusiasm for his candidacy. But they also represented the fresh appeal of candidates who entered the race at a late date, and the ability of others to target their efforts against a front-runner competing everywhere.

Now, as he looks to the future, Mr. Carter's immediate tasks seem obvious: reconciling various constituencies in the broad Democratic coalition, a process already started; selection of a vice presidenial candidate; expansion of his staff, with emphasis on policy areas given short shrift so far, and mapping the campaign from now until November 2.

And it seems evident that his early victory, and the degree to which Democrats are uniting around him, will give Mr. Carter a formidable advantage in the fall. Because there are more Democrats than Republicans and he seems likely to bring most, if not all, of the South back into the Democratic fold, Mr. Carter is virtually certain to enter the fall campaign as the favorite, whether his rival be Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan.

At the same time, he is still a remarkably little known figure, the true dimensions of his abilities and philosophy largely hidden beneath the toothy smile that decorated the nation's television screens each Tuesday night during the primary campaign.

To some extent, he gave clues during the primaries as to what the real Jimmy Carter is like. Other aspects of his make-

See CARTER, K3, Col. 4

Carl P. Leubsdorf is a member of The Sun's Washington Bureau.

Jimmy Carter on top

CARTER, from K1

up, including his sense of humor, only surfaced on rare occasions.

He demonstrated a quick retentive mind; a surer understanding of the nation's post-Watergate mood than his rivals; a superior ability to organize and manage an enterprise as complex as a presidential campaign, and political dexterity (except for the celebrated "ethnic purity" flap.) He also showed he was able to bridge ideological gaps, appealing, for example, to both blacks and onetime Wallace supporters in state after state.

In part, this was due to his considerable skill in presenting his position on issues. He wasn't really less specific, but rather more agile in the way he expressed himself, often leaving two voters on opposite sides of an issue feeling compatible with his viewpoint.

Though some considered this agility a failing, other characteristics may be more dangerous. He indicated he could be harsh and vindictive (as in some of his comments about Mr. Humphrey); sometimes displayed defensiveness in dealing with the press, and gave an overall impression of single-mindedness and self-confidence that indicated his might be a distinctly one-man presidential show.

Some felt he sought to mislead voters at least as much as other candidates, despite his repeated statements he would never tell a lie or mislead a voter.

Some of these personal characteristics have spawned the contention that Mr. Carter is "another Nixon" a man more interested in the acquisition and use of power than in what it would be employed for.

But there is considerable evidence, from what he says and from what he did as governor, that his would indeed be a program-oriented presidency with the programs aimed largely at improving the lives of the less fortunate in society. He would be activist—and controversial.

James Gannon of the *Wall Street Journal* suggested an echo of Lyndon B. Johnson might emerge: a "Southern-Fried Great Society."

He has already sketched the basic areas in which he would seek reforms: government reorganization, the tax structure, the welfare system and health insurance. If the specifics of what he will propose remain obscure, the broad goals are quite clear. What is not clear is how he will achieve them.

If he does take on the Washington establishment, that complex interlocking layers of congressional, bureacratic and special-interest-group power that has controlled the national government for 40 years, Mr. Carter will find it a formidable foe. Much will depend on how he handles Congress—he had a tendency in Georgia to be uncompromising, and that would hurt—and the degree to which his campaign is able to demonstrate national support for his goals. For example, John F. Kennedy's presidency always suffered from the narrowness of his 1960 victory.

When Mr. Kennedy was nominated in 1960, Ernest K. Lindley of *Newsweek* magazine wrote: "He is in many ways remarkable. Already he shows the signs of greatness."

Jimmy Carter, too, is "in many ways remarkable" as his achievement this year has demonstrated. As for "greatness," suffice it to say at this early stage that this complex, ambitious man wants to go down in history not just as the first native-born son of the Deep South ever to reach the White House, but as one who made a tangible contribution while he resided there.

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Democrats Eye Jobless Rate of 3%

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic platform-drafters began work yesterday on a document that would commit the party to making "every responsible effort" to drive down adult unemployment to 3 per cent within four years.

The 15-member platform drafting subcommittee used as its starting point a 70-page "first draft" prepared by the platform committee staff with the help of selected outside experts, and in consultation with the staff of the party's likely nominee, Jimmy Carter.

Carter's platform committee representatives were plainly content with the document, which they said would in no way conflict with a platform statement of his own that Carter plans to issue today.

Whether the document will also meet with the approval of party liberals as it stands was not so clear. There are sure to be some minor fights.

The subcommittee carried on its deliberations behind closed doors on the second floor of the Mayflower Hotel. There was irony in the closed-door session. The preliminary platform draft—which the subcommittee would not officially release, but which quickly leaked out anyway—says on page 16, in a section on "Government Reform and Business Accountability":

"Decision-making behind closed doors is the natural enemy of responsive government. The Democratic Party is committed to openness throughout government . . ."

The subcommittee, whose chairman is Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis, spent most of yesterday on the first and, from the standpoint of the platform drafters, probably most important of the six sections of the proposed document, the one on the economy.

As written by the staff, that section endorses in all but name the so-called Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill that is now pending in Congress, and is the alternative put forward by congressional Democrats and organized labor to what they call the Republican "mismanagement" of the economy for the last eight years.

The document calls for the setting of annual national production, employment and anti-inflation targets — more national economic planning than currently exists. It also calls generally for making the Federal Reserve Board a "full partner in national economic decisions" and says "credit must be available at reasonable interest rates."

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill would constrain the semi-independent Reserve Board so it could not slow down the economy with tight money and high interest rates while Congress was trying to pump it up. Democrats think the Reserve

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Board has done just that in recent years.

The section also endorses a permanent federal program of antirecession aid to state and local governments, to be turned on and off according to the unemployment rate.

It does not say the government should be an employer of last resort, as those who support Humphrey-Hawkins like to do, and it also says, in apparent deference to Carter's expressed views, "we believe that employment in the private sector is generally preferable to public jobs." But it adds that "useful public jobs are far superior to welfare and unemployment payments."

Humphrey-Hawkins' critics say it would be inflationary to drive down adult unemployment to 3 per cent in four years.

Partly in response, the economy section of the first platform draft calls for use of wage-price guidelines and for giving the government power to delay selected wage and price increases in certain basic industries. It also says the party is not in favor of "mandatory" wage and price controls "at this time."

Labor, which vehemently opposes controls, may try to have these sentences softened.

The staff-written draft also calls generally for tax and welfare reform and for a program of national health insurance. In health as with unemployment, no particular pending bill in Congress is endorsed by name, which may disappoint some liberals. Sen. George McGovern on Wednesday, in a letter for Americans for Democratic Action, wrote that both Humphrey-Hawkins and the so-called Kennedy-Corman health bill should be named in the platform.

As to busing, another issue McGovern mentioned, the draft almost shrugs it off, saying only that it "remains a judicial tool of last resort."

The drafting subcommittee has to finish by Sunday. The full 153-member platform committee will take up the document Monday. It hopes to finish next Wednesday. The platform then will go to the July Democratic convention for final approval.

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Carter Poll: Looking for No. 2

By Jules Witcover and
Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writers

Jimmy Carter's polling organization, Cambridge Survey Research, confirmed yesterday that it is conducting a nationide poll on 14 Democrats submitted by Carter's staff as vice-presidential prospects.

All 14 are considered to be liberals. Presumably the selection of one would be a gesture of conciliation and unity by Carter to the major wing of the party that has been either cool or, in some cases, hostile to his presidential nomination.

The list includes eight senators, three governors two members of the House and one mayor:

• Sens. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who has said he is not interested; Frank Church of Idaho, who has said he is; Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, Alan Cranston of California, John Glenn of Ohio, Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois and Birch Bayh of Indiana.

•Govs. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, Wendell Anderson of Minnesota and Hugh L. Carey of New York, Reps. Peter W. Rodino of New Jersey and Barbara Jordan of Texas, and Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles. Jordan and Bradley are black.

Existence of the poll was revealed in Friday's Boston Globe. On Wednesday, Carter himself sought to stem rumors about his choice by instructing his staff not to discuss the subject and by saying pointedly that "no one is authorized to speak for me" on the subject.

During the primaries Carter repeatedly laid out three criteria: a running mate should be the best qualified to succeed Carter if necessary, be politically and personally compatible, and be from a region other than Carter's own South.

In Atlanta yesterday, Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, sought to dissociate him from the poll.

"This was done as an add-on to a regular survey over a month ago," Powell told a press conference. "The decision was made by a couple of staffers. Gov. Carter was not awar eof the list or the decision until today.

"His list is at least twice as large. It does not include all names on the poll'slist. The poll question was primarily a result of natural curiosity. Its significance should not be overemphasized."

Powell said Carter will fly to Montgomery today to meet with George C. Wallace in the Alabama Governor's Mansion. The meeting, closed to the press, is one of many that Carter plans to have with the former Democratic presidential candidate and other Democratic leaders, Powell said.

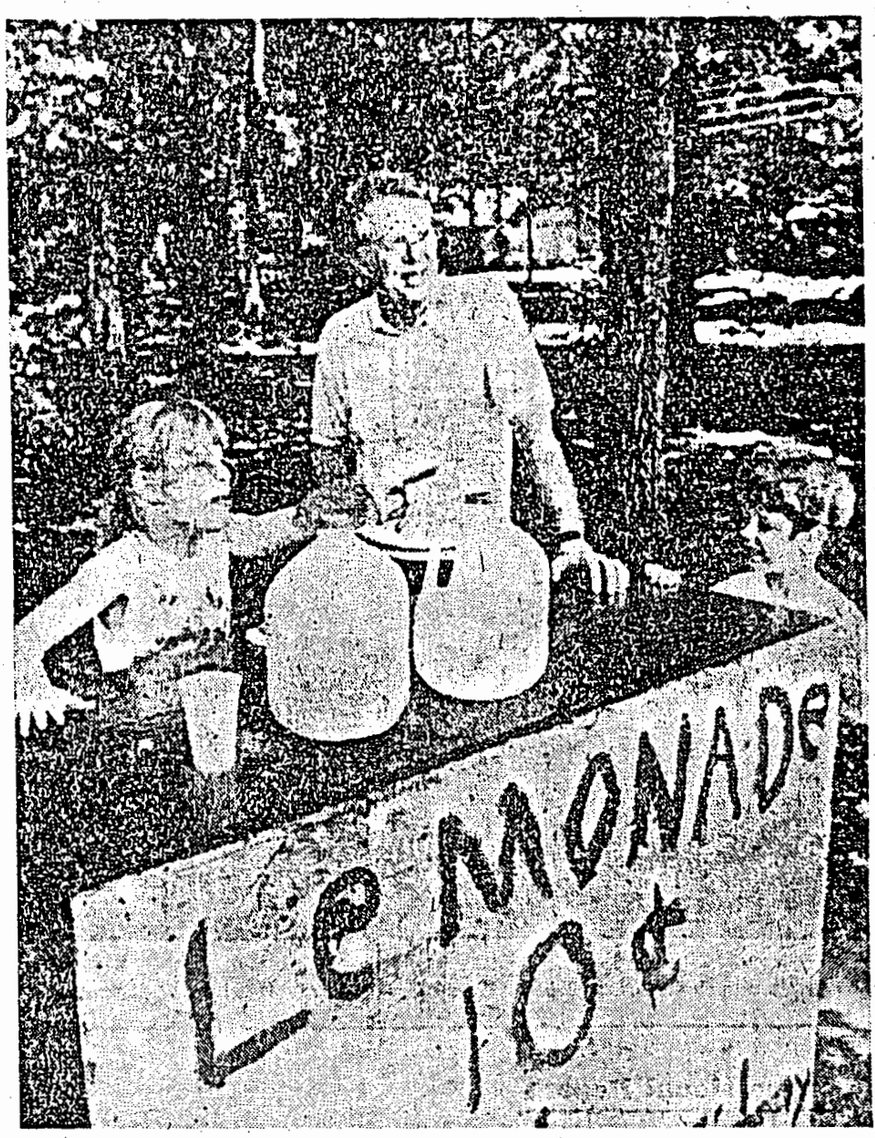
Tonight Carter will go to Americus, Ga., for the 35-year reunion of his high school class.

Powell also said the Carter staff will begin a review of the number of black, Spanish-speaking and female delegates who will attend the Democratic National Convention in New York starting July 12.

The voluntary review, Powell said, is aimed at correcting what is expected to be a low representation of those groups.

According to a Carter staff estimate, at present blacks will represent 10 per cent of all delegates to the convention, women 33 per cent. Powell said the staff had no figures on Spanish-speaking delegates in general.

Among the Carter delegates, however, Powell said 13 per cent are black, 40 per cent are women 5 per cent are Spanish surnamed and 30 per cent are under 30.



Associated Press

Amy Carter, 8, with Sid Gnann, 6, tells Dad they took in $7.35 on opening day.

Carter tries to recruit more women with his backing of '51.3 Per Cent'

Sea Island, Ga. (AP)—Pledging to make the fullest possible use of women in advancing his programs, Jimmy Carter said yesterday he had formed a committee of women to assist and advise him.

To be known as the Committee of 51.3 Per Cent, the Democratic presidential front-runner said the women's group, composed of elected officials and other leding women, will assist his political campaign, advise him on issues and help him find qualified women to serve in his administration.

One of the women in the group, Esther Peterson, who was President Johnson's consumer adviser, now is consumer adviser to Giant Food, Inc.

Mr. Carter said the group had been organized by Mary B. King, his adviser on women, assisted by a former Tennessee state senator, Mary Mize Anderson, and a Washington businesswoman, Joan Tobin.

The name was selected, he said, because women make up 51.3 per cent of the United States population.

In announcing the committee, Mr. Carter issued a statement saying he intends to "make the fullest possible use of the women of America in helping carry out my program for America."

He promised a detailed speech on women's issues later in the campaign and listed several positions he said he will take, including:

- Supporting passage of the equal rights amendment.
- Enforcing laws against sex discrimination in jobs, education, credit and housing.
- Seeking legislation to end sex discrimination in health and disability insurance.
- Ending discrimination against women in Social Security and income taxes.
- Supporting legislation to provide improved child-care services.
- Opposing a constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision on abortion.
- Appointing qualified women in his administration in substantial numbers.

Carter improves his lead with Mo. at-large boost

Springfield, Mo. (AP)—Jimmy Carter improved his commanding lead toward his party's presidential nomination when he picked up 11 of the 17 at-large delegates selected over the weekend at the Democratic state convention in Jefferson City, Mo.

Party leaders had predicted he would get most if not all of them, but a coalition of non-Carter supporters, reinforced by California's Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr., mustered enough strength to hold 6. They said it was not a "stop-Carter movement," but an attempt to "assert an independence of the machine."

After the convention, which completed selection of Missouri's 71-member delegation, the AP tally showed Mr. Carter with 45, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate, with 4 each—both picked up a delegate Saturday—and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington with 1. Seventeen were uncommitted.

Soon there were several switches to Mr. Carter, however, and by last night the total stood: Mr. Carter 48, Mr. Udall and Mrs. McCormack 4 apiece, 15 uncommitted.

Mr. Carter's national total was 1,299.5 of the 1,505 he needs for nomination. Mr. Udall, the closest other Democrat, had 336.

Church to join Carter camp

Salt Lake City (AP)—Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho) has said in a letter to campaign workers in Utah that he plans to endorse Jimmy Carter today for the Democratic presidential nomination, Mr. Church's Utah campaign manager says.

Judy Barrett said Mr. Church urged his delegates to throw their support to Mr. Carter, a former Georgia governor and the front-runner for the nominations at the Democratic National Convention in July.

"I've reached this decision in the interests of party unity and because I believe the results of the nominating process today are quite clear," the letter mailed Friday said

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The Washington Star

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Choosing the veep

When vice presidential selection comes to mind, unflattering adjectives come trippingly to the tongue. It is "perfunctory and ... thoughtless" (Theodore White), "idiotic" (John Gardner), "a very poor system" (Robert Strauss), "an afterthought" (a recent Harvard University study group).

As these words suggest, there has been a certain inflammation of the rhetoric about the selection of running mates since 1972, the year the Democrats chose Sen. Tom Eagleton and the Republicans renominated Spiro T. Agnew.

It is an American habit to tolerate political anomalies until disaster or near-disaster strikes. The first "reform" of vice presidential selection (Amendment XII to the Constitution) followed the election of 1800, when but for Alexander Hamilton's intervention Federalist mischief and Aaron Burr's intrigues might have replaced the intended president (Jefferson) with his intended vice president (Burr).

If the tradition holds, nothing much will be done to force presidential candidates to be more systematic and careful in selecting running mates until the American people awake, some unhappy morning, to find a total incompetent in the White House. But the failure of the parties to leap at the recent alarm bells is not altogether unreasonable; for on past experience the allegedly "thoughtless" system has given us one president (Coolidge) who did not disgrace the office and three (Theodore Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson) of superior ability. The luck ascribed by Bismarck to drunks and the U.S.A. has held, although a student of betting odds may wonder how long it will continue to hold.

Disconcerting, if slightly fudged, figures are offered by the Harvard study group mentioned above — a group of scholars and politicians put together last February at the John F. Kennedy School of Government:

"Of the 38 American presidents, 13 (more than a third) were vice presidents first. Of the 13 presidents in this century, 6 were first vice president, and they have been president for 34 of 76 years (45 per cent)."

The fudging lies, of course, in that more than one game, and somewhat less alarmist games at that, could be played with the same history. Of the six 20th century presidents who had been vice president, two were special cases quite irrelevant to present considerations: Richard Nixon, who did not succeed to the office from the vice presidency but was twice elected in his own right; and Gerald R. Ford, whose selection was examined and ratified systematically, under constitutional provisions, by Congress. And three others — Roosevelt, Coolidge and Johnson — were elected to succeeding terms in their own right after taking over the White House. Not a Throttlebottom among them.

It is easier to declaim colorfully against the hypothetical dangers of the system than to condemn its actual results, or to offer politically realistic alternatives.

John Gardner, chairman of Common Cause, asks that "any presidential candidate with 100 or more convention delegates ... submit to the convention chair two weeks before the convention begins a list of no more than eight persons from which the candidate would pledge to select a vice presidential candidate." The strength of the Gardner plan would lie in timely exposure; its weakness, from the presidential contender's perspective, would lie in the untimely need to cull from the list certain figures whose vanity may be stroked (and delegates courted) until the nomination is safely in hand.

Indeed, exposure — exposure and public scrutiny such as came too late to the Eagleton and Agnew selections — seems the main practical desideratum of those who urge mild reform. This exposure could do no harm and might avert a disaster. But again, presidential nominees do tend to turn, albeit hastily, to running mates with some standing in their parties as well as an array of qualities that complements the candidate's own.

Governor Carter, whose nomination seems assured at an unusually early stage, is well positioned to begin improving the process by handing forward a list of the kind Mr. Gardner advocates.

The political parties might adopt further reforms in the vice presidential selection process quite gladly if those reforms promised superior running mates and thus (assuming most voters still have their heads screwed on right) more votes for the ticket. But it is not clear that for all its hazards the present system, considering historical results as opposed to hypothetical risks, deserves the wholesale bad-mouthing it gets.

Nor is it clear whether advocates of reform are arguing for better results or simply for a more elaborate ritual of selection. The latter is easily come by; the former, even with a more exacting system, could remain elusive.

The several ways to look at Carter

Jimmy Carter has "a streak of ugly meanness — an egotistical disposition to run right over people . . . a disposition to be a sorehead." That is the recent testimony of respected columnist Joseph Kraft.

He has "a vein of vindictiveness," says the syndicated columnist team of Rowland Evans and Robert Novak; they quote "Carter's old enemies back in Georgia" as declaring that along with intelligence, discipline and dedication there is "vindictiveness extraordinary even for a politician."

So he is mean and vindictive, and likely to be the next president of the United States! How did we get into this fix? But wait a bit, here is contrary evidence.

Sensitive and compassionate analyst Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times* says Jimmy Carter "really does see himself fighting entrenched power, the status quo. He instinctively identifies with the victims of official abuse, the poor, the disadvantaged." Yes, says Lewis, "he cares about the powerless in society — genuinely, I am convinced.

And here is an unusual character witness, eccentric iconoclast Hunter S. Thompson (*Hell's Angels, Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail*) writing in *Rolling Stone* (of all places) June 3, "my first instinctive reaction to Jimmy Carter . . . I liked him," and who notes an extemporaneous speech Carter made in May 1974 to big wigs in Georgia attacking special privilege; it was a "king hell bastard of a speech" (I assume this is praise), to which Thompson adds, "I have never heard a sustained piece of political oratory that impressed me more."

Let's drop Carter and look at the setting. It's one of the most astonishing political years in history. "The United States has the most elaborate, complex, and prolonged formal system of nominating candidates for chief executives in the world," say William Keech and Donald Matthews (Brookings: *The Party's Choice*). A system which the late Clinton Rossiter called "a fantastic blend of the solemn and the silly." And this year more than usual.

For eight years we have had split government in Washington — White House one party, Congress another, something no other nation could survive. And before Kennedy and Johnson, Ike had six years of split government.

Now there's near stalemate in Washington with Ford's 49 vetoes. Political parties are in decay. Loyalty has so declined that when Richard Nixon wins every state but Massachusetts he still faces a Democratic Senate and House (first time since Zachary Taylor). Republicans are now weaker than at any time since the Depression — probably since the party started in the Civil War.

The national mood? Cynical and penitential. Vietnam and Watergate aren't mentioned but obtrude their frustration everywhere. In 1950 three-quarters of the people thought their government was run primarily for the benefit "of the people" (17 per cent said "big interests"). Now only 38 per cent think so and 53 per cent say "big interests."

TRB is the traditional signature on a weekly column appearing in The New Republic *magazine, written by Richard L. Strout, Washington correspondent for* The Christian Science Monitor.

Who would have thought that the Panama Canal could be an issue; that an incumbent President could be seriously challenged; that in 30 dreary primaries only about a third of those eligible to vote would vote; or that an almost unknown former governor and peanut farmer from Georgia could be front-runner for president of the United States?

In 1972 George McGovern revealed to astonished politicians how vulnerable modern parties are to penetration by well organized and strongly activated groups in primaries where only a minority votes.

In 1976 there are more primaries and direct federal financial aid to ambitious political individuals (not parties), and Jimmy Carter has shown how porous such parties are to penetration by a highly motivated individual whose cause is ambiguous (unless, indeed, "love" and "anti-Washington" are causes) and who offers the sullen nation a fresh face and a striking personality, blazoned by the all-powerful news media.

Jimmy Carter planned it that way. I first met him in the snows of New Hampshire last January and liked him and was astonished by him. I enjoyed the calculated impudence with which he told what he planned to say in his Inaugural, and reacted with the expected astonishment. I never met a candidate like that before and it was swell copy.

The confrontation of Southern and New England cultures was wonderful, too; when the YMCA-type clean-cut young man at Durham made the reticent Yankee ladies cringe by asking Carter straight out, had he been saved? — and Carter answered quietly that, yes, he was a "born-again Christian" and what was the next question?

Carter started his campaign in September 1972 while still governor and after his term ended worked full-time at it. He saw the vulnerable place in the primary system was right at the start.

It didn't matter if only a fraction of a fraction voted nor if the margin was minuscule. The point was to get the headline, "Jimmy Carter Wins."

He did that in the precinct caucuses of Iowa, first of the year, and in the tiny state of New Hampshire. Next, of course, he had to knock Wallace out in Florida, March 9, and he did.

He was launched. The press grabbed him. In her remarkable series in the *New Yorker*, Elizabeth Drew tells how it was done, and her cautious assessment of this "enigmatic and hidden man" who is asking us to take such a big gamble. He can talk about "love" and be tough and even ruthless. Was that a grin, a natural honest-to-God grin, he was giving her at one point (not the toothy smile)?

It seems to be a natural grin by someone who might, after all, have a sense of humor about himself. "It is odd," she reflects, "to spend time considering whether a grin just might be natural." Yes, she notes, Carter may have "a certain mean streak."

George McGovern fired his left-wing political operative Alan Baron, who was quoted as calling Carter "a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committee with no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman."

This sounds silly and venomous to me. I like him and still do. James T. Wooten put it negatively in the *New York Times*: ". . . He is not a liberal, not a conservative, not a racist, not a man of long governmental experience, not a religious zealot, not a Southerner of stereotypical dimensions," and from such negative deductions, he says, many have concluded "that Jimmy Carter is not entirely unacceptable as a presidential candidate."

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David Braaten

Scarlett finds Tara on Pennsylvania Avenue

Everyone seems agreed hat Jimmy Carter has not nly the Democratic nomiation locked up, but the lection as well, and Hollyood, loath to be on the tailate of the bandwagon, has lready started work on a hinly veiled version of the 'arter story.

The script is still in retty rough shape, but it is nown to contain elements f "Gone With the Wind," 'Rain," "Casablanca" and 'Easy Rider."

The working title is 'Born Again, Sam," and as he credits fade we see a anorama of Washington urning. Driving up the hirley Highway in a crinoine dress comes Scarlett O'Carter, hair disheveled nd face besmudged by rimary-slung mud.

"I'll never go hungry again!" vows Scarlett (played by Louise Fletcher), stuffing herself with boiled peanuts and pokeweed.

Turning to her press secretary (played by Truman Capote), she snaps. "Prissy! Prissy! I swear to God, I'll sell you to *Reader's Digest* if you don't stop humming off-key! Where's my position paper?"

"Lawsy, Miz Scarlett," says the hapless press secretary, wrinkling his brow and fumbling helplessly with a Xerox machine, "don't you remember, we gave it away months ago to that political reporter in New Hampshire. What we got to worry about now is the in-awgrul address. There ain't all that much time."

"Fiddle-dee-dee," shrugs Scarlett, cracking the whip over Ole Dick, the faithful mule. "I'll think about that tomorrow."

On the Washington end of the 14th Street Bridge, the little caravan is met by a delegation of vice-presidential hopefuls.

"Here's looking at you, kid," says Rick Humphrey (Franklin Pangborn).

"Geek! Geek! Geek!" says Scoop Tarleton (Jack Nicholson).

"Let me save you from yourself," cries the Rev. Frank Davidson (S.Z. "Cuddles" Szakall). "I am born again and verily know my way around this sinful city."

"Yoo hoo!" carols Morgan le Ray (Raquel Welch). "When you get a chance, I'll show you around Capitol Hill, Sugar."

Suddenly, from out of the West is heard the *vroom* VROOM of a Harley, and Jerry Flakey (Woodie Allen) revs into view.

"If I can catch you between commitments, Scarlett, just whistle," he says.

"Fiddle-dee-dee!" sniffs Scarlett, lashing Ole Dick into a trot. "I've got to get to Tara. It's just over the hill. Or up the avenue. Or someplace. Come on, Prissy. We're almost there."

Past the National Press Building the little bandwagon creaks. Carl Rowan, Anthony Lewis and Garry Wills toss bouquets of jasmine blossoms and honeysuckle berries. William F. Buckley sniffs disdainfully. Joseph McCaffrey cocks an eyebrow. Eric Sevareid withholds judgment.

At last the pillared portico of Tara appears. Home! Home at last! The good, red, impermeable clay of Tara. Scarlett climbs down from the wagon, runs her fingers through the hair of a Secret Service agent and murmurs, "I swear I'll never go hungry again!"

"You said that already," says the press secretary.

"Miz Scarlett," says Pork, the faithful campaign manager (Stepin Fetchit). "I don't like to get uppity, but you've got to do something fast. The economy's crumbling, people are starving, the world situation is a mess. You've got to DO something."

Scarlett is stunned. "Ah do?" she says in alarm. "You mean ah've actually gotta DO something?"

"Yes'm," says Pork.

"But what'll I do?" whimpers Scarlett. "What's to become of me?"

"Frankly my dear," says Rhett Q. Public, "I don't give a damn."

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Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Carter's Foreign Policy: Playing It Cool

Candidate Jimmy Carter's handling of the foreign policy issue in his drive for the Democratic presidential nomination has been smooth as silk. The only question it leaves is how good President Carter would be at foreign policy.

For on almost the whole range of issues relating to international affairs and national security, Carter has had pretty much a free ride. He has spelled out his views on only one such issue, nuclear nonproliferation, on which it's easy to play the earnest statesman. The mucky issues like SALT and the Mideast he's pretty much left to one side. We don't know what he thinks about a lot of things. And of course we don't know his approach to negotiations, to crisis management, to political and bureaucratic struggles in Washington—all things that count heavily in the White House.

He has turned his relative inexperience in foreign policy issues into a political asset by playing his anti-Washington theme. At the same time, he has used some of his previous contacts in the Eastern foreign-policy establishment to reach out for advice and—what may be more important to him at this stage—to cultivate the impression among issue-oriented Democrats that he's open to advice. That's what's called playing both ends against the middle.

Given the demands on a candidate in the primaries, and given the inadvisability of any candidate's spelling out details in advance, we won't, can't and shouldn't expect to know everything about the Carter policy. Still, when you look at the hullabaloo in the Republican primary over whether the United States or Russia is No. 1, over Panama, over Rhodesia, it's slightly surprising there's been no real spillover onto the Democratic side.

That Scoop Jackson got into the race just barely and Hubert Humphrey not at all accounts for part of the reason: They were the rivals who could best have flushed Carter into the open on international issues. Mo Udall never got into that orbit. Jerry Brown's notion of foreign policy did not seem to extend beyond praying for the ozone layer.

Carter, however, was smart enough to make his international pitch on themes so broad and undemanding—the model of America's decency, harmony between the United States' interests and its values—that he floated right by most worldly concerns.

Whether Carter would actually conduct different policies from, say, Henry Kissinger, whose ends and means he criticizes, seems to me only a guess at this point, though there is no question that they are on very different wavelengths.

Where Kissinger talks balance of power, Carter, picking out the unavoidably amoral strain in that outlook, puts on that crinkle-eyed John Kennedy look and speaks yearningly of "world order," whatever that means.

Kissinger in his darker moments sees foreign policy as a desperate struggle against coming catastrophe. Not one for the apocalypse—indeed, not one for telling people that tough choices may lie ahead—Carter sees foreign policy much more as a manageable exercise in sorting out different interests and in applying traditional American values. He is, as kids used to say, loose.

I am not for excessive uptightness, but it seems to me self-evident that world prospects justify a bit more apprehensiveness than either Carter's nerve-endings or his political instincts—whichever it is—have so far induced in him. A lot of people evidently want to hear that it's safe to play it cool, but is that the way Carter intends to run the White House?

As for managing foreign affairs, Carter would do it, as one adviser puts it, "not with one Kissinger but with 10 Cy Vances"—a reference to the able pragmatic former Pentagon official. This is not a putdown of Vance, you understand, but a way of dramatizing Carter's determination not to let foreign policy be dominated by one key aide. Fine. But could this amiable roundtable survive the first White House crunch?

Carter also promises to be more open with the public and Congress—a pledge that leads one Washington ambassador to ask, by the way, if the former governor might seek his Secretary of State not from among his stable of expert campaign advisers but from Capital Hill. On this, too, one must wait and see.

To me the most intriguing straw to come out of the Carter campaign wind is the possibility that as President he might gear up for a strong push for a Mideast settlement—more or less along the lines expected of President Ford in some quarters if he is re-elected.

One theory one hears is that just as only a Republican President with his right flank covered could go to Peking, so a Democratic President with his "Jewish" flank covered could do the Mideast. I wonder, in addition, if Carter's religiosity could not give him a special incentive to try to bring peace to the "Holy Land."

In one Mideast speech on April 1, Carter stuck pretty much to stock pro-Israeli slogans. In a much more interesting Mideast address last Sunday, to a Jewish audience yet, he socked in applause lines repeatedly but delivered what one "evenhanded" administration official approvingly described as "two thirds of the Brookings report."

A recent Brookings Institution Mideast study called for negotiation of an overall settlement to be implemented in stages, and for such Arab concessions to Israel as direct negotiations, open borders, recognition, etc.: Carter hit both of these elements. What he largely omitted, but left room for, was a call for Israeli withdrawal from territory gained in 1967.

Two principal hands in the Brookings report, Henry Owen and Charles Yost, are in Carter's advisory stable and were consulted for his second Mideast speech.

But, I emphasize, this is speculation. Carter has not provided any solid basis to do much more. I think that in 18 months of campaigning in the primaries he's proven himself fit to run foreign policy, but it sure would be interesting to know what it would be.

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Associated Press

Still seeking Democratic presidential nomination, Jerry Brown (left) confers with Louisiana Gov. Edwin Edwards

Carter Endorsements Pour In

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

Endorsements and delegates continued to pour in on Jimmy Carter yesterday as the almost certain Democratic presidential nominee relaxed at his home in Plains, Ga.

One day after Carter clinched the nomination with the collapse of most of his opposition, the rush to embrace his candidacy swelled his delegate strength even further.

In the wake of Wednesday's endorsement by Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, Carter picked up 18 Wallace delegates in Alabama, 14 in North Carolina, six in South Carolina and four in Mississippi.

In Washington, Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W. Va.), who is vying to succeed retiring Mike Mansfield of Montana as Senate Majority Leader, released the 31 delegates he won as a favorite son candidate in the West Virginia primary.

Saying he took the action "in the interest of party unity," Byrd stopped short of endorsing Carter but said it is apparent that the former Georgia governor is headed for a first ballot victory at the Democratic national convention that opens July 12 in New York.

"He has taken his case directly to the people and he has emerged as a man who has the potential to unite not only the Democratic party but also the nation," Byrd said of Carter.

Other political leaders issued outright endorsements:

• Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp, one of the many Democratic presidential contenders swamped by Carter in the primaries, said in Harrisburg that "it is now in the best interest of the Democratic party in Pennsylvania and the country to unite behind Jimmy Carter."

• Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, who supported Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington in the Pennsylvania primary, said that to attempt to deprive Carter of the nomination now "would make a mockery of the presidential primary system." Although Carter said two months ago he was proud not to have Rizzo's support, Rizzo said, "I am pleased to be on the Carter team . . ."

• Kentucky's senators, Democrats Walter Huddleston and Wendell Ford, made Carter's support unanimous among the state's major Democratic leaders. Ford said Carter "has established a strong base of support that will be helpful in electing Democratic candidates at all levels" Huddleston urged Carter to choose a running mate from the Senate.

• Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who long ago released the six delegates he won in the Texas primary, said that Carter gives the Democratic Party "its best hope of regaining the White House and giving the nation the type of leadership it deserves."

• District of Columbia Mayor Walter E. Washington said Carter's victory in the Ohio primary Tuesday proved he has "the capacity to unify the American people."

Carter also picked up two labor endorsements yesterday.

The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association threw its support to the Georgian and released a May 25 Carter letter in which he pledged to develop "a maritime program which will return us to the seapower status we deserve and need."

The president of the 250,000-member International Union of Electrical Workers, David J. Fitzmaurice, strongly endorsed Carter, saying, "It is now time for all of us who seek a change in our nation's economic course to unite behind Jimmy Carter."

The lone major exception in this rush to the Carter bandwagon was California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr., whose late-starting campaign defeated Carter in five of six primary contests.

Brown was in Louisiana yesterday, where Gov. Edwin Edwards threw him the support of the state's 19 uncommitted delegates. Louisiana also has 13 Carter delegates and nine pledged to Wallace.

Wallace endorsed Carter Wednesday and urged his delegates to follow his lead at the Democratic convention.

However, "I don't see anything to gain by finding myself a niche on the Carter bandwagon," Edwards said at a joint press conference with Brown in Baton Rouge. "I feel there is everyting to gain and nothing to lose."

Edwards later said, "It's tantamount to buying the last ticket on the Titanic."

Washington Post special correspondent William Lynch reported that Brown told the press conference he will continue his campaign until it becomes obvious to him that Carter has the nomination locked up.

Pared-Down Platform Divides Democrats

ADA Warns Against 'Fuzziness'

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

No sooner had the Democrats virtually settled on their candidate than they started squabbling yesterday over their party platform.

Americans for Democratic Action released a letter written by its new president, Sen. George McGovern, warning the party against adopting a "fuzzy, nonspecific platform" of the type he said was being suggested "in some quarters."

The letter, which said such a platform of "bland generalities" would be "unacceptable to our organization and to large segments of the American people," was dated Wednesday, June 9, the same day Jimmy Carter was wrapping up the Democratic nomination.

McGovern did not mention Carter, but the inference was fairly clear. The former Georgia governor, campaigning in Ohio last week, called for a pared-down platform as opposed to the traditional "wish-box . . . no administration can fulfill." Liberals such as those in ADA quickly pounced on this as a further indication Carter is—as Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) said that day—"very conservative on basic social and economic issues."

Carter aides and the staff of the Democratic Platform Committee said yesterday, however, that there is a big difference between having a realistic platform, which they want, and a fuzzy one, which they say they do not.

And the self-styled citizens lobby Common Cause also weighed in yesterday on the side of a scaled-down platform, urging the party not to produce "one more catalogue of rhetorical endorsements, no-cost programs and easy promises," and saying the party "need not promise

See DEMOCRATS, A7, Col. 5

Democrats Split on Platform

DEMOCRATS, From A1

all things to all people to evidence its tradition of concern."

The party's 15-member platform drafting subcommittee will begin its work here today, under the chairmanship of Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis. It is scheduled to present its draft Monday to the full 153-member committee, whose chairman is Minnesota Gov. Wendell R. Anderson. The committee hopes to have the platform finished Wednesday night; it must then go before the July convention for final approval.

McGovern, the Democratic presidential nominee in 1972, said in his letter, addressed to Dukakis, "If the public is to judge candidates and parties by anything more than personalities, the platforms have to be meaningful."

As steps in that direction, he urged the drafting subcommittee to give clear and specific support to the so-called Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill now pending in Congress; the Kennedy-Corman national health insurance bill; and racial integration, including "the busing of schoolchildren where appropriate" and "scatter - site housing for low- and moderate-income families in the suburbs."

Carter would prefer not to go that far. He has indicated in the past he thinks Humphrey-Hawkins would be inflationary, and Kennedy-Corman too costly. An aide said yesterday that while Carter favors full employment and national health insurance legislation, he would rather the platform not embrace "particular bills."

Similarly, the aide said, Carter has said he opposed "massive, involuntary busing," but as President would support court orders and oppose an antibusing constitutional amendment. He has also said he would go slow in putting subsidized housing in the suburbs.

No one seemed sure yesterday what the mood of the platform committee will be on these and other issues that are likely to come up. Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss told reporters at a breakfast yesterday he thinks it may be possible to "get by" without a commitment to a specific health insurance bill, but that "it might be more difficult to avoid taking a position on Humphrey-Hawkins," a bill congressional Democrats have carefully nurtured this year.

The platform committee is supposed to represent the relative delegate strength of the various presidential candidates.

The drafting subcommittee will have before it today a series of position papers prepared as starting points by the platform committee staff. Michael D. Barnes, executive director of the committee, said these position papers together are only about half as long as the 15,000-word 1972 party platform.

But Barnes said that, while a lot of people have advocated that this year's document be short, "I haven't heard anybody advocating bland fuzziness."

Those who read the final platform, he predicted, will "get a pretty accurate sense of what the party wants to do" if it wins power.

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Democrats Name 4 to Delegation

By LaBarbara Bowman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The District Democratic Central Committee last night elected Mary E. King, Jerry Wurf, John Isaacs and Deborah Matory to complete the city's 17-member delegation to their party's national convention next month.

The 49-member central committee also elected nine alternate delegates during a meeting at All Souls Unitarian Church.

Democratic front-runner Jimmy Carter recommended to the committee the election of King and Wurf as his final two supporters on the delegation. King is the wife of Carter's District campaigner, Peter Bourne. Wurf is the national president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Carter, in winning the city's May 4 presidential primary, had already gained six delegates.

John Isaacs, a Morris Udall supporter, was elected to join four other supporters of the Arizona congressman elected on May 4. Mrs. Matory, an uncommitted delegate, was elected to join three others in that category who also were elected on primary day.

Eight other alternate delegates were elected in the city's eight wards Tuesday night. Of these, seven were Carter supporters and one a Udall supporter.

The other 13 members of the city's delegation who will attend the New York City convention are, for Carter, Robert E. Smith, Hilda Oliver, Wilbur Hughes, Lillian Huff, Barbara Simmons, a school board member, and Doris Moore; for Udall, Phyllis Tauber, Karen H. Dorman, Meg Aylward and Ted Dudley; uncommitted, David Eaton, Smallwood Williams and Del. Walter E. Fauntroy.

Mayor Walter E. Washington also is expected to attend the convention, but will have no vote.

How Carter's Wave of Support Grew

By Jules Witcover
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

It was about 2 o'clock in the morning on Wednesday. Jimmy Carter was standing in the street in his home town of Plains, Ga., shaking hands with ecstatic well wishers who were convinced that his overwhelming Ohio primary victory meant the Democratic presidential nomination soon would be his.

A man ran up to Carter with an urgent message: Gov. George C. Wallace was trying to reach him by telephone. In a minute or two, an aide came up and handed Carter a slip of paper bearing the private number of Wallace's bedroom in the Alabama executive mansion in Montgomery.

Everybody who heard about the call—and the word was passed openly there on the street—drew the obvious conclusion: a fellow Southerner was ready to put Carter over the top.

Carter asked an associate to find his mother in the crowd. "Miss Lillian" Carter was fetched, and she and her son walked over to the train depot that serves as local Carter headquarters and into a tiny cubicle. Carter placed the call.

Wallace, waiting to hear from him, congratulated him on his campaign success and told him that in the morning he would be releasing his 168 delegates, recommending that they support Carter. The man who in the Florida primary had unwillingly served as Carter's first crucial stepping-stone to the nomination was now voluntarily giving him the final big push.

"All Gov. Wallace asked me," Carter reported to Rex Granum, a

See VICTORY, A7, Col. 1

Avalanche of Carter Support

VICTORY, From A1

deputy press aide, after he had hung up, "was that I be a good President."

Shortly afterward, Carter went home and went to bed, knowing that after 16 months of diligent campaigning he had the Democratic presidential-nomination.

The Wallace phone call was the first direct breakthrough in the avalanche of support that poured down on Georgia's favorite peanut farmer Wednesday.

But the first pebbles had started rolling down about 16 hours earlier, when Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago told reporters that if Carter "wins in Ohio he'll walk in under his own power."

Daley, profuse in his admiration of Carter as "a man who's got courage . . . a religious tone in what he says," said Carter "talks about true values. Why shouldn't we be sold on him?" Not only that, Daley also served notice that he wanted no part of any last-minute bid by Hubert H. Humphrey.

"Who said that's the man now who should be knighted on a white horse to walk him into the convention?" he asked. "I don't think anyone should be so honored, no matter who he is, and I don't think they will."

Even before the returns were in in Ohio, Daley, the master of timing, had weighed in emphatically on Carter's side.

Humphrey, considering whether to make a last-ditch attempt, said the next morning, before he announced that he would not run, that his thinking had been affected by what Daley had said. Once again Daley was out front as a decisive factor in Democratic politics. The last of the great old-time bosses was anointing the candidate who had campaigned so aggressively against that very breed.

Daley's rather harsh remarks about Humphrey came as a surprise to many, but not to Illinois Democrats close to the mayor. "While there was no enmity there," one such party leader said, "they were just not the close, warm friends they were perceived to be. Hubert as a professor [in his two years after losing the 1968 presidential race] had made some public criticisms of the mayor, and besides, the leadership in Illinois was just not enthusiastic about Hubert.

"He was associated with all the old programs, he was too rhetorical, soft, not tough, and he hadn't come through the primaries the way Carter did. They felt as a candidate he'd have been shot to pieces in a couple of weeks. They were worried about what was rattling in his closet."

With a tough gubernatorial race ahead, this Daley associate said, the mayor and his top lieutenants didn't want Humphrey heading the ticket, and Carter, the only alternative, was tough, a new face, and would do well in Illinois.

In retrospect, it was easy to believe that the Daley comments wert part of a carefully orchestrated scenario. But sources close to both Daley and Carter say it was not so; rather, it was a case of the mayor's political antenna homing in.

"The timing was exquisite," one Daley associate said yesterday. "The mayor saw it all coming. He didn't want it to collapse and be on the tail end. So he wrapped it up. And everybody said, 'The mayor has done it again.'"

There was, of course, more to it than just that. For months, Carter had been courting Daley. In the Illinois primary in March, Carter had gotten off on the right foot by not contesting Daley's delegates in Cook County. Prior to the voting, according to a Carter aide, "Jimmy wrote Daley a private note that said, regardless of the outcome, he hoped Daley would be chairman of the Illinois delegation, and would ask the Carter delegates to support him."

After that, Carter phoned the mayor regularly, every couple of weeks, always observing the niceties of protocol as befitted dealings with a political monarch.

On Tuesday morning, another such call was made. Although Carter wanted the 86 delegates pledged to Daley's protege, Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, from all accounts they were not mentioned, nor was the prospect of Stevenson as Carter's running mate. It was not necessary; it was not Daley's style to ask for anything, nor Carter's way to offer anything.

The Tuesday call, it turned out, was a critical one in Daley-Carter relations, because a few days earlier some individuals associated with but not close to Carter had rubbed Daley the wrong way, giving the mayor a feeling he was being used. Daley reacted, according to an aide, by instructing one of his men to stay clear of a Carter fund-raising event in Chicago.

Carter, informed by a Daley associate of the incident, phoned to square things. He was direct and reassuring, and Daley was assuaged.

The call was one of several Carter made Tuesday from a hotel room in Atlanta. After lunch, other phone calls went to contenders Morris K. Udall, Henry M. Jackson and Wallace. (Apparently he did not reach California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr.) In each, Carter said only that, regardless of what happened in the primaries that night, he wanted his fellow-Democrat to know that he had enjoyed being on the hustings with him, and that he hoped all Democrats could unite behind the eventual nominee. Humphrey received a similar call.

Of these, Carter told aides later, he felt best about his phone conversation with Wallace. The Alabaman seemed especially appreciative, Carter said, especially for a man who had had his political career eclipsed by Carter. One aide said Carter got a feeling from that conversation that Wallace might be about to move.

Between the phone calls Tuesday, Career and his wife, Rosalynn, took their 8-year-old daughter, Amy, to a puppeteer amusement center, and at about 7:30 p.m. had a buffet supper with other members of the family. He told Hamilton Jordan, his campaign manager, about the calls he had made, and especially about the Wallace conversation.

When the Ohio returns were in, overshadowing a setback in New Jersey and making the later California returns anticlimactic, Carter spoke to his supporters at the hotel ballroom and then flew to Americus, Ga. He motored to Plains, where a crowd of about 1,500 had gathered earlier for a street dance and party.

It was about 1 a.m. Wednesday when he arrived, and the 350 hardy folk who remained sang "God Bless America" as his car wheeled up. He got out, mounted the platform outside the train depot, spoke briefly and, then descended to shake hands, when the word of Wallace's call came to him.

The next morning, Carter was on the phone again, with Daley and Jackson among others. Daley informed him that he was about to endorse him. In the call to Jackson, accordng to a Jackson aide, Carter informed the senator that Wallace was about to endorse him, and that Carter would like to broaden the support that would put him over by being able to announce Jackson's support at the same time.

The request did not come out of the blue. During the Maryland primary in mid-May, Carter had visited Jackson's Washington, D.C., home, and the first of several discussions were held that were to inch Jackson toward an endorsement. Now, Jackson agreed to having Carter indicate Jackson's support, but said he had obligations to his backers and so would hold off on a formal endorsement.

Even before Wednesday, the Jackson conversations were being used by the Carter camp to soften up the remaining opposition. Aides deftly informed counterparts in other campaigns that there was reason to believe Jackson might come over. Jackson continued to deny published reports, but they nevertheless got into the bloodstream of the political community around the country.

After Daley talked with Carter, Daley phoned Stevenson in Washington and told him what he was going to do. By that time, Stevenson said yesterday, he had already released his delegates. The stampede to give Carter his majority was in full gallop.

It was now 11 a.m. in Plains, suddenly the center of the political universe. Jimmy Carter, in blue jeans and a plaid shirt open at the neck, mounted the train depot's loading platform again and broke the news about Wallace and Jackson.

He was, needless to say, smiling.

GGGGG

HHHHH

Carter Aides Take to Hill On Foreign Policy Stance

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter's Washington assistants told 50 congressional staff aides last night that the leading Democratic contender would replace a "balance of power" foreign policy with "the politics of world order." Carter's staff asked for help in filling in the details.

Peter Bourne, Washington director of the Carter campaign and a close aide during Carter's term as Georgia governor, solicited assistance from an invited group of aides to Democratic members of Congress and congressional committees in the foreign policy field.

Conceding that the events of the past two days when Carter all but wrapped up the Democratic nomination, had left him "stunned," Bourne said the campaign is now shifting gears to concentrate on the general election rather than the pre-convention campaign.

Foreign policy may play a larger role, he and others indicated. Carter is said to be preparing a statement on his "concern with values in the world" and a major address on American policy in Africa.

A speech or policy paper is being prepared on Latin America, which was described as a special interest of the Spanish-speaking Democratic candidate.

"He has very much a post-Vietnam view of the world. He does understand the North-South [rich nation-poor nation] dichotomy. He has a framework completely different from other Presidents," Bourne said of the likely Democratic standard bearer.

Some of the assembled Democratic congressional staff members, gathered around a horseshoe table at the National Democratic Club, had specific questions about Carter's views. One objected to a prepared statement about the Panama Canal which, the aide said, contradicted itself in the space of two sentences.

Another Hill staffer, an aide to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), said he didn't believe foreign policy should be a major issue in the fall campaign.

Bourne introduced Larry Hargraves, research director of the Institute of International Law, and John Katch, a recent Ph.D. graduate of Cornell, who are to be Washington staff coordinators on foreign policy matters.

The Hill guests were told that a 29-member task force, made up mostly of establishment figures, is at work on a Carter foreign policy. Bourne said there is no chairman, due to a conscious decision to keep leadership decisions flexible, but that Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University and Richard Gardner of Columbia Law School had become coordinators inside the group.

"We have 17 other task forces [in other areas] and are growing," one of Carter's representatives said.

Carter Gets Backing of Washington

MAYOR, From C1

Del. Walter E. Fauntroy was withholding possible endorsement of Carter until he indicates whether he will reverse his position on the controversial commuter tax.

In the city's May 4 primary, the Unity faction won 3 of the 13 elected seats to the Democratic convention. Carter won six seats and Arizona Rep. Morris Udall four. A second uncommitted faction, the Open Party headed by Mayor Washington, won no seats.

At his news conference, the mayor also announced that another unit of the new detention center will be opened in a few days, providing 80 more spaces for the city's hard pressed jail system.

Corrections officials hope to open up three additional units by June 30, thus completing the 960-inmate facility near the old jail at 19th and East Capitol Streets several months ahead of schedule.

Officials have been under growing pressure to relieve overcrowding at the old jail. U.S. District Court Judge William B. Bryant ordered the city to provide at least 48 square feet of cell space for each inmate.

Until recently, many inmates had been doubled up in 6-foot-by-8-foot cells in the old jail. Opening of the new detention center brought some relief, but officials repeated their warning yesterday that increased intake of inmates is pushing jail facilities beyond capacity again.

Carter Switch Starting in Md.

By Bill Peterson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Maryland Democratic leaders, who backed California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr. last month, began climbing aboard the Carter for President bandwagon yesterday.

Party chairman Roy N. Staten, a Jackson delegate to the Democratic National Convention, was the most conspicuous figure in the movement. He said he will likely vote for Carter at the convention, and predicted Gov. Marvin Mandel will probably follow suit.

"Right now it looks like Carter has it in the bag," said Staten, a state senator. "I can see no reason why not to support him."

"The only reason I'd vote for Jackson is if he asked his delegates to stick with him," he continued. "But I listened to him on TV last night and it didn't sound like he wants that."

Staten said he expects Mandel, his long-time political ally and a leader in anti-Carter forces for months, to join him in endorsing the former Georgia governor before the July 12 Democratic convention.

Several other Maryland Jackson, Udall and uncommitted delegates were "leaning strongly" toward Carter yesterday and the former governor's Atlanta campaign staff was soliciting the support of others, asking, "How do you feel about Gov. Carter in light of yesterday's events."

They appeared to be making inroads. In the heavily black Seventh Congressional District in Baltimore, Jackson's six elected delegates scheduled a meeting for Sunday to discuss jumping on the Carter bandwagon. In Montgomery County, Stephen Schlossberg, a Udall delegate, mailed out 100 letters to other Udall delegates across the country, urging them to reconsider Carter.

"Mo Udall is a decent man and a great liberal. He has shown great courage and heart," a copy of the letter received by one delegate said. "My high regard for him is not in any way diminished. But the primaries are over and we're now at the party building stage."

"I can see us with as many as 52 of Maryland's 53 delegates by convention time," said Ellen Metsky, a Carter staff worker, jokingly speculating Mandel may be the only holdout.

The expectations of state Sen. Donald Hutchinson, co-chairman of the state's delegation and a Carter supporter, were more modest. "I personally plan to make a good number of phone calls the next few days," he said. "I'd like to go into the convention with at least 45 delegates committed to Carter."

ROY N. STATEN
... 'in the bag'

Until this week, Carter held 33 of the state's delegates, Jackson, 11, Udall, 6, and three were uncommitted. Under state law, however, none are legally bound to vote for any candidate and can switch allegiances.

The motivation behind the changes yesterday were crassly political, delegates said. They included an acceptance of the inevitability of Carter winning the nomination, a desire for party unity a hope that even a late endorsement might buy influence in a Carter campaign or administration.

Mandel, who already has been locked out of leading the state delegation to the convention, was on vacation and couldn't be reached for comment late yesterday. But, a spokesman said, he was "reviewing his situation very carefully."

Mandel has a long-standing personal dislike of Carter, dating back to Carter's days as governor. He has lent his political clout to almost every stop-Carter movement that arose this year. He lobbied against Carter at the midwinter meeting of governors in February, tried to persuade Sen. Hubert Humphrey to jump into the race, worked behind the scenes for Jackson, and finally threw his influence behind California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr. in the May 18 Maryland primary.

Don't Inhale! Sunny, hazy today, high near 90. Fair tonight, low in 60s. Air alert still in effect. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Carter Continues To Gain Endorsements, Delegates

From News Services

Jimmy Carter has picked up more endorsements as well as more delegates in his quest for the 1,505 firm votes to assure him a first-ballot presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention.

Carter's chief remaining active rival, California Gov. Jerry Brown, said yesterday, however, that he has a responsibility to the people who voted for him to stay in the race rather than heed "a few announcements from on high."

Brown was in Louisiana, where he received the endorsement of Gov. Edwin Edwards and talked with 17 of that state's 19 uncommitted delegates. Edwards said the delegates had decided unanimously "not to jump on the Carter bandwagon. We feel there is still a possibility, however slight, that there will be an open convention.

MAYOR FRANK L. RIZZO of Philadelphia announced yesterday that he will support Carter. He had backed Sen. Henry M. Jackson in the Pennsylvania primary in April. Four years ago, Rizzo called Richard M. Nixon the greatest president the United States ever had and supported his re-election.

Kentucky Sens. Wendell Ford and Walter Huddleston endorsed Carter yesterday as did Mississippi Sens. James Eastland and John Stennis.

And District of Columbia Mayor Walter Washington, whose slate lost to Carter's in the D.C. primary, endorsed the Georgian, as his political rival, D.C. Delegate Walter Fauntroy, already had. Fauntroy's slate also lost to Carter.

A formal endorsement came also from the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, which last month got a commitment from the candidate to work for a stronger marchant marine.

ANDERSON of Minnesota, who heads the committee that will start three days of closed sessions today to draw up a draft Democratic platform, said Carter will have a strong influence on the platform.

"I think it's obvious that he's (Carter) going to be the nominee," said Anderson. But he declined to endorse Carter, saying he wanted to talk first to Humphrey and to Minnesota Sen. Walter Mondale.

Noting that several members of the platform-drafting subcommittee were early Carter supporters, Anderson said the former Georgia governor already has had "considerable input" into the platform. "He wants something that is less of a laundry list, more readable, something that promises less, something he could run on and actually implement," Anderson said.

IF ALL THE DELEGATES released in the past two days vote for Carter, he would have enough to win the nomination with more than 100 votes to spare.

Carter, at home in Plains, Ga., planned to visit Wallace, probably tomorrow, and to attend the 35th anniversary reunion of his high school class later that day, aides said.

He is scheduled to fly to New York on Monday to meet with that state's delegation and to fly later to Dallas for a fund-raiser. He will return that night to Sea Island, Ga., where he is to take his family Sunday.

They're Still Split 3 Ways Over Jimmy Carter In Iowa

By John J. Flaika
Washington Star Staff Writer

Although Jimmy Carter seems to have charmed away much of the Democratic party's internal squabbling, there are still some people who refuse to believe that Carter is going to be the candidate or that the dove of peace has finally taken the faction-ridden party under its wing.

Take the Iowa delegation, for instance. Next month when they board the chartered jet in Des Moines that will take them to the convention in New York City, they are likely to have three "co-chairpersons." One will represent the majority faction of 20 Carter delegates. Another will speak for 12 Udall and 2 Harris delegates. A third will represent 13 people, most of whom remain adamantly uncommitted despite the avalanche of endorsements going to Carter.

AFTER THE LAST of the state's 47 delegates were chosen by the party's state convention May 29, feelings ran so strong that the chosen delegates argued in the Veterans Auditorium in Des Moines until 5:30 a.m. without settling on one person to serve as a spokesman. The passion of the uncommitted vote was a major factor in the impasse.

"I mean you have to really love politics to argue until 5:30 in the morning," said Mrs. Denise Gray, explaining her long-term commitment to the party. Mrs. Gray is among the 13 who remain unmoved by the formidable Carter charm.

It is not as though the Carter organization hasn't tried. Jimmy Carter has probably spent more time campaigning in Iowa than in any other state. He spent a good part of 1975 stumping through nearly every town of any size in the state, preparing for the first delegate selection process in the nation.

EVERY TIME he came near Sioux City, Mrs. Gray, who works there as a clerk for a livestock buying firm there, went to see him. She's heard Carter speak at least six times and she is certain she will arrive in New York uncommitted.

"I just don't like the fact that he (Carter) doesn't tell you where he stands. He's very personable, but I had the feeling that it was part of his strategy to be vague about the issues he stands for."

Through last weekend, others were still courting Mrs. Gray's vote. There were calls from the Church and Brown organizations, even a call from a draft-Humphrey group which has recently been working in Iowa. So far, though, nobody seems to have turned her head.

See IOWA, A-6

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IOWA

Continued From A-1

Mrs. Georgia Seivers of Avoca, who has been involved in local party politics for 35 years, hasn't been persuaded either, although she admits a certain nostalgia for Humphrey. She resents assertions in the press that it's all over and she especially resents reports that the endorsement of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley is a signal that Carter has the nomination.

"I'M A FIERCELY independent individual and I'm not going to let Mayor Daley or any of the big boys make up my mind," says Mrs. Seivers, who is a farmer's wife and a member of the state's Board of Education. She, too, has met Carter, several times.

"He's charming all right. But I'm not really sure that that's an attribute that makes a great President." Mrs. Seivers says she is going to New York to "take a really close look."

Then there is Jeno Berta, 38, a shipping clerk from Davenport who left Hungary as a teen-ager during the 1956 revolution. After gaining his citizenship, he's been an activist in local politics. He is not leaning in any particular direction except away from Jimmy Carter.

"Gov. Carter is a fine man, but I think we can do better than that," says Berta, who explains that one of his chief worries is that Carter will fill up the courts by appointing Southern judges.

BERTA BELONGS to the United Auto Workers, Iowa's largest union, which is heavily represented within the delegation. Most of them are backing Carter, but Don Gettings, a machine repairman from Ottumwa, is also holding back. He says a Humphrey man called him last Sunday, but he thinks that if Humphrey "really was sincere, he should have come out a lot sooner."

Another delegate, Joe Zagnoli of Woodward, is a field representative for the United Rubber Workers. He was on the road and couldn't be reached for comment, but his wife had a few things to say. "There is no way," she told a reporter, "that the uncommitted group in Iowa is going to change before the convention."

"In Iowa, the uncommitted group is almost an anti-Carter movement," explains another member, Walt Griffin, an American history professor at Upper Iowa University in Fayette. "If you say anything nice about Carter you almost get run out of the group."

STILL, GRIFFIN finds himself leaning toward Carter, especially since the Ohio primary. "My liberal friends groan when I say Carter, but that looks like the way it's going to be."

But Griffin appears to be the exception. Hope hope for the emergence of another viable candidate seems to spring eternal among the Iowa uncommitteds. Judy Perkins of Cedar Rapids, an organizer for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes (AFSCME), for example, is "looking at Brown very strongly."

Asked about the impact of Mayor Daley's endorsement, Ms. Griffin sniffs contemptuously: "Daley? Why he couldn't run for dog catcher in Iowa."

Mayor Endorses Carter, But Unity 76 Holds Off

By Philip Shandler
Washington Star Staff Writer

Mayor Walter E. Washington has thrown his support to presidential aspirant Jimmy Carter, but the leaders of the District's Democratic party are linking their backing to Carter's support of a commuter tax for suburbanites who work in the city.

Washington announced his endorsement yesterday at a press conference. Referring to Carter's seemingly decisive primary victory Tuesday in Ohio, the mayor said the former Georgia governor clearly had overwhelming public support.

HARD ON THE heels of that announcement, City Council Chairman Sterling Tucker issued a statement saying he and Del. Walter Fauntroy had asked Carter to reverse his previous opposition to a commuter tax.

Tucker and Fauntroy, leaders of the Unity 76 faction that won control of the D.C. Democratic party in a primary fight with Washington May 4, said:

MAYOR WASHINGTON
In Georgian's corner

"The only item . . . that remains unresolved to the complete satisfaction of Unity 76 is whether Gov. Carter will reverse his position on a non-resident income tax for the District."

The two said their support "will depend on" Carter's response to a new inquiry on his tax position." But Tucker added:

"I am optimistic that Gov. Carter will tell us what we want to hear . . ."

Washington, asked earlier about Carter's tax position, said he hoped to persuade the candidate to change his mind "from inside" — as a delegate to the nominating convention. The Democratic National Committee has given the mayor a status at the July convention equal to that of a governor.

THE MAYOR said he would leave the choice of vice presidential candidate to the presidential nominee.

Washington previously had indicated he favored Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey for the presidential nomination — as had the Unity 76 leaders. But yesterday the mayor noted that Humphrey had never openly declared his candidacy.

MMMM

Mary McGrory

All Brown Can Do Is Wait for a Break

BATON ROUGE, La. — Jerry Brown, the last alternative, with more cheek than expectations, raided Carter territory, bagged 19 delegates and the Louisiana governor's endorsement, then retreated to California to think it over.

He was originally scheduled to go on to Boston, but for unexplained reasons, canceled the trip — thus adding to the general impression that he can't stop Jimmy Carter.

If you add his Louisiana delegates, he now has 303 to Jimmy Carter's 1,097. He knows that he looks like a boy with a wooden sword going out against a tank. But he keeps saying that the Democratic National Convention doors should not be locked before they are opened, and he knows that his fragile and tentative challenge is the only game in town.

When he is asked, as he is by the local reporters who come out to greet him, why he is doing it, he answers with a question, "Why not?"

"WE'RE HANGING by a thread," he said as he raced to the New Orleans airport for the flight home, having heard on the car radio that Milton Shapp was the latest to acclaim Carter as the nominee.

Brown is somewhat nettled that his unprecedented victory in California and his success with the uncommitted slate in New Jersey have been accepted, as has so much else in this campaign, on Jimmy Carter's terms.

Carter early conceded California and announced that many of the uncommitted New Jersey slate were really for him. And, sure enough, Mayor Daley said shortly thereafter that Ohio was the only primary which counted last Tuesday.

"I heard what the mayor of Chicago said," Brown said. "I heard what George said: I also heard what a million people in California said. Delegates are still free people with open minds."

THE ONLY supporting evidence he picked up on that point was the conversion of 19 of Louisiana's uncommitted delegates and Gov. Edwin Edwards' unusual endorsement.

Edwards, having defiantly presented Brown to the Louisiana legislature, couched his endorsement in appropriately realistic terms — "I perhaps am buying the last ticket on the Titanic."

Brown didn't mind. And he looked on quizzically as Edwards went on to say that while Brown might not be helped or Carter stopped by his endorsement, at least there would be no damage to Louisiana, since both its senators and most of its congressmen are safely aboard the Georgia bandwagon.

Edwards, whose wife Elaine is an ardent Brown supporter, entertained Brown at the Executive Mansion and brought in the uncommitted for his breakfast wooing.

"He just took them like that," Edwards reported later, snapping his fingers. "I don't think they intended to go as far as they did, but it is just his personal magnetism."

WHY ARE SOME Louisianans hanging back at their brother Southerner's moment of triumph?

Well, it seems that Huey Long's home state, bred on two more flamboyant personalities, is somewhat bored with Brother Jimmy's drab pietism.

"Insipid," one woman sniffed. "If you told him his mother and his wife had just died, he'd still smile at you." And a man who heard Brown's address to the legislature said Carter was "bland."

Whereas Brown "has a little color about him" and makes them love and brings an edge of excitement.

He reminds Evelyn Gianfale, chairman of the Board of Tax Appeals, of John Kennedy, and she has doted on him for months.

Brown's Catholicism, grace and wit are not, however, sufficient to remind professional politicians of John Kennedy, who won Louisiana in 1960. Rather he brings to mind Eugene McCarthy, who also had a disdain for details and schedules and strategy, and got low marks on back-slapping. Brown's "go-with-the-flow" approach makes them nervous.

BROWN UNDERSTANDS that he is asking the regulars to risk everything for him in his dubious cause: White House dinner invitations, appointments, dams, military bases.

"It's hard for them," he mused. "They have to feel the pressure from below."

So he's taking it at an hour at a time, waiting for a break, an opening. He has challenged Carter to debate, to no avail. He hopes for a kind word from Teddy Kennedy, who is having some trouble with Carter on the issues. He's calling up a lot of people, Mayor Daley, Morris Udall, waiting to hear that it's not all over, hoping to hear that he is regarded as something more serious than the kooky governor of a kooky state.

Edwards said, "I don't want my people to think I am a hot-headed buffoon. I understand that this whole thing could end at midnight. But if Carter is nominated, Brown will be the second most important political figure in this country. Carter will need him. There is no one like him."

WHILE HE IS wondering whether to give in or to go on, Brown is getting his best vibrations from people he passes in airports, people who urge him to hang in, like the young woman in New Orleans who was holding her baby and who gazed into his deep set brown eyes and told him she wanted more than anything in the world for him to be president.

"Pray for me," he told her.

She promised she would.

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Yesterday—3 p.m. air
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His Delegates Put At 1,514, Indicating A First-Ballot Win

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter locked up the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, a month before convention time, with a rush of endorsements from the foes he had beaten and old political pros he had impressed in his long and often lonely battle for that prize.

The former Georgia governor, who gained 218 delegates Tuesday with a win and two seconds on the final day of the primaries, picked up at least as many more yesterday in a cascade of endorsements. They spanned the breadth of the no-longer-warring factions of the Democratic Party.

By nightfall, Carter was as certain of being chosen for the presidential nomination next month in Madison Square Garden as any political mortal can be of anything. The scorecard in the Democratic National Committee headquarters credited him with 1,514 delegates—nine more than are needed for a first-ballot victory.

Characteristically, Carter was far from the corridors of power in the capital when his triumph came. He accepted his hard-won victory in his tiny south Georgia hometown of Plains. Wearing blue jeans and work boots as he stood on the platform of an abandoned train station, Carter told reporters that only "some catastrophe" could deny him the prize he began planning to capture within a month of the 1972 Democratic convention.

For most of that time, the ambitions of the self-styled peanut farmer from Plains had seemed ludicrous to most of the Democratic power-brokers.

But no one was laughing when Carter completed his string of presidential primary successes by finishing first in Ohio and second in both New Jersey and California—gaining more delegates than he had won in any other single day of the 31-primary campaign.

The first to react yesterday morning was Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley, who endorsed Carter and said Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois would make a "great" running-mate for the Georgian.

Stevenson promptly released the 86 delegates that Daley had corralled for him in the Illinois primary, tacitly turning them over to Carter for whatever consideration that might give his hopes for the No. 2 spot.

Within an hour, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace—the crippled spellbinder whose claim to speak for the alienated of the South and the nation had been destroyed by his losses to Carter in Florida and North Carolina—had endorsed his conqueror and urged his 168 delegates to follow suit.

Wallace, ending his 16-year estrangement from the Democratic Party, said that all he asked of Carter was "to try to make all of the people of this country one of the finest Presidents we've ever had."

Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, another beaten rival, promised he will deliver his support and 249 delegates. Liberal Democratic leaders like the 1972 nominee, Sen. George McGovern, and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy—both of whom had been critical of Carter's coolness to the

See DEMOCRATS, A6, Col. 1

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PRPRP

Endorsements Clinch Carter Victory

DEMOCRATS, From A1

traditional liberal issues—acknowledged the realities and promised him their campaign aid.

Leaders of liberal labor unions met to discuss their support for Carter and while AFL-CIO president George Meany maintained his public neutrality, associates emphasized that Carter was on Meany's acceptable list.

By mid-afternoon, when Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, the main hope of the dwindling stop-Carter forces, emerged from meetings with his advisers, there was little suspense left to his decision.

The words with which Humphrey ended his 20-year dream of reaching the White House were these: "Gov. Carter has a commanding lead. He is virtually certain to be our party's nominee. I, therefore, will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf. And I will do all I can to help unite our party. . . ."

With that, the efforts of a "Draft Humphrey" committee faded to futility. Two others who had tried unsuccessfully to brake Carter in the primaries, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, came back to Washington, acknowledging their failure.

Udall said he would concentrate on expressing liberal concerns on the platform and give his delegates at least that much say in the convention.

Church said he was putting his late-starting campaign into a holding pattern and acknowledged he would be happy to be considered for Vice President if that did not sound "presumptuous" to Carter.

The last of the other contenders to get the word was California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. Brown and his delegates had beaten Carter in five of the six states where the Californian had campaigned and Brown said that gave him "momentum and leadership" in the race.

But as word of the endorsements floated west, Brown apparently reassessed. He canceled scheduled forays into Massachusetts and Connecticut to woo the uncommitted delegates in those states.

Everything fell into place so quickly for Carter yesterday that it was hard to remember how long and how hard he had labored to make that moment inevitable. His victory clearly marked a fundamental shift of power within the majority party—from the North to the South, from the capital to the countryside, and from the programmatic liberals to the critics of bureaucratic big government.

But every bit as significant was the remarkable unity that seemed to be emerging in a party sorely beset for the past decade by the divisions over Vietnam, civil rights and the social issues of conflicting life-styles.

Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, told reporters in Plains that Carter was anxious to head off "any major confrontation on issues" in the platform. He said Carter will curtail his campaign plans for the remaining state conventions, but will confer with Democratic mayors and governors at their annual conventions later this month, and talk with many other Democrats by phone.

Carter himself moved to squelch speculation and controversy over a running-mate, saying "no one is authorized to speak for me" on that subject. He said he would not disclose his choice until he is nominated.

Carter's options on the vice presidency are as broad as the coalition he assembled in his successful nomination drive. Even Democrats who had viewed his qualifications with skepticism acknowledged yesterday that he promised the Democrats victory in November over a Republican Party so divided it may deny nomination to its incumbent President.

Kennedy referred to Carter's "impressive victories" and promised his support to him if nominated. So did Wallace, who called Carter shortly after midnight to offer his congratulations and arranged to meet with him later this week in Montgomery.

Thus, Carter can look forward to standing on the platform in Madison Square Garden with the two men with perhaps the most fervent and opposed followings in the pre-Carter Democratic Party.

Washington Post staff writers Jules Witcover, Helen Dewar, Paul G. Edwards, William Claiborne and Robert G. Kaiser contributed to this story.

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	1,117
Udall	327
Jackson	249
Brown	225
Wallace*	168
Stevenson*	86
Humphrey	73
Church	72
Harris	16
McCormack	3
Walker*	2
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	538
Total chosen to date	2,877
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in all states except Texas, Connecticut, Colorado, Missouri and Puerto Rico, which have yet to complete delegate selection; and Delaware, Utah and North Dakota, which are still to select delegates.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	958
Reagan	863
Uncommitted	155
Total chosen to date	1,976
Needed to nominate	1,130

Republican totals are based on completed delegate selection in all states except Illinois, Texas, Minnesota, Missouri, Idaho and Colorado, which have yet to complete delegate selection; and Washington, Iowa, Delaware, New Mexico, North Dakota, Connecticut, Montana and Utah, which are still to select delegates.

*has released delegates

The Washington Post

Carter Savors Triumph at Home

Friends, Relatives Dance in Street for Favorite Son

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., June 9— Wearing blue jeans, plaid shirt and dust-covered work boots, pausing briefly for a freight train to roar by, Jimmy Carter stood today on the loading platform of an abandoned train station here and—for all practical purposes—accepted the Democratic nomination for the presidency.

As flies buzzed around his head and network cameras rolled, the 51-year-old peanut farmer who answered to "Jimmy who?" just months ago, reeled off the names of men who were now coming to him: Daley of Chicago, Jackson of Washington, Wallace of Alabama and maybe even Humphrey of all those presidential races of years gone by.

It was a moment for humility in the face of triumph, for contrasts as stark as his Georgia clay roots and his ambitions of world leadership. Carter made the most of it, just as he did, step by careful step, with every opportunity for votes that came his way.

What, he was asked, could possibly stand now between him and the leadership of the Democratic Party which many of its most powerful men were—and probably still are—reluctant to see him claim?

"Well," he said, smiling that smile that often says more than his words, "the vote has to be taken at the convention." Only "some catastrophe," he added, appeared now to block the goal that he has been seeking for more than 16 months and in 48 states.

Jimmy Carter was born and raised in this tiny South Georgia farming community of 683 people, as Carter told countless crowds from New Hampshire to California. Friends, neighbors and relatives danced in the street last night for the favorite son and some of them, including his mother, "Miss Lillian," came out again to see all the fuss over their local boy who made good.

But they were not the gallus-snapping good ole boys of George Wallace's South and they were not overwhelmed by the strange rites of the media or the stunning success of their neighbors. They did not fit the Southern stereotype (or any other stereotype for that matter) and reflected the same capacity for surprising strangers that helped Carter capture the nation's attention for his sometimes rather gauzy message of reassurance and faith.

See CARTER, A4, Col. 1

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Georgian Savors Triumph

CARTER, From A1

"From peanuts to President," read a sign outside the turn-of-the-century train station that now serves as Carter's local campaign headquarters.

Throughout the campaign, Carter stressed simple virtues that had seemed to go out of style in political rhetoric, telling voters he "loved" them and wanted to share an "intimacy" with them, expressing faith in the "basic goodness" of the American people despite their leaders' transgressions and vowing never to tell a lie.

(Asked if she would ever tell a lie, 77-year-old "Miss Lillian" laughed and told reporters, "Oh, my Lord, yes, I have to make up for Jimmy.")

But asked yesterday how he came "so far, so fast," Carter rather grimly noted that 16½ months of campaigning didn't seem very fast.

When Carter began campaigning in early 1975 he traveled almost alone around the country, begging, as he tells his audiences now, for just one reporter to ask him a question.

Now he often gives the impression that they are asking too many of them and the loading platform sagged under the weight of all the major news media of the country, with some European correspondents thrown in for good measure.

As Carter buoyantly fielded a question about what criticism he has of the nation's patchwork-quilt system of primary elections ("I think it's an absolutely superb system," he exulted), a freight train rumbled into town.

The press conference halted for the whistles, roars and toots. "This," said Carter, apparently referring to the passage of the train rather than the press conference, "is not a frequent occurrence in Plains."

Carter actually has never been far from Plains in his speeches, always referring to the place of his birth, to past and present family members and often to the values of small-town America.

He asks voters to join "my family," meaning the extended family of his campaign supporters. Even in big cities, he talks about the smallness and intimacy of Plains and its people, appearing to evoke in his listeners a nostalgia for the old days and simple ways, in many cases a life they never knew.

These crowds rarely respond with emotional bursts or fervent applause, as they do with many of his less successful rivals, but they appear to be listening carefully—and frequently returning his smile.

Carter himself does not show much emotion beyond an occasional steely-eyed stare that tends to wilt its target, or the smile that sometimes seems to mask his reactions as much as express them. But he has appeared more relaxed in the last few days, seeming almost to sense the outcome of the final test of his campaign strategy.

On Saturday night, at the Best Western Motel in nearby Americus, the 1941 graduating class of the local high school will have its 35th annual reunion and Jimmy Carter will be there.

When Carter was a youngster, going to Americus, 10 miles away, was a big event. It is sure to be a bigger event this Saturday night.

Primary Election Summary

Associated Press

CALIFORNIA

Republican

Reagan	1,536,400	or 66%
Ford	800,572	or 34%

Delegates (167)

Reagan	167
Ford	0

Democratic

Brown	1,992,714	or 59%
Carter	690,454	or 21%
Church	248,696	or 7%
Udall	169,213	or 5%
Wallace	102,122	or 3%
Uncommitted	76,410	or 2%
Jackson	38,750	or 1%
McCormack	28,995	or 1%
Harris	16,875	or 1%
Bayh	11,253	or 0%

Delegates (280)

Brown	204
Carter	67
Church	7
Udall	2

OHIO

Republican

Ford	495,523	or 55%
Reagan	403,855	or 45%

Delegates (97)

Ford	88
Reagan	9

Democratic

Carter	568,486	or 52%
Udall	230,189	or 21%
Church	152,056	or 14%
Wallace	62,095	or 6%
Donahey	43,255	or 4%
Jackson	35,297	or 3%

Delegates (152)

Carter	126
Udall	20
Stokes	6

NEW JERSEY

Republican

No preferential contest.

Delegates (67)

Uncommitted (Ford)	67
Reagan	0

Democratic

Uncommitted	194,673	or 42%
Carter	129,455	or 28%
Udall	59,365	or 13%
Church	30,722	or 7%
Wallace	28,944	or 6%
McCormack	19,700	or 4%

Delegates (108)

Uncommitted	82
Carter	25
Udall	1

Presidential Preference

Carter	203,657	or 57%
Church	67,803	or 19%
Wallace	1,201	or 9%
Jackson	31,102	or 9%
McCormack	21,109	or 6%

State-by-State Voting in Tuesday's Primaries

Jimmy Carter apparently clinched the Democratic presidential nomination Tuesday, but oddly enough, he really did not do that well in the day's three primaries.

He lost two of the three by rather sizable margins—in California and New Jersey.

He cleaned up in the third state—Ohio—which politicians and the press had pretty well agreed in advance was the day's most important contest.

As on other Tuesdays during the long primary season, moreover, the former Georgia governor managed to pick up respectable numbers of delegates even in the states he lost.

In California Carter won 67 of 280 at stake, in New Jersey 25 of 108. Added to his 126 from Ohio, out of 152 up for grabs there, these gave him a total of 218 for the day. That was the number that made his drive for the nomination seem unstoppable, and set off yesterday's stream of endorsements and concessions.

On the Republican side, Tuesday was about a draw. President Ford won two of the three states—Ohio and New Jersey—capturing an apparent total of 155 delegates to a mere nine for rival Ronald Reagan. But Reagan hit back as expected by taking all 167 delegates in his home state of California, whose big primary was a winner-take-all affair.

Thus while the Democrats are trying to make peace in the next few weeks, the Republicans will still be making war as Mr. Ford and Reagan continue to scrap for uncommitted delegates and delegates from the remaining non-primary states.

Here, state by state, is what happened Tuesday.

NEW JERSEY

In some of the states whose primaries he won—Pennsylvania, for example — Carter, the self-styled political outsider, was able correctly to claim he beat the machine. In New Jersey the machine beat him.

There was a non-binding preferential primary or "beauty contest" in New Jersey, which most of the state's political professionals ignored, and which Carter won handily, 57 per cent to 19 per cent for his nearest rival, Idaho Sen. Frank Church.

In the complicated balloting for delegates, however, the party professionals rolled up their sleeves, put workers at the polling places, handed out "palm cards" to guide the faithful to the chosen names — and came away with a victory.

Of the 108 delegate slots, 82 were won by the party regulars, to be sent to the Democratic convention ostensibly as "uncommitted" but actually for Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. or whoever else emerged as an alternative to Carter.

By yesterday afternoon, however, even some of these "stop-Carter" delegates were reported to be edging nervously in the Georgian's direction, lest they be left stranded in opposition.

Carter won 25 delegates. Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, who had hoped to do fairly well in this state, won only one.

Carter, as expected, did his best in black and suburban-rural areas, while the party pros, whose slate was led by Sen. Harrison A. Williams, did best in blue-collar neighborhoods.

The physical makeup of the ballot was so confusing that in one black section of Newark voters nearly elected — by mistake — a delegate slate pledged to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, which looked as if it was the Humphrey-Brown slate. That was why the organization and its palm cards were so important.

On the Republican side, President Ford won 67 delegates to none for Reagan, thanks to the state GOP organization. Reagan did not seriously contest New Jersey.

OHIO

In the competition for the 38 Democratic delegates elected statewide, Carter crushed his opposition. He had 52 per cent of the vote, to 21 per cent for nearest rival Udall, who campaigned hard in this state and simply could not make it. Church had 14 per cent of the vote, with the rest scattered, including 4 per cent for state treasurer Gertrude W. Donahey.

The remaining 114 delegates were chosen by congressional districts. Carter finished with a total of 126 to 20 for Udall and 6 for Rep. Louis Stokes of Cleveland.

Carter had been expected to pile up heavy majorities in the more rural and conservative western and southern parts of Ohio, and he did. But his margins were also decisive—sometimes of near-landslide proportions—in the urban areas where Udall and Church had hoped to do better.

Udall won six of his delegates in Rep. Charles A. Vanik's relatively liberal district on the east side of Cleveland, another in Rep. Thomas L. Ashley's district encompassing Toledo, the rest from his share of the statewide vote. Carter won everywhere else except on Stokes' home turf.

In the race for statewide delegates to the Republican convention, President Ford bested Reagan 55 per cent to 45 per cent. Reagan, however, beat Mr. Ford in three of the congressional district match-ups. Those were in the districts of Reps. John M. Ashbrook, William H. Harsha and Samuel L. Devine.

His victories in these district contests gave Reagan 9 delegates. The President got 88.

The President campaigned hard in Ohio. Reagan, by contrast, was a late starter there, and in fact failed to enter delegate slates in many districts. Some delegates thus went to Mr. Ford by default.

CALIFORNIA

Brown and Reagan, the present and former governors, were expected to win at home and did, easily.

Reagan swamped President Ford, 66 per cent to 34 per cent. According to interviews by NBC of voters as they left the polling places Tuesday, Mr. Ford ran ahead of Reagan among Jews, but behind him among all other groups of voters, including all age groups.

But California pollster Mervin Field found a quirk in the Reagan victory. He said that, even though Reagan carried California 2 to 1, Reagan does not do as well as Mr. Ford when matched up in trial heats in the state against such Democrats as Carter, Brown and Humphrey.

Trial contests he ran this week, Field said, show Carter with 41 per cent of the vote to 40 per cent for Mr. Ford with 19 per cent undecided. Against Reagan, on the other hand, Carter pulls 46 per cent to 38 per cent with 16 per cent undecided, Field found.

Ford adviser and state GOP chairman Paul Haerle noted yesterday that Reagan, apart from being a native son, is "the best campaigner going in either party," and "was widely perceived as a good governor." These factors, plus the fact that Mr. Ford only campaigned hard in California once, help explain the outcome, Haerle said.

Among Democrats, Brown walked off with 59 per cent of the vote to 21 per cent for Carter and the rest scattered. That gave Brown 204 delegates to Carter's 67 and 7 for Church, with 2 for Udall.

Field said yesterday the Democratic vote reflects the obvious fact that Brown is better known in California than Carter, as opposed to any hostility toward Carter.

Carter did not campaign that heavily in California, and Field said he was "up against a big electronic continental divide."

A month ago, Field explained, he polled and found more than 50 per cent for Brown, but "people were still saying in the same breath that he ought to have more experience."

But he continued: "When it came down to voting on someone you know against someone you don't know, they went for Brown."

Washington Post staff writer Peter Milius wrote this story from reports filed by staff writers William Claiborne, Paul G. Edwards and Bill Richards.

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Happy Warrior Humphrey Bows Out for Last Tim

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

They always said that Hubert Humphrey would do anything for a chance to be President. Yesterday he proved them wrong.

Faced with the futility and divisiveness of an 11th-hour challenge to Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination, Humphrey voluntarily bowed out, at age 65, doubtless for the last time.

Declaring that Carter "is virtually certain to be our party's nominee", the Minnesota senator and former Vice President said he "will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf" and "will do all I can to help unite our party behind the candidate chosen by the delegates at the convention next month." He said delegates pledged to him are free to vote as they choose.

Humphrey's decision enabled him to carry his reputation as a legislator to a different battle—a fight for the job of Senate Majority Leader.

Humphrey promised to say more today about seeking his party's top Senate leadership post, being vacated by retiring Mike Mansfield of Montana.

For liberals in the party doubtful about the degree of Carter's commitment to causes dear to them, Humphrey remains an advocate in party councils of government as innovator of social welfare and change.

As a leader, or the leader, of Senate Democrats in a Carter administration, Humphrey would be well-positioned to defend that government role in dealing with a President who has campaigned consistently against the do-everything Washington that Humphrey over the years has come to personify.

That Humphrey would prefer continued high recognition in the Senate to what would have been his fourth overt bid for the Democratic presidential nomination should have come as no surprise.

He had been saying all along that while he was available for the nomination, he was not going to scramble for it.

But like the boy who cried wolf, Humphrey had coveted the White House so long and so publicly that many found it hard to grasp that he really meant what he said.

News Analysis

Had Carter stumbled on the final primary day, Humphrey might have answered the bell one more time. But Carter did not stumble and Humphrey can count, and so the wisdom of age and experience prevailed.

The point of no return really came not yesterday but six weeks ago, when after much soul-searching and fanfare, Humphrey strode into the Senate Caucus Room and elaborately declined to enter the New Jersey primary as an active candidate.

That decision took the wind out of the sails of Democrats in New Jersey and elsewhere who hoped he would move into the anti-Carter breach left by the collapse of Sen. Henry M. Jackson's campaign in the Pennsylvania primary.

Few men have sought the presidency for so long or have come as close to winning it. Humphrey made his first run 16 years ago against John F. Kennedy, losing to him first in Wisconsin and then in West Virginia in the primary that dispelled the notion that a Catholic could not be elected President.

With the vigor and enthusiasm that he displays to this day, the 1960 Humphrey toured the mine communities and hollows of the rugged West Virginia countryside by bus, extolling the role of a government that cared for its people.

Over the years, in 1964 as the successful vice presidential nominee, in 1968 as the presidential nominee who lost to Richard Nixon by a whisker, and in 1972 when he failed to wrest the nomination from George McGovern, Humphrey remained always the "Happy Warrior" whose zest for campaigning persuaded many he would never pass up an opportunity to run for higher office.

But if his enthisiasm for pet liberal causes had not waned, his tolerance for disappointment, and even public ridicule, had dropped perceptibly.

He did not relish the image of not only the happy but the hungry warrior. As he settled again into Senate life, he told interviewers he had lost his stomach for the scramble, especially the fundraising.

He enjoyed being a near-institution on Capitol Hill and he knew that an active candidacy would resurrect stories about the conviction of his 1972 campaign manager on charges of receiving illegal contributions.

And so he elected for 1976 to leave the trench-fighting to younger, less scarred Democrats, and to tend to business in the Senate, but always with a watchful eye to opportunity. He said at the year's outset he expected the primaries to produce the nominee but, if not, he would be available.

What continued to make the presidency attractive to Humphrey in 1976 was awareness that this fall's campaign was likely to be waged heavily on issues of the economy, the Minnesotan's forte.

There are few men in the Senate who can discuss and debate economics with Humphrey, especially in terms of impact on working-class America. He spoke often and with relish in private about the opportunities for the Democrats in such a debate with the Republican nominee.

Now that Humphrey has decided not to lend himself to any last-ditch stop-Carter effort, he is free to join that debate from a position of influence and prestige, and also to play a leading role in another task he set for himself at the year's start—to be a vehicle for party unity.

After 28 years in Democratic national politics, he is a man with many friends, but also many detractors.

To many early and vehement critics of the Vietnam war, he is still a villain for not publicly breaking with President Johnson on that issue and making his 1968 campaign for the presidency a referendum on that war.

But he remains, for all that, the embodiment of old liberal, New Deal policies and ideals, popular with labor, minorities and old-line Democrats the country over.

His demonstration that in 1976 he is no windmill-tilter in his lifelong ambition to be President enhances his value to the party, and to Carter, in the party fence-mending that now faces the Democrats' prospective nominee.

A Final Irony for George Wallace

By Myra MacPherson
Washington Post Staff Writer

There are different ways for a man like George Wallace to die; one is to die physically, and the other is to die politically . . . .

—Cornelia Wallace in "C'Neila"

George Wallace yesterday played the last role after more than a decade of being a force in American presidential politics. He turned his 168 delegates over to Jimmy Carter.

After a last feeble attempt in California, Wallace had lost even his remaining hope of being an influence at the Democratic National Convention.

It was a final irony that Wallace—who made his way out of the South in 1964 yelling "segregation forever!" then broadened his appeal and reached across the country to build a powerful movement—would be so thoroughly whipped by another Southerner.

The onetime cocky bantam rooster king of millions of frustrated and angry "little people" who sent big government a message through their Wallace votes sits in his wheelchair, and there is no fight left. "I paved the way for a Jimmy Carter," he said softly in a recent interview in Montgomery.

His head bent, one hand bracing his back against the pain, he is a frail figure. His hand does not brush away the ashes that fall on his unfeeling leg as he flicks his cigar in the vicinity of the spitoon on the floor in his governor's office.

He does not even bristle at the suggestion that the unifying gesture of endorsing Carter is a strange end for the man who stood outside and yelled at the establishment. He was the master rouser of crowds who shouted about "pointy-headed liberals" and "anarchists" and appealed to the darkest fears of racism while articulating concerns that worried many—crime, busing, higher taxes, lower services, bigger government. He now said quietly of this final act in his fourth and last presidential bid, "Well, it's a role, isn't it?"

That was not the way it was supposed to be. Now political analysts are trying to understand why the Wallace movement collapsed so fast in this year's primary campaign.

He had raised $7 million—more than any other candidate—through direct mail. When Edward Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey were left out of last year's polls, Wallace led them. He was a power, and "stop Wallace" became every pol's vital strategy for Florida.

The explanation of Wallace's vanishing strength is complex. The standard explanation that he became a helpless shadow power in a wheelchair when that bullet shattered his spine in a Laurel, Md., shopping center four years ago is too simple.

That is the explanation Wallace uses mostly, as if Arthur Bremmer, the Milwaukee busboy with his crazed assassin's mission, did it all.

To be sure, how Wallace was viewed as a cripple was a major factor.

But he was also an old face selling old wares, wares that had been picked up and polished and improved upon by new faces that lent them a new respectability. Busing and law and order became issues for everyone from President Ford and Ronald Reagan to Jimmy Carter and Scoop Jackson. "All of them done stole my water. They're drinking out of my dipper," he complained.

"We worked for over a year and half to put together a new majority coalition," said Richard Viguerie, who conducted Wallace's direct mail operation, "But we woke up one day and discovered that Carter done run off with our coalition. And people forget that one major source of Wallace's support was Republicans. He was the only game in town from the conservative standpoint for several years—now Reagan's siphoned them off."

Political analysts for years have categorized Wallace's support as primarily a protest vote. His strength was in being "anti"; it was not in articulating change. Garnering initial sympathy after he was shot, recent polls show that people again regarded Wallace as extreme. Even those who worked for him never expected him to become President, they said, although Wallace feels he would have had the nomination in 1972 had he not been shot.

Ned McWherter, speaker of the Tennessee House of Representatives, where Wallace got 83 per cent in the 1972 primary and was trounced by Carter this May, said that, even before Carter, the people of his state had decided that "Wallace was too extreme and would never deliver. Now they feel they've got a Southerner who can not only send a message, but can deliver."

Another factor voiced, even by people on the Wallace campaign, is that it was badly bungled. "You're not allowed too many mistakes in this game," said his wife, Cornelia.

A politically savvy woman who grew up in the governor's mansion when her uncle, Kissin' Jim Folsom, was Alabama's governor, she said of Wallace's staff, "George Wallace is like the hen that laid the golden egg—and they are the farmers who don't know how to pick it up.

"He's always used local boys—and he never got elected President. He should have had some heavyweights in advertising and political strategy. And we could have shown him to much better advantage instead of pictures that showed them loading him in and out of airplanes and rolling him up to platforms."

Enormous amounts of money were spent on such things as an airplane that cost $50,000 a month and only seated 27. A less fancy plane could have accommodated twice that many at half the cost, said one aide.

Billy Jo Camp, the governor's press secretary, admitted that they were going out to California last week not knowing where to look for votes, "because we hadn't taken any opinion

campaign tactic rested with Wallace in that he was seeking respectability more than votes. There is a New South. Since the voting Rights Act, there are 90 black mayors — 12 of them in Alabama — and Wallace's battle cry as he stood in the schoolhouse door more than a decade ago, to bar blacks' entrance, haunted in his recurring quest for lasting fame and respectability.

So this year, Viguerie said, Wallace "gave them nothing to vote for." Over and over he told the press and the people that he had scored a moral victory, that he was happy that other politicians were embracing some of his conservatism, that they were singing his song, that there was unity and that was helping to keep that unity. "So, if you're saying 'I've already won what I've set out to do,' why should anyone feel like getting out and voting for you?" asked Viguerie.

Wallace admitted that he should have gone to Massachusetts "a week early and should have talked strong about busing and then I probably would have won there." (he preached peace instead).

Before Massachusetts he confided to his wife that he didn't want people to think "I'd push the button for the bomb. The press has always made me out to be a kind of ranting maniac." She recalled, "He was trying to round off the rough edges. A person in the field of speech said how much more 'controlled' his voice was. They took away the greatest thing he had going for him. He's a hell fire and damnation speaker. He had too much rubbing with a velvet glove. The only way that man is any good is when you put a burr under his saddle. He went with the olive branch and he was defeated."

So what the people saw when Wallace made his appearances was a quiet, immobile little man, protected by a sea of Secret Service men and panes of bulletproof glass—not the shouting, touching, leaping - down - off - the - stage - to - mingle candidate they once knew.

He now wants desperately to go down in history as a man who helped bring the party "back to where it belonged."

He might be remembered as the man who helped bring about change for blacks. Some in the South feel that his militant stance against civil and voting rights focused international attention on those who marched for freedom to Selma and hastened support for their cause.

Sitting in the marble building that was the capitol of the Confederacy, Wallace insisted recently that "I am not a racist" and that his actions years ago were intended only to defy federal intervention in state affairs.

"Y'all don't remember what Lyndon said, what Sam Ervin said, or Dick Russell. All of them said the same thing. Why do you pick me out and set different standards?" he asked querulously. He brought up Boston and its opposition to busing, his ploy to strike guilt in the heart of any Northerner.

"We are seeing an end of a Wallace era," said A. Jay Cooper, mayor of Prichard, Ala., and a black man. "That virulent type of articulating anti-black issues is no longer in vogue, and the people who listened to him are out of vogue." He added caustically that racism is still everywhere, only in more subtle forms.

The question now is where can Wallace go in Alabama, not national, politics. At 56, he refers to himself as "old" and looks back. He said he is happy to be alive and able to "look out over yonder at the greenery."

But there is a sense of depression and defeat. A friend once said, "He ain't got but one serious appetite, and that's votes." His wife said, "He's just been in politics too long to change."

He has had the trappings of power for a long time, the sycophants and the chauffeured car. His friends, his hangers-on, his wife and even Wallace are laying plans for the Senate race in 1978—although Wallace worries that the post will not pay enough money.

"I never did save any money. If I'd a known I'd be in this condition I would have thought of that." (He denies all stories that he is being provided for by his lawyer brother Gerald, whose financial dealings have been the subject of several investigations that have proved nothing.)

Wallace never wanted to come to Washington as a senator, his wife said, but that is his only hope for a future now.

As Cornelia Wallace said this week, "He has no other place to go."

The Elections: A Reversal of Roles

OHIO, MOTHER of six Presidents, now has at least a 2-1 chance of being foster mother to a seventh. And California, mother of Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown (we would just as soon not venture any further into California's matriarchal role in this country's recent political history), has at least a 50-50 chance of mothering the disintegration of the Republican Party as a vital and effective force in American politics. That's pretty much the way we read the returns from Tuesday's primaries. We would not wish to demean the role of New Jersey, which helped offset President Ford's crunching defeat at the hands of former Gov. Reagan in California, and did its poor best to confuse the Democratic contest by electing a majority of delegates committed to a composite candidate called Humphrey/Brown. But the confusion lasted only long enough for Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley to clear his throat. If Jimmy Carter wins in Ohio, Mr. Daley said, before the votes were all in, "he'll be the candidate." Since the mayor of Chicago has a great deal to say about the ultimate disposition of some 86 delegates, this strong suggestion of a Daley endorsement, once it was accompanied by Mr. Carter's thumping Ohio victory, effectively broke the back of the stop-Carter movement and ensured, to the extent that these things can ever be entirely certain, that the former Georgia governor will win his party's nomination at Madison Square Garden in July.

Mr. Ford has no such easy road ahead: With only a slim lead in total delegate strength right now, he is thought to have not much better than an even chance to beat Mr. Reagan in Kansas City in August, after what most people seem to agree will be a battle so brutal and embittering—and divisive in its impact upon party solidarity—that the nomination may be of doubtful value to either candidate. But without Ohio, of course, Mr. Ford would not have had even this much chance.

So what we have been presented with by Ohio and California and all the rest of the primaries now behind us is the almost certain prospect of a genuinely astonishing reversal of roles. Here are the Democrats, famous for their public displays of disunity right out on the convention floor, apparently headed for a convocation in New York that will be distinctive for its harmony and fellowship. There is not a walkout in sight. Yesterday, in the general and surprisingly rapid opening of the delegate floodgates by George Wallace, Hubert Humphrey, Adlai Stevenson III and others, there was scarcely a sour note—only Jerry Brown was breathing any fire. For the Democrats, this suggests that a splendid—and unaccustomed—opportunity may be on hand. It is the opportunity to build party positions on a broad base of support, in an atmosphere free of factional or regional rancor. Not within recent memory have the Democrats been so free to grapple with issues on their merits and to resolve differences without resort to the sort of expedient tradeoffs so often indulged in for the sake of a spurious "unity" in other years.

The same cannot be said, alas, about the Republicans, given their unsettled and, some would say, nearly suicidal state. The wonder of it is that President Ford, after starting with five straight primary victories, should now be so embattled, and that Ronald Reagan should be posing so formidable a threat. But that is the stuff of post-mortems, better left to another day. For now, it is enough to deplore the unhappy prospect of a party, once famous in its own way for its self-control, seemingly poised for a self-destructive, dog-eat-dog struggle between two factions that themselves represent only two mildly differing gradations of the same conservative ideology. It is not an ideology, we suspect, that can hope to command broad Republican support, let alone the sort of support from independents and moderate Democrats that could provide a Republican majority. And if that would be the case with President Ford as the nominee, it would be all the more so with Mr. Reagan.

If this is what the expanded primary process has given us, in its second trial, what does that say about the primaries? Good things, by and large, it seems to us. They have provided a means for an outsider, with no established power base, to challenge an incumbent President and to sustain that challenge against repeated adversity, which strikes us, in principle, as a healthy thing. If this has meant nothing but trouble for Mr. Ford, his troubles are very largely of his own making, poignant as his predicament may be; he had never sought the presidency, and the irony is that he has proved on balance to be better at doing the job than at seeking it.

As for Mr. Carter, how else but by doggedly—and brilliantly—contesting every primary, and winning more often than not and in all parts of the country, could a one-term Georgia governor, out of office and outside the established party hierarchy, nail down the nomination this early in the game? It is this self-evident success with voters, in fact, that validated his candidacy and accounted in large measure for the quick and relatively gracious collapse of most of his remaining opposition yesterday; his record gives little grounds for grievances. In short, having taken the highest risks by going to the voters in every primary, he earned in the hardest way the high reward of a large degree of party harmony and broad backing for his candidacy in the fall. And that, too, strikes us as a healthy thing.

WWWW

The Primaries

Joseph Kraft

Can Carter Unify the Democrats?

CLEVELAND—Jimmy Carter tied up the Democratic presidential nomination by his big win here in Ohio. In the process he showed all the skills and appeal that haved served him so well throughout the primaries.

At the same time, he lost in California and New Jersey. So in the process he also exhibited anew the weaknesses that, unless corrected, are apt to make him vulnerable to President Ford in the election this fall.

Carter's skills are by now well known. He is above all a tireless campaigner. He was the only candidate with the stamina to visit California, New Jersey and Ohio in the last days before the primary.

He steers clear of divisive issues, emphasizing instead religious and patriotic themes that have a universal appeal. In this state he ran very strongly down on the farm (winning by better than 5 to 1 in rural Scioto County over any other competitor, for example), fairly well in the smaller cities (winning Franklin County, or Columbus, by nearly 2 to 1) and not too badly in the highly urban areas (40 per cent in Cuyahoga County, embracing Cleveland, as against a total of 43 per cent for Rep. Morris Udall and Sen. Frank Church combined).

Finally, through a combination of strategic flair and acute polling, he has always been up for the "must" primary. He would have sunk from sight if he had not won in New Hampshire. Similarly if he had not beaten George Wallace in Florida and Henry Jackson in Pennsylvania.

Ohio, a large representative state, was his "must" primary of the three held on Tuesday. His big win here brings his delegate count to nearly 1,100 out of the 1,505 necessary for nomination, and sets the stage for a mass cave-in.

The boss of bosses—Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago—pointed the way with the comment that "if Carter wins in Ohio . . . he will be the candidate." George Wallace and Sen. Jackson have already taken the cue. Sen. Church, who seems actively to be seeking the vice presidency, is getting ready.

Finally there is a large bloc of uncommitted delegates in New York and Pennsylvania who are equally apt to jump to Carter. So despite the continued opposition of Gov. Jerry Brown of California, who has shown extraordinary pulling power in his home state and in other primaries, a Carter nomination on the first ballot in New York seems certain.

Yet even as he was nailing down the nomination Gov. Carter revealed all the weaknesses that have dogged him throughout his brilliant campaign. The fact is that except for Ohio—a state without any important liberal base—Carter has done poorly in the big states of the industrial North.

He lost badly in California, the biggest state in the union, with only one-third of the votes given to Gov. Brown. He had previously run fourth in the second-biggest state, New York.

He ran second to favorite-son Adlai Stevenson in the third-largest state, Illinois. Though he won the fourth-largest state, Pennsylvania, he took less than 40 per cent of the vote. His victory in Michigan was by a tiny fraction. He lost the delegate fight in New Jersey to an uncommitted slate, and ran fourth in Massachusetts.

What all this says is that Mr. Carter is going to have to have help if he is to win the big industrial states in the November election. The help will have to come from precisely the group Mr. Carter has been running against in the primaries.

That is the big city organizations and the labor unions. Their support, in registering people and getting out the vote, will be all the more necessary since the new campaign-financing law places a relatively low limit (about $22 million, or at least $10 million less than George McGovern spent in 1972) on what each candidate can put out for the election.

It is not impossible, of course, for Mr. Carter to form alliances with the city organizations and trade unions. He has a number of political operators who can deal easily with the traditional Democrats. Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss can help. So can the choice of the right vice-presidential running-mate.

But the fact is that so far Mr. Carter has not had unified labor support in any major northern state. Nor organization support. He has tended to put off followers of other candidates (according to the CBS-New York Times poll, large numbers of those who voted for Udall or Church would vote for President Ford in November) by invidious comments in emhasizing his repeated victories. So it is now a question whether he can personally show the grace and nobility he will need to unify the Democratic Party for victory in the fall.

In Md. Lottery, B-5
Mostly sunny today, high in mid-90s. Fair tonight, low near 70. Mostly fair tomorrow, high near 90. Details: B-5.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Carter Imperils GOP's Southern Strategy

REAGAN, FORD BOTH FACE MASON-DIXON VOTE DRAIN

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

The prospect of Jimmy Carter seems to make a bad situation worse for the divided and dispirited Republican party.

The nomination of the Democrat from Georgia, now all but a certainty, would confront either President Ford or Ronald Reagan with discouraging political arithmetic by threatening to take away the Southern electoral votes that have become the Republican base in recent presidential elections.

This arithmetic now becomes a basic element in the debate between Ford and Reagan over who is the most electable of the two next November.

The regional pride in Carter — who is seen as the "first Southerner" just as John F. Kennedy was seen as the "first Catholic" in 1960 — has been apparent in the runaway margins he has won in the 14 Southern and Border states as he has advanced inexorably on the nomination.

CARTER WON primary elections in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Texas. And he won a big majority of the votes chosen through the convention process in the other states.

These 14 represent 153 electoral votes, or well over half the 270 needed for election.

See ELECTION, A-8

GEORGIAN'S CLINCHED IT, BUT HE'S NOT LETTING UP

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga. — Mostly by telephone but now and then by travel, a disciplined Jimmy Carter will spend the next five weeks making sure that the supposedly inevitable happens.

Already persuaded, as is every key member of his staff, that his nomination for the presidency is a sure thing, Carter nevertheless has specific plans to continue the pursuit among Democrats.

Today and yesterday, he was poring over a 120 page "briefing paper" on what he is to do next, and working down a list of more than 100 people he wants to talk to now that the primaries are over.

HE WILL BE ASKING for firmer support from more of the kinds of Democratic leaders who joined his cause yesterday and thus removed most if not all of the remaining doubt about a first-ballot nomination in July. He will be asking those who are not yet for him at least to stay on the sidelines, as Sen. Hubert Humphrey did yesterday.

He is also counting on the first new Carter converts — former rival candidates Sen. Henry Jackson and Gov. George Wallace, plus Chicago Mayor Richard Daley — to do some of the promoting, too. He said each had already started contacting delegates on his behalf.

See CARTER, A-9

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Rush On to Grab Carter's Coattails

By Michael Kiernan
Washington Star Staff Writer

"When Jimmy Carter gets to the convention and looks at the Virginia delegate total and sees zero for Carter, he'll remember the name of Fitzpatrick," Virginia state Democratic Chairman Joseph Fitzpatrick predicted last summer after Carter criticized him at a Norfolk yard party.

"I think Jimmy Carter's ethnic purity statement rivals Richard Nixon's law and order slogan of eight years ago," D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy declared last April in a stinging attack on Carter.

"Jimmy Carter is full of bologna," Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel said last month in summing up Carter's primary campaign in Maryland.

TODAY ALL THREE men — the principal spokesmen for their respective party organizations — are issuing very different statements as Jimmy Carter — the all-but-nominated Democratic candidate for president — begins to turn yesterday's enemies into born-again Democrats.

Carter conversions among this area's Democratic unbelievers are certain to increase this week following the shower of blessings the Georgian received yesterday from such ranking Democrats as Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, Sens. Henry M. Jackson and Hubert Humphrey and Alabama's Gov. George Wallace.

"It's all over, and I have no problems supporting Carter," Fitzpatrick said yesterday, noting that his own conversion to Carter took place four weeks ago.

"We should begin to make plans to close ranks (behind Carter)," declared Fauntroy, who led an uncommitted faction against Carter in the D.C. primary. Carter's nomination, Fauntroy said, was "now very obvious."

Gov. Mandel, meanwhile, "is reviewing his situation very carefully," a Mandel spokesman said. The most hard-bitten of Carter's local foes, Mandel, now a Jackson delegate, could well be the last of Maryland's 53-member delegation to support Carter. Jackson, so far, has not released any of his 240-plus delegates, although he had supportive words to say about Carter yesterday.

FITZPATRICK, Fauntroy and Mandel each fought Carter's surging candidacy at the beginning of the delegate selection process this spring, but Carter did well in each jurisdiction anyway, picking up 63 of a combined total of 124 delegates.

Of the three local campaigns, Carter suffered his worst setback in Maryland in losing to California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown in the beauty contest part of Maryland's May 18 primary.

However, in the independent races for Maryland convention delegates, Carter ended up with 32 of 53 delegates — a number that might have been reduced considerably had Brown not missed the filing deadline for running delegates in Maryland.

In Virginia, Carter's only major statewide opposition proved to be a large uncommitted faction headed by Fitzpatrick, who finally ended up endorsing Carter shortly before the state's 10 district conventions last month.

Even with endorsements from ranking Virginia officials, however, Carter still appeared to be having trouble picking up a majority of Virginia's 23 uncommitted delegates until yesterday. "Carter will get at least 15 to 20 of these uncommitted delegates," said Fitzpatrick.

In the District, meanwhile, Carter showed surprising strength in the May 4 primary against two rival uncommitted slates of delegates backed by Fauntroy and Mayor Walter E. Washington. Carter's candidacy in the District got an unexpected boost from the city's confusing balloting system that resulted in thousands of votes for the two uncommitted slates not being counted.

ALTHOUGH CARTER was able to buck the party organizations — at times clashing with the so-called party bosses — most area ranking Democrats figure that both Carter and the bosses will come to terms for the general election against the Republicans.

"After eight years of Republicans in the White House, I have no choice but to support the Democratic nominee for president," said Fauntroy, echoing the views of Fitzpatrick.

"I prefer a rough and tumble, open convention," Fitzpatrick said. "That's my nature. But it's probably best to pull in the horns a little and try to win the big one in November."

With Carter's nomination now a foregone conclusion, many Democrats are already speculating about a possible running mate, and yesterday's favorite among several area Democrats was Minnesota Sen. Walter F. Mondale, a Humphrey favorite who replaced the elder Minnesotan in the Senate 12 years ago when Humphrey became vice president under Lyndon Johnson.

Steny Hoyer, president of the Maryland Senate, called Mondale "possibly the perfect choice." Added Fitzpatrick: "Mondale would fit the bill best. He's from the North and identified with the liberal wing of the party."

CARTER

Continued From A-1

The former Georgia governor said he regards the Democrats still in the race — Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, Idaho Sen. Frank Church and California Gov. Jerry Brown — "to be my opponents at this point."

His staff said Carter will be doing some, but apparently not much, planning for the post-convention campaign, concentrating for the time being on getting the nomination.

"JUST BECAUSE I have a substantial number of delegates does not mean I'll quit meeting with delegates," Carter said at a press conference here yesterday. He said he thought it was "a proper thing to do" to talk individually with delegates, whether or not they are already committed to him.

The first of the face-to-face encounters with delegates previously pledged to someone else will come Monday in New York, when he talks with Jackson delegates. Jackson said yesterday he will issue a statement next week that will be "supportive" of Carter.

Carter also will be meeting with politicians — starting this weekend with Wallace — to work on the process of uniting the Democrats, behind himself. Unity is now a standard word in his vocabulary, following his swift move this week to nomination in truth if not yet in fact.

Much of the effort between now and July 12, opening day of the convention, will be centered here in his hometown. His campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, said yesterday that Carter will now be on a "severely reduced schedule" of travel outside Georgia.

AT MOST he will be on the road for only one or two days at a time, Jordan said.

On Monday, aside from his trip to New York to talk with delegates, he is keeping a speaking date in Dallas, primarily to help raise funds to work down a campaign debt that stands at "several hundred thousand dollars," according to Jordan. He wants that debt paid off before the convention, the campaign chief said.

His only other scheduled trips in coming weeks — aside from his vacation ference. Those speeches will be designed, at least in part, to overcome some uneasiness in his recent dealings with mayors and in past contacts with governors.

One of Carter's main and early priorities, according to press secretary Jody Powell, is to move ahead with the process of selecting a favored running mate.

BY THE END of this week, he is expected to have drafted a plan for that. However, Carter stressed yesterday that he will not reveal any choice until after he is nominated himself.

He also made clear that anyone who suggests they know his choice — whether a staff member or even his wife — will not be speaking for him. He said he would not be telling anyone about his choice "anytime soon."

He now has a list of about two dozen possible running mates, Carter said. His staff said the list includes some women and some blacks.

Speculation on the vice presidential issue is already rife, even though Carter said yesterday he wanted to discourage it. Names already being mentioned are those of Sen. Church, Rep. Udall, Sen. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, who yesterday released his 86 "favorite son" delegates, and Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota.

Carter insisted to reporters that he will not use the vice presidential nomination for bargaining over delegate pledges, or over any political issues.

THERE APPARENTLY is no special strategy designed to avoid a political "catastrophe" — the only thing that, according to Carter, can now keep him from winning the nomination.

His staff told reporters teasingly that they had already thought of several ways "we might blow it." But, turning serious, they said they could not foresee any difficulties that had to be planned around.

"It is difficult for me to imagine a set of circumstances under which Jimmy Carter would not be the nominee of the Democratic party," campaign manager Jordan said.

There apparently will be no contests at the convention over seating of blocs of delegates or over party or convention rules — at least none that will affect Carter's strength, according to Jordan.

Press aide Powell contended that campaign leaders see no problem over the drafting of a platform, although Carter has said that he wants it to be "realistic" and not full of big promises — a comment that has made some of his liberal adversaries wary. Powell did say that the staff expects there to be a division of ideas at the convention over platform contents.

Thus, the main pre-convention effort will focus on making the del gate count in Carter's favor solid. Yesterday, his staff calculated that he had 1,260 delegate votes — only 245 short of the minimum needed for nomination.

THAT TOTAL included 1,099 already elected Carter delegates, projections of another 73 who will be chosen at conventions or caucuses, 31 delegates previously pledged to others who have now switched publicly to him, and 57 who have said privately they have switched.

All of the needed 245 could come, aides said, from the ranks of delegates who have been identified with Democratic figures who offered Carter their support yesterday. These include about 240 Jackson delegates, about 170 Wallace delegates and about 90 next week in Sea Island, Ga. — will take him to Milwaukee on June 29 to talk to the Mayors Conference and to Hershey, Pa., July 5 to talk to the Governors Con-

controlled by Mayor Daley or previously pledged to Stevenson.

Thus, Carter may not even have to make pitches to delegates who have been elected pledged to rivals Brown, Church or Udall, or pledged to Humphrey.

However, there were indications last night that he may get some of those delegates, too, without working for them. A slate of 83 delegates elected in New Jersey on Tuesday, pledged to both Brown and Humphrey, was said to be wavering in its public opposition to Carter.

Even so, many Brown, Church or Udall delegates are likely to wait for some word from their favorites, and it is doubtful any pro-Carter word would come from Brown before the convention and unclear when such word might come from the other two.

Jackson, while withholding any formal endorsement until next week, did say yesterday he thought all candidates who had run this year should join "in a unified appeal behind Gov. Carter, who now has the necessary number of delegates to get the nomination."

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Humphrey's Exit: The Old Master Missed His Timing

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

In a game where timing is everything, Hubert H. Humphrey waited too long. He didn't jump in when he could have, and he didn't bow out when he should have.

His last hurrah, when it finally came yesterday, was an anticlimax — a whisper barely audible in the Democratic roar of acclaim for Jimmy Carter.

The party pros had already written him off, accepting as a swan song his announcement six weeks ago that he would not enter the final primaries despite the almost hysterical pleas of old friends and supporters who begged him to challenge the upstart Carter.

But Humphrey, even as he vowed to stay out of the primaries, had left the door open to a draft — a draft that never materialized, and apparently never will.

HE HAD YEARNED for the White House too long to abandon easily the dream of a lifetime. He clung to the faint hope that the late bloomers, Sen. Frank Church and California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., might derail Carter in the final primary contests.

That hope was dampened Tuesday and destroyed early yesterday as Chicago Mayor Richard Daley — who understands perfectly the importance of timing — pronounced the inevitability of Carter.

"The primaries now are over and Gov. Carter has a commanding lead. He is virtually certain to be our party's nominee," Humphrey acknowledged yesterday.

"I therefore will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf. And I will do all I can to help unite our party behind the candidate chosen by the delegates at the convention."

The Minnesota senator, so long the "happy warrior" of presidential politics, could not quite bring himself to endorse Carter, who has treated Humphrey with disdain all year.

BUT HUMPHREY did release the delegates officially pledged to him, saying they are free to do "whatever they wish to."

Although he didn't want to discuss his own future yesterday, Humphrey said he is weighing one last "national" campaign — a bid to succeed retiring Sen. Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., as majority leader of the Senate.

Even that goal may prove difficult to attain. Majority Whip Robert C. Byrd, D-W.Va., has been collecting commitments for years and claims he has enough pledges to assure his own election as Mansfield's successor.

Humphrey suspects Byrd is bluffing — as do Sens. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., and Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine, who have already declared their own candidacies for the leadership job.

But after repeated disappointments in his quest for the presidency, the 65-year-old Humphrey is not eager to wage any more losing battles. He will talk to Senate colleagues, make his own estimates of Byrd's current strength, and then decide whether to enter the race.

FOR MANY Democrats, especially the over-30 variety, it is almost impossible to imagine what presidential politics will be like without Hubert Horatio Humphrey.

He burst upon the national scene in 1948 as a Minnesota delegate to the Democratic National Convention. Over the vehement objections of the entire party hierarchy, Humphrey — then a 37-year-old mayor of Minneapolis — forced a floor fight over a strong civil rights plank in the party platform, and won.

That same year, he was elected to his first term in the Senate — where his colleagues initially shunned him, still angered by his convention coup.

But Harry Truman helped him, grateful for Humphrey's unswerving support in the supposedly hopeless 1948 presidential election. And soon the young senator was befriended by an even more valuable patron — Lyndon B. Johnson, who later made Humphrey majority whip of the Senate.

BY 1959, Humphrey had caught the presidential bug that was to consume him the rest of his political career. He entered the 1960 primaries, but already his timing was flawed. Another senator, John F. Kennedy, had started earlier and traveled faster. In West Virginia, Kennedy demolished Humphrey's aspirations and laid to rest — once and for all — the religious issue in American politics.

In 1964, Johnson — after playing a humiliating cat-and-mouse game — chose Humphrey as his running mate, and the Minnesota senator moved within a heartbeat of the presidency.

By 1968 Johnson was finished politically, forced from office by popular revulsion at the endless and unwinnable war in Vietnam. The collapse of Eugene McCarthy's "children's crusade" and the assassination of Robert F. Kennedy gave Humphrey the presidential nomination he hungered for.

But his own sense of loyalty had kept him too closely wed to LBJ, and the liberals who were once his special constituency sat on their hands in protest against Humphrey's support for the president's war policies.

DESPITE A strong closing drive, Humphrey lost narrowly to Richard M. Nixon.

He tried again in 1972, but again the timing was wrong. He entered the primaries late, and never quite caught up with McGovern — who rode the anti-war issue all the way to the nomination, only to go down to defeat by a landslide in November.

This year, Humphrey decided at the outset that the prize of the presidency was no longer worth the price of the primary ordeal. He said he was available, if his party wanted him, but insisted he would not seek the nomination until and unless a deadlock developed.

"It was a gamble, and he lost," said one old friend in the Senate. "He knew from the beginning that it involved an element of risk, but it seemed like a pretty good gamble at first. All the portents indicated there would be a brokered convention.

"What he didn't realize, and none of the rest of us realized, was that a shrewd fellow from Georgia had conceived and would implement a brilliant, almost flawless strategy.

"IF HUMPHREY had entered the primaries, I think in all likelihood the outcome would have been different. But events got beyond his control."

WHEN HE LOST to Nixon in 1968, Humphrey was close to despair. "What am I going to do? There isn't anything I want to do. I wanted to be President," he wrote, recalling that 1968 election day in his newly published autobiography.

This time, it's not quite so painful. The impossible dream died hard, but Humphrey knew all along it might end this way. And by risking little of himself, he lost little. As he said six weeks ago, "the one thing I don't need at this stage of my life is to be ridiculous."

The Weather
Sunny and hot today, fair and warm tonight. High, 94; low, 70. Yesterday's high, 96; low, 72.
(Details and Map, Page C2)

THE SUN

PEPCO fined $3 for air pollution

Vol. 279—No. 22—E**

BALTIMORE, THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1976

Carter clinches nomination; foes back him

By ADAM CLYMER
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Jimmy Carter clinched the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday as he won the support of Gov. George C. Wallace, Mayor Richard J. Daley and Senator Henry M. Jackson and a promise from Senator Hubert H. Humphrey not to challenge him.

Representative Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.) and Senator Frank Church (D., Idaho) all but conceded his victory and indicated they had given up even though they did not drop out.

Governor Mandel is re-evaluating his views on Jimmy Carter's candidacy.....C1

Only Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr., persisted in opposition after trouncing Mr. Carter in California and helping crush him in New Jersey. Mr. Brown went seeking delegates in Louisiana.

But he was alone in his analysis of the convention arithmetic.

Though only Mr. Daley of the new supporters can really guarantee how the delegates behind him will vote, enough backers of Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson were sure to follow their example and give the former Georgia governor the 1,505 delegates required for nomination.

The Associated Press said Mr. Carter has amassed 1,126 delegates so far.

Mr. Wallace called on the delegates pledged to him (168 by the Associated Press count) to vote for Mr. Carter on the first ballot, and a source close

See DEMOCRATS, A8, Col. 1

ers after holding a press conference in Plains, Ga.

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DEMOCRATS, from A1

to Mr. Jackson said he would do so next week.

Interest turned immediately to a possible vice presidential nominee. Mr. Carter tried to cut off such talk, saying from his home in Plains, Ga., that he now had enough delegates as a result of his Ohio landslide and the new support to pick a running-mate without making a deal.

"There is going to be a lot of speculation," he said. "But no one is authorized to speak for me."

Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois, who released the 86 Illinois delegates formally pledged but not legally bound to him and who are largely controlled by Mayor Daley, issued a statement in which his interest in the vice presidential nomination was obvious. "It is not a nomination one seeks, or rejects," he said.

And Senator Church, in a Bethesda (Md.) news conference, in which he said he would wait a few days before deciding whether to keep seeking delegates, said he did not want to speculate on the vice presidency.

But the Idahoan said his interest, if asked, would depend on the role Mr. Carter intended for a vice president, "whether it would be a significant or important role or simply be ceremonial."

Other names figuring promlnently in Washington guesswork were those of Senator John H. Glenn of Ohio and Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, whose chances may have been helped by Mr. Humphrey's disavowal of candidacy.

With the path apparently clear for an uncommonly agreeable Democratic convention beginning July 12, potential conflicts remained chiefly in the area of the party platform.

In an interview, Mr. Udall said he would "use these five weeks to try to influence the platform."

"It's clear now," the Arizona congressman said after the new endorsements began flowing in, "that he's going to be the nominee."

But he said the way to assure party unity was to enable his liberal supporters to influence the platform, so "the liberals will feel they've had their day in court" despite his distant second place standing.

He said he had told Mr. Carter this and felt that the Georgian's own expressed interest in winning liberal support should make him receptive to platform commitments on health insurance, defense budget cuts, aid to cities and control of the oil companies.

But all those issues were ones over which he and Mr. Carter quarreled during the long campaign, and Mr. Carter has urged the platform drafting committee, which meets this weekend, not to be too specific or promise too much.

The Daley endorsement was the first in the day, as the Chicago boss said Mr. Carter would win and he would vote for him. Then Mr. Carter, in Plains, announced that Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson would be for him.

The Alabama Governor then said in Montgomery, "I feel that Governor Carter will be the nominee . . . I feel that he is entitled to the nomination."

Senator Jackson said that Mr. Carter was correct and called for unity behind him. But the Washington senator said he would not formally release his delegates yet. He is expected to wait until the state party convention in Olympia this weekend.

Then Mr. Humphrey, rejecting the urgings of supporters like Buffalo Democratic boss Joseph Crangle—who feel the New Jersey and California returns showed a rejection of Mr. Carter—weighed in. Last week he had been saying, as he had for months, that if Mr. Carter faltered he might run. Yesterday he said:

"The primaries now are over and Governor Carter has a commanding lead. He is virtually certain to be our party's nominee. I therefore will not authorize any presidential political activity on my behalf, and I will do all I can to help unite our party behind the candidate chosen by the delegates at the convention."

It was not a particularly warm statement. But to the Carter forces, that no longer mattered.

Only Mr. Brown was left. "I think you can win this thing [the Democratic nomination]. It's an uphill battle," said the California Governor.

"Jimmy Carter, wherever you are, I'm looking for you," Mr. Brown declared. "I want to debate you."

He said he would be going to Louisiana, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Missouri, trying to win over uncommitted delegates.

But his comments came before the others broke ranks and fell in behind Mr. Carter. He said that while Mr. Carter was gaining delegates, he may have "peaked among the people."

Mr. Brown had swamped the Georgian in California, getting 1,992,714 votes, or more than anyone else won in any of the year's 31 Democratic primaries, to Mr. Carter's 690,454. That was a 59 to 21 per cent lead, and he also won 204 delegates to Mr. Carter's 67. Mr. Church got 7 and Mr. Udall 2.

Mr. Carter lost even worse in New Jersey, where an "uncommitted" slate advertising itself as behind both Mr. Brown and Mr. Humphrey won 83 delegates to his 25. The "uncommitted" got 42 per cent of the statewide vote and he got 28 per cent in the at-large delegate races.

But, with the strength he had brought into the voting Tuesday, Mr. Carter won more than enough in Ohio to make up for those setbacks.

With 97 per cent of the vote reported, he had 568,486 or 52 per cent to Mr. Udall's 230,189 or 21 per cent and Mr. Church's 152,056 or 14 per cent. He 126 delegates, Mr. Udall 9 and Representative Stokes got 6 as a favorite

The Associated Press gate tally, which counts fully elected and public clared delegates—and runs behind Mr. Carter's widely credited count- him 1,126 delegates to Udall's 329, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Brown's 229.

Vagueness issue fought specifically by Carter

By ADAM CLYMER
Sun Staff Correspondent

Newark, N.J.—Jimmy Carter went on the defensive yesterday with newspaper advertisements insisting he was not "vague on the issues," but instead takes "hard stands."

Several major New Jersey newspapers carried the ad with a list of the 91 Carter delegate hopefuls in Tuesday's presidential primary. It said that while the former Georgia governor "does not supply pat answers to complicated questions," and "does not always champion the popular view . . . He does view situations from many angles."

At the same time the Carter campaign began running a new 5 minute television commercial, a cut-down version of a speech the Democratic frontrunner gave last week in Ohio, describing his "vision of America" and attacking unnamed politicians "whose only interest in this campaign is to preserve their own entrenched, unresponsive and sometimes irresponsible political power, whose chief goal is to stop our people from regaining control of this government."

In the television commercial Mr. Carter says that his political program has been developed out of the responses of the people he had talked to on the campaign trail. He says he has "gone to the people with my positions on every basic issue important to your lives—tax reform, health, welfare reform, environment, jobs, government reorganization, honesty in government."

Capsule versions of some of those policy positions, ranging from 58 to 170 words, were carried in the newspaper ad. It mentioned unemployment, tax reform, bureaucracy, welfare, the Middle East, Arab oil, health care and foreign aid.

While the newspaper ad was just for New Jersey, the television commercial will also be shown nationwide on Sunday. It deals only in passing with specific campaign issues and ended on this inspirational note:

"I see an America on the move again, united, with its wounds healed, its head high, an America with pride in its past and faith in the future, a diverse and vital nation, moving into its third century with confidence and competence and compassion, an America that lives up to the majesty of its Constitution, and the simple decency of its people."

Gerald Rafshoon, who makes Mr. Carter's commercials in Atlanta, said in an interview that the campaign would spend $200,000 on advertising for New Jersey, with $150,000 of it going into air time purchased from New York and Philadelphia television stations. New Jersey has none of its own.

Mr. Carter's aides have indicated over the last two months some concern over accusations of vagueness and contradictions on issues. They have used brief television commercials before to defend him on this point. And in Michigan, Representative Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.) used radio and television very effectively to level that accusation against Mr. Carter.

But Udall radio advertisements, including new ones comparing the Carter presentation to a shell game and to a circus band wagon that changes its tune, have not been aired in New Jersey. Scrambling for money the Udall campaign hopes to get some radio commercials on the air today, but it will be using different, "positive" ads.

So the Carter newspaper advertisement was responding to a more general problem. The headline read, "Is Jimmy Carter really vague on the issues? Decide for yourself."

It said, "From the beginning, Jimmy Carter has addressed the issues forthrightly, sincerely and as an independent thinker—not as a traditional thinker—not as a traditional politician who is more concerned with fence-straddling than with problem-solving."

In the television ad he says, "I see an America with a tax system that does not cheat the average wage earner." In the newspaper advertisement, that thought is expanded to:

"Tax reform: the surest income to be taxed is the income earned from manual labor. There aren't any hidden tax loopholes for people who draw a paycheck every week or two. But there are a lot of tax loopholes for people who are rich and who have those lobbyists working in Washington full time to retain their special tax privileges. Our tax system is disgraceful and must be reformed now!"

GGGGG

Carter warns platform drafters about unrealistic promises

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Sun Staff Correspondent

Cleveland — Jimmy Carter warned Democratic leaders drafting the party's 1976 platform yesterday to avoid turning it into 'a wish box or a Christmas tree" that makes promises that cannot be kept.

He told a news conference here he favors inclusion of proposals for federal welfare reform and national health insurance, but only on a phased, "fiscally responsible" basis.

"I want to make sure that the American people are not misled by promises that can't be kept," the Democratic front-runner said.

His views could spark new conflict with the party's establishment, especially Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) and others who urged the platform committee last month to include a variety of new federal programs.

Mr. Carter said that John J. Gilligan, formerly Ohio governor who announced his support of his one-time gubernatorial colleague here yesterday, at the press conference, would work to see that his goals are achieved.

Mr. Gilligan is secretary of the platform panel's drafting subcommittee, which meets in Washington starting next Friday to put together the platform to be considered by the full committee starting June 14.

Under the party's reform rules, the committee is to complete the platform far enough before the convention so that the proposed documents can be mailed to the delegates well before they meet in New York July 12. And it will require a 25 per cent vote of the committee to bring the minority reports before the full convention, instead of 10 per cent as in the past.

Meanwhile, it was learned that some of Mr. Carter's opponents are planning to force battles during the platform deliberations that they hope will split the former Georgia governor's broad coalition of support in an effort to embarrass and weaken him.

One such fight could come over the party's formulation of a statement on repeal of the law that permits states to have "right-to-work" laws that ban the union shop. Others could come on specific details involved in the welfare reform and health insurance issues.

Mr. Carter's warning and the Gilligan endorsement came as he launched a two-day swing through most of the major cities in Ohio, where party leaders predict he will win a substantial majority of the 152 delegates in Tuesday's primary.

The former Georgia governor said he favors a platform that is specific, rather than general, and one that is "sound fiscally as well as an enlightened approach to the future."

Failure to avoid making too many promises now "would put an extraordinary burden on the next President and the Congress," either to live up to the promises or to admit they were false, he said.

Asked for examples of what he would consider to be unreasonable promises, Mr. Carter replied, "a promise of instant answers to the fiscal needs of urban areas" and the "instant federalization" of welfare and health insurance.

The accumulated total of such promises, he said, "would exceed even the wildest expectations of the limit of a federal budget."

Mr. Gilligan, who would probably have sought the presidency himself had he not been narrowly upset for re-election in 1974, conceded that one reason for backing Mr. Carter is "you don't go around looking for someone who can't win." But he said his views were closer to the front-runner's than to other Democratic candidates.

And he noted, "The more rapidly we can unify around the candidate, the better off we are" in the effort to avert the party divisions that led to defeat in 1968 and 1972.

Mr. Gilligan said he agreed with Mr. Carter on the need to reorganize the federal government and to avoid over-promising in the platform, noting that "Washington is still the city of the easy answer and the easy promise."

The Gilligan endorsement is regarded here as something of a mixed blessing for Mr. Carter, who sought to play it down by emphasizing his views on the platform.

Mr. Gilligan lost in 1974 in part because he lost important blue-collar support in the Cleveland area. Since then, many of his one-time liberal backers have lost their enthusiasm for him.

Asked whether the endorsement might hurt Mr. Carter more than it will help, Mr. Gilligan replied, "That's Governor Carter's worry. If he is going to let me in the room, he takes me warts and all."

Mr. Carter said he was grateful for the endorsement and added, "It will be helpful."

Later, speaking to a predominantly elderly crowd at the suburban Parmatown Shopping Center, Mr. Carter repeated his warning against "promising people everything when those promises can't be kept," but didn't mention the Gilligan endorsement.

He did say, "I don't depend on powerful political leaders to endorse me." Later, he announced he had received the endorsement of Senator Mike Gravel of Alaska.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

6/22

Baldy Is on Vacation.

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B

News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The Christian Democrats kept their place as Italy's dominant party in the national elections, but their chief rival, the Communist Party, was not far behind and substantially added to its seats in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Communists' position was believed to be strong enough now for them to demand a place in the Cabinet. With more than 90 percent of the vote counted yesterday for 315 Senate seats, the Christian Democrats led by 39.2 percent, and the Communists 33.8 percent. In the 630-member Chamber of Deputies, early figures gave the Christian Democrats 38 percent of the seats, and the Communists 36 percent. In the last parliamentary elections in 1972, the Christian Democrats won 38.8 percent of the vote, and the Communists 27.2 percent. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Rioting broke out in the black townships around Pretoria in South Africa soon after rioting subsided in similar townships near Johannesburg, 50 miles to the south. In Pretoria, bands of young people overturned buses, set fire to schools and Government offices and threw stones at passing cars. Ten persons were reported to have been killed and scores injured. Security forces, armed with submachine guns and grenade launchers, barricaded the roads leading to the black communities. [1:6-7.]

The Government of Iran announced that it intends to purchase a $125 million share in the Occidental Petroleum Corporation of Los Angeles and that Occidental will help Iran develop oil resources in the Caspian Sea. The agreement, which also includes joint ventures in marketing Iranian oil in world markets and in breeding cattle, would be the largest Iranian investment in a United States company. [1:6-7.]

National

The Supreme Court ruled on a 5-to-4 vote that states may provide funds for nonsectarian purposes to church-affiliated colleges and universities, even when prayers are said at the start of classes in those schools and religion and theology are mandatory courses. The decision in a Maryland case was the latest in a long series of efforts by the Court to draw an appropriate line between church and state and it seems that the line was moved closer to church than it had been. [1:1.]

The uncommitted delegates to the Republican National Convention, who will apparently decide whether President Ford or Ronald Reagan is nominated, have not yet turned in significant numbers to either candidate, a survey by The New York Times has found. Most of the delegates seem to care more about the electabiltiy than about the candidates' ideology. [1:2-3.]

The validity of all the academic procedures at the United States Military Academy at West Point are being examined following a major cheating scandal. Lieut. Gen. Sidney Berry, the Academy's superintendent, told a Senate armed services subcommittee he began the investigation six weeks ago. The subcommittee is studying the honor codes at the nation's military academies. More than 165 cadets face expulsion for allegedly violating the West Point Code. [1:4.]

In a dispute over a wage increase, thousands of state employees in Massachusetts went on strike, the first of its kind in the state. The strikers, who defied a state law and a court order, are members of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Alliance. They voted to strike when the state rejected the union's demand for an average raise of $3,600 over two years. The state had offered $2,715 over three years. [1:6-8.]

Metropolitan

The Municipal Assistance Corporation extended its latest debt exchange offer, reporting that it had not succeeded thus far in the attempt to persuade more investors to accept M.A.C. bonds in exchange for city notes. M.A.C. officials said that the latest 30-day exchange offer had been accepted by holders of $131.9 million in city notes —far less than the $500 million that had been sought. The offer was extended until July 21. The lack of interest in M.A.C. bonds was attributed by the agency's officials to the "devasting impact" of their downgrading by Moody's Investor Service. [1:5.]

Jones Beach State Park was closed for swimming when debris and balls of sticky substances that appeared to be residue of sewage floated ashore. The same pollution closed more than 30 miles of beaches on Fire Island last Tusday. Public officials who have found toxic fecal material in the sticky substances suggested that people who swam off Fire Island in the last week take an innoculation against hepatitis. [1:2.]

The Other News

All the News
's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Chance of showers tonight. Warm and humid tom Temperature range: today Monday 70-80. Details on p

XV....No. 43,249 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. M 20 CEN

Spoiled Or Not, Amy Carter, 8, Is Village Darling in Plains, Ga.

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., June 21—Her father thinks she's spoiled, but her mother disagrees.

"Well, I'd say my Mamma was right," she decided today with a drawl and a little girl's giggle. "Anyway, the men all say that, but the women, they think I'm cute."

Amy Carter is that, all right — a freckle-faced, strawberry blonde with a quick smile, a perky nose and silver blue yes that give away all her secrets.

But she is also the 8-year-old daughter of Jimmy Carter, a man who could become President of the United States, and like the progeny of most public people, she is both beneficiary and victim of her father's rapid rise to fame.

Not since 1960 has the nominee of either major party had a young child — Caroline Kennedy was 3 years old when her father sought the office — and the contrasts now apeparing in Amy's young life seem both familiar and understandable.

She craves attention and loves privacy. She makes good friends and grand demands with equal ease. She can quip at the drop of a question or cry at the smallest slight—and if her father's appraisal sometimes seems accurate, it is no wonder, no wonder at all.

Village Darling

She is the darling of this little village, a veritable Becky Thatcher with a hundred Tom Sawyers at her elbow: Secret Service agents, journalists, members of her father's growing entourage, and the scores of tourists who are transforming her pleasant, placid pastoral hometown into a beehive of curiosity seekers.

Noticing the upsurge of visitors here last week, Amy, with the entrepreneurial instincts that brought her father wealth and position in Plains, formed a partnership with two young neighbors and opened a lemonade stand in front of her parents' house.

The origin of the idea remains unclear. Amy insists the idea was hers, but one of her partners, Sidney Gnann, the 6-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Gnann, argues that he thought of it first. At any rate, the two of them, along with Sidney's older brother, John, are now turning a fairly hefty profit from their dime-a-cup brew.

If tourists want a picture of Amy, along with the lemonade, the price is 15 cents.

"One day we made $14," John said today.

"And one day we made $23," Amy crowed—and the three of them squatted in front of the stand and counted the take from today's sales.

They seemed the untouched, barefoot children of any small rural town.

Their hair was touseled and their shorts and shirts stained by the day's play. Their legs were darkened by the red clay of Plains and the sun, streaming through a canopy of leaves, painted a dappled pattern on their arms and faces.

Tiny white butterflies flitted back and forth, while sweat-bees and flies pestered them. Their giggles and laughter merged with the chirpy conversation of cardinals and bluejays just across the street where three young men were cutting weeds, their black arms moving their scythes back and forth steadily.

But, in her father's driveway, an agent with a crackling radio in his hand, and a pistol on his hip, carefully watched the passing cars. And in the woods that surround her house, other men stood watch, nervously eyeing a small plane swoop low as it loosed a spray of insecticide on a nearby cornfield.

Still, the children seemed not to notice.

"Where's my half a dollar?" Sidney demanded.

"Your half a dollar?" Amy squealed incredulously.

"I found it," Sidney said, defiantly. "It wasn't nothing to do with work."

"Oh, yes it was," said John.

"Oh, yes it was," said Amy.

"Well, I was going to buy me some chewing gum," Sidney said, a bit downcast.

"Burglar?" Amy squealed.

"Yeah, burglar," John echoed, and Sidney shrugged and surrendered and seemed to forget about the chewing gum, at least for the time being.

No Tears

Mrs. Carter emerged from the house, where her husband was taping television commercials for the general election, to fetch her daughter for lunch. "What's that?" she asked, as Amy pulled up her shirt to show a scrape on her side from a fall she had taken.

"She tripped on a stump," John explained.

"She was running," Sidney said, "but she can't run as fast as me."

"Can too," Amy argued.

"Cannot," said Sidney.

"Can too," said Amy, "and anyway I didn't cry."

Amy Carter was born in 1968, 15 years after the birth of her parents' youngest son, Jeff, and 21 years after her parents' marriage.

She "made us young again, rebound our family together and [was] a source of joy, pride and delight," her father has written in his autobiography. "Her three brothers are so much older that it is almost as though she has four fathers, and we have to stand in line to spoil her."

Amy was 3 years old in 1971 when her family moved into the Governor's mansion in Atlanta where, four days a week, week in and week out, public tour groups trouped through the house. "She was always bumping into people she didn't know," Mrs. Carter recalled today. "So all of this is really nothing new to her—and frankly, I think she's remarkably well adjusted."

Tended by a succession of black maids, Amy learned the Southern black idiom and often spoke it, sometimes to the delight, sometimes to the exasperation of her parents and their friends.

Once, a few years ago, when her father reprimanded table manners, she eyed him coolly and said, "I ain't studying you" — meaning that she was paying no attention to him.

That isn't likely to happen to Amy Carter for a long long time.

D

Cons. 6/22

Ernest Furgurson

A Change Carter Would Make

WASHINGTON — The assumption that Jimmy Carter will become President is slightly more venturesome that predicting his nomination. But assuming he does win in November, there will be a change from the one-man foreign policy with which this country has traveled in the Nixon-Ford period.

Carter gives signs of knowing something already and being capable of learning much more about the rest of the world. He also is a man of conspicuous personal confidence. Thus he would be able to live without Henry Kissinger, who nevertheless would remain available to him for advice. Just who would replace Kissinger inspires a guessing game here only a shade less popular than the one about who Carter would like as his vice presidential colleague.

Suddenly the candidates for Foggy Bottom become highly visible. Cyrus Vance, previously deputy secretary of defense and now a New York lawyer, is prominently mentioned. George Ball, previously undersecretary of state and now a New York lawyer, had breakfast the other morning with a group of reporters who more often share their omelette with political contenders. He also is a prospect for the State Department.

But the man whose brains and concepts apparently have impressed Carter most deeply, and the one who might have greatest influence on foreign policy in a Carter Administration is Zbigniew Brezezinski.

The crew-cut, Warsaw-born Brezezinski, 47, is an East-West relations specialist who was too junior to have had a strong impact on cold war policy, but who was intensely respected in his field even then. In teaching, writing and advising, his approach has been both tough and enlightened. One of his first major successes was an exploration of the nuances of difference among the Communist nations. Like Kissinger, he concentrates brainpower to impose order on complicated problems, but he never pretends that the complications can be wished away.

Brezezinski might become national security director in a Carter White House, which would make his access more direct than if he were secretary of state. So it was interesting that his suggestions for the world just ahead were outlined in the new issue of Foreign Policy magazine — which happened to arrive within hours of Ball's press conference-breakfast here. It is adapted from his latest book, "America in a Hostile World." That could become a guidebook for forward-looking diplomats just as useful as Kissinger's writings were when the Nixon Administration was first upon us.

"Which half would you rather lose with?"

To draw the comparison is not to say the two are much the same in either style or substance. Brezezinski pointedly regrets that foreign policy in the Nixon-Ford period has been "covert, manipulative and deceptive in style." He says it "seemed committed to a largely static view of the world, based on a traditional balance of power, seeking accomodation among the major powers on the basis of spheres of influence, and more generally oriented toward preserving the status quo than reforming it."

His article aims more directly at the attitude of Daniel Patrick Moynihan's famous U.N. speech, which won domestic applause by drawing a hard line between the United States and the many new nations whose policies offend us. Such a complaint tends to be self-fulfilling, Brezezinski says, painting this country into a corner of "isolated self-righteousness." It seems to position America against change, and its us-against-them theme could be a damaging burden in the future years of even heavier U.S. dependence on foreign economic materials.

Such a speech may serve well in politics at home, which is just where Moynihan is now engaged. But in the real rest of the world, Brezezinski asserts, the United States has a stabilizing leadership role to play by putting forward its own historic commitment to independence and pluralism among nations.

Unfortunately, it is not a simple message, easily handled in either a newspaper column or a political campaign against a jingoist opponent. Still, it is reassuring that someone is equipped and willing to think it through, with the likelihood that it will move past theory toward practice in the months to come.

Const. 6/22

TRB From Washington

Hazards of Political Punditry

WASHINGTON — Predictions are fun but tricky in the pundit business — they are an occupational hazard that ought to be resisted but never are. It is a temptation to come right out now and say that Jimmy Carter will win by a landslide next Nov. 2 (for better or worse). But shall I actually commit myself to that? Remember election eve, four years ago!

The crowd looked at Spiro Agnew at his campaign headquarters and chanted jubilantly, "Twelve more years, twelve more years!" meaning that he would follow his beloved leader Richard Nixon with two terms of his own after 1976. And Time magazine in a special predicted edition, Nov. 20, announced "And Now, Here's Spiro. . . for '76." Yes, the magazine predicted, "recent history favors his chances. . . the odds now are with Agnew if for no other reason than the fact that he is the favorite of the GOP conservatives who. . . control the Republican Party."

Conservatives still do control the Republican party and Spiro did win a victory in a sense, he is not in jail; and now we are in another election, making new forecasts which may be as fallible as their predecessors. The extraordinary thing to this observer is how casual we are about it: the most powerful country and the most powerful leader and so few participate.

It is estimated that 25 million Americans voted in the primaries and the customary quadrennial post-primary paean arise: "Those Messy Primaries Worked Well" (Time, June 21). Similar smug editorials appear over the country. We can relax; somehow or other our system (in spite of Nixon, in spite of Agnew, in spite of everything) pulls us through, God looks after America. This time in the lottery, we will get a winner.

The latest Census compilation shows 150 million Americans — 18 years old or older — eligible to vote, so that the 25 million who participated in the primaries are a small fraction — about 1 in 6 or 16 per cent. Most of us, at first anyway, had little idea who was running or why. In the beauty contest voters picked the captain of the Ship of State not on his knowledge of navigation but on his hearty manner. It has left us for the final stage with a choice between Jimmy Carter, the Great Who-is-he? and the Ford-Reagan Right Wing Twins. When the ultimate comes next November it is estimated that 50 per cent of voters will vote — 75 million will be missing.

We don't have a Communist challenge to spur us like Italy, but other democracies have larger turnouts than we do, too. Great Britain's latest was 71 per cent; Canada-74; Ireland-75; Netherlands-83; France-82; Australia (compulsory)-97. Are they better educated, or more civic minded? No, but the political game there has different rules: it's less boring; elections are shorter; registration easier; parties are stronger; and parliament, not the electorate, picks the ultimate leader, who has been seasoned in the legislature.

If Jimmy Carter wins he will have an extraordinary degree of freedom to enact a program, and about 180 days to do it. He may restore the White House press conference (Mr. Ford has held only one formal conference here this year. He will have a Democratic majority — perhaps a big one — Republicans are in chaos and there will be the first united government in eight years. An old campaigner learns the phases of an election: we are in the "primaries ain't so bad after all" phase now, repudly turning into "Who's the choice for Vice President?" phase, succeeded by the convention whoop-la and, ultimately, the euphoric night when, thank God, it's all over. If Ford or Reagan wins there will be more divided government; if Carter wins there will be a honeymoon with Congress when he can, if he knows what he wants, get most of it enacted — that is the test, the time to be bold and innovative. After that the media will traditionally start snapping and biting again, legitmately enough no doubt — after telling how wonderful, by golly, it all is.

It will be easy to fault a Carter administration, we guess; how long can a fresh face be fresh, or a newcomer be "anti-Washington" and part of Washington? Our guess, too, is that the big Carter Federal reorganization program will bog down if attempted; it strikes us as a gimmick; its been tried before with little success. On the other hand, if Jimmy Carter actually has reform plans — a minimum income for the working and nonworking poor (its in the new Democratic platform) a national health insurance program, hand-gun registration and affairs like that, there could be a brief, favorable legislative interval such as comes to few Presidents.

We suspect Carter will be more liberal than is commonly supposed. There is a ring to that speech he gave as governor on Law Day, May 4, 1974 to the legal big shots at the University, now reprinted. It was a speech, quietly delivered, challenging "the powerful and the influential" to unfreeze the status quo. He told them to their faces that anybody who had lived in the south the last 15 or 20 years must feel "some degree of embarrassment" at the archaic county-unit system, that excluded poor white voters, at the "30 questions" put to blacks who demanded the right to vote and who were disqualified by the intricacy of the information demanded — "a subterfuge that we had evolved to keep black citizens from voting and which we used with a great deal of smirking pride." He told them smoothly with that toothy smile — the first speech he ever made in the Georgia Senate, Carter continued, was against this system. Yes, he told them, a black man who sold pencils at the outer door of the Sumter County Court house could make a better judgment "about who ought to be sheriff than two highly educated professors at Georgia Southwestern College."

Quite a speech. Time correspondent Stanley Cloud, who has followed Carter throughout, suspects that, "conservatives may feel deceived when they discover Carter's basic liberalism that borders on populism." Maybe.

(TRB is the pen name for Richard Strout, long-time correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor.)

10/15

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WEATHER
Partly cloudy and mild, ssible showers. Details on ge 7C.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

FINAL HOME EDITION

94, No. 102 ★★ P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Monday Evening, June 21, 1976 60 Pages, 4 Sections ★★★ Price 15
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GALLUP POLL

Carter Soars To Outpace Ford, Reagan

By GEORGE GALLUP
(c)1976 Field Enterprises

PRINCETON, N.J. — Regardless of which man the Republican party nominates this year — President Ford or Ronald Reagan — the eventual candidate faces a steep uphill struggle against his apparent opposition, Jimmy Carter.

In the latest Gallup Poll, conducted the weekend after the final set of primaries June 8, the former Georgia governor leads Ford 53-39 per cent and Reagan 58-35 per cent — margins which, if either held up until election day, would amount to a reversal for the GOP of President Richard Nixon's landslide win in 1972.

Although it still is nearly five months until the election, the current figures argue well, historically, for a Carter victory. In each of the last nine presidential election campaigns, dating back to 1940, with only one exception (Harry Truman in 1948), the candidate who has led in the last Gallup Poll "trial heat" before the conventions was elected. And the current Carter lead over both Republicans closely matches the margin by which Nixon led Sen. George McGovern at a comparable time in 1972.

One of the problems that both Republicans continue to suffer from is the high defection rate of party members to the Carter side, a particularly important factor because Democrats in the electorate outnumber Republicans 2 to 1. In the latest survey, about one Republican in four says he would cross party lines to vote for Carter — a defection rate that exceeds even that found in 1964 when Sen. Barry Goldwater lost 20 per cent of all GOP voters to President Lyndon Johnson.

Here are the current figures by party affiliation:

	Carter	Ford	Undecided
National	53 pct.	39 pct.	8 pct.
Republicans	25 pct.	60 pct.	6 pct.
Democrats	71 pct.	22 pct.	7 pct.
Independents	48 pct.	40 pct.	12 pct.

Carter vs. Reagan

	Carter	Reagan	Undecided
National	58 pct.	35 pct.	7 pct.
Republicans	28 pct.	66 pct.	6 pct.
Democrats	77 pct.	17 pct.	6 pct.
Independents	51 pct.	42 pct.	7 pct.

Another key to Carter's present lead is his strength in the South — the GOP's strongest region in the 1972 election. Against both Republicans, he wins by about a 2-to-1 margin, taking in excess of 60 per cent of the vote in his home region. Although Carter also leads both Republicans outside the South, the races are much closer.

Here's how the vote breaks down:

Carter vs. Ford

	Carter	Ford	Undecided
South	61 pct.	32 pct.	7 pct.
Outside South	50 pct.	41 pct.	9 pct.

Carter vs. Reagan

	Carter	Reagan	Undecided
South	65 pct.	30 pct.	5 pct.
Outside South	56 pct.	36 pct.	8 pct.

Turn to Page 12A, Column 3

GOP Hopefuls Face Stiff Fight

Continued from Page 1A

Maintains lead

Carter's current margin over the President represents about the same lead he held in late May. In early March when the Gallup Poll initially matched the two men in a test election, Carter held only a 5-point, 47-42 per cent lead. Ford subsequently pulled even and then went ahead in late March. But by the second week in April, Carter went back into the lead and has since built his margin over Ford from six percentage points to the current lead of 14 points.

Here are the questions asked:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Jimmy Carter were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?" (The same question was asked posing Reagan as the Republican candidate.)

Here are the latest results on the Carter-Ford trial heat, based on registrated voters, and the trend:

Carter vs. Ford

	Carter	Ford	Undecided
June 11-14	53 pct.	39 pct.	8 pct.
May 21-23	52 pct.	40 pct.	8 pct.
April 30-May 3	52 pct.	43 pct.	5 pct.
April 9-12	49 pct.	43 pct.	8 pct.
March 26-29	45 pct.	48 pct.	7 pct.
March 19-21	47 pct.	46 pct.	7 pct.
March 10-13	47 pct.	42 pct.	11 pct.

Following are the results of the Carter-Reagan matchup:

Carter vs. Reagan

	Carter	Reagan	Undecided
June 11-14	58 pct.	35 pct.	7 pct.
May 21-23	55 pct.	37 pct.	8 pct.

The results reported today are based on personal interviews with 1,002 registered voters out of a total sample of 1,386 adults, 18 and older, taken in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period June 11-14.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Weather: Humid, likely today thr Temperature ranc Sunday 66-84. De

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,248 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, MONDAY, JUNE 21, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50 mile zone from New York City, except Long Island, higher in air delivery cities. M

Democratic Panel Refuses Equality Pledge to Women

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20 — The Democratic Rules Committee refused today to guarantee women an equal share of the seats at the party's national conventions starting in 1980, provoking what may be the only controversy to reach the floor of next month's convention in New York City.

Instead, the committee approved a resolution requiring that after 1976 the call for conventions "shall promote an equal division" between male and female delegates, a position something less than the women's caucus had been willing to settle for.

The committee, preparing changes it will recommend to the convention that is expected to nominate Jimmy Carter, unanimously approved a plan designed, without reinstating quotas, to spur selection of women, blacks and young people as delegates to future sessions.

Under the new plan, the national and state parties will establish "specific goals and timetables for achieving results" to strengthen the largely voluntary "affirmative action" plans in effect for 1976. Preliminary figures indicate "affirmative action" has produced fewer female, black and young delegates than participated in the 1972 convention.

The new delegate plan will require each state to calculate how many of its Democratic delegates in 1980 should be female, black or under 30, based on the percentage participation of such groups in the Democratic vote in the state.

Since the ballot is secret, there is no simple method of establishing this participation level. It would require an unofficial survey whose results, subject to certain margin of error, may not be acceptable to all.

These figures would become

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

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Democratic Rules Panel Denies Pledge of Equality for Women

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

goals for the party, to be achieved according to a timetable it determines. Unlike 1972, however, these figures could not form the basis for refusing to seat a state delegation in 1980 or thereafter if it did not achieve them within the time schedule.

The new plan, virtually assured of approval by the convention since no alternative plan can now reach the floor, had the approval of Mr. Carter's representatives at the committee meeting, all blacks on the committee and reformers, who found it a more significant improvement on affirmative action than they had expected.

Figures made public yesterday, based on 43 percent of the delegates, indicated that female delegates would constitute 34 percent of the 1976 convention as against 38 four years before, blacks 11 percent against 15 and young people 15 percent against 21.

The Carter representatives, headed by his campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, and his official committee representative, Anne Wexler Duffey, also supported the move to "promote" equal division of convention delegates between men and women, rather than require it.

That motion was approved by a vote of 66¼ to 46½ after a debate in which the "equal division" formula was attacked as "the strictest possible quota of all quotas" by W. Averell Harriman, the former New York Governor and Ambassador to the Soviet Union. Mr. Harriman sponsored the proposal to "promote" such equality.

The women's caucus of the Rules Committee met for half an hour at a recess and rejected the Harriman proposal in favor of "equal division," but a number of women on the committee voted for the less compelling language.

On the whole, despite a long agenda and some fairly controversial issues, the committee session ran smoothly, with the Carter lieutenants and aides of the Democratic National Committee working to avoid any embarrassment to the prospective candidate and continuing to insure the kind of placid convention for which the party has yearned after 1968 and 1972.

By the closest possible margin, the committee voted to instruct the party's Commission on Presidential Primaries to revamp the delegate selection system so that primary states cannot award to a candidate with a plurality of votes at any level all the delegates from that level.

The move is designed to establish full proportional representation among competing delegates in primary states. At present, a number of states give all delegates from a Congressional district to the candidate who carries it; thus, a man who failed to carry any district but got 45 percent of the state vote would get no delegates. This would go against the intention of the Democratic convention of 1977 that "winner-take-all" primaries be abolished.

The resolution to refer the issue to the commission with a mandate to eliminate this practice was approved 58½ to 58¼, which former Representative Martha Griffiths, the committee chairman, called "the closest vote in American history."

The primary commission, headed by Morley Winograd, the Democratic chairman from Michigan, was set up by Robert S. Strauss, the national chairman, to make recommendations to improve the Presidential selection system. The Rules Committee referred a number of issues to it today.

Diversity in Politics Baptists' Trademark

By KENNETH A. BRIGGS
Special to The New York Times

NORFOLK, Va., June 18 — A group of Southern Baptists here for their church's annual meeting were talking elatedly the other day around a luncheon table about possibly being able to invite a President Jimmy Carter to speak to next year's gathering.

"You mean President Reagan," injected another Southern Baptist from an adjacent table.

Diversity along both religious and political lines is not strange among America's largest Protestant denomination. With its heritage of proud personal and church independence, the body of Southern Baptists practice their right to disagree on such matters as how to view the Bible and whom to choose as President.

Mr. Carter, a life-long Baptist who says he was spiritually "born again" a decade ago, is generally supposed to be the favorite among large numbers of the church's 12.7-million member rank and file. But many Southern Baptists have long Republican voting records, and others are responsive to political appeals, like those of George C. Wallace of Alabama, that are to the right of Mr. Carter.

Value System Cited

Above all, Southern Baptists tend to bridle at the thought that they would vote for Mr. Carter just because he is one of them and a Southerner. They are far more concerned that the candidate represent a value system consistent with the Biblical commandments, they say.

Nevertheless, on election day, assuming Mr. Carter is the Democratic nominee, the wall of impartiality is expected to give way, resulting in a flood of votes for the former Georgia Governor.

Mr. Ford, in making a speech to the church's assembly on Tuesday, made a considerable impression for his reproach of immortality in government and his call for a clear-cut system of right and wrong.

The President's speech was warmly received. Many delegates called "messengers," appeared in praising Mr. Ford, to be asserting their attempt to remain impartial.

"I liked what Mr. Ford said and might vote for him if I had the chance," said the Rev. Thomas J. Farrell of Richmond, Va. "I like Mr. Carter, too, but certainly wouldn't go for him just because he's in the same church with me."

The chief concern for many delegates was whether a candidate had leadership qualities to go along with a spiritual character. "Somebody may be a fine Christian man," said Randy Pate, a 23-year-old Baptist college admissions counselor from Memphis, "but if he doesn't have the concepts of how to create a government that God wants, maybe it would be better if we had a non-Christian who knew what to do."

Stan Hastey, who is on the staff of the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs in Washington, says, "There will probably be a large Baptist bloc vote, just as there was a Catholic vote for Kennedy in 1960."

Memories of the uneasiness among many Southern Baptists over the possible endorsement of Mr. Kennedy by the Catholic Church have injected a strong note of neutrality among the 18,700 registered delegates at the 119th convention, the largest in the church's history.

Invitation Voted Down

invitation to Mr. Carter was overwhelmingly rejected in favor of a resolution to continue the church's policy of refusing to endorse candidates.

R. G. Puckett, chairman of the procedural committee, opposed the motion on the ground that "an invitation to Mr. Carter at this time would be an affront, would cheapen him and put him in an awkward spot." Mr. Puckett said the invitation to Mr. Ford had been nonpolitical and that the church must avoid the appearance of endorsing Mr. Carter.

Though the church people are showing considerable restraint, they reflect a deep sense of pride in Mr. Carter's candidacy and strong appreciation for his religious beliefs. The enthusiasm for the native of Plains, Ga., a town similar to many inhabited by Southern Baptists, has produced some unofficial low-key campaigning in the corridors of the Scope Convention Center and some thinly veiled endorsements from the platform.

'Initials Are Our Lord's'

On opening night, for example, the Rev. Bailey E. Smith of Del City, Okla., urged the audience to choose a "born again" President. "While it would certainly be improper for me to name that man," Mr. Bailey said, "his initials are the same as Our Lord's."

Such gestures, not believed to be widespread, disturb many Southern Baptist leaders who fear that the church is assaulting its time-honored stand in favor of church-state separation.

Another source of concern has arisen over the propriety of the publication of Mr. Carter's only biography, "Why Not the Best?", by the church's facility, Broadman Press. Critics have insisted that the promotion of the book is tantamount to endorsing the candidate. Spokesmen for Broadman say the arrangement was made long before the first primary election.

Autobiography Selling

Sales of the book were reported brisk at the convention. The publisher brought 1,400 copies, including Bantam Paperbacks, the largest number of any title, including the Bible. Several hundred were grabbed up in the first two days.

But while church leaders strive to maintain a posture of neutrality, there is a powerful call for electing persons of high moral and spiritual caliber to public office.

In the keynote speech, the Rev. Jaroy Weber of Lubbock, Tex., the outgoing president of the convention, sounded this note: "We who are Christians must give ballot support to men who can lead our nation back to those Christian principles expressed in that motto, 'In God we trust.'"

In the wake of Watergate, Washington sex scandals and a perceived national moral collapse, the same message is being heard with increased fervor among many conservative Christian groups. There appears to be more effort to elect candidates acceptable on spiritual ground this year than at any time in the recent past.

The Necessary Spirituality

For Southern Baptists, the largest component of the nation's 27 million Baptists, Mr. Carter has the necessary spiritual qualities. But apparently, Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan would also satisfy them on that criterion.

Predicting the proportion of Carter support is made more difficult by the changing character of the church. Once confined almost entirely to the South, wedded to segregationist views and rigidly fundamentalistic, the denomination has now spread to 50 states, has adopted a more moderate social stance and has edged closer to a centrist conservative theological outlook.

Increased attention is being paid to evangelizing among nonwhites and nonaffluent groups. Significantly, Mr. Carter's conversion experience in 1966 occurred while he was in Springfield, Mass., working with a Hispanic pastor in a poor neighborhood.

As the first Southern Baptist to seek the Presidency as the candidate of a major party, Mr. Carter has already focused media attention on a denomination whose growing importance in the United States has been largely overlooked.

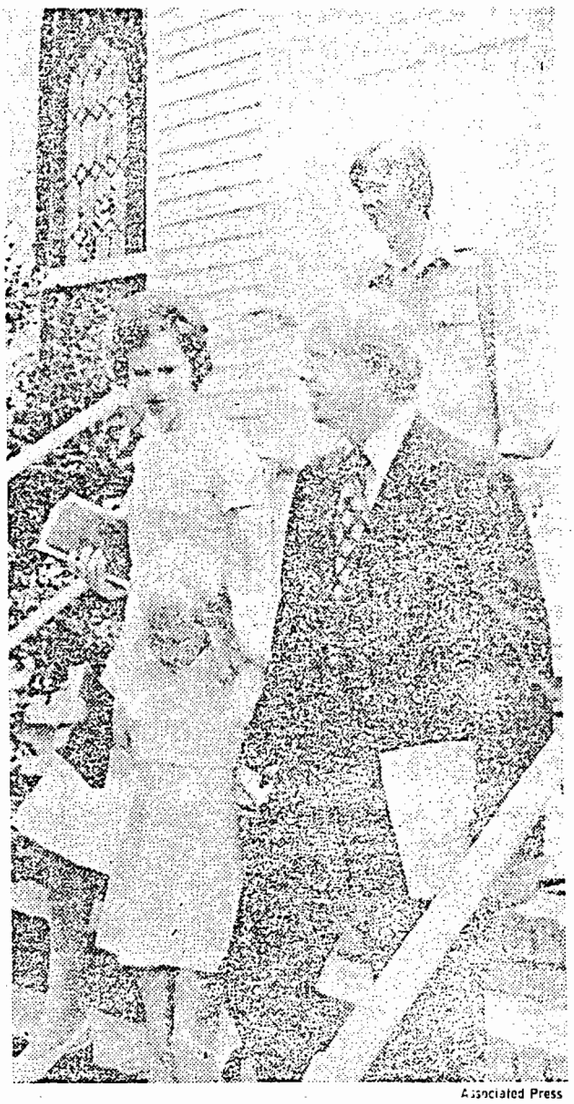
For Southern Baptists outside the South, the experience has resulted in a strengthening of their religious image. "It helped me personally," said the Rev. Jack P. Lowndes, executive head of the 18,000-member New York association. "In the Kiwanis Club where I belong, nobody used to know what my church was. Now they know it's the one Jimmy Carter belongs to. It's given me an identity."

As an example of Southern Baptist growth in the North, the New York association last year reported a 12-percent gain in its membership.

Another benefit of the exposure, says the Rev. Wilton Gaddy, head of the church's Christian Life Commission, is that "Jimmy Carter changes the stereotype of what many people think Southern Baptists are."

Gratitude for these inadvertent benefits, in addition to the bandwagon support for him that could emerge, may turn into many votes for Mr. Carter in November. As the country's population shifts to the so-called Sunbelt states in the nation's Southern tier, making that region more influential, the importance of the region's most vigorous Protestant group grows accordingly.

At the small-town grass roots level, still the center of much Southern Baptist strength, Mr. Carter has apparently made a very favorable impression. "Many people like him and I like him," said the Rev. Robert S. Markham, pastor of New Home Baptist Church of Boma, Tenn., who last year performed 400 baptisms. "He is a man of moral principles. If he can hold God's hand, then he could lead us well."



Associated Press

Jimmy Carter after attending church in Plains, Ga., with his wife, Rosalynn, and children, Amy and Chip.

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Pressures Forcing Congress to Start Reforming Itself

By RICHARD L. MADDEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 20 — Congress, which has no qualms about investigating or criticizing persons or institutions, is undergoing a searing examination of an institution it has not paid much attention to for nearly a decade—itself.

Not since 1967 has Congress, particularly the House, become so preoccupied with the activities of its own members. In that year, the House of Representatives excluded Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., the Manhattan Democrat, for, among other things, keeping his wife on his committee payroll while she lived in Puerto Rico and the Senate censured Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, for misusing political funds and double-billing for public and private travel.

Almost daily in the House, members are calling news conferences to propose various re-

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Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

forms in the way Congress spends and accounts for the more than $800 million it spends annually, allocates its perquisites, or deals with its thousands of employees.

House Democratic leaders, who have been meeting frequently in recent days, have promised to announce, possibly tomorrow, a series of house-keeping reforms that appear to insure that some changes will be made, since the Democrats control the House by a 2-to-1 margin.

Stems from Hays Issue

The flurry of activity stems in large part from the recent accusations by Elizabeth L. Ray that representatve Wayne L. Hays, a powerful Ohio Democrat, maintained her on his committee payroll at $14,000 a year to be his mistress. Mr. Hays has acknowledged having an affair with Miss Ray but has denied she did no work for the committee.

Allegations of Congressional misbehavior are by no means new, but the sensitiveness of the representatives, and their quick and loud demands to do something this time, are a result of several factors.

Most public opinion polls show that Congress is held in low esteem anyway, and it is a reelection year with all 435 House seats and one-third of the Senate up for election.

Thus it was no coincidence that leaders of the 18 freshman Democrats elected in the last 18 months—many by narrow margins and many of whom defeated Mr. Hays keep his House Administration Committee chairmanship last year—held a news conference last Thursday to propose a series of reforms in the operation of the House. These ranged from elimination of the annual footlocker that goes to each representative (a carry-over from the old days when a member shipped his records home after Congressional sessions lasting only a few months) to the creation of an employee grievance procedure.

Also, with the retirement of the Speaker of the House, Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, the majority leader, is expected to be the next Speaker. He has sought to display his leadership by moving quickly to oust Mr. Hays from his chairmanships and to institute other reforms.

And finally, the Hays affair comes at a time of widespread publicity about other alleged Congressional indiscretions. For instance, the House ethics committee was disclosed and allegation after the Powell case in 1967, is grappling with investigations of how the report of the House Intelligence Committe was disclosed and allegations of conflicts of interest against Representative Robert L. F. Sikes, Democrat of Florida.

Then there have been newspaper accounts that some representatives received Federal travel pay to which they were not entitled. There was the arrest of Representative Allan T. Howe, Democrat of Utah, who was charged in Salt Lake City with soliciting a policewoman posing as a prostitute. And it was disclosed that Representative Joe D. Waggonner Jr., Democrat of Louisiana, was detained, but released, by the police in Washington last January after allegedly soliciting a policewoman.

Washington police officials say it has been their policy for a century not to arrest members of Congress on misdemeanor charges because of constitutional guarantes of immunity tional guarantees of immunity sions of Congress. Police Chief Maurice J. Cullinane said that even that policy "must be reviewed" in light of the incident involving Mr. Howe in Utah.

The cumulative effect of these allegations could be devastating for members of Congress seeking re-election in districts where the vote was close the last time, even though the vast majority of the representatives have been untouched by the allegations.

"I don't believe the abuses are widespread, but what we see in the paper every day implies that everybody is doing it," said Representative Toby Moffett, Democrat of Connecticut, who joined his freshman colleagues in urging reforms.

Since most of the adverse publicity has focused on Democrats, the House Republican leaders have chided the Democrats for not supporting them in various reform attempts in past years. But there has been no open chortling among the minority because, as one Republican put it, "the bad publicity reflects on everyone, and who knows what will be in tomorrow's newspaper."

"The Republicans can't make it unilaterally if we are to rehabilitate respect for the institution," said Representative John B. Anderson of Illinois, chairman of the House Republican Conference.

Can't Do It Alone

Over the years, the House and Senate have been reluctant to discipline their members. Under the Constitution each house is the judge of the election and qualifications of its members and has the power to punish them for "disorderly behavior."

But such punishment has been rare and has occurred in recent years largely when a member has been contemptuous of the institution or an embarrassment to it. The charges against Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican of Wisconsin, in 1954 and Mr. Dodd in 1967 and the exclusion of Mr. Powell involved in part allegations that they had showed arrogance toward investigating committees.

Only seven Senators and 18 Representatives have been censured since 1879, and two of those Senators and 10 of those Representatives were re-elected after their censures.

A study of Congressional ethics in 1970 by a committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York attributed the reluctance of Congress to police its members to institutional loyalty, or a "club spirit," and the members' belief that the electoral process should be the only discipline.

The study quoted the testimony in 1951 of Senator J. W. Fulbright, the Arkansas Democrat, who said:

"I see this in the press very often: 'Why does not the Congress clean its own house? Why do they not discipline their own members? Why do they not do so-and-so?'

"I simply do not agree that it is the proper function of the Congress. I think it is extremely difficult to make 96 people from diverse parts of the country get along in some harmony. If we undertake to discipline our own members and that sort of thing, we will really bog down in recrimination and not accomplish anything. The greater purpose of making the Government functions far outweighs these individual delinquencies."

Brown Buys Time on TV For Campaign Postscript

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, June 20—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California has bought a half-hour of television network time next Friday night to put a personal postscript on his 1976 Presidential campaign. The taped and edited discourse, for which the 38-year-old Governor is paying NBC $80,188, will be part sermon, part celebration, part thank-you but mainly see-you-later, according to the men around him. They do not worry, as some commentators here do, that Governor Brown is wasting his time or has somehow lost his head.

Campaign Notes

He can count delegates as well as anyone, Mr. Brown said in Washington the other day; Jimmy Carter, he agrees, has the Democratic nomination "well in hand." But he is still happily amazed to reflect that he beat Mr. Carter in five head-on primaries and scored a write-in moral victory in a sixth, in Oregon, and he wants to explain why, in prime time, for the millions of voters who missed his late-spring spurt.

Amazed in New York

The "undercurrent" of his television message, one Brown adviser said today, will be that "government is frequently doing the wrong things, asking the wrong questions, attacking the wrong problems" — a suspicion that Governor Brown's visit to New York confirmed for him last week.

When Mayor Beame and Governor Carey briefed him on New York City's problems, Mr. Brown was stunned, his friend said, that they dealt only on financial devices — "rolling over loans" and the federalizing of welfare costs — instead of on the visible decay of city neighborhoods that long preceded the financial crisis. Governor Brown will speak to the country Friday, his adviser said, about "the gap between reality and government rhetoric."

Under that undercurrent, Mr. Brown's political message will be that he has won a place in national leadership, whether Jimmy Carter becomes President or not. If the former Georgia Governor is successful, Mr. Brown is prepared to contest Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts for unofficial recognition as "the national Democratic spokesman outside the White House." But the Brown circle is not as awed as some are by Mr. Carter's prospects in the fall campaign.

"Carter could blow this thing," a Brown confidant said, "and that's certainly part of our motivation" in going on television Friday night.

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California, perhaps because it is Governor Brown's state, presents a rare spectacle of the usually clockwork Carter campaign in demoralized disarray at the moment. Terry Utterbach, the Carter field man here for 10 months, was dropped from the team last April. Rodney Kennedy-Minott, the northern California operative, was at loggerheads with Mr. Carter's national staff by the end of May. Herb Haffif, the Carter finance chairman for most of the spring, was bumped out of his job at the end by two Malibu millionaires, Max Palevsky and Harold Willens.

Ed Edelman, the Los Angeles County Supervisor, put his own staff to managing the Carter primary campaign, but the state treasurer, Jess Unruh, and Bob Moretti, the former Assembly Speaker, both seem to be making moves to take over the fall campaign. Other Democrats speculate meanwhile that Mr. Carter's Atlanta headquarters will keep so tight a grip on things as to disappoint all the California power players.

"Nobody has a handle on Carter," said Willie Brown, the Assemblyman from San Francisco who prepared to endorse Mr. Carter last April, then changed his mind. "In fact, nobody in California has a comfortable relationship with that Atlanta operation."

•

Thomas Hughes, head of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, is still puzzling about a note he received commenting on his article for Foreign Policy magazine about "liberal" and "populist" impulses in the management of international relations. The article "helped me decide whether I'm a liberal or a populist," the letter declared. Without further explanation, it was signed, "Jimmy Carter."

POLL SHOWS CARTER STILL AHEAD OF G.O.P.

Jimmy Carter, the front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination, continues to lead both President Ford and Ronald Reagan, according to a Gallup Poll conducted after the final primary elections of June 8.

The former Georgia Governor leads Mr. Ford by 53 percent to 39 percent. The poll showed that Mr. Carter would do better against Mr. Reagan. He leads the former California Governor by 23 percent points, or 58 percent to 35 percent.

Mr. Carter's current margin over the President is about the same as it was late last month, when he led Mr. Ford by 12 percentage points.

The voters were asked the following question:

"Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Jimmy Carter wer ethe Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?" The same question was asked with Ronald Reagan as the Republican candidate.

The results of the survey are based on interviews with 1,002 registered voters out of a sample of 1,386 adults, age 18 and older, in 300 localities across the nation from June 11 to 14.

Zambians in Atom Protest

LUSAKA, Zambia, June 20 (Reuters) — Zambian students today broke windows of the French Embassy here in protest against France's proposed sale of nuclear power plants to South Africa.

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UDALL, CHURCH TIE

People's Choices for V-P: Kennedy, Brown

By LOUIS HARRIS

The two top choices among Democrats and independents to be Jimmy Carter's running mate for vice president are Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. In a test of 12 prominently mentioned Democratic prospects, Kennedy was the choice of 24 per cent, followed by Brown at 19 per cent.

Tied for third place, at 10 per cent, were Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, both of whom ran against Carter in the primaries. Sen. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois ended up in fifth place, preferred by 7 per cent.

The others tested—Florida Gov. Reubin Askew, Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, Sen. John Glenn of Ohio, Rep. Barbara Jordan of Texas, Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia, Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Gov. Hugh Carey of New York—all received 5 per cent or less.

Kennedy and Brown have quite different patterns of appeal. Kennedy leads among blacks, skilled labor and union members, rank-and-file Democrats, those at the lower end of the economic scale, the less well-educated and young people under 30. Brown is ahead in the West, among the college-educated and professional people, with independent voters, among suburban dwellers, and among Catholic and Jewish voters.

If Carter were to make a choice on the basis of these findings, he would have clear-cut alternatives in the selection of his running mate, assuming that either man would accept the nomination for vice president.

By choosing Kennedy, Carter would be making a distinct bid for the old New Deal coalition vote in the North to balance his own clear appeal in the South and in small towns.

By choosing Brown, Carter would be adding strength in the West, where he did poorly in the primaries, but he would also be making a bid for the better-educated, more affluent, independent, suburban vote, where he is also weak.

In effect, a Kennedy choice would be a bow toward more traditional Democratic politics, while a Brown choice would mean that Carter was moving toward the newer, more independent groups in politics.

The other potential vice presidential candidates also show definable patterns of support.

Udall brings support from the East Coast, young people, the college-educated and professional groups, unions, liberals and Jewish voters.

Church would help shore up Carter

See POLL, Page 16-A

Poll

From Page 1A

in the West, and also among business executives, white-collar workers and independent voters.

Stevenson's pattern of strength runs to his native Midwest, and in big cities and among older voters, conservatives, independents and those who voted for former President Nixon in 1972.

Of the five top choices, Stevenson shows relative strength among conservatives, while Udall is most attractive to the liberals.

However, none of these political criteria may be that crucial when the time comes to pick a vice presidential candidate. It is equally important that the running mate be compatible with the man who may become President. And it is clear that he should have qualifications to serve as President if the occasion arises. The chances of a vice president one day succeeding to the presidency are high indeed, if past recent history is a guide.

However, it fs ironic that the top two choices of Democrats and independents for Jimmy Carter's running mate are both Catholics.

In 1960, when John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, was nominated, he felt the vice presidential nomination should be offered to a candidate from the South, where sentiment against a Catholic in the White House was strongest. The electorate appears to feel some 16 years later that Carter, the strongest southern Democratic aspirant since the Civil War, should reverse the process Kennedy followed.

Between June 9 and 14, a national cross section of 1,044 Democrats and independent voters was surveyed in person. The Harris Survey asked:

"Here is a card with the names of some people who have been mentioned as possible vice presidential nominees on a ticket with Jimmy Carter as the Democratic nominee for President. Who would you prefer as the Democratic nominee for vice president?"

PREFERENCE FOR VICE PRESIDENT

	Total	Dems.	Inds.
Edward Kennedy	24%	28%	16%
Edmund Brown Jr.	19%	19%	1%
Morris Udall.	10%	10%	10%
Frank Church	10%	9%	13%
Adlai Stevenson	7%	6%	9%
Reubin Askew	5%	5%	4%
Birch Bayh..	3%	3%	2%
John Glenn..	3%	3%	5%
Barbara Jordan	3%	3%	2%
Robert Byrd.	2%	2%	2%
Walter Mondale	2%	1%	3%
Hugh Carey..	1%	1%	1%
Not Sure....	11%	10%	12%

Carter Screening Running Mates

By the Associated Press

Jimmy Carter, the apparent Democratic presidential nominee, has begun to screen running mates while Ronald Reagan, trailing President Ford by 73 delegates, predicts a first-ballot victory at the GOP national convention. "I'm prepared for Jimmy Carter," Reagan says.

Carter relaxed at his Plains, Ga., home Sunday after spending much of the weekend preaching to religious groups.

Hamilton Jordan, his 31-year-old campaign manager, appeared on NBC's Meet the Press and said the former Georgia govenor already has "scrutinized the list of all Democratic members of Congress, Democratic governors, mayors of large cities and he has developed a list of a couple of dozen names.

"He has requested and received biographical information on these persons, voting records and other political information, favorable and unfavorable articles that have been written about them, and so he has begun the process of analyzing these people that he would recommend if he is the nominee of the party," Jordan said.

Carter said last week that he is not inclined to accept Ford's offer of FBI background checks because he is concerned about the question of individual privacy.

"I think he'll want to name one man or one woman and I don't think that's a decision that should be made by the convention.

"I think the nominee of the party ... has the right to select someone who is compatible on issues," he added. "It certainly is a personal decision that he'll have to make."

Reagan, meanwhile, returned to California on Saturday from a 30-hour campaign tour of Iowa and Washington State. He said he is on target for collecting the 1,130 national delegate votes needed to defeat Ford for the GOP nomination.

The Associated Press tally showed Ford with 1,005 delegates pledged to him at the end of selections in Iowa, Delaware, Texas, Colorado and Washington State during the weekend. Reagan ended up with 932. Only 157 delegates remain to be chosen, and there are 164 in the uncommitted category.

On the Democratic side, Carter has been virtually assured of the Democratic nomination. He now has 1,423 votes pledged to him out of the 1,505 required for nomination.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., Carter's only remaining active opponent, has only 301 delegates pledged to him.

Reagan said he believes he has a better chance to beat Carter than Ford does. He said a Ford-Carter battle would focus on attacks against Ford deficits and on the Washington establishment to which Ford has belonged most of his life.

A Reagan-Carter contest, Reagan said, would force comparisons of the candidates' records as governors, and Reagan said his record would prove the better.

In an interview with Time magazine, Ford said that his campaign forces had been out-organized.

"I have to spend the vast majority of my time running this office, but that doesn't excuse some mistakes we've made," Ford said. "I'm a better president than a campaigner.

Ford also said in the interview that he would not like to enter traditional political debates but that he is willing to submit himself to "questions by knowledgeable, skillful people."

In other political developments:

— The Democratic party's Rules Committee voted unanimously Sunday on a formula designed to reverse a decline in participation among blacks and other minorities in choosing the party's presidential nominee.

Preparing for the Democrats' national convention in July, the committee moved toward apparently unified solution on the method of choosing a vice presidential candidate.

Some party officials had expected Rules Committee actions to provide the only spirited debate at an otherwise unexciting national convention expected to nominate Carter without challenge.

But Carter representatives worked on compromises at the Rules Committee to avoid even the appearance of a fight.

An amendment to the party's charter, approved by the committee for consideration by the convention, would require specific goals and timetables for inclusion of blacks, Spanish-speaking Americans, women, Indians and young people in all Democratic organizations and among future state delegations to national conventions.

— House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes said Sunday the scandals erupting in Congress result in part from control being too long in the hands of one party.

Rhodes noted that Democrats have controlled Congress for 22 years and said this is too long for one party to be in charge. He suggested that even his own Republican party might have some problems if it held sway for such a long period.

Appearing on CBS' Face the Nation, Rhodes also said giving members of Congress immunity from arrest in some cases is a mistake.

Under the Constitution, congressmen cannot be arrested for misdemeanors during a session or en route to one, and the Arizona Republican said he feels this is "inappropriate."

— Thomas Jefferson Anderson, the American Party's millionaire presidential candidate, says all it will take to put him in the White House is a GOP rejection of Reagan and a little "divine intervention."

"We'll win someday, but I think God and the American people have got to want it that way," Anderson said in an interview following his weekend nomination as the party's 1976 presidential candidate in Salt Lake City.

Carter Says God Taken For Granted

PLAINS (UPI) — Jimmy Carter told his Sunday school class America is learning God is not automatically on its side and "in the eyes of God, we're no better than anyone else.

"I know all of us are very patriotic," Carter, the teacher, told the men's class at Plains Baptist Church.

"Almost every time we've gotten into debate on war, we've always assumed publicly that God was on our side and that this was in accordance with God's will. So far as I understand, the first time that thought was ever shaken was in Vietnam, Cambodia — a little bit in Korea.

"Now I think there is a reassessment in our nation. Perhaps it's good for us because, as was the case with the early Jewish Christians, in the eyes of God we're no better than anyone else."

Carter and his family attended the morning worship following Sunday school, then went home for two days before he goes on the road again in pursuit of the presidency.

Press aide Rex Granum told reporters during the weekend that Carter would announce his process for selecting a running mate no sooner than Tuesday. Carter said last week he would ask "12 to 15 distinguished Americans" for aid in making a selection.

Carter's Sunday school lesson was taken from Acts 11, in the days of the early Christian Church when the apostles learned that the Gospel was intended not merely for the Jews but for the entire world.

"Paul, and Christ, did not believe in a split-level church," Carter said.

Carter Goal To Inspire, Aide Says

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A Jimmy Carter administration would, like that of John F. Kennedy, inspire people to look at government service as "a good and honorable thing", Carter campaign manager Hamilton Jordan said Sunday.

He also said he would advise Carter, the likely Democratic nominee, to debate the Republican nominee in the general election campaign.

Jordan, 31, appeared on NBC-TV's Meet the Press.

"The issue in November is one of leadership. The country is drifting ... There's a sense our problems are neither recognized nor solved."

Carter, he said, would have a "strong, energetic" administration that would "create the kind of atmosphere for service in government as in the Kennedy administration ... There are certain accomplishments of the Kennedy administration that would be a model ... creating an atmosphere where government service is regarded as a good and honorable thing."

Asked about a report Ronald Reagan's campaign manager would like to see a Carter-Reagan debate in the fall, Jordan said, "We have no fear of debating President Ford or Mr. Reagan," but such a possibility had not been discussed.

Jack Anderson

Wanted: Larger Rug

WASHINGTON—The House Ethics Committee, which came equipped from the beginning with handy rugs suitable for sweeping scandals under, is searching frantically for larger rugs.

As an act of public penitence, the committee was formed eight years ago ostensibly to keep congressional corruption down to tolerable levels. But there was a general exchange of sly winks, as the word was passed that the committee would not depart too far from the hoary tradition of covering up major embarrassments.

Now Reps. Wayne Hays, D-Ohio, and John Young, D-Tex., whose sex exploits are under investigation, have huddled privately with committee members. The two embattled congressmen have indicated that they expect the committee to do its duty by them and to whitewash the charges.

Sources close to the investigation have told us that the committee is concentrating, indeed, on evidence that would tend to exonerate the accused congressmen. But the accumulation is such that the committee is in need of more accommodating rugs.

The official upholders of ethics have shown more enthusiasm, meanwhile, for hounding newscaster Daniel Schorr for pirating out to the public a classified report on intelligence fiascos.

A team of 12 crack former FBI agents were hired to track down Schorr's source, a $150,000 effort that has kept the sleuths going around and around, coming out nowhere. They have conducted more than 125 intensive interviews, with negligible results.

They have produced reams of reports, which Chairman John Flynt, D-Ga., bravely insists contain "some good information." But when we pinned him down, he admitted that the trail is "cold."

One of the congressmen who had possession of the controversial intelligence report, James Johnson, R-Colo., told our associate Bob Owens that the investigators had interviewed him twice. The second time, they asked to look at his personal copy of the report.

Johnson gladly produced his black volumes and asked how the investigation was proceeding. The two investigators shrugged. He asked whether they had found Schorr's source. They laughed.

VICE PRESIDENTIAL ODDS: The famous Las Vegas oddsmaker, Jimmy the Greek Snyder, still rates President Ford as a 2-to-1 favorite over challenger Ronald Reagan in the Republican presidential sweepstakes.

On the Democratic side, the only betting is over who will be Jimmy Carter's running mate. Jimmy the Greek gives Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., the best odds, with Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, a close second. Here are the odds:

Mondale, 3-1; Church, 4-1; Sen. Adlai Stevenson, D-Ill., 6-1; Sen. Edmund Muskie, D-Me., 6-1; Sen. John Glenn, D-Ohio, 8-1; Rep. Peter Rodino, D-N.J., 10-1; Sen. Birch Bayh, D-Ind., 10-1; Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., 10-1; Gov. Wendell Anderson, Minn., 15-1; Gov. Hugh Carey, N.Y., 15-1; Gov. Michael Dukakis, Mass., 25-1; Gov. Jerry Brown, Calif., 50-1; Rep. Mo Udall, D-Ariz., 50-1; Leonard Woodcock, auto workers president, 50-1; John Gilligan, former Ohio governor, 100-1; Sen. Alan Cranston, D-Calif., 100-1; Mayor Tom Bradley, Los Angeles, 100-1; Rep. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., 100-1; Mayor Pete Flaherty, Pittsburgh, 100-1; Rep. Barbara Jordan, D-Tex., 100-1, and Sarge Shriver, 100-1.

ALBERT CONFIDENTIAL: Speaker Carl Albert's recent trip to the oil sheikdom of Kuwait was planned down to the last detail, including what he should say to his host and when he could drink "a quick cup of tea."

The details were spelled out in an elaborate cable from the U.S. embassy in Kuwait to the U.S. embassy in Saudi Arabia, where the Speaker visited first. His host, the cable informed Albert, would be his Kuwaiti counterpart, Speaker Ghoneim—pronounced "Goo-Name."—the cable added helpfully.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Temperature range:
Saturday 68-79. Detail

SECTION

CXXV .... No. 43,247 — NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JUNE 20, 1976 — 7

Carter Bids 'Men of Faith' Take Greater Public Role

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

LAFAYETTE, Ind., June 19—In a sermonic speech today, Jimmy Carter said that a separation of church and state should not dictate a separation of public and private morality.

"It doesn't mean we ought to have a different standard of ethics," he asserted. "There's no reason why we should be less honest on Monday morning than we were Sunday."

In a 38-minute address before a Disciples of Christ laymen's convention here, Mr. Carter urged a deeper involvement of "men of faith" in this country's affairs of government and social enterprise.

Without mentioning his Presidential candidacy, the 51-year-old Democrat reiterated many of the religious convictions that have become a familiar part of his campaign. It was a speech less ecumenical than those he has given before Jewish groups and substantially more evangelical than his normal public oratory.

He spoke at length of his own conviction that individual exemplification of the life of Jesus provides a stable social core for America, and in several anecdotes the former Governor of Georgia and Southern Baptist deacon described several personal religious experiences.

Mr. Carter, who seems assured of the Democratic Presidential nomination, has occasionally been suspected of feeling some incompatibility with those of a non-Christian religious persuasion, particu-

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

Carter Appeals to 'Men of Faith' To Take a Greater Public Role

Continued From Page 1

larly Jews. He has consistently affirmed his belief in a complete separation of church and state and, apparently, has relieved the anxieties of many on this score.

Mr. Carter ended a five-day seaside vacation on the Georgia coast today and flew here for an appearance, scheduled more than a year ago, before a national gathering of Disciples of Christ laymen. And although he told ris 1,500 listenerg that he was "not a preacher," his remarks were homiletic if not pastoral.

When he was growing up, Mr. Carter said, he experienced "a much more solid sense of belonging." But now, he suggested, "we live in a very unstable world.

'Goodness' Not The Same

"I always thought that my political leaders told the truth, but in the last few days, we've seen that the goodness, the righnes of our naion, is no as sure any more as it once was."

Nevertheless, he said, America is searching for that which does not change. It is a country seeking "a basic integrity," and "men of faith"—he seemed to be referring to himself and his predominantly male audience — must recognize their responsibility to provide an immutable core of strength.

But Mr. Carter noted that the American male was frequently handicapped in his expressions of faith by his masculine instincts—overt strength, toughness and firmness.

"But a truer demonstration of strength," he said, "would be concern, compassion, love, devotion, sensitivity, humility — exactly the things Christ talked about — and I believe that if we can demonstrate this kind of personal awareness of our own faith we can provide that core of strength and commitment and underlying character that our nation searches for."

Mr. Carter seemed quite at home before the laymen—several of whom shouted "Amen!" in approval of his remarks—and, indeed, it was not an alien environment for the sandy-haired son of a devout Baptist family who was baptized in his father's church in Plains, Ga., when he was 11 years old.

Before and after he became Governor of Georgia in 1971, Mr. Carter was much in demand as a lay preacher at religious gatherings such as the Disciples of Christ meeting that attracted men of that denomination here to Lafayette from all over the country.

The Platform Art: Specific Is O.K., General Is Better

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

WASHINGTON—Political parties write platforms for one reason: to win votes.

The document approved by the Democratic Platform Committee last week and almost certain to be adopted in full at the party's national convention next month is from the same mold as most party platforms of the past.

It was designed to be specific enough to satisfy the interest groups that are the mainstay of the party, yet general enough to embrace as many voters as possible. It was meant to set broad principles that would distinguish Democrats from their Republican opponents in the fall campaign, yet be flexible enough to minimize the Democrats who would be embarrassed by it.

Thus, with organized labor and the Roman Catholic hierarchy in mind, the platform promises to repeal the Federal law permitting state right-to-work statutes and to give Federal assistance to parochial schools. Neither pledge is likely to be fulfilled, but both were made to keep two important interest groups under the party's tent.

The platform commits the party to provide jobs for all Americans who want to work, to enact a national health insurance system, to set a minimum income for those on welfare and to reform the country's tax structure. Such statements delineate fundamental differences between Democratic and Republican philosophies.

Yet, since Democrats differ among themselves on how to put the principles into practice, the platform does not specify where the jobs would come from, who would administer the national health scheme, what the income floor would be or which tax deductions would be eliminated.

One of the foremost aims of party leaders is to avert a public fight over the platform at the party's convention that would give the impression the party was divided. Yet, the evidence on whether a platform fight hurts the party in a close general election is contradictory.

William Jennings Bryan lost the 1896 Presidential election to Republican William McKinley by fewer than 600,000 votes out of more than 14 million cast. The battle at the Democratic convention that year over the silver standard, which caused many easterners to defect to Mr. McKinley, is seen by many historians as the primary cause of Mr. Bryan's defeat.

On the other hand, the convention fight over the civil rights plank of the 1948 Democratic platform left the party deeply divided and even spawned a third-party candidate, Strom Thurmond, who objected to the party's support of civil rights. Yet, Harry S. Truman won the election, and his victory was due in part to the fact that he carried such northern states as Illinois, Massachusetts and Wisconsin, where there was strong sentiment for civil rights.

There is some truth to the charge that platforms are of little value because Presidents pay little attention to them once they get elected.

To take an extreme example of a promise that was not put into practice, the 1932 Democratic platform advocated "an immediate and drastic reduction in governmental expenditures . . . to accomplish a saving of not less than 25 percent in the cost of the Federal Government." It also vowed "maintenance of the national credit by a Federal budget annually balanced." Yet, when Franklin D. Roosevelt took office, he immediately began to implement the New Deal. The social action programs under the New Deal resulted in the highest level of Government spending and the largest budget deficits in the history of the country up to that time.

Nonetheless, as Gerald Pomper points out in his book, "Nominating the President," which contains a detailed study of party platforms, the Roosevelt Administration redeemed most of the important pledges of the 1932 platform. Among them were unemployment relief, a public works program, regulation of the stock markets, protection of bank deposits and repeal of prohibition.

The point that Mr. Pomper makes is ascribed to by most other political scientists. It is that a President can ignore individual planks in his party's platform once he is in office, but he cannot repudiate the document as a whole without repudiating his party.

American political parties are umbrella groups, not monoliths. They strive for broad acceptance, not discipline. Still, there is and always has been a difference between the major parties, and that difference has been spelled out for the voters over the years in the platforms.

Splits between the parties on the League of Nations and the United Nations, on enactment and then repeal of Prohibition, on social welfare programs such as Medicare, on the rights of labor versus the rights of business, have all been recorded in the platforms over the years, and Presidents have, for the most part, been true to their party's ideology.

The Republican platform for 1976 will not be drafted until the week before the party's convention in August, but it is not difficult to predict what it is likely to call for: a balanced budget, less Federal control over local affairs, deregulation of crude oil and natural gas prices and more emphasis on controlling inflation than on reducing unemployment. In those respects and many more it will differ markedly from the Democratic platform.

David E. Rosenbaum is a reporter in the Washington bureau of The New York Times.

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No F.B.I. Needed to Pick Veep

By Tom Wicker

Jimmy Carter says he won't ask the F.B.I. to run background checks on his potential running mates, and here's hoping Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan won't either. This country needs less, not more, F.B.I. snooping and interference in its politics.

Most other current proposals for reform of the Vice-Presidential selection seem at best ineffectual and at worst too careless of the fact that it's an essentially political choice rather than an executive talent search. But the F.B.I. proposal is worse.

In the first place, Presidential candidates themselves don't have to undergo F.B.I. checks, and merely to suggest that they should exposes the impropriety of the idea for either nominee. Since when are political candidates supposed to have a clearance from the cops before they can run for office?

Those who favor this reckless idea always cite Tom Eagleton's illnesses and Spiro Agnew's alleged pay-off money, but the fact is that while a quick F.B.I. check might have picked up Mr. Eagleton's problems, it almost surely would not have caught Mr. Agnew's—which, years later, took months of investigation to confirm.

But such a check would sweep up all sorts of other allegations—some malicious, none necessarily true—of political dissent, unpopular associations, youthful peccadilloes, sexual and drinking episodes, and the like. Some useful men might easily be ruled out by Presidential candidates who

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believed such junk, or who feared the possibility it might be leaked and exploited.

F.B.I. checks have their uses when someone is to be appointed rather than elected by the people, when there is plenty of time for charges to be carefully evaluated and when political exploitation of unsubstantiated material is unlikely. Done quickly, in the crush of a political convention or a heated campaign, their potential for being misunderstood or misused is just too great.

The most compelling argument for reform of Vice-Presidential selection is that three of the last six Presidents and five of 13 in this century succeeded to the office from the Vice Presidency. Therefore, it's argued, Presidential nominees ought to choose running mates who have the highest qualifications for the Presidency.

But a study group from the Kennedy Institute of Politics has just made the sensible point that a Presidential candidate can choose a qualified man (at least on paper) who is also a political asset as a running mate, and vice versa. Harry Truman, to everyone's surprise, and Lyndon Johnson turned out to be just such choices.

The study group sought ways to make it more likely that such running mates would be chosen this year and in the future. Some of its ideas are obvious—more consideration of the matter by the candidate, more scrutiny of the possibilities by the press.

Some other recommendations seem useful when there is no real fight for the Presidential nomination. Thus, the Democratic convention this year might take advantage of the study group's idea that it use the day after, rather than the day before, the Presidential nomination for platform debate and adoption. That would give an extra day for the Vice-Presidential selection, which comes last.

But what about the Republicans? The Ford-Reagan struggle is obviously going down to the wire and either might see some strategic value in a platform battle *before* the Presidential nomination. That's happened many times before, and reform of Vice-Presidential selection ought not to foreclose the possibility—since the Presidential choice is the most important of all.

Similarly, making public in advance a list of possibilities might not be disadvantageous to Jimmy Carter, who has the Democratic nomination clinched; but is it reasonable to ask it of Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan, who should have plenty of freedom to maneuver until the last minute? Even Mr. Carter might legitimately want to maintain a little suspense, as Lyndon Johnson did in 1964, to keep the Democratic convention from being too dull for television viewers.

As for the proposed advisory committee to assist in the Vice-Presidential selection, in practice that would almost surely be a drag on the Presidential candidate's freedom of choice. The committee would not necessarily be disinterested, and while its recommendations would not be binding, any candidate's decision to ignore them surely would be used against him and his own selection in the following campaign.

Yet, such a decision might be the right decision, and might be the product of even more candid, if less formal, discussions among close friends and advisers. Uncertain though they may be, a Presidential candidate's own good judgment, self-interest and political knowledge are our best safeguards in Vice-Presidential selection.

Rare Harmony . . .

After its feverish internal confrontations in 1968 and 1972—and the defeats that ensued—the Democratic Party now seems bent on victory through consensus. Not only have Governor Carter's opponents all but unanimously closed ranks to concede his nomination, but the party has produced a platform with a lack of friction that has no recent precedent.

The new procedure for drafting the document proved to be sound, with the results quickly approved by all segments of a party that, after all, still runs an ideological gamut from Senator McGovern to Governor Wallace. Regional hearings, public drafting sessions and mailed submission to the delegates ten days before the gavel falls at next month's convention are all reforms of a process that was once a high-powered exercise in the production of what Wendell Willkie called "fusions of ambiguity."

The remarkable aspect of this achievement is that, for all the harmony, the proposed Democratic platform is not quite the study in vapory rhetoric that party platforms so often are. The reconciling of conflict has been accomplished by compromise rather than evasion. If special pleaders for particular and controversial causes got less than they wanted, they generally got something—enough to make them resigned, as one advocate put it, "to give up a bit in order to take control of the Presidency." The art of compromise was especially fruitful in the treatment of such divisive questions as busing, abortion and amnesty. The formulas should leave few delighted but none outraged.

. . . On Platform Goals

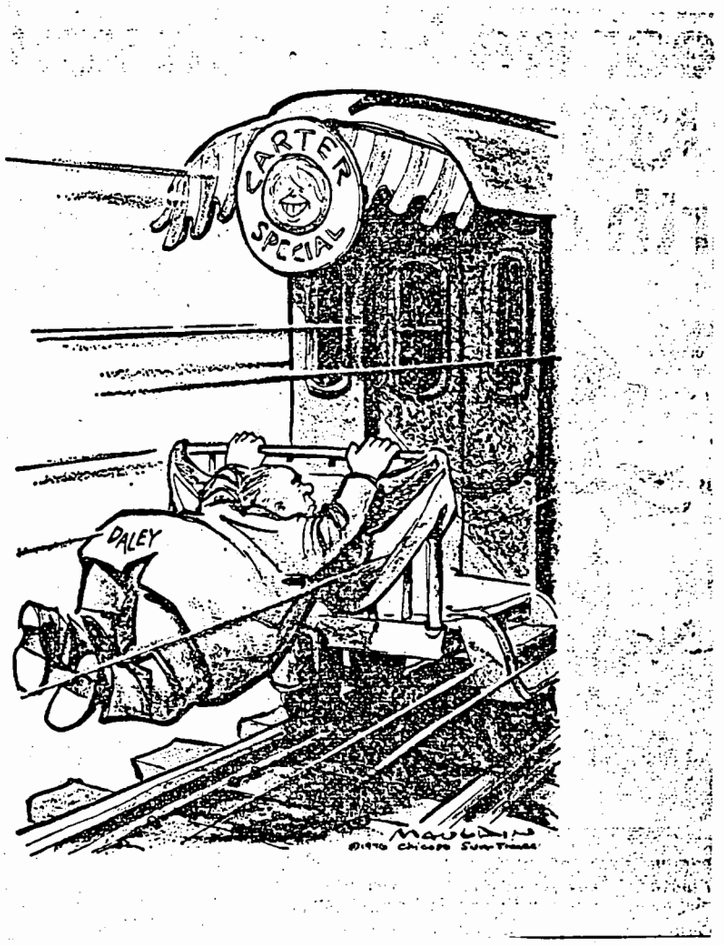
More important than specifics in the document are the goals—and these are clear. Without endorsing particular legislation like the Hawkins-Humphrey full-employment bill, the platform fully accepts the objective of reducing the adult employment rate to 3 percent within the next four years and otherwise revitalizing the economy.

Similarly, it calls for comprehensive and mandatory national health insurance without taking a stand on whether it should be administered by the Government or private companies. It favors a "fairer distribution of wealth, income and power," but spells out no program to that end.

While the wording is often—and necessarily—cautious, the draft platform is perhaps most notable in the degree to which it bridges the views of Democratic Congressional leaders and those of Governor Carter. In particular, it strongly reflects the 271-page report submitted in hearings by a task force of the House of Representatives, appointed by Speaker Albert. That document included specific legislative ideas of all the Democratic chairmen of House committees. One of its purposes was to lay the groundwork for Congressional-Presidential cooperation after a disastrous period in which Republican Presidents have vetoed 86 bills presented by Democratic Congresses.

A post-primary interview with Governor Carter supports what was apparent in the drafting of the platform: On the most important issues—national health care, tax reform, changes in the welfare system, civil rights, and human rights—there is even now a consonance of objectives between the party's leaders in the House and those of its all but certain Presidential nominee.

Much may still happen—at the convention and beyond—to reintroduce those internal strains so traditional in the Democratic Party, but as of now it enjoys a degree of internal harmony unique in its recent history.


CARTER
SPECIAL
DALEY

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

6/23

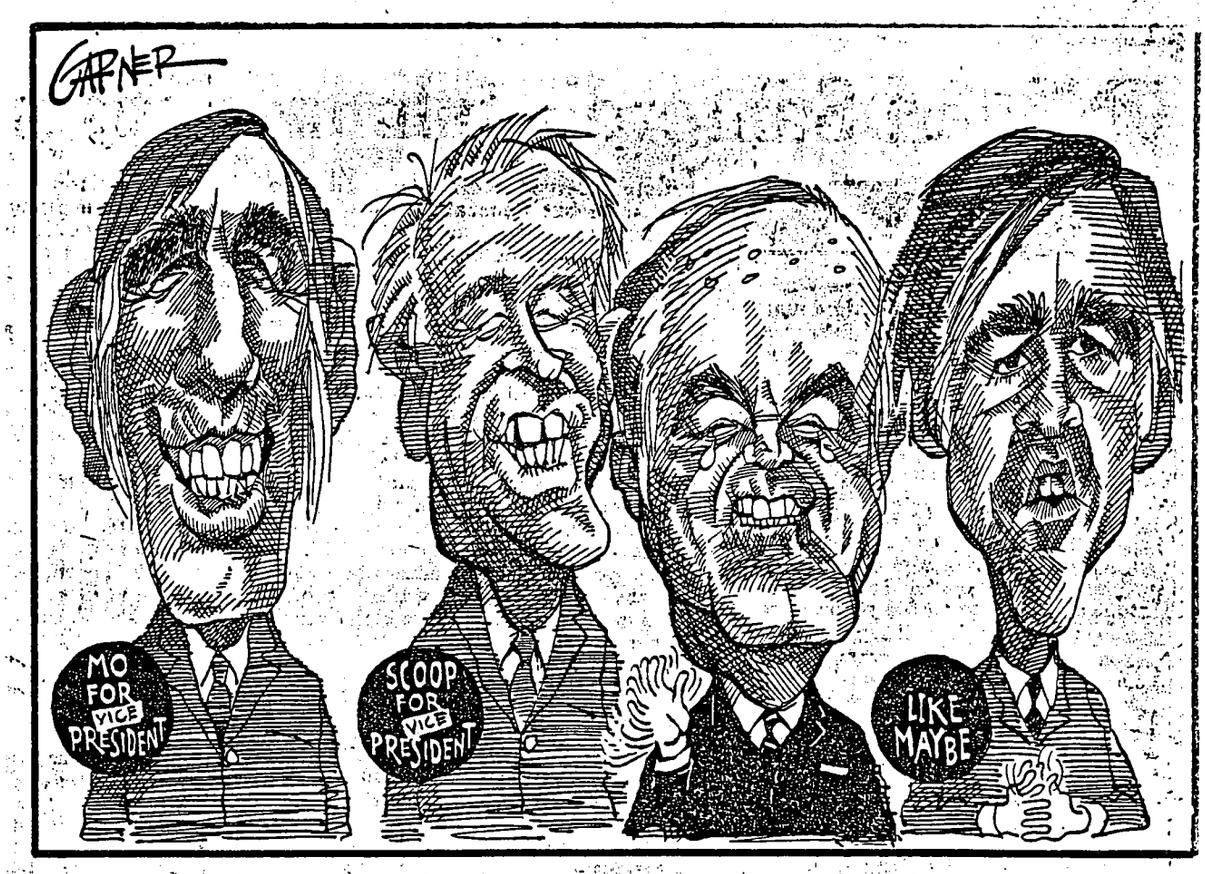
Also Enclosed See:

Time Magazine, June 28th

People Magazine, June 28th

Playgirl Magazine, July '76

Foreign Policy Speech, June 23rd,'76



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News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Final returns in Italy's national elections showed yesterday that the Communists had gained a substantial number of seats in Parliament. Although the Christian Democrats had a wide lead in the percentage voting, they lost three seats in the Chamber for a total of 263. The Communists gained 49 for a total of 228. The narrowing gap between the two parties was seen as critical to the fate of future governments and legislation. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said in Paris that the results of the Italian elections left "fundamentally" unchanged the basis of his concern earlier in the year over the possibility the Communists would be invited to join a coalition. [1:7.]

Heavy shelling duels erupted between Lebanese leftist and rightist factions in Beirut as some Syrian troops began withdrawing from the embattled city's airport. Both the Lebanese Christian rightists and the Moslem leftists and their Palestinian allies accused the other side for the resumption of shooting. [1:6.]

The former managing director of the Marubeni Trading Corporation and three officials of All Nippon Airways were arrested by Japanese authorities in the first legal steps stemming from the Lockheed Aircraft bribery scandal. According to testimony given in Washington by Lockheed officials, it was Toshiharu Okubo, the former managing director of the trading company, who was the first to advise Lockheed officials to pay bribes to promote sales. [1:4.]

The President of Rhodesia attacked both the United States and Britain in a speech in Parliament saying that both nations were abetting guerrilla incursions from Mozambique. The President, John J. Wrathall, said the "terrorists" were encouraged by the attitudes of the Western governments, which hoped to forestall further Communist penetration in Africa by seeking an early handover to black rule in Rhodesia. [3:1-2.]

National

Led by a jump in food prices, the Consumer Price Index rose by six-tenths of 1 percent in May, according to the Labor Department. The increase was the largest since last November, but when compared with 1974's double-digit inflation, the inflation rate was 6.2 percent over last year and at an annual rate of only 4.9 percent for the last three months. [1:6-7.]

The House Democratic leadership proposed 13 changes in the House of Representatives' administrative system in an effort to modernize bookkeeping and prevent future scandals. The proposals will be voted on by the full Democratic caucus and two of the proposals need full House approval. The proposals would reduce the power of the Administration Committee and its chairman by ending its power to increase expense allowances. [1:1-2.]

Fifteen members of the New York delegation to the Democratic National Convention agreed to give up half their vote to allow for the appointment of 15 women and young persons as half-vote delegates. The move was made in an effort to avoid a potentially embarrassing Credentials Committee challenge of the convention's host delegation on a charge of underrepresentation of women and young persons. [1:4-5.]

Metropolitan

A special state investigator said that Governor Carey's decision last December to replace Maurice H. Nadjari, the special state prosecutor investigating the criminal justice system, had not been influenced by "self-motivation" or by "politically motivated people," as Mr. Nadjari charged at the time. A report by Jacob B. Grumet, the special investigator, said that the Governor's action had been "based upon his independent judgment." [1:5.]

Nassau County health officials ordered all of the county's oceanfront beaches closed for bathing because of the still mysterious incursion of various types of sewage. Suffolk County officials, after earlier saying that some of their beaches were now safe for swimming, reported a new outbreak of debris in an area between Southampton and East Hampton and ordered beaches in that area closed. [1:1-4.]

New York City officials prepared to make an additional $50 million in budget cuts while Mayor Beame traveled to Albany seeking, in vain, additional state aid for the city's courts. Officials said that the state and the city had narrowed their differences over deeper cuts and had reached agreement on some cuts and revenue economies. [1:3.]

The Other News

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Weather: Chance of sl mild tonight. Sunny, h Temperature range: Tuesday 69-84. Detail

.CXXV....No. 43,250 — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1976 — M 20

Carter Finally Gets Contributions From Unions and Corporations

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

WASHINGTON, June 22—The corporate and union political action committees that largely ignored Jimmy Carter during the early months of 1976 are beginning to make contributions to his successful nomination campaign.

During May, the prospective Democratic Presidential candidate received $34,800 from these groups, almost three times as much as in April, while President Ford was raising only $23,400 and Ronald Reagan $4,100.

The most dramatic increase in support for Mr. Carter came from labor union funds. Before May, only the United Automobile Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers had isplayed any interest in his candidacy; during the month, unions gave $14,300, compared with $1,000 in April.

The candidate with the greatest financial support from organized labor, however, was Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who picked up $26,400 during May from a dozen unions, almost all gifts of $1,000 and more. Four maritime unions were among his supporters, givivg $7,300.

Under the new campaign law, unions and corporations may use their funds to finance the administrative costs of political action committees. These groups solicit contributions from union members and corporate stockholders, respectively, and then distribute the money to candidates regarded as favoring the interests of either labor or management.

Direct contributions of union or corporate funds to candidates or their committees are prohibited by law.

Among the corporate committees and special interest groups that gave to the Carter campaign during May were Lockheed Aircraft, General Electric, Kennecott Copper, the Mead Corporation, Colonial Stores, the Southern Railway, the Kentucky unit of the American Medical Association and the Carpet and Rug Association.

Union committees that made contributions to Mr. Carter included the Marine Engineers Benevolent Fund, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the Communication Workers of America, the National Association of Letter Carriers, the International Union of Plant Guard Workers and the United Transportation Workers.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which gave Mr. Carter $500 before, added $4,500 more, for the maximum legal contribution of $5,000 by a committee to a candidate.

Mr. Carter continued to attract substantial support from the milk industry. In May, he got $5,000 from the Dairy Educational Political Trust, which is sponsored by Mid-America Dairymen Inc. Earlier, he received $5,000 from Tape, an arm of Associated Milk Producers Inc., and $3,000 from S.P.A.C.A., A Kentucky milk group.

For unexplained reasons, contributions from corporate political committees to the two Republican contenders, President Ford and Ronald Reagan, fell off sharply in May. (Neither of them has yet received a labor committee contribution).

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Carter and Academe

By James Reston

BOSTON, June 22—Jimmy Carter was not Harvard University's favorite Presidential candidate, but now that he has captured the Democratic Party, the Harvards are beginning to come round to his side, and a lot of people in this university community are waiting for the phone to ring.

Mr. Carter, Ronald Reagan and even Gerald Ford, may be running "against Washington" but a lot of young members of the university faculties around here still want to go there. They know all about the triumphs and tragedies of Messers. Kissinger, Bundy, Rostow, McNamara, Schlesinger, Galbraith, Dunlap, Richardson and many others, but a new generation has come along since John Kennedy's days, and at least some of them are eager for work in a new Administration.

The contrast between the men of the Roosevelt-Kennedy era and the Nixon-Ford era is striking. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who served in the White House, and Kenneth Galbraith, who was Kennedy's ambassador to India, are less involved in Carter's campaign than in any election since the 1930's. But many of the younger faculty members at Harvard and elsewhere in this community want a chance at national service in Washington.

They are not as excited by Mr. Carter as the Galbraith-Schlesinger generation was about Franklin Roosevelt, Adlai Stevenson, and John Kennedy, but they're not overwhelmed either by the tragedies of Vietnam and Watergate, and are looking to the future.

■

For almost a decade now, during the Nixon and Ford years, these young liberal faculty members have had no opportunity for national service. Also, in this decade, many of them have married young professional women, who also long for responsible work at the center of national and international affairs.

Accordingly, Carter has the same opportunity here to recruit talent as Roosevelt did in '32 and Kennedy did in '60, if he's interested. Roosevelt used Felix Frankfurter to put together his "brain trust" in 1932, and Kennedy appointed Archibald Cox to do the same in 1960.

Mr. Carter has scarcely had time to think about this problem. Moreover, he has other ways to recruit a knowledgeable staff for the White House, if he's elected, on domestic and foreign affairs. For example, there are Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State, at the University of Georgia; William Friday, president of the University of North Carolina, who may be the most distinguished and experienced educator in the South and certainly one of the very best in the nation; Terry Sanford, from Governor of North Carolina and now president of Duke University; and Alexander Hurd, president of Vanderbilt University.

How to put his small political staff from Georgia together with the larger staff of experts on national and international policy is now Carter's problem. And how to pick experts who can help him define the problems of the coming years at the convention and in the campaign is something else he has to do in the next few weeks.

■

Mr. Carter has many supporters in Cambridge: Men like Abe Chayes and Dick Neustadt, who worked with Kennedy in the 60's, and many others at Columbia University in New York and the Brookings Institution in Washington, who are trying to help but haven't had a chance to talk to him personally.

But though Carter has proved to be a genius at picking up delegates in the states, he has done very little so far about mobilizing brains in the universities, South or North. His staff is very small. He confides in very few of its members and they have very little knowledge or contact with his potential supporters in the industrial or intellectual communities of the North and West.

This could be a missed opportunity. For in the eight years since the Democrats have been out of power, a quite different generation has grown up, not only in the North and South, but also in the Congress and in the bureaucracy of Washington.

Mr. Carter may not believe it, but many of these younger intellectuals around the universities in the Boston area are attracted by his optimism, and his belief that the problems of the modern age can be solved. They have heard all the ghastly stories about the corruption of power in Washington, but still want to get involved in the national capital.

If you speak to young men and women in their middle thirties around here, who are established in the universities or in the fancy law firms, about what they intend to do in the future, many of them say they are waiting to see what happens in the election. Most of them are hostile to both President Ford and Ronald Reagan, and vaguely troubled by Jimmy Carter, but they are not cynical or indifferent to national service. They are merely hoping for a chance to show that a new generation is ready to serve.

The Washington Post

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VIP

Low-Profile Picture

By Maxine Cheshire

Tongsun Park and Suzi Park Thomson, two Washington party-givers who like to stay close to those in power here and in South Korea, have discovered Jimmy Carter and his friends.

Among those Park has entertained here recently are Reynolds tobacco heir Smith Bagley and his wife, Vicky, early Carter supporters and fund-raisers who may have a lot of clout if he becomes President.

Mrs. Thomson, meanwhile, was observed recently setting up a photograph of herself with Carter and House Speaker Carl Albert, for whom she works as a $15,000-a-year clerk.

Thomson had a photographer positioned alongside the table where she was sitting at a recent Democratic gathering here.

Albert, steering Carter around the room and introducing him as they went, guided him to Thomson's table. She jumped up from her chair, beamed at Carter as Albert told him who she was, and then turned quickly to face the photographer for a lens-clicking that took no more than a few seconds.

Thomson, who once entertained regularly for members of the House of Representatives and their staffs, hasn't had many parties recently that have attracted public notice. She has been keeping a low profile since the Federal Bureau of Investigation began an investigation five months ago of two congressional friends of hers accused of taking bribes from the South Korean government.

Photo by Susan McElhinney—Newsweek

Suzi Pack Thomson, left, Jimmy Carter and House Speaker Carl Albert.

F

The Old Order Changes

That Ronald Reagan can come out of the Republican donnybrook at Kansas City as the nominee of his party is a prospect taken with the utmost seriousness by those at the highest level in the administration. Along with appropriate handwringing go recriminations among those who have managed —or mismanaged—President Ford's campaign.

It has been inept and blundering from start to finish. In theory, as the incumbent President with the economy recovering from the recession, the cards should have been virtually all in Ford's hand. The blame, if it finally comes down to a Reagan nomination, can be parcelled out with plenty left over for anyone who may have been overlooked.

Realistic as he is about the prospect just ahead, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller can take a detached view of his own role in the events that have brought his party to the present pass. Last November in a letter to President Ford, he took himself out of consideration for the No. 2 place on the ticket.

At a press conference a few days later, in an impressive fashion, he underscored his decision. Here was the principal moderate of the party determined—as the howl of the conservatives grew louder and the then-Ford campaign director, Howard (Bo) Calloway, continued to harass him—to make sure he was no embarrassment to his chief.

Since then Rockefeller has worked consistently and hard for the President's re-election. He has been one of the leading money-raisers, speaking at fund-raising dinners across the country. At a strategic moment, just before the Ohio primary, he steered New York's hitherto uncommitted delegates to Ford with the likelihood that all but a scattering of perhaps 15 or 19 of the 154 delegates will vote for the President.

Next month Rockefeller will be 68. Fond of saying that he has served six Presidents, Republicans and Democrats alike, he has probably had more varied experience of government than anyone in Washington. For this experience to go unused, no matter what the outcome of the November election, would be a great loss.

Although they are so completely different in background and political outlook, Rockefeller and Sen. Hubert Humphrey have much in common at this moment as the old order changes. Each pursued the presidency across the years and the supreme irony is that each would have made a better President than the opponent who defeated them. Rockefeller's nemesis was Richard Nixon, Humphrey's the left of center of his party bent on the course that resulted in the disaster of 1972.

Unlike Rockefeller, Humphrey will continue to have a political base even as the old order changes. He will be re-elected to the Senate, and if he were chosen as majority leader to work with a Democratic President, he could perform invaluable service. This is a post, as Lyndon Johnson proved during his years in the Senate, almost as important as the presidency.

No antibiotic has ever been discovered to cure the presidential virus. Humphrey waited until the last minute for his renunciation scene. Not until the day after the three big primaries did he face the inevitable. That was not surprising, since he had come so close—those few thousand votes—to the prize in 1968.

The voters were seeking a new face in Jimmy Carter and a non-Washington face. If he had entered the race in time they might have switched to the now new face of Governor Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown. Brown, the late starter, is proving his political ineptitude by pushing for delegates after the nomination has been confirmed beyond a doubt. At 38, one can only assume he is looking to 1980.

In almost every primary Carter's wins were by a small percentage of the electorate. The novelty, and as people we take to novelties, of the Plains, Ga., peanut farmer is wearing thin. Carter's task in the fall will be to turn out a big vote on issues and not merely on the miracle of the unknown, the outsider, triumphing over the old pros.

Along with novelty, we tend to worship youth. Carter is 52. Adlai Stevenson III, believed most likely to be Carter's choice for Vice President, is 46. That would be a young ticket and an appealing ticket especially if the opposition is Ronald Reagan, who is 65 years old.

We are launched on a journey into the unknown. The old hands around this town are scratching their heads and asking what Carter really stands for. They don't know, and they aren't likely to find out unless and until he settles into 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Humid
Warm and humid with
chance of afternoon
thunderstorms. High 82
to 86, low near 70. De-
tails: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL
SPECIAL

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Eliot Janeway

Carter Believed Fiscally Cautious

By Eliot Janeway
Special to The Washington Star

Q: On the increasingly likely assummption that Jimmy Carter will be the next president of the United States, do you think that conservative, long-term investors like myself would be well advised to cut and run for fear that southern populism will destroy the dollar?

I can't for the life of me see how bond or stock values could hold up under deficits bigger than those we have had under so-called "fiscal conservatives" like Nixon and Ford. Do you share my fears that Carter will indulge the demonstrated fiscal irresponsibbility of the Democratic Congress? Don't your own teachings about the bearish consequences of high inflation rates scare you? — M. F. Waltham, Mass.

A: No. I have known Carter quite well for some time and I read him as one of the new breed of Washington-based Democrats who are progressive socially but conservative fiscally. But the investment policy question concerning the trend of the securities mmarkets will be resolved by whether more or fewer investors havve enough confidence to hold bonds and stocks.

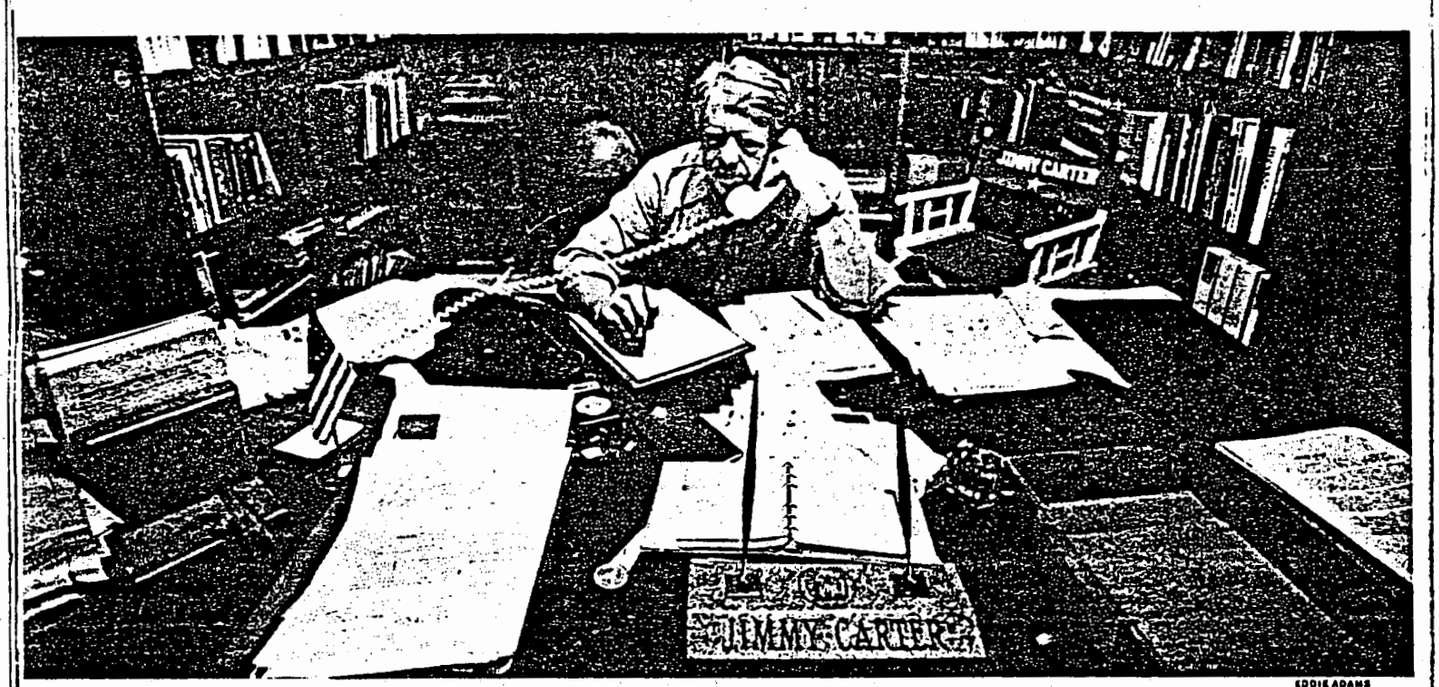
Viewed in this light, the decisive test for the stock markket is being posed now by the departure of average-sized investors from the stock market. If they develop the confidence to reverse that trend and go bback into stocks, we will enjoy a tremendous and sustained bull market.

If Carter does become our next president, I expect that the Democratic Congress will follow his lead for most of a first honeymoon year.

Q: During the war I worked in New York and had to buy "E" bonds under the payroll system. They were reissued, and the dates range from 1964-66-67-68; they total about $10,000. Can you please advise me what to do with them? — Mrs. G. A. Oriando, Fla.

A: Cash them in and put the money in a federally insured savings account where you can have ready access to it in the event of emergency. MMy handbook, "You And Your Money," warns against the imprudence of tying your money up in any investment stash — even investments which are easy to liquidate — without first fortifying your position with a savings account equal to six months income.

G



FRONT-RUNNING CANDIDATE DOING ECONOMIC HOMEWORK IN DEN OF HIS HOME IN PLAINS, GEORGIA

EDDIE ADAMS

POLICY

Carter's Stand: Democratic Orthodoxy

In at least one all-important area, the accusation of fuzziness that has dogged Jimmy Carter throughout his 18-month campaign cannot fairly be sustained. In a stream of speeches, position papers and interviews, the Democratic front runner has expounded his ideas on all of the major, and some of the minor, questions of economic policy: jobs, prices, taxes, energy, even regulation of the trucking industry. No one who pays attention can miss his general drift: Carter is a mainstream Democrat, who offers primarily an updated version of the economic policies of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. His keynote: a major effort to reduce unemployment, principally by Government stimulation of the private economy.

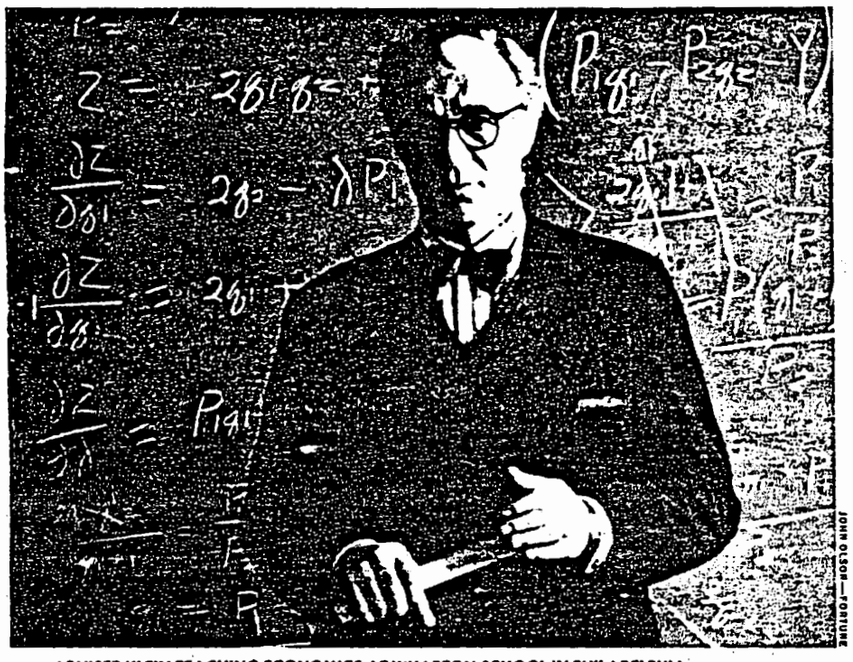
Oddly, Carter's economic views have never received the attention they deserve—mostly, no doubt, because until very recently the campaign spotlight focused on delegate counts. Also, Carter has voiced his ideas in a characteristically bland tone: no purple rhetoric, no sweeping simplifications, no attempt to jam complex proposals into catchy headlines. That low-key approach so far has defused possible controversy even over some striking proposals. For example, Carter advocates taxing capital gains, such as profits on the sale of stock or real estate, as heavily as income from wages and salaries (capital gains now are usually taxed at half the ordinary-income rate). That idea created an uproar when George McGovern voiced it in 1972, but this time around, coming from Carter, it has gone almost unnoticed.

Now that he seemingly has the nomination locked up, Carter's economic program undoubtedly will come in for closer scrutiny, and he will be under pressure to amplify it. But there is little chance that the program will change substantially. With minor exceptions, Carter has been quite consistent in his economic pronouncements, and he pledges that as President he would follow steady, predictable policies, avoiding the sudden lurches—from a free market to wage-price controls and back again—of the Republican years. His major views:

JOBS. Carter's overriding objective is to cut the unemployment rate, now 7.3%, to 4.5% (3% for "adults") as rapidly as possible. To do so, he would rely principally on those most orthodox tools of Democratic policy: higher Government spending, temporarily larger budget deficits and an effort to persuade the Federal Reserve Board to increase the nation's money supply more rapidly. He also proposes a variety of Government inducements to private industry to step up hiring, including more money for on-the-job training programs and research assistance to develop promising technologies such as solar energy. Another Carter recommendation: an intriguing plan under which a company that would ordinarily lay off, say, 10% of its employees would instead keep all of them on the payroll for a shorter week—and the Government would share the extra cost.

Carter further would have the Government itself hire some people for public-service jobs—presumably meaning work in parks, drug-rehabilitation clinics and the like—and launch a program to create 800,000 summer jobs for youths. But he flatly opposes the idea that the Government should guarantee everyone a job through hiring for public-service employment. Though Carter has endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which calls for just such Government hiring, it is a ritualistic blessing only. Says his chief economic adviser, Lawrence R. Klein: "This bill could become an albatross. But no bill goes through Congress without amendments, and I can envision ten amendments that would make this a good bill."

PRICES. Carter believes that the inflation rate over the long run can be pushed down to about 3% a year, even as unemployment also declines. Pumping out more money to create jobs will not speed up inflation, he says, "because



JOHN OLSON—FORTUNE

ADVISER KLEIN TEACHING ECONOMICS AT WHARTON SCHOOL IN PHILADELPHIA

our economy is presently performing so far under capacity." The double-digit inflation of 1973-74, he says, was caused largely by a series of shocks that are not likely to be repeated: the quintupling of oil prices that followed the Arab embargo, frantic worldwide bidding for scarce commodities, two devaluations of the dollar.

Nonetheless, Carter's advisers do worry that inflation will speed up again as unemployment falls below 5%. To keep prices down, Carter advocates a hatful of standard Democratic remedies: some undefined programs to improve labor productivity and the abolition of Government regulatory restrictions that keep prices high, such as a present rule that forces many trucks to return from hauls empty. Finally, Carter says he will ask for standby authority to impose wage-price controls, but thinks he will "never" have to use it. Instead he proposes that the Government "effectively monitor excessive price and wage increases in specific sectors of the economy"—apparently implying a type of jawboning exhortation familiar from the Kennedy and Johnson years.

TAXES. In one of his few flights of angry rhetoric, Carter calls the present loophole-ridden federal tax code "a disgrace to the human race." He pledges to recommend a total overhaul, scrapping scores of deductions and exemptions in return for generally lower rates.

To work out the details of a tax overhaul, Carter says, will take a full year after he enters the White House. But he has given some startling glimpses of specifics. He once mentioned the deduction for interest on home mortgages as one that he might recommend dropping, though he lately has shied away from the subject. And he believes it is unfair to tax corporate profits and then tax the dividends paid out of those profits—so he would either knock out all taxes on dividend income or stop taxing the portion of corporate profits that is paid out in dividends to shareholders.

ENERGY. At this point, Carter has no comprehensive energy program, but offers a batch of specifics. If the Arab countries declare a new embargo, he says, he as President "would consider this an economic declaration of war and would respond quickly with a boycott against them"—presumably of food and industrial goods. Otherwise, he believes the U.S. should adopt strict conservation measures, including mandatory fuel-economy standards for cars and better insulation of homes, and shift as quickly as possible toward using more coal. Possibly, he thinks, the Government should offer some kind of inducement to industry to burn more of it.

On the hottest energy issue of the moment—the drive by many of his fellow Democrats to break up the big oil companies—Carter takes a cautious approach. He would "probably" split off gas-station chains, and possiby wholesale-distribution terminals as well, from the oil giants. He also is inclined to favor forcing oil companies to get out and stay out of other fuels, such as coal and uranium. But he would not divorce oil exploration, production, refining and transportation, as a bill now going to the Senate floor would do *(see following story)*.

BUDGET. Despite his advocacy of higher spending at the outset of his presidency, Carter insists he could balance the budget by 1980. One reason is that tax collections would shoot up as the economy expanded. Also, Carter is counting on major cost savings from his much-touted plans to overhaul the federal bureaucracy. Long range, Carter's goal is to balance the budget "over the business cycle"—that is, produce surpluses in boom years large enough to offset the deficits incurred in years when the Government must pump out money to pep up the economy.

MONEY SUPPLY. Carter believes that the Federal Reserve has been too stingy in doling out money. To give himself and future Presidents more influence over the independent Fed, Carter proposes that each President be empowered to appoint a chairman who would serve a term that coincided with the President's own. Under present law, Fed chairmen are appointed for four years, but the term can overlap Administrations. The incumbent, Arthur Burns, was reappointed early in 1974 and would run the Fed through the first year of a Carter presidency.

MISCELLANEOUS. To get more housing built, Carter would have the Government subsidize mortgage interest rates lower than those now charged by private lenders. He would raise the wage base on which Social Security taxes are levied—they are now collected from the first $15,300 of a worker's income—but not the tax rate. Importantly, he opposes any loosening of antipollution laws, even to get more coal burned. In general, he sees no conflict between protecting the environment and promoting a rapid expansion of the economy—but if he did, he says, he would come down in favor of the environment every time.

These views are open to attack. Republicans are sure to charge that Carter gives too low a priority to holding down inflation—indeed, that his job program would set off price rises that his anti-inflation measures would be inadequate to contain. Pumping up Government spending immediately, and then swinging to a balanced budget by 1980, are two goals that, to put it mildly, will be exceedingly difficult to reconcile.

On the whole, though, Carter's economic policies are carefully thought out. He has been about as specific in explaining them as presidential candidates commonly get—and he has outlined a potential program that cannot possibly be confused with the ideas of President Ford or Ronald Reagan. On economics, at least, the choice in the fall should be quite clear.

J

SOME JUST PLAINS FOLK (CLASS OF '41) GATHER TO SAY, 'WELCOME BACK, CARTER'

People 6/12/76

The only "Stop Carter" move that succeeded this year was this one imposed in Plains, Ga. by his daughter Amy, 8.

Jimmy Carter told his high school classmates: "You can't imagine how it feels to get off an airplane and see you."

The Plains, Ga. high school class of 1941 might have held its 35th reunion in total obscurity except for one thing: James Earl Carter Jr. was one of them.

The appearance of the probable Democratic presidential candidate brought 22 fellow graduates to a motel banquet room in Americus, Ga., a town 10 miles from Plains.

There were 26 members in the original class, 14 girls and 12 boys, but three have died and one could not make it back for the reunion.

The class gets together every five years (the last time was in the Georgia Governor's Mansion when Jimmy Carter lived there, and, as before, they reminisced, comparing wives, children and careers, seemingly oblivious to the curious big-city reporters. "Everywhere I've gone around the country," Carter told them, "I have thought about how much all of you mean to me." Billy Wise, who grew up on the farm next to Carter's, spoke for many of his classmates, "You just don't think of anybody in your class being exceptional, really."

Virginia Williams, whose husband runs a rival peanut business across the street from Carter's, remembered young Jimmy's addiction to reading. "I used to get so mad," she said. "He would be reading something that didn't have anything to do with what the class was doing, and when the teacher would call on him he'd say, 'I'm sorry, I didn't hear the question.' Then, when she repeated it, he would always answer." Carter, who ranked third in grades, was glib enough even then to win a spot on the debating team ("We always beat the girls," claimed a teammate). At the banquet, Jimmy was

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presented with a little gavel as the graduate who had made the most speeches. (Other awards were for the least hair, the most wrinkles and the most children.)

Most of the Class of '41 still lives in Georgia, but Richard Johnson, a tour company employee, and his wife came all the way from California bearing a red, white and blue afghan. Giving it to Carter, Johnson apologized for the rumpled condition of the package. "The Secret Service had to inspect it," he explained. "If I'm elected," responded Carter, gallantly, "it will be in the White House."

Following the tradition that obliges each graduate to describe his life, Carter introduced himself and his wife Rosalynn. "She's from Plains," he said. "We have three sons and an 8-year-old daughter, Amy. I am semiretired. My family is in the lemonade business [a reference to Amy's soft drink stand]. I have one grandson, Jason, born in August. He can already walk and say 14 words. He's the finest grandchild ever born in Georgia."

Carter listened attentively as his classmates reported, and when Mrs. Evelyn Hudson said she was secretary to a Superior Court Judge, he drew a pretty good laugh when he asked, "Can you type?"

He invited his classmates to join him at service next morning at the Plains Baptist Church, and many of them did. "I could not possibly feel closer to you," Carter said. "I want you always to feel close to me." The graduates seemed pleased by such words, and one suggested a site for their next reunion. "We might," said Thomas Lowery of Lakeland, Fla., "have to drive to Washington." □

LEVITON-ATLANTA

Carter and daughter Amy approach the Plains Baptist Church. Photographers were banned inside by the deacons as "too noisy."

K

FEMINIST CANDIDATE JIMMY CARTER

The likeliest Democratic candidate is a modern moralist who believes in the rights of women

by Patrick Anderson

The Florida sun was beating down on Jimmy Carter as he stood beside the swimming pool at a Holiday Inn in Clearwater, answering the questions put to him by a hundred or so Democrats and curiosity-seekers who had come to examine the first peanut farmer ever to run for President of the United States. One row of folding chairs was filled with a dozen schoolgirls in identical maroon skirts and white blouses, and their leader waved her hand until she caught the candidate's eye.

"We'd like to know how you stand on the Equal Rights Amendment," she said.

Carter gave her his easy, good-old-boy grin. "I can answer that in three words," he said. "I'm for it."

That was all he needed to say. The schoolgirls were cheering, and Carter's aides were signaling that it was time to leave. But the ERA question had opened some door to the candidate's past; his smile faded, and he said something more to the schoolgirls:

"I come from a part of Georgia where almost every woman worked. My mother was a nurse. My wife's father died when she was thirteen, and her mother became a seamstress, making clothes for the more prosperous women in town. I've seen women working in Georgia textile mills in a way that shamed and embarrassed me. I've worked in the fields, and I've never seen men work as hard as those women. We tried to pass ERA when I was governor of Georgia, and we failed. And do you know who our main opponents were? The John Birch Society and the textile mills!"

As I watched, I thought that statement summed up a lot about the enigmatic Jimmy Carter: the influence of his poor-boy past on his political present, the importance of women in shaping his life, the urgent, sometimes emotional appeals he is making now for women to support his bid for the Presidency.

Jimmy Carter is a man of constant paradox; whenever you think you understand him, some new contradiction will appear. His critics call this evasiveness; his admirers call it complexity. He is an old-fashioned, deeply religious, moralistic man who supports the decriminalization of marijuana, enjoys the music of Bob Dylan (whom he once entertained at the Georgia governor's mansion), and numbers Gregg Allman, the free-wheeling, Georgia-born rock star among his political supporters. He is a politician whose critics have called him a conservative, even a racist. Yet he has been championing the rights of black people for twenty-odd years, and he has emerged in this Presidential campaign as an equally strong proponent of women's rights.

Besides backing ERA, he has pledged his support to virtually every issue of importance to the women's movement, from day-care to rape-law reform to fair-credit laws. If this in part reflects political expedience, it also reflects the dominant role of women in his life. More than any would-be President since Franklin Roosevelt, Carter has been shaped and influenced by women: first by his remarkable mother, Lillian Gordy Carter, who raised four children, worked as a nurse, befriended black people in the segregated Deep South, and in 1966 at the age of sixty-eight joined the Peace Corps; then by his wife, Rosalynn Smith Carter, a woman who fully shares her husband's ambitions and has driven herself tirelessly to help him achieve them.

Another reason for Carter's sensitivity to women's issues has been the influence of Mary E. King, who was active in the civil rights movement in the South in the early 1960s. King has been a leader in the women's movement in recent years and is Carter's official adviser on women's affairs.

To King, who knew and resented the sexism in the civil-rights movement, Carter's old-fashioned morality is one of his most attractive features. "Many politicians have traditionally shown their contempt for women by seeking sexual favors from the women in their campaigns," she says. "It's time for this to stop and I'm proud that my candidate isn't guilty of it."

Indeed, at King's urging, Carter has sometimes mentioned to writers that he has never been unfaithful to his wife. It is a classic example of Carter's unorthodox political style. To some, at a time when sex scandals keep pouring out of Washington, his declaration of marital fidelity will seem refreshing; to others, it makes him seem a self-righteous prig. Carter doesn't seem to care. "That's just how he is," one of his aides says. "He loves his wife, he doesn't care who knows it, and if there's some political mileage in it that's all the better."

For Mary King and other women in the Carter campaign, his election as President would be a great boon to the women of America. To many women, however, who have viewed him only from afar, and through the often distorting lens of the media, he remains a perplexing and contradictory figure. To anyone who wishes to understand Jimmy Carter, the search must begin deep in his past, back in Southwest Georgia, where he grew up and which he still calls home. Jimmy Carter was the first of four children born to a man and woman who had distinctly different personalities and beliefs. James Earl Carter Sr. was a farmer, a storekeeper, a conservative, a segregationist, and a community leader who late in life was elected to the state legislature. He taught his son to work hard, to mind his manners,

Photographed by DOUG BRUCE /CAMERA 5

and to respect the value of a dollar, and if his son had been more like him he would probably be supporting George Wallace for the Presidency this year instead of running against him. But the young Jimmy Carter was more influenced by his mother, Lillian, and she was — and is today, in her late seventies, — a most unusual woman.

The daughter of a politically-active postmaster, Lillian Gordy Carter was trained as a nurse, and in addition to raising her family she worked in the Plains hospital and in private homes, typically earning about six dollars for a twelve hour shift. She was, unlike her husband, a reader of books, and she instilled a love of reading in her oldest son, who first battled his way through *War and Peace* at age twelve. But the most dramatic difference between Earl and Lillian Carter came on the issue of race. Earl Carter accepted the Southern customs of his time, whereby blacks called him "Mister Earl" and came to his back door to do business with him. Lillian Carter was different. She nursed sick blacks, attended their weddings and church services, and was, her son recalls, "their natural champion."

After her husband died in 1953, Lillian Carter spent six years as a fraternity housemother at Auburn University, then operated a small nursing home in Blakely, Georgia. One evening in 1966, she saw a Peace Corps advertisement on television that declared "Age is no barrier." Soon thereafter she announced to her family that she was going to join the Peace Corps and request assignment to either India or Africa. As it turned out, she spent two years in India, working in a family-planning clinic and, for a time, nursing lepers.

By his early teens Carter had decided on a career that would take him far from the family farm. He seems always to have had a love-hate feeling for his hometown; he has been leaving it and returning to it for thirty years now. He got his appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy Annapolis in 1942 and he eventually graduated fifty-ninth in a class of eight-hundred-twenty.

In the summer before his last year at Annapolis, Carter met his future wife, Rosalynn Smith, a pretty, vivacious, dark-haired young woman. They were married in the Plains Methodist Church a month after his graduation. Rosalynn had been able to complete two years of college at Georgia Southwestern before she was married, and she shared her husband's ambitions for a more exciting life than Plains could offer.

Not surprisingly, the young couple's first serious argument — and from all accounts it was a knock-down-drag-out affair — came in 1953, soon after Carter's father's death, when he told Rosalynn that he wanted to quit the navy and return to Plains to run the family peanut farm. Rosalynn hadn't the least desire to return because she feared they would be dominated by their mothers. But Carter had his way. They went home, and he became his mother's business partner. After a couple of lean years, they began to prosper. But by then the Carters had experienced the first of their many clashes with their hometown over the race issue.

There was no avoiding race in Plains. The Supreme Court had outlawed school segregation, and all across Dixie angry Southerners were digging in for last-ditch resistance. One main instrument of resistance were the so-called White Citizens Councils, and Jimmy Carter soon became the only white man in Plains to refuse to join the local council. That led to a boycott of his peanut warehouse. The boycott fizzled out, but there were other clashes and other boycotts ahead. Another came in 1961 when Carter, as the local schoolboard chairman, pushed a school-consolidation plan that his neighbors feared was an integration scheme.

Out of these conflicts was born Carter's political career. Angered by the defeat of his school-consolidation bill, he decided to run for the State Senate in 1962, and he won. In 1966 he ran for governor — and lost, to the oafish segregationist, Lester Maddox. Rosalynn Carter still remembers the other children taunting her sons: "Lester Mad-dox beat your dad-dy, Lester Mad-dox beat your dad-dy." After his 1966 defeat, Carter simply kept on running, determined to be elected governor in 1970, and his wife was soon caught up in his campaigning.

The word in the Carter camp is that Rosalynn is a very tough, formidable lady. "She wants to be First Lady as much as he wants to be President," one of Carter's top aides told me. "No, she wants to be First Lady *more* than he wants to be President." Another Carter aide said, "She's a shrewd, tough judge of people, and he listens to her. I assume I wouldn't be here if she didn't approve of me."

Once Carter was elected governor of Georgia, his wife made his new mental-health program her special interest. "All during the campaign," she recalls, "people kept asking me what we would do for their retarded children, and I told Jimmy that was the area I wanted to work in. Jimmy has a first cousin who's retarded, so we know about the problem. I worked with the committee that drew up his new program, and I would visit cities and encourage them to start new mental-health centers, and also I toured all the old, overcrowded facilities that we wanted to shut down. It was terrible sometimes."

As governor, Carter appointed women to several positions never before held by women in Georgia, including a state judgeship, and he provided funds from his own budget to enable his Commission on the Status of Women to undertake studies of ERA and of the treatment of rape victims. As Presidential candidate, Carter has several women in top positions in his campaign and he has promised to appoint women to top-level jobs in his administration if he becomes President. Women in his campaign include Mary King, an unpaid advisor of women's issues; Gillian Sorensen, who coordinates celebrity support for Carter; Betty Rainwater, who advanced from a secretarial job to deputy press secretary; Vicki Rogers, who as the candidate's scheduler is involved in key political decisions; and several of the state campaign coordinators.

There have, however, been complaints by some women in the campaign that they aren't paid as much as men in comparable jobs. However, they tend not to blame Carter himself, saying that he probably doesn't know about the salary inequities and that the fault probably lies with his campaign manager, thirty-year-old Hamilton Jordan, who is now and then accused of being a sexist pig.

Coached by Mary King, Carter has assumed an out-front position on women's issues. He says that if elected President he will strictly enforce the laws against sex discrimination, will work for passage of ERA and the Rape Prevention and Control Act, will seek a national childcare program, will support more flexible hours for fulltime workers, and will support fair-credit laws. He promises to appoint women to top government posts, and even mentions the need to have women on the Federal Communications Commission, as one way of discouraging the media from portraying women "in an inaccurate, belittling manner."

His most talked-about stand, however, has been his position on abortion. In Iowa early this year, his political opponents charged that Carter had said he favored a national law limiting abortion. Carter denied this, and the evidence indicates that his position on abortion, if complicated, is a clear and consistent one. To begin with, he says he personally dislikes abortion, and regards it as a sign of failure — failure of contraception or failure to motivate the woman to want her child. He quickly adds, however, that he does not approve of the proposed Constitutional amendment to overrule the Supreme Court decision that made abortion during the first thirteen weeks (or trimester) of pregnancy a private matter between a woman and her doctor. Carter has it both ways — he *(continued on page 42)*

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JIMMY CARTER

(continued from page 40) can tell the anti-abortion forces he dislikes the practice, and tell the pro-abortion people that he supports the Supreme Court.

However — and this is where his position gets complicated — as governor of Georgia he signed a bill that limited abortion *after the first trimester of pregnancy* to cases of rape and danger to the mother's life. While this limited the right of abortion, it was not in conflict with the Supreme Court ruling, which only applied to the first thirteen weeks of pregnancy. Apparently the confusion in Iowa came about when someone asked him if he would sign a similar law as President; Carter said he might.

Carter's positions on women's issues are not significantly different from those of the other leading Democratic contenders for the Presidency. A group of feminist Democratic women ranked the contenders recently on the basis of their positions on sixteen issues, and Carter ranked a little below Representative Morris Udall and a little above Senator Henry Jackson, but the distance between them was slight.

Jimmy Carter is acutely aware that women have the power to make him President of the United States — women delegates could give him the Democratic nomination at the party's convention in New York City in mid-July, and if he is nominated women voters could make the difference at the polls in November. He is fond of pointing out that four million more women voted than men in 1972. He has tried to appeal to women voters both by his positions on feminist issues and by his personality and personal behavior. He even cut back on the affectionate hugs and kisses he had long given women friends and supporters, after Mary King told him that some feminists would resent such allegedly sexist displays.

Whether or not women voters will respond to Jimmy Carter's message remains to be seen, but one political fact is indisputable: if the women of America ever unite behind one candidate, they can make him (or her) President. The feminist movement has some impressive leaders, but they do not yet have enough organized followers to be a major force in a national election. Women, therefore, continue in the odd position of being a majority (both of the population and of the voters) who are nonetheless discriminated against as if they were a minority. If the women of this country ever get it together politically, they could turn American politics upside down. But until they do, they'll just be the "gals" to most politicians, and men will keep on making the decisions that control their lives. ■

ANTI-ERA CAMPAIGN

(continued from page 34) suspect her of being one of the paid Birch organizers. If she's not, she should be. When Mrs. Edmondson moved from Texas to Oklahoma, ERA supporters thought enough of her abilities to make a hotline call to supporters in Oklahoma to let them know what they were in for.

Mrs. Edmondson is justified in her gratitude to ERA. ERA may save the country's far right wing from the obscurity that befell it after Barry Goldwater's resounding presidential defeat in 1964. After years of abstract tallies of Soviet weapons, of banging that old States' Rights drum, enter the ERA. It's a sexy issue — unisex bathrooms, homosexual marriages, lady soldiers in foxholes with men! It's a pocketbook issue — lost child support, no alimony! It's a finite issue that won't hang around twenty years and become an old bore like the Communist conspiracy — 38 states must ratify the amendment by March 22, 1979; or this round is lost. The score to date: 34 states in with aye votes, four to go, and two recisions (withdrawn approvals) to be refereed later in court.

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For years, women who worked for the ratification of ERA have looked forward to the time when human rights would take precedence over women's rights, a time when discrimination would be rectified by law, and they could broaden their areas of concern. By hastening legal equality, by rescuing women's rights from hundreds of legal skirmishes, ERA would hasten the end of feminist anger. At that point, so the hope went, compassion would extend to all oppressed groups, male or female.

Instead of fighting "protective" labor laws that keep women off the job, ERA supporters could then seek protection from hazards to both men and women in the workplace. Instead of hinging a wife's claim to support on dubious privilege, the law would recognize the equal economic value of her work in the home. Alimony would be based on financial needs and not stigmatize the men or women who accepted it. Child custody would be based on parenthood rather than motherhood, and thus on the best interests of the child.

There is a price: the draft. Were it reinstated, women would be subject to military service. Those who worked for passage of ERA in Congress refused exemption for women, accepting equal responsibility with equal rights. As for combat duty, although less than one percent of those drafted during the Vietnam war had to fight, one can't be glib about the future prospect of women at the battlefront. A *Yale Law Journal* article put it succinctly: "As between brutalizing our young men and our young women, there is little to choose."

To detached observers, the ERA seems eminently sane, fair, and democratic. Nevertheless, the opposition forces have been infused with extraordinary fear and even hatred. In state after state, their well-coordinated campaigns against ERA have employed massive literature blitzes, testimony by experts imported from other states, herculean letter-writing efforts, and high-pressure lobbying. The crusaders' calculated absurdities — pink dresses, bread and jam, cute slogans, zingy acronyms — belie the shrewd organizing methods behind them. Likewise, the reduction of constitutional equality to specious issues like unisex toilets doesn't stem from a stupid misconception. It is an intelligent propaganda technique that transforms ERA into a trivial, sexy, and vaguely embarrassing joke for male legislators, and an obscenity to Bible Belt innocents.

The opposition surprised women working for ratification when it first surfaced in early 1973; it can still catch them off guard. After a successful but exhausting fight to fend off recision in Texas, one woman said, "They sure found us with our hind leg up on that one. We almost weren't able to run."

SCHLAFLY'S SCREAMING EAGLES

Phyllis Schlafly was not surprised by the opposition. She fired the first shot. She mobilized the troops, the artillery, the bomber fleet. If anyone is commander-in-chief of the anti-ERA movement, it is Phyllis Schlafly. As the editor and publisher of a rather obscure right-wing newsletter, *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, she first denounced the ERA in February, 1972, almost two months before Congress approved and sent it to the states for ratification on March 22. Throughout that year she worked to put together the opposition. On January 10, 1973, STOP ERA heralded its existence in 26 states — its insignia a stop sign, its cause beleagured femininity, its chief crusader, Mrs. Schlafly.

Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer's wife in Alton, Illinois, is a tough, smart, political infighter whose credits include research for Senator Joseph McCarthy, praise from Robert Welch for being "a very loyal member of the John Birch Society," and her 1964 book, *A Choice. Not an Echo*, a presidential campaign tract for Barry Goldwater. Besides her work in civic groups, Schlafly has had substantial organizing experience in national right-wing organizations and Republican politics. For all that, she has often been at cross purposes — her

Jimmy Carter
Presidential Campaign
For America's third century, why not our best?

A FOREIGN POLICY ADDRESS ON RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WORLD'S DEMOCRACIES, DELIVERED BEFORE THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 23, 1976, IN NEW YORK CITY

FOR THE PAST SEVENTEEN MONTHS, AS A CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT, I HAVE TALKED AND LISTENED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

IT HAS BEEN AN UNFORGETTABLE EXPERIENCE AND AN INVALUABLE EDUCATION. INSOFAR AS MY POLITICAL CAMPAIGN HAS BEEN SUCCESSFUL, IT IS BECAUSE I HAVE LEARNED FROM OUR PEOPLE, AND HAVE ACCURATELY REFLECTED THEIR CONCERNS, THEIR FRUSTRATIONS, AND THEIR DESIRES.

IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY, OUR PEOPLE ARE TROUBLED, CONFUSED, AND SOMETIMES ANGRY. THERE HAS BEEN TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON TRANSIENT SPECTACULARS AND TOO LITTLE ON SUBSTANCE. WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED, NOT ONLY BY SUCH OBVIOUS TRAGEDIES AS THE WAR IN VIETNAM, BUT BY THE MORE SUBTLE EROSION IN THE FOCUS AND THE MORALITY OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

UNDER THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION, THERE HAS EVOLVED A KIND OF SECRETIVE "LONE RANGER" FOREIGN POLICY -- A ONE MAN POLICY OF INTERNATIONAL ADVENTURE. THIS IS NOT AN APPROPRIATE POLICY FOR AMERICA.

WE HAVE SOMETIMES TRIED TO PLAY OTHER NATIONS ONE AGAINST ANOTHER INSTEAD OF ORGANIZING FREE NATIONS TO SHARE WORLD RESPONSIBILITY IN COLLECTIVE ACTION. WE HAVE MADE HIGHLY PUBLICIZED

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EFFORTS TO WOO THE MAJOR COMMUNIST POWERS WHILE NEGLECTING OUR NATURAL FRIENDS AND ALLIES. A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON SECRECY INHERENTLY HAS HAD TO BE CLOSELY GUARDED AND AMORAL, AND WE HAVE HAD TO FOREGO OPENNESS, CONSULTATION AND A CONSTANT ADHERENCE TO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND HIGH MORAL STANDARDS.

WE HAVE OFTEN SOUGHT DRAMATIC AND SURPRISING IMMEDIATE RESULTS INSTEAD OF LONG TERM SOLUTIONS TO MAJOR PROBLEMS WHICH REQUIRED CAREFUL PLANNING IN CONSULTATION WITH OTHER NATIONS.

WE MUST BE STRONG IN OUR INTERNAL RESOLVE IN ORDER TO BE STRONG LEADERS ABROAD. THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE WHEN CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE KEPT IN THE DARK. WE SIMPLY MUST HAVE AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP, AND WE MUST STOP TRYING TO PLAY A LONELY GAME OF POWER POLITICS. WE MUST EVOLVE AND CONSUMATE OUR FOREIGN POLICY OPENLY AND FRANKLY. THERE MUST BE BIPARTISAN HARMONY AND COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS, AND WE MUST REESTABLISH A SPIRIT OF COMMON PURPOSE AMONG DEMOCRATIC NATIONS.

WHAT WE SEEK IS FOR OUR NATION TO HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY THAT REFLECTS THE DECENCY AND GENEROSITY AND COMMON SENSE OF OUR OWN PEOPLE.

WE HAD SUCH A POLICY MORE THAN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO AND, IN OUR OWN LIFETIMES, IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

THE UNITED NATIONS, THE MARSHALL PLAN, THE BRETTON WOODS AGREEMENTS, NATO, POINT FOUR, THE OECD, THE JAPANESE PEACE TREATY -- THESE WERE AMONG THE HISTORIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF A FOREIGN POLICY DIRECTED BY COURAGEOUS PRESIDENTS, ENDORSED BY BIPARTISAN MAJORITIES IN CONGRESS, AND SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THE WORLD SINCE THAT TIME HAS BECOME PROFOUNDLY DIFFERENT, AND

THE PACE OF CHANGE IS ACCELERATING.

THERE ARE ONE HUNDRED NEW NATIONS AND TWO BILLION MORE PEOPLE.

EAST-WEST TENSIONS MAY BE LESS ACUTE, BUT THE EAST-WEST RIVALRY HAS BECOME GLOBAL IN SCOPE.

PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE GROWN MORE SERIOUS, AND IN SOME REGIONS HAVE COME TO INTERSECT DANGEROUSLY WITH THE EAST-WEST RIVALRY.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM COMPLICATES INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, AND UNCHECKED INFLATION MAY AGAIN THREATEN OUR MUTUAL WELL-BEING.

FINALLY, SUCH GLOBAL DILEMMAS AS FOOD SHORTAGES, OVERPOPULATION AND POVERTY CALL FOR A COMMON RESPONSE, IN SPITE OF NATIONAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL DIFFERENCES.

IT IS IMPERATIVE THEREFORE THAT THE UNITED STATES SUMMON THE LEADERSHIP THAT CAN ENABLE THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES OF THE WORLD ONCE AGAIN TO LEAD THE WAY IN CREATING A MORE JUST AND MORE STABLE WORLD ORDER.

IN RECENT WEEKS, I HAVE MADE SPEECHES ON THE SUBJECT OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND ALSO ON THE MIDDLE EAST. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD I WILL SPEAK OUT ON OTHER SUBJECTS OF INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.

TODAY I WOULD LIKE TO SPEAK ABOUT OUR ALLIANCES, AND WAYS THEY CAN BE IMPROVED TO SERVE OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS WHO SEEK PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE WORLD.

WE NEED TO CONSIDER HOW - IN ADDITION TO ALLIANCES THAT WERE FORMED IN YEARS PAST FOR ESSENTIALLY MILITARY PURPOSES - WE MIGHT DEVELOP BROADER ARRANGEMENTS FOR DEALING WITH SUCH PROBLEMS AS THE ARMS RACE AND WORLD POVERTY AND THE ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES.

Q

THE TIME HAS COME FOR US TO SEEK A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA, WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN. OUR THREE REGIONS SHARE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SECURITY CONCERNS THAT MAKE IT LOGICAL THAT WE SHOULD SEEK EVER-INCREASING UNITY AND UNDERSTANDING.

I HAVE TRAVELED IN JAPAN AND WESTERN EUROPE IN RECENT YEARS AND TALKED TO LEADERS THERE. THESE COUNTRIES ALREADY HAVE A SIGNIFICANT WORLD IMPACT; AND THEY ARE PREPARED TO PLAY EVEN LARGER GLOBAL ROLES IN SHAPING A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY THAT DEMOCRACY IS DYING, THAT WE LIVE IN THE TWILIGHT OF AN ERA, AND THAT THE DESTINY OF MODERN MAN IS TO WITNESS THE WANING OF FREEDOM.

IN JAPAN, WESTERN EUROPE, CANADA, SOME COUNTRIES IN LATIN AMERICA, ISRAEL AND AMONG MANY OTHER PEOPLES, I HAVE FOUND NOT A DECLINE OF DEMOCRACY BUT A DYNAMIC COMMITMENT TO ITS PRINCIPLES.

I MIGHT ADD THAT I CAN TESTIFY PERSONALLY TO THE VIGOR OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

IN ADDITION TO COOPERATION BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN AND WESTERN EUROPE, THERE IS AN EQUAL NEED FOR INCREASED UNITY AND CONSULTATION BETWEEN OURSELVES AND SUCH DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES AS ISRAEL, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND OTHER NATIONS, SUCH AS THOSE IN THIS HEMISPHERE, THAT SHARE OUR DEMOCRATIC VALUES, AS WELL AS MANY OF OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONCERNS.

THERE MUST BE MORE FREQUENT CONSULTATIONS ON MANY LEVELS. WE SHOULD HAVE PERIODIC SUMMIT CONFERENCES AND OCCASIONAL MEETINGS OF THE LEADERS OF ALL THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, AS WELL AS FREQUENT CABINET LEVEL MEETINGS. IN ADDITION, AS WE DO AWAY WITH ONE-MAN DIPLOMACY, WE MUST ONCE AGAIN USE OUR ENTIRE FOREIGN POLICY APPARATUS TO REESTABLISH CONTINUING CONTACTS AT ALL LEVELS. SUMMITS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE HABIT OF COOPERATING CLOSELY AT THE WORKING

LEVEL.

IN CONSULTATIONS, BOTH FORM AND SUBSTANCE ARE IMPORTANT. THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN INFORMING GOVERNMENTS AFTER THE FACT AND ACTUALLY INCLUDING THEM IN THE PROCESS OF JOINT POLICY MAKING. OUR POLICY MAKERS HAVE IN RECENT YEARS FAR TOO OFTEN IGNORED THIS BASIC DIFFERENCE. I NEED ONLY CITE THE "NIXON SHOCKS" AND THE ABRUPT ACTIONS TAKEN BY FORMER TREASURY SECRETARY CONNALLY.

WE NEED TO RECOGNIZE ALSO THAT IN RECENT YEARS OUR WESTERN EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE BEEN DEEPLY CONCERNED, AND JUSTLY SO, BY OUR UNILATERAL DEALINGS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. TO THE MAXIMUM EXTENT POSSIBLE, OUR DEALINGS WITH THE COMMUNIST POWERS SHOULD REFLECT THE COMBINED VIEWS OF THE DEMOCRACIES, AND THEREBY AVOID SUSPICIONS BY OUR ALLIES THAT WE MAY BE DISREGARDING THEIR INTERESTS.

<u>WE SEEK NOT A CONDOMINIUM OF THE POWERFUL BUT A COMMUNITY OF THE FREE</u>.

I.

THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE AREAS IN WHICH THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS CAN BENEFIT FROM CLOSER AND MORE CREATIVE RELATIONS.

FIRST, THERE ARE OUR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

IN THE REALM OF ECONOMICS, OUR BASIC PURPOSE MUST BE TO <u>KEEP OPEN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM</u> IN WHICH THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS, CAPITAL, AND IDEAS AMONG NATIONS CAN CONTINUE TO EXPAND.

INCREASED COORDINATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES CAN HELP AVOID THE REPETITION OF SUCH EPISODES AS THE INFLATION OF 1972-73 AND THE MORE RECENT RECESSIONS. BOTH WERE MADE MORE SEVERE BY AN EXCESS OF EXPANSIONIST ZEAL AND THEN OF DEFLATIONARY REACTION IN NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN AND EUROPE.

THOUGH EACH COUNTRY MUST MAKE ITS OWN ECONOMIC DECISIONS, WE NEED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT ONE ANOTHER'S INTERESTS AND INTENTIONS. WE MUST AVOID UNILATERAL ACTS AND WE MUST TRY NOT TO WORK AT CROSS-PURPOSES IN THE PURSUIT OF THE SAME ENDS. WE NEED NOT AGREE ON ALL MATTERS, BUT WE SHOULD AGREE TO DISCUSS ALL MATTERS.

WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO REDUCE TRADE BARRIERS AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES, AS ONE WAY TO COMBAT INFLATION. THE CURRENT TOKYO ROUND OF MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE PURSUED TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

BUT WE MUST DO MORE. THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM SHOULD BE RENOVATED SO THAT IT CAN SERVE US WELL FOR THE NEXT QUARTER OF A CENTURY. LAST JANUARY, AT A MEETING OF THE LEADING FINANCIAL OFFICIALS, AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A NEW SYSTEM, BASED ON GREATER FLEXIBILITY OF EXCHANGE RATES. THERE IS NO PROSPECT OF ANY EARLY RETURN TO FIXED EXCHANGE RATES -- DIVERGENCES IN ECONOMIC EXPERIENCE AMONG NATIONS ARE TOO GREAT FOR THAT. BUT WE STILL HAVE MUCH TO LEARN REGARDING THE EFFECTIVE OPERATION OF A SYSTEM OF FLUCTUATING EXCHANGE RATES. WE MUST TAKE STEPS TO AVOID LARGE AND ERRATIC FLUCTUATIONS, WITHOUT IMPEDING THE BASIC MONETARY ADJUSTMENTS THAT WILL BE NECESSARY AMONG NATIONS FOR SOME YEARS TO COME. IT WILL BE USEFUL TO STRENGTHEN THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL MONETARY FUND AS A CENTER FOR OBSERVATION AND GUIDANCE OF THE WORLD ECONOMY, KEEPING TRACK OF THE INTERACTIONS AMONG NATIONAL ECONOMIES AND MAKING RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNMENTS ON HOW BEST TO KEEP THE WORLD ECONOMY FUNCTIONING SMOOTHLY.

BEYOND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL COOPERATION, WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM ONE ANOTHER. I HAVE BEEN REPEATEDLY IMPRESSED BY THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE JAPANESE AND THE EUROPEANS IN THEIR DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. THE JAPANESE, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE ONE OF THE LOWEST UNEMPLOYMENTS RATES AND THE LOWEST CRIME RATE OF ANY INDUSTRIALIZED

NATION, AND THEY ALSO SEEM TO SUFFER LESS THAN OTHER URBANIZED PEOPLES FROM THE MODERN PROBLEM OF ROOTLESSNESS AND ALIENATION.

SIMILARLY, WE CAN LEARN FROM THE EUROPEAN NATIONS ABOUT HEALTH CARE, URBAN PLANNING AND MASS TRANSPORTATION.

THERE ARE MANY WAYS THAT CREATIVE ALLIANCES CAN WORK FOR A BETTER WORLD. LET ME MENTION JUST ONE MORE, THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS. MANY OF US HAVE PROTESTED THE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN RUSSIA, AND JUSTLY SO. BUT SUCH VIOLATIONS ARE NOT LIMITED TO ANY ONE COUNTRY OR ONE IDEOLOGY. THERE ARE OTHER COUNTRIES THAT VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER -- BY TORTURE, BY POLITICAL PERSECUTION AND BY RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION.

WE AND OUR ALLIES, IN A CREATIVE PARTNERSHIP, CAN TAKE THE LEAD IN ESTABLISHING AND PROMOTING BASIC GLOBAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. WE RESPECT THE INDEPENDENCE OF ALL NATIONS, BUT BY OUR EXAMPLE, BY OUR UTTERANCES, AND BY THE VARIOUS FORMS OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PERSUASION AVAILABLE TO US, WE CAN QUITE SURELY LESSEN THE INJUSTICE IN THIS WORLD.

WE MUST CERTAINLY TRY.

LET ME MAKE ONE OTHER POINT IN THE POLITICAL REALM. DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES MAY IN SOME COUNTRIES BRING TO POWER PARTIES OR LEADERS WHOSE IDEOLOGIES ARE NOT SHARED BY MOST AMERICANS.

WE MAY NOT WELCOME THESE CHANGES: WE WILL CERTAINLY NOT ENCOURAGE THEM. BUT WE MUST RESPECT THE RESULTS OF DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS AND THE RIGHT OF COUNTRIES TO MAKE THEIR OWN FREE CHOICE IF WE ARE TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO OUR OWN BASIC IDEALS. WE MUST LEARN TO LIVE WITH DIVERSITY, AND WE CAN CONTINUE TO COOPERATE, SO LONG AS SUCH POLITICAL PARTIES RESPECT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, UPHOLD EXISTING INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, AND ARE NOT SUBSERVIENT TO EXTERNAL POLITICAL DIRECTION. THE DEMOCRATIC CONCERT OF NATIONS

SHOULD EXCLUDE ONLY THOSE WHO EXCLUDE THEMSELVES BY THE REJECTION OF DEMOCRACY ITSELF.

OUR PEOPLE HAVE NOW LEARNED THE FOLLY OF OUR TRYING TO INJECT OUR POWER INTO THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER NATIONS. IT IS TIME THAT OUR GOVERNMENT LEARNED THAT LESSON TOO.

II.

THE SECOND AREA OF INCREASED COOPERATION AMONG THE DEMOCRACIES IS THAT OF MUTUAL SECURITY. HERE, HOWEVER, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC REGIONS HAVE QUITE DIFFERENT NEEDS AND DIFFERENT POLITICAL SENSITIVITIES.

SINCE THE UNITED STATES IS BOTH AN ATLANTIC AND A PACIFIC POWER, OUR COMMITMENTS TO THE SECURITY OF WESTERN EUROPE AND OF JAPAN ARE INSEPARABLE FROM OUR OWN SECURITY. WITHOUT THESE COMMITMENTS, AND OUR FIRM DEDICATION TO THEM, THE POLITICAL FABRIC OF ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC COOPERATION WOULD BE SERIOUSLY WEAKENED, AND WORLD PEACE ENDANGERED.

AS WE LOOK TO THE PACIFIC REGION, WE SEE A NUMBER OF CHANGES AND OPPORTUNITIES. BECAUSE OF POTENTIAL SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT, RUSSIAN AND CHINESE FORCES ARE NOT JOINTLY DEPLOYED AS OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES, BUT CONFRONT ONE ANOTHER ALONG THEIR COMMON BORDER. MOREOVER, OUR WITHDRAWAL FROM THE MAINLAND OF SOUTHEAST ASIA HAS MADE POSSIBLE IMPROVING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN US AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

WITH REGARD TO OUR PRIMARY PACIFIC ALLY, JAPAN, WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR EXISTING SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS, SO LONG AS THAT CONTINUES TO BE THE WISH OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT.

I BELIEVE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO WITHDRAW OUR GROUND FORCES

FROM SOUTH KOREA ON A PHASED BASIS OVER A TIME SPAN TO BE DETERMINED AFTER CONSULTATION WITH BOTH SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN. AT THE SAME TIME, IT SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THE SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT THAT ITS INTERNAL OPPRESSION IS REPUGNANT TO OUR PEOPLE, AND UNDERMINES THE SUPPORT FOR OUR COMMITMENT THERE.

WE FACE A MORE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IN THE ATLANTIC SECTOR OF OUR DEFENSE.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS IN RECENT YEARS STRENGTHENED ITS FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THE WARSAW PACT FORCES FACING NATO TODAY ARE SUBSTANTIALLY COMPOSED OF SOVIET COMBAT TROOPS, AND THESE TROOPS HAVE BEEN MODERNIZED AND REINFORCED. IN THE EVENT OF WAR, THEY ARE POSTURED FOR AN ALL-OUT CONFLICT OF SHORT DURATION AND GREAT INTENSITY.

NATO'S GROUND COMBAT FORCES ARE LARGELY EUROPEAN. THE U.S. PROVIDES ABOUT ONE-FIFTH OF THE COMBAT ELEMENT, AS WELL AS THE STRATEGIC UMBRELLA, AND WITHOUT THIS AMERICAN COMMITMENT WESTERN EUROPE COULD NOT DEFEND ITSELF SUCCESSFULLY.

IN RECENT YEARS, NEW MILITARY TECHNOLOGY HAS BEEN DEVELOPED BY BOTH SIDES, INCLUDING PRECISION-GUIDED MUNITIONS, THAT ARE CHANGING THE NATURE OF LAND WARFARE.

UNFORTUNATELY, NATO'S ARSENAL SUFFERS FROM A LACK OF STANDARDIZATION, WHICH NEEDLESSLY INCREASES THE COST OF NATO, AND ITS STRATEGY TOO OFTEN SEEMS WEDDED TO PAST PLANS AND CONCEPTS. WE MUST NOT ALLOW OUR ALLIANCE TO BECOME AN ANACHRONISM.

THERE IS, IN SHORT, A PRESSING NEED FOR US AND OUR ALLIES TO UNDERTAKE A REVIEW OF NATO'S FORCES AND ITS STRATEGIES IN LIGHT OF THE CHANGING MILITARY ENVIRONMENT.

A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM TO DEVELOP, PROCURE, AND EQUIP NATO WITH THE MORE ACCURATE AIR DEFENSE AND ANTI-TANK WEAPONS MADE

POSSIBLE BY NEW TECHNOLOGY IS NEEDED TO INCREASE NATO'S DEFENSIVE POWER. AGREEMENT ON STOCKPILES AND ON THE PROSPECTIVE LENGTH OF ANY POTENTIAL CONFLICT IS NECESSARY. WE SHOULD ALSO REVIEW THE STRUCTURE OF NATO RESERVE FORCES SO THEY CAN BE COMMITTED TO COMBAT SOONER.

IN ALL OF THIS A MAJOR EUROPEAN AND JOINT EFFORT WILL BE REQUIRED. OUR PEOPLE WILL NOT SUPPORT UNILATERAL AMERICAN CONTRIBUTIONS IN WHAT MUST BE A TRULY MUTUAL DEFENSE EFFORT.

EVEN AS WE REVIEW OUR MILITARY POSTURE, WE MUST SPARE NO EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A REDUCTION OF THE FORCES THAT CONFRONT ONE ANOTHER IN CENTRAL EUROPE.

IT IS TO BE HOPED THAT THE STALEMATED MUTUAL FORCE REDUCTION TALKS IN VIENNA WILL SOON PRODUCE RESULTS SO THAT THE FORCES OF BOTH SIDES CAN BE REDUCED IN A MANNER THAT IMPAIRS THE SECURITY OF NEITHER. THE REQUIREMENT OF <u>BALANCED</u> REDUCTIONS COMPLICATES NEGOTIATIONS, BUT IT IS AN IMPORTANT REQUIREMENT FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY IN EUROPE.

SIMILARLY, IN THE SALT TALKS, WE MUST SEEK SIGNIFICANT NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT THAT SAFEGUARDS THE BASIC INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES.

LET ME SAY SOMETHING I HAVE OFTEN SAID IN RECENT MONTHS. EAST-WEST REALTIONS WILL BE BOTH COOPERATIVE AND COMPETITIVE FOR A LONG TIME TO COME. WE WANT THE COMPETITION TO BE PEACEFUL, AND WE WANT THE COOPERATION TO INCREASE. <u>BUT WE WILL NEVER SEEK ACCOMODATION AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR OWN NATIONAL INTERESTS OR THE INTERESTS OF OUR ALLIES</u>.

OUR POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES ARE INTELLIGENT PEOPLE. THEY RESPECT STRENGTH, THEY RESPECT CONSTANCY, THEY RESPECT CANDOR.

THEY WILL UNDERSTAND OUR COMMITMENT TO OUR ALLIES. THEY WILL LISTEN EVEN MORE CAREFULLY IF WE AND OUR ALLIES SPEAK WITH A COMMON RESOLVE.

WE MUST REMEMBER, TOO, THAT A GENUINE SPIRIT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DEMOCRACIES AND THE SOVIET UNION SHOULD EXTEND BEYOND A NEGATIVE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND REACH TOWARD JOINT EFFORTS IN DEALING WITH SUCH WORLD PROBLEMS AS AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE POPULATION CRISIS.

THE GREAT CHALLENGE WE AMERICANS CONFRONT IS TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT OUR GOOD WILL IS AS GREAT AS OUR STRENGTH UNTIL, DESPITE ALL THE OBSTACLES, OUR TWO NATIONS CAN ACHIEVE NEW ATTITUDES AND NEW TRUST, AND UNTIL IN TIME THE TERRIBLE BURDEN OF THE ARMS RACE CAN BE LIFTED FROM OUR PEOPLES.

ONE REALISTIC STEP WOULD BE TO RECOGNIZE THAT THUS FAR, WHILE WE HAVE HAD CERTAIN PROGRESS ON A BILATERAL BASIS, WE HAVE CONTINUED TO CONFRONT EACH OTHER BY PROXY IN VARIOUS TROUBLE SPOTS. THESE INDIRECT CHALLENGES MAY BE POTENTIALLY MORE DANGEROUS THAN FACE TO FACE DISAGREEMENTS, AND AT BEST THEY MAKE A MOCKERY OF THE VERY CONCEPT OF DETENTE. IF WE WANT GENUINE PROGRESS, IT MUST BE AT EVERY LEVEL.

III.

OUR DEMOCRACIES MUST ALSO WORK TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY IN A JOINT EFFORT TO HELP THE HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ON THIS PLANET WHO ARE LIVING IN POVERTY AND DESPAIR.

WE HAVE ALL SEEN THE GROWTH OF NORTH-SOUTH TENSIONS IN WORLD AFFAIRS, TENSIONS THAT ARE OFTEN BASED ON LEGITIMATE ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES. WE HAVE SEEN IN THE MIDDLE EAST THE JUNCTURE OF EAST-

WEST AND NORTH-SOUTH CONFLICTS AND THE RESULTANT THREAT TO WORLD PEACE.

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONS MUST RESPOND TO THE CHALLENGE OF HUMAN NEED ON THREE LEVELS.

FIRST, BY WIDENING THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR GENUINE NORTH-SOUTH CONSULTATIONS. THE DEVELOPING NATIONS MUST NOT ONLY BE THE OBJECTS OF POLICY, BUT MUST PARTICIPATE IN SHAPING IT. WITHOUT WIDER CONSULTATIONS WE WILL HAVE SHARPER CONFRONTATIONS. A GOOD START HAS BEEN MADE WITH THE CONFERENCE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION WHICH SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED AND WIDENED.

SECONDLY, BY ASSISTING THOSE NATIONS THAT ARE IN DIREST NEED.

THERE ARE MANY WAYS THE DEMOCRACIES CAN UNITE TO HELP SHAPE A MORE STABLE AND JUST WORLD ORDER. WE CAN WORK TO LOWER TRADE BARRIERS AND MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO PROVIDE INCREASED SUPPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES THAT NOW MAKE CAPITAL AVAILABLE TO THE THIRD WORLD.

THIS WILL REQUIRE HELP FROM EUROPE, JAPAN, NORTH AMERICA, AND THE WEALTHIER MEMBERS OF OPEC FOR THE WORLD BANK'S SOFT-LOAN AFFILIATE, THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION. THE WEALTHIER COUNTRIES SHOULD ALSO SUPPORT SUCH SPECIALIZED FUNDS AS THE NEW INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT, WHICH WILL PUT RESOURCES FROM THE OIL EXPORTING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO WORK IN INCREASING FOOD PRODUCTION IN POOR COUNTRIES. WE MIGHT ALSO SEEK TO INSTITUTIONALIZE, UNDER THE WORLD BANK, A "WORLD DEVELOPMENT BUDGET", IN ORDER TO RATIONALIZE AND COORDINATE THESE AND OTHER SIMILAR EFFORTS.

IT IS ALSO TIME FOR THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH DONATES ONLY ABOUT ONE-TENTH OF ONE PERCENT OF ITS GNP TO FOREIGN AID -- AND MOSTLY FOR POLITICAL ENDS -- TO ACT MORE GENEROUSLY TOWARD GLOBAL ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENT.

I MIGHT ADD, ON THE SUBJECT OF FOREIGN AID, THAT WHILE WE ARE A GENEROUS NATION WE ARE NOT A FOOLISH NATION, AND OUR PEOPLE WILL EXPECT RECIPIENT NATIONS TO UNDERTAKE NEEDED REFORMS TO PROMOTE THEIR OWN DEVELOPMENT. MOREOVER, ALL NATIONS MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONSHIP IS NOT MADE EASIER BY ONE-SIDED SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS, BY THE EXERCISE OF AUTOMATIC MAJORITIES IN WORLD BODIES, NOR BY INTOLERANCE FOR THE VIEWS OR THE VERY EXISTENCE OF OTHER NATIONS.

THIRD, WE AND OUR ALLIES MUST WORK TOGETHER TO LIMIT THE FLOW OF ARMS INTO THE DEVELOPING WORLD.

THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFLICT IS IN PART A SECURITY PROBLEM. AS LONG AS THE MORE POWERFUL NATIONS EXPLOIT THE LESS POWERFUL, THEY WILL BE REPAID BY TERRORISM, HATRED, AND POTENTIAL VIOLENCE. INSOFAR AS OUR POLICIES ARE SELFISH, OR CYNICAL, OR SHORTSIGHTED, THERE WILL INEVITABLY BE A DAY OF RECKONING.

I AM PARTICULARLY CONCERNED BY OUR NATIONS"S ROLE AS THE WORLD'S LEADING ARMS SALESMAN. WE SOLD OR GAVE AWAY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS OF ARMS LAST YEAR, MOSTLY TO DEVELOPING NATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE NOW BEGINNING TO EXPORT ADVANCED ARMS TO KENYA AND ZAIRE, THEREBY BOTH FUELING THE EAST-WEST ARMS RACE IN AFRICA EVEN WHILE SUPLANTING OUR OWN ALLIES -- BRITAIN AND FRANCE -- IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH THESE AFRICAN STATES. SOMETIMES WE TRY TO JUSTIFY THIS UNSAVORY BUSINESS ON THE CYNICAL GROUND THAT BY RATIONING OUT THE MEANS OF VIOLENCE WE CAN SOMEHOW CONTROL THE WORLD'S VIOLENCE.

THE FACT IS THAT WE CANNOT HAVE IT BOTH WAYS. CAN WE BE BOTH THE WORLD'S LEADING CHAMPION OF PEACE AND THE WORLD'S LEADING SUPPLIER OF THE WEAPONS OF WAR? IF I BECOME PRESIDENT I WILL WORK WITH OUR ALLIES, SOME OF WHOM ARE ALSO SELLING ARMS, AND ALSO

AA

SEEK TO WORK WITH THE SOVIETS, TO INCREASE THE EMPHASIS ON PEACE AND TO REDUCE THE COMMERCE IN WEAPONS OF WAR.

THE CHALLENGE WE AND OUR ALLIES FACE WITH REGARD TO THE DEVELOPING NATIONS IS A GREAT ON, A CONSTANT ONE, AND AN EXCITING ONE. IT IS EXCITING BECAUSE IT CALLS FOR SO MUCH CREATIVITY AT SO MANY LEVELS BY SO MANY NATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS.

I HAVE SUGGESTED STEPS WHICH WE AND OUR ALLIES MIGHT TAKE TOWARD A MORE STABLE AND MORE JUST WORLD ORDER. I DO NOT PRETEND TO HAVE ALL THE ANSWERS. I HOPE YOU WILL HELP ME FIND THEM.

WHAT I DO HAVE IS A STRONG SENSE THAT THIS COUNTRY IS DRIFTING AND MUST HAVE NEW LEADERSHIP AND NEW DIRECTION. THE TIME HAS COME FOR A NEW THRUST OF CREATIVITY IN FOREIGN POLICY EQUAL TO THAT OF THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE SECOND WORLD WAR. THE OLD INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS NO LONGER SUFFICE. THE TIME HAS COME FOR A NEW ARCHITECTURAL EFFORT, WITH CREATIVE INITIATIVE BY OUR OWN NATION, WITH GROWING COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES ITS CORNERSTONE, AND WITH PEACE AND JUSTICE ITS CONSTANT GOAL.

WE ARE IN A TIME OF CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY. IF THE VALUES WE CHERISH ARE TO PRESERVED -- THE IDEALS OF LIBERTY AND DIGNITY AND OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL -- WE SHALL HAVE TO WORK IN THE CLOSEST COLLABORATION WITH LIKE-MINDED NATIONS, SEEKING, THROUGH THE STRENGTH THAT FOLLOWS FROM COLLECTIVE ACTION, TO BUILD AN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM THAT REFLECTS THE PRINCIPLES AND STANDARDS OF OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE.

THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS TO CREATE AND MAINTAIN A WORLD ENVIRONMENT WITHIN WHICH OUR GREAT EXPERIMENT IN FREEDOM CAN SURVIVE AND FLOURISH.

OURS WOULD BE A CHILLED AND LONELY WORLD WITHOUT THE OTHER

DEMOCRACIES OF EUROPE, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA, NEW ZEALAND, ISRAEL AND THIS HEMISPHERE WITH WHOM WE SHARE GREAT COMMON PURPOSES. THERE IS A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP AMONG US BASED NOT NECESSARILY ON A COMMON HERITAGE BUT ON OUR PARTNERSHIP IN GREAT ENTERPRISES. OUR PRESENT LIMITS ARE NOT THOSE OF NATURAL RESOURCES BUT OF IDEAS AND INSPIRATIONS.

OUR FIRST GREAT NEED IS TO RESTORE THE MORALE AND SPIRIT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

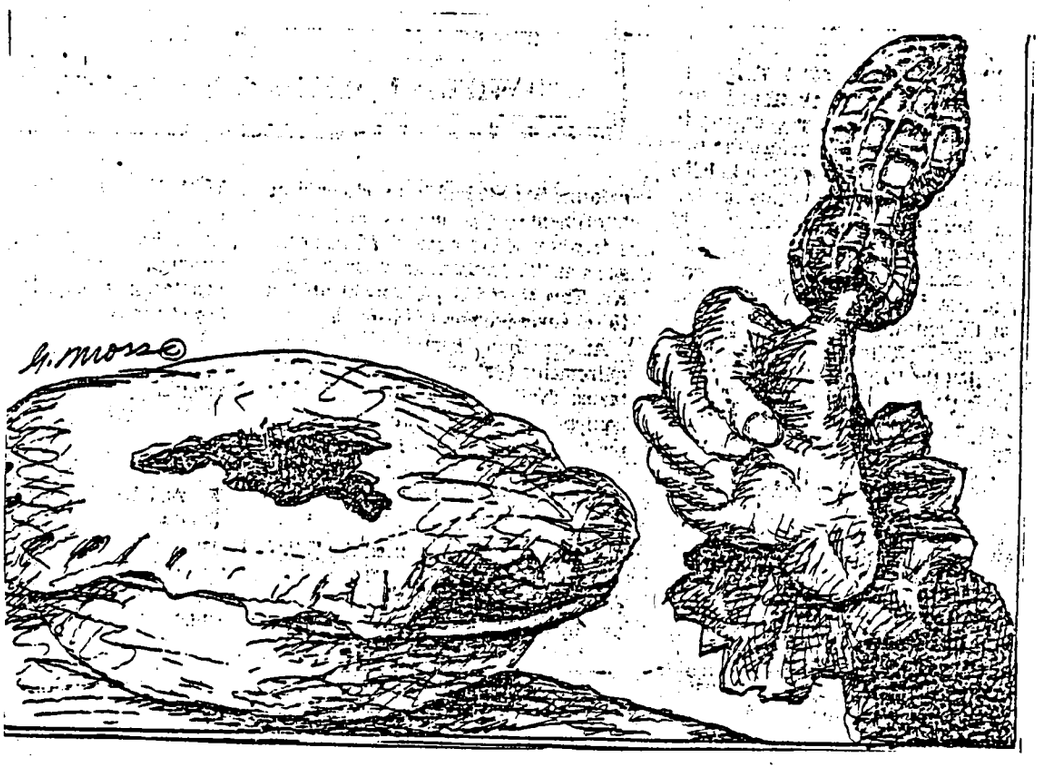
IT IS TIME ONCE AGAIN FOR THE WORLD TO FEEL THE FORWARD MOVEMENT AND THE EFFERVESCENCE OF A DYNAMIC AND CONFIDENT UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CC

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

6/25



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Carter Says Drive Not Anti-Washington

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

WASHINGTON—Jimmy Carter, who made secrecy in Washington a major campaign issue, met behind closed doors with powerful congressmen Thursday and denied having waged an anti-Washington campaign.

Meanwhile, on a motion by Sen. Hubert Humphrey, D-Minn., the Senate Democratic Caucus voted unanimously to endorse Carter for president.

The former Georgia governor picked up his 1,505th solid Democratic National Convention delegate Thursday, mathematically clinching the presidential nomination he had politically locked up two weeks ago.

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield, D-Mont., said it was unprecedented for the Democratic caucus to endorse a non-incumbent president in advance of the national convention.

Carter held seven separate closed-door meetings with powerful senators and congressmen "to make our peace with the insiders," as one Carter staffer put it.

"He (Carter) said he has never made an anti-Washington statement," Georgia Fourth District Congressman Elliot Levitas said after Carter met privately with the House Democratic Caucus.

Carter has campaigned for 17 months against the "bloated, wasteful" federal bureaucracy, against the "sweetheart relationship" between Washington regulatory agencies and private industry, and against secret congressional committee proceedings.

Congressman Andrew Young of Atlanta, a long-time Carter supporter who was often at his side in Thursday's meetings, said the Carter campaign has not been anti-Washington.

"Anti-Washington was a press explanation of the Carter phenomenon," Young contended.

But Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Black Caucus, said, "Everybody recognizes that he ran against Washington. All the candidates were running against Washington.

"There are a lot of things that Jimmy Carter did not say, but lots of people felt that, obviously, loving Washington was not one of them," Rangel said.

For his part, Carter took pains to assure the congressmen that harmony between the White House and the Capitol will be restored.

He also said his choice of a running mate very probably will be a Washington insider.

According to a source inside the House caucus, Carter said public esteem for Congress is low, but will be high again under a Carter Democratic administration.

He has been reading histories showing that Congress' stature is highest when it is working in harmony with the president, Carter said.

At a later reception for Democratic congressmen, Carter said, "If there is one aspect of my experience which has sadly been neglected, it is my lack of knowledge of the inner workings of Congress."

Carter stood on a raised, red-carpeted platform in a House office building and shook hands with a receiving line of about 250 congressmen. Many of them seemed eager to have their pictures taken with the man who has clinched the Democratic presidential nomination for use in their fall campaign literature.

"I have been listening to some of

See CARTER, Page 13-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

these people swearing at him and calling him names, and two weeks later here they are all smiles," said a high-ranking congressional aide.

Besides the meetings with key lawmakers, Carter also held strategy sessions with Democratic National Committee (DNC) officials to plan the fall campaign against the Republicans.

According to sources, after the convention Carter plans to help the party raise more than $5 million for polling, issue analysis and voter registration.

Carter confidante Charles Kirbo and campaign manager Hamilton Jordan have been working with Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss for the past three days to mesh the Carter presidential campaign with the over-all DNC effort to elect Democratic congressmen and governors.

The candidate expects to have his fall campaign schedule mapped out by the end of July. Most of the operations will be handled out of Carter's Atlanta campaign office rather than the Washington DNC office.

Carter, Strauss, Kirbo, Jordan and DNC aide Mark Siegel held a strategy session Thursday afternoon to hammer out campaign details.

Some congressmen, who had scarcely heard of Carter last year, now want him to campaign for them this fall. "It would help very much to have him out in the district campaigning, I feel sure," said Rep. Thomas Downey, D-N.Y., citing a poll in his district showing Carter running well ahead of President Ford.

Carter moved Thursday to an outright majority of convention delegates, according to the continuing Associated Press poll of legally committed or publicly declared delegates.

The AP total of solid votes does not include delegates merely leaning toward Carter, nor does it arbitrarily assign him any delegates simply on the say-so of party leaders or candidates who have bowed out and endorsed the Georgian.

In Washington, Carter started the day Thursday, with a meeting with House Speaker Carl Albert and Majority Leader Thomas (Tip) O'Neil. "We talked about how big the victory is going to be (in November)," Albert said later.

As Carter walked into the House caucus meeting, O'Neil called out, "Gentlemen, let's show a little enthusiasm!"

After a luncheon meeting with the Senate Democratic Caucus, Carter was flanked in a brief news conference by Sens. Robert Byrd of West Virginia, who endorsed Carter Thursday, Herman Talmadge and Sam Nunn of Georgia, Frank Moss of Utah and Majority Leader Mansfield.

Carter said his talks with legislative leaders would "demonstrate to the American people that this is a long step being taken to restore the kind of mutual relations that we ought to have between the president and congress."

Naturally, Carter's eventual choice for vice president dominated speculation in the Capitol Thursday.

"I am in an almost unprecedented state of not having to choose a vice president for political considerations," said Carter, who wrapped up the nomination a full month before the convention.

Carter met privately with Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine but both men denied that the vice presidency was discussed.

Muskie said Carter pledged support for a "sunset" bill providing for the eventual expiration of government programs unless specifically renewed by Congress.

The law "would weed out automatically the obsolete and obsolescent programs," Carter said, that his own "zero-base budgeting" system in Georgia was a prelude to the "sunset" concept.

Meanwhile, 50 House Democrats, in a letter to Carter, urged Thursday that Rep. Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., be added to those under consideration for vice president.

They praised Foley as a man of integrity and as "indisputably one of the brightest and ablest legislators" in Congress.

Another group of House members was pushing Rep. Peter Rodino, D-N.J., for vice president.

Rangel, an organizer of the Rodino boomlet, said Carter indicated that he needs "somebody from Washington who could really help out, and to my mind (Rodino) is who he was talking about."

Carter said publicly that Rodino "is one of those whom I am considering" as a running mate but gave no further hints as to his eventual choice.

He will begin one-on-one interviews with "four or five" prospective vice presidential nominees within a week or so, Carter said. "I will be meeting with them privately and at length" either in Plains, Ga., Atlanta or Washington, he said.

"The first question I am going to ask," Carter said, "is, 'Do you want to be vice president?'"

Carter flew to Plains Thursday night after a three-day fundraising and fence-mending swing through Boston, New York and Washington.

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Jimmy Carter's Safety Net

MANCHESTER, England—It has been a long, long trail, winding and grinding through 35 states, through the length and breadth of America. Any outsider, considering the primaries rationally, would think the system itself misbegotten and madcap. It drains and humiliates good men.

It has forced an incumbent President, a leader with cares of the world on his desk, to trek barrenly from plate supper to plate barbecue denouncing an ex-actor who would like to tell the tinpot Panamanians (never mind the tinpot Zambians) what's what. It has bled American foreign policy for all certitude so that, most weeks this year, Dr. Henry Kissinger has been a wanderer, reluctant to go anywhere near his easily embarrassed master.

The primaries and the protracted presidential campaign yet to come are a democratic brontosaurus. And yet, in the end, in circuitous ways, the monster functions.

We began, long ago and far away in New Hampshire, with the personalities misty and the issues ill-defined. The betting then was that Gerald Ford, flexing the full might of his office, would arrive triumphant in Kansas City; and that the Democrats had no one in sight except good old Hubert who had the ability and the recognition to win. Now, in the milling wake of California and Ohio, the perceptions are vitally different.

Mr. Ford can still probably pull through; but he is a bloodied and diminished figure. Meanwhile, the Democrats have Jimmy Carter. They may not like it much; they may—with some reason—be infinitely wary of an obscure, grinning Bible-belter; they may not even be very sure that he has the true capacity to survive a presidential campaign or, if he does, to be a successful President. But they have him nonetheless because there is no option.

Carter has won 18 of the primaries. He has shown himself to the people and triumphed. None of this is wholly convenient. Washington would have preferred an old ally. Other governments, like our own, watching from afar, would have found Hubert Humphrey more comforting because more predictable. Yet who are we (or Washington) to argue with American voters?

There, are, of course, a multitude of shadows. The Carter of California is not the Carter of Pennsylvania: he seems brusquer, more tired, and less convincing. Towards the end he was showily outfought by Governor Brown, a politician more anxious to put down his marker than actually to contest for the nomination (as his breezy refusual to squabble for delegates in states like Missouri shows).

Some find Carter dismaying when he strays from pieties to policies. Some simply distrust the man, or the Georgia media team behind him. That is as maybe. The campaign proper can—and should—lift the shadows or deepen the gloom.

But in essence the choice for America this autumn is not a bad one. It is (in all likelihood) between an unelected President of plodding, solid virtue, coexisting edgily with the folks who sit on the Hill, and a Democrat who has never sat on the Hill, who owes little to the old machines and whose prime campaigning pitch has been freedom from such debts.

Railing at the ills of Washington, of course, has long been standard rhetoric for a certain kind of American politician. But no one, assembling the joint primary showings of Carter, Reagan, and Brown, should suppose that this year the cries are ritual or ultimately insignificant. They do reflect what a large body of Americans patently feel: that the myth of an omnipotent Presidency collapsed with Richard Nixon, that Pennsylvania Avenue is not the centre of the world, that the ordeals of economic recession have produced a fundamentally different view of what politics can achieve.

Steered one way, these tendencies are isolationist and potentially grievous. Steered another, they create a more open and easy relationship between the governors and the governed. No one yet can quite discern which way Jimmy Carter will go. Sticky embraces with Mayor Daley or George Wallace may tell one story. A clear desire to balance his ticket with a successful liberal Democrat—say Frank Church—may indicate another. There are fine choices here and difficult balances to strike.

Still the onus remains essentially where it was in the first days of the New Hampshire contest: on Jimmy Carter. It is up to him to perform the feats and prodigies.

His audience, meanwhile, has cannily bought itself a safety net. Gerald Ford, stumbling gamely on, has not been the disastrous President that many prophesied. He is uninspiring and uncharismatic and unsure of where he stands. When he reads Ronald Reagan a lecture about global responsibilities, he does in fact, and all too obviously, read words written by others and recited with mazy comprehension. But there have been worse White House incumbents; and will be again.

Mr. Ford's best chance of election now is surely to play the role that was thrust upon him, the role of a faithful, eager best friend. That may not be what America seeks from its next President now; how it feels in November will depend on Mr. Carter's stamina and stature.

The Guardian

Ford's State Campaign Chief Rips Carter Hiring of Ex-DHR Head

By DAVID MORRISON

President Ford's Georgia campaign chairman said Thursday Jimmy Carter's hiring the former commissioner of Human Resources to work in his presidential campaign was Carter's "absolute seal of approval" on the "organizational nightmare" in the state's social services agency.

Atlanta lawyer Matthew Patton joined with Sam Tate, his counterpart in former California Gov. Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign, to urge voters to consider Carter's record as Georgia's governor before voting for the likely Democratic presidential nominee next November.

Patton said Carter's hiring of Richard Harden, who for two years was the most controversial department head in Carter's administration, proved the former governor "has no regrets" about the condition of the 22,000-employe Department of Human Resources.

Patton and Tate claimed that while Carter praised the DHR after all the state social service agencies were lumped into it in 1973, Gov. George Busbee characterized DHR as "an organizational nightkmare" when he took office at the end of Carter's term as governor in 1975.

Although Busbee later stated in a press conference that he did not blame Carter for DHR problems, Patton adn Tate quoted a recent speech in which Busbee that when he become governor, DHR "was under attack from the legislature and the citizens for doing an inadequate job."

"I view Gov. Carter's hiring of Richard Harden as an absolute seal of approval by Gov. Carter during the four (sic) years he (Harden) had the department," said Patton. "It tells me that Gov. Carter approves of the job that he has done and that Gov. Carter has absolutely no regrets about the deplorable condition of the Department of Human Resources."

Harden, 31, came into the Carter administration from a nationally known accounting firm to help develop plans to reorganize the state's governmental agencies into more manageable departments.

Shortly thereafter, he was named head of the Department of Administrative Services. Later, at age 28, he became head of the largest department, DHR, one to which Carter has referred as his "favorite" department.

Harden resigned shortly before the end of Carter's administration and was never considered for reappointment by Busbee.

Harden currently is in a private accounting practice in Marietta. While he will work toward developing Carter's budget for the general election campaign, his partner, Bobbie Pardue, will remain in business alone.

Tate said that in light of Carter's pledge to reorganize the federal bureaucracy if he is elected in November, voters should reexamine his record as Georgia governor.

Patton said that under Carter's administration, the number of state employes increased significantly and the state budget jumped from $1.082 billion to more than $1.6 billion, although Carter claimed that reorganization had resulted in a savings to taxpayers.

Busbee reiterated his position in a later press conference that while DHR was saddled with problems, he would not blame Carter for them.

"If you are going to look for where the problems began in the Department of Human Resources," said Busbee, "you are going to have to go back to 1967 when we implemented Medicaid."

In a press conference earlier this year, before the likelihood that Jimmy Carter would be the Democratic presidential nominee was firmly established, Busbee revealed it was he who had been quoted by a national news magazine as an anonymous source to "straighten out" some of the criticisms that have been leveled at Carter's administration.

So far in his two-year tenure, Busbee, who helped ramrod Carter's reorganization plan in the legislature while majority leader of the House of Representatives, has done little to change the reorganization.

What Do You Think of Jimmy Carter?

By SALLY SMITH

Three years ago, Atlanta businessman Reginald Mitchell went to London with Jimmy Carter to organize a reception in Carter's honor at the British Naval and Military Club.

"Carter had a tremendous reception in England at that time," Mitchell said this week. I remember at least one person said to me 'This man is going to be the next President of the United States.'"

The anonymous Englishman made no claims to clairvoyance; nevertheless he was apparently convinced that the seemingly impossible was possible. That conviction gave him something in common with Carter who has since all but captured the Democratic nomination for President and effectively put to rest the query "Jimmy Who?"

Nobody's asking "Jimmy Who?" now. But Georgians who travel out-of-state or come into contact with out-of-staters are beseiged with another question: "What do you think of Carter?"

"The implication is that people don't feel like they know him or know anything about him," said Frank Ratka, general manager of the Atlanta Symphony which recently journeyed to Washington and New York. "They want to know 'What was your experience with him in Georgia? What is he like?'"

* * * *

"Oh, yeah, I get people asking me what we think of him all the time," said Jimmy Boikin, an Atlanta cab driver. Boikin leaned against the hood of his cab parked outside the Peachtree Plaza. "Me, I give them the best conversation I can. Makes the tips go up, right?" He laughed.

Actually, I think he'll make as good a president as anyone else. That's my opinion and that's what I tell them. Anyway, I sure ain't gonna vote for no Republican."

When out-of-staters meet Georgians they want to know about Carter the man, not where he stands on the major issues.

* * * *

With few exceptions, the Georgians interviewed said they had been queried about Carter the man rather than where he stands on the issues or where he fits in the political spectrum. Albert Hill, also an Atlanta cab driver, said: "Everybody wants to know if Jimmy Carter is really a good guy."

"I just tell them he was a good governor," he added. "There were no faults that I could see while he was running the state. But everybody is kind of confused. Everybody says he came up overnight and nobody heard of him and all. But they give him credit for one thing — they say he's a heck of a campaigner."

"You do have to hand it to him," said one North Carolinian talking to a Georgian last week. "He did it. He's just about gone all the way.

The people who have already decided Carter is a good guy like him despite differences in politics, reported several Atlantans. One woman recently visited her father, a minister and mayor of a small New Hampshire town called Meridian. Although the minister thinks Carter is too conservative in some respects (including religiously), he likes him.

"He said he thought Carter was a breath of fresh air coming out of the South," she said. "He thinks Carter is just maybe the antidote to Watergate that everybody is looking for."

* * * *

If out-of-staters aren't inquiring as to Carter's integrity and honesty, they are often making peanut or Southern accent jokes, other Georgians say. "I don't know anything about him but I'm practicing up on my Southern accent so I can find out," one New York businessman reportedly said. "Peanuts. That's what I hear about," said an Atlanta secretary.

One person didn't want to know anything about Carter except his marital relations, according to one report. Two weeks ago a young Atlanta woman stopped off at Ned's Newstand on the corner of First Avenue and 23rd Street in New York. The middle-aged woman operating the stand listened to her customer's accent and asked where she was from.

"Oh, Georgia," nodded the middle-aged woman. "Well maybe you can tell me something. Does Jimmy Carter really get along good with his wife?"

Foreign Policy

Jimmy Carter made a major foreign policy speech Wednesday in New York, the third such major speech in recent weeks. It is important to note what he's saying for these reasons:

—Carter will be, barring some kind of great unforeseen development, the Democratic party nominee for President.

—He has said that he believes that foreign policy will be a major forum of discussion in the presidential campaign.

—The latest Louis Harris poll shows Carter leading President Ford 53-40 per cent in the presidential race, and Ronald Reagan, 58-35 per cent.

—Ford will probably be the GOP nominee, but Reagan could beat him out for it. In either case, former Georgia governor Jimmy Carter may very well be the next President of the United States.

That strong possibility makes Carter's views on foreign policy important. One criticism often made against Carter is that he lacks foreign policy knowledge. He is working, with the aid of others, to correct that view.

Speaking Wednesday to 1,400 members of the Foreign Policy Association, Carter said that the United States should fashion new alliances among the world's democracies, reject meddling in the internal affairs of other nations, and stop "secretive, Long Ranger foreign policy."

He proposed closer and more stabilized relations among the democracies of North America, Western Europe, and Japan to combat global problems and to counter "our potential adversaries" in the Communist bloc.

"We must stop trying to play a lonely game of power politics," Carter said. "We must evolve and consummate our foreign policy openly and frankly."

Carter's mention of the Lone Ranger was taken to be an allusion to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger—who once referred to himself in similar terms—whom Carter has previously criticized for a solo foreign policy based on surprise and drama, and an alleged neglect of our allies.

Carter made a number of other points, including these three major ones:

—He proposed supplying NATO with new weaponry for possible defense against the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact nations, while pledging to "spare no effort" to bring about a reduction of the forces facing each other in Central Europe as well as a general reduction of arms.

—Carter promised to avoid "the folly of our trying to inject our power into the internal affairs of other nations," but he also promised sanctions against "countries that violate human rights" and specifically deplored the lack of human rights in South Africa and Russia.

—Carter expressed concern with the fact that the U.S. is the world's leading arms salesmen, saying: "The fact is that we cannot have it both ways. Can we be the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war? . . . By our example, by our utterances, and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world."

—Efforts would be made to aid the establishment of true democracy in all nations, developed and developing, but by peaceful means. That means no Vietnam-type wars.

There has been some concern Jimmy Carter as President would lead the United States into isolationism. Based on Carter's speech this week, that idea—if nothing else—can surely be discarded.

Papers' Carter Reaction Is Mixed

LONDON (AP)—Three major European newspapers had some praise and some criticism Thursday for the foreign policy position taken by presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter in a speech Wednesday in New York.

The conservative Daily Telegraph of London praised the Democratic frontrunner's views on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and detente with the Soviet Union but said he still has a lot to learn about "the outside world."

The Paris newspaper Le Monde of Paris said Carter's address in New York on Wednesday amounted to an attack on Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's conduct of foreign policy.

Italy's Corriere della Sera of Milan said Carter showed more caution than President Ford and Kissinger have on negotiations with the Soviet Union.

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The Washington Post

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Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Carter's Positions on Race

Hidden by the new Democratic party harmony, Jimmy Carter bowed to pressure and agreed—without resistance—to a proposal that black political leaders hope will revive the discredited racial quota system for convention delegates.

"Jimmy was mau-maued," is the widely voiced description, using political slang, of what happened last Sunday at Washington's Mayflower Hotel. In plain English, the new leader of the Democratic Party followed the pattern of the past in yielding to black demands rather than risk a black walkout. The cost, if any, will be paid later.

Whether Carter's acceptance of black terms will result in politically catastrophic quotas at the 1980 convention is a question for the future. What is clear now are these points: Carter will not risk a confrontation that could possibly undermine his strong base with black voters; his centrist image is belied by his left-of-center political aides making important tactical decisions, and the mystery of where Jimmy Carter really stands and who he is remains unsolved.

Uncanny occurrences at the rules committee last Sunday, obscured by widely publicized rejection of a proposed 50-50 quota for women delegates, have had no public discussion and are only faintly appreciated inside the party. The truth is that, in a few hours' time, Carter's agents presided over the liquidation of compromise language painstakingly reached over two years in Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss' search for party peace.

Rules committee-Carter campaign decisions reversed carefully contrived formulations, as follows: Requirements for "affirmative action" for minority participation in "all party affairs" (not just national convention delegates); extension of the new judicial council's authority over all party disputes (not just the national convention); extension of proportional representation down to the district level in presidential primaries. These proposals, all subject to floor fights at Madison Square Garden, originated in the party's left wing and were rejected during the two-year rule-writing process ending at the Kansas City mid-term convention in December 1974.

But none of this is as symbolically important as what happened on the incendiary question of racial quotas, partially responsible for both the convention chaos and the election debacle in 1972. Strauss' crowning achievement as chairman is that he junked the quota system for 1976 without triggering revolt from the left.

Although many party regulars and labor politicians complained at Kansas City that Strauss gave too much away to black demands, the quota system stayed dead for 1976. Without mandatory quotas, 1976 black delegates as of now are down to around 10 per cent from 1972's 15 per cent—reversing a long-time upward trend.

Accordingly, the black Democratic caucus determined to abandon the Kansas City formula and attempt a de facto quota system not bearing that invidious label. The resulting ingenious proposal, ironically, was patterned after President Richard M. Nixon's quota system for construction labor. It calls for not merely black "participation" (wording previously insisted on by Strauss) but "representation" and would require state parties to set "specific goals and timetables."

Soft-spoken, urbane mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., black strategist on party rules, played the mailed-fist-in-velvet-glove role as he had in Kansas City. Unless his proposal were adopted, Dick Hatcher said softly, the blacks would walk out.

Ready for a long, hard fight, the blacks were amazed when Carter aides immediately accepted their proposal down to the last letter, but with this stipulation: Everybody should publicly assert this is not a *quota* system. In fact, "goals" for black representation set by states would probably become a racial quota just as the 1972 "guidelines" had.

Hard-boiled realists claim President Carter would never permit the formula adopted at the Mayflower to become reality. That still leaves the question of who Carter really is: opponent of racial quotas, appealing to the old Wallace vote; or, George McGovern's political heir, whose liberal agents approve racial quotas? Perhaps a little of both.

Carter confers with advisers at foreign policy luncheon.

Carter: Consult Allies on Policy

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 23—Jimmy Carter, spurning what he called the "secretive 'Lone Ranger' foreign policy" of the Nixon and Ford administrations, called today for a major foreign policy shift toward consultation and cooperation with other democratic nations.

"The time has come for us to seek a partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan" not only for defense purposes but to deal with such global problems as arms proliferation, poverty, suppression of human freedoms, and allocation of resources, Carter told the Foreign Policy Association. It was his first major speech since locking up the Democratic presidential nomination two weeks ago.

Without mentioning the name of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Carter condemned what he called a "one-man policy of international adventure" and called instead for a foreign policy keyed to collective action by democratic nations and a tolerance for the diversity among them.

"We have sometimes tried to play other nations one against another instead of organizing free nations to share world responsibility in collective action," he told 1,400 luncheon guests who jammed the ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to hear him speak.

"We have made highly publicized efforts to woo the major Communist powers while neglecting our natural friends and allies," he continued. "A foreign policy based on secrecy inherently

See CARTER, A6, Col. 2

CARTER, From A1

has had to be closely guarded and amoral, and we have had to forego openness, consultation and constant adherence to fundamental principles and high moral standards."

The 35-minute speech, prepared over the past month with the assistance of about 10 prominent academicians and other foreign policy advisers under Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University, was touted by Brzezinski as the centerpiece of what a Carter foreign policy would be.

The speech, which was applauded politely at its conclusion, sketched the broad philosophic outlines of what Carter envisions as a major new foreign policy emphasis on allied cooperation rather than attempting to delineate specific detailed policies.

Carter's central theme was not merely a whack at Kissinger's foreign policy methods.

Beyond the stylistic criticism, Carter was challenging the primacy placed on American Soviet superpower relationships in the Nixon Ford administrations.

"We seek not a condominium of the powerful," he said, "but a community of the free."

On specific issues, there were few striking innovations offered by Carter. Apart from the general thrust of his speech, many of his recommendations were either in accord with existing policy or represented familiar liberal variations on current U.S. policy in the fields of international monetary reform, the search for balanced East-West troop reductions in Europe, improvement of relations with China, and a call for "significant nuclear disarmament."

While the speech reflected the composite views of Carter's foreign policy establishment advisers, it also bore the anti-establishment trademark of his primary campaign theme in its appeal for "a foreign policy that reflects the decency and generosity and common sense of our own people."

The former Georgia governor delivered speeches on the Middle East and nuclear proliferation during the primaries, but generally played down foreign policy issues in favor of themes stressing restoration of confidence in

Carter Urges Allied Cooperation on Foreign Policy

government at home. He promised today to "speak out on other subjects of international concern" as the campaign continues.

Stressing the importance of consultations on all levels, with as many friendly nations as possible, Carter said, "Summits are no substitute for the habit of cooperating closely at the working level."

He cited what he called "Nixon shocks" and "abrupt actions taken by former Treasury Secretary [John] Connally," who is rumored as a possible vice-presidential candidate if President Ford is nominated, as examples of failure to consult friendly governments in advance of major policy shifts.

"We need to recognize also that in recent years our Western European allies have been deeply concerned, and justly so, by our unilateral dealing with the Soviet Union," he said. "To the maximum extent possible, our dealings with the Communist powers should reflect the combined views of the democracies, and thereby avoid suspicions by our allies that we may be disregarding their interests."

After taking issue with Kissinger, who has expressed alarm at Communist gains in Italy, Carter urged patience and restraint in dealing with countries that produce leaders "whose ideologies are not shared by most Americans."

The United States "must learn to live with diversity," said Carter, "and we can continue to cooperate, so long as such political parties respect the democratic process, uphold existing international commitments and are not subservient to external political direction."

Alluding to Communist gains in Italian elections in a last-minute addition to his prepared text, Carter said the United States and Western Europe must offer "patient and significant assistance" to help Italy overcome the "underlying social malaise" that has contributed to the country's political problems.

At the same time, Carter said, the United States and its allies could work to promote "basic global standards of human rights," an activity that he said should not be limited to the Soviet Union although he did not say what other countries might be targets for such an effort.

Violations of human rights are "not limited to any one country or one ideology," he said, adding: "We respect the independence of all nations, but, by our example, by our utterances, and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world. We must certainly try."

For Asia, Carter urged retention of existing security arrangements with Japan so long as Japan agrees, improved relations with the People's Republic of China, and withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea "on a phased basis over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan."

In Europe, he said, there is a "pressing need for us and our allies to undertake a review of [the North Atlantic Treaty Organization] forces and its strategies in light of the changing military environment," along with continued efforts to achieve a balanced military force reduction in Central Europe and a strategic arms limitation agreement.

East-West relations, Carter said, will be "both cooperative and competitive for a long time to come." The United States "will never seek accommodation at the expense of our own national interest or the interest of our allies," he emphasized.

While progress has been made in heading off a direct big power confrontation, Carter said, confrontations "by proxy in various trouble spots . . . make a mockery of the very concept of detente" and must be dealt with as seriously as the threat of a direct clash between major powers.

In another major proposal, Carter said the United States should join with its Northern Hemisphere allies in seeking consultations with developing nations of the Southern Hemisphere, offer them assistance through lowered trade barriers and financial aid through multilateral agencies and attempt to limit their access to arms.

"I am particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman," said Carter. "We sold or gave away billions of dollars of arms last year, mostly to developing nations . . . Sometimes we try to justify this unsavory business on a cynical ground that by rationing out the means of violence we can somehow control the world's violence."

The United States "cannot have it both ways," he said, adding that as President he would work with both allies and the Soviet Union to "reduce the commerce in weapons of war."

As for economic cooperation between the United States and its allies, Carter called for increased coordination of policies aimed at reducing inflationary and recessionary pressures, reduction of trade barriers among industrialized nations and revamping of the international monetary system to avoid erratic fluctuations on the world money market.

ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
. . . helped prepare speech

Funds Cut To Former Hopefuls

Associated Press

The Federal Election Commission determined yesterday that nine presidential candidates will get no more federal matching money except to pay campaign debts incurred before they bowed out of the nomination races.

The FEC said the candidates could appeal the finding.

The group includes Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, four of the last five major chasers of Jimmy Carter, the apparent Democratic nominee.

The only candidates still considered active for matching funds purposes are Carter, President Ford, Ronald Reagan and California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr.

Federal law provides that a person can get no more money for new debts if he or she is no longer an active presidential candidate in more than one state.

The FEC ruled that Udall became inactive June 14 on the basis of his public statements that he is no longer seeking delegates and that delegates pledged to him may vote for Carter.

It said Jackson's release of delegates June 16 made him inactive as of that date. Wallace was found inactive as of June 9, when he endorsed Carter, and Church as of June 14, when he did the same.

Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania and Sargent Shriver of Maryland were ruled inactive as of May 11, the day the new law concerning inactive status took effect.

The ninth candidate to be taken off the active list is Ellen McCormack, who loses her eligibility today, 30 days after failing to receive 10 per cent of the vote in any primary during two consecutive primary election days.

Carter Eyes Capital For Running Mate

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter said last night he is leaning toward choosing someone with Washington experience as his vice-presidential running mate.

Carter also told reporters as he arrived at National Airport from New York that there are 10 to 12 potential candidates for the number two Democratic spot "in whom I have a great interest." But he would name none of them.

Carter said he has ruled out use of the FBI in probing prospective nominees. Instead, he and his staff will investigate the backgrounds of major contenders, including their finances.

Carter, who has clinched the Democratic presidential nomination with a campaign stressing his own lack of Washington ties, said "the likelihood is that my choice for the vice-presidency will be someone with Washington experience," but he emphasized that he has an "open mind" and would not rule out someone else.

Similarly, he said, experience in elective office would be "a factor but not a necessary factor" in a prospective nominee's favor. One reason is that a public official would have a record open to public scrutiny, he said.

Carter had previously said he would not disclose his choice until after he is nominated at the Democratic convention next month. He indicated last night he is sticking to that plan, along with his two criteria for a running mate: "competence" to be President and "compatibility" with himself.

He said his success in virtually wrapping up the nomination a month before the convention will preclude his having to consider geographic balance or other political factors in choosing a running mate.

Carter said he has already consulted 15 to 20 congressional leaders, academicians, foundation officials and other prominent figures in compiling his list and plans to talk to another 20 before winnowing it down. Most of them so far have mentioned the same 10 to 12 choices at the top of his own list, Carter said.

Democratic sources said Carter met earlier this week with Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.) and discussed three senators: John Glenn of Ohio, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois and Frank Church of Idaho. The names of Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and Edmund S. Muskie of Maine also came up, the sources said, but Carter apparently raised questions about them.

Although he said last week he would identify some of the "distinguished Americans" who are helping him in the selection process, he said last night he would not do so because all or nearly all asked to remain anonymous.

He reiterated his contention that he is seriously considering both women and blacks.

Carter discussed his vice-presidential selection process after arriving here for a series of meetings with top congressional leaders today, following a full day of fund-raising activities in New York. Aides said it netted Carter about $175,000 toward defraying his million-dollar campaign debt.

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News Agencies Cut Democratic Convention Coverage

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 23—The Hearst newspaper chain today canceled plans to set up office space at Democratic National Convention headquarters, bringing to 11 the major news organizations that have withdrawn in protest of alleged price gouging in the rental and delivery of equipment.

Charges of "rip-off" and the prospect that the expected nomination of Jimmy Carter may be less than suspenseful have caused other news organizations to scale back their coverage of the Madison Square Garden event.

News executives are also complaining about inflated security deposits on equipment rented to furnish temporary news offices at the convention. The deposits sometimes run ten times the fair market value.

Morevover, inter-union jurisdiction disputes over which laborers will unload the rented equipment—coupled with snarled red tape inside the Democratic National Committee—have resulted in increasingly bad feelings between the convention planners and the news organizations.

"This is lunacy. The charges seem to get higher every day, and, frankly, I don't want to be a party to that kind of thing," said Nathan Glasser, chief of the New York bureau of Hearst newspapers, who is in charge of convention arrangements for the chain's eight newspapers.

Hearst had planned to rent 1,700 square feet of temporary office space at the Statler Hilton convention headquarters.

Today, however, Glasser and J. Kingsbury Smith, Hearst Washington bureau chief, said the 30 reporters representing the newspapers and King Features Syndicate would work out of local corporate offices and hotel rooms.

Exorbitant prices and unexpected delivery charges mandated by members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have caused news-gathering organizations also to make alternate arrangements.

They include the Booth newspaper chain, Newhouse newspapers, Denver Post, Daily Oklahoman, McGraw-Hill magazines, London Daily Mail, London Daily Mirror and London Express, Salt Lake City Deseret News and Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel-Star.

Associated Press, the world's largest news-gathering organization, cut back its office space from 2,850 square feet to 450, and will convert a cafeteria in its Rockefeller Center headquarters into a convention headquarters.

Chief among the complaints by news executives are the high costs of renting and installing office equipment, unusually high security deposits required by the rental firms, and a requirement that union laborers employed by Madison Square Garden have exclusive jurisdiction in unloading shipments.

The news organizations cited such prices as $6.50 a linear foot for curtains to partition work areas, $30 rental for folding chairs, $40 for a coat tree, and $110 for the use of a small desk for the convention week.

On top of those charges are delivery fees—$15 an hour per man—charged by the Garden's union workers, consisting of $12.64 an hour for the workers and a surcharge for administraitve and supervisor's costs.

Ben West, superintendent of the House of Representatives press gallery, which is responsible for accrediting newspaper reporters, said the bureau chief of one newspaper that canceled convention space cited $360 security deposits for used manual typewriters having an apparent re-sale value of $50.

Glasser estimated that Hearst would have spent $10,000 for rentals alone, plus telephone charges and other costs.

Because of special "convention service charges" being levied by the New York Telephone Co., a $29 six-button phone is costing $127. Units that cost $4,000 in 1972 at the Miami conventions are going for $7,000 in New York.

Robert Longstreet, administrative assistant to the editor of The Washington Post, said that telephone costs this year will run about 300 per cent higher than at the Democratic and Republican conventions in Miami in 1972.

Associated Press estimated that it will save $20,000 on furniture and drapery costs alone by moving its workplace to its Rockefeller Plaza headquarters.

In a meeting in Washington on June 14, Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss listened to the media's grievances, after which he discussed the alleged price gouging with officials of Madison Square Garden and A-J Contracting Co., hired by the city to refurbish the Garden for the convention.

Since the complaints, A-J's $15 per-foot charge has been lowered to $6.50 by giving the work to another company, Manncraft, and several office equipment suppliers have been suspending the security deposit requirements.

Charles Uribe, an A-J executive who attended the meeting, said the curtain costs were so high because the company had to hire union carpenters to do the job. A-J, which also controls the scheduling of deliveries to the Garden's single truck ramp, said the office furniture costs were high because the firm had to go to a subcontractor.

Vincent Clephas, director of communications for the Democratic National Committee, attributed some of the cancellations to a declining interest by news organizations in the convention because of the expected lack of excitement in balloting.

Clephas said that as a result of a series of meetings with the contractors the "climate has improved."

"But I cannot deny that some people got hurt. We were in no position to do any hand-holding for the small users, and they are the ones who got stung the most," Clephas said.

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The Washington Star

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Q and A

Sam Brown On Changes Since the '60s

Sam Brown, former director of the Vietnam Moratorium and activist in other anti-war efforts, for the past 18 months has been treasurer of the state of Colorado. Brown, 32, has been involved in the development of the Democratic national platform. He was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer John J. Fialka.

Question: *You've said the radicalism of the '60s would be the common sense of the '70s and yet at the same time the Democratic platform is trying to move away from positions on amnesty, abortions or drugs or anything that would be controversial. Isn't this a rejection of that radicalism?*

Brown: Well, the fact is that the pardon question — the question about what you do about resisters and people who were deserters — it's a very progressive plank. It's simply that it is perceived now to be a much more reasonable thing. Four years ago, that same plank would have sent shivers down people's spines and now it really has become common sense to understand that you can't keep a half a million men in this country who got less than honorable discharges and another several hundred thousand who either were deserters or dodgers or resisters, that you got to bring them back in and make them a part of the system. It's perfectly reasonable, but four years ago that was radical kind of talk. That was kind of talk that defeated George McGovern.

Q: *The Carter forces won an agreement not to use the word amnesty because they're afraid of it. Do you understand what that fear is?*

A: Well, I think that's not so much fear as it is their candidate's position. That's the word Carter has used all along. There's an important distinction. I think that part of the distinction is political — that he doesn't want to get hung with the word — and part of it is substantive in that he thinks that he should have more latitude to provide presidential discretion in the process so that you have to look at it more than just saying, 'Ya'll come home now.' I disagree with that. I'm in favor of unconditional amnesty. But Gov. Carter isn't. The majority of the party doesn't seem to be at this point. I think we're

See BROWN, A-15

HE'D LIKE TO MOVE IN

Arriving here last night with bag and baggage, Democratic presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter tells reporters he has not made a final decision on a running mate, but that it's likely he will pick someone with a Washington background. Among other things, the former governor of Georgia said his choice could be a woman or a black. (Story on A-7).

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Continued From A-1

moving in a direction that makes it possible for people to come back. And that's a whole lot more. Four years ago we couldn't even discuss that without it just blowing up.

Q: *When the term 'New Politics' was coined, you were in the thick of it. Is there such a thing as new politics today?*

A: Oh, yeah. If you look at that platform, it includes calls for a comprehensive national health care program. That goes substantially beyond where the party was four years ago. But it's non-controversial now. Now it's accepted wisdom that you have to do that. Everybody agrees with it. Four years ago that was crazy talk. Four years ago, there was immense opposition to any call for normalization arrangements with Vietnam. Now there's a plank in the platform saying that we should normalize those relationships, and in the process obtain whatever additional information on the MIAs. But four years ago you couldn't even discuss that subject without being accused of all sorts of heinous, villainous thought. Amnesty is still very strongly fought. Abortion is one of the central questions. And all the social issues, it seems to me, are peripheral to the much more substantive things that are there.

Q: *Which?*

A: The health care. A move toward federalization of welfare payments so that you don't have this interstate migration of poor people to wherever the benefits are most lucrative, thereby burdening a particular area of the country. Four years ago to talk about full employment was to to talk about government planning. It still is today, but it doesn't scare people like it did a few years ago. If you look at the plank on government reform, it calls for disclosure of contributions, for federal financing of campaigns, for additional disclosure of the interests of elected officials, for open public meetings. Ten years ago if you tried to get that through a plank of any politicians, they'd have said you're trying to destroy the democratic process, which at that point consisted of four men going off into a room someplace and cutting a deal. And all of a sudden there are women taking part in the process. That's an incredible change.

Q: *Of course, at the same time all of this movement has happened there's also been a push for a kind of conservatism in this country. You have Carter, whose made his campaign at least in part campaigning against Washington. Are we moving right or left?*

A: You see, I don't regard that as conservatism. And 'right' or 'left' may not adequately deal with it any longer. Criticism of Washington may be very well-founded; it isn't necessarily conservative. As a state official, I've had substantial problems at times with some elements of the way Washington treats the states. They assume that elected officials in other places are less responsible, aren't able to take care of their own business, that they have to do everything in a plethora of regulation from Washington. That's not necessarily conservative. A good liberal, it seems to me, can believe that government ought to be efficient. You know in the '60s we believed more money thrown at any single problem could cure it. I think at this point that simply doesn't hold true anymore — that we are living in a very different kind of world. And it isn't conservative to talk about the problems of limited resources and being willing to deal in a less consumptive fashion and to live in a more reasonable way and in harmony with the world — that isn't conservative any more, that can be very progressive.

Q: *In the spectrum of Democratic politics, how do you characterize Carter? Liberal or conservative?*

A: Well, it's hard to decide because on some things I think he's a pretty conservative guy. He tends to move more slowly in certain directions than I'd like to see him move. On other things, it seems to me he has been pretty progressive about understanding the need for states to pick up some of their own responsibilities and to reorganize and reform. For 15 years you know liberals have been talking about how you make state and local government more effective and the message has never gotten through. And that you have to provide adequate staff and funding for state and local government. That is a very progressive position — it's not a regressive position as some people would think. So probably on most issues he suits the party fairly well and that he sort of runs up the middle and sometimes I think he

veers off into the conservative blink more than I would like and sometimes he comes on some very progressive things in ways that I would like. All in all, to me at least, he's a very enigmatic guy, very smart, clearly bright.

Q: *You're a former Harvard divinity student. Does your involvement in politics in any way touch on your religious beliefs?*

A: Well, my beliefs tend to be more ethical and moral than specifically religious, which is an obscure definition that only matters to divinity school students. But I guess so. I had been in graduate school in government before that and I was concerned that, by and large people in government failed to address the ethical dimension of what they were doing — like on the amnesty or pardon thing. There are some questions which are fundamentally moral questions. And politics that fails to address itself to moral questions — questions for instance, of race I regard as a moral question. How you treat people of a different race. There's no equivocation. You can't say maybe next year we're going to do better. There's sometimes when you have to take a stand. And to that extent I guess my ethical foundation — I like to think, anyway — has an impact on what I do in politics.

Q: *Jimmy Carter has described himself as a man who has been born again and has a deeply religious feeling. How do you assess that? Does that have an impact on his success?*

A: Well, apparently it does. I saw some polls someplace that said about 35 percent of the people regard the belief in God as a fundamental criteria for president of the United States. And I suppose with those people it's helpful. I think with another group of people who are a little skeptical about faith in general that it probably hurts. Overall, I would say insofar as it helps people to think that or makes people believe that there is an underlying moral base in what he does, I think it's very helpful. I think it's more that than anything. You're not looking for religion or whatever else is out there — they're really grasping for someone there they can really trust.

Q: *You worked with the McCarthy effort in 1968, if you look at McCarthy as a presidential aspirant and compare him with Carter, what stands out?*

A: Well, there's a very real difference, it seems to me. One, is in the sense, I guess, of self-deprecating humor in McCarthy which I found very attractive that I don't see so much of in Carter. McCarthy, it seems to me, took a much more existential view of the world and Carter is much more single-minded than McCarthy. And that's an attractive personal quality. On the other hand, the result of it sometimes is the inability to get the things done that need to be done. And to that extent, I suppose I regard Carter as a much more effective or efficient person. And everyone can make a judgment on which of those values they take more highly. McCarthy used to say that anybody who wanted to be president should be disqualified, because if they wanted it that bad, they clearly weren't capable to get enough distance from it to be a good president. And I think that's pretty much true. If you're committed enough to go out and do it, there's a certain drivenness to it.

Q: *Do you think that all politicians sell out at some point along the road?*

A: Oh yeah, it's just a question of how much and at what price.

Carter Brings His Moralism to Foreign Policy

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Jimmy Carter has proclaimed himself to be an activist on foreign policy, in a way that will reassure America's allies but might not please some who offend his sense of morality.

The Democratic party's presidential hopeful, in a major statement on foreign affairs yesterday, did not appeal to the American public to support U.S. commitments abroad so much as he showed an assumption that the public will support them. But the key to that assumption, apparently stemming from Carter's own religious-based moralism, is his declaration that foreign policy must be based on clearly stated principles of social justice and democracy.

The former Georgia governor ringingly rejected isolationism in the first presidential campaign since the collapse of the U.S. cause in Indochina and other setbacks, such as in Angola.

INSTEAD, Carter called for a revival of the sense of common purpose among non-Communist industrial nations that developed in thespost-World War II Marshall Plan period. A new leadership must be given to restructure the world order, with greater emphasis on upholding human rights, achieving democratic reforms, and restricting the arms race, he argued.

The American people continue to be concerned about foreign affairs, Carter declared. During 18 months of campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination, 30 or 40 percent of the questions he was asked across the country were about foreign relations, he said.

Carter made the pledge that his administration would be concerned with the interests and problems of allies and developing nations in the third of at least eight speeches on foreign policy he has planned. He spoke to a crowded Waldorf-Astoria ballroom luncheon of the Foreign Policy Association, a nonpartisan organization of businessmen.

THE ONLY statement that stirred the audience to interrupt Carter with applause was the answer to a question in which he reaffirmed his strong support for "the right of Israel to exist in peace as a Jewish state."

The 35-minute speech was conceived by Carter and his expanding group of foreign policy advisers as trying to chart a new sense of direction for American foreign policy and infusing a new confidence into democratic countries that need U.S. support. It contained sharp criticism of a policy of having no permanent friends in the world, only interests that require — or at least seem to justify — constant maneuvering for dramatic and surprising short-term effects.

The speech did not directly name the subject of this criticism, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, while rejecting his diplomacy for both its methods and for what Carter called its "amoral" nature.

In answering a question, however, Carter praised Kissinger by name for the secretary's recent effort to establish U.S. support for majority rule in southern Africa.

THE CRITICISMS of Kissinger echoed phrases used often by Columbia University professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, the principal coordinator of those who advised Carter on the speech, and such other advisers as George W. Ball, an undersecretary of state during the 1960s.

Politics Today

GOP Can't Afford Ideological Fight

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford has expressed his admiration for Harry Truman and the way the doughty Missourian confronted his problems.

Ronald Reagan once was one of Barry Goldwater's most ardent supporters, and he may well be still although no one would suspect it from his public statements.

These associations are relevant in contemplating the future of the Republican party as Ford and Reagan battle down to the wire for the presidential nomination. If Ford wins the nomination he will face a conservative walkout and third-party effort as Truman did in 1948 with the Dixiecrats. A Reagan victory will trigger those memories of 1964 that have been shimmering nervously on the surface all year and will inspire a flood of speculation — once again — about the demise of the GOP.

REAGAN HAS tried constantly to draw the difference between him and Goldwater to convince folks that he is a winner, but the fact is that a major element of his strength is the survival of that hardy and cherished conservative belief: that a true conservative majority out there in the heartlands awaits the coming of the true political messiah who was not Goldwater.

Again the speculation on the party's demise will be premature. The fact is, however, that the Republicans face serious problems after their nomination fight is resolved.

If Reagan is not the nominee the conservatives who want to form a separate party and were temporarily deterred by his contest for the GOP nomination are making plans to take a hike and mount a third-party effort. Even forming a Ford-Reagan ticket won't deter the hard-core.

A minority party can scarcely afford to lose anyone and the sad state of the moderate wing of the GOP is illustrated by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller. He was its leader until he deserted after finally perceiving that he couldn't beat the conservatives. He unsuccessfully tried to join the enemy, which not only rejected him but made it clear that it hates him as much as ever.

ROCKEFELLER'S contribution to the GOP's dilemma was to suggest a couple of days ago that the right wing's opposition to Ford could help get him elected if he can win the nomination.

"The American people are afraid of it (the right wing)," Rockefeller said and then hopefully made a substantial leap of logic. "It would follow then that if the extreme right opposed the President, it would be to his benefit."

That's funny since right wing resentment of Ford, not least because of his nominating Rockefeller as vice president, has helped Reagan's challenge. There is also the inconvenient fact, which apparently escapes Rockefeller, that fear of the right wing seems to benefit Democrats in direct proportion to its strength and that every time it gets stirred up the Republicans get into trouble. That would seem to be a lesson of 1964, but it may be that Rockefeller has no reason to recall that election in any detail.

It might be that a conservative walkout wouldn't hurt the party too much in November although it could have worse consequences in the future.

WHAT SHOULD worry Republicans are the polls that indicate that as many as one-third of the Ford supporters have indicated that they'd vote for Democrat Jimmy Carter if Reagan gets the nomination and that the same proportion of Reagan backers might defect if Ford is the winner.

Attitudes like that, even if many people won't act on them, fuel the talk of the GOP's demise, which delights the conservative third-party proponents. The party's only foreseeable fate is to be a permanent and probably declining minority capable only of slowing or blocking the initiatives of the majority party and hoping to elect its share of presidential candidates to split power with the congressional Democrats.

The last time Republicans outnumbered Democrats since the advent of the New Deal was in 1946. Then they captured control of Congress, and 40 percent of the electorate identified itself as Republican compared to 39 percent Democrats and 21 percent Independents. By 1960 it was 30 percent Republicans, 47 percent Democrats and 23 percent Independents.

IN 1972 the count was 28 percent Republicans, 43 percent Democrats and 29 percent Independents. A Gallup Poll last month put the count at 22 percent Republicans, 46 percent Democrats and 32 percent Independents.

One long-term contribution to the GOP's woes is the 26th Amendment, giving the vote to 18-year-olds. Only 15 percent of voters under 30, according to Gallup, identify themselves as Republicans.

A central issue in the Ford-Reagan struggle is which man is most electable. Reagan boasts that he won the primaries in the "Sunbelt" states, which are the most promising Republican targets of opportunity in a general election. Ford counters that he has a broader appeal.

A New York Times survey of the uncommitted GOP delegates indicates that electability, not issues, is their chief concern. This is as it should be because it appears that the Republicans just can't afford the ideological emphasis and battles of which they seem so fond.

Q

Letters to the editor

Noble metaphor, beautiful wall

Having read William V. Shannon's column on "Carter and the Civil Creed of Secularism" (June 18), I feel a few comments are in order.

If, as Mr. Shannon says, "the religious issue raised against Jimmy Carter says more about the people raising it than it does about him," it seems to me that the column tells more about Mr. Shannon's bitter opposition to the "great nonsense" of the Supreme Court's church-and-state decisions than it does about either Jimmy Carter or his supposed critics. He is also offended at the Court's decision giving women the right to decide with their doctors if and when they should have abortions.

As evidence of the central position of religion in the nation's history, Mr. Shannon cites the French missionary explorers and the Pilgrim fathers. He does not, however, mention the fact that it was the latters' pursuit of "*their* religious vision" (emphasis added) that drove Roger Williams from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630, thus eventually leading to the founding of the Baptist Church, of which Mr. Carter is now a member; neither does he note that it was the extension of this same "religious vision" throughout the "public schools" for 200 years that made it seem necessary for Roman Catholics to organize their own parochial schools.

Mr. Shannon excoriates the Supreme Court for its historic decision which assured that public schools shall remain non-sectarian and publicly controlled, and that there shall be no commingling of taxpayers' dollars with parochial school budgets, thus assuring the church schools of their freedom from state control. (Mr. Shannon would do well to look up polls as to Catholic majority reaction on these two basic principles.)

I take strong issue with the column's definition of the word "secular." Secular means non-religious, not anti-religious. In what is here described as "a pluralist society with different races, religions and ethnic groups," our secular laws are essential so that our dozens of religious persuasions can operate in complete freedom.

Secularism is not a creed; neither is it a dirty word. It is what will make possible the continuing of "the richness and variety of the American experience."

Might it not be possible that those who, according to Mr. Shannon, find Mr. Carter's religion "worrisome" do so out of fear that he, like Mr. Shannon, may not realize that the secular and the religious are partners, not enemies, in the structuring of our pluralist society?

If, however, Mr. Carter's religion is such that it widens his perspective, "accounts . . . for his empathy with poor people and with blacks," and provides strength for his meeting the frustrating problems of his own and the nation's life, so be it. We can only ask that, if elected President, Mr. Carter will frequently enter into his closet and pray for the whole world.

Mr. Shannon speaks of "that poisonous metaphor, 'a wall of separation' between church and state." As from time to time I have read the news coming out of Ireland, and as especially now I mourn the once-lovely city of Beirut, I am inclined to think that a nobler, more beautiful methaphor was never coined.

Virgil M. Rogers
Falls Church, Va.

* * * *

William Shannon is quite wrong in ascribing "secularist" motives to the Supreme Court for its wise and proper rulings on tax aid for parochial schools, public school religious practices, and abortion rights. The Court's rulings were the only ones consistent with the constitutional principle of separation of church and state (Jefferson's words, not those of some 20th century "secularist") and the religious pluralism of our society.

How many Americans could really disagree with the Court's ruling that government may not compel citizens through taxation to contribute to the support of sectarian educational institutions, that neither lawmakers nor government agents may prescribe devotional activities, that government should not step into the medico-theological controversy over when a fetus becomes a human person? The fact that Jimmy Carter, an evangelical Protestant and political moderate, openly supports these Supreme Court rulings is evidence that endorsement of church-state separation is not equivalent to endorsing "secularism" or "atheism."

Americans of all religious persuasions who love religious liberty would take offense at Mr. Shannon's appeal for a return to the discredited Old World clericalism and church-state accommodationism that drove so many of our ancestors and neighbors to these shores.

Edd Doerr
Silver Spring, Md.

Charles Bartlett

Collective or corporation?

One mark of the moderacy imposed by Jimmy Carter on the Democratic platform is the non-reiteration of the party's 1972 call for a commission to study the regulation of American industry under federal charters.

While the idea has attracted a few thoughtful proponents like Prof. George Lodge of Harvard, it has not caught fire politically. Sen. Vance Hartke, D-Ind., is according it the attention of some Senate hearings chiefly because of pressures by Ralph Nader, the most relentless corporate critic.

However, Hartke, in lamenting that the top 500 corporations now control 81 per cent of manufacturing sales and 82 per cent of corporate assets, endorses Nader's call for reform. He says the centralization of private power "has simply gone too far" and he wants to impose "democratic constraints" on giant corporations.

Nader is savage in his indictment of corporations. He cites the Lockheed and Penn Central debacles as instances of corporate deception. He assails corporate "collusion" with the CIA, corporate tyranny in the selection of officers and directors, and corporate suppression of new technologies like solar energy. He sees the charters as a device to make corporations more vulnerable to challenges by taxpayers, stockholders and consumers.

The Nader proposal would impose heavy disclosure requirements on large companies plus fulltime boards of outside directors to check management. Nader wants constituency directors who will look after special concerns like equal employment rights, environmental problems and safety issues. The government is to be charged with encouraging citizens adversely affected by corporate actions to sue.

Only one of Nader's directors would be assigned to worry about profits, an arrangement calculated to insure that his preoccupations do not prevail. But as Peter Peterson succinctly put it in the Hartke hearings, "a corporation that doesn't make money and can't attract capital is a failure. It can be pollution-free, community-minded, employe-oriented and still be a total failure if it loses money."

Critics of the plan contend that people have a right to combine for any peaceful purpose so long as they don't impinge on anyone else's rights. They point to a variety of disciplines which already control corporations: the pressure of the market place and the stock market, federal laws and agency regulation, antitrust laws.

Most corporate heads are willing to concede that more should be done to allay public suspicions. "We have not," says Irving Shapiro of DuPont, "taken the public enough into our confidence." But those who point to the nation's productive performance do not see how the economy or the public will be helped by transforming corporations into what Prof. Lodge calls "nationally chartered community-oriented collectives."

The nationalization of the biggest companies is no answer because, as Hartke acknowledges, public monopolies behave like private monopolies. Regulated industries have long tended to become the weakest industries and most observers, including Nader, have been intensely critical of the regulatory agencies.

The federal charter idea may be useful in spurring private industry into reforms that will reassure people that large corporations are accountable. Protective measures become important when critics like Nader are stirring hostility and bitterness.

But as the Democrats take on the burden of propounding the tremendous centralization involved in the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs proposal, they were wise to stop advocating a reform that could strangle American industry.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

6/25 thru 6/28

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News Summary and Index

MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Except for the United States, there seems to be little enthusiasm for the economic meeting of industrial nations, at which President Ford is host, in Puerto Rico. The meeting, the continuation of a conference last November in France, is being attended by Canada, West Germany, Japan, France, Britain and Italy. Sources close to the delegations said there was a general feeling that there was no great need for the meeting because the officials of the various countries have been seeing each other frequently anyway. President Ford addressed the opening session at Dorado Beach yesterday and told the leaders of the six other major industrial nations that it is in their power "to shape the future rather than reacting to it. It is with that objective in mind that this summit is being held." [Page 1, Column 1.]

Six armed men, believed to be members of a radical Palestinian group, hijacked an Air France jetliner with more than 250 passengers aboard, including at least nine Americans and many Israelis, soon after it took off from Athens for Paris. The pilot was forced to fly to Benghazi, Libya, and after refueling there the plane took off again for "an unknown destination," Air France officials said. There were other reports that the plane was bound for the Sudan. The flight originated in Tel Aviv. [1:2-4.]

Beirut's airport, which was reopened late last week, was closed again indefinitely when artillery blasted a Middle East Airlines 707 jet liner that had arrived from Jordan with a three-man crew but no passengers. A half dozen shells fell in and around the airport. The plane burned to its frame. Its first officer and flight engineer were injured and the pilot was believed to have been killed. The engineer was said to be an American but was not identified. The terminal building was crowded with hundreds of people waiting for flights out of the country. Its roof was struck by a shell, but no one inside was said to have been injured. [1:5.]

The Portuguese turned out in large numbers in the Presidential election and most, according to early returns, voted for Gen. António Ramalho Eanes, a law-and-order candidate, dealing the Communist Party a severe setback. General Eanes had the backing of Portugal's three largest non-Communist parties, as well as several leftist groups. The Communist Party's candidate, Octavio Pato, was running in fourth place. [1:6.]

National

The team of six agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation that burglarized the Socialist Workers Party's offices in New York in 1964 and 1965 were nominated for commendations and bonuses by the bureau's officials in the city. This became known when documents surrendered by the bureau to the party, which is suing the Government, were made public. "The agents involved were extremely careful to make these contacts in such a manner as not to embarrass the F.B.I.," a recommendation said. The six agents were praised for "constant alertness, swift reaction, sound judgment and great discretion." [14:3.]

Republican mayors, many from smaller cities, at the 44th annual meeting of the United States Conference of Mayors in Milwaukee, joined Democratic mayors in urging President Ford not to veto the $4 billion public works bill sent to him by Congress last week. The bill, the Public Works Employment Act of 1976, is considered crucial by many big-city mayors facing serious budget problems. President Ford earlier this year vetoed a similar bill he said was inflationary. Another veto, it was apparent at the meeting, would not be politically advantageous for the President. [1:7.]

Metropolitan

The State Assembly early yesterday passed its version of a pension bill—by a vote of 120 to 29—that would sharply reduce benefits for future state employees, effective July 1. These employees would be required to contribute 3 percent of their salaries to their pension plans. On retirement, one-half of an employee's Social Security benefit would be deducted from his public pension. The employees would also be eligible for annual cost-of-living increase in their benefits of up to 3 percent. [1:8.]

Racial discrimination in the rental of apartments is still widespread in Manhattan —New York City's prime real estate market. Blacks and other minority group members have difficulty in renting choice apartments, despite their ability to pay the rent. Real estate brokers, building owners and building superintendents, an investigation has found, cooperate in discouraging prospective minority, mainly black, tenants. [1:1-3.]

The Other News

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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25 cents beyond 50 miles from New York City except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities.

Tourists in Plains, Ga., Learn Little

BY CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., June 27—There is a growing trickle of tourists flowing through this little south Georgia town of 683 people, the home of Jimmy Carter, who will surely be the next Democratic Presidential nominee.

Occasionally a few of them are lucky and get a look at the 51-year-old former Georgia Governor, as happened yesterday morning when he dropped by the gasoline station owned by his brother, Billy, to watch friends clean fish for a fish fry.

Others may see his 8-year-old daughter, Amy, selling lemonade on Woodland Drive or they may simply gaze at his modest ranch house on the street. But for the most part, they see little.

More favored observers, such as journalists, occasionally get a better glimpse of what is still a relatively unknown and somewhat enigmatic personality.

Eritrean Question

At the fish fry yesterday afternoon at his mother's "Pond House" retreat south of town, a television reporter cajoled his small daughter into asking Mr. Carter a question about Eritrea, the northernmost province of Ethiopia, which has been ravaged by a guerrilla insurgency conducted by Eritrean nationalists who want independence.

The child protested that she did not even know what Eritrea was. Fair enough, her father suggested, since Mr. Carter had conceded ignorance of the Eritrean problem on June 6 when answering questions from a Jewish audience in Elizabeth, N. J. But, as an afterthought, he had told his questioner then, "If you give me a couple of days I will have an answer."

When the little girl asked the question yesterday, Mr. Carter must have known his leg was being pulled. But he talked earnestly to her for several minutes, telling her that the Eritreans were a "Semitic" people who had long been in conflict with the Ethiopians and maltreated by them.

Things had been better for the Eritreans, he suggested, under the reign of the late Emperor Haile Selassie, but relations with the central government had again deteriorated.

Read Book on Subject

Specialists in the history and politics of Africa might still have reservations about Mr. Carter's grasp on the problem. But, as Mr. Carter remarked later to reporters, he had not forgotten the lapse in New Jersey and had read a book about the subject and had questioned one of his foreign policy advisers about it.

He again demonstrated that he is an endlessly curious man, and perhaps a proud one who dislikes to show chinks in his intellectual armor.

This is not to say that the insights into Mr. Carter's character and habits are enough to satisfy everyone. And even these insights are easier to coe by than the smallest peek into his immediate political plans, which now revolve around choosing a running mate.

On Friday Mr. Carter waded into a fish pond further south of Plains that his son, Chip, 26, had been ordered to drain because the balance of fish life in it was no longer considered healthy.

The draining had been only partly successful, the water was chest-deep and attempts to net the bass and bluegills in the pond had faltered.

Beckons to Reporters

Mr. Carter tried t entice journalists into the water, where a water snake had been seen, by saying he would discuss the Vice Presidency with those in the water but not with those on shore.

However, he was not serious. Even a willingness to face snakes and mud is not going to get much information yet from Mr. Carter.

At the fish fry, he maintained his refusal to hint as his choice. He is known to be considering 14 men and women.

25 Give Advice

He said he had consulted 25 party leaders and national figures for their advice and planned to reach an additional 15 or so. He said he had got "remarkably compatible" suggestions from the people consulted. Most of them had mentioned names from a smaller group of about seven possibilities.

He said he would soon ask Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer and longtime associate and adviser, to begin preliminary discussions with five to seven of the prospects.

Mr. Carter also told his guests he had asked to receive foreign policy briefings after the Democratic National Convention from the Central Intelligence Agency rather than the State Department because the department was a "political" and "policymaking" body with which he would prefer not to deal on such matters.

FORD ISSUES CALL FOR A WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC EFFORT

President Tells 6 Leaders, at Economic Parley, They Can Shape the Future

FEW RESULTS EXPECTED

Little Enthusiasm Reported Among Delegations From the Other Participants

By PHILIP SHABECOFF
Special to The New York Times

DORADO, P.R., June 27 — President Ford, saying that a concerted effort is needed to head off potential world economic problems and crises, told the leaders of six other major industrial nations today that it is in their power "to shape the future rather than reacting to it."

"It is with that objective in mind that this summit is being held," Mr. Ford said in a statement opening the first session of the economic summit conference, being held in seclusion at this plush beach resort.

However, sources close to the visiting delegations, which are from Canada, West Germany, Japan, France, Britain and Italy, said that enthusiasm for the meeting was fairly low. Judging by comments from these sources, there appears to be a kind of consensus among the participating countries, except for the United States, that there was no great need for this meeting because the heads of nations have been seeing each other frequently on a bilateral basis.

Follows French Parley

This summit conference continues discussions begun at a similar meeting at the Château de Rambouillet in France last November. The Rambouillet meeting, Mr. Ford declared, helped create "a political will and spirit of cooperation which have not only helped us "resolve" recent problems, "but which have in fact strengthened considerably relations among our nations and among the industrialized democracies as a whole."

Although the United States called this meeting, even members of the American delegation conceded that it would not produce any earth-shaking or even particularly specific results.

The loosely constructed agenda for the first session calls for a discussion of the world economic recovery and expansion, including recent economic developments and the problem of inflation, as well as monetary and financial issues.

Schmidt to Lead

Tomorrow, the conference will take up trade, international investment, relationships between the rich industrial nations and the poor developing nations—a discussion that will be led by Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany—and energy problems.

One subject scheduled for discussion is a multilateral economic program to aid Italy.

Two demonstrations were staged outside the Dorado Beach compound by Puerto Rican groups demanding independence from the United States. One demonstration,

Continued on Page 6, Column 5

ECONOMIC DRIVE SOUGHT BY FORD

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, numbered about 15,000 people, according to security officers stationed outside the resort.

The demonstrators chanted, "Yankee Go Home!" and other slogans. There were no reported violence or arrests.

Security at Dorado Beach appeared to be extraordinarily tight. Secret Service agents and Puerto Rican police patrolling the grounds were reinforced by White House guards of the Executive Protection Service flown in from Washington. Secret Service, police and National Guardsmen patrolled the perimeter of this resort area.

The site of the meeting is spectacular in a lush, tropical way. The conference room borders a lagoon and is surrounded by coconut palms, blossoming almond and tulip trees and purple bougainvillea.

The first formal session of the economic meeting did not begin until 4 P.M. today. The Canadian delegation, led by Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, was delayed by an airline strike at home, and did not arrive until around 2:45 P.M. President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France and his delegation arrived about two hours earlier.

The participants at the meeting—each delegation including a head of Government, finance minister and foreign minister—sat around a specially constructed seven-sided table. Behind each delegation sat a rapporteur and displayed along a side wall were the flags of the seven participating nations.

Early this morning, after attending an interdenominational Protestant service, President Ford met with Mayor Carlos Romero Barcelo of San Juan to discuss Puerto Rican matters. Then, after a brief chat with Prime Minister Takeo Miki of Japan, he met for about an hour with Prime Minister James Callaghan of Britain. Ron Nessen, the White House spokesman, said the meeting was "private" and declined to disclose what was discussed.

Mr. Nessen said it was likely that Mr. Ford would have bilateral meetings with the other heads of Government before the conference ended.

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The New York Times

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VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,254 — NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JUNE 27, 1976 —

A Volunteer Recalls 'Jimmy Who?'

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

DENVER, — The Jimmy Carter bandwagon was just a gleam in the candidate's eye when Larry St. Pierre got aboard last November. In Mr. St. Pierre's own mind, he was walking away from a defeat, not headed for a victory.

At 25 years of age, he had just been beaten by more than a 2-to-1 margin in a race for Mayor Attleboro, Mass. (population, 32,500), his hometown. Having been the youngest city councilor in Attleboro's history, he had hoped to be come its youngest mayor.

Bereft of that dream and laid off from his job as a diamond setter at the Bulova Watch Company, he thought the time had come to overcome his addiction to politics. The only way he could imagine doing that was to leave civilian life entirely and apply for Officers Candidate School in the Army.

He would have gone to O.C.S. two years earlier but he broke his arm in a softball game, and while the arm was mending he ran for city council instead. Now only two thoughts kept him from becoming a second lieutenant.

One had to do with an accounting text he had read that cited the record of the Carter Administration in Georgia to illustrate the concept of "zero-base budgeting." The other was, simply, that there would still be time to join the Army after he had a taste of a Presidential campaign.

New Hampshire Volunteer

Five days after the votes were counted in Attleboro he was in Concord, N.H., offering himself as a volunteer to the Carter campaign. At the same time, the high-powered Washington lawyers who are now scrambling to write position papers and organize talent searches for the Georgian were saying that it was too early to make any commitments.

"I guess I can still say I joined when it was 'Jimmy Who?'" Mr. St. Pierre now says as he looks back on the last seven months, which have led him through a series of indistinguishably dingy campaign offices in places like Laconia, N.H., Brockton, Mass., Appleton, Wis., and Colorado Springs.

Along the way, the less-than-selfless thought did occur to him that he might be able to parley the experience he was gaining in the service he was rendering into a Washington job next January. He figured that back in Attleboro his future would involve a choice between joining the Carter Administration if his candidate won or going to O.C.S. if he lost.

But he is level-headed and now, suddenly, the prospects of victory are too real and the job seekers, too many for him to invest much hope in his fantasies of a White House job.

He looks back, that he will always remember those early days, when the organization was still small and untested, with the most warmth.

It was then, for instance, that he had his one opportunity—perhaps the only one he will ever have—to have an actual conversation with Mr. Carter. It occurred in the Manchester, N.H., office on a day when Mr. St. Pierre happened to be in charge there and lasted, he believes, for almost five minutes—time enough for him to mention his interest in zero-base budgeting and take the candidate's photograph.

In the following weeks, he got to shake Mr. Cater's hand twice more—when the candidate breezed through the towns of Laconia and Franklin, which Mr. St. Pierre was organizing on campaign swings. By then, he had long since concluded that Mr. Carter was more than a politician with some interesting thoughts about budgets—that he had a real chance to win.

"There was a lot more there than I expected," he says. "I said to myself, 'son of a gun, this guy has something going.'"

He never again got close to the candidate and is certain now that Mr. Carter has no idea who he is. It is not in any sense a bitter thought, for the campaign has given him unexpected opportunities for travel and self-discovery. Before he reached Wisconsin, the farthest west he had ever gone was Niagara Falls.

And, as the campaign wore on, he became thoroughly immersed in the technology of voter canvassing and delegate hunting—how to organize the lists of registered voters, how to solicit them and record their responses, how to decipher the complicated "formulas" by which delegates are chosen in order to squeeze out the maximum advantage.

In his own mind, he became an apprentice to such skilled practitioners of this craft as the New Hampshire manager of the Carter campaign, Chris

Going by the results, he appears to have learned his lessons well. Wherever he worked, at least, Mr. Carter won by heavy majorities. In Appleton, the Carter campaign carried every ward but two. One of these, Mr. St. Pierre recalls ruefully, was the ward in which his storefront headquarters was situated. When the results came in, he realized with a pang, that it had never been canvassed.

The short Wisconsin campaign he remembers as the roughest, partly because it was his first experience of being viewed as an outsider, almost a carpetbagger. In New Hampshire, there had been nothing exotic about his Massachusetts vowels, his French-Canadian name or the beret he likes to wear as a sartorial homage to his origins. In Appleton they marked him out.

Colorado, which selects its delegates in a series of caucuses and conventions, could have been even rougher. There is strong opposition to Mr. Carter among liberals in the state; much of it, Mr. St. Pierre believes, is simply prejudice against him as a Southerner.

The diehard resistance has something to do with the ambitions to get to Madison Square Garden that are still barbered by delegates pledged to Mr. Carter's vanquished rivals.

It is a little like the battles that occurred in remote Pacific islands after VJ Day in 1945. Mr. St. Pierre's instructions are to put harmony ahead of delegates, doing everything possible to ease the eventual conversion of the anti-Carter forces.

When he looks beyond November, he no longer mentions the Army. "I'm getting a little old for O.C.S.," he says. And he hardly mentions Washington. Having discovered his craft, he is interested now in feelers he has already gotten to manage a New England Congressional race in 1978.

Sometimes he even allows himself to wonder whether he has learned enough to get himself elected Mayor of Attleboro, after all.

With the primary season ended, other Carter workers have been dropped from the payroll. Mr. St. Pierre, who is still hunting delegates here, counts himself as fortunate to have orders to report to New York for the Democratic National Convention or, even, to be retained on the Carter payroll at the $250-a-month salary he has been drawing since the first of the year.

He was receiving no pay when he started with the campaign in New Hampshire. Yet he conveys the sense, as

Surprise! Surprise!

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 26—The Supreme Court of the United States announced two fundamental decisions in the last few days: it said, by a vote of seven to two, that *private* schools may not refuse to admit black students. And it ruled unanimously that white workers are as fully protected from racial discrimination on the job as black workers.

These decisions were taken by the so-called "Nixon Court" (so called because he appointed four of its nine members), and the unanimous decision giving equal job security to the whites, was written by Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only black member of the Court.

It's almost enough to make you wonder about the assumptions of the past. Almost everybody knew that Jimmy Carter wouldn't make it, but he did. The conventional wisdom in this town was that, once Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black retired

WASHINGTON

from the Supreme Court, it would swing to the right, and that John Paul Stevens of Illinois, Douglas's replacement, would vote with the emerging conservative majority. But it hasn't worked out precisely as predicted.

Everybody talks about "change" but things keep changing faster than anybody expects. Between 1893 and 1968, only one Presidential appointment to the Supreme Court was rejected by the Senate—John J. Parker in 1930. It was assumed that the President's domination of Supreme Court appointments could not be challenged successfully, but in Nixon's time, the Senate rejected both Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. and G. Harrold Carswell, and insisted on an equal voice in deciding not only the legal experience of judges, but also their political philosophy.

We keep being surprised in Washington by the workings of this unpredictable democratic process. The Nixon Court voted unanimously against Nixon on the decisive issues of the Watergate scandals, and assured his resignation.

It was also assumed that the leaders of Congress never retired until forced to do so, but Mike Mansfield of Montana and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the majority and minority leaders of the Senate, and Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma have all decided within a few months to get out. It was also assumed that the "buddy system," which Ronald Reagan talks so much about, would protect the elders of Congress, no matter how they affronted the rules of personal conduct. But Wilbur Mills and Wayne Hays were stripped of their power.

Washington is constantly predicting disasters that never happen, and running into outrageous disasters like Vietnam, Watergate, Nixon, Agnew and Mitchell it never anticipated. For a while around here, it was assumed, for example, that automated machinery would throw millions of Americans out of work, and the Labor Department had a cast of hundreds to plan for the inevitable catastrophe. But even after the development of the computer, the Department has been reduced and almost dismantled.

Not so long ago, the quadrupling of oil prices had the American people lining up at corner gas stations. The President was urging everybody to conserve energy, turn off the lights, drive 55 miles an hour, and wear WIN buttons to "whip inflation now." But nobody paid much attention.

The American people may not know where they're going, but they're on their way at 60 or even 70 miles an hour. The petrodollar surpluses of the oil-producing states in the Middle East have been reduced and absorbed in the industrial countries, and everybody has adjusted—or so they think—except the two-thirds of the human race living in the poor countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The point here is not that the American people have solved or even adjusted adequately to the crises of the modern world. The inflation crisis, the energy crisis, the unemployment crisis, the political crisis and the moral crisis of the West are still with us, but at least some adjustments are being made.

We are changing the world faster than we can change ourselves, but the idea is getting around that the old assumptions are no longer as valid as we thought. Young men and women in their middle 20's, for example, can remember the days before space flight or polio vaccine. Anyone over 35 can recall what it was like before television, penicillin, or the welfare state; everybody now living in this country over 65 can recall the days before radio or even women's suffrage.

It is interesting that these facts were recalled by the late Alastair Buchan in his book on "The End of the Post War Era," in which he criticized Henry Kissinger for not seeing just how fast the world was changing.

But Kissinger was in London the other day, making an address in praise of Buchan, and agreeing with him that maybe we were making some progress, and entering into a new era of cooperation and maybe even of peace.

Like Buchan, Kissinger is beginning to see emerging a different world, requiring new analysis, new techniques of democratic government, greater consultation among the free nations, and a new confidence.

"We have nothing to fear from competition," Secretary Kissinger said in his Buchan lecture in London. "If there is a military competition, we have the strength to defend our interests. If there is an economic competition, we won it long ago. If there is an ideological competition, the power of our ideas depends only on our will to uphold them."

So things are changing, not only in the Supreme Court, but in the political arena of the nation and also in the court of public opinion.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY ED

Weather: Mostly sun tonight. Sunny and w Temperature range: Friday 74-87. Detail

VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,253 — NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1976 — M 2

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Carter Puzzles New York Democrats

By FRANK LYNN

Although his nomination is all but certain, Jimmy Carter is still an enigma to many New York Democrats who are prepared to support him, but not necessarily enthusiastically.

That was evident at a recent meeting of the New York delegation, when Mr. Carter received a lukewarm reception, and it was also apparent in interviews with three of the state's Democratic delegates who appear to be typical of their colleagues.

The three are part of an original group of seven Democratic delegate candidates who were selected at random by The New York Times earlier this year from among the supporters of Presidential candidates and from various areas of the state. The purpose was to provide a grass-roots view of the delegate-selection process, and the national convention next month.

Four of the seven dropped out of the competition when their Presidential candidates either faltered or lost in the April 6 primary.

One of the primary losers was a Carter delegate canidate, James Dupree of Syracuse. Mr. Carter won only 33 of the state's 274 delegate votes.

Udall Backer Critical

"We shouldn't reward Carter for the kind of campaign he has been running," said Richard T. Tibbetts of Manhattan, a 23-year-old business newsletter editor who was elected as a delegate pledged to Representative Morris K. Udall. Mr. Udall has ceased active campaigning for the nomination.

Mr. Tibbetts, an articulate political activist, said that he was concerned about what he said was Mr. Carter's "lack of definitive stands on various issues," including aid for New York City.

Sandra Berg, a Queens school teacher who supported Senator Henry M. Jackson, had been very critical of Mr. Carter as "anti-New York City" and is still wary. "I guess we'll have to wait to see what will come out of the platform," said Miss Berg, who is also a part-time official of the United Federation of Teachers.

But, unlike Mr. Tibbetts, who said he still intended to support Mr. Udall on the first ballot at the convention, Miss Berg is prepared to go along with Mr. Carter, asking, "Where is there to go? If you have only one candidate, who else?"

The third delegate, John Festino, a 66-year-old retired business executive from Scotia, a Schenectady suburb, insisted that he was still uncommitted. "I'd like to see more what he stands for," said Mr. Fextino, a longtime Democratic worker.

meeting of the Nw York delegation.

"I might have felt differently if they came to us before," said Miss Berg, echoing the perennial complaints of convention delegates.

Like many other delegates at the recent meeting at which Mr. Carter, Mr. Udall and Gov. Brown spoke, the three delegates were apparently impressed with the Californian, the last remaining active opponent of Mr. Carter. Some Democrats belive he is now running for the Vice-Presidential nomination on a Carter ticket.

"I thought Brown was more impressive than anyone," said Mr. Festino.

"He's preparing himsif for eight years from now," said Miss Berg.

"It was theater," Mr. Tibbetts said of the passionate and sometimes humorous speech of Mr. Brown, who is referred to in some of his literature sent to delegates as "the West Coast Jack Kennedy."

Vice-Presidential Prospects

A Carter Vice President? Miss Berg mentioned Senator Walter Mondale of Minnesota or Senator Jackson. Mr. Tibbetts suggested Gov. Michael S. Dukakis or Massachusetts as "a new face." Mr. Festino, a strong believer in party organzation, said he had no preference and that Mr. Carter would make the choice.

Had not Mr. Carter told the delegates he would like their views on a Vice Prsident?" "Just baloney," said the outspoken Mr. Festino.

None of the three mentioned Governor Carey as a possible Vice-Presidential prospect, and, when asked, doubted that he would be chosen. "I could live with Carey," said Mr. Tibbetts, adding, "whether he is the best choice is another question—New York's problems could be an albatross."

Life for all three delegates has been less frenetic since their election in the April 6 primary. Other than the mail from candidates including a nearly inch-thick information kit from Mr. Carter's campaign on his positions on various issues, an occasional telephone call from a candidate's campaign organization and the two meetings of the dlegations in New York City, the principal reminder of their delegate status has been requests from old and new friends for convention tickets.

Mr. Festino said he had been unable to get any assurances of a ticket, even for his wife, from Democratic state committee aides. Mr. Tibbetts said he had been assured by the Udall campaign or organization of one gallery ticket each day for his disposal.

"That's the patronage," said Mr. Tibbetts.

Carter Call Awaited

Mr. Festino said that he expected a personal call from the candidate, explaining: "Why not? He's looking for votes."

All three delegates have received telephone calls from Carter representatives as well as agents for Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. However, these calls and mailed campaign literature, usually reprints of favorable newspaper articles, have tailed off since the collapse of the Carter opposition.

All three delegates were irritated at the New York delegation co-chairman, Mayor Beame, and other New York Democratic public and party officials for endorsing Mr. Carter without consulting the delegates.

"They treat us like a bunch of sheep," said Mr. Festino, who noted that the delegates were even barred by Secret Servicemen and other functionaries from the news conference at which the Democratic leaders endorsed Mr. Carter just before the last

Brown, on TV, Pledges Support If Democrats Nominate Carter

SACRAMENTO, Calif., June 25 (AP)—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. said Friday that Jimmy Carter would have his enthusiastic support if Mr. Carter wins the Democratic Presidential nomination at the party's convention next month.

Governor Brown, who entered the late primaries against Mr. Carter, did not concede defeat, but he said that Mr. Carter "appears certain to be nominated."

It was the first time that Governor Brown had specifically said that he would support Mr. Carter, although he said earlier that he would support the Democratic ticket.

With the Democratic National Convention 16 days away, the 38-year-old Governor stopped short of quitting the race himself.

"Gov. Carter appears certain to be nominated, and, if he is, I will enthusiastically support his candidacy in the fall," Mr. Brown said in a nationally televised speech tonight.

An Associated Press delegate survey give Mr. Carter more than the 1,505 delegates he needs for a first-ballot victory.

Governor Brown said that the next President should seek to put public advocate members on the boards of multinational companies; abolish Federal income taxes for persons making $5,000 or less a year and couples earning no more than $8,000 a year; and start a program to rebuild cities.

Mr. Brown warned that the United State Army would be needed to maintain peace in the cities in five years if the cities are not assisted.

Going In For Jefferson

By Russell Baker

It is the 26th of June. Thomas Jefferson has only eight more days to get the Declaration of Independence written for the Fourth of July, and so far he has written only one sentence. It is 71 words long. The boos of the spectators in Philadelphia cascade down from the grandstands as he struggles to move his quill into the second sentence.

The fans are throwing grog bottles onto his desk and chanting, "Bye, bye, Tom!" It is clear they want a ghostwriter to go in for Jefferson. Let's try to move our microphone through the debris and get a word with this courageous but embattled young Virginian. Tom! Tom! Here he is, ladies and gentlemen: the fellow from Monticello!

"Not right now, please. It's very hard to write with so much commotion going on."

And you proved it, Tom Jefferson, with that opening sentence. Seventy-one words long! Are you going to be able to shorten the sentences from here on in, Tom, and get more punch into your attack?

"I have a beautiful sentence blocked out as a followup, and it will run only 35 words. Maybe 36 if you count 'self-evident' as two words."

Could you tell the patriots of America right now what that sentence is, Tom Jefferson?

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—"

Hold it right there, Tom.

"You don't like the opening?"

It doesn't sound official, Tom. This is a serious official document you're working on. You can't just tell people you hold truths to be self-evident. You've got to make it sound like you've had all the resources of the country overwhelming you with data. Give me that quill and I'll show you what I mean.

There. Now read that, Tom Jefferson.

"'Public opinion polls and highly classified scientific research strongly indicate that a substantial majority supports the contention that there can

OBSERVER

be little or no credible opposition to the following philosophical assertions—'"

Listen to those fans roar, Tom! At last we're moving the ball for independence!

"But this sentence, aside from its appearing to have been translated directly from Urdu, is already 31 words long, and we haven't yet stated which philosophical assertions enjoy indications of the substantial majority support specified in our contention of negligible credible opposition."

Tell us what they are, Tom, and we'll add them on.

"That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Okay, I'll put it in the mother tongue for you. There—. Read that.

"Are you an agent of King George?"

Read it, Tom, and listen to that crowd roar.

"'That the totality of persons of both sexes—'"

You can't say "all men," Tom. That's sexist. And you don't want to say "all." It doesn't sound as official as "the totality of." Read on.

"'That the totality of persons of both sexes partake of equality at parturition—'"

Now that makes it sound like we've been to college, Tom.

"'—that they possess a quantum of rights, accruing through the circumstance of birth, which, in the absence of a final determination as to the existence of a divine Creator with the aforesaid rights-endowment capability, it would be counterproductive to ascribe to said putative Creator in view of the fact that such pursuit of questions of origin could only open Pandora's box, revealing a basket of snakes which would leave us with a mare's nest in which we might throw out the baby with the bath water.'"

The crowd loves it, Tom. Listen to those grandstands go wild.

"But it's not English."

Of course not, Tom. That's why they love it. It's American.

"Never!"

You have seen the future, Tom, and it writes American.

"Then why did they boo my opening sentence because of a mere 71 words?"

Because they could understand it, Tom. When you go to 71 words you've got to be incomprehensible to be respected. If you're going to make sense in American, you've got to do it in short bursts.

"Fabulous!"

Terrific, Tom! You've got it! The perfect first sentence for the declaration.

"Wow! I mean. Really. You know?"

Ladies and gentlemen, the greatest! Tom Jefferson!

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Carter, in the Capital, Wins Fellow Democrats' Praise

Vows to Work Closely With Congress and Raise Funds for Campaigns —Predicts Sweeping Victory

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 24—The Speaker of the House called him a genius, the Senate majority leader likened him to Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Congressmen from all over the country gave him a standing ovation.

All in all, it was a pleasant and profitable day in the life of Jimmy Carter, the Presidential candidate whose campaign has more often than not focused on the vices rather than the virtues of this old city.

But with a first-ballot nomination now firmly in hand—The Associated Press's delegate count today recorded that mathematical certainty — the man who has never before held or sought Federal office kept a long and busy schedule of appointments here with his party's Washington leadership, smiling all the way, trading political quips and solidifying his own role as the Democrats' new national spokesman and symbol.

He was ebulliently confident, quietly conciliatory, jocular and jovial, and at times even deferential, almost like a small-town boy on his first visit to Capitol Hill. And when he flew home to Georgia at the end of the day, he seemed immensely pleased.

"It was like Grant taking Richmond," drawled one of his aides.

Historical hyperbole notwithstanding, Mr. Carter's round of appearances in Washington did prompt an effusive flow of praise from a lengthy list of Senators and Representatives.

In response, the 51-year-old candidate did the following:

¶Pledged himself to a Presidency that would work closely with Congress and help restore confidence in it.

¶Promised to raise funds for his own general election campaign and coordinate it with those of his fellow Democrats who are also running in the fall.

¶Posed as a possibility the selection of his Vice-Presidential running from among their numbers.

¶Predicted a sweeping victory for himself in November and even larger Democratic majorities in both legislative chambers than at present.

Off Until Monday

Mr. Carter plans no further public appearances until Monday, when, once again, he will be off on a round of fund-raising appointments, the kind that brought more than $260,000 into his badly depleted campaign coffers this week.

In Boston last Tuesday $60,000 was raised at two receptions, and yesterday in New York, after an address to the Foreign Policy Association, he was the main attraction at five parties that generated $200,000.

Senator Mike Mansfield, Democrat of Montana, the majority leader, today praised Mr. Carter's foreign policy speech and, after meeting with him this morning, said it was his impression that the Georgian, if elected, would be "his own Secretary of State."

Then, in introducing Mr. Carter to Democratic Senators, Mr. Mansfield who is rttiring this year, said the candidate had "tied together the Democratic party as it has not been tied together since the first [Franklin] Roosevelt Administration."

There was similar praise from Representative Carl Albert, the Speaker of the House, who also met with Mr. Carter today and emerged from the session predicting that he would be elected President in November by an even greater margin than Lyndon B. Johnson's 61 percent landslide in 1964.

Gets Delegates 1,5050

I think that's a good analysis," said Mr. Carter, who, according to The Associated Press, picked up his 1,505th Democratic convention delegat delegate today, the minimum number needed to win the party's Presidential nomination in New York next month.

The Associated Press's tally consists of only those delegates legally committed to Mr. Carter or those who have publicly declared their allegiance to him.

"He is a political genius," Speaker Albert said of Mr. Carter as the two of them emerged from his office and walked down the hall to the office of Representative John J. McFall of California, the Democratic whip.

There, Mr. Carter met with the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee,a 23 member group that consists mainly of senior members of the House.

According to those who attended the closed meeting, Mr. Carter and Robert Strauss, the Democratic National Chairman unveiled plans for a multimillion-dollar campaign for Democratic candidates this fall, closely coordinated with Mr. closely coordinated with Mr. Carter:s.

Mr. Carter would help raise $5 million to $10 million for the Congressional campaign, the sources said, and the funds would be used for voter registration drives, research, polls and analysis of issues. Mr. Carter was said to have announced his intention to complete his general election campaign itinerary by the end of July.

Later, he walked across the Capitol Plaza to the Cannon Office Building, where he met with Democratic members of the House in the House caucus room. After photographs, most of them left, but to the two dozen that lingered behind, Mr. Carter spoke once again his promise of party unity and cooperation between the executive and legislative branches.

"I'll be asking you for advice and counsel," he said. "If there's one aspect of my experience that's been neglected, it's my lack of knowledge about the workings of Congress." He repeated that thought later at a luncheon with Democratic Senators.

Talks of Vice Presidency

Some of those at the luncheon said Mr. Carter mentioned the Vice Presidency at least three times, almost as though he were dangling it before them.

Last night at a news conference here after his arrival from New York, he said there was a "strong likelihood" that his choice for Vice President would be "someone with Washington experience," an idea he again advanced at a breakfast with reporters today.

After the breakfast, Mr. Carter was driven to the Capitol for his meeting with Speaker Albert, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, the House majority leader, and the other legislators of his party.

Later, he met individually with Senators Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a former opponent, Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia and Harrison A. Willlams Jr. of New Jersey.

Still, the high point of the day for him must have come at the close of his meeting with the Senate Democrats. They voted unanimously to endore his candidacy.

The motion was made by Hubert H. Humphrev.

Brown Will Back Carter After the Nomination

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP) — Gov. Edmund Brown Jr., the last holdout against Jimmy Carter in the Democratic presidential contest, said Friday that Carter would have his enthusiastic support if he wins the nomination.

Brown did not concede, although he said Carter "appears certain to be nominated."

It was the first time Brown had said specifically that he would support Carter, although he had said earlier that he would support the Democratic ticket.

With the Democratic National Convention 16 days away, California's 38-year-old governor stopped short of quitting the race himself.

"Gov. Carter appears certain to be nominated, and, if he is, I will enthusiastically support his candidacy in the fall," Brown said in a nationally televised speech carried by NBC Friday night.

The 30-minute speech was picked up by 203 of 212 affiliated stations reaching about 11 million people, according to Brown aides.

They said it cost the governor's campaign $80,367 for network time, plus up to $15,000 for the speech taping Tuesday in Los Angeles.

Brown also said the next President should put public advocates on multinational company boards of directors and exempt 25 per cent of the American people from paying federal income taxes.

A Brown aide, Tom Quinn, said the tax exemption proposal would cost about $5 billion.

In his remarks, Brown repeated statements he has made that he recognizes "the arithmetic" showing Carter with a commanding delegate lead. But these comments were the closest Brown has come to saying Carter will win.

An Associated Press delegate survey gives Carter more than the 1,505 delegates he needs for a first-ballot victory.

Evers Doubts If Nation Is Ready for Black VP

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI)—Veteran civil rights leader Charles Evers said Friday the nation isn't going to accept a black candidate for vice president, and the certain Democratic nominee, Jimmy Carter, would only assure his defeat in November if he picks a black as his running mate.

The outspoken Fayette mayor told reporters he will vote for Carter if the former Georgia governor gets the nomination—but added that he is not a Carter supporter. Asked why, he replied:

"I don't know. There's just something about the man that turns me off."

Evers discounted speculation over the possibility that a black might be chosen for the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ticket. "Let's be realistic about it," he said. "America is not ready to accept a black man as vice president. Basically, America is still a racist country."

Evers, selected as an uncommitted delegate to the national Democratic convention, said he felt Carter lacks the governmental experience and knowledge to be president. "You can't beat experience," he said.

Evers said he would not be surprised to see Ronald Reagan capture the GOP nomination although he didn't believe Reagan, any more than Carter, had the necessary background for the job. "I don't know if this country can afford Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan," he said.

Delegate Says Southern 'Stigma' Not on Carter

Constitution State News Service

ATHENS—Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter has "smashed the stereotype and the image of the Southern politician," according to Georgia's youngest delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

John Barrow, 20, a recent graduate of the University of Georgia, said Carter has "taken it upon himself to remove the stigma" attached to Southern politicians, a debt that "his own old political enemies in the South can never repay."

Barrow, who graduated with a double major in political science and history, was selected in May as a committed delegate to Carter from the Tenth Congressional District in northeast Georgia.

"I don't doubt that. I was chosen to represent a minority in Georgia—the student, the young person. I've been raised in a tradition of public service," Barrow said.

He has been active in student politics at the university, and recently served on the committee that appropriated $500,000 in student activity fees to various organizations on campus.

He is currently the president of the Young Democrats of Clarke County.

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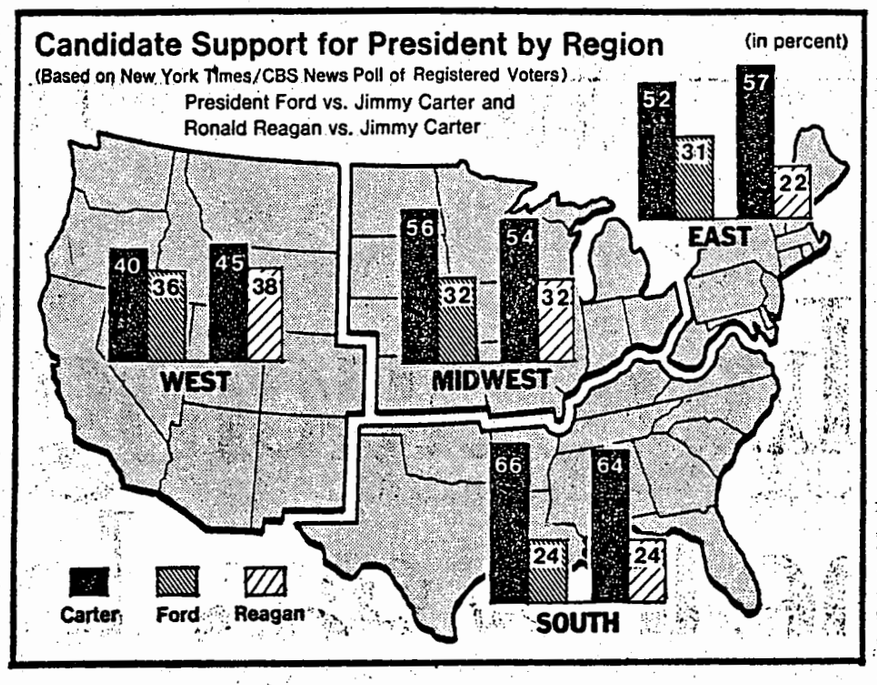

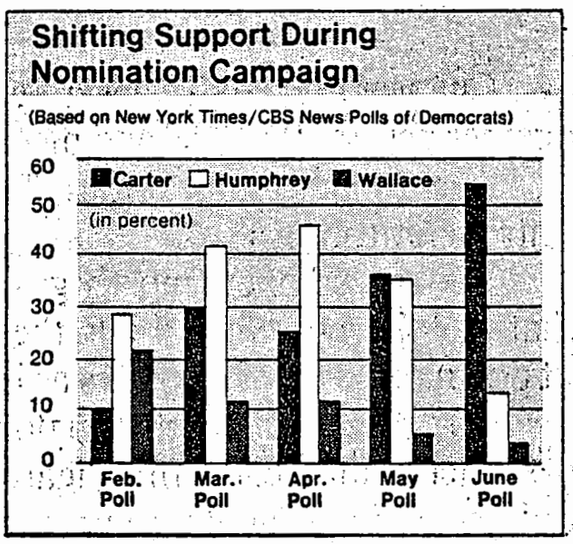

The New York Times/June 25, 1976

voters to state their preference in hypothetical elections between Mr. Carter and both his possible Republican rivals. Their choices were compared to their stands on various major issues to see which seemed to "cut" between the candidates.

Those that cut deepest were those that divided Democrats most sharply from Republicans in the survey. For example, Democrats were far more likely than Republicans to favor Federal job guarantees, to feel that the economy was not healthy, to oppose the notion that it is important to balance the budget at the cost of cutting social services and to feel that unemployment was more important a problem than inflation.

Independents stood in between.

Those who stood to the traditional Democratic side of issues like these were likely to vote for Mr. Carter, while those on the other side tended to say that they preferred the Republican candidate.

On the other hand, those issues that were not found to cut along party lines—such as detente with the Soviet Union, the American position as a world power, the Panama Canal question, military spending, welfare and busine—did not seem to play much of a role in the Presidential choice. For example, those who wanted to reduce or raise military spending were about as likely to choose Mr. Carter as not.

This was in marked contrast to 1972, when highly charged foreign policy and domestic social issues such as race played a key role in determining the vote.

One issue that did not cut deeply in the survey was the role of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. However, the survey was taken before Mr. Carter:s speech Wednesday in which he attacked Mr. Kissinger's foreign policy. And there were some hints that racial issues could ultimately surface in the campaign.

The Nixon Pardon

Another very partisan, and potentially very divisive, issue is Mr. Ford:s pardon of former President Nixon. Nearly two-thirds of those choosing Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan indicated that they agreed with the pardon. The majority of the Carter backers opposed it.

Election Held Turning On Traditional Issues

By ROBERT REINHOLD

The final New York Times/CBS News survey of voters before the nominating conventions this summer suggests strongly that, no matter who wins the Republican nomination, the Presidential election of 1976 will turn mostl yon the the traditional partisan issues that have long divided the two major parties.

Just four years after the Vietnam issue and other bitter ideological disputes between the left and the right produced a landslide victory for President Nixon, all indications are that the outcome this year will depend more on the familar domestic and economic questions.

The chief beneficiary of this new mood is Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia Governor who blitzed through the Democratic primaries with a moderate stance and a plea for a return to old values.

The survey found that Mr. Carter's commanding head start over the Republicans in the Presidential campaign is rooted in the following factors:

¶His success in capturing the Democratic nomination without driving away those Democrats, most of them liberals, who opposed him.

¶His ability at the same time to recapture the wayward, conservative elements of the party such as the Democrats who voted for President Nixon in 1972 and those who usually prefer Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

¶His solid standing among independents and "swing" voters whose support is normally essential for victory by the Republicans, who are a minority.

¶The bitterly divisive race for the Republican nomination between President Ford and Ronald Reagan, which has left so many Republicans disaffected that about half of them say they will either vote for Mr. Carter or stay next November.

The new survey substantially confirms what has been found consistently in the Gallup Poll and other recent surveys—that if the election were held today, Mr. Carter would probably swamp either Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan by margins approaching President Nixon's over Senator George McGovern in 1972.

The Times/CBS News poll found that Mr. Carter would lead the incumbent President by nearly 2 to 1 amd Mr. Reagan by better than 2 to 1.

Moreover, the poll confirmed on a national level a phenomenon detected in The Times/CBS News surveys in the final primary states—the potential for massive defections of Republican voters to Mr. Carter.

About 3 of every 10 Republicans backing Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan said that they would rather vote for Mr. Carter if their man failed to get the Republican nomination. By sharp contrast, only half that many, about 15 percent, of the disappointed Democrats—those who said that they would have preferred someone other than Mr. Carter—said that they would defect to the Republicans in November.

Issue of Party Loyalty

Party loyalty may well reappear and cut the defection rate once the Republicans make their choice, particularly if Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan are joined in one ticket.

However, the survey contained many unmistakable signs that the national political complexion has been radically altered in 1976, and few of the signs could be taken as encouraging to the Republicans.

The latest Gallup Poll, released last week, found that Mr. Carter's lead over both potential Republican rivals is very similar to the lead that President Nixon held over Senator McGovern at the comparable point in the 1972 campaign.

The new survey was the fifth of a monthly series of national polls conducted by The Times and CBS News since the political season opened last February. It was taken at a critical juncture in the campaign, between the last of the primaries and the opening of the national party conventions. A total of 1,453 Americans of all political leanings were interviewed by telephone between June 15 and 20.

The results closely reflect the stunning party reversals in 1976, when the usually fractious Democrats, despite some misgivings, rallied around Mr. Carter, and the usually unified Republicans were plunged into an acrimonious intramural dispute.

Things May Change

At the same time, the survey also reflects another profound change in the mercurial American political mood, the apparent re-emergence of partisanship—Democrats versus Republicans—as the central motivating force in national electoral politics.

Normally, such a trend helps the Democrats. Since only about 3 of every 10 voters consider themselves liberals, the Republicans tend to do best when the battle lines are drawn explicity between conservatives and liberals. But since 4 of every 10 voters consider themselves Democrats, and many more usually vote Democratic, a strictly partisan fight is likely to benefit the Democratic candidate.

Things could change once the Presidential race is directly joined in September. But it was possible to get some sense of the impending race by asking

How Voter Survey Is Conducted

The New York Times/CBS News survey is based on telephone interviews conducted June 15 to June 20 with 1,453 adult men and women across the continental United States.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges in the country. The exchanges were chosen in such a way to insure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its numbers in the population.

The results have been weighted by selection probabilities related to household size and party affiliation and by race, sex, region, age and education. The weighting procedure is used as a safeguard against random variations for these factors in the sample.

In theory, one can say with 95 percent certainty that the overall results in a sample of this size differ by no more than 3 percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Americans of voting age. For Democrats, Republicans or Independents alone, the theoretical error margin is about 5 percentage points, and the error for smaller sub-groups is somewhat larger.

These theoretical errors do not take into account a small margin of additional error resulting from the various practical difficulties in taking any survey of public opinion.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of Harvard University.

Mr. Carter's World . . .

Jimmy Carter, who says he can "testify personally to the vigor of the democratic process in our own country," wants to try practicing the processes of democracy in foreign policy as well. Through his policy statements so far, the presumptive Democratic Presidential candidate is advocating a more open, cooperative approach to relations among nations—not only in the substance of policy but in the process by which it is formed.

Mr. Carter's speeches and the draft platform of the Democratic Party have sketched the broad lines of a philosophy suggesting that the Democrats' most influential foreign policy planners seek an approach different in tone and technique from attitudes prevailing under the Nixon and Ford Administrations. Granting the risk in measuring rhetoric against actual performance, at least three themes of contrasting emphasis can safely be drawn between what Mr. Carter is saying and what Secretary of State Kissinger has been doing.

The Democratic candidate and his advisers argue that top diplomatic priority must go to solidifying the links, both at policymaking and working levels, between this country and its principal allies, in Western Europe and Japan; after that can come a concerted approach to the Soviet Union. Secretary Kissinger always seemed to proceed from the notion that the Soviet-American relationship came first, and from that would flow orderly relations with the Western allies.

Secondly, as underscored in Wednesday's speech to the Foreign Policy Association, Mr. Carter seems prepared to address global economic problems in their own right; Mr. Kissinger was late in recognizing the economic impact on world relationships, and even now seems to view economic problems largely in their political context.

Finally, Mr. Carter stresses the importance of maintaining broad public support and understanding of foreign policy decisions. Mr. Kissinger's diplomatic activity has often been marred by intense secrecy; on occasion his moves were not understood even by his own Department of State, to say nothing of the Congress and public at large.

. . . Under Scrutiny

Between word and deed stretches a broad gulf, and voters have learned to their sorrow how different a President's decisions in office may be from his rhetoric in the campaign. The tone of public statements may sometimes strike more sensitive chords than the actual words spoken.

For instance, several foreign ambassadors listening to Mr. Carter's Foreign Policy Association speech were disturbed by what they regarded as an ominous "we-they" attitude as he spoke of the industrial world's relations with the nations of the developing world. This sensitivity —over-sensitivity, perhaps—on the part of third world observers stems from an ingrained skepticism about conflicting United States intentions over the years, and Mr. Carter cannot ignore it if his offers of democratic cooperation in policymaking are to be convincing.

Careful scrutiny of a candidate's phrases often reveals deliberate hedging. "I would never give up full control of the Panama Canal," Mr. Carter said, adding "as long as it had any contribution to make to our national security"—a conditional note which opens a wide realm of judgmental freedom.

For all his criticism of Secretary Kissinger, Mr. Carter was ready to credit elements of the present Administration's policy with which he could agree, specifically, Mr. Kissinger's new posture toward the nations of Africa.

It is unreasonable to expect a candidate for high office to spell out exactly how he might respond to future contingencies. But in his carefully reasoned statements so far—particularly his impromptu responses to questions—the former Georgia Governor has gone a long way toward dulling charges of unfamiliarity with foreign policy challenges that would confront him as President.

Kennedy and Castro

Possible Cuban Links to the 1963 Killing Seen as Basis for Study

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 24 — On the strength of a report by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, some Senators have called for another investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy. If the call is answered, and it might be one day, the new investigation would be the sixth conducted on a major scale by government officials since John F. Kennedy was murdered in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963.

News Analysis

What more is to be done in the way of investigation in the 13th year after the murder of the 35th President of the United States?

Trails Have Grown Cold

Trails unexplored at the time grew cold and now are covered with the underbrush of passing years.

J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the F.B.I. at the time of the assaination, is dead. So is Allen W. Dulles, Director of Central Intelligence until the spring of 1961, a man knowledgeable about the Kennedy Administration plots against Cuba's Prime Minister, Fidel Castro.

However, according to Senator Richard S. Schweiker, the Pennsylvania Republican who remains among the most enthusiastic of the assassination students and potential conspiracy theorists, the previous Federal investigations of the murder amounted to "a cover-up."

While Mr. Schweiker has retreated from his assertion of last October that the Warren Commission report would collapse "like a house of cards," he still maintains that there are "promising leads." He takes this view despite the conclusion of yesterday's report, which h helped write, that no new evidence sufficed "to justify a conclusion that there was a conspiracy."

The focus of a new investigation, however, would be rather limited in scope and different in emphasis from the earlier studies, according to staff members of the Senate select committee.

Mr. Schweiker and, with less enthusiasm, some of his Senate colleagues, want to tie up what they believe to be loose ends remaining in three fields.

Areas for Study

First, as the committee put it, "the possibility exists that senior officials [of the F.B.I. and the C.I.A.] made conscious decisions not to disclose potentially important information" relating to the assassination.

The staff specialists say a new inquiry could try to determine "on whose authority" and for what reasons the post-mortem investigations by both agencies were crippled or halted.

Second, questions remain unresolved about the role of a man referred to as Am/Lash, a Cuban official close to Mr. Castro, who was chosen by the C.I.A. to kill the Prime Minister and lead a coup overthrowing the Castro government.

The select committee established that AM/Lash, in reality Rolando Cubelo, was receiving C.I.A. instructions on eliminating Mr. Castro at the very time Lee Harvey Oswald was preparing to shoot at President Kennedy.

Was it possible, the committee staff members ask, that Am/Lash could have been a double agent whose direct knowledge of the C.I.A.'s intentions toward Mr. Castro led to the Kennedy murder?

The third area for further investigation, Mr. Schweiker contends, concerns leads purporting to involve several "mysterious strangers" of Cuban origin, whom the intelligence agencies picked up in the aftermath of the murder and then dropped.

One lead involved reports assembled by the C.I.A. about a Cuban-American who crossed from Texas into Mexico on Nov. 23, 1963, and then boarded a Cuban airliner bound for Havana several days later as the only passenger.

Another involved an unidentified person who arrived in Mexico City the night of the Kennedy murder and boarded a Cuban airliner that had been delayed five hours to take the man to Havana. The passenger was not subjected to customs controls.

A Senate official who is close to the committee investigation said today, "They feel there is a conspiracy. But they are not ready to point a finger yet at pro-Castro or anti-Castro forces. They also feel there are indications Am/Lash was a double agent."

Along with the recommendation that the new Senate intelligence oversight committee follow up these aspects of the assassination, the select committee has handed over 5,000 pages of documents relating to its own investigation.

Senator Schweiker is scheduled to appear Sunday on the "Face The Nation" television program to plead his cause for pursuit of the leads.

But aides of Senator Daniel K. Inouye, who is chairman of the new intelligence committee, said that the Hawaii Democrat wanted an opportunity to study the latest investigative report before authorizing a new inquiry.

"It is not his first priority," an Inouye aide said.

An aide of Howard H. Baker Jr., a member of the old and new committees, said, "Loose ends should be wrapped up," but added, "He is not overly enthusiastic. I doubt if it has top priority."

Nor is it certain what the United States would have done or would still do if it were suddenly established that the Castro Government indeed plotted and directed the killing of President Kennedy.

At the time, with the 1961 debacle of the C.I.A.-directed Bay of Pigs landing fresh in mind and the 1962 Cuba missile crisis only a year behind them, Kennedy Administration officials were predisposed to avoid still another "Cuban flap," as the select committee report makes clear.

There is no indication whatsoever that the currrent leaders of the United States desire a "Cuban flap" now, either.

Ford or Reagan?

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

The near-certainty of Jimmy Carter's nomination by the Democrats, and the fact that in the general election Mr. Carter will have a regional claim on most of the Southern and border states, poses the central question in the continuing Republican fight: Would Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan be more likely to defeat Jimmy Carter?

The polls say neither. A Gallup Poll taken just after the primaries shows the Georgian winning 53-39 over Mr. Ford and 58-35 over Mr. Reagan. But that is not an infallible guide to an election that won't be held for four months, with 7 or 8 percent undecided now and two national conventions, a national campaign, and no one knows what events intervening. Besides, popular votes don't necessarily translate into electoral votes.

Conventional wisdom says Mr. Ford would run best against Mr. Carter. This is clearly an outgrowth of the belief that Mr. Reagan is "another Goldwater"; in fact, the former California governor would be a quite different man in quite different circumstances running not against a President promising peace but against another former governor.

Reagan strategists and partisans claim that this year it is the outsider and challenger, not the insider and incumbent, who is more nearly in the "mainstream." But that overlooks the panoply of the Presidency, which surrounds even Gerald Ford, and the possibility that he might yet be able to generate some kind of "rally round the President" syndrome.

■

There are a couple of constants. Mr. Reagan is the more interesting campaigner by far, but he is more widely perceived, and can be more easily pictured, as a tool of the radical right. On the other hand, Mr. Ford is popularly seen as a dull campaigner without great intellectual or charismatic presence, but as a decent fellow of basic integrity. If he is the man who pardoned Richard Nixon, it is Mr. Reagan who pops off frighteningly about Angola, Rhodesia, Panama, rather well lending himself to the warmonger tag the Democrats will try to attach to him (and which Mr. Ford already has flourished).

Mr. Reagan was not even willing to compete with Mr. Ford in New Jersey or Pennsylvania, and Vice President Rockefeller, a Ford beneficiary, still is a great power in New York politics. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that Mr. Ford would run best in these states and in the Northeast generally—including Michigan, his home state, and Ohio, where he defeated Mr. Reagan in the primary.

On the other hand, Mr. Reagan has to be considered the stronger candidate in his home state of California—and, in fact, his success in attracting Democratic voters while twice winning election as a minority-party governor of the largest state is one of the major selling points of the Reagan campaign.

As a Western conservative, Mr. Reagan also has to be given the edge in most of the mountain and Southwestern states. Since he walloped Mr. Ford in the Indiana primary, skunked him in the Missouri convention, and ran respectably in the Illinois primary, Mr. Reagan can't be discounted in the Midwest either.

His smashing victory over Mr. Ford in the Texas primary, moreover, suggests he might run better not only in that battleground state but in the South generally. It's hard to envision Mr. Ford taking any Southern state, save perhaps Florida, from Jimmy Carter; but Mr. Reagan might make substantial inroads in that region.

It is that possibility that may be the strongest argument for Mr. Reagan's greater "electability." That is because Mr. Carter, by carrying the 11 states of the old Confederacy, with 130 electoral votes, and the four principal border states (Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia and Maryland) with 37 electoral votes, could place himself within 102 votes of an electoral majority. He might then aim at New York, Michigan, Illinois and New Jersey (not to mention numerous smaller Democratic states like Massachusetts) for a narrow majority of 272 electoral votes. Thus, denying Mr. Carter a solid Southern and border-state base might be of crucial importance.

Mr. Ford, on the other hand, is profoundly handicapped by the necessity of winning the nomination of a narrowly based conservative party. His best chance in November might well be to run a middle-road campaign, with someone like Elliot Richardson, Charles Percy or Senator Edward Brooke as his running mate, appealing to independents, businessmen, disaffected Democrats and moderate Republicans, with the major industrial and Middle-Western states as his prime targets. But to argue that kind of "electability" is not the approved way to seek the nomination of a party that in the last four elections has nominated Barry Goldwater once and Richard Nixon thrice.

Hi Ho, Silver!

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 24 — Jimmy Carter, who is not usually a frivolous man, poked fun at Henry Kissinger the other day as "the Lone Ranger" of American foreign policy. "Hi Ho, Silver!" Carter said in effect. But the important thing about the Governor's latest speech is not that he differed with so many of Mr. Kissinger's policies but agreed with so many of them.

His emphasis was different: priority for consultation with allies rather than the Communists. His style, he indicated, would be different: not the spirit of domination but the spirit of cooperation. His appointments would be different: not star billing for "the Lone Ranger," Super K, but a cast of thousands, all working together for a better world.

"The time has come," he told the Foreign Policy Association in New York, "for a new architectural effort, with a growing cooperation among the industrial democracies its cornerstone, and with peace and justice its constant goal."

Mr. Carter is now doing what most Presidential candidates have done in the post-isolationist years: He is criticizing past Administrations but carrying on the main policies of collective security among the free nations and coexistence with the Communists.

Mr. Carter's differences with Messrs. Ford and Kissinger are important. They may be differences of nuance, priority and style, but it does matter if the Secretary of State dominates the conduct of foreign policy, concentrates on relations with Moscow and Peking rather than London, Paris, Bonn, Ottawa and the Latin-American capitals.

It also matters if the Foreign Service of the United States, and the Congress of the United States, feel vaguely overwhelmed by a brilliant but what they regard as an intimidating Secretary of State, and Carter may be quite right to raise questions about the Kissinger era, provided he knows what he would put in its place.

This he has not told the country in his three major foreign, defense and nuclear speeches, and it may be too early to expect him to do so, but he has been very careful. He has not challenged the major strategy of American foreign policy in the process of winning the primary elections or pulling his party together.

WASHINGTON

Mr. Carter is clearly playing politics with foreign policy, poking fun at Kissinger and Ford, and watching very carefully Mr. Ford's struggles with the nationalistic and jingoistic Republican isolationists; but like Eisenhower and even Dewey, he is sticking to the Atlantic Alliance, the United Nations, and a new and closer consultative agreement with the Western Europeans and Japan.

Dwight Eisenhower, in his struggle for the Republican Presidential nomination against Robert Taft in 1952, stuck to the principle of the Western alliance and prevailed over Taft after a battle not unlike the Ford-Reagan conflict this year.

John Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon in 1960, but just barely, arguing for American leadership in the world. Lyndon Johnson, after the murder of Kennedy, won in 1964 against Barry Goldwater, who seemed to be arguing like Ronald Reagan for a confrontation with the Communists, by appealing to the nation: "Let us continue."

Even Mr. Nixon won in '68 and '72 not as the old anti-Communist Nixon of the '40's and '50's but as the new Nixon who wanted peace and went to Moscow and Peking.

Accordingly, the theme of American politics and foreign policy in this turbulent generation since the war has not been one of fundamental disagreement between the major political parties and candidates over the policy of the United States toward the world but, since the days of Arthur Vandenberg and John Foster Dulles, of compromise and basic agreement over strategy and objectives.

Mr. Carter is following much the same line. On politics, he seems to be differing—as he is on tactics—but like Ford, though not like Reagan, he is in tune with the melody of the nation's troubled search for peace over the last 30 years.

Even when "the Lone Ranger" had Mr. Carter's New York speech read back to him in Germany, he was not disturbed. He has been telling people in Europe and elsewhere that, whatever happens in the election next November, American foreign policy will probably go along about as before.

After Carter's New York speech, Larry Eagleburger, Deputy Secretary of State, who is Kissinger's Kissinger, defined an architect as follows:

"He believes in a better world through design, because he looks upon design as the way to eternal grace. He is convinced that if you live in a well-designed environment, all your troubles will disappear. He advocates lots of light and air and sunshine. He advocates mass transit—for everyone else (he drives his own car). He advocates mass housing—for everyone else (he lives in his own house).

"For those who have long viewed architecture as the road to peace, prosperity and world order, the events of the last 24 hours have been good news indeed. Speaking personally," Mr. Eagleburger said, "I must say that I prefer the adventurous life on the

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

mediary for and senior adviser to" organized crime groups in California, Chicago, Las Vegas and New York.

"He directs their investments, their internal affairs, their high-level decision-making," the official said. "For as long as I can remember, Korshak's name has been synonymous with illicit business."

Yet for all his power and the scope of his operations, Mr. Korshak, now 69 years old, has managed to remain relatively anonymous. He has received little attention from the press. And he has never been indicted.

Inquiry by Times

The New York Times conducted a six-month investigation into Mr. Korshak's affairs in an effort to learn how he gained his power and how he has managed to operate with relative impunity.

Mr. Korshak, reached in Los Angeles by telephone, emphatically refused to be interviewed. He accused a Times reporter of having "slandered me . . . from one end of the country to the other."

During its investigation, which involved more than 300 interviews in Los Angeles, Las Vegas, Chicago, New York and Washington, The Times talked with associates of Mr. Korshak who have first-hand knowledge of some of his criminal activities. These men, who have not been willing to cooperate with Federal authorities for fear of reprisal, talked only upon a guarantee of anonymity. The Times has, however, verified much of the information they supplied.

The Times also scrutinized scores of Federal and local police documents during its inquiry, and was able to confirm much of that material.

From The Times's investigation emerged the picture of a man involved behind the scenes in various schemes that Federal officials have described as unlawful but difficult to prosecute because of the extraordinary protection his position as an attorney affords him and because of the refusal of witnesses to testify.

Among the schemes cited in Federal documents and described by Mr. Korshak's associates were these:

¶The blackmailing of the late Senator Estes Kefauver in 1950, when the Tennessee Democrat was pressing a Congressional investigation of organized crime in Chicago.

¶Payoffs to Chicago judges in the late 1950's for favorable court decisions and payoffs to Illinois Republican politicians in 1970. A state agency later ruled that some of the 1970 payoffs were illegal.

¶A stock fraud from which Mr. Korshak made a profit of more than $1 million. He forfeited much of the profit after the Securities and Exchange Commission charged that it was "unlawful."

¶A corporate payment of $500,000 to Mr. Korshak—kept secret in violation of S.E.C. rules—in return for his serving as the link in a business deal between the corporation and an organized crime figure.

Power Said to Stem From Ties to Unions

Repeatedly, both Federal officials and past associates said Mr. Korshak's power ultimately stems from his extensive and sometimes corrupt ties to powerful trade union officials, especially those in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and from his links to organized crime.

His connections have made many of those with whom he has dealt fearful of his demands, pressures and threats.

For example, a prominent businessman told associates that after he had dismissed Mr. Korshak as his labor counsel in 1961, Mr. Korshak warned him not to "walk alone at night."

Another executive said that in 1968 Mr. Korshak had threatened him with labor problems unless his company purchased employee insurance through a Korshak associate.

The Times has found no evidence to indicate that the recipients of those threats were harmed by Mr. Korshak or his associates.

When faced with Government investigations into possible crimes, Mr. Korshak, according to some who participated in his activities, has attempted to cover up. He urged witnesses not to talk during a 1957 Federal grand jury investigation and a 1959 Congressional hearing into alleged labor racketeering.

At a closed meeting of Justice Department officials last month, Mr. Korshak was described as the archetype of a new kind of intermediary who is able to deal simultaneously with organized crime and the highest echelons of legitimate business.

At another meeting in April, senior attorneys in the organized crime division of the Justice Department reached a consensus that Mr. Korshak was one of the five most powerful members of the underworld, according to one participant.

Report Calls Korshak "Most Significant Link"

In 1968, a Justice Department report described him as perhaps "the most significant link in the relationship between the crime syndicate, politics, labor and management."

Despite such notoriety among law enforcement officials, Mr. Korshak has retained the trust and admiration of many legitimate associates and clients—some of whom say they do not know the underworld source of his power and influence. Others, who do acknowledge knowing something about his underworld connections, regard them as a part of Mr. Korshak's past and now irrelevant.

His success—and his importance—depend on his ability to move in those two worlds.

Mr. Korshak said recently that his law firm represents at least 102 clients. They have included such corporate giants as Gulf & Western, National General, Max Factor, Rapid American, Diners' Club, Schenley Industries, the Hilton and Hyatt hotel chains, the Los Angeles Dodgers, the San Diego Chargers and Madison Square Garden Corporation, which owns the New York Rangers and the New York Knicks.

The leaders of these major companies have often drawn Mr. Korshak into their most sensitive decisions—the securing of financing, the arrangement of mergers, the appointment of key officers and directors — and of course they have paid him well.

Federal reports have described him as being among the highest-paid lawyers in America. Each year since the late 1950's, he has reported to the Internal Revenue Service law fees totaling more than $500,000, and the annual total has often exceeded $1 million.

Extensive Influence Among Entertainers

He has virtually absolute control over Associated Booking Corporation, the nation's third-largest theatrical booking known investments and one agency that is one of his few that he has sought to keep secret. His influence among stars and Hollywood producers and directors is extensive.

His clients have included—in addition to Miss Shore, Miss Reynolds and Mr. Martin—such established stars as Jill St. John and Cyd Charisse.

Among his close friends are —in addition to Mr. Wasserman—David Janssen, the actor; Robert Evans, the producer of "The Godfather," "Love Story" and other successful motion pictures, and David May 2d, vice chairman of May Department Stores.

"Sidney Korshak is probably the most important man socially out here," said Joyce Haber, the Hollywood columnist. "If you're not invited to his Christmas party, it's a disaster."

Professionally, Mr. Korshak is much less visible. He maintains no office in California and has never sought a license to practice law there. He is not listed in Los Angeles area telephone books, though police records indicate that at one time he maintained at least four unlisted telephones. He has not granted a substantive newspaper interview since 1950 and carefully avoids photographers.

The ease with which Mr Korshak has been able to lea his double life poses an inevi table and so far unanswered question:

Why do those of his legiti mate associates who know th underworld source of much o his influence continue their relationships with him?

Contacts With Pierre Salinger

Among the more prominent associates who fall into that category is Pierre Salinger, the former White House press secretary.

In 1957, as an investigator for a Senate subcommittee studying labor racketeering, Mr. Salinger interrogated Mr. Korshak and compiled a background report in which he described the lawyer as having a "reputation of being extremely close to the old Capone syndicate."

Nonetheless, Mr. Salinger acknowledged in a telephone interview from Paris that in 1964, as a Senate candidate in California, he sought out Mr. Korshak and accepted a campaign contribution of more than $10,000.

"It didn't bother me at all," Mr. Salinger explained in the interview. "The fact is that I knew who he was, and the fact is that he wasn't asking for anything from me and I wasn't going to do anything for him.

"The fact is that I needed to raise $2 million."

His success in the legitimate world of the well-to-do and the well connected allows Mr. Korshak, his wife, Bernice, a former professional dancer and ice skater, and their two sons to live in a splendor unusual even by Hollywood's sybaritic standards.

Automobiles, Good Wine and Fine Art

Los Angeles police records indicate that Mr. Korshak has at one time owned as many as eight automobiles, including a Rolls-Royce, a Jaguar, a Mercedes and a Cadillac. Friends describe his wine cellar as one of the finest in Los Angeles, and they rave about his art collection, which is said to include such treasures as Chagalls and Renoirs.

Sun. June 27 '76

The Contrasting Lives Of Sidney R. Korshak

Successful California Lawyer Is Called Link Between Crime and Big Business

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

To his associates in Los Angeles, Sidney R. Korshak is a highly successful labor lawyer, an astute business adviser to major corporations, a multimillionaire with immense influence and many connections, a friend of top Hollywood stars and executives.

He is so entrenched in Hollywood's social and business structures that he mingles easily with such entertainers as Dinah Shore, Debbie Reynolds and Tony Martin and with such prestigious businessmen as Charles G. Bluhdorn, chairman of Gulf & Western Industries Inc., and Lew R. Wasserman, chief executive of MCA Inc., the entertainment conglomerate.

Sidney R. Korshak testifying at Senate hearing on racketeering in 1957.

But Sidney Korshak leads a double life.

To scores of Federal, state and local law enforcement officials, Mr. Korshak is the most important link between organized crime and legitimate business. They describe him as a behind-the-scenes "fixer" who has been instrumental in helping criminal elements gain power in union affairs and infiltrate the leisure and entertainment industries.

This article, the first in a series of four, was researched and reported by Mr. Hersh in collaboration with Jeff Gerth.

Since the early 1940's, his name has come up in at least 20 investigations of organized crime, and in recent months he has become the prime target of a Justice Department investigation into sophisticated economic crime and of an inquiry by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into West Coast labor racketeering.

On the basis of their files on Mr. Korshak, Federal officials contend that he has been involved in such activities as bribery, kickbacks, extortion, fraud and labor racketeering and that he has at times given illegal advice to members of organized crime.

A well-informed Justice Department official has described Mr. Korshak as "a senior inter-

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after the committee's visit Mr. Korshak had shown him infrared photographs of Senator Kefauver in an obviously compromising position with a young woman.

Camera Planted In Hotel Room

Mr. Korshak explained, the friend said, that a woman had been supplied by the Chicago underworld and a camera had been planted in the Senator's room at the Drake Hotel to photograph her with Mr. Kefauver.

"Sid showed it to me," the friend said. "That was the end of hearings, and this also made Sid a very big man with the boys. Sid was the guy responsible."

In the early 1950's, another friend recalled, Mr. Korshak often borrowed a limousine and chauffeur to drive to weekend business meetings with Sam Giancana and Tony Accardo, the Chicago underworld leaders.

"This is where Sid was bright," the friend said, explaining that, in case of an accident or a search, the police would have difficulty tracing to Mr. Korshak anything found in the car.

During this period, Mr. Korshak was changing and expanding his operations. It was then that he helped the Chicago mob become entrenched in the West, where, The Times learned during its investigation, he looked after the underworld's legitimate business ventures as well as its hidden ownership of Las Vegas casinos.

Mr. Korshak's power and connections had escalated to such a level that by then the Chicago police department had all but given up. "Sidney was up on a plateau we never really got to," one senior police official said in an interview. "It never came down to our level; we never ran across him. We never saw Sidney meeting with the guys . . . Sidney was always meeting with lawyers, with legitimate people."

A New Need For Respectability

The new phase of operations meant a new necessity for respectability. His Chicago law practice had stabilized, and he no longer made courtroom appearances. Much of his day-to-day legal business was left to associates.

Mr. Korshak began to spend more time in Hollywood and to develop friendships among legitimate move stars and entertainment executives. He began using those friendships in new ways to help Chicago colleagues who were searching for opportunities to invest the high profits of the postwar boom years.

In one early venture involving his Hollywood and Chicago friends, Mr. Korshak served as general counsel for a group of investors who purchased control of R.K.O. Pictures Corporation for slightly more than $7 million.

Shortly after the deal was announced in 1952, however, The Wall Street Journal published an exposé on R.K.O.'s new owners, reporting that some of them had known connections with mobsters and other questionable ties. Mr. Korshak was described as "a sort of catalytic agent" in arranging the purchase. The R.K.O. takeover was abruptly called off, and Mr. Korshak resigned as counsel.

By the late 1950's, Mr. Korshak had purchased a home in Bel Air, an exclusive area near Beverly Hills, and had started to move more openly in Hollywood among rich and legitimate people. His double life had begun.

F.B.I. wiretap logs of the period reflect his increased desire for respectability and the concomitant need to isolate himself from his Chicago associates.

On Sept. 25, 1961, according to F.B.I. documents obtained by The Times, a wiretap disclosed that a notorious Chicago mobster known as Leslie (Killer) Kruse "had been instructed by the 'outfit' never to personally contact Sidney Korshak, hoodlum attorney."

The report also noted that John Drew, a Las Vegas gambler, and Gus Alex, an old Korshak friend from Chicago who had been accused of at least six murders, had received "similar instructions never to contact or personally associate" with the lawyer. "The reason for this," the report said, "was to keep Sidney Korshak from being tainted by association with known 'outfit' people."

Nonetheless, in some places such as Las Vegas, which offered extremely high pay and high visibility to entertainers, Mr. Korshak's two lives merged. His power was such that he obtained high-paying bookings for his Hollywood friends and clients at his favorite Las Vegas casinos; at the same time, he was maintaining direct ties with his old Chicago friends.

An F.B.I. summary of Justice Department records on Mr. Korshak, prepared in 1963, quoted a "confidential source" as stating that he "primarily represented a group in Las Vegas which might be loosely termed the 'Chicago group,' who were in the opinion of this source the biggest single factor on the Las Vegas scene."

Tall, trim and distinguished, with graying hair, he is said to favor conservatively tailored suits and to care little for late-night partying.

When he is in Los Angeles, Mr. Korshak usually lunches at The Bistro, an expensive Beverly Hills restaurant of which he is part owner. "He's got a corner table with two telephones," said a guest at a recent working lunch there. "All the beautiful women come over and give him a kiss. It's almost like a movie scene watching him."

Friends say that he carries large amounts of cash—sometimes as much as $5,000—and disdains the use of credit cards. One police official recalls having watched Mr. Korshak entering a telephone booth in Beverly Hills to make a series of calls. He was carrying a paper bag filled with coins.

Others talk with a touch of awe about the tight security at the Korshak home, which apparently is protected by sophisticated alarm systems and, on occasion, armed guards.

One friend disclosed that, behind a fake door in the Korshak home, there is a walk-in vault that contains an impressive collection of jewelry and furs.

But Mr. Korshak apparently is not among the super-rich, and that seems to be his own choice. Said one friend who has long admired his ability to avoid transactions that would produce traceable documents:

"Sid was not enough of a pig to make the last buck. It was always more important for him to be covered, and that's why you can't find his money. He was a great disciplinarian."

'A Good Friend... A Man of His Word'

Lew Wasserman, the head of M.C.A., described Mr. Korshak as a "very good personal friend" and one of the 40 or 50 people in Hollywood with influence. "He's a very well-respected lawyer," Mr. Wasserman said in an interview. "He's a man of his word and good company."

Told of some of Mr. Korshak's connections with organized crime, Mr. Wasserman said: "I don't believe them. I've never seen him with so-called syndicate members or organization members."

Others, however, acknowledged some familiarity with Mr. Korshak's background.

Gregson Bautzer, a well-known Beverly Hills lawyer, said: "Here's a man who came out of Chicago—obviously he did represent people [in the syndicate], but if a man has ability now, what the hell do you care what he did?"

Paul Ziffren, a Beverly Hills lawyer and a former member of the Democratic National Committee, acknowledged that he had served as counsel to Mr. Korshak in a 1970 income-tax case, but added that he knew little of Mr. Korshak's business life.

"My relationship with Sid is essentially a social relationship," he said. "I consider him a friend of mine, but he never discusses his business with me, nor do I with him."

Isolation From Clients of the Past

Told of some of the findings of The Times about Mr. Korshak, Mr. Ziffren said: "I suppose it's a measure of his discretion that I don't know much about him. I don't think in all the years I've known him that he ever mentioned the syndicate."

Today Mr. Korshak seeks to isolate the world of his successful Hollywood clients and friends from the mobsters who were his first clients at the beginninng of his climb to power and influence.

Sidney Roy Korshak was born June 6, 1907, on Chicago's West Side, the son of a Jewish refugee from Lithuania. He played basketball in high school and won a boxing championship at the University of Wisconsin. In 1930, he graduated from De Paul University law school in Chicago.

Even as a child, former schoolmates recall, Sidney was exceptional. "He was handsome and had a lot of ego and a lot of guts," one family friend said. "He didn't let anybody push him around. Sid was a tough guy."

Police reports and files indicate that Mr. Korshak began defending members of the Capone mob soon after his graduation from law school, but precisely when and how that association began could not be learned.

Many of the city's unions were then dominated by the Capone mob, and Mr. Korshak quickly became involved in labor law.

'Often Delegated to Represent the... Gang'

By 1942, an Internal Revenue Service intelligence summary quoted Government informers as saying that Mr. Korshak was "often delegated to represent the Chicago gang, usually in some secret capacity."

One of those secret assignments became known a year later, during an extortion trial in New York. Willie Bioff, a former union official and mobster who was on trial in connection with the extortion of millions of dollars from the motion-picture industry and the movie unions, described in his testimony his introduction to Mr. Korshak in a Chicago hotel room in 1939.

Mr. Bioff said that the introduction had been arranged by Charles (Cherry Nose) Gioe, another Capone mobster, who said: "Sidney is our man, and I want you to do what he tells you. He is not just another lawyer but knows our gang and figures our best interest. Pay attention to him, and remember, any message he may deliver to you is a message from us."

The trial made headlines in Chicago, but Mr. Korshak was unavailable for comment. At the time, he was on Army duty in Virginia.

After the war he set up a law firm in downtown Chicago with his younger brother, Marshall, who was already a key figure in the Democratic Party. Marshall was later elected to the Illinois State Senate and srved in high financial posts in state and city government.

ing Service Employees, and the

The new law firm prospered, and within a few years Sidney Korshak was serving as labor counsel for some of the most successful businesses in the city.

He became known as the lawyer who could—without the danger of a strike—settle disputes between his clients and such unions as the newly powerful Teamsters, the Building Service Employees and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International.

Friends in Sports, Banking, Business

Friends and associates recall that Mr. Korshak began about that time to move in new circles in the city, mingling at parties with bank officials, newspaper executives, sports figures and leading businessmen.

One important reason for Mr. Korshak's popularity, the friend acknowledged, was a series of late-night parties he held, bringing together some of Chicago's leading citizens and some of its prettiest showgirls.

"Sidney always had contact with high-class girls," a former Chicago judge said in an interview. "Not your $50 girl, but girls costing $250 or more."

To his close friends in the business community, Mr. Korshak became the person who could fix cases in the criminal and civil courts of Chicago. One senior partner in a large Chicago law firm told in an interview of having congratulated Mr. Korshak on a courtroom victory. As the lawyer remembered it, Mr. Korshak responded: "What the hell, I had the judge fixed."

A few years later, according to a close Korshak associate, Mr. Korshak said he had paid a Superior Court judge in Chicago $100,000 to fix a multimillion-dollar business dispute. A lawyer who had been on the losing side in the case corroborated that account. In a recent interview he said that a principal on the winning side had told him during the litigation, "There's nothing you can do because we've got the judge for $100,000."

Whatever his activities, Mr. Korshak has always tended in public to play down his own importance. One example came in 1950, when he was subpoenaed to appear before a closed meeting of the Kefauver Committee, the Senate group then investigating organized crime. He was called in to discuss, among other matters, a Colliers magazine article in which his role in the Bioff extortion trial was restated.

It was after that appearance that Mr. Korshak spoke briefly to reporters in his last known interview. He denied having been at the meeting described by Mr. Bioff and added, "My records will show I never represented any of the hoodlums."

'He was Always In the Background'

Indeed, a number of Mr. Korshak's close friends noted in interviews that he made it a practice never to appear officially as counsel to underworld figures. "Sid always used people in front of him," one old associate said. "He was always in the background."

The Colliers article charged that the Capone mob had gained influence in Chicago politics through Jacob M. Arvey, then Democratic Party chairman for Cook County, which includes Chicago. It further described Mr. Korshak as Mr. Arvey's best friend and "the closest man" to him.

But in the newspaper interview, as in his other public statements, Mr. Korshak sought to downplay his influence and power. He said that his relationship with Mr. Arvey was "purely social."

Federal Bureau of Investigation documents obtained by The Times show, however, that some informants at the time considered Mr. Korshak to be "stronger than Arvey and... the chief tie-in for organized crime with politics and politicans in the City of Chicago."

Ironically, the Kefauver Committee's 1950 hearings on organized crime provided Mr. Korshak with an opportunity to enhance his reputation.

After much advance publicity, the committee, headed by Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, who was known to be a contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1952, moved its investigation to Chicago. After a few days of secret meetings, however, Senator Kefauver and his staff suddenly departed without holding the public hearings that had been promised.

One trusted Korshak friend and business associate recalled in an interview that shortly

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

relationships with union leaders stem from his long-standing association with organized crime, which began infiltrating the labor movement in Chicago in the 1920's and 1930's.

Though he began his career defending members of the Capone mob, Mr. Korshak has in recent years appeared in public as a widely respected attorney or consultant for large corporations involved in labor strife or negotiations.

Mr. Korshak's effectiveness as a labor consultant has served as a wedge, enabling him to broaden his involvement in legitimate business, politics and banking. He has become increasingly influential in a number of publicly owned companies—some of them among the nation's largest—where he has participated in the most sensitive decisions.

But in a six-month investigation of his affairs, The New York Times has determined that the most critical turning point in Mr. Korshak's rise to power was his involvement with a prominent Chicago businessman.

In 1946, the businessman, Joel Goldblatt, then president of a chain of prosperous department stores that was a target of union organizers, became Mr. Korshak's first respectable business client.

At the time, according to a closely involved source, a number of union officials were demanding payoffs in return for labor peace. Mr. Korshak acted as an intermediary between Mr. Goldblatt and the union officials, resolving the company's labor difficulties and relieving Mr. Goldblatt of the need to be personally involved in payoffs.

Before his relationship with Mr. Goldblatt developed, Mr. Korshak had rarely moved in Chicago's establishment business circles.

Large Concerns Become Clients

Within a year, however, he was representing some of the city's most prominent businesses, including Spiegel Inc., the mail order house; National Video; and a number of furniture and manufacturing companies.

Most of Mr. Korshak's new clients were desperately trying to avoid aggressive attempts by honest labor unions to organize their employees. They also wanted to avoid doing business directly with the mob-dominated unions that would keep wages low but demand heavy extortion payments.

Mr. Korshak's ability to resolve union strife soon led him to his first contact with an establishment banker, Walter M. Heymann, then a vice president of the First National Bank of Chicago and Joel Goldblatt's personal banker.

Mr. Heymann was extremely critical of Mr. Goldblatt's initial decision to hire Mr. Korshak, but within a year, according to associates, was himself recommending Mr. Korshak to bank clients who were having labor difficulties; he continued to do so for 20 years.

One Chicago businessman who hired Mr. Korshak just after World War II explained his motives this way: "You've got to go back to the history of Chicago when you'd pay off for protection from hoodlum unions. You'd go into the State's Attorney's office to complain, and they'd [the mobsters] come in the same office while you were going out, and they'd pay even more. The only protection you had was to hire your own guards. It was a real Wild West show."

"I was beholden to Sid," the businessman said. "He stopped the petty payoffs. Sid was the great answer to taking me out of the payoffs thing—he was sort of a consolidation of the payoffs."

This was a pattern that —apparently unknown to law enforcement officials—would be repeated with other Chicago businessmen in the next 10 years. Federal officials say that payoffs designed to deny the rights of the rank and file would have violated Federal antiracketeering and labor laws.

Asked why Mr. Korshak has so much influence with labor, the Chicago businessman, who spoke freely only upon the promise of anonymity, hesitated and finally responded, "The underworld."

Link to Member Of Capone Mob

Many of Mr. Korshak's early clients, the businesman said, knew of his link to Murray (The Camel) Humphreys, a senior member of the Capone mob who was widely considered to be the key to the underworld's infiltration of Chicago unions. The relationship, which has been documented extensively in F.B.I. wiretaps, lasted until the mobster's death in 1965.

In 1962, one wiretap overheard Mr. Humphreys complaining that Mr. Korshak, who was then becoming prominent in Los Angeles, was "getting too big for his britches."

Mr. Humphreys was later overheard, according to the F.B.I., telling associates that he had summoned Mr. Korshak to a meeting to say:

"Anything you want to do for yourself, Sidney, is O.K., but we made you and we want you to take care of us first . . . When Chicago calls, we come first."

Mr. Korshak's most enduring labor associations have been with the Teamsters union, its former president, Mr. Hoffa, and such underworld Hoffa associates as the late Paul (Red) Dorfman.

Mr. Dorfman, a Chicago union official with old links to organized crime, is generally described by law enforcement officials as the person who introduced Mr. Hoffa to the Chicago underworld in the late 1940's.

By that time, the Teamsters were pioneering a new concept in collective bargaining—the health and welfare fund. The union's Central States Health and Welfare Fund, now the target of a Federal investigation, was established in 1949. Mr. Hoffa then controlled the fund, which awarded lucrative contracts for the union's group life and health insurance to an insurance agency set up by Mr. Dorfman's family.

Agency Said to Get Excessive Fees

In 1954, according to police records, Mr. Korshak purchased $25,000 worth of stock in the Dorfman insurance agency. In 1959 a Senate committee investigating corrupt labor-management practices heard testimony that the agency had received excessive commissions and fees from the Teamsters.

In a recent interview, the former president of a large California corporation recalled that in 1968, after his corporation merged with a smaller Chicago concern whose employees were organized by the Teamsters, Mr. Korshak, who represented the Chicago company, insisted that Teamster-related insurance continue to be placed with the Dorfmans.

"He told me," the former executive said, "that was the only way there was going to be labor peace."

Such a demand, Federal officials say, would have violated Federal antiracketeering and state extortion statutes. But again, because of the reluctance of witnesses to talk, law enforcement agencies were apparently unaware of any violation that might have taken place.

Mr. Korshak's associations with legitimate business and his ability to make some businessmen do what he asks have over the years heightened his influence in the Teamsters union. The law does not prohibit such associations, according to Federal officials, if they do not involve collusion.

He is known now to be among the few people outside the union itself who are capable of steering to friends multimillion-dollar loans from the Teamsters' often-investigated Central States, Southeast and Southwest Areas Pension Fund.

In 1957, specifically accused of having negotiated a substandard or "sweetheart" contract between the Teamsters and one of his clients, the Englander Company, a mattress manufacturer, Mr. Korshak testified before a Senate committee.

Under questioning, he denied the allegation and described the contract as a "catastrophe for my company." He did acknowledge, however, that the employees at the Englander plants were not consulted before the contracts were signed.

Higher Wages In Other Contracts

Subsequent Senate testimony showed that the contract negotiated by Mr. Korshak and the Teamsters at one plant called for wages as much as 30 cents an hour lower than those specified in union contracts for similarly employed workers at other Englander plants.

Most of the "sweetheart" contracts negotiated by Mr. Korshak in the late 1940's and the 1950's were worked out with the men in charge of union locals.

Sidney Lens, a long-time union activist and organizer in Chicago, told of one case in the 1950's in which Mr. Korshak was hired by management officials hours after Mr. Lens had informed them that he had successfully organized a vast majority of the company's workers on behalf of a local service union.

Mr. Lens recalled that Mr. Korshak telephoned and announced that he had been retained by the company, which had signed an organizing contract with the Teamsters union.

Mr. Lens said he protested that the workers had not heard of the Teamster contract or paid any dues to the union.

"Yeah, I know," Mr. Lens quoted Mr. Korshak as replying, "We haven't told them about it."

The workers in the company eventually were forced to join the Teamsters local, Mr. Lens said, and they signed contracts calling for wages and benefits substantially lower than those his union would have recommended.

In its investigation, The Times learned that Mr. Korshak has consistently dealt with Donald Peters, the head of Teamsters Local 743 in Chicago.

"He was always Sidney's boy," said one prominent Chicago businessman with first-hand knowledge of the city's labor corruption. "Sid dealt with nobody as much as Don Peters."

Peters Invokes Fifth Amendment

Mr. Peters, a strong supporter of Mr. Hoffa, was one of

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Korshak's Power Rooted In Ties to Labor Leaders

By SEYMOUR M. HERSH

In October 1961, a Chicago labor lawyer named Sidney R. Korshak unexpectedly checked into the Riviera Hotel in Las Vegas. The hotel was the site of a conference of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the nation's largest union, and it was jammed.

Nevertheless, the management quickly escorted Mr. Korshak to the Presidential suite, the hotel's best. Its occupant, James R. Hoffa, then the president of the Teamsters union and presumably one of the most powerful men in America, was abruptly moved to smaller quarters across the hall.

Three months ago, Mr. Korshak again exerted his power in Las Vegas, and his target was equally impressive: the Summa Corporation, the holding company for the vast empire of the late Howard R. Hughes.

Mr. Korshak was described by Las Vegas casino operators and lawyers as the architect of a 17-day strike by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union against a group of casinos and hotels, including six owned by the Summa Corporation.

Significantly, the strike did not affect the casinos and hotels that employ Mr. Korshak or his associates as labor counsel.

This article, the second in a series of four, was researched and reported by Mr. Hersh in collaboration with Jeff Gerth.

In Las Vegas and elsewhere the immense power and authority of Sidney R. Korshak are rooted in his mutually beneficial relationships with labor leaders. He has long been identified by Federal and local police officials as perhaps the nation's most important "fixer" of labor-management affairs, an expert in helping unions organize his client companies—and sometimes paying off their leaders—in exchange for the opportunity to orchestrate strikes and manipulate union officials.

Federal officials say that such arrangements are in violation of Federal labor laws when their aim is to deny the collective bargaining rights of union members.

Many of Mr. Korshak's close

Continued on Page 20, Column 3

major Las Vegas hotels and casinos.

A 1969 Justice Department memorandum that was obtained by The Times called the settlement a "sweetheart" agreement that violated the rules of the National Labor Relations Board. No criminal charges were filed in the matter.

Korshak Dismissed By Hotel Unit

The association dismissed Mr. Korshak, casino operators said in recent interviews, after the Summa Corporation began making heavy investments in Las Vegas and decided that the gambling city needed a cleaner image. Mr. Korshak was viewed as a link to the underworld and therefore unacceptable as the association's labor lawyer, the operators said.

The operator of one Summa Corporation casino said in an interview that he and his colleagues had decided to accept the costly strike in an effort to combat the power of Mr. Korshak and to insure that the hotel and restaurant employees would not make further inroads in Las Vegas.

Federal officials are known to be investigating Mr. Korshak's involvement in the financial affairs of the union and his close ties to Al Bramlet, the head of the 22,000-member local in Las Vegas, and Herman [Blackie] Leavitt, a vice president of the international who has been active in union affairs in Los Angeles and Las Vegas.

In a recent interview, Mr. Leavitt acknowledged that he and Mr. Korshak were good friends, but he insisted: "Sidney Korshak doesn't give me advice."

"He's a hard adversary," Mr. Leavitt added. "Why does a guy out of the bartenders' union or the janitors' union like him? Is he taking care of them? Is he slipping them some money?"

"I'll tell you why," Mr. Leavitt said. "Because, whoever Sidney Korshak represents, the union officials know that they're going to come away with an agreement. He doesn't believe in breaking unions."

Tomorrow: Sidney Korshak's influence in legitimate business.

the first Teamster officials to do business with the Dorfman insurance agency. He subsequently invoked the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination when asked about those dealings during a 1959 appearance before a Congressional committee.

The close ties between Mr. Korshak and Mr. Peters are underlined by the fact that in 1969, Mr. Peters was one of a small group of Korshak friends who were permitted, according to Government allegations, to purchase stock in a publicly owned company at far less than its market value.

In sworn testimony during a 1970 Securities and Exchange Commission inquiry into those stock dealings, Mr. Korshak, in an apparent effort to minimize his ties to a union official with whom he negotiated contracts, said that he had known Mr. Peters "about 12 years."

But a close Korshak associate recalled in an interview that he had often seen Mr. Peters and Mr. Korshak together in the late 1940's, more than 20 years before that testimony.

One instance in which the two men worked together came in 1967, when Mr. Peters and Mr. Korshak negotiated behind the scenes to work out a minimal contract for 2,000 skilled employees of the J. P. Seeburg Corporation, which manufactured jukeboxes.

At the time, according to a company official, the International Associations of Machinists had been attempting to organize the plant's workers with the covert support of management officials who hoped to avoid a contract with a corrupt union.

Talks Hidden From Korshak 5

The negotiations with the Machinists were hidden from Mr. Korshak, who was labor consultant to the company and a friend of its president, Delbert W. Coleman.

The involved official said Mr. Korshak had been kept out of the picture for fear he would persuade Mr. Coleman to recognize the Teamsters in an effort to get a less costly contract for his struggling company.

"In the last inning," the official said, "Coleman reverted back to Peters through Korshak, who got a fat fee because the contract, while not a 'sweetheart,' was a minimal one."

The official estimated that the Teamsters' contract cost the workers roughly $10 a week in wages, saving Seeburg $1 million a year.

Mr. Peters is a trustee of the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund, over which Mr. Korshak has had considerable influence. It has been investigated repeatedly by the press and by Government agencies looking into questionable loan policies and is now the subject of a new Federal inquiry.

The fund, which has assets of more than $1.3 billion, has lent nearly $200 million to Nevada gambling casinos and hotels, making it the largest lender in that state.

Federal documents show that Mr. Korshak, a management attorney, has played a large role in arranging many of the fund's loans. The Times learned, for example, that in 1971 he was instrumental in obtaining a $16 million Teamster loan for a hotel at O'Hare International Airport in Chicago.

Influence Over Choice of Counsel 6

One associate recalls that Mr. Korshak was directly responsible for the appointment of Stanford Clinton, a Chicago lawyer, now retired, as general counsel of the pension fund. Mr. Clinton, who also represented Paul Dorfman, said in a telephone interview that he was "sure" Mr. Korshak, among others, would have been consulted about his appointment.

James C. Downs, counsel to the Real Estate Research Corporation of Chicago, said in an interview that Mr. Korshak's intervention had enabled his concern to gain appointment as loan analyst for the pension fund, a position it later resigned. "I don't know if I could have seen Hoffa" to win the appointment "if it wasn't for Sid," Mr. Downs said.

By 1960, the labor scene was beginning to change, and so was Mr. Korshak's practice. There were growing demands from rank-and-file members, newspaper articles on union corruption, Senate hearings into labor racketeering.

A vital piece of legislation, the Landrum-Griffin Act, was passed in 1959, giving union members more power and compelling unions to file with the Department of Labor hundreds of written reports about all aspects of their activities.

The sweetheart contract negotiated in a few hours with a series of quick telephone calls was no longer possible. Negotiations became far more complicated. Mr. Korshak's success now depended more on his ability to insure freedom from strikes than on his negotiation of low-cost wage settlements.

Many of his new clients in Los Angeles and elsewhere no longer fully understood—or no longer wanted to understand—the underworld basis of his effectiveness. The businessmen who had first-hand knowledge of his background kept silent. He became, as the headline on a Los Angeles Times article would later say, "Sidney Korshak: Man Who Makes Things Happen."

Mr. Korshak's reputation as a labor lawyer grew. Some of his peers in that field say that they have suspected ties to organized crime in his background, but add that they have no "personal knowledge" of such relationships. Others suggest that whatever labor racketeering he might have done is past and that his reputation as a successful lawyer is based on his ability to be fair to all sides.

Business Methods Called Unusual 7

Lawyers representing both labor and management talk with wonder about Mr. Korshak's pattern of operation, which is unusual because he keeps no notes, no files, brings no documents with him to complex negotiations.

"I've never seen Sidney get involved in details," one Los Angeles labor lawyer said in a recent interview. "He gets impatient with them. He writes down important figures on the backs of envelopes or pieces of paper."

A Chicago lawyer similarly noted in an interview that Mr. Korshak "doesn't operate like any other lawyer."

"There's always a fuzzy area in any agreement," the lawyer said, "since he never takes notes or writes things down."

Charles W. Lubin, owner of the Kitchens of Sara Lee Inc., a bakery on Chicago's North Side, is cautious in discussing Mr. Korshak because Mr. Korshak once threatened him.

In the early 1960's Mr. Lubin developed a revolutionary idea: freezing baked goods for sale in supermarkets. But the process generated serious union objections that could not be resolved. So, according to a source with first-hand knowledge, Mr. Lubin hired Sidney Korshak.

It took Mr. Korshak only a few telephone calls, the source said, to settle the issue to Mr. Lubin's satisfaction and profit.

Less than a year later, the source said, another union dispute broke out, and Mr. Lubin began to suspect that Mr. Korshak was privately supporting the union position while being paid as a management attorney. He dismissed Mr. Korshak.

One of those involved in the situation recalled in an interview what happened after the dismissal: "Korshak learned about it while in St. Louis. He called up Charlie and threatened him by saying that he'd better not 'walk alone at night.'" The source said that Mr. Lubin, though he was not harmed, was extremely upset.

Mr. Lubin, during an interview with The Times, refused to discuss his relationship with Mr. Korshak or his reason for ending it.

Dodger Parking Contract Negotiated 8

In another case, Mr. Korshak was retained by the Los Angeles Dodgers to negotiate with a group of Teamsters parking-lot attendants who were threatening a crippling strike before the opening of the new Dodger Stadium.

The 1962 dispute was not settled until the Dodgers decided to award the parking-lot concession to a new company, one in which Mr. Korshak was a substantial shareholder.

The new concessionaire, known as Affiliated Parking Inc., negotiated a new contract for the attendants, who ultimately received one-third of their original demand.

Asked in a recent interview why he hired Mr. Korshak, Walter O'Malley, now chairman of the board of the baseball team, responded: "We don't like strikes just before you open up a ballpark. We did what any ordinary prudent businessman would do."

Mr. Korshak, he added, "had the reputation as having the best experience in this area. He provided us a little insulation."

"As far as we're concerned," Mr. O'Malley said, "he does a good job. And unless he's been convicted of a crime, we're not going to do anything."

Not all of Mr. Korshak's clients have been so loyal. The Nevada Resort Association dismissed him, even though, while serving as its labor consultant in 1967, he negotiated a favorable contract involving the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the Teamsters and 13

Carter Narrowing the List For Vice Presidential Spot

VEEP, From A1

been narrowed to these finalists, he said, each will be asked by a Carter representative about willingness to serve as Vice President and then be asked to answer a full set of questions about personal and financial matters that might prove an embarrassment to the campaign.

Carter said he did not intend to make his choice known before the convention. But he said that he planned to "meet with those three or four people at length" in Georgia or here and that no attempt would be made to hide their comings and goings from the press.

The Carter campaign has already commissioned a public approval poll by Cambridge Survey Research of 14 prospective vice-president nominees. And although the staff insists the list is the staff's and not Carter's, it provides a reasonable starting point in any speculation.

There are eight senators, three governors, two House members and one mayor on the list, all considered to be liberal or moderately so: Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.), Frank Church (Idaho), Walter F. Mondale (Minn.), Alan Cranston (Calif.), John Glenn (Ohio), Edmund S. Muskie (Maine), Adlai E. Stevenson (Ill.) and Birch Bayh (Ind.); Govs. Michael S. Dukakis (Mass.), Wendell Anderson (Minn.) and Hugh L. Carey (N.Y.); Reps. Peter W. Rodino (N.J.) and Barbara Jordan (Tex.), and Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles.

Of these 14, two—Kennedy and Cranston—have ruled themselves out, declaring they are not interested.

Not only is Jordan from a Southern state, but it seems highly improbable Carter would choose to set two precedents in one stroke: Rep. Jordan is female and black.

Of the group, Mondale may be the most conspicuously liberal and a strong defender of school busing to achieve court-ordered racial integration; Carter says flatly he is against "forced busing," though he does not support a constitutional amendment barring it.

In addition, Carter is said to have privately expressed reservations about Mondale in light of his early withdrawal from the presidential race in 1974 on grounds he did not want the presidency enough to put himself through the campaign ordeal. Carter himself has often said the long campaign has been a pleasant and instructive experience.

Three of the men on the list are over age 60—Rodino, 67; Muskie and Cranston, 62—and although their ages need not disqualify them, it is questionable that Carter would feel comfortable with a man 10 or more years older than he (Carter is 51) with whom he had had very little personal relationship.

Of the others, Stevenson, Church and Glenn appear on paper at least to come closest to Carter's requirements, and Glenn particularly.

Stevenson's famous name in liberal Democratic circles is a plus, but he comes from a state in which Carter already has the major political figure, Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, solidly in his corner.

Church would give the ticket expertise in foreign affairs (he is the No. 3 Democrat on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) but he comes from one of the states with fewest electoral votes.

Glenn's Ohio shapes up as a tougher target for the Democrats in November. The state has a Republican governor (James Rhodes) and has been carried by the Democratic presidential candidate only twice in the last 36 years—when Harry Truman barely edged Thomas E. Dewey by 0.3 per cent in 1948 and Lyndon B. Johnson routed Barry Goldwater in 1964.

In terms of compatability, too, Glenn appears to be closer to the Carter mold. In this first term in the Senate—he was elected in 1974—Glen has been a moderate, usually non-ideological in his stands on issues, and like Carter cautious in taking positions too far off center.

Although at 55 he is nearly four years older than Carter, his youthful appearance and strong physical condition—he still looks like the 1962 astronaut who first orbited the earth — make him appear even younger than the Georgian.

Like Carter, too, Glenn is a self-disciplinarian and a hard worker, with toughness and sense of independence generated not only by his authentic celebrity status outside of politics but also by his manner of winning his Senate seat. Like Carter in Georgia in 1970 and across the country this year, Glenn bucked the party organization in Ohio and won handily without it.

A possible source of trouble could be Glenn's vote this year against the common situs picketing bill, the strongly labor-backed proposal to permit all construction unions to picket a job site when a single subcontractor has a labor dispute with the contractor. But against this political handicap is Glenn's 70 per cent voting score by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education last year.

In the Senate, Glenn has been building a reputation for diligence and effectiveness among the freshmen. He recently had a 23d straight amendment passed on the floor, and he has missed only three roll-call votes. Carter as a Georgia state senator had a similar reputation, making it a point to read every bill introduced during his four years as a member.

Not on the list of 14 but known to be under consideration in the Carter camp are Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and, somewhat surprisingly, Rep. Brock Adams of Washington, chairman of the House Budget Committee.

Inquiries currently being made around Washington by the Carter camp indicate one other major consideration that has not been enunciated by the prospective nominee: a clean bill on personal conduct. Carter has campaigned on a high moral plane, and the recent sex-on-

The Weather
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Carter Is Narrowing List for 2d Spot

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

As Jimmy Carter deliberates on his choice of a running mate, only the broadest clues are available. Carter has enumerated two basic factors that will guide him:

• The person selected, he says, will be the individual he believes best qualified to be President if succession is required. This is a standard answer most candidates give, and it calls for a very subjective judgment by the presidential nominee.

• The person selected must be "politically and personally compatible" with him, Carter says, to provide maximum assurance that in the event of succession his programs and campaign promises will be pursued.

This condition appears to rule out the selection of a running mate who will give ideological balance to the tickets.

But inasmuch as Carter is widely perceived as a middle-roader, conservative on some issues and liberal on others, finding an ideological opposite would be difficult in any event.

SEN. JOHN GLENN
... middle of the spectrum

SEN. ADLAI E. STEVENSON
... famous liberal name

Until recent days, Carter also had a third criterion: that the person selected should come from a region of the country different from his own. Now Carter says his one-sided nomination victory makes this third point much less important. However, the dictates of practical politics render it automatic anyway. Carter needs no help in the South; he is the strongest possible Democrat there this year.

Carter has demonstrated himself to be a most practical politician, yet one who takes his public pledges seriously. Therefore it is probable that his choice will be an individual of competence and some experience, a middle-roader like himself, from a large state or region where the Democrats may have trouble in November.

Meeting with reporters at breakfast and making the rounds of Capitol Hill yesterday, Carter said he is leaning strongly now to the selection of "someone familiar with Washington and someone who has faced the voters in some elections."

He said he was "fairly well along toward reducing" his list of 15 to 20 names to four or five. When the choice has

See VEEP, A4, Col. 1

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Carter Mends Fences On Capitol Hill Visit

By David S. Broder and Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writers

Jimmy Carter, obviously bent on fence-mending, breezed through a round of talks with Democratic senators and representatives on Capitol Hill yesterday, pledging to work in harmony with them and even promising to raise money for them as part of his own fall campaign.

The prospective Democratic presidential nominee specified that he will schedule local fund-raising events for the legislators' re-election campaigns when he is in their districts or states campaigning for the presidency.

Carter told a group of House members and staff aides that federal campaign finance laws providing each of the major-party candidates with $20 million for the fall campaign prohibit such candidates from raising more money for their own campaigns. This ruling, he said, will free him to do fund-raising for other Democratic candidates.

He expects to have his own campaign itinerary worked out by late July, he said, and he will coordinate with congressional and senatorial candidates so that fund-raising events can be scheduled when he is in their districts and states.

The only slightly discordant note on dealing with Congress sounded by Carter all day came at a breakfast meeting with reporters. He said he would not "disavow" Rep. Wayne L. Hays but also would not promise to campaign for him or other Democratic incumbents named in the current congressional sex scandals.

After the breakfast, Carter in swift order met with the House leadership, the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, had his picture taken with an estimated 250 Democratic House members, lunched with the Senate Democratic Caucus (which unanimously endorsed him) and had individual meetings with Sens. Robert C. Byrd (W.Va.), Edmund S. Muskie (Maine), Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), Abraham A. Ribicoff (Conn.) and Harrison A. Williams Jr. (N.J.).

Throughout, the theme was harmony, both in the campaign and afterward as President. He told the House members that "the country is looking for harmony . . . a close relationship between Congress and the White House, and if I'm elected President you can depend on it."

He told the Senate party caucus he was devoted to achieving "the kind of harmony that will be a prelude to what happens in the next administration." As part of that mood in 1977, he said, he will consult with Congress on the preparation of legislation, while being an "aggressive and strong" President. He said he looked forward to "an almost unprecedented close relationship" of the kind President Johnson achieved with Congress. He also will look to Congress to educate him on foreign policy and domestic affairs, he said.

To both senators and representatives, Carter reiterated that he is inclined now to select a Washington figure who has demonstrated public support in an election to be his running mate—presumably one of their number—and soon will have his list narrowed to four or five.

Carter, sidestepping questions on the Capitol Hill payroll sex stories, was obviously wary of being dragged into the scandals that began when Hays, the powerful Ohio Democrat who headed his party's congressional campaign committee, was accused by Elizabeth Ray of keeping her on the payroll as a mistress.

Hays has since resigned from that post and his chairmanship of the House Administration Committee, but is still the Democratic nominee for Congress from his Ohio district.

Carter told reporters "I can't promise" to campaign for all Democratic incumbents but "I will not disavow any of them." Asked specifically about campaigning for Hays, he said, "I haven't decided that, but I won't disavow him . . . I just don't want to include or exclude Mr. Hays or anyone else. I don't want to judge whether Mr. Hays is guilty or not . . . I don't want to commit myself to support or disown anyone."

Carter also said that if President Ford is his opponent, "I don't intend to raise the issue of his support of President Nixon or his pardon of President Nixon. I don't think he was responsible for Watergate at all, and I think when he pardoned President Nixon, he was doing what he thought was right."

His stand put him at odds with Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss, who has said he would do "all in my power" to see that the pardon is an issue in the general election. But Carter confirmed yesterday that he has asked Strauss to stay on at the party helm through the fall campaign.

In a wide-ranging, hour-long question-and-answer session with some 35 reporters, Carter also said he:

- "Intends" to carry all 50 states and will write off none of them in his campaign planning.
- Is inclined to debate his Republican opponent, but does not want to "give my word of honor" that he will.
- Thinks Mr. Ford's delegate support is "very soft" and rates the President's nomination fight with Ronald Reagan "a tossup."
- Has some disagreements with the Democratic platform, but regards it as generally acceptable.

As for the campaign, the former Georgia governor said he was "taking nothing for granted," despite his current lead in the polls over both Reagan and Mr. Ford. He declined to guess which would be a stronger rival, but noted that Mr. Ford currently runs better than Reagan "even in the South."

Carter said he will "stick to" his compaign schedule, as he did in the primary campaign. While writing off no states, he noted that he has promised to campaign only in New Hampshire — site of his first primary victory — and Montana, the only state where he did not appear in his drive for the nomination.

FRANK CHURCH — WALTER F. MONDALE
. . . among those in Carter's public-approval poll

the-federal-payroll scandal has led to discreet inquiries about vulnerability in this regard by possible running mates.

Unlike nominees who have been obliged to select a running mate in a matter of hours under the severe strain of a convention's bedlam, Carter has the luxury of deliberate thought and exploration.

He has announced he is consulting a panel of 12 to 15 "distinguished Americans," as "a sounding board" and a safeguard against a politically damaging choice, such as George McGovern made in selecting Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton of Missouri in 1972.

There is no assurance, of course, that Carter's recommendation to the national convention will come from the list of 14 in the poll or any of the additional individuals who have been mentioned. He is said, in fact, to be looking as well at the private sector for names of individuals with strong administrative experience.

But without revealing his choice, Carter has sought to establish in the public mind that his selection will be a deliberate one, arrived at after careful exploration and thought. That approach by its nature puts pressure on him to make an impressive choice—as a yardstick of his modus operandi, and the quality of his judgment, in advance of going to the people again in the fall for their support.

Washington Post staff writer David S. Broder also contributed to this story.

50 Colleagues Boost Foley for No. 2 Spot

Associated Press

Fifty House Democrats, in a letter to Jimmy Carter, urged yesterday that Rep. Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) be added to those under consideration for Vice President.

They praised Foley as a man of integrity and as "indisputably one of the brightest and ablest legislators" in Congress.

The members said those mentioned for Vice President so far would impede the ticket in one or more ways.

"They either weaken your existing support, drive potential new backers into the opposition camp, or both, with no offsetting gains to the ticket," said the letter to Carter.

But they said Foley, chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, would strengthen and balance the ticket.

"During 12 years in the House, Chairman Foley has earned an outstanding reputation," they said.

"The best bet," the House Democrats said, is that Foley would complement Carter's strength in the South and border states, "as he would surely do in the Northeast and other urban centers where labor and consumer interests are strong."

And, they told Carter that Foley, "as a moderate," would "accelerate the trend you have already begun of a Republican crossover," while other potential candidates would reverse it.

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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Mechanics of diplomacy

To speak of foreign policy to the Foreign Policy Association at the Waldorf-Astoria is to interpret the Koran in Mecca and is thus, we suppose, an exercise from which no serious presidential candidate could abstain.

Gov. Jimmy Carter did not abstain. But his speech of Wednesday evening, for all its lofty and statesmanlike tone, illustrates some of the hazards of the exercise.

We have in mind not the generally laudable policy aims he outlined — closer consultation with democratic allies, a slowdown of the indiscriminate world traffic in arms, a standardization of NATO equipment, a negotiated withdrawal of American forces from Korea — but the promises of a drastically revised procedure in the execution of those aims.

Governor Carter is reportedly advised by a number of "gentlemen-in-waiting" of the foreign policy opposition who presumably would not reject an invitation to serve as secretary of state. These gentlemen find it tempting to distinguish — often in too dramatic terms — between the way Dr. Henry Kissinger has run U.S. foreign policy and the way *they* would run it.

These self-assured advisers to the governor do not discourage his references to "Lone Ranger" foreign policy and "one-man diplomacy." Perhaps such sallies are in the oppositionist routine, more or less expectable from outs trying to get in. But insofar as they hint at an easy return, in this complicated era, to the simplicities of Wilsonianism — open convenants openly arrived at and all that — they should be received with eyes wide open.

In fact, we aren't sure that any of Mr. Carter's foreign policy advisers could convincingly establish that Dr. Kissinger has been any more "secretive" or "amoral" or given to solo performances than his more activist predecessors — say, Dean Acheson or John Foster Dulles.

What *has* happened during Dr. Kissinger's term as national security adviser and later secretary of state is that the discovery of past deceptions and new disappointments has given diplomatic routines a new context. The American public and Congress have become considerably more sensitive to confidential diplomacy than they ever were in the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s when its results were more pleasing.

Yet the Kennedy administration's handling of the Cuban missile crisis, and before that the Eisenhower administration's response to the other crisis in Lebanon, bore little resemblance to town meetings. If those ventures had failed, the operational secrecy and the ex-post facto manner in which congressmen and allies were consulted might have caused rumblings.

Governor Carter should beware of advisers who suggest, to and through him, that a potential President really knows before he sits in the White House how he and his secretary of state will arrange the mechanics of diplomacy and crisis management.

By and large, the more activist Presidents have used "our entire foreign-policy apparatus" as a sometime convenience. They have drawn about them counselors and crisis-managers who inspired personal confidence during the big plays. Perhaps that practice is risky, but it seems to be inevitable.

Presidents, moreover, are busy men. And dire crises come on their own timetables, offering their own peremptory conditions, challenges and opportunities without deference to lofty declarations in favor of "openness."

When a presidential candidate takes up fashionable academic and oppositionist (and journalistic) war cries about the "secrecy" and "amorality" of the incumbents, it is well to recall some history — to recall, for instance, that the first White House advocate of "open covenants, openly arrived at" eventually found it helpful to keep the door shut and to temper his idealism with the worldliness of Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

American voters should not be promised a larger openness and candor in the making and execution of foreign policy than a President can hope to deliver; and when subjected to such promises the voters ought to begin counting their money. Unreasonable expectations of democratic procedure and morality in the conduct of foreign policy are expectations made to be dashed by events, at the cost of cynicism and disillusionment.

tephen S. Rosenfeld

A Carter Challenge To Ford's Foreign View

Jimmy Carter's new speech ensures that, if President Ford is nominated, the presidential campaign will be the setting for a debate between two serious and distinguishable conceptions of America's role in the world.

If Ronald Reagan is nominated, we will have no similar debate. For Reagan has no conception of America's role in the world. He seems to have only nostalgia for the period when we could impose our will on others without evident cost.

Carter, though, by whatever combination of deliberation and advice with which he proceeds in these matters, has come up with a statement which is at least as good a guide to his general approach as was Richard Nixon's Foreign Affairs article of 1967. He should tell us more about sub-issues. But he is now moving better to meet a serious candidate's responsibility to present his basic views.

Against the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger policy aimed at a Soviet-and American-built "structure of peace," Carter offers an American-led "partnership" among the world's democracies, especially those in Western Europe and Japan.

It is not a radically new or surprising policy but it does represent enough of a refitting of familiar elements to qualify as a viable alternative to the administration's approach in the last eight years. That the administration itself has—in frustration or insight—anticipated Carter in various respects in the last year or so does not detract from what he's now done.

There are several big differences:

First, the Carter approach is explicitly grounded in American moral values; the Ford-Kissinger approach, less explicitly, or only implicitly. Whether this would make a difference in the final policy result remains to be demonstrated. John Kennedy, after all, carried his explicit pursuit of freedom to Cuba, Berlin and Vietnam. Would a President Carter, who is very strong on Japan, squeeze South Korea on human rights so hard that Japan's balance, which is closely tied to the American position in Korea, would be tipped?

In any event, only part of American foreign policy has to do with the policy result abroad. The other part is domestic: Many people want the policy, whatever its effect, to reflect their values. Foreign policy is not only diplomacy, it's therapy. Carter recognizes this. He may even believe it. After Nixon and Kissinger, enough people want an explicitly moral foreign policy to make it worth a politician's while to offer it to them.

Second, Carter flatly rejects the Ford-Kissinger premise that the first requirement of American policy is to cope with Soviet power. Instead, he would tighten links with the democracies in order to deal not just with the traditional military, political and economic issues but with issues of third-world stability and development and of lifestyle. The various negotiations with the Russians would flow from, not to, this enhanced alliance of the democracies.

Perhaps the prevailing frustration with detente would have turned any new administration, even a Republican one, in this direction—as a political gesture if not also as a negotiating gambit. Undeniably, a good number of Americans identify a focus on the Soviet-American relationship as a hangover from the cold war. Many Americans are reluctant to be told that the Russians may make it tough for us.

In this new speech—though not in some past pronouncements—Carter is at pains to convey the impression that we can have our cake and eat it too: that we can keep closer company with the democracies and avoid showdowns with the Russians. What remains for him to do is to demonstrate just how our allies—who are in many ways weak countries without the means of much self-reliance—can render extra help.

Furthermore, I think Carter exaggerates the slack, in our relations with allies, that is available to be taken up. I assume that's why he has to go back fully five years, to the "Nixon shocks" and John Connally, to fault administration policy toward allies.

Finally, Carter would approach third-world poverty with the premise that rich country-poor country tensions are "often based on legitimate economic grievances." Granting the legitimacy of such grievances is the necessary precondition to any sustained effort to ease them. This has been done only hesitantly and incompletely by the current administration.

This seems to me potentially the largest difference of substance that Carter offers. The various measures he would support in this area of policy add up to what he calls "a more stable and more just world order." One notes, by the way, that the United Nations is not mentioned here or, for that matter, elsewhere in the speech. Evidently Carter would follow the underlying Ford policy of trying to steer third-world business into more businesslike forums.

For the moment, I would add only one thing. In regard to foreign policy, Ford is running on his (and Kissinger's) record; it's out there for everyone to see. Carter is necessarily running on his speeches—and on his vibes. The speeches can be scanned minutely for themes and nuances. But they're not only statements of his ideas. They're campaign documents and, beyond that, they're arenas in which his various advisers and staffers are vying for influence and future power. So read them with care.

EE

Mary McGrory

O'Neill Has Made His Choice Known

House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill laid out the case for one of his own as vice president to Jimmy Carter's designated representative, Charles Kirbo, last Wednesday morning.

"I don't want you to think I'm parochial," O'Neill said by way of introduction, "and that I would be for someone just because he's a member of the House, but my first choice would be Peter Rodino."

O'Neill went on to explain in practical, explicit terms befitting a man who has spent his life in the ultra-political climate of Boston.

"When I go through the Italian areas of my district, I go into the bakeshops and I see pictures of Rodino and Judge Sirica. This man gave the Italian people a tremendous lift. And there are 30 million of them eligible to vote in this country."

O'NEILL WENT on to tell Kirbo that Rodino's appeal extends far beyond his own ethnic group. The New Jersey congressman gets more mail than any other member — an average of 350 letters a day from Americans who are still grateful to him for what he did as chairman of the Impeachment Committee.

"He knows the feelings of the American people," O'Neill said. "He represents everything that is decent and just."

O'Neill conceded that Rodino's age could be a problem — he was born in 1909 — but not when you think about it.

"He is in great physical shape, works out in the gym every day, plays paddle-ball, and he's sharp, able, talented. He would be capable of being president if it came to that."

"Nobody is better liked in Congress," O'Neill wound up in a Roman-candle finale. He is a Northeastern Catholic, comes from a big city, is an excellent speaker and a natty dresser."

A NUMBER OF House members agree with O'Neill. Some 50 of them have signed a petition that is being circulated in Rodino's behalf by two New York congressmen, Charles Rangel and Mario Biaggi. A couple of "Rodino for Veep" buttons have sprouted on the floor.

Some of the others are not so sure. They wonder if Rodino's skilled and patient management of the infinitely perilous business of cornering Richard Nixon is a vivid memory with the voters. And there are, naturally, those who believe that if Jimmy Carter turns to the House, he would be better advised to choose one of them. After he brought it off, some felt free to go back to their original judgment that Peter Rodino was a nice little man from Newark who was not equal to the job.

ONLY ONE opinion counts in all this, of course, and that is Jimmy Carter's. He has said that it would not be appropriate for him to tip his hand until after he has been nominated. But he did say during a pause in the Capitol Hill hosannas that were being heaped on him that "someone from Washington would be the best choice." The line gave infinite encouragement to Rodino's partisans, who began immediately to point out that Rodino symbolizes the best of Washington — its occasional ability to rise to an occasion and to demonstrate that even the most powerful are subject to the law.

Although Carter owes fewer men than any all-but-annointed nominee in history, he may be slightly beholden to Rodino, whose stubborn refusal to join a pro-Humphrey, "uncommitted" slate in New Jersey eliminated what could have been a bump along the road. The man to whom he owes the most, Rep. Andrew Young of Georgia, the young black who established Carter's credentials with white liberals, is a long-time Rodino fan.

RODINO, it will be argued, although perhaps not to the nominee's face, provides a nice temperamental balance. As poor as Carter growing up — Rodino used to write poetry on tenement fire-escapes — he is much more humble and much less self-righteous.

And since Carter will undoubtedly want two terms, he might feel more comfortable with a partner without ambition. Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, who is being pushed as an equally strong lure for the liberals, is a much younger man with a future, which might be held against him. Sen. Frank Church of Idaho is another and most eager contender. Some in the Carter circle are saying that his style, which is also on the preachy side, would disqualify him because a campain conducted on such a unrelentingly high moral pitch on both ends would remind voters of a long Sunday afternooon in Glasgow.

SEN. ADLAI Stevenson of Illinois, bearer of a beloved and famous name, guarantor of Mayor Daley's favor, is being considered as a bright and moderate liberal who would be expected to know his place in a Carter administration. Sen. John Glenn of Ohio is still in the running because of his celebrity, although he has yet to establish a record.

O'Neill and company hope that Carter will be won over to Rodino because the danger of any skeleton popping out of the closet is non-existent. The full force of the Nixon White House was set to discovering dirt on the chairman of the Impeachment Committee.

"They came out of the woodwork," says O'Neill, "but they couldn't find a thing. Carter could rest absolutely easy with Peter."

Carter Visits Capitol Hill And Thoroughly Enjoys It

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

One of the catch-phrases of Jimmy Carter's drive for the Democratic presidential nomination was his hope that the American people could have a government as full of love and compassion as they are.

Yesterday Carter found part of the government, the Democratic members of Congress, to be as full of love and compassion — at least in public — as their presumptive presidential nominee.

Carter spent the day on Capitol Hill paying his respects to the congressional Democrats and their leaders and it turned out to be one great big smiling and mutually stroking love-in. During the primaries Carter appeared at times to be the least popular Democratic presidential hopeful with some elements of the party since George McGovern, but you'd never have guessed it yesterday.

When the presidential candidate appears, particularly one who has a good chance of winning, something happens to the skeptics. Open skepticism seems to melt like ice in the sun.

CARTER LUNCHED with the Democratic senators, which Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield noted was historic in its own way. It was the first time the Senate Democratic Caucus has ever met with someone seeking the presidential nomination who was not a sitting president.

Carter got a peace offering from Hubert Humphrey, whose noncandidate candidacy probably represented his strongest actual competition. Humphrey jumped to his feet and, without bothering to ask for recognition by Mansfield, moved that the Democratic caucus unanimously express its endorsement of Carter as a presidential candidate.

Mansfield called for the question before anyone had a chance to open his mouth to ask for debate, which no one appeared likely to do anyway, called for the ayes and nays (there were none) and ruled the motion passed in considerably less time than it took Humphrey to make it. While this was going on Carter reached over to shake hands with Humphrey and the two former rivals beamed at each other.

MANSFIELD, a man not normally given to hyperbole, was moved to compare Carter's effect on the Democratic party with the coalition formed in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's first administration.

House Speaker Carl Albert happily predicted that Carter would give the Democrats their biggest (and only) presidential victory since Lyndon Johnson enjoyed his finest political hour in 1964. An estimated 250 House Democrats stood in line like kids going to the circus to have their pictures taken shaking hands with Carter.

Elizabeth Taylor swept out of the parking garage at the Waldorf-Astoria Wednesday night with Presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter just moments behind. Carter had been attending a fund-raising reception, and when asked if Miss Taylor were present, he replied with a grin, "Yes, she was there to give me her support." She lent glitter to another New York gathering earlier in the week by getting together backstage with Jackie Onassis and Margot Fonteyn at the Uris Theater following Fonteyn's opening night performance in the Australian Ballet's "Merry Widow." Liz and Jackie had never met before.

GG

Carter charms Capitol Democrats, says he will win all 50 states

CARTER, from A1

Mass.), the House majority leader, into applauding Mr. Carter at the start of their session.

But after listening to him for a few minutes, they emerged singing his praises.

Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, a liberal from New York who has been cool to Mr. Carter, called him, "The most invitingly co-operative presidential candidate I've ever seen."

And Mr. O'Neill told a reporter: "He was great. He's got the ability to tell them what they like to hear."

Meanwhile, in various statements during the day, Mr. Carter appeared to be edging closer to an all-out statement that he would pick a Washington figure, presumably a member of Congress, as his vice presidential running-mate.

He said, in a response to a question, that Representative Peter W. Rodino, Jr., of New Jersey, is under consideration on a list that is believed to be headed by four senators—Frank Church of Idaho, Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois, John H. Glenn, Jr., of Ohio and Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota. Mr. Rodino is being actively promoted by about four dozen House members.

It was learned that Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer who is very close to Mr. Carter, has been talking to some key Democrats to ascertain their choices. Mr. Carter, himself, has been talking to others, including Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff and Senator George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee.

Though Mr. Carter again said his mind is completely open, he apparently is seeking reactions to specific names, generally those that have been mentioned in press speculation. One source said the names he discussed with Mr. Carter contained no surprises.

The warm attitude towards Mr. Carter yesterday reflected the fact that he has the nomination locked up and is, according to recent polls, the favorite to win November's election.

In fact, a general assumption throughout yesterday's meetings was that they were groundwork for relations in a Carter administration.

The ever-confident Georgian did nothing to disabuse that notion, telling several dozen Democratic House members at a reception that, "I have a good chance to be nominated and a good chance to be elected."

He said that the fact that a heavy majority of the 287 House Democrats turned up to have their pictures taken with him "is a good indication of the strong desire of myself and the Congress to co-operate and to show the American people during the fall campaign that steps are being taken to restore the mutual relationshop that should exist between the Congress and the president."

He lunched with all Senate Democrats and held a series of private sessions with Senators Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Harrison A. Williams, Jr., of New Jersey and Mr. Jackson.

Later, Mr. Carter reviewed fall campaign plans with Robert S. Strauss, the national Democratic chairman whom he earlier had called "my boss" for the next few months.

Campaign plans include a $5 million to $10 million effort by the national committee, concentrating on voter registration, issue analysis and polling, to supplement the $21.8 million Mr. Carter will receive in federal funds under the new campaign law that bars private fund-raising by presidential nominees during the general election.

For his part, Mr. Carter disclosed he plans to have his schedule for the entire fall campaign mapped out by August 1, to coordinate his travels closely with congressional candidates and to participate in fund-raisers for their campaigns whenever asked.

On the vice presidency, Mr. Carter told House Democrats he plans three or four hour personal interviews with as many as four of those being considered to make sure he picks someone who is compatible with him.

He said he is determined to make sure he doesn't pick the wrong person "after all the work I've done" to capture the nomination.

The Weather
Partly cloudy through tonight and continued quite warm. High today near 90; low tonight 70 to 75. Yesterday's high, 90; low, 70.
(Details and Map, Page C2)
Vol. 279—No. 35—E**

THE SUN

BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, JUNE 25, 1976

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Presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter (left) shares a joke with Representative Carl Albert (D., Okla.), the House speaker.

Carter tells Capitol Hill he'll win all 50 states

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Jimmy Carter gave congressional Democrats a good dose of his Southern charm yesterday, and told them he expects to capture all 50 states in the November presidential election.

The all-but-certain Democratic presidential nominee swept through a series of Capitol Hill meetings, calling for a united party campaign this fall that will show the nation the Democrats are ready to restore harmony between Congress and the White House.

Mr. Carter emphasized that, as an outsider, he wants and needs the help of House and Senate Democrats. He offered to help them in the campaign, including raising campaign funds for them, but refused to be pinned down on whether that offer included Representative Wayne L. Hays (D., Ohio), focus of the current Capitol Hill sex scandal.

In return, he received some additional support—the unanimous endorsement of the Senate Democratic caucus on a motion by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) and an offer by Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.) to turn over his entire presidential campaign staff.

On a day when the conservative Associated Press delegate count finally showed Mr. Carter over the 1,505 needed for the nomination, top congressional leaders were looking ahead to November as they joined the former Georgia governor in predicting a sweeping Democratic victory.

Representative Carl Albert (D., Okla.), the House speaker, said it would be the biggest Democratic triumph since the late President Johnson won 45 of the 50 states in 1964. And Senator Mike Mansfield (D., Mont.), the Senate majority leader, said Mr. Carter already "has tied together the Democratic party as it has not been tied together since the first Roosevelt administration."

Mr. Carter, meanwhile, declared for the first time: "I intend to carry all 50 states in November."

And he indicated to Senate Democrats that he thinks Republican challenger Ronald Reagan might be a tougher foe than President Ford because he is less known and has more potential for gaining support.

Throughout the day, there were only scattered signs of the previous coolness towards the man who, in just a few months, has emerged from obscurity to a commanding party position that is rare—except for incumbent presidents.

For example, the two dozen members of the House Democratic Steering Committee had to be prompted by Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr. (D.,

See CARTER, A7, Col.1

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

President Ford and six other leaders of industrial democracies announced yesterday that they had agreed to pursue the objective of sustained economic growth with policies that seek to avoid reigniting worldwide inflation. They pledged this in a joint statement at the end of their economic summit meeting in Puerto Rico. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Palestinian extremists who had seized an Air France plane allowed its 256 passengers and crew members to get off the plane at the Entebbe airport in Uganda, but kept them in custody. The plane was hijacked Sunday after it left Athens for Paris on a flight that originated in Israel. About 80 Israelis and at least nine Americans were aboard. [1:5.]

A court in Angola sentenced an American and three Britons to be shot by a firing squad for their part as mercenaries in the Angolan civil war. One of the Britons had admitted ordering the execution of 14 other British mercenaries who had refused to fight. Two other Americans and seven other British subjects were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 16 to 30 years. The death sentences must be confirmed by President Agostinho Neto. In Washington, the State Department said the death sentence for the American, Daniel Gearhart, was "unwarranted by the facts as we understand them." [1:6.]

National

Government officials said that the Internal Revenue Service had revoked the tax-exempt status of the teamster union's $1.4 billion Central States Pension Fund, the largest such fund in the union, citing mismanagement and questionable loan practices. The revocation is retroactive to Jan. 31, 1965, and if it survives an expected court challenge, the fund would be liable for taxes on its earnings from that date that might run to millions of dollars. [1:1.]

Ruling in a Pasadena, Calif., school case, the Supreme Court defined a new limit on the scope of the power of the courts to issue desegregation orders meant to bring about what is called a "unitary" school system desegregating an illegal "dual" system that segregates blacks from whites. In a 6-to-2 opinion, the Court said that even if school authorities have not yet complied with all aspects of a court-ordered desegregation plan, the court cannot require them to readjust their attendance zones each year in an effort to maintain the same racial mix despite changing population patterns. The Court said that if school officials initially complied with a court-ordered plan to revise their school attendance zones, thus achieving a "racially neutral" system of assigning children to schools, the court has "fully performed its function of providing the remedy for previous racially discriminatory attendance patterns." [1:6-7.]

The all-male tradition at the nation's service academies was broken with the entrance of 155 young women at the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. A law signed by President Ford last October abolished the all-male tradition starting with the class of 1980. The first women at West Point and Annapolis will arrive next week. The Air Force Academy now has a beauty parlor. One of the first things the freshmen had to do was to get a haircut. They had a choice of four very short styles. [1:1-4.]

The cure rate for persons with cancer of the rectum or colon is doubled when they are injected with an anticancer drug called 5-fluorouracil following surgery, according to two New York physicians, specialists in colorectal cancer, the second leading cancer killer in this country. [1:5.]

Metropolitan

The differences in Albany between the Senate and the Assembly over the public-employee pension issue deepened, further delaying the Legislature's adjournment. The focus of the pension stalemate, which is politically sensitive because of the voting power of the public-employee unions, shifted from the makeup of a pension study commission to the issue of retirement benefits for police and fire officers. [1:2-3.]

The State Assembly voted down a bill that would allow the Museum of Modern Art to build a luxury condominium atop its building on West 53d Street, combined with an $18 million museum expansion. But the bill's sponsor, Assemblyman Mark A. Siegel, Democrat of Manhattan, said that he would try again to have it approved. Assemblyman Oliver G. Koppell, Democrat-Liberal of the Bronx provided the principal opposition. He said the project was an extravagance that the city could not afford at this time. [1:4.]

The Other News

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The New York Times

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An N.E.A. Endorsement of Carter Would Be a First

By GENE I. MAEROFF
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, June 28—The National Education Association, a 1.8-million-member teachers organization that has gradually increased its political involvement, will take the final step into partisan politics this year with the almost certain endorsement of Jimmy Carter for President.

Such a move by a group that less than a decade ago eschewed political partisanship is seen as the full extension of its new policy of putting money and its members' time into the campaigns of candidates considered "friendly to education."

Political muscle is a prime concern of the 11,738 teachers gathered at the Convention Center here for the week-long annual meeting of the Education Association, which has never endorsed a Presidential candidate.

The emerging political consciousness of the nation's teachers will also be demonstrated by the presence at the Democratic National Convention of more than 200 teachers who will participate as delegates and alternates.

In addition, the National Education Association plans to make endorsements and allot $730,000 in contributions through a political arm in at least 350 Congressional races throughout the country.

"Electing candidates dedicated to meeting the needs of education isn't a goal, it's a means to an end," said John Ryor, the association's 41-year-old president.

Mr. Ryor continued: "Our goals, the things we need to enable us to teach more effectively and to live more comfortably — things like one-third Federal funding, collective bargaining- legislation in every state, national health care, a separate Secretary of Education, equity in teacher retirement nationwide—will not accomplish themselves."

The expected endorsement of Mr. Carter, to be made officially later this summer, is an outgrowth of the disenchantment of the teachers organization with the records on education of the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

Despite the 118-year-old association's conservative roots, it has been gravitating steadily toward the Democratic Party and spokesmen expect that more than 80 percent of its Congressional endorsements will be on behalf of Democrats.

"Republicans simply do not vote for educational issues," said Mary Magill, a first grade teacher in California who was elected to go to the Democratic National Convention as a delegate pledged to Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. "Even our Republican teachers find themselves voting more and more for Democratic candidates."

According to a confidential poll of the membership of the National Education Association, 43 percent of its members are Democrats, 30 percent are Republicans and 26 percent have no party affiliation.

Teachers say that they see no conflict between trying to maintain neutrality in the classroom and becoming involved with politics outside of school.

"My politics is not apparent in the classroom," said Barbara Plumb, a second grade teacher in Boise, Idaho, who is going to the Democratic National Convention as an alternate delegate pledged to Senator Frank Church.

Mrs. Plumb, who was wearing a button saying, "Dropou Ford," also said, "Since the quality of education is based on money, the only way to improve education is to elect education-minded candidates."

D

Democrats Face Few Disputes Over Seating at the Convention

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 28—The Democrats find themselves in the unfamiliar position of preparing for a national convention without having to resolve a long list of fierce political disputes over which delegates are entitled to seats.

Having nearly torn their party apart in 1972 with such credentials challenges, Democrats preparing for the New York City convention next month now face a skimpy list of a half-dozen disputes to resolve, none of them likely to have any effect on the nomination of Jimmy Carter.

With a first-ballot victory for the former Georgia Governor assured, the controversies on which the convention credentials committee began work today involve the identity of only a few dozen of the 3,000 delegates who will attend the session.

Four years ago, the competition between Senators George S. McGovern and Hubert H. Humphrey was so close that each side challenged delegates claimed by the other in a number of states, notably California and Illinois, in an effort to acquire a convention majority.

In addition, in 1972 the party was operating for the first time under a new set of reform rules on delegate selection that mandated more representation for women, oung people and members of minority groups, thus providing an extensive new legal basis for credentials challenges.

Since then, the rules have been made simpler and compliance has accordingly been easier, partly in a deliberate effort by Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, to reduce the number of divisive cedentials fights at the 1976 convention and preserve as much party unity as possible.

Although some 50 complaints were filed this year with the committee, headed by Senator Alan Cranston of California, a number were consolidated, dismissed as trivial, withdrawn or settled, so that the committee wound up with only four appeals to hear and four more possibilities.

In its major action today, the committee upheld the principle that a Presidential candidate has the right to approve delegates who run under his name, seating eight Florida delegates and alternates approved by Mr. Carter in place of eight who received more votes but were not approved by him.

The committee also approved a settlement reached in a New York delegate case. A hearing on a challenge was averted when party leaders agreed to add 16 women and young people to the state's at-large delegation to insure better overall balance. Under the plan, the existing at-large delegates will be reduced to a half-vote each, and the new delegates will each get half a vote.

Tomorrow the committee will hear and decide credentials challenges involving delegates from Pennsylvania and Puerto Rico.

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Carter Calls for Bipartisan Leadership in Foreign Policy

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—Jimmy Carter flew into this Wisconsin city to address the U.S. Conference of Mayors on Tuesday after declaring at a campaign stop in Asheville, N.C., Monday night that he hopes to call on "bipartisan congressional leadership" in establishing American foreign policy.

California Gov. Jerry Brown, Carter's last remaining opponent in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination, unexpectedly cancelled his scheduled appearance before the mayors. Last Friday, in a nationwide television speech, Brown said he would support Carter if the Georgian wins the nomination.

Earlier Monday, the carpenters union endorsed Carter for president, becoming the first of the so-called "hard-hat" construction unions to back the Georgian.

Every time a serious mistake was made in foreign policy, it was made in secrecy, Carter told the Ashville airport crowd of several hundred, referring to the bombing of Cambodia and other events.

"It's just like a wall's been built around Washington and we're on the outside looking in," he said.

"I believe in letting you and a bipartisan congressional leadership be joint partners in establishing the policy of our country," Carter said.

Carter attended a $1,000-a-plate fund-raising dinner at the beautiful Asheville estate of William and Mimi Cecil in Biltmore Forest that earned him $232,000, according to the dinner chairman.

Carter said Americans are "sick and tired of the constant squabbling and back-biting" between Congress and the President.

"We can have a good relationship between me as president and the Congress of the United States," he said.

Carter attacked the "lack of consultation and mutual respect" between the Republican president and the Democratic Congress, and recalled Harry S. Truman's presidency.

The almost certain Democratic presidential nominee said the late Michigan Sen. Arthur Vandenberg, "a great Republican," and the late Sen. Walter F. George of Georgia "always consulted with (Truman) in setting up" the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, aid to Turkey and Greece, and the establishment of Israel.

"It was a kind of working relationship between the White House and the Congress. We haven't had that lately, and I intend to restore it," Carter said.

At the dinner, which raised more money than any other fund-raiser so far, Carter encountered suave, monied Southerners, loud "country boys" and a dozen current and former governors and congressmen.

They gathered on the lawn of the Cecils, whose sedate home adjoins the opulent, vast Biltmore Estate, which they own.

As the sun set beyond the grass tennis court, the men and gowned women moved to a blue and white striped tent to help themselves from the buffet.

Arranged around the center piece—a dripping donkey made of ice—were platters of venison, pate, turkey, gallantine, salmon mousse, roast beef, ham, tomatoes stuffed with salad and shrimp, chicken, pork, potato salad, chiffon tarts, baba au rhum and chocolate au chocolate—"That's that rich chocolate thing," a waitress explained.

Waiters replenished wine glasses with Great Western Brut New York State champagne.

A bluegrass band, whose members wore blue jeans and checked shirts, entertained.

Back at the airport, Carter found a five-month-old donkey, a gift of Harold Enlow.

Draped over the fuzzy little critter's back, was a white satin blanket embroidered in red sequins which spelled out: "I am a Jimmy Carter Democrat."

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The Washington Post

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Carter Backs Disobedience If in Response to God's Word

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., June 27 — Jimmy Carter said today he believes civil disobedience against unjust governmental actions is warranted if a person is responding to the "word of God" and is willing to take the legal consequences.

Joining in a discussion of church-state relations at the Plains Baptist Church Men's Sunday School, of which he is an active member, Carter, however, reiterated his belief in the separation of church and state.

The duty of a Christian is to obey the civil authority unless it "disobeys the word of God" as expressed in the Ten Commandments and other Biblical teachings, Carter said.

"If the judgment is that it [the government] doesn't obey the will of God, then the duty of the Christian is to obey the word of God and also be willing to accept what the Bible teaches — the punishment that's awarded by the civil authorities," he said.

Several times in recent weeks, the prospective Democratic presidential nominee has gone out of his way to outline his views on church-state relations, acknowledging that his avowedly devout Baptist faith has raised questions in the minds of many voters, including Jews and other non-Christians.

Today he elaborated on the Sunday School discussion with reporters, giving a 10-point Baptist lesson guide that he said corresponded with his views on relations between church and state.

The guide states that the "church and state are and must ever be separate institutions," calls for a "just and righteous" government and urges submission of individuals to their governments "except when such submission mean[s] the disobeying of God's commands."

Carter made no mention of the use of civil disobedience during the Civil Rights movement but has praised the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who was slain in its cause, as a liberator of white as well as black Southerners.

Asked how a government leader should handle civil disobedience, Carter said, "The Bible teaches the citizen has to suffer the consequences of the law . . . The law is presumed by the civil authority to be just."

Alluding to the writings of Reinhold Niebuhr, he said: "We are supposed to have a responsibility as citizens to make sure the law, the government, the public authorities do provide for honesty, for fairness, for compassion, for concern, for equality of opportunity, for love as expressed in the Bible . . .

"So we have a responsibility to try to shape the government so it does exemplify the teachings of God . . . If at times the government, because of an inadequate influence of ourselves, violates in our opinion the word of God, then we are supposed to obey the word of God but accept the punishment that's administered to us by the state."

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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Mary McGrory

It's Not All Over For Jerry Brown

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California did something impossible in his 30-minute Friday night television speech. He drained off the embarrassment from his continuing and admittedly hopeless quest for the presidency.

He did it by doing the unexpected. He was expected to lay down his sword at last to Jimmy Carter — whom, in an aside, he promised to support "enthusiastically" in November. He was expected to swagger a bit about his victories over Carter in the late primaries and promise to be back next time.

Instead, Brown gave an impassioned, rapid-fire review of the trouble he had seen in America during his brief and flashy campaign. He didn't talk politics. He talked policies. He told the Democrats the issues they must address if they want to take the country in November.

The young governor appeared distraught and looked faintly unkempt. He never smiled and scarcely paused for breath. He spoke without a text or even any notes. It was like a half hour with Peter the Hermit. Repent, the end is nigh.

POLITICS HE dismissed in the first paragraph. He was born into politics. His father had been governor of California, too. That was a detail. What matters is what is happening in the country, in the bombed-out, burnt-out slums, in the Bronx and in Newark. What is important is the fact that old people are left behind in the central cities while their children strike out for the suburbs.

He rattled it all off without even the hint of transitions or witticisms. He was like a war correspondent stumbling in from the front, afraid he may not be able to convey the horrors he has seen and the gravity of the situation.

We must do battle against the Pentagon and the B1 bomber. We must stand up to Detroit and its polluting cars. We must save our air and water. We must save jobless and despairing youth.

The contrast with Jimmy Carter, who says that Americans need only vote for him to get the decent, compassionate, loving government they deserve, was complete. Brown says that Americans have to demand those things from their leaders.

The young governor was demonstrating to his followers and those few hundred delegates pledged to him that they need not be ashamed of supporting him. He was showing them that he had a right to run for the presidency and to stay with it, because he can do what he thinks a president ought to do — "set a tone and define a vision."

HE WAS TRYING to tell them that he is not the spoiled crown prince of American politics, petulant and privileged beneficiary of his father's good name.

What else he accomplished by his tour de force it is hard to say. Like his candidacy, it came awfully late. The nominee is chosen, and he is unlikely to ask Brown to address the convention. The platform is written and reflects none of the urgency that informed Brown's outburst. The Democrats aren't looking for a prophet, they just want a winner. The party leaders will be irritated by a young man who has articulated the issues better than anyone in the campaign.

Brown has bought himself some time and some elbow-room. Those delegates who are anxious to get on the train may be content to wait a while longer. Brown may be able to put off his surrender until the C's are reached in the roll call at Madison Square Garden.

He's going to move around a little bit, betimes. He's headed for the Mayors' Conference in Milwaukee, and may take in the Governors' Conference in Hershey, Pa.

HE'S NOT GOING to New York, in short, in the role previously designated, that of another casualty flattened by the Carter bandwagon. The net effect of his show of force and life on Jimmy Carter may be to force the nominee to choose the most liberal running mate he can find. John Glenn, reputedly the front-runner, wouldn't be quite the answer to Brown's bugle call.

The Weather
Sunny and hot today, high near 90. Partly cloudy tonight, low near 70. Yesterday's high, 94; low, 73.
(Details and Map, Page C2)

THE SUN

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ol. 279—No. 37—E** BALTIMORE, MONDAY, JUNE 28, 1976 ** 15

Outsider at peace with D.C.

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Sun Staff Correspondent

Plains, Ga.—"Carter says drive not anti-Washington," read Friday's headline in the Atlanta *Constitution* after the prospective Democratic presidential nominee had spent the day wooing congressional Democrats.

"He [Mr. Carter] said he has never made an anti-Washington statement," the article quoted Representative Elliott Levitas (D., Ga.) as having said after one of the day's meetings.

"I don't understand it," an Atlanta secretary told a visiting Washington reporter. "Didn't he used to be running against Washington and saying enall those bad things about it?

The secretary could be forgiven for being confused. For Jimmy Carter, the outsider from Plains, Ga., who has spent a good portion of his time attacking the way things are done in the capitol, is now the leader of a Democratic party that has controlled Congress for 40 of the past 44 years and the White House for 28 of them.

This role could pose a new political problem for a candidate whose agility in pleasing those on opposite sides of controversial questions has been one of the keys to his success.

If nothing else, Mr. Carter's Washington visit—and some of the reactions expressed—demonstrated the inherent conflict in running for Washington's most powerful office as a critic of the federal government.

"Anti-Washington was a press explanation of the Carter phenomenon," said Representative Andrew Young (D., Ga.), a black, a longtime Carter supporter and one of his top advisers.

"Everyone recognizes that he ran against Washington," said another prominent black, Representative Charles B. Rangel of New York.

Mr. Carter himself tries to explain that disparity by explaining that he has been running against some of the abuses and mismanagement in the government, rather than against Washington per se. What he really wants to do, he goes on, is to make the federal government in Washington more efficient and better able to save the people, especially the underprivileged.

While that might confuse more people than one Atlanta secretary, there is some question whether it will cause serious problems for Mr. Carter in the fall campaign.

Obviously, it will create far less difficulty for him if his Republican opponent is President Ford.

But if Mr. Ford's conservative challenger, Ronald Reagan, wrests the GOP nomination from the President, he will be able to say with some justification that Mr. Carter's ties with the congressional Democrats and his philosophy make the former Georgia governor more of a Washington man than he is himself.

Nevertheless, Mr. Carter's efforts to mend his relations with the Washington branch of the Democratic party have not resulted in his abandonment of his role as a critic of the way many things are done there.

He still plans to campaign on his vow to overhaul the "wasteful, bloated, unmanageable bureaucratic mess," and he still is a man whose entire governmental experience took place hundreds of miles from the national capitol.

Though he is likely to select a Washington figure as his running mate, the choice will probably be someone fairly far removed from the center of congressional power, such as the freshman senator, John Glenn (Ohio), whose congressional accomplishments are far less known than his worldwide fame as the first American to orbit the earth.

Besides, the congressional Democrats, and the party as a whole, have been forced to accept Mr. Carter on his terms, rather than making him accept theirs.

The platform that will be ratified at next month's Carter coronation in New York contains all of the virtually certain nominee's major proposals, while accepting his position on such controversial matters as a pardon for Vietnam draft-dodgers and abortion.

In addition, the long delay in rallying around the former Georgia governor—just six weeks ago he got a decidedly cool reception at the party's major fund-raising dinner and, even on his triumphant visit last Thursday, one group had to be prompted to applaud him—makes it clear that they are following him, rather than that he is joining up with them.

And having made his peace with the party's hierarchy and its congressional leaders, Mr. Carter is unlikely to spend much time in the capitol in the weeks to come.

Mary McGrory

Carter 'Engaged Without a Ring'

Washington.

Jimmy Carter's candidacy is at the awkward stage.

He is "engaged without a ring," as they say in Boston.

That is, he is not quite the leader of the party, not yet formally its nominee, and he plainly can't think of what to say before it's official.

While he is waiting, he is talking like a contender rather than a victor. Whereas in the primaries he was murmuring about "love and compassion," he is, now that he has won enough of them, murmuring about "harmony and unity," two words that always have had a more galvanizing effect on Republicans than on Democrats.

He was in Boston the other day, raising money and receiving tributes. In one setting, a downtown restaurant at a thank-you reception for early supporters, he moved from table to table, speaking earnestly with small groups. He did very well.

But at a fund-raising affair at the Museum of Science on the Charles River, he fell flat. He spoke on and on, rambling and repeating himself, groping for a note that never came.

He came in fourth in the Massachusetts primary, behind Henry M. Jackson, Morris K. Udall and George C. Wallace. A little levity was called for under the circumstances. If he had growled at them and told them he expected them to do better next time, they would have loved it. If he had spit in their eye and told them he had made it without them, they would have enjoyed it even more.

But he went at it in an elaborate, circuitous, Southern way that didn't do anything for anybody. He forgave them. He said it was not their fault that he had not come in first, but the fault of his campaign strategy, which he went on to explain in some detail.

It was a reminder that, whatever his strengths and virtues as a nominee, Mr. Carter lacks humor—a quality perhaps too much prized in a state where generations of Irish rogues misgoverned but never failed to entertain.

"I am trying to be won over," sighed a woman who is an alternate delegate for Mr. Udall. "But I'm having a hard time. I am worried about his record on Vietnam and I am not sure about his stand on defense spending. I can count. I know what's going to happen. But I'm ambivalent."

Mr. Carter is aware of these reservations and knows that they cannot be explained away in terms of regional or religious bias. But it seems he cannot change his style. He continues to reassure about worries that do not exist and to insist on healing where there is no pain.

They need him more than he needs them and he knows that and so do they. The lieutenant governor of the state, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., the son of the House majority leader, was in the welcoming party at Logan Airport. He is the country's only remaining Bayh delegate. During the primary, he had three calls from Mr. Carter, but since Ohio, Mr. O'Neill hasn't heard a word. He accompanied Mr. Carter on his brief Boston rounds, but the unofficial Democratic nominee never found an opportunity for a heart-to-heart talk.

"He doesn't need anybody now," said Mr. O'Neill, a bit glumly.

What Mr. Carter does need before the engagement party in Madison Square Garden is a speechwriter. He must transform resignation into enthusiasm and acceptance into commitment.

He will need the liberal Democrats in November. He will have to coax them to the polls. If they stay home, not out of hostility, but out of boredom, they could deprive him of the prize he has so long and laboriously sought.

Something more than "forgiving" states that failed in early appreciation, something more than unity and harmony will be necessary to overcome the reservations about a Southerner who combines steely ambition with treacly rhetoric. All he is doing now is making Democrats uneasy about what he wrought in the primaries.

At the museum, one of those issue-oriented Eastern liberals who couldn't stop him asked Mr. Carter what he would think of George Ball "as secretary of state."

Mr. Carter unfurled his broadest smile and said facetiously, "I didn't know Mr. Ball had ever been secretary of state." He waited for the snickers to subside and then said, "I know what you mean."

Somebody better tell him that the time has come to pick the voters up, not to put them down.

Carter, at church,

is told of a Christian's duties

By a Sun Staff Correspondent

Plains, Ga.—Jimmy Carter listened with approval yesterday to a Sunday school lesson that stressed the duty of a Christian to obey the laws of civil government except where they conflict with his obligation to God and his conscience.

The lesson quoted from St. Peter: "We ought to obey God rather than men."

What that means, the prospective Democratic presidential nominee told reporters later outside the Plains Baptist Church, is that in the event of a conflict between legal and moral constraints one must "obey the word of God but accept the punishment that is administered to us by the state."

The lesson, similar to those at Sunday school classes in other Baptist churches around the country yesterday, also talked of the obligation of public officials to be just, righteous and dedicated to the well-being of the people.

However, the teacher, Clarence Dodson, made no reference in his talk to the portion of the written lesson that noted: "You may want to recall that the whole impeachment proceeding of Richard M. Nixon revolved around the question of whether or not he fulfilled his responsibility as President of the United States."

When he is at home in this tiny, southwest Georgia hamlet, Mr. Carter regularly attends both the men's Sunday school class and the regular Sunday morning worship service in the white frame church.

He often teaches the Sunday school class but yesterday, along with about 30 other men including a half dozen reporters, he listened while Mr. Dodson, a church deacon and administrator of the Southwest Georgia Technical School in nearby Americus, talked about "the church and civil authority."

However, Mr. Carter encouraged the visiting reporters to contribute when the collection plate was passed and later arranged for copies of a summary of the lesson to be made available to them as a concise summary of the Baptist Church's, and his own, belief about the relationship between church and state.

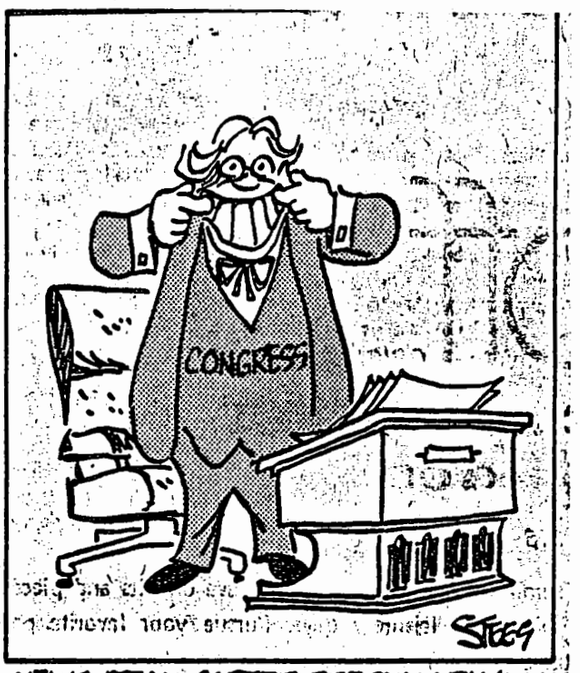
And the local awareness of the prospect he may be the next president was again emphasized when his first cousin, state Senator Hugh Carter, included a line in his opening prayer that "we thank you for Jimmy and the great job he is about to undertake."

The summary of the lesson began with the Baptist commitment to separation of church and state but said also that "the things that make a person a good Christian also make him a good citizen".

In his copy, Mr. Carter had underlined such things as the national need for "leaders of integrity," for carrying "the spirit of Christ into every area of life" and for balanced justice where "the poor have as much right to fair treatment by the law as have the rich, the black as much as the white."

He also marked a portion that said the government efforts to promote the well-being of their subjects doesn't mean blanket approval of every kind of "welfare state" and that "no government ought to have to do for its people what they can and should do for themselves."

Mr. Carter also said he liked the sermon by the pastor of the church, the Rev. Bruce Edwards, who criticized the church's failure to take as much of a lead in promoting ecology and a clean environment as it has in promoting a good moral climate by condemning pornography and indecency.



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EASTERN EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, June 28, 1976 25¢

Washington Letter

Carter's evangelical appeal

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.

Washington

In his upcoming book, "The Miracle of Jimmy Carter, Pulitzer Prize winning reporter Howard Norton tells of an exclusive interview he had with Mr. Carter which focused on the candidate's religious beliefs. Carter talked about two missionary trips he had gone on a few years ago, one to Pennsylvania and another to Massachusetts, and how spiritually fruitful they had been. "Had he been involved in 'any definite conversions'?" Norton asked. Carter said "yes," that there had been something like 25 to 30 conversions on his first mission and "maybe 45" on the other.

Speaking of these conversions, Carter told Norton: "I soon realized that when I thought I fumbled most, and when I thought I had failed, that was the very time when the people were convinced by the presence of the Holy Spirit, and I realized it wasn't me or my brilliance or my fervor that made the difference. It was something else – and that was the presence of the Holy Spirit."

Talking about this interview, White House correspondent Norton said: "I had interviewed presidents and presidential candidates, both winners and losers, since the days of Franklin D. Roosevelt, over a period of 36 years, but never did any of them so candidly and openly bare his deepest spiritual experiences. I had never before heard a president or a candidate for that office confess to the presence of the Holy Spirit in his life."

Mr. Norton, who himself comes out of an evangelical background, feels that Mr. Carter's deep faith would serve the country well should he make it to the White House.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Roman Catholic, also sees Mr. Carter's avowal of faith as a decided "plus." "What's wrong with the expression of belief?" Moynihan commented to a group of reporters recently. "I share most of the man's basic beliefs," he said.

But other observers of the presidential scene here are more skeptical. Writes columnist Rod MacLeish: "Time, events, and the revelations of Carter's own inner being will tell whether he is an Elmer Gantry or some genuine healer."

The religious-political appeal of Mr. Carter is obvious. Mr. Moynihan puts it this way: "It is clear that the majority of Americans believe in God." And Roman Catholic theologian and writer Michael Novak sees Mr. Carter with his evangelical appeal having a "hidden religious power base." "Overwhelming numbers of Protestants in the United States," he says, "are evangelicals, fresh from an experience in conversions, who speak easily of 'fellowship,' 'tenderness,' 'conversions,' and 'love.' The lowest estimate of their numbers is 31 million; a possible figure is 40 million – two-thirds of all white Protestants."

But Mr. Carter's religious appeal is also strong within the black community, both in the South and the North. Carter is expressing old-time religion of fervor and trust that blacks, too, believe in – or at least their parents who came from the South believed in. Blacks feel comfortable with Carter's avowals of faith. The words he uses are familiar to them. And they feel comfortable in his presence.

"Did you see the way he took that little girl's very hand in church the other day?" A black mother commented with great warmth of Mr. Carter after seeing a picture of him walking down the aisle of a black church, hand in hand with a tiny black girl.

Could any other of the recent candidates have performed this simple act so naturally? I doubt it. Carter was very much at home in that black church.

One current impression of Mr. Carter is that he talks religion almost all the time, and this bothers many people. Thus, reporters have found some voters in the primary states questioning Carter's religious sincerity, making comments like: "We think a person should live his religion – not talk it."

But the fact is Mr. Carter does not get into the subject of religion – his faith, his conversions, his relationship with God – unless he is specifically asked. For example, he has met with reporters on a number of occasions over the past several years and never ever mentioned religion. And those who interview him find out what he thinks about religion only when they ask. Then he talks freely and openly on the subject.

But one can readily get the impression from the media that Mr. Carter spouts religion to everyone he sees – that he is, in fact, trying to convert everyone. It simply isn't true.

Mr. Sperling is chief of the Washington bureau of The Christian Science Monitor.

The lintel low enough to keep out pomp and pride:
The threshold high enough to turn deceit aside.

Henry Van Dyke

Monday, June 28, 1976 Philadelphia Inquirer

It's chic to be a Southern Baptist

By Garry Wills

In the early 1960s, two oddly-paired movements caught on — progressive secularism and trendy Catholicism. The secular city bar-ained with demonstrating nuns to :cide whether God was really dead, ıd whether it was nice of him to e at just this moment.

It was strange—Rome, the mythi-l enemy of nativism, became an cillary fortress for John Kenne-'s claim that America was the :t defender of "the free world." At the time of John XXIII's Vati-n Council, there was a kind of atholic chic.

The "whore of Babylon" had sud-denly become an attractive girl next door. Quoting papal encyclicals was all the rage. The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a young-old gas factory, started "Pacem in Terris" conferences to celebrate an old-young whoredom-in-repair.

Yet the 1960s ended in a mass sale of empty Catholic seminaries. Nuns first marched, then danced off. The pope began the decade fulminating against colonialism. Another pope ended it in a futile rage against marrying priests. Catholic power did not arrive with John Kennedy's election, but departed with it.

Catholicism was where the action was in the 1960s. In the 1970s, it's where the action ain't. (As a Catholic myself, I feel that may be the more healthy situation for the Church.)

In religious terms, where is the action now? Just where Jimmy Carter is. He is the Kennedy of the 1970s.

In 1960, Theodore Sorenson counted the Catholic vote—a good quarter of the electorate—and argued that a Catholic candidate in the Democratic party profited more from his religion than he could ever be hurt by it.

And that was admitting the residual Southern Baptist animosity that shot down Al Smith.

Sorenson's bet was hedged when Kennedy chose, over his own brother's prejudice, a Southern Baptist vice-presidential nominee. The Catholic boom was on—so quickly, and rightly, to end.

Now, as Catholic seminaries deliquesce, much like the Witch of the West touched by water, the "hot" religious movement is evangelical. Its hard core already measures nearly a quarter of the electorate—what Catholics were in 1960 — and it is growing.

Besides, the evangelicals have a large penumbra of sympathy from other sects and traditions—charismatic Catholics, prayer-breakfast Mormons and Christian Scientists, even the vaguely huggy Moon disciples.

And evangelism has no entrenched enemies, as even Kennedy's chic Catholicism still had in 1960.

Jews, a small minority, may distrust Jimmy Carter. Yet against Reagan, or even Ford, he can make a good case with them by November.

His automatic evangelical vote is probably in the vicinity of 40 million, fully the equal of Kennedy's automatic Catholic vote in 1960. But he has no equivalent offsetting counter-vote.

He has a large fringe of sympathy from other Christian denominations, and from those seeking a redress to Watergate and other scandals in terms of personal morality. Serious people should be wary of religious fads—of yesterday's death of God and today's election of God.

But the forces are there to be charted like moving hurricanes. Today's forecast is a spirit wind at high velocity.

Wednesday: *Jimmy Carter's in town*

The guy who may one day be telling us all, "Ah'm the president," is to be in town to attend a very exclusive luncheon—that is, if you think $1,000-a-plate is exclusive. Jimmy Carter is making the rounds to pay off his post-primary debt of about $1 million. And that ain't peanuts. . . . The Red Garter Dixieland Band is to get it on during a free concert at 8:30 p.m. at Pennypack Park, Rhawn Street and Winchester Avenue.

Carter at home:

Big waves in little pond

By Loye Miller Jr.
Inquirer Washington Bureau

PLAINS, Ga. — Phil Tatum, a tall, slim computer salesman from Woodbridge, Va., stopped here the other day because he wanted to see Jimmy Carter's hometown.

When Tatum noticed a small crowd around the outdoor grease rack at brother Billy Carter's Amoco station, he walked over and hit the jackpot — a warm handshake from Jimmy Carter himself.

Clad in faded blue jeans and an old white polo shirt, the likely Democratic presidential nominee had been watching the Saturday morning action, which was Billy and half a dozen other good ole boys of Plains cleaning 100 pounds of catfish.

One moment Jimmy Carter was greeting old friends and tourists like Tatum, then he was chatting seriously with reporters about plans for his fall campaign.

Next he was whacking up catfish alongside Billy, who wore a green sweatshirt emblazoned with his citizens-band radio call name, "Cast Iron." Billy told reporters that he is known as Cast Iron because he can drink anything and a lot of it.

There is an unreal quality now to life in little Plains, population, 683.

Politics and fish

As one would expect, Carter is proceeding methodically at the tasks of campaign strategy, raising money and picking a running mate.

Because he is back home, though, the serious business gets mixed in with fish fries, family weddings, church services and all the other rituals of life in a small Southern town.

Although not every curious soul who stops here ends up meeting the candidate, a surprising number do, because Carter enjoys hanging around, chewing the fat with old friends and acquaintances at the filling station and the handful of stores — most owned by his relatives — on the two-block main street.

As for reporters, those who follow Carter here find that even the most casual conversation in the most unlikely surroundings can furnish a story.

As the weekend began, Carter aides told the press that there would be no news, only good pictures, when the candidate came out to help drain one of his fish ponds, which had become overpopulated with largemouth bass.

The pictures were excellent, all right, as Carter took off his shoes and waded waist deep with the raucous group netting the fish.

A little while later, standing knee-deep in the muck on the bottom of the pond, Carter told a startled interviewer that just before coming out to the pond, he had had a 15-minute telephone conversation with President Ford.

As far as Washington reporters can remember, this may have been the first farm-pond press conference in the history of presidential politicking. The way Carter operates, though, it probably won't be the last.

The purpose of the phone call, Carter said, was to ask Ford to provide him with periodic foreign-policy briefings after he formally becomes the Democratic candidate.

On the face of it, that was startling. It is more traditional for a challenger to wait until after he is nominated to worry about such briefings, and it is protocol to let the President extend the offer, instead of asking.

Perhaps no one should be startled by anything from a man who imparts such serious news while standing in mud, amidst dozens of bass and an occasional water moccasin.

More was heard from the bass, the catfish — and the candidate — at a tasty fish fry the next day.

Enormous quantities of fish, potatoes and hush puppies were fried up in caldrons of boiling peanut oil in an oak-shaded grove beside the small summer home of Carter's bubbly 78-year-old mother, "Miss Lillian."

While television cameras recorded the colorful scene, Carter helped cook for a while and informed the press of the beauties of peanut oil, a product dear to the heart of his family's business.

"You can cook onions and doughnuts together in it and it won't ruin the taste of either one," he claimed.

That's about as much information as anyone ought to expect from a candidate at a fish fry.

A little while later, though, Carter sat down on a rock wall and talked about affairs of state.

He didn't think he should accept foreign-policy briefings from the State Department, he said, because that is a "political arm" of government. He said he had asked the President to have the CIA do the briefing.

What did he think of the President?

"I think he's a very good, fine, honest person who has not done a good job in leading our country," Carter said with a disarming smile.

He went off for a while, flying to Alanta for a fund-raiser. He returned in time for an evening wedding reception for his cousin's daughter.

Weather
sunny, high in the 60s. Chance of rain is ugh tonight. Monday y, high in the 80s. p.m. AQI, 100; Temp. etails are on Page B2.

The Washington Post

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The Gallup Poll

Carter Tops Ford, Reagan In Solid South

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J.—Should Jimmy Carter become the Democratic nominee for President and current regional patterns of support hold, this year's election will find the South supporting the Democratic ticket in a manner reminiscent of the pre-Eisenhower "solid South" era.

Carter currently out-polls both President Ford and Republican challenger Ronald Reagan by more than 2 to 1 in the South. He defeats Mr. Ford 63 per cent to 28 per cent, with 9 per cent undecided, and tops Reagan 63 to 30 per cent, with 7 per cent undecided.

Carter, a Southerner, also has strong support outside his home region. He defeats both Ford and Reagan in the other three regions of the nation, albeit by smaller margins than in the South.

While both Republicans trail Carter in all four regions, Mr. Ford appears to be stronger than his GOP rival. The President receives a greater share of the vote in the East and Midwest than does Reagan. The two Republicans have nearly equal support in the South and West.

The current figures represent not only a return of the South to the Democratic presidential ticket, but a level of support there not enjoyed by any Democratic candidate during the last quarter-century.

Not since President Johnson's landslide win over Sen. Barry Goldwater in 1964 has the South supported a Democratic presidential candidate. And, in 1972, the South gave 71 per cent of its vote to Republican President Nixon — the most one-sided regional support given any candidate in the last 24 years.

With 147 of the 538 total electoral votes at stake in just the 13 Southern states, Carter's margin over both Republicans takes on an additional significance.

If he is nominated, manages to hold his present level of support in the South and converts it to an equal percentage of electoral votes, he would be able to capture, in this one region, fully one-third of the 270 electoral votes needed for election.

8.

A Carter White House: Fast and Tough

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA—Jimmy Carter, with the Democratic presidential nomination apparently assured, still has some distance to go to get to the White House. But his success so far and the deep division within the Republican Party have inevitably raised questions about what a Carter administration would be like.

Based on discussions with Georgia legislators and other state officials who observed his four-year governorship of Georgia at close range, the nation could probably expect from a Carter administration:

• A fast start, with a flurry of legislative proposals and possibly some dramatic administrative shakeup of the bureaucracy of a symbolic nature, to demonstrate that he means business on his massive reorganization pledge.

• An early gesture of conciliation to set a tone of compassion for the new administration. Carter has already said, for example, that if elected he would issue a blanket pardon to all Vietnam era draft-resisters — not deserters—as one of his first executive acts.

• A tough, aggressive posture toward Congress, with a determination and willingness to take a no-compromise stand on key proposals and risk defeat, agreeing to compromise later on only when it has become clear that defeat is the alternative.

• Reliance on a few loyal and equally determined legislative liaison aides to push administration programs, with resort to personal persuasion of Congress by Carter in critical situations—and possibly direct attacks on those who stand in his way, if it comes to that.

• A rigidity on matters regarded by Carter as issues of principle, with an unwillingness to negotiate in such areas or to horse-trade in the traditional political sense.

• A no-nonsense climate in the White House, with Carter setting an example of long hours and attention to detail.

• Early pursuit of an agenda of national goals, drawn up after a series of public hearings around the country, similar to his "Goals for Georgia" during the early phase of his term.

• Frequent direct communication with the electorate, over the heads of Congress and the press if necessary, to build popular support for administration proposals that run into trouble in Congress.

See ADMINISTRATION, A12, Col. 1

Carter White House Profile

ADMINISTRATION, From A1

• Heavy use of volunteer task forces from the private sector, in government reorganization and other executive undertakings.

These and other approaches are suggested by Carter's comments as a campaigner and by the way he functioned as governor of Georgia from 1971 through 1974.

The image of Carter as a tough, give-no-quarter antagonist toward the legislature conflicts with statements he made last Thursday to Democratic congressional leaders during a day's talks on Capitol Hill.

Then, he said that while he intends to be "an aggressive, strong" President, he would consult with Congress on preparation of legislation, lean on Congress for advice in many fields and in all ways seek to work in harmony with the legislative branch.

But friends and foes alike who worked with him in Atlanta when he was governor agree that his style was to push hard for everything he sought, not surrendering until the last possible hour, only compromising grudgingly.

He began his term with two acts that pulled both the legislature and the public up short, then followed them with what both friends and foes describe as a relentless assault on the existing order of things at the state capitol.

The first act was his dramatic inaugural address declaration that "the time for racial discrimination is over" —a declaration that came unexpectedly on the heels of a generally conservative gubernatorial campaign in which Carter carefully avoided antagonizing the George C. Wallace vote.

The second act was the summary discharge of Jim Gillis, longtime entrenched state highway commissioner and father of the then president pro tem of the Georgia Senate. Gillis, in his late 70s, was technically appointed by a state highway board. But Carter pressured the board into getting rid of the old man, who had become a power in Democratic politics by virtue of his job, a sinecure from which political favors were dispensed.

At the very outset of his term, Carter with these two acts made two powerful enemies—Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox, just retired as governor and presiding officer of the state senate, for the anti-discrimination statement, and Senate President Pro Tem Hugh Gillis.

Maddox took dead aim on Carter for the duration of his term, making the senate a potential ambush for all Carter legislative proposals. Also arrayed against Carter was not only the younger Gillis but also the senate majority leader, Gene Holley, a law partner of former Gov. Carl Sanders, beaten by Carter in the Democratic runoff for governor.

Yet these two early actions also had a symbolic and psychological benefit, other Georgia legislators say now. The inaugural speech got his administration off on a note of progressivism, and the removal of Gillis served notice that Carter's plan for reorganization of government would go forward promptly and in earnest.

"Mr. Gillis sort of symbolized the old machine politics in Georgia," says Sen. Pierre Howard, assistant administrative floor leader in the senate and a strong Carter ally. "Also, he was getting older and there was some thought that the department ought to be reorganized."

In both these early Carter gestures, he demonstrated no reluctance to take on tough opposition, and in fact seemed to court it. It was the same penchant for engaging established power as a means of casting himself as a fighting underdog that marked his 1976 campaign for his party's nomination.

For his first two years in Atlanta, the battleground was Carter's much-heralded reorganization plan, and the opposition was centered in the Senate, dominated by Maddox, Gillis and Holley. (Gillis, bowing to the inevitable, now says he will vote for Carter for President and declines to talk on the record about him).

"A lot of the opposition to Jimmy was not based really so much on the issues," Howard says, "but just on the fact that Jimmy was sponsoring it .... It was a knee-jerk response. If Jimmy was for it, they were going to be against it."

But despite this lineup and attitude, Carter got most of his reorganization program through. "He was winning by narrow margins," Howard says, "but he was winning on every vote."

The result was an atmosphere of contentiousness that made Carter highly unpopular in the state capitol, and gave him the reputation as an unbending zealot who wanted things his way or no way at all. Actually, several legislators say, he did compromise—but only after taking his best shot at getting the whole hog.

"That's the thing about Jimmy that was different from a lot of politicians we had before," Howard says. "He was willing to do that sort of thing in the face of what he knew would be strong political opposition. There were times when he could have traded for votes by agreeing to do certain things for certain people, but he just refused to do it."

One of Carter's most outspoken foes in the legislature, State Sen. Julian Bond, agrees on Carter's attitude, but from a different perspective. "I think he's learned something since he dealt with us," Bond says, "but he was very rigid. It was, 'Here's my plan, take it.' He was a sort of my-way-or-no-way man. He once called us the worst legislature in the United States, which was not the way to win friends ...

"He was one of these guys who not only wouldn't compromise on matters of principle—you admire him for that —but wouldn't compromise at all. This is a business where you have to give to get, and he wouldn't give."

Carter did blast the Georgia Legislature as the worst, in a press conference, but, according to one Carter insider, the attack, while angering legislators, stimulated legislative response to his demands for action.

For most of his term, Carter fared well with the Georgia House by striking an alliance with George Smith, the longtime speaker. But when Smith died, his successor, Tom Murphy, drew Carter's criticism for lack of leadership, and Carter ended his lame-duck term in continuing conflict at the state capitol.

Carter was by all odds an effective one-on-one persuader, but one who dealt strictly with the issues before him and not the wants of those he sought to bring over. "A back-slapper could have passed a lot of the bills he never got through," says Duane Riner, an Atlanta Constitution reporter during the Carter regime who has since become press secretary to Carter's successor, Gov. George Busbee.

But Carter tried to pass legislation with the facts and his own determination. "He is the consummate planner," Riner says. "He has a personal ethic that says the day is made to achieve a certain number of goals, and Jimmy is determined to achieve them. That doesn't leave time for back-slapping or low-level politics."

Though some critics, such as Republican state Sen. George T. Warren II, dismiss Carter's state reorganization as a mere lumping together of existing agencies under broader "umbrella" super-agencies, most—including critic Bond—say the reshuffling was, overall, "helpful." Says Bond: "If you or any other citizen has a complaint, you know pretty well who to go to."

But he says the reorganization was not a moneysaver, that the budget and state employment rolls increased, and that Carter's handling of it illustrates his worst fault: "exaggeration" of his achievements.

One of the Carter holdovers, James T. McIntyre Jr., director of the Office of Planning and Budget, says of Carter and compromise: "He understands compromise, and he also knows that if you really want something, you have to hold fast for it for a while. This was not just a surface change. He went after structural change, management improvement and immediate implementation. I don't know of any other governor who has pulled that off. If being stubborn is what it takes, he had it."

Another aide who worked closely with Carter on reorganization, Jack Burris, says he would inform Carter that 80 per cent of what he was seeking had been obtained from the legislature and Carter would reply: "I'm not going to compromise. I promised the people I would try to get it all, and that's what I'm going to do."

For all this acknowledged tough-mindedness on Carter's part in dealing with the Georgia Legislature, there are few here who think Congress would be beyond his taming.

"How is Carter going to deal with Congress" former State Sen. Bobby Rowan asks. "Carter will be far more progressive than Congress, and as a result he'll be leading Congress. Congress is going to have to straighten up its act, because Carter will be on the side of public opinion."

Carter's successor, Gov. Busbee, was senate majority leader during the Carter administration. He says Carter learned the hard way the value of compromise, and that if he could work with the Georgia Legislature with Maddox and other foes against him, he will be able to work with Congress.

Busbee says a Carter administration in Washington would begin with a series of specific legislative proposals, and with a new emphasis on federal-state cooperation in administration of federal programs.

Beyond that, he says, fears of Northern liberals that Carter's staff would be dominated by conservative Georgians would not be well founded. As governor, Busbee says, Carter brought in numerous outsiders with problem-solving skills and experience, and could be expected to do the same in Washington.

Another influential Georgia senator, Ed Gerrard, cites one other thing to look for in a Carter presidency, a characteristic that most others interviewed also mentioned: toughness. "He's a hard politician," Gerrard says. "He smiles a lot, but behind that smile he's hard. He remembers his friends and never forgets his enemies. It's not much of a politician who can't separate the two."

Yet, for all that, none of the Democratic legislators interviewed said they found Carter to be a personally vindictive man. The senate's current speaker pro tem, A.L. (Al) Burruss, says, in fact, that "that was the biggest argument we had. I didn't think he was vindictive enough. I've always believed if you have a position and you have a friend and an enemy equally qualified, you give it to the friend. He wouldn't even go that far."

Carter, from all testimony here, was an odd breed of cat who descended on Atlanta as governor in 1971. He was determined, and incredibly self-disciplined, and if the legislature didn't like the medicine he served up—and by and large it didn't—he at least got it to hold its nose and swallow.

"I wouldn't vote for him again for governor," says state Sen. Floyd Hudgins. "I don't think he used the office the way you should. He tried to reform things best left to the legislature. But I'm going to vote for him for President. I believe a man has to stand for what he thinks is right, and he'll stand by himself if he has to. He won't bend until hell freezes over."

Q

David S. Broder

Running Mates

The vice presidency—that oft-neglected stepping-stone to the Oval Office—is getting much more attention this year than it has in the past. After the embarrassments of recent years, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford have promised to give careful forethought to their choice of a running mate. Or at least, to indulge in more foreplay.

The newspapers are full of speculation and suggestions on appropriate companions for the President, Reagan and Carter on the journey down the campaign trail. But no one has yet mentioned the logical choices for these three men to make. Perhaps because they are so implausable.

Jimmy Carter, for example, needs a Washington running mate who will not spoil his anti-Washington campaign. That sounds impossible.

But if you will open the envelope, please . . . the unlikely but perfectly plausible winner of the Carter vice presidential award is—Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut.

What could be better than the twice-born Baptist adding to his ticket our first Jewish running mate? What else could weld the Bronx and Fairfax Avenue to the Bayous and the Backwoods in one glorious electoral coalition?

But you don't have to be Jewish to like Abe Ribicoff. He was an early Kennedy man, so the Camelot crowd would be pleased. He was the finest invention of the late boss John M. Bailey, but has a Carter-like knack of impressing the independents and Republicans with his conservative streak.

He is solid with the unions, but no pal of abortion or busing. In fact, he was about the first northern liberal to express public doubts about the course of the desegregation decisions—a stand John Stennis has not forgotten.

As an added bonus for Carter, Ribicoff is the chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee and has conducted hundreds of hours of hearings on plans for reorganizing the executive branch. He may be the one person in Washington who can stay awake when Carter starts explaining his own blueprint for simplifying the bureaucracy.

And as a final fillip for the liberals, who won't get much else at Madison Square Garden, Ribicoff is the man who nominated George McGovern at the last two conventions. In Chicago in 1968, that nominating speech was the occasion for a never-to-be-forgotten exchange of insults between Ribicoff on the platform and Richard J. Daley in his seat.

What would better symbolize the new unity of the Democrats than for Jimmy Carter to arrange that Abe Ribicoff's name be placed before the convention for Vice President by George McGovern and seconded by Dick Daley?

If Ronald Reagan is successful in Kansas City, he will need a running mate from the vanquished Ford camp in order to achieve a degree of party unity. The difficulty is that Reagan will not pick a pussy-footing peddler of detente, and that doesn't leave him many choices from the other side.

But he only needs one, and that one is—Donald H. Rumsfeld.

What could please Mr. Ford more than to see his own protege elevated to the vice presidency? Some would say Reagan owes a considerable debt to Rumsfeld. Were it not for the advice Rumsfeld gave Mr. Ford during his tenure as the White House chief of staff, Reagan might not have found the President so vulnerable to challenge.

But I would prefer to emphasize the positive—the youth and vigor Rumsfeld would bring to the ticket and his wide popularity among his former colleagues in Congress, who now have some difficulty seeing Reagan as a big plus to their campaign. By choosing the Secretary of Defense as his running mate, Reagan would be underlining for the Kremlin his determination that we will be No. 1 in subs and missiles.

A further thought: Rumsfeld and Reagan are both natives of Illinois which, for this Illinois native, is the definition of a balanced ticket. And while Rumsfeld himself may not have had this particular ticket in mind, he has spent the last five years preparing to run for Vice President, and Reagan will serve as his vehicle as well as the next man.

That leaves us only with the problem of President Ford's running mate, should he finally prevail. But what a problem! The conservative mob in Kansas City must be reconciled to the defeat of Reagan; that rules out a liberal. But to combat Carter, Mr. Ford desperately needs someone who can help him in the northern industrial states; no southern strategy makes sense for him.

It will take a tremendous leap of the imagination to find such a man, but there is one—Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Yes, of course, he is a Democrat, but he served loyally as an ambassador for Mr. Ford and a counselor for Richard Nixon. The right-wingers in the GOP cannot possibly complain about Moynihan, the scourge of the United Nations, the pre-eminent antagonist of the infamous Dr. Kissinger.

And imagine Moynihan on the stump—ridiculing Carter's politics with his savage Irish wit; flattering the ethnics at the steer roasts in Cleveland; inventing heroic attributes for Mr. Ford, as he did this spring for Scoop Jackson; broadening the Republican base every time he opened his big mouth.

Think of it, fans. Jimmy and Abe. Ronnie and Rummy. Jerry and Pat. If you think that's far out, wait until you see what you really get.

Carter Finds a Good Reason To Host a Fish Fry at Home

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., June 26—Because the big fish were eating the little fish and upsetting the ecological balance in the pond on Jimmy Carter's peanut farm, the pond had to be drained. And that, on a hot Georgia afternoon, is as good a reason as any for a fish fry.

So the prospective Democratic presidential nominee, his family, friends and neighbors today fried up 170 pounds of large-mouthed bass, bream and catfish for the press and Secret Service entourage that has been weekending with increasing frequency—and mounting boredom—in Carter's hometown.

Despite Carter's entreaties to "put down carmeras and relax," it was a busman's holiday for the host and nearly all his roughly 100 guests who gathered behind Carter's mother's "pond house," ostensibly to relax.

Secret Service men, walkie-talkies clamped to their blue jeans, scanned the crowd as they munched catfish and hushpuppies. Reporters huddled around Carter everytime he opened his mouth usually to say, "Hey, good to see y' all" or to expound on the virtues of frying fish in peanut oil.

And Carter, cornered by a television correspondent offered a glimpse of a possible campaign theme for the fall. President Ford is a "good person . . . a very good kind, honest person who, said Carter with his usual smile, "has not done a good job in leading the country."

Carter also said he is asking President Ford for his foreign policy briefing from the CIA rather than the State Department, which usually gives the candidates' briefings, because he wanted a more "factual" assessment than could be expected from "policy making officials" at the State Department.

After the fish fry, Carter was to fly to Atlanta for a fund-raiser and return to Plains tonight to attend a niece's wedding.

The fish fry began Friday afternoon when Carter and assorted helpers drained the pond in order to make it easier to catch surviving fish before restocking the muddy pond with the proper balance of bass and bream.

Carter was out about 10:30 this morning watching the catfish get skinned and greeting tourists from Kentucky, Virginia, Nebraska and Texas at his brother Billy's gas station in Plains.

Phil Tatum, a Woodbridge, Va., computer salesman who was visiting relatives in nearby Dawson, Ga., dropped by to tell Carter he ing you in Washington." "We'll be up there, buddy," Carter responded in a confidental tone.

About the same time, other volunteers, many of them members of the Georgia "peanut brigade" that helped Carter campaign through the primary states earlier this year, started frying the fish, along with potatoes and hushpuppies in large iron pots.

As other helpers spread a table with pans of cole slaw, plates of tomatoes and pickles and a huge vat of iced tea, ABC newsman Sam Donaldson, who had been kidding Carter for three weeks about not being able to answer a question about the Eritrean revolt in Ethopia, got his young daughter to go up to Carter and ask him about Eritrea.

She did so, shyly, and Carter was ready for her. For longer than she probably cares to remember, 11-year-old Jennifer Donaldson stood under the broiling noonday sun, listening to Jimmy Carter expound on the history of Eritrea from 400 A.D. to the present—courtesy, he explained, of his top foreign policy adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski.

5

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MARY McGRORY: Some Last-Minute Butterflies about Jimmy

Jimmy Carter's candidacy is at the awkward stage.

He is "engaged without a ring," as they say in Boston.

That is, he is not quite the leader of the party, not yet formally its nominee, and he plainly can't think of what to say before it's official.

While he is waiting, he is talking like a contender rather than a victor, still selling retail rather than wholesale. Whereas in the primaries, he was murmuring about "love and compassion," he is, now that he has won enough of them, murmuring about "harmony and unity," two words that always have had a more galvanizing effect on Republicans than on Democrats.

He was in Boston the other day, raising money and receiving tributes. In one setting, a downtown restaurant at a thank-you reception for early supporters, he moved from table to table, speaking earnestly with small groups. He did very well.

But at a fund-raising affair at the Museum of Science on the Charles River, he fell flat. He spoke on and on, rambling and repeating himself, groping for a note that never came.

He came in fourth in the Massachusetts primary, behind Jackson, Udall and Wallace. A little levity was called for under the circumstances. If he had growled at them and told them he expected them to do better next time, they would have loved it. If he had spit in their eye and told them he had made it without them, they would have enjoyed it even more.

But he went at it in an elaborate, circuituous Southern way that didn't do anything for anybody. He forgave them. He said it was not their fault that he had not come in first, but the fault of his campaign strategy, which he went on to explain in some detail.

It was a reminder that, whatever his strengths and virtues as a nominee Carter lacks humor — a quality perhaps too much prized in a state where generations of Irish rogues misgoverned but never failed to entertain.

Carter said he had "always been well-received in Massachusetts," which was not quite the case. They did not know what to make of this iron-willed, drawling alien who told them in Fanueil Hall last March that political attacks on him "hurt the country."

"I am trying to be won over," sighed a woman who is an alternate delegate for Morris Udall, "but I'm having a hard time. I am worried about his record on Vietnam and I am not sure about his stand on defense spending. I can count. I know what's going to happen. But I'm ambivalent."

A Cambridge doctor, who is supporting Carter because of his record on mental health, listened sympathetically. "I know he's smug, and I don't care for him personally. I wish he would talk about the issues in terms other than himself and his family. But he is an excellent technician, and I think that's what the country needs."

Carter is aware of these reservations and knows that they cannnot be explained away in terms of regional or religious bias. But he cannot seem to change his style and continues to reassure about worries that do not exist and to insist on healing where there is no pain.

They need him more than he needs them and he knows that and so do they. The lieutenant governor of the state, Thomas P. O'Neill, Jr., the son of the House majority leader, was in the welcoming party at Logan Airport. He is the country's only remaining Bayh delegate. During the primary he had three calls from Carter, but since Ohio, O'Neill hasn't heard a word. He accompanied Carter on his brief Boston rounds, but

the unofficial Democratic nominee never found an opportunity for a heart-to-heart talk.

"He doesn't need anybody now," said O'Neill, a bit glumly.

What Carter does need before the engagement party in Madison Square Garden is a speech writer. He must transform resignation into enthusiasm and acceptance into commitment.

He will need the liberal Democrats in November. He will have to coax them to the polls. If they stay home, not out of hostility, but out of boredom, they could deprive him of the prize he has so long and laboriously sought.

Sometime soon he will have to move out of the intensely subjective, never-lie, anti-Washington, trust-me catch lines of the primaries into broader, more national, themes. He will have to strike chords that make him an unmistakable Democrat and a rousing leader.

Something more than "forgiving" states that failed in early appreciation, something more than unity and harmony, will be necessary to overcome the reservations about a Southerner who combines steely ambition with treacly rhetoric. All he is doing now is making Democrats uneasy about what he wrought in the primaries.

At the Museum, one of those issue-oriented eastern liberals who couldn't stop him asked Carter what he would think of George Ball "as secretary of state."

Carter unfurled his broadest smile and said facetiously, "I didn't know Mr. Ball had ever been secretary of state." He waited for the snickers to subside and then said, "I know what you mean."

Somebody better tell him that the time has come to pick the voters up, not to put them down.

Eliot Janeway

U.S. Agencies Offer Carter Fine Target

By Eliot Janeway
Special to The Washington Star

Simplifying the federal bureaucratic establishment is easier said than done. Everybody wants it done — and consequently, promising it is "can't lose" politics. The question is whether simplifying it is "a can do" presidential operation.

Carter's program during his term as governor of Georgia, "Goals for Georgia," scored points for him on his way up the ladder, but he has outrun the protective cover of soft slogans now. The charge is being leveled against him that he is a Bible-toting version of Nixon.

Nixon bluffed his way into the White House by posing as the one man who knew how to make peace in Vietnam, and he managed to avoid being put on the spot to spell out the substance of that peace, or even to hint at its strategy.

CARTER'S SUCCESS story, with its equally ambiguous campaign platform, raises the ghost of Nixon's failure. A parallel between the two is inescapable at the political level. Nixon was the beneficiary of a consensus formed as the direct result of a split between the two warring factions of his Democratic opposition.

Morally, the aftermath of Watergate has sharpened voters' skepticism regarding the promises candidates make, and put every claimant of a consensus under scrutiny to prove that he practices what he preaches.

At the moment, Carter has a consensus going for him, too, but any pre-election consensus is dangerous; one in July is even more so than one in September.

Carter has benefited from the civil war in the Republican camp, but once the two factions stop taking pot shots at one another, their candidate will start playing David to Carter's Goliath.

Unaccustomed as Carter is to being cast in the role of the favorite, his present advantage is likely to turn into a disadvantage. He will be on the spot to advertise in September what a more conventional candidacy might not have had to offer until January.

THE CARTER OPERATION has been running on a twin strategy and here a healthy contrast with Nixon is evident.

Where Nixon invited programming by the "Prussian guards" who stood on his threshold, and personified the illiterate subculture in which he, Haldeman and Ehrlichman had their roots, Carter is his own man.

Moreover, where Nixonolgoists are still searching for the lost soul who absorbed their attention, there is a man inside the Carter image.

The second contrast is that Carter is a retailer, where Nixon was a wheeler-dealer with an affinity for back rooms.

Nixon developed no new ideas when the initiative was his, but when the pressure was on, he filched programs from his competitors.

Carter is too smart to deal in programs. He doesn't have to because he is shrewd enough to offer attractive new ideas.

The idea of a presidential offensive against the federal agencies is new enough to be challenging. In fact, it is so new that it calls for an examination of its provocative history.

CARTER'S CHANCE of consolidating his sensational breakthrough may hinge on his willingness to profit from it. He is the first candidate since Hoover — who, in turn, was the first since John Quincy Adams — to spend his Sundays in seclusion studying. No one doubts the genuine studiousness of the Massachusetts lawyer, and like Adams, Carter really reads.

The history of the problem federal agencies pose for a viable presidency goes back to Justice Brandeis.

One of the commanding ironies of twentieth-century American history is dramatized by the fact that the author of "The Curse of Bigness" did

See JANEWAY, D-14

JANEWAY

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double duty as the progenitor of the alphabet agencies. Brandeis stands as a multifaceted folk hero; and as a Supreme Court All-American, he scored more than his fair share of political firsts.

Britain's Arthur Balfour fronted for the foundation of Israel, but Brandeis was its real political father. Before that, he was Wilson's mentor and conscience: Keeping Wilson out of trouble on the romantic front was a harder job than getting him in with the voters.

BRANDEIS DEVISED the practical middle course for a reform governor to steer between the stand-pattism of Taft and the trust-busting of Roosevelt in 1912.

Nowadays the Democrats are taken for granted as the majority party, and the strategy problem that Brandeis tackled for Wilson as a minority President who benefited from a split in the majority party has been obscured by the workings of history. Brandeis showed Wilson how to capitalize on T.R.'s erratic antics by institutionalizing his anti-bigness stance into the Federal Trade Commission.

If Brandeis was the Luther Burbank in the Washington vineyard, Frankfurter was the busy bee. The FTC was the foundation on which Brandeis built the New Freedom of Wilson: Therefore, Frankfurter sent his New Deal recruits to it. Nothing seemed more logical than for the FTC to be designated as the chosen instrument for the New Deal's crusade to bring religion to Wall Street.

PONDERING THIS perspective prompted me to fall back on the treasure-house of scholarship, oral and written, personified by two of Washington's legal luminaries, Abe Fortas and David Ginsberg.

To use the late, great Dean Acheson's inimitable title, both were "present at the creation" of the New Deal. What follows is a composite of my recollections, and their own, of how Roosevelt handled his relations with the federal agencies.

Jim Landis, who with Ben Cohen and Tommy Corcoran co-authored the basic legislation which created the Securities and Exchange Commission, was first brought to Washington by Frankfurter. Landis, who had been Brandeis' law clerk, was later appointed as an FTC commissioner. But two obstacles developed to Frankfurter's original notion that the New Deal would take over where the New Freedom had left off.

THE FIRST obstacle came from the New York Stock Exchange, which made the case thatits problems were new and different.

The Exchange won its claim to supervision by a policeman of its own — the SEC; this was a case of an unknown evil being preferred to a known one.

The second arose from within the FTC itself. Roosevelt responded with characteristic vigor by demanding the resignation of a member of the commission named Humphrey. Humphrey resisted and fought Roosevelt all the way up to the Supreme Court.

The Old Court — Brandeis still adorning it — found for Humphrey on the constitutional issue of the separation of powers.

The break point which Roosevelt lost hinged on the ruling that the President does not have the right to move in on the quasi-judicial agencies.

The Court held that though they get their appointees from the executive arm, they derive their authority from the legislative arm, and they share the presumed independence of the judicial arm.

ROOSEVELT, once burnt, was not twice shy. He struck again, and the second time he chose his target with greater skill.

The TVA stood high in the New Deal hierarchy of alphabet agencies, but it was an executive, and not a quasi-judicial agency.

Roosevelt's target on the TVA was an appointee of his own named Morgan, who also resisted removal. The strategem Roosevelt invoked as a countermeasure improvised an auxiliary role for the presidency that had not been mentioned since Washington's time.

(The first president compromised his frustrations over the monarchy by asserting his claims as chief magistrate. Fortas, doubling in brass as my consulting philologist, points out that Washington's claim antedated modern judicial usage of this term, which suggested the presence of Big Daddy.)

Roosevelt pre-empted the role of chief magistrate in the Morgan case. To dramatize his jurisdiction, he called for a judicial procedure in the White House. He summoned Morgan to a formal hearing at which both Morgan and the administration were represented by counsel.

ROOSEVELT THEN took the findings under judicial advisement, and solemnly found against the miscreant presidential appointee, notwithstanding the protection accorded the latter by senatorial confirmation. This appeal was carried no farther than the Circuit Court, which affirmed the Chief Executive's right to run the executive branch.

In the generation since the New Deal revived the spirit of the New Freedom, the question of the executive's right to run its part of the government has been obscured by the fact that the agencies run the entire government. Frankfurter's legacy has assumed that Congress writes bills and the courts write opinions, and that every problem verbalized by each is solved when an independent agency is empowered to preside over its complications.

THE COURTS have become slot machines for the agencies; Congress has become petrified to ask the agencies the time of day, much less to lay down the law to them, and the President is content to live with the consequences of the fait accompli both have created.

As an example, the latest monstrosity of a questionnaire from the FPC to private industry is 1,400 pages long. No member of management in the debt-loaded energy industry can read it without a breach of trust to creditors and stockholders, or reply to it without multiple perjury.

One tested way for a great candidate to take over as a great President is to control the targets at which his administration takes aim, and the best way for a new President to be sure of hitting the bull's eye is to put it in place himself.

Cashing in on an historic opportunity to triangulate between George Washington and Franklin Roosevelt would be a natural for Carter now.

THE RECORD of Roosevelt's second-phase presidency — his war presidency — offers Carter another relevant lead.

When Pearl Harbor left the unprepared but mobilized economy short of everything needed to mount the war of production which was destined to turn the tide, Roosevelt experimented with operating boards and commissions.

But after the White House ran out of chart paper and the war effort ran out of time, FDR achieved his decisive breakthrough by appointing specific administrators and making them personally responsible for stocking the Arsenal of Democracy with the wherewithal for victory.

While the Carter honeymoon is on, no agency — not even the quasi-judicial barons — will resist the pressure for streamlining, or refuse to accept responsibility for meeting "Goals for America" set by the President.

An effective new foreign economic policy would quickly soak up the excess white collar unemployment in the federal bureaucracy a return to Executive sanity would create.

Subjecting the bureaucrats to "Goals for America" would put an extra couple of hundred points onto the Dow average to celebrate the honeymoon.

A Smokescreen For Carter VP?

By Jack W. Germond and James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writers

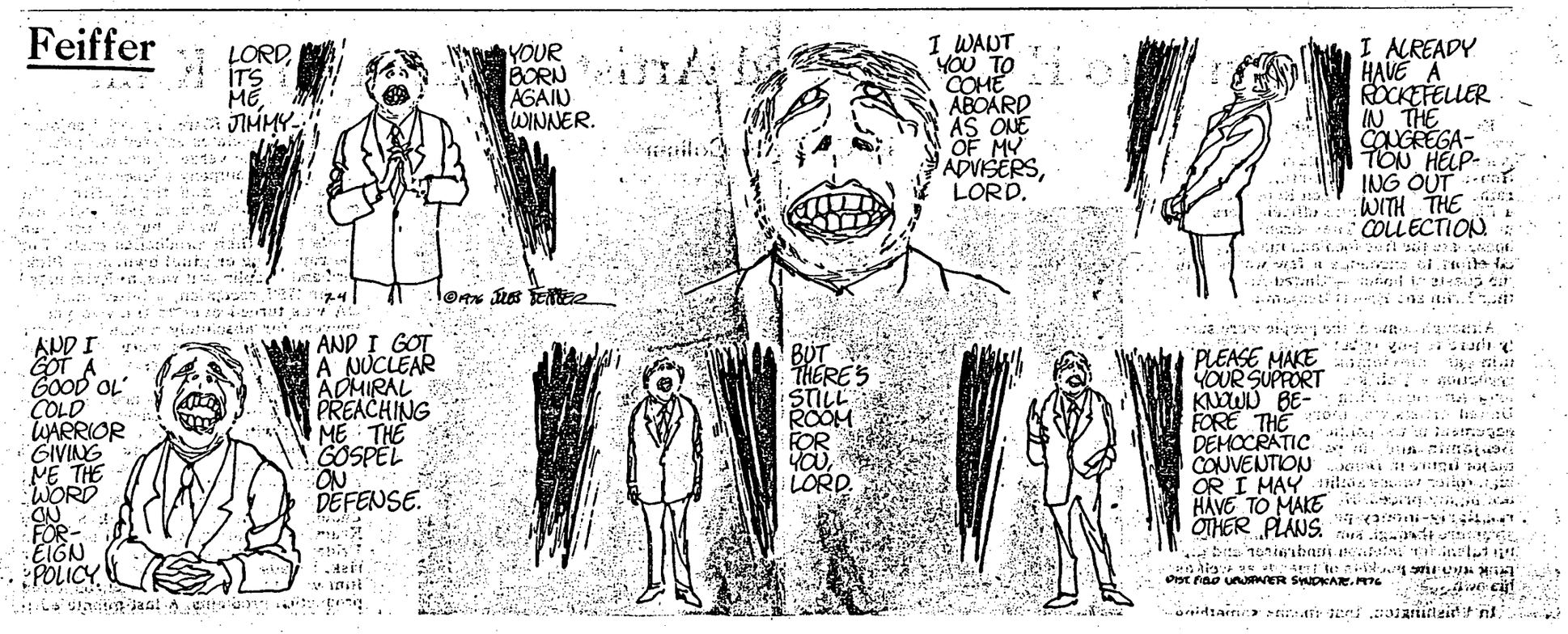
Political Notebook

Despite the bitterness of the late stages of the Democratic primary campaign, Morris K. Udall is one of eight men about whom Jimmy Carter's agents are seeking guidance as possible vice-presidential nominees. The others are Sens. Walter Mondale, Frank Church, Adlai Stevenson III, Henry M. Jackson, Edmund S. Muskie and John Glenn and Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota. Conspicuously missing is another primary opponent of Carter, Birch Bayh. And some of the names on the list — most notably Jackson and perhaps Udall — may be part of a smokescreen rather than serious contenders.

Udall conducted a tougher campaign than any other of Carter's opponents, particularly in the late primaries in Michigan and Ohio in which he attacked Carter in biting terms for vagueness and ambiguity on the issues and for his failure as governor of Georgia to speak out against the war in Vietnam. The commercials in Ohio were so rough that Carter's staff tried to prevent their candidate from seeing them. Now, however, Carter advisers insist that the presumptive Democratic nominee retains no bitterness toward Udall.

The Carter agents are checking on three things about each man on the list — his capacity to serve as president, whether there are any skeletons in his closet and the likely reaction of the press and Democratic party if he were chosen. In terms of Carter's demonstrated weaknesses during the primary campaign, the ideal nominee might be a Roman Catholic from the Midwest or Far West. But no one has suggested Tom Eagleton.

Feiffer


LORD, ITS ME, JIMMY.
YOUR BORN AGAIN WINNER.
7-4
©1976 JULES FEIFFER
I WANT YOU TO COME ABOARD AS ONE OF MY ADVISERS, LORD.
I ALREADY HAVE A ROCKEFELLER IN THE CONGREGATION HELPING OUT WITH THE COLLECTION.
AND I GOT A GOOD OL' COLD WARRIOR GIVING ME THE WORD ON FOREIGN POLICY.
AND I GOT A NUCLEAR ADMIRAL PREACHING ME THE GOSPEL ON DEFENSE.
BUT THERE'S STILL ROOM FOR YOU, LORD.
PLEASE MAKE YOUR SUPPORT KNOWN BEFORE THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OR I MAY HAVE TO MAKE OTHER PLANS.
FIELD NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE, 1976

The Weather
...y—Mostly sunny, high near 90, in the 60s. Chance of rain is 10 cent today, near zero tonight. ...day—Partly cloudy, high in the Yesterday—3 p.m. AQI, 42; ...p. range, 53-78. Details Page B2.

The Washington Post

FIN
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Clayton Fritchey

Choosing No. 2

Now that Jimmy Carter's nomination for President is taken for granted, everybody is telling him how to pick a Vice President or, rather, how to avoid one who might have a skeleton in his closet. What it comes down to is—"No more Eagletons."

The reference, of course, is to Sen. Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.), who was nominated for Vice President by the Democrats in 1972, but later forced off the ticket when it became known that some years previously he had been treated briefly for nervous exhaustion after a grueling campaign for state office.

Looking back, it now would appear that the Democratic Party and the press, if not the public, reacted excessively to the revelation that Eagleton had been given "shock" therapy as part of his hospital treatment.

In fairness to the senator, we today know that he was telling the truth four years ago when he assured the electorate that his illness was of a passing nature, that he had completely recovered from it and was competent to perform his official duties. His record in the Senate since 1972 more than bears this out and, in recognition of this, the people of Missouri re-elected him in 1974 by a handsome majority.

Eagleton's outstanding performance in the Senate in the last two years is a timely reminder to us to guard against the superstition that nervous and psychological disorders are necessarily worse than somatic ones. Either type of illness can lead to death or to recovery. It all depends.

How many could qualify for public office if previous illness was a fatal black mark? Both Gen. Eisenhower and Lyndon Johnson were elected President by huge majorities even after barely surviving massive heart attacks and neither had any trouble carrying out his duties.

In pondering the vice presidency this year, a better watchword would be—"No more Agnews." Atty. Gen. Edward Levi has just offered the services of the FBI to check the backgrounds of prospective vice-presidential nominees of both major parties, but there is no reason to believe that an FBI quickie would have discovered that Agnew had been on the take or that Eagleton had received shock treatment. Both disclosures came about accidentally.

In any case, the whole idea of involving the FBI in presidential and vice-presidential politics is repugnant. And, from a practical standpoint, unnecessary. By the time a candidate can aspire to the presidency, the unrelenting glare of long political exposure has usually uncovered all the public needs to know about the person.

The unprincipled record of "Tricky Dick" was known to the electorate long before Nixon ran for President, so his election cannot be blamed on public ignorance. In fairness to the public, however, it should be recalled that, in winning the 1968 election, Nixon got only 43 per cent of the vote.

On the whole, our political system tests candidates pretty reliably. There have not been many big post-election surprises; few hidden skeletons have emerged in the White House. The Presidents who turned out to be second or third rate or worse were known to be of doubtful caliber well before they were elected, as, for example, in the cases of Nixon and Warren G. Harding. Nixon and Agnew are the only nationally elected officials in our history to be accused of criminal conduct and driven from office.

In my time, no nominee of either major party has ever disclosed his choice for Vice President in advance of his own nomination, and generally the choices have been acceptable because the nominee naturally wants a running-mate who will enhance the ticket or, at worst, not compromise it.

In 1956, Adlai Stevenson, following his own nomination, suddenly and dramatically, threw the contest for the vice presidency wide open, leaving the outcome entirely to the delegates. It was widely acclaimed as a fine democratic gesture, but in fact the decision eased Stevenson out of an embarrassing dilemma.

Rightly or wrongly, three or four of the vice-presidential hopefuls thought they had reason to believe Stevenson was in their corner, so he could not support one without offending the others. The open convention was a good out. The winner was the late Estes Kefauver, but Hubert Humphrey, John F. Kennedy and Albert Gore, among others, would have been quite acceptable. This year the Democratic Party is again blessed with a half-dozen or more officials, any one of whom would strengthen the ticket. So, if Gov. Carter should want to emulate Stevenson, he is in a good position to do so.

Brown Prepared to Support Carter

By Bill Richards
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, June 25—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. said in a nationally televised speech tonight that he is prepared to "enthusiastically" support Democratic presidential front-runner Jimmy Carter if Carter is nominated in New York City next month.

The speech was broadcast at 10:30 p.m. (EDT) by NBC (WRC in Washington).

Brown, the last Democrat to actively oppose Carter in the primaries, stopped short of actual endorsement. Brown aides said no endorsement is contemplated now or is likely before the national convention.

Instead, they said that Brown's candidacy and his victory over Carter in five primaries must place the Californian in the running as a national party leader. "He's a national figure and an independent force in Democratic politics," Michael Kantor, Brown's national campaign manager, said here today.

In his 25-minute speech, which cost the Brown campaign $80,367, Brown said, "Gov. Carter appears certain to be nominated, and if he is, I will enthusiastically support his candidacy in the fall." Brown has the support of approximately 300 delegates.

Brown was in the state capitol in Sacramento today working on the state budget, according to aides, and was not available for questions. But Kantor said the decision to tape record the speech was made almost immediately after June 8 when Brown won the California primary and a slate of delegates pledged to Brown and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) beat Carter's slate in New Jersey.

The speech, taped this week, touched on many of the themes that Brown has used during his short candidacy, including a lowering of expectations about big government and additional federal concern with new sources of energy and aid to urban areas.

Brown also called for an end to federal income tax on persons whose individual income is less than $5,000 and whose family income is less than $8,000.

Such a policy, Brown said, would mean that 25 per cent of the people now paying federal income tax would be exempt. According to Brown campaign aides, the proposal would remove about 5 per cent of federal income tax revenue. But, the aides said, the money would go almost immediately into the economy since persons in the lower tax brackets tend to spend rather than save their income.

Carter Seeks Talk With CIA Director

PLAINS, Ga., June 25 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter said he called President Ford today and asked him to set up briefings for him with CIA Director George Bush after the Democratic National Convention.

There was no announcement of such a call by the White House.

"The purpose of the call was to arrange through Director George Bush a procedure that the CIA will follow in educating me on matters that relate to national security," Carter said.

"And after the nomination is concluded, I want to be sure as the nominee of the party that I'm thoroughly enough acquainted with matters in Rhodesia, Lebanon and South Africa and Angola and in other places so that I won't make a serious mistake in the heat of the campaign and embarrass our nation, or say something inadvertently based on misinformation which might be contrary to our nation's policies."

AA

The Weather
Sunny and hot today, high 90 to 95. Fair and a little cooler tonight, low 65 to 70. Yesterday's high, 93; low, 75.
(Details and Map, Page B2)

THE SUN

BALTIMORE, SATURDAY, JUNE 26, 1976

Vol. 279—No. 36—E**

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No. 1 Carter adviser scouts ticket mates

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Sun Staff Correspondent

Atlanta—Like Jimmy Carter, Charles Kirbo is a South Georgia farm boy who made good—he's a successsful Atlanta lawyer who perhaps is closer to the prospective Democratic presidential nominee than any other adviser.

For the past two weeks, he has been scouting vice presidential prospects for Mr. Carter, which gives importance to his comments on the choice of a No. 2 man for the 1976 Democratic ticket.

In an interview at his Atlanta office yesterday, the soft-spoken, slow-talking, 59-year-old lawyer corrected at least two prevalent notions: that Mr. Carter would prefer a docile running mate who wouldn't upstage him and that he won't seriously consider someone like Representative Morris K. Udall (D., Ariz.), who had strenuously opposed him.

He also indicated, for the first time, that while Mr. Carter is maintaining an open mind pending extensive background checks and personal interviews, the man who will head the Democratic ticket begins the process with at least an "inclination" to one of the possible choices.

But like the trusted, discreet man that he is, Mr. Kirbo didn't say anything that would point the finger at Senator John H. Glenn, Jr. (Ohio), or Senator Walter F. Mondale (Minn.), or Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d (Ill.), or Senator Frank Church (Idaho), or any of the others who have been mentioned.

Mr. Kirbo said he has his own preference and, in response to a question, added that "I think he knows who my preference is. I think I know his, his inclination."

But he went on, "My personal preference might not be the best thing for him to do."

Was his preference the same as Mr. Carter's "inclination?" Mr. Kirbo was asked.

"I think he is inclined to my personal preference — along with two or three others," he replied. "But he has deliberately kept it open."

In discussing Mr. Carter's own abortive effort to convince George McGovern to take him on the 1972 Democratic ticket, Mr. Kirbo said, "The fact that he opposed McGovern probably eliminated him.

"That's just the reason he ought to have considered him," he added: "I hope we won't make that same mistake, I hope we aren't going to eliminate someone because they've been a strong candidate in opposition to him."

When his interviewer noted that Mr. Carter hadn't seemed too inclined to give serious thought to either Mr. Udall or California's Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr., his most tenacious and critical rivals, Mr. Kirbo observed:

"Udall is being carefully considered and won't be overlooked because he was sort of vicious in his criticism.

"Jimmy has the capacity to fight hard with someone and, rather than get crossed up with him, admire the force of the combat. When the damned battle is over, he would more readily accept a strong foe than a weak one."

Jimmy Carter, preparing for a hometown fish fry, takes a bass out of a net.

But what about the danger of picking a vice president who might upstage him?

"Nobody is going to upstage the President," Mr. Kirbo said. "The office takes care of that.

"I don't know who it is going to be, but it is going to be a strong person, I'll tell you that."

He had kind words about several of the prospects, noting for example that "Church ran a strong campaign and was pretty well organized."

He also said "we're finding out some handicaps" of some of the prospects during the investigative process, which is expected to conclude next week and be followed by the extensive interviews, first by top Carter aides and then by the former Georgia governor himself.

Although most top Carter aides go back to his 1966 and 1970 Georgia gubernatorial races, Mr. Kirbo was the lawyer Mr. Carter hired in 1962 when a single stuffed ballot box came close to costing him his first elective bid, for the Georgia Senate.

Asked if he recognized in the 37-year-old Plains (Ga.) peanut farmer the promise of the presidency, Mr. Kirbo replied, "When I represented him in that lawsuit, I recognized that he was an unusually intelligent and well-organized individual. And his whole family was attractive to me."

When Mr. Carter ran for governor in 1966, the wealthy lawyer continued, "It was clear in my mind he was going to be elected governor sometime. I watched him campaign, and I could tell he could campaign better than anyone I'd ever seen."

Mr. Kirbo played a prominent role in advising Mr. Carter in both that race and in his successful 1970 race and later as governor. And he began thinking of Mr. Carter as a possible presidential prospect, about the same time that the new governor did and for at least one of the same reasons—his assessment of the other possible candidates.

About that time, Mr. Kirbo, as Georgia Democratic chairman, got into a flap down here by referring to Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, then the 1972 Democratic front-runner, as being "sort of shaggy looking." That doesn't look well for the Maine senator's prospects for the No. 2 spot this year.

Democrats Rate Reagan as Tougher

Washington.

The amateur counters and programmers already are hard at work on estimates of the electoral vote in a Jimmy Carter vs. President Ford or a Jimmy Carter vs. Ronald Reagan contest in November.

On one thing they are in general agreement. As the Democratic presidential candidate, Mr. Carter will carry the farm states including even that Republican bastion, Kansas. Facing the hazards of weather and the edicts of Washington, farmers are always "aginners." This year they have highly particularized reasons to be mad. First and foremost is the holdback on grain sales to the Soviet Union.

Related to this is the insistence that the grain be shipped in American bottoms, adding greatly to the price and a reason for a Russian holdback.

The farm states were a crucial factor in Harry S. Truman's astonishing upset victory in 1948. He came down hard for 100 per cent of parity for principal farm crops while his Republican opponent, Thomas E. Dewey, stood on 80 per cent.

Any resemblance between 1948 and 1976 stops here. This time there is not merely confidence of victory in November but, as some Democrats fear, overconfidence that could result in a relaxation of effort with fatal results.

The national Democratic chairman, Robert S. Strauss, in 3½ years has done an extraordinary job of pulling together the warring factions of the party left in the aftermath of the shambles of 1972. Traveling in 30 states and working with Democratic officeholders from governor on down, he has put together a united front prepared to work for a moderate center candidate.

At the same time, however, Mr. Strauss is trying to examine as objectively as possible the outlook for the big contest. He shares the feeling that Ronald Reagan might be a more formidable opponent than President Ford. If Mr. Reagan should pick John B. Connally as his vice presidential candidate, his chances of carrying Texas, where he won a big primary victory, would be greatly enhanced.

Then carrying California, his home state, with the rest of the West, where he is strong, and with a good chance in conservative Florida, Mr. Reagan could win. This is the sober arithmetic troubling those who fear overconfidence. This same arithmetic well may enter into the calculations of the delegates to the Republican convention in Kansas City.

Regardless of whether the opponent is Mr. Reagan or Mr. Ford, California is a question mark. Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown continued his campaign long after the Carter bandwagon had taken on board virtually all of the other primary opposition. But if Mr. Ford cannot carry his own state for the national ticket—or if he does not make an all-out effort—his own political future will not look promising.

As for the South, regional pride plus the prospect of a united party should go a long way. Gov. George C. Wallace, in his dignified speech calling on his delegates to vote for Mr. Carter just after the Ohio primary, surely did a lot to restore Alabama to the Democratic column. Georgia, with some conspicuous holdouts, is bursting with pride over the native son, the peanut farmer from Plains. Momentum, a word that kept cropping up in the Carter primary campaign, could mean a lot in a region so long turned off from the Democratic party.

Money is not likely to be a problem in either party this time. There will be a lot of double givers. That is to say, those who split their contributions, wanting to make sure that, whoever the man to occupy the White House for the coming four years, he will have at least a pledge of their good intentions.

Brown pledges support to Carter if nominated

Sacramento, Calif. (AP)—Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr., the last holdout against Jimmy Carter in the Democratic presidential contest, said yesterday that Mr. Carter would have his enthusiastic support if the former Georgia governor wins the nomination.

Mr. Brown did not concede, although he said Mr. Carter "appears certain to be nominated."

It was the first time Mr. Brown had said specifically that he would support Mr. Carter, although he had said earlier that he would support the Democratic ticket.

With the Democratic National Convention 16 days away, California's 38-year-old Governor stopped short of quitting the race himself.

"Governor Carter appears certain to be nominated, and, if he is, I will enthusiastically support his candidacy in the fall," Mr. Brown said in a nationally televised speech carried by NBC last night.

The 30-minute speech was picked up by 203 of 212 affiliated stations, reaching about 11 million people, according to Brown aides.

They said it cost the Governor's campaign $80,367 for network time, plus up to $15,000 to tape the speech Tuesday in Los Angeles.

Mr. Brown also said the next President should put public advocates on the boards of directors of multinational companies and exempt 25 per cent of the American people—individuals making less than $5,000 and couples making less than $8,000—from paying federal income taxes.

A Brown aide, Tom Quinn, said the tax exemption proposal would cost about $5 billion.

In his remarks, Mr. Brown repeated statements he has made that he recognizes "the arithmetic" showing Mr. Carter with a commanding delegate lead. But these comments were the closest Mr. Brown has come to saying Mr. Carter will win.

An Associated Press delegate survey gives Mr. Carter more than the 1,505 delegates he needs for a first-ballot victory.

In his speech, Mr. Brown also said the next President should carry out a program to rebuild U.S. cities or, he warned, U.S. armies will be needed in U.S. cities to keep peace in another five years.

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WAR RESISTERS IN CANADA:

They Say 'Nay' to Carte

BY MARLENE NADLE

Jimmy Carter has been saying since January that he would grant a "blanket pardon for all those who are outside our country or in this country who did not serve in the armed forces."

So many people were surprised last week when Stu Eizenstat, Carter's spokesman at the Democratic Platform Committee, opposed the comprehensive plank urging "a full and complete pardon for everyone in legal or financial jeopardy because of his opposition to the Vietnam War." The plank passed. Nevertheless, Eizenstat and others pressed their opposition and succeeded in limiting the plank with an amendment which singled out deserters and made them eligible for the pardon solely on a case-by-case basis.

The only ones who weren't surprised were the war resisters I talked with two weeks ago in Canada and again last week after the plank passed. They had kept a close and skeptical watch across the border on the Carter campaign and were quick to point out that he had been doublespeaking all along, dropping qualifiers including deserters in some speeches, gliding over the issue in others. They said they weren't suckered into hope by the "blanket pardon." They declined to put their trust in a man many of them referred to as the Reverend Moon of the Democratic party.

The resisters I talked to said that Carter's "blanket pardon"—like the candidate himself—was more appearance than substance. They're right. Carter's statement is, in fact, an extraordinary example of doublespeak. He talks of a "blanket pardon"—a phrase which many people understandably might take to mean as inclusive—but then goes on to extend it only to "all those who . . . did not serve in the armed forces." In other words, from the beginning, Carter's so-called blanket pardon included only draft resisters.

Just how few people this means is something the resisters in Canada understood more clearly than people in the States. Over endless cups of coffee, one after another dismissed as irrelevant the question of accepting a pardon with the words "I'm not eligible."

Their reasons varied. Draft resisters who had become Canadian citizens can't return because of our immigration laws, a problem still not addressed by the Democratic party plank. Deserters and those with less than honorable discharges under certain articles—going AWOL, for example or failing to report for troop movement — were excluded from Carter's "blanket pardon" even though they had been included in Ford's clemency program.

Ford's program called for alternative service; Carter's doesn't. But for the resisters it is an empty gesture to do away with punishment or alternative service when you are affecting so few. In the Amex amnesty office in Toronto they estimated only 4400 resisters who registered for the draft were eligible for Carter's "blanket pardon" out of perhaps almost a million people who need some kind of amnesty. They broke the ineligible number into human pieces which included:

7500 draft resisters who acquired Canadian citizenship;

100,000-200,000 men who didn't register for the draft and face a possible five-year sentence;

637,000 veterans with less than honorable discharges;

8600 men convicted by the military for acts of resistance who need their records expunged;

4200 deserters according to Pentagon figures and 8000-40,000 according to draft counselor figures.

The Amex office gave me these figures before the Democratic plank was passed. As written, the plank would cover all the categories listed with the exception of the new Canadian citizens and the deserters, who, thanks to Eizenstat's work, will have to be considered on a case-by-case basis. It was the lack of inclusiveness in Carter's original position that had disturbed the resisters in Canada before the plank was passed. Now, they are no more sanguine. For it was Carter's man who had worked to limit the scope of the Democratic party's plank in the first place. Worse still, when the Amex people questioned Eizenstat afterwards, he admitted that Carter would not campaign on the pardon plank. The only broadening of Carter's position that Eizenstat conceded to them was the inclusion of deserters on a case-by-case basis.

It is their long perspective that seems to have sharpened their focus, made them start checking on Carter while others in the antiwar movement were still celebrating the plank. Or maybe it is just the suspicion aroused by what they said was the hypocrisy of Carter's original pardon position. As they reminded me, Carter had always portrayed himself as a friend of the poor and the black soldiers who didn't have the money or knowledge to go to Canada. Then he gave his initial pardon only to the most privileged, to the white middle-class draft resisters. Deserters, those with less than honorable discharges, nonregistrants—in short, those most likely to be poor and black—would not be eligible for his "blanket pardon."

The resisters expressed amazement that black Carter supporters like the Urban League's Vernon Jordan or Representative Andy Young would let Carter's pardon position go uncriticized. Then they laughed for almost falling into Carter's vagueness trap themselves. They felt that the "blanket pardon" phrase, like so many of Carter's Rorschach positions, let them read what they wanted into it and kept him safe from antiwar criticism for a time.

Now they see Carter's bones to the Left, bones to the Right, meat

'Carter had always portrayed himself as a friend of the poor and the black. Then he gave his initial pardon only to the most privileged.'

Many resisters in Canada dismissed Carter's "blanket pardon" with the words, "I'm not eligible."

to no one position, as one more dirty trick. His deliberate ambiguity on this and other issues makes them sum up Carter as a demagogue. They feel he has appealed to the worst in the American people, based his entire campaign on the contemptuous assumption that the voters don't want or have the intelligence to deal with issues or morality, but only want an inspirational leader to follow.

One resister was worried that, like Johnson and Nixon, Carter shares the same certainty that he is the only one with the truth, the same inability to admit mistakes that kept us in Vietnam. Many I talked to, perhaps because their lives were so directly touched by history, kept drawing a parallel with Nixon in Carter's loner quality, his tendency to isolate himself with nothing but the good old boys, his separation of the idea of getting elected from the content of the presidency, his opportunistic market research approach to policy, his imperial tendency to make the president rather than the Congress responsible for oversight on the CIA. As one resister wisecracked, "Maybe Carter is just Nixon after a visit to Abbie Hoffman's plastic surgeon."

Yet, the war resisters were even less enthusiastic about the also-ran candidates that Carter has eliminated. Some saved their greatest disdain for Jerry Brown. They felt he was more than a bit sanctimonious in presenting himself as a spokesman for the new generation, getting out of the draft on a divinity school deferment himself, but expecting them to go through a Ford-like earned reentry program. The mere mention of Humphrey's name produced an automatic gag reflex even before they discussed his two years of alternative service. They gave faint praise to Udall for his grasp of the scope of the amnesty issue, but even in Canada he didn't come in a strong first.

Now, of course, they're focusing all their strategy on Carter. They believe they have a little proof now that Carter can be moved on his pardon position, that he's receptive to pressure because of the very market research approach they object to.

They spoke of further pressuring antiwar Democrats and candidates like Church and Udall to make their campaign support conditional on at least a pledge to support the pardon plank. They hoped to play on Carter's weakness among Northern liberals who might just decide to stay home on election day. They thought Carter as a southerner would be sensitive to the charge of discrimination in his pardon position and plank amendment. One of the war resisters believed, or wanted to believe, that Carter as a new president could get away with granting a universal pardon in the name of justice.

When I suggested that Carter would be more likely to get away with it in the name of forgetting than of justice, some of the old '60s echo came through their new rush to forgetting.

pragmatism. "We don't want people to forget," one said, "even if it means we lose our own amnesty. It is one of the ironies of history that it is our job to speak for the dead."

For the resisters, part of the function of the amnesty issue is to keep the questions on the war alive. Whether it's called pardon or amnesty, a nonpunitive and universal decree on war resisters becomes a way of forcing America to ratify the reasons they came to Canada, to reexamine all the premises which allowed Vietnam to happen. Whether or not the resisters accepted a universal pardon often seemed less important to them than that it be granted and they have the right to refuse it.

So they are making contingency plans in case Carter gets all the way to the presidency without broadening his pardon further. They talked of demonstrations—to jolt America out of its attempt at amnesia and Carter out of his pose as the great resolver—during his first week in office, the time when he has promised to grant his "blanket pardon." They raised the possibility of another boycott like the one that made Ford's clemency program more than 80 per cent ineffective.

They tripped on the idea that one of their tactics might work, played the what-would-you-do-if game they have played for almost 10 years. Their uncertainty was the same whether they were dealing with Carter's limited pardon or a utopian amnesty. Their answers were hedged, filled with qualifiers and questions. Some of the hesitation was just self-protective, a refusal to get hopes up and be disappointed again. Some of the lack of enthusiasm for anything but visiting rights rested in their negative view of this country.

But many said they wouldn't go home again because it is simply too late. "We aren't kids anymore," said one. "We have families, jobs, lives. We can't just pick up at the drop of a hat and start all over from scratch in our thirties."

Even if they do still glance backwards, they are immigrants now, not exiles. Those few who do return will do it for pragmatic considerations like jobs and family rather than out of patriotism.

"The thing Carter doesn't understand," said one man who argues for amnesty in principle while refusing it in practice, "is that the main problem is not bringing the boys back. The main problem is taking care of those who are already back and underground or handicapped for life with less than honorable discharges or records for war resistance."

Whether the resisters remain in Canada by the government's choice or their own, these shadowy figures across the border seem our nemesis. Stubborn sentinals patrolling the periphery of our consciousness, they stop us in our rush to forgetting. □

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JIMMY CARTER'S 'MAFIA'

What the Men Around The Man Say About the Candidate

UPI/Voice: Fred W. McDarrah/Charles M. Rafshoon/Don Hainy

Counterclockwise from upper left: Jordan, Powell, Kirbo, and Rafshoon each have a place.

'The people running Carter's campaign "act as if they were each one finger of his hand," says an advisor. "They're all an extension of him." '

BY KEN AULETTA

In many ways, Washington, D.C., is a smaller, more provincial town than Plains, Georgia. Its one industry—politics—is miserably preoccupied with ulcerating questions about this Jimmy Carter fella. Do they *really* want to return square dancing to the White House? And, who are these "rednecks" from Georgia, *anyway*?

One learns a lot about Jimmy Carter by spending time with the "rednecks" around him. After spending three weeks—on the road with the candidate, at campaign headquarters in Atlanta, in Plains, and in Washington—the surface differences between the Carter campaign and most others leap at you. No Carter staffer ever began a sentence with "Frankly" or "Let me be perfectly honest." Rarely did they ask that their words be placed "off the record." In New York or Washington, a reporter struggles through a blizzard of "Franklys" and often gets the truth only after first promising his source immunity from direct quotation.

The Carter campaign also looks different. Jackets, shirts, and ties have been replaced by open-necked sport shirts, coffee by coke. People seem to move slower, talk slower, hold fewer meetings. "There's not a lot of sitting and talking," says political director Landon Butler. Issue task force coordinator Orin Kramer, who has worked in northern campaigns, suggests, "People in this campaign don't have typical political personalities, they're not manically political."

Running a national campaign out of Atlanta, rather than Washington, is also different. And important to its success. It underlined the campaign's antiestablishment, anti-Washington theme, and helped strengthen the campaign's southern base. Working out of Georgia "has almost given me a built-in staff," Carter declared the morning after his big Ohio victory while standing on the dusty railroad loading platform attached to his Plains campaign headquarters. Atlanta insured a steady supply of volunteers. Not to mention money. More than 20 per cent of the approximately $6 million raised nationally (exclusive of federal funds), was raised in Georgia. Of the 683 people who reside in Plains, an astonishing total of roughly 550 have contributed money.

Atlanta also permitted some of the key people in the campaign to donate more time. This includes the advisor generally considered closest to Carter, Atlanta attorney Charles Kirbo, as well as campaign treasurer Robert Lipshutz, whose law firm houses the campaign's first team. The media guru, Gerald Rafshoon, runs an advertising agency just blocks from the headquarters.

The campaign is also different in that the candidate truly delegates his authority. Richard Nixon's 1960 campaign manager, Robert Finch, complained after their narrow defeat that they would have won had Nixon spent less time trying to be the campaign manager. Lyndon Johnson was a notoriously bad delegator of details. Because he presided over a squabbling court, George McGovern was forced to involve himself in decisions better left to others. Similarly, one week Gerald Ford is pushed by hawkish advisors to take the gloves off and attack Reagan, the next he is convinced by the doves to play presidential. The battles between Scoop Jackson's Senate and campaign staff flared into open warfare before the Pennsylvania primary. Lloyd Bentsen fired his campaign manager. Birch Bayh removed his. Fred Harris didn't need one. Jerry Brown's staff often acted as the supporting cast in "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." Morris Udall's campaign changed campaign managers as the Chinese change foreign ministers.

When I heard Carter say, while standing not long ago in the rotunda of Newark's City Hall, that he didn't know what states his schedule would take him to the following week because his staff had not told him, I didn't believe him.

But now I do. On the night of the last primaries, a smiling Carter stood before a packed press conference in downtown Atlanta and again deflected a question about his schedule. "Mr. Jordan," he broadly beamed at his campaign manager, "will I remain in Georgia the rest of the week?"

The reason Carter can comfortably delegate this kind of power is because he is not surrounded by strangers, as is true for most national candidates. The people closest to Carter have worked with him for a long time, from five to 14 years, and many of them have not worked for any other political candidate. They're unified by mutual trust and by a common admiration for the candidate. "The people who are implementing this campaign act as if they were each one finger of Jimmy Carter's hand," says Barry Jagoda, a 32-year-old former Emmy award-winning producer for CBS News who now serves as Carter's TV advisor. "If Carter were running the campaign he'd be doing the same thing. They're all an extension of him. . . . What's interesting is how much freedom each has in his own area."

In short, Carter, unlike most legislators who run for executive office, is used to delegating authority. But the degree to which his campaign is decentralized is unusual. In effect, the campaign sports at least three campaign managers. Unlike most campaign managers, Hamilton Jordan does not oversee the press, issues, or advertising. Like his candidate, he did not see Rafshoon's commercials until after they were on the air. In most campaigns, reporters seeking an authoritative answer will call the campaign manager. In this campaign, talking to press secretary Jody Powell is sufficient.

"Take me and Jody," explains Jordan. "Jody is the closest to Jimmy because he travels with him all the time. I defer completely to him on issues and the press. At the same time he defers to me on organization and strategy things. Jimmy has a good deal of faith in our collective ability to run the campaign. . . . A lot of it comes from working together a long time. We are a loose group of people who jointly make up decisions. I could, if I wanted to, override Jody on an issue decision or Rafshoon on the media. I have that authority. But I don't use it."

When a campaign is decentralized at the top level, it's usually because people are competing and the candidate fears stepping in to resolve it. Tensions swell, spill over, and poison the rest of the staff. But competition and feuding don't seem to haunt the Carter campaign. An important reason is that people's jobs are carefully defined. In a Kennedy campaign two people were usually doing one job. The Kennedys believed, as did

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sion. For they are continually being defined by what other people think of them—the voters, their county or legislative leaders, interest groups, or their staffs.

With all his flaws, Jimmy Carter is obviously different. He apparently knows who he is, and he is the boss of his staff. In fact, though less extreme, his relations with his staff seem patterned after his own relationship as a young naval officer with Admiral Hyman Rickover. "He was unbelievably hardworking and competent," Carter wrote of Rickover in his autobiography, "and he demanded total dedication from his subordinates. We feared and respected him and strove to please him. I do not in that period remember his ever saying a complimentary word to me. The absence of a comment was his compliment. . . ." Carter is not so frugal with compliments. Jokes Jordan: "If my mother and father were here he'd walk in and say what a great guy I am."

Carter is also said to express his displeasure quietly. Jordan says he does "a kind of quiet burn." Aide-de-camp Greg Schneiders, who is with him more than anyone else, says, "He never yells. He almost never says anything to you in front of anybody else." Once, at least, he did. Carter, Jagoda, and Ed Rabel of CBS were in a car together after the Florida primary. Suddenly, according to Rabel, Carter erupted and yelled at Jagoda. He was upset with Powell over a scheduling matter. So Carter took it out on the startled Jagoda. Then, just as suddenly, the storm passed, and there was calm. The candidate, perhaps realizing a member of the press was catching him in an unguarded moment, began reassuring Jagoda that he knew it really wasn't his fault.

Despite the informality among the campaign staff, Jordan admits that Carter, like Rickover, "is a very difficult man to work for. He just sets such high standards. If he were in the next office it would be hard as hell." The campaign manager remembers his days as executive secretary to the governor when Carter expected people to be in the office at 7 a.m. "That's one of the reasons," he quips, "we now schedule him so rigorously."

"I've noticed when they do speak to Carter, they play their aces," says one of the few staff members who requested anonymity. "People aren't fucking around with him. They don't waste his time. When Jody sits down he's got four or five points to make. If he's not sure of the fifth, he doesn't make it." The campaign's 28-year-old comptroller, St. Louis-born Paul Hemmann says, "I would not say he's an easy man to criticize."

But his people are proud of Jimmy Carter. "If we were all working for Lloyd Bentsen," half jokes Jordan, "his campaign probably would have lasted one week longer. You've got to have a candidate." It was Carter, not Jordan, who swept 17 of 30 primaries. Carter made the ultimate decision to flaunt conventional wisdom and run in all the primaries (except West Virginia), to spend little time seeking endorsements, to stress personal qualities rather than issues, to challenge George Wallace in Florida. Hamilton Jordan may be able to overrule, but he probably can't fire Jody Powell. Jimmy Carter can.

Yet Carter's nomination victory is a shared one. It is shared not just with the handful of people he truly trusts, but with a national staff of 315 people, 240 of whom are based in Atlanta. Forty-one per cent of the staff is female, according to Comptroller Hemmann, and 15 per cent minority. The monthly campaign payroll is $160,000. Telephones run close to $60,000 per month. Salaries are often half those found in other campaigns. The highest salaries, $22,680, are paid to Powell and Jordan. Robert Keefe, Senator Jackson's former campaign manager, was paid $45,000. Surprisingly, most of the salaried positions in this campaign are held by people who never worked for Carter before. Hemmann, counting on his fingers, estimates that perhaps a dozen worked for Carter when he was governor.

The campaign began small and early, on December 2, 1974. It was first headquartered in a vacant second-floor wing of the law offices of Lipshutz, Zufmann, Sikes, Pritchard & Cohen, at 1795 Peachtree Street. The offices of Jordan and Powell, as well as the issues, scheduling, and most of the political coordination, remain there—hidden behind an unmarked door. When the campaign began to grow, it expanded and filled a single-story building across the street. There Hemmann oversees the personnel, bookkeeping, field support services, and many volunteers. Another building, alongside the original site, houses the chief delegate hunter, Rick Hutcheson, and his staff of 20. Morris Dees's fund-raising operation shares the rest of the space.

It's not enough space. One of the problems ahead is to locate an adequate national campaign headquarters in Atlanta. Another problem is that the success of the candidate has outstripped his small staff. The staff is too thin. Unlike most front-runner campaigns, which have three or even four people who travel with and can speak for the candidate, this campaign has one—Jody Powell.

The staff, which is both very young and very good, can also be very provincial. An aide to Andy Young once suggested he and Carter campaign together in Harlem. They didn't. On the road in Trenton with one of Carter's field coordinators, I was struck by the way he talked about New York as if it were a foreign country.

Who are these people who have been variously dubbed robots like Haldeman and Ehrlichman, "amateurs," or "the redneck Mafia"? Thirty-one-year-old campaign manager Jordan moves around the office with a green windbreaker on his back, cowboy boots on his feet, and an omnipresent coke bottle in his hand. Occasionally, he will wear a sport jacket. He began as Carter's youth coordinator in a losing 1966 gubernatorial race. Today he is the chief planner and strategist of the campaign.

Jordan is credited as the glue of the campaign, the person who contributes most to its relaxed tone. Seated behind his desk, running a thick deck of white phone slips through his fingers, Jordan describes himself as "a guy who probably enjoys the sport of running and winning more than governing." He would like to go to Washington in a Carter administration. But asked what might prompt him to resign such a position, he said he could not think of any issue. "I don't know under what circumstances I would resign, other than that I became tired of it," he says. He claims it is "true" that he is wedded to Carter more than issues: "I'm beyond the point in my relationship with Jimmy that I measure every statement he makes on every issue and then reassess our relationship." Jordan says, "I'm not going to spend my life in politics." Eventually? "I want to go back to school and maybe write."

Jordan is not without his detractors. Comparing Jordan and press secretary Powell, an Atlanta reporter says, "Jody is capable of punching you in the mouth. Jordan would wait until you turn around and slip a knife in you." A former member of the staff says, "Hamilton has a good mind. What I find hard to fathom is people saying he is a congenial person. I haven't known anyone who thought that."

Robert Shrum did. The talented speechwriter who quit the campaign after nine days with a blast at Carter's character, told me Jordan "is very gregarious, very

FDR, in creative conflict. Sometimes that can be destructive. "In the McGovern campaign," recalls Carter's finance chairman, Morris Dees, who was deeply involved in that effort, "everyone was running around like a bull in heat."

"We've all worked together," explains advisor Kirbo, looking out the window from his 25th floor downtown law office. "They like each other and each one has a place. They were just boys when they started in 1966. I've seen them grow and mature, and I'm proud of them. And Jimmy is, too. They're more like brothers."

Some think they're too close. "The people who run that campaign have been together a long time," says Ms. Bebe Smith, a native Georgian who was McGovern's state coordinator in 1972 and who quit the Carter campaign last October. "I felt, when I was there, that they didn't tolerate outsiders well." But that view was not shared by any of the important "outsiders" I talked to. "This is the most open campaign I've ever seen," says Orin Kramer.

Congressman Andrew Young, an early and important black supporter, calls the campaign, "a cause, a movement. It was an impossible dream that's come true. The average campaign is full of opportunists that want something." Frank Moore, the campaign's congressional liaison, puts it somewhat differently. As Hamilton Jordan placed his boots on the desk and chuckled appreciatively, Moore expressed both the campaign's good humor and latent bitterness when he said, "These guys remind me of when the hunting season opens. When it gets closer to the deer season they go out and get their boots, go get their shells, polish their guns. That's what the guys in Washington are like. When the campaigns start they go hunting for candidates."

The Carter campaign has also been successful because these people, like the Vietcong, traveled light, outflanked their foes, believed in their cause, and built popular support. They simply did a better job than their competition. They started their activities for the July New York convention last February. A coordinator, James Gammill, was picked and given his assignment. He moved to New York in May. In February, the Udall campaign was assigned the Roosevelt Hotel for the convention. As of early June, no one from the Udall staff had ever contacted the hotel by phone or in person.

But the biggest difference between this campaign and most is the way its people talk about their candidate. Campaign operatives often wind up working for themselves. They come to harbor a certain contempt for their candidate. Sure, they "respect" him, agree with his stands "on the issues," even "like" him. But he's always "putting his foot in his mouth," "taking too long to decide," "screwing up." The candidate has to be protected from himself. The most extreme case is the way Haldeman and Ehrlichman kept things from Nixon, including drink. Frank Mankiewicz, Gary Hart, and Gordon Weil were always scheming, in 1972, how to manipulate weak George McGovern. President Ford's advisors spend time trying to make him appear presidential.

The truth is that many of our politicians are weak people, without a clue or even concern as to who they are. The process they partake in helps induce that confu-

smart. But he will say himself that he has no set views."

Press secretary Jody Powell, 32, who looks like a young LBJ without the ears, drove a car for Carter in his 1970 campaign while working on his doctorate in political science. He lives not far from Plains, and served as Carter's press secretary while governor. He is held in generally high esteem by the traveling press corps because he knows his candidate well enough to speak for him, yet is said not to lie for him. Speechwriter Patrick Anderson, who once wrote an excellent book on presidential aides from Roosevelt through Johnson, thinks "Jody will become the Bill Moyers of a Carter administration."

"He'll have to find his way to Washington to do that. "Jody is terribly disorganized," says David Nordan, political editor of the Atlanta Journal. "He forgets things. He never has cigarettes. He's always burning holes in his clothes." Powell is also a lousy returner of phone calls. That might be understandable since he's always on the road. What's not understandable is that he doesn't delegate someone to return the calls for him.

Jody, explains assistant press secretary Betty Rainwater, is "totally disorganized. He works on whatever hits him at the moment. Totally the opposite of Hamilton." One of his great skills, she says, is that "He pulls Jimmy out of himself a bit . . . he gets Jimmy to relax a little bit." He can do that because he's got a sense of humor. When Carter promised an Oregon audience he would not permit the growth of an arrogant, powerful White House staff, Powell quipped, "He just lost my vote."

"He's a terrific press secretary," says Robert Shrum. But "he's so deferential and careful how he tells the guy he's wrong." That view is not shared by the Boston Globe's Curtis Wilke, who has been on the bus from the beginning: "Jody's not afraid to correct Carter." But like Jordan, his commitment is to Carter, rather than to a classifiable set of issues.

If Hamilton Jordan is the chief executive of the campaign, the acknowledged chairman of the board is 59-year-old Charles Kirbo, senior partner of the prosperous law firm King & Spalding. He is dubbed "the wise man" of the campaign by political director Butler, "the man who slows things down." He is addressed as "Mr. Kirbo" by most as he makes his daily one- of two-hour tour of campaign headquarters—visits which have become more frequent in the last three months.

Like Curtis, Kirbo has ice-blue eyes, grayish hair, red blotched skin, speaks slowly, and looks older than his years. He met Carter in 1962 when he volunteered to be his attorney against an effort by the local Democratic machine to deprive Carter of a state senate nomination. He went on to become state Democratic chairman while Carter was governor. Despite the slow drawl, his are often the homilies of Archie Bunker: "There's got to be some control over the size of the government." "Take the New York thing. . . . Woke up one morning and they're broke."

In addition to Harry Truman and Lyndon Johnson, the person Kirbo most admires is his father: "I find he was a greater man than I thought he was. He had eight children and educated all of them while making very little money. . . . When I was a little boy a good many of the people we knew were in the Ku Klux Klan. It was more a political organization. I remember when I was a boy they were constantly putting pressure on Papa to join the Ku Klux. He didn't, and I didn't understand it at the time. He shook hands with black people. . . . He was the only man I'd ever seen that shook hands with black people. The things that he told me when I was a boy about this racial thing—things have come to be the way he thought they should be."

Kirbo's view of the Vietnam war might be more explosive for Carter than a landmine. "I was in favor once they got in it," he told me in his slow, almost shy way. "I didn't know much of the reasons why we got in. Once in, I wanted to win it. I hated to lose. I thought the leavin' was worse than the comin'. I was ashamed of it. I think when the country gets in a war they need to support it. As long as the war was going on I didn't like to see people criticize their government. I'd have felt like hell when I was in Europe. I recognized then, and now, that we needed to do it without starting an atomic war. But I always felt we could have won it."

Kirbo says he usually talks to Carter once or twice a week, and writes regular memos to him. His role is "just sort of an advisor to the staff. . . . I just watch the overall operation, mainly to see they don't run up a debt, and to keep Jimmy aware how things are going financially, and otherwise." Would he like to go to Washington? He talks of his three school-age children, of his farm in South Georgia. "I would like to help Jimmy, and I probably would. I would have to take a substantial cut in salary. . . . I don't want to live up there. I hope I can maintain my help without having to go up there."

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Carter

Continued from preceding page

While Kirbo solemnizes, media advisor Gerald Rafshoon jokes. Asked whether he, like most of the others, called Carter "Governor," Rafshoon pleaded innocent. "I once called him governor," he exclaimed. "I said, 'Oh, fuck you, Governor!'" The 42-year-old Rafshoon, shirt open at the neck, sits behind a large, crowded desk in the eighth floor offices of his ad agency. He looks like a cross between Norman Mailer and Richard Goodwin. His black hair is curly, with a clump of gray rising from the back. On his credenza rests a wooden statue of a hand with its middle finger upright. For 10 years he has toiled for Jimmy Carter, and like the other members of this family, he is secure. "Jimmy Carter won't fire me because he doesn't like one of my television spots," he calmly predicts.

He does not feign modesty. "People ask me why we did so well in the media," he volunteers. "I say not having national campaign experience, not being taken seriously, was an advantage." He is particularly proud that they successfully pioneered—despite the naysayers—the five-minute TV spot. He is also most proud, he says, of Jimmy Carter's "guts. He just doesn't see any obstacles. When there are, he enjoys surmounting them." Charles Kirbo echoes a common impression: "Rafshoon is a very talented fella. He believes in Jimmy Carter. . . . He has a good eye for perceiving things about Jimmy that are capable of being portrayed on TV. He's kind of like Jody and Hamilton. They think about what they can do for Jimmy all the time."

If Rafshoon is a funny man, treasurer Robert Lipshutz is described by the departed Bebe Smith as "a terribly sweet man." The 54-year-old lawyer with the bulbous nose and subdued but friendly personality, controls the money in the campaign, attends what stretegy meetings there are, and has stepped into both fund raising and Carter's troubled relations with the Jewish community. This takes "almost 100 per cent of my time," he claims. His first real involvement with Carter came in 1971 when the then governor asked him to co-chair an Ad Hoc Citizens Committee to reorganize the Georgia government. His relationship with Carter, like the others, is not a social one. "We've never gone fishing together or played tennis together," he says. "I don't think Jimmy has time for a normal social life."

The first person to formally urge Carter to run for president was Dr. Peter Bourne, in a memo dated July 25, 1972. Bourne, 37, moved to Atlanta from his native England when he was 17, met Carter in 1969, and joined his state administration in 1971. He moved again—to Washington—in early 1973. He remains close to Carter. He and his wife, Mary King, play host to Carter when he comes to town, and spend much of the rest of their time explaining to the natives that, no, Carter does not walk barefoot. A part of their time is also spent reassuring liberals—in and out of the campaign—that Jimmy is really one of them.

'I have the impression that Carter will be a more controversial and more populist president than his comforting stump-sermon suggests.'

A President Carter would, he says, "set a high moral standard in public life that we've gotten away from." When the Carter people say that they are not just referring to Richard Nixon or Wayne Hays. They are better described as traditionalists than conservatives. On domestic government programs they are, as Carter's autobiography clarifies, more the traditional populists, identifying with the little guy. To a northern liberal ear, their traditional patriotism, sense of family, respect for institutions—like that of many working-class Americans—is often confused with conservatism.

"My own views about government and politics," explains Lipshutz, "are not too dissimilar to Jimmy's. I am, and always have been, a very liberal person on social programs—like integration." Now that his six children are grown, he says, "obviously I would consider" going to Washington.

The people who influence Jimmy Carter do not stop there. Rosalynn Carter—who wants to reintroduce square dancing to the White House and thinks premarital sex is sinful—commands her husband's attention. "If Jody and I strike out," Hamilton Jordan once told the Washington Post, "the best thing to do is to try to get Rosalynn on our side." The next best thing may be to get "Miz Lillian"—the candidate's 78-year-old mother—on your side. In addition to being more relaxed about life than her son (gathering a group of bleary-eyed, hungover reporters around her in Plains, she told us, "I'm older than any of you, yet I look better.") She is also the most liberal influence in his life.

A picture of the campaign's youth, and its people who are new to Carter, could have been snapped on the night of the final primaries. There, at 2:30 a.m., in a hotel suite in downtown Atlanta, while a party was in full flower, Pat Caddell, 26, and Rick Hutcheson, 24, sat hunched in a corner studying election returns. Caddell is the campaign's influential pollster—he calls himself the "outsider's insider." Hutcheson, the politically neutral delegate hunter—he says he could "probably comfortably support any Democratic presidential candidate"—worked on a Ph.D. at Berkeley and met Jordan in 1974 while working at the Demo-

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eagerness to nail Carter — on Wallace and on the Calley matter — Brill missed this central aspect of Carter's approach to politics.

Brill also weakened his case by failing to distinguish between matters of greater and lesser importance. The best example of this was his handling of a remark Carter made in a speech to high school students. "If you have any questions or advice for me," said Carter, "please write. Just put 'Jimmy Carter, Plains, Georgia' on the envelope, and I'll get it. I open every letter myself and read them all." Brill used this statement as a key to the question of Carter's candor. "It's easy to believe," wrote Brill, "that he really does, as he told the high-school students, open his own mail. I did, until his press secretary told me the next day that the mail sent to Plains, Georgia is forwarded to the Atlanta headquarters."

The effect of this and other anecdotes like it is to make the entire piece seem an exercise in nit-picking. At least, it makes this charge plausible. In its reponse, Carter's staff pointed to the letter incident as "typical of the weighty issues raised by this article." After a few more such examples, it was possible for them to say, when they came to the question of dirty tricks during the 1970 campaign, that it was "another piece of trivia." It wasn't, of course.

Naturally, this recital of errors — unverifiable quotations, overinterpretation, and misplaced emphasis — gives a distorted picture of Brill's article. The article raised a number of substantial issues and contained a good deal of important information. Some of the criticism directed at the piece, particularly the rebuttal prepared by Jody Powell, has been downright deceptive. One of the few reporters who attempted to analyse the charges and rebuttals impartially was Phil Gailey of the Washington bureau of *The Miami Herald*. (See JIMMY CARTER'S CREDIBILITY GAP — IS IT REAL OR FABRICATED?, February 23, 1976.) Gailey found several statements in the Carter response that he considered false or misleading. One of these concerned a speech Carter had delivered in 1972 for a "George Wallace Appreciation Day" in Red Level, Alabama. Brill had suggested that the speech was missing from the Georgia archives because Carter had not wanted to have it on the record. Powell responded that no transcript had been made of the speech, but that, in fact, clippings from *The Dothan* (Alabama) *Eagle* showed that Carter's only reason for making the speech was "wishing Wallace a speedy recovery" from his wounds. Carter's press secretary said further that the event was held only to raise money to pay for Wallace's medical expenses. Gailey got a copy of the article Powell cited and quoted from it: "Although Carter stayed away from specifically endorsing Wallace, he emphasized forcibly many of the stands the Alabama governor has taken in his bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination." By checking with the sponsors of the Appreciation Day, Gailey also found out that all proceeds went to Wallace's presidential campaign.

Perhaps the most striking example, however, involves a letter Brill found in the Georgia archives, addressed from Carter to a Mrs. Dempsey in Alabama. The letter says in part: "I have never had anything but the highest praise for Governor Wallace. . . . I think you will find that . . . George Wallace and I are in agreement on most issues." The response from the Carter camp is significant: "The letter to Mrs. Dempsey," said Powell, "was written by a staffer, never seen by Governor Carter, and did not accurately express his views. Several hundred letters each day often were answered from the Governor's office by staffers; inevitably a few of these staff responses were not exactly what the Governor would have written. Had the writer of the article asked, he would have been told of the three-letter-initial code used to identify staff letters." Gailey checked — and discovered that the unnamed staffer was Jody Powell. "Some Carter supporters," wrote Gailey, apparently expressing his own feelings as well, "fear that the response may have done more to further cloud Carter's credibility than it has to help set the record straight." My own opinion is that Jody Powell did more to prove Brill's thesis than Brill did.

It is obviously impossible to consider in this space every point of disagreement between Brill and Carter. Brill's article was 6,000 words long; Powell's reply was about the same length. Brill did indeed raise a number of substantial questions. None of them, it happens, was original with Brill; in fact, most of them date from the 1970 campaign. Saying this should not detract from Brill's role in bringing the issues to national attention. But it should make it easier to see that the questions must be considered on their own merits.

As I see it, there are five major areas (all touched on by Brill) in which Carter's record needs a thorough examination. In some cases, reporters have already begun that examination, and I will try to mention some of the better efforts as I go along.

□ *Carter's tactics in his 1970 gubernatorial campaign.* Did Jimmy Carter, as some have charged ever since that campaign, pander to the segregationists in order to get elected? Anyone who wants to understand this aspect of the 1970 campaign should read Bill Shipp's four-part series entitled "How He Won It," which *The Atlanta Constitution* ran immediately after the general election (November 8-11, 1970). Shipp, who had excellent connections inside the Carter organization, made a very strong case that Carter consciously exploited the race issue. Paul R. Wieck's article for *The New Republic* ("Long-Shot Jimmy Carter," April 12, 1975), which was one of the first magazine-length pieces to be done on Carter after he announced his candidacy, did a good job of summarizing the tactics Carter used. A highly favorable article in *Time* magazine (March 8, 1976) cited Carter's courting of the Wallace vote and his cozying up to segregationists and found the 1970 gubernatorial campaign "the most questionable aspect of Carter's career." The difference between *Time* and many other publications is the way they choose to interpret the facts. Stan Cloud, who has done most of the magazine's writing on Carter, says he finds Carter's tactics during the 1970 campaign "something about which honest men can disagree." Cloud says he thinks Carter was "within acceptable

limits," and his reporting reflects this. The 1970 campaign is significant today chiefly because of what it may indicate about how far Carter is willing to go to get himself elected.

☐ *Allegations that the Carter campaign used "dirty tricks" during the 1970 campaign.* There are two specific charges: first, that Carter's campaign printed and distributed leaflets showing Carter's chief opponent Carl Sanders with a couple of black basketball players pouring champagne over his head at a victory celebration. The second is that the Carter organization developed and financed radio advertisements for C. B. King, a black attorney who was also a candidate for the Democratic nomination. The object of this stratagem, presumably, was to draw votes away from Sanders, who was considered the liberal candidate in the race. These charges comprised perhaps the strongest section of Brill's piece for *Harper's*. Actually, neither of them is new; both were made by Carter's opponent Carl Sanders during the 1970 race. What Brill did was to find substantiation for them in the testimony of Ray Abernathy, a former vice-president of the Rafshoon Advertising Agency, which handled Carter's campaign. Abernathy's story has since been corroborated by Dorothy Wood, another former vice-president of the agency. George Lardner, Jr., of *The Washington Post*, appears to deserve credit for discovering Wood. (See JIMMY CARTER — PROMISES . . . PROMISES, March 7, 1976.) One of the best jobs of investigating the charge about the radio ads was done by Clark Hallas of the *Detroit News* (March 7, 1976).

Carter has repeatedly denied having had any knowledge of the "dirty tricks"; he says he has asked his campaign aides and they deny any involvement in them. There is a considerable amount of evidence that Carter's campaign staff did, indeed, engage in "dirty tricks." If this is so, either Carter is lying or his top aides are lying to him.

☐ *Reorganization.* Carter says that this was his greatest accomplishment as governor. "As governor," says one of his campaign brochures, "Jimmy Carter pushed through a hard-nosed reorganization of the state's overgrown bureaucracy. He eliminated 278 of the 300 agencies and slashed administrative costs by 50 percent. At the same time he vastly increased state services to the poor, deprived, and afflicted, while leaving a surplus of $116,182,343.37 in the state treasury."

The best article on reorganization is Neal R. Peirce's report, "Structural Reform of Bureaucracy Grows Rapidly," for the *National Journal* (April 4, 1975). Peirce, who is an expert on state and local government, makes it plain that reorganization is primarily a management tool for gaining control of burgeoning bureaucracies. It is, first of all, not unique; since 1965, twenty states, including Georgia, have undergone reorganization. Reorganization is accomplished by regrouping existing agencies under a smaller number of department heads; this supposedly increases their accountability to the chief executive. Reorganization does not eliminate government employees, because that is not what it is intended to do; it abolishes agencies in name only. Carter's claim to have abolished 278 of 300 state agencies must be understood in that light.

Carter claims to have improved services through reorganization. Certainly, in some instances — notably, mental health care and environmental protection — there were improvements. It is hard to establish, however, what, if any, relationship these and other changes had to reorganization. Carter's other claims — to have achieved a 50 percent savings in administrative costs and to have left a budget surplus of $116 million — are somewhat easier to reckon with. When I asked Carter's news director for something to substantiate the 50 percent savings, he said that "no such statistics are available." No one in the Georgia state government has such statistics, either. As for the $116-million surplus: Carter did indeed leave office with a surplus of $116 million — $13 million more than when he took office. Supposing that this figure is meaningful — and this is not self-evident because the surplus depends on revenues, which depend on the state of the economy — it must also be stated that during Carter's term in office the state debt increased $205 million. The best newspaper articles on reorganization I have seen are by George Lardner, Jr., of *The Washington Post*, (CARTER'S CLAIM OF CUTTING BUREAUCRACY DISPUTED, February 28, 1976) and Dick Pettys, of the Associated Press Atlanta bureau (February 16, 1976). Pettys's two-part A.P. story appeared on February 18 in *The New York Times* under the headline CARTER'S CAMPAIGN PROGRAM CONTRASTED WITH HIS RECORD ON THE ISSUES WHILE HE WAS THE GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA.

☐ *Carter's 1970 campaign contributions.* Carter has never released a list of the people who contributed to his gubernatorial campaign. The question first came up during the 1970 campaign, at least partly because Carter was accusing Sanders of accepting large corporate contributions. At a press conference a reporter asked Carter if he had received any large corporate contributions; Carter acknowledged that he had, but refused to say how much they amounted to or whom they were from. It is true, as Carter points out, that the Georgia law in effect at the time did not require disclosure; but it is also a fact that Carter has made openness in government a campaign issue. Brill mentioned the 1970 contributions in his article; it is one of the few allegations to which the Carter campaign did not respond. More recently, when Carter was asked on NBC's *Tomorrow* show about the contribution list, he said that because there was no disclosure law in Georgia "nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records." I checked with two accountants who worked for Carter's campaign in 1970 and both told me that the campaign organization kept records of all contributions. One of them, Richard Harden, a C.P.A. whom Carter later appointed to an important position in his administration, said that the contribution lists were kept by computer, and that Carter's campaign managers received a monthly print-out of all contributors.

Because of this contradiction, the contribution lists take on a special significance. However, the 1970 contributions may well be the visible tip of a larger issue. That is, of course, whether Carter has ties to special interests, especially Lockheed Aircraft and Coca-Cola, both major indus-

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trial residents of Georgia. So far, only Cockburn and Ridgeway of *The Village Voice* (April 5, 1976) and Nicholas Horrock of *The New York Times* (CARTER, AS GOVERNOR, GOT FREE RIDES ON PLANES OF LOCKHEED AND COCA COLA, April 1, 1976), have shown any interest in the subject. If there is nothing to it, the matter should be laid to rest; the list of contributors from the 1970 election might help do that.

□ Finally, *Issues*. A common complaint among the press is that Carter is running on personality, not on issues. If this is so, it is not hard to see why this is possible. In a five-page feature on Carter — "Carter on the Rise" (March 8, 1976) — *Newsweek* managed to spend only two paragraphs on the candidate's stands on specific issues. This is all too typical. There have been several excellent analyses of Carter's current stands on a few issues, notably Cockburn and Ridgeway's careful article, "Energy and Politicians" for *The New York Review of Books* (April 15, 1976), Hobart Rowen's articles on economics for *The Washington Post* (see particularly CARVING AN ECONOMIC PLATFORM, April 12, 1976), and Ken Bode's "Why Carter's Big with Blacks," (*The New Republic*, April 10, 1976). Perhaps the best summary of Carter's overall political philosophy is a piece by James P. Gannon in *The Wall Street Journal*, April 4, 1976. Gannon is one of the few reporters who has figured out that, as the headline on the article indicates, CARTER, DESPITE IMAGE OF 'OUTSIDER,' FAVORS DO-MORE GOVERNMENT. However, most coverage had offered little more than capsule summaries of Carter's position papers or of statements he has made in press conferences or interviews.

What is particularly necessary in Carter's case is an analysis of how Carter's stands on issues have changed over the course of the past few years. My own study of Carter's record, which is far from complete, shows that since Carter started running for president, he has changed his positions in significant ways on amnesty, capital punishment, money policy, busing, nuclear power, farm subsidies, cuts in the military budget, foreign policy (notably the Vietnam war), and revenue sharing. Only by discovering these changes and coming to grips with the reasons behind them can the press finally fulfill its duty to answer the question: who is Jimmy Carter?

This was, of course, the question that Steven Brill set out to answer. For a number of reasons, he achieved only a limited success. To the extent that his article became a media event, it may have even impeded this effort, by diverting the discussion to irrelevancies. Again, to the extent that this occurred, the responsibility must be shared by Brill for being careless, by *Harper's* for adding the sensational title, and by certain members of the press for treating it as a political sideshow. There is really no point in blaming the Carter organization for its part in promoting the article as a media event; politicians are not responsible for what the press does.

Brill's article served a purpose by raising certain important questions before a national audience; then the questions got lost in a flurry of public name-calling that often passes for journalism. Most of the questions still need answering. ■


UPI


UPI


Wide World

Top: *Georgia governor-elect Jimmy Carter celebrating his 1970 election victory*

Center: *Governor Carter and outgoing governor Lester Maddox at the 1971 inauguration ceremonies in Atlanta*

Bottom: *Carter, in 1971, signing into law his governmental reorganization bill*

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

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News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 30, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Leaders of Communist parties from Eastern and Western Europe opened their long-delayed conference in East Berlin yesterday. Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet leader, took a conciliatory stand in his keynote address toward those seeking independence from Moscow's tutelage. The Communist leaders, including Enrico Berlinger of Italy and President Tito of Yugoslavia, attending his first international meeting since 1948, assembled to ratify a new declaration of principles as the basis of solidarity. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Efforts to find a solution for the civil war in Lebanon reached a deadlock as the Libyan Prime Minister ended a 10 day stay in Beirut during which he had attempted to mediate the conflict and as right-wing Christian milltiamen intensified their efforts to capture two Palestinian camps they have been attacking for more than a week. [1:7.]

High-ranking officials in Washington said that the situation in Lebanon was at a low point and that the future seemed to hold only worse developments. There seemed to be unanimity that all efforts to find a political solution to the civil war had failed and that no one would be able to halt the bloodshed. [1:6.]

Hijackers holding 256 hostages, including 80 to 100 Israelis, aboard a French airliner in Kampala, Uganda, demanded the release of 53 Palestinians and pro-Palestinians from jails in Israel and four other countries. The hijackers warned of "severe and heavy penalties" if the demands were not met. Israel, which holds 40 of the 53 prisoners, began urgent consultations on the demands. [1:6-7.]

National

The Supreme Court ruled that the seizure of a person's private business papers and their use as evidence was not in violation of the Fifth Amendment guarantee against self-incrimination. The Court said, however, that the Fifth Amendment might protect a person against subpoenas for his private papers. [1:2-3.]

Jimmy Carter, speaking at the United States Conference of Mayors in Milwaukee, said that while he would try to be a sympathetic and responsive President, he would also be a demanding partner who would expect the mayors to endorse some of his political enthusiasms, such as governmental reorganization. [1:4.]

Metropolitan

An agreement in principle was reportedly reached between city officials and city labor unions to comply with the budget for the next fiscal year, which calls for a $24 million cut in fringe benefits. The agreement is expected to satisfy Treasury Secretary William E. Simon, who must approve the Federal loans needed by the city to avoid default tomorrow. Specific cuts would not be part of the agreements, sources said, but in exchange, city workers would receive cost-of-living raises financed by productivity savings. [1:5.]

As rush-hour traffic flowed at only a slightly reduced pace last night because of the strike of toll collectors, the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority began selling tokens for use in automated booths. David L. Yunich, of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, said the use of the tokens, which were sold in $20 bags, was to speed traffic and eventually to reduce toll-taking personnel by 20 percent. [1:1-4.]

A compromise plan to end the bitter 13-month strike by residents of Co-op City was announced by Governor Carey and accepted by the leaders of the strike. The plan includes a six-month period of resident management and a program to guarantee full monthly payments of the state mortgage for the property. The plan also included the immediate repayment to the State Housing Finance Agency of at least $15.1 million of the $20 million in withheld carrying charges that the leaders say they have in their possession. [1:1.]

A flurry of last-minute compromises on bills to reduce pension benefits for future public employees and to allow a 1-cent-per dollar increase in the Nassau County sales tax enabled the Legislature to finally push ahead toward an end of its session. Even the final adjournment procedure was a compromise. In an agreement with the Governor, the Legislature will return in 30 days to consider overriding any vetoes, and then adjourn until next year. [44:1-4.]

Cadet Steven Verr, who challenged the West Point honor code through 18 disciplinary actfons and honor board hearings over the code's administration, was found deficient in mathematics by an academic board and will be separated from the corps of cadets. [47:4.]

The Other News

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDI
Weather: Hazy, warm showers likely throug Temperature range: Tuesday 65-85. Detail

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CARTER QUALIFIES PLEDGE TO CITIES

Promises Mayors Sympathy but Says He'd Demand Support in Return

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, June 29 — Jimmy Carter warned the mayors of American cities today that, while he would try to be a sympathetic and responsive friend in the White House, he would also be a demanding partner who would expect them to endorse some of his own political enthusiasms such as "reorganization" of Federal and urban government.

For the 51-year-old former Georgia Governor, today's appearance at the United States Conference of Mayors, meeting here, represented an opportunity to win the political homage that many big city mayors had withheld in the Presidential primary election campaign.

His written speech was largely designed to do so by expressing greater willingness to attack urban problems with Federal help than most mayors believe Republican presidents have lately shown.

But Mr. Carter, who is now assured the Democratic Presidential nomination, unexpectedly added several passages that had the effect of rapping the mayors' knuckles with the peace pipe he had extended earlier in the address.

"The mayors are very demanding," Mr. Carter said in his extemporaneous remarks. "I don't blame him for it and I will accept your demands as President, if I am elected."

"But I also intend to be de-

Continued on Page 20, Column 4

Legislature Closing

The New York Legislature worked last night to bring its six-month session to a close. Page 44.

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Carter Offers Mayors a Qualified Pledge to Cities

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

manding from you," Mr. Carter said. "As I struggle to reorganize the Federal Government, I would expect you to struggle to reorganize your own governments, to root out inefficiency and waste, to deal with administrative problems in a courageous way.

"And to the extent that I am convinced that you're doing the best you can, I'll be there as a solid supporter on which you can always depend."

Mr. Carter received moderate, undemonstrative applause from the mayors, who are meeting at the Milwaukee Convention Center.

Mr. Carter did not say what he would do if he were unconvinced that the cities were grappling with problems to his satisfaction.

Restores Deleted Line

At another point, he also delivered a line that his aides had blue-pencilled from mimeographed copies of his text last night on the ground that, as one aide said, "It sounded like something Nixon used to say."

The line, resurrected by Mr. Carter, was "We cannot just throw money at problems."

The general effect of Mr. Carter's additions was to balance a generally liberal speech with moderate qualifications, something he had often done in a long political campaign.

Mr. Carter began a four-day tour from his Georgia home yesterday, mostly to speak at fund-raising events in an effort to wipe out his campaign debt and to finance the heavy costs he will incur at the Democratic National Convention in New York in July.

At a $250-a-plate breakfast this morning attended by 100 Wisconsin Democrats, Mr. Carter said, as he had done several times in recent days, that "my goal is to carry all 50 states" in the November general election.

Warns of Overconfidence

But he also stressed the dangers of political overconfidence. He told the political anecdote about a voter who explained Thomas E. Dewey's unexpected 1948 defeat by President Truman by saying, "Dewey went around so long acting like he was President that the people thought it was time for a change."

"I don't want that to happen to me," Mr. Carter said as the daughter died down. He said the "unprecedtended" situation in which he was assured of the nomination long before the convention met "ought to come as a warning." He said he intended to "run just as hard" in the general election as he had in the primaries "and avoid the mistake made by Dewey."

Mr. Carter said he believed President Ford would be a formidable opponent, partly because of his incumbency. He said he and his staff felt "concern" because their own opinion poll results indicated that voters felt a "need for stability and predictability," which would help a sitting President.

But he added that he assumed that either Mr. Ford or Ronald Reagan "could mount a tremendous campaign."

In his prepared remarks to the conference, Mr. Carter covered much ground he had traversed before, repeating support for several specific programs aimed at urban ills that he had advanced at a major New York speech last April.

Today, however, he omitted any reference to the full employment bill sponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins, Democrat of California. The bill aims to reduce adult unemployment to 3 percent within four years.

Although he has endorsed the most recent draft of the bill, Mr. Carter was the last Democratic candidate to do so and seemed to be the most lukewarm in advocating it.

What was new in today's address was Mr. Carter's emphasis on "the restoration of federalism" in which Federal, state and local governments would act in a "balanced national partnership" to deal with the future of the American city.

The element needed to succeed in this, he said, was "predictable and adequate" Federal financial support so that localities could resist layoffs, tax increases and cutbacks in services.

It was in that context, however, that he said money could not be "thrown" at problems.

This afternoon Mr. Carter flew to New York, where he met briefly with 35 New York labor leaders and then appeared at a $100-a-person fund-raising reception at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Carter aides said close to 1,500 tickets had been sold, but the crowd in the grand ballroom seemed smaller than that.

Carter's Speech Convinces Some Mayors

By PAUL DELANEY
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, June 29—Jimmy Carter managed today to convince some skertics among Democratic mayors that he was genuinely committed to correcting urban ills.

The Democratic candidate gave the mayors what they wanted to hear the 44th annual convention of the United States Conference of hayors. He aligned himself with them on a shopping list of pro-cities positions, that included urging President Ford to sign a public works bill sent to him by Congress last week, seeking the extension of revenue sharing and action against red-lining, the process by which lending institutions label some neighborhoods as unacceptable risks for loans.

That seemed to satisfy most of the Democratic mayors who had wanted the candidate to be more specific on urban problems.

But all were not pleased with the speech. Republicans compared Mr. Carter's positions with those of President Ford, declaring that the Democratic candidate was affirming programs of the Republican President. Some black Democrats had reserations and wanted further delineation of Mr. Carter's positions.

Democratic Affair

As the only candidate to show up at the convention, Mr. Carter clearly made today's session a Democratic affair, to the frustration and complaints of Republican city officials.

"I feel out of place, like I'm at a Democrats-only function rather than a nonpartisan meeting," said a Republican Mayor from Orange County, Calif.

Republican mayors issued a prepared statement accusing Mr. Carter of "a few partisan shots and distortions," but said that the address gave basic support "to the programs and policies of the Ford Administration and the [Ronad] Reagan candidacy."

Their reaction seems in line with the developing strategy that Republicans will use if the Democrats nominate Mr. Carter.

Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, Ind., a Democrat who is one of many black leaders still withholding endorsement of Mr. Carter, said that the candidate did not go far enough in his commitment to the cities. Also, the Mayor said some of Mr. Carter's language, such as on work incentives for welfare recipients and consolidation of categorical programs, was similar to that of the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

But the response of the overwhelming number of Democratic officials was positive. Mayors Kenneth A. Gibson, of Newark, and Tom Bradley, of Los Angeles, two holdouts, indicated that their endorsements were imminent. Mayors Richard J. Daley of Chicago, Moon Landrieu of New Orleans, and Maynard Jackson of Atlanta were pleased with the reception given Mr. Carter.

Meanwhile, the mayors continued to press President Ford to sign the public works bill. Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of Commerce, indicated in a speech yesterday that the President would not approve the $4 billion measure that would provide public works jobs and additional funds for cities with high unemployment.

Some Republicans joined Democrats in support of the bill. Cleveland Mayor Ralph J. Perk, a Republican, said that he had told the White House that it was imperative that the President to sign the bill.

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The G.O.P. Nightmare

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 29—The saddest characters in Washington these days are the Republican members of Congress. They are watching the Ford-Reagan fight for the G.O.P. Presidential nomination with mounting alarm, fearing that whoever wins this battle will divide the party, lose the White House, and weaken their chances of re-election in November.

Their situation now is bleak enough. The Democrats have held a majority of the House and Senate for 22 consecutive years, and for 39 out of the last 43 years. But with President Ford in the White House, the Republicans have at least been able, with the aid of conservative Democrats, to sustain 17 of Mr. Ford's 21 vetoes.

Now everything seems to be going against them. Not only the popularity polls in the Presidential election, which favor Governor Carter over either President Ford or Governor Reagan. Not only the trend of voting in the increasingly populous states of the South and West, which are less conservative than in the 50's and 60's. But also the probable switch from moderate Democratic leaders like Mike Mansfield in the Senate and Speaker Albert in the House to more partisan Democratic leaders like Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia and Representative Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill of Massachusetts.

It would be hard to underestimate the importance of what is happening on Capitol Hill. While the political attention of the nation is on the Presidential race, the shifting scene in the Congress could be equally or even more important in the rest of the 70's.

The mood of the Congress is obviously changing. There are more resignations than ever before. The sex scandals have depressed members and their staffs almost as much as the Watergate scandal depressed the executive branch and the bureaucracy, and this is now coming out in the open in a conflict between what's left of the Republican leadership on the Hill and the coming Democratic Speaker of the House.

For example, John J. Rhodes of Arizona, the Republican leader of the House, and normally a most cautious and courteous man, has just written the most critical book on the Congress that has appeared in a very long time. He calls it "The Futile System," and in his personal attacks on Tip O'Neill indicates the coming partisan struggle in the House.

Representative Rhodes deplores the decline of civility in the Congress in recent years and the rise of personal and partisan acrimony, but he is not exactly civil or impersonal himself.

"The atmosphere in and around the Congress today," he says, "is far more acrid than at any time in my career [he was elected to the 83d Congress on Nov. 4, 1952]. The members are louder, more uptight, hostile and devious. The average Congressman has always been partisan, but never so partisan as he is today. . . .

"It is certainly not my intention to hand down a blanket indictment," Representative Rhodes writes. "But today, a large number of Congressmen are cynical, abrasive, frequently uncommunicative and ambitious to an inordinate degree. In their eagerness to draw attention to themselves—and advance politically—they frustrate the legislative process."

When he came to Congress in 1952, he observes, the House and Senate had a combined staff of 4,500 and a budget of $42 million. Now the staff numbers 16,000 with a budget of $414 million. But looking to the future, it is the personal comments of Mr. Rhodes that may be most important.

He describes Speaker Albert, who has announced his retirement, as a "weak, inefficient" but fair leader and goes on to denounce Mr. O'Neill, who will undoubtedly replace Albert, as "the most partisan man I have ever known." Rhodes says that O'Neill is "a gregarious and engaging man," but adds: "He would rather go down to defeat time after time and veto after veto than ever to cooperate substantively with either the minority side or the Republican President of the United States."

One of the main Democratic themes of this election, of course, is that the nation needs to get away from the stalemate of "veto government," with the Congress dominated by one party and the White House by another. Mr. Rhodes's argument is precisely the opposite: that a Democratic government under Jimmy Carter and a Democratic Congress under Tip O'Neill in the House and Bob Byrd or Hubert Humphrey in the Senate would be a tidy disaster.

Mr. Rhodes, of course, is making a partisan argument himself for a Republican Congress, but there is a lot to his general criticism, and it is clear from what he says that Capitol Hill promises to be a stormy partisan battleground in the coming years.

The old conservative coalition of Midwest Republicans and Southern Democrats has been breaking up for a long time. It could still be a force in sustaining a conservative Republican President's vetoes, but if Mr. Carter wins, the new Democratic leadership in Congress is likely to be more decisive than at any time since the early days of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Is It Bigfoot, Or Can It Be Just a Hoax?

By BOYCE RENSBERGER
Special to The New York Times

THE DALLES, Ore.—Within the vast forest wilderness of the Pacific Northwest there may live a species of shy, furry manlike creatures, perhaps relict and declining survivors from a time before modern man evolved. And then again there may not.

A remarkable body of evidence has been gathered over the last few years that points either to the reality of a species of large primates known as Bigfoot or Sasquatch that walks on two legs or to a long series of hallucinations and extraordinary hoaxes executed with anatomical and ecological expertise and with unusual restraint.

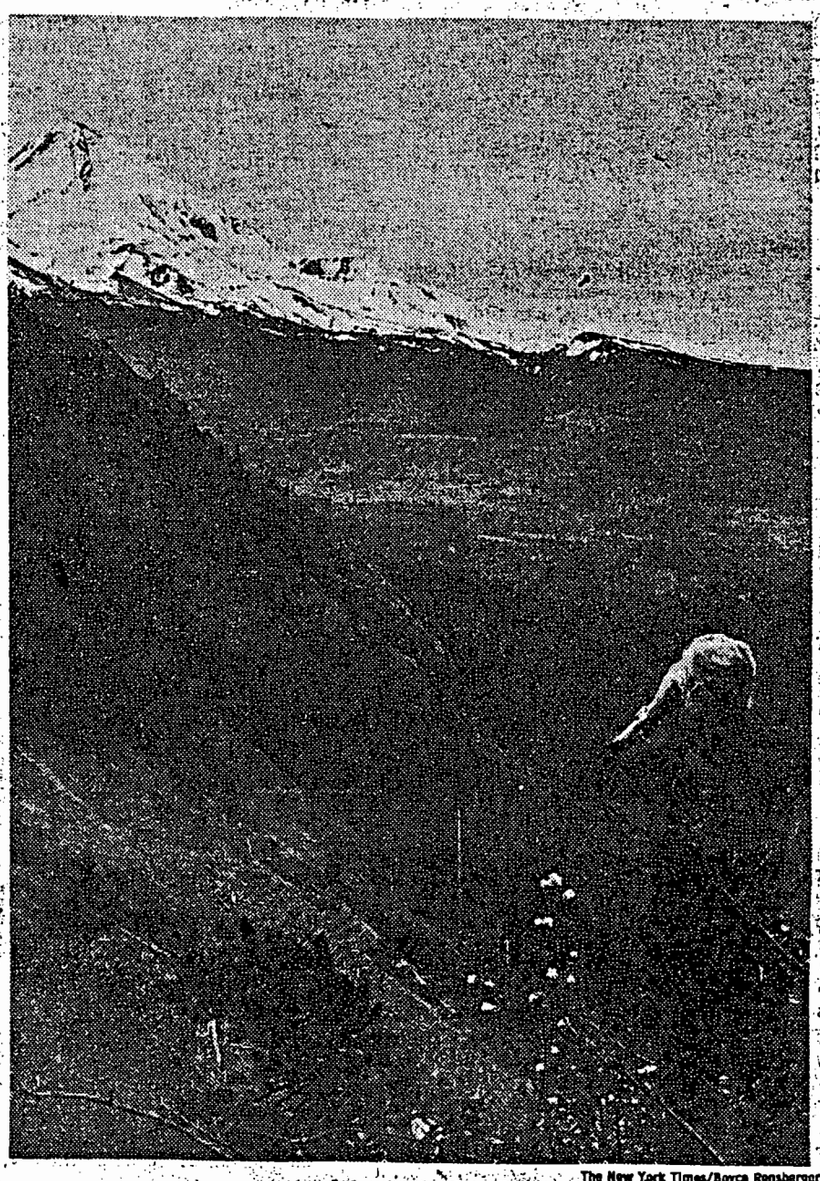
The evidence has persuaded at least one physical anthropologist of international standing that the Sasquatch phenomenon of footprints and sightings is real and in need of further study.

There is even speculation that a presumably

Continued on Page 62, Column 5

Jack Cochran

Above: a logger's rendering of the creature he said he saw in an Oregon forest. Below: Peter Byrne looking for the creature near Mt. Hood in the same forest.



The New York Times/Boyce Rensberger

Continued From First Page, Second Section

extinct form of giant ape or apeman known as Gigantopithecus, whose fossils have been found in Asia, may have been an ancestor of a Sasquatch that migrated across the Bering land bridge to North America long before true humans.

The existence of such a surviving species seems wildly improbable and is discounted by most experts in primate evolution. A genuine find of such a creature would rank as one of the most significant discoveries of modern times.

To most Americans the idea that a giant apeman could be living in the United States in 1976 and remain so elusive is far less credible than the idea that a creature could dwell in Loch Ness, a faraway, mist-shrouded Scottish lake, or that an abominable snowman, or yeti, could exist in the remote Himalayas.

Ex-Professional Hunter

And yet, at a time when increasing sums of money are being spent by reputable scientists to investigate Loch Ness, America's own "monster," with at least as much suggestive evidence behind it, is pursued by little more than weekend amateurs, riflemen vowing to bring one back dead, an assortment of eccentric or unreliable individuals and obvious perpetrators of fraud.

One of the few exceptions is Peter Byrne, a 50-year-old former professional hunter in Nepal, who switched from tiger shooting and yeti hunting to tiger conservation and Bigfoot hunting.

He operates the modest Bigfoot Information Center here in The Dalles, a small town in the heart of Bigfoot country, and he describes himself as the "only man alive who has made a profession out of this extraordinary search."

He has been doing it for five years, supported by admission fees to a small exhibit here and by small donations from various sources, including the Academy of Applied Sciences, which is also the chief sponsor of the current Loch Ness expedition.

The center receives reports of Sasquatch sightings or of 16-inch footprints from all over the Northwest and investigates each report using a network of volunteers.

94 Credible Sightings

Most are eventually discounted as insubstantial or faked, but a handful hold up and are given high credibility. So far Mr. Byrne, though he has never seen a Bigfoot himself, has collected the details of 94 reported sightings that seem believable. There are many more reports of tracks.

An example was that of Jack Cochran, a logger from nearby Parksdale, who on May 12, 1974, was working with a crew in the Hood River National Forest. Mr. Cochran, who operates a crane that picks up logs, was taking a break in the cab of the crane and happened to look across the clearing. Fifty yards away he says he saw "this big hairy thing" standing silently.

"A chill went up my back," Mr. Cochran recalled.

When he determined that it was not one of his co-workers, Mr. Cochran, a hunter and amateur artist who sketches wildlife, studied the creature. He said it was covered with thick black hair and stood about six and a half feet tall and had massive shoulders. He immediately assumed it to be a Bigfoot and not any of the other forest animals that he knew well.

Walked Away Gracefully

Then it walked away "gracefully, like an athlete," and disappeared over a hill into the trees.

The next day, May 13, at about the same time, 10 A.M., the same loggers were again taking a break. Mr. Cochran sat in his crane and kept his eyes on the forest but saw nothing unusual. His two companions, however, said that they walked into the woods for a little shade and were startled to see a big creature rise up out of the bushes and stride quickly away on two legs. One of the two men, Fermin Osborne, gave chase and even picked up some rocks to throw.

Later investigators from the Bigfoot Information Center conducted a thorough search of the area. They found the creature's track—indistinct impressions of a soft but heavy foot leading from the edge of the clearing off across some wooded hills. Paralleling them for part of the way were deep boot prints and even holes in the ground where rocks had been removed.

As in virtually all Sasquatch reports, the creature does nothing spectacular. It does not charge or roar or act ferocious in any way. In report after report the animal simply walks along or watches people until it senses it has been seen, and then it walks away.

So Tame a Story

Many people have said that hallucinations or hoaxes would be unlikely to yield so tame and dull a story.

Another group of sightings took place within a two-square-mile area just outside The Dalles. In 1967 four people said they saw a Bigfoot. The following year another four people reported another sighting. In 1969 there was no report. In 1970 two people saw one. And in 1971 there were four sightings by a total of nine people. Again the creature was said to be simply standing or walking. Eventually it, or they, simply walked away.

Tame or not, could a population of seven-foot-tall humanoids be living in the United States and remain unknown to science?

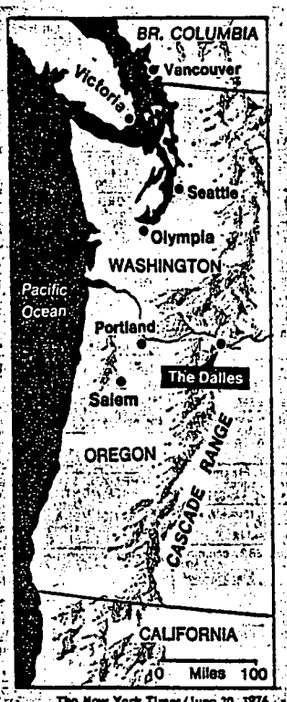
To those who have not seen the immense, uninhabited and almost impenetrable forests that cover the mountains of the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia, it may seem hard to believe that there are thousands of square miles of wilderness where hardly anyone ever goes.

Reports Date From 1840

Sasquatch reports, which date from 1840, all come from a large but well-defined area that includes the mountains of southern British Columbia and the Cascade ranges of Western Washington, Western Oregon and Northern California.

The area covers about 125,000 square miles and could easily hide thousands of Sasquatches, particularly if one assumes, as the evidence suggests, that they are nomadic. If the Bigfoot is only a fantasy, it is strange that with one or two obviously faked exceptions, no reports have come from other parts of the country, not even from other wilderness areas in the West that are similar to the Cascade Mountains.

Still, skeptics argue, natural-



The New York Times/June 30, 1976

Bigfoot country is the mountainous area of the Pacific Northwest shown on map, with information center at The Dalles.

ists have explored the entire world and have surely catalogued all of the larger animals. But in fact new species are still being discovered. Within the last century Westerners learned for the first time of the pygmy hippopotamus, the Okapi, the Komodo lizard, the giant Panda, two species of large monkey, the pygmy chimpanzee and the mountain gorilla.

Indian Legends

Bigfoot believers say that the creature should not be considered unknown. Most of the Indian tribes in the area have legends and stories about such creatures; Sasquatch is one tribe's name for the creature but there are many others.

Scattered reports of giant manlike footprints or of actual sightings also occurred in the early writings of white settlers and down through the years. There are scores of reports from the last decade, when people like Mr. Byrne started soliciting them.

While newspaper accounts frequently make it appear that a Bigfoot report involves only a single, large blurry footprint, the more typical discovery is of a long track of footprints that can sometimes be followed for miles. Where the ground is soft the prints are sometimes detailed enough that anatomists can analyze the structure of the foot that made the print.

Dr. John Napier, a British anthropologist who is a specialist in the anatomy of ape and human feet, has for 20 years studied yeti and Sasquatch footprints, many of which have been photographed or cast in plaster of Paris.

Bears Too Small

Although it is often said that bears made the prints, the bears of the Pacific Northwest are too small to make a print more than half the size ascribed to the Sasquatch.

What about a hoaxer who carves big feet, straps them on his boots and tramps off through the woods? Dr. Napier says this would be easy to spot for the fake foot would not flex or conform to the ground the way a real striding foot does. Given the depth of some of the prints, he calculates it would require the hoaxer to carry something like 500 pounds of extra weight. Someone going to all that trouble, it is felt, would be unlikely to put tracks in remote forests where they might never be discovered.

In Dr. Napier's view one of the most persausive sets of footprints was found in 1969 near Bossburg, Wash. The half-mile-long track contained 1,089 prints, and the right prints appear to have been made by a crippled foot. At one point whatever made the prints stepped easily over a 43-inch-high fence.

Look Very Human

In the deformed print Dr. Napier can see not only obviously abnormal outlines but also shifts in weight distribution from one part of the foot to another, all of which suggest that the creature suffered a crushing injury of the foot in youth. The prints look very human, Dr. Napier says, except that they are 17½ inches long and 7 inches wide.

"It is very difficult to conceive of a hoaxer so subtle, so knowledgeable and so sick who would deliberately fake a footprint of this nature," Dr. Napier wrote in his book "Bigfoot." "I suppose it is possible, but it is so unlikely that I am prepared to discount it."

After examining the Bossburg tracks and many others, Dr. Napier concludes that "they are not the footprints of modern man" but "could conceivably be the footprints of unknown members of the human family."

One of the most controversial pieces of evidence is an 18-second film that shows a furry creature striding along a creekbed in a California forest and then disappearing into the trees. It has been examined by various experts, and no one can conclusively prove that it is either a fake or authentic. Mr. Byrne has declared other film fakes, but he says of this one that he is 95 percent certain it is real.

Something Needs Explaining

After examining all the evidence for and against the Sasquatch, Dr. Napier, who thinks the film is phony, concludes: "I am convinced that the Sasquatch exists, but whether it is all that it is cracked up to be is another matter altogether. There must be something in northwest America that needs explaining, and that something leaves manlike footprints."

It has been argued by some that there is not enough food to support a creature of Bigfoot's size in the typical coniferous forests of the Northwest. While there are not nearly as many edible plants as, for example, in the gorilla's tropical habitat, the woods do support bears of considerable size.

While some Sasquatch believers feel that the only way to convince the world of the creature's existence is to shoot one and bring back its corpse, Peter Byrne abhors such thoughts.

"There probably aren't all that many to begin with," he said. "I think that with a decent effort we could get photographic proof. They should be protected."

One recent evening Mr. Byrne took his cameras, two volunteer investigators and a visitor and drove out of The Dalles and onto logging roads that wind through the Hood River National Forest, a region where Sasquatches have been sighted.

At a high clearing Mr. Byrne set up a night observation device, on loan from the Army. With only starlight to illuminate the landscape, its battery-powered light amplifiers project almost the equivalent of a daylight scene onto a small viewing screen. After a few turns scanning the distance and waiting for a Bigfoot that might have been drawn out of curiosity, everyone crawled into sleeping bags for the night. No Sasquatch came.

When Mr. Byrne got back to his office, the telephone-answering device had recorded a call from a man in Seattle who said he had seen a Bigfoot on May 17.

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Carter Tells Mayors He'll Boost Cities

BY JIM GRAY
Constitution Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE—Democratic presidential frontrunner Jimmy Carter promised a receptive U.S. Conference of Mayors here Tuesday a package of New Deal-type initiatives to rejuvenate the growing number of languishing cities, which he called "America's number one economic problem."

In a major speech on urban policy to the predominantly Democratic group of 350 mayors, Carter blasted away at neglect of the cities by the Nixon and Ford administrations. But he often sided with Republicans in calling for more private investment to cure the ill health of cities.

"For eight years, our cities and their people and their elected officials have too often been used by the White House as adversaries and quite often used as political whipping boys," Carter said during a speech that was interrupted eight times by applause.

"We have drifted, we have seen indifference replace experimentation, and divisiveness replace the search for unity that this country so urgently needs," Carter said.

The Republican mayors' response was quick. "We would ask the American people why they should change from a courageous, experienced administration to this rhetoric of an inexperienced candidate who is still trying to be all things to all people," a Republican rebuttal said.

Earlier in the day, the Carter campaign gathered almost $30,000 in contributions from a $250 a plate breakfast for Wisconsin Democrats at which Gov. Patrick J. Lucey was host.

In returning to the state that produced his come-from-behind primary victory over Morris Udall, Carter pledged not to fall into the 1948 trap of Republican nominee Thomas Dewey and take his victory in November for granted. He said he would try to win in all 50 states.

Carter called GOP hopeful Ronald Reagan "a professional actor and superb

See CARTER, Page 15-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

TV performer" but said President Ford appears to be the more formidable opponent because his incumbency would allow more party unification.

The former Georgia governor appeared to woo his audience by once again leaning quietly on the theme of trust and of making the federal government as good as the American people. However, Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss wound up his Texas accent into a harangue.

"The people of America have suffered from the callous indifference of Republican administrations for seven long years," Strauss told the mayors. "The Republicans don't have to worry about writing off the cities because they've already done it.

"The Republican party and this administration have said 'no' to our cities and their people time and time again," the Democratic chairman said.

Mary Louise Smith, chairperson of the Republican National Committee, delivered her party's answer to Strauss and extended assurances to the mayors.

"I can personally guarantee to you the Republican party has no intention of writing off the nation's cities," she said. Mrs. Smith pointed to Ford's support of revenue sharing, reduction of inflation, and unprecedented accessibility to municipal officials.

Her speech ended with a potshot at Carter. "The Democrats are on the brink of nominating a man who asks America to accept him on faith alone," Mrs. Smith said, "and that is a pretty tall order coming from someone who wants to be president. Certainly the ingredients of a Republican victory are there."

The day appeared to belong to Carter, however, as he promised to be the mayors' "friend, ally and partner" in the White House.

Carter's remaining Democratic rival, Gov. Jerry Brown of California, was to speak at the meeting but cancelled out late Monday night for unexplained reasons.

Carter, saying he was thankful as a Southerner for President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs, called for similar accelerated public works projects for cities. He urged Ford to sign the mayors' dream boat bill—the $4 billion public works and jobs package that would target most funds at cities with high unemployment.

As part of his plan of reorganization of the executive branch, Carter asked the mayors' help in ending waste and consolidating the more than 1,600 different categorical plan programs. Such Republican consolidation programs as revenue sharing and the community development bloc grants drew no praise from Carter, however.

But his calls for consolidation and incentive for increased private involvement in rebuilding cities was not lost on the Republican mayors.

Aside from "a few partisan shots and distortions," the GOP mayors said in a statement, Carter pleasantly surprised them in supporting Ford and Reagan programs.

"We welcome Governor Carter's support for the philosophy of government developed and defended by the current administration," the statement said. "We welcome the governor's support and reliance on the private sector of the U.S. economy and his implied support of the 'New' Federalism concept of the Republican party."

Also, GOP Mayor Pete Wilson of San Diego accused Carter of intentionally deleting from his speech any mention of the controversial Humphrey-Hawkins bill. The bill would create enough public service jobs to reduce unemployment to 3 per cent by 1980.

Carter did not mention the bill by name but said, "The first thing we need is jobs, a job for every American who wants one. Unemployment and poverty are at the heart of the urban problem."

Mayor Wilson homed in on Carter's generalities. "To the very limited extent he was specific," Wilson said as southern California chairman of the Ford campaign committee, "Gov. Carter very largely proposes to do what is being done or has been done or proposed by the Ford administration."

K

CHOICE IN WASHINGTON?

Carter to Confer With VP Hopefuls

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PITTSBURGH—Jimmy Carter drew the circle around his vice presidential candidates tighter Tuesday night, announcing aboard his chartered jet that he will begin evaluating about seven possible running mates this weekend.

He will interview candidates for the office next week, he said.

In Atlanta, one of Carter's closest advisers, Charles Kirbo, was scheduled to fly to Washington Wednesday to consult with congressmen and presumably to begin screening the men or women Carter will choose from.

Although the almost certain Democratic presidential nominee insisted he has not ruled anyone "in or out," he left the clear impression his choice will come from Washington.

Most of the speculation has centered on three senators: Fritz Mondale of Montana, John Glenn of Ohio and Idaho's Frank Church, who topped Carter in a few late primaries.

The former Georgia governor said Kirbo and two or three others are compiling information on a number of candidates, and that he himself will interview "three or four or maybe five" in Plains, Atlanta or Washington, depending on the persons' wishes.

He made the statement twice, and only said he might meet a vice presidential hopeful somewhere besides Washington when a reporter asked him about it.

In addition to asking questions about the people he is considering for a running mate, Carter said, "We are asking them for a financial statement and we are putting to them kind of cross-examination questions in a nice way that we derive from comments about them among those who know them best."

Carter added, "I don't have any desire to have someone as vice president who is exactly like me on every question that has come up in the past that is controversial. That would be ridiculous to expect that.

"But whoever I recommend to the convention, I will be the President and I will be responsible for the executive branch of government, and I suppose the vice president would find a compatibility with my positions, still retaining the right to disagree if they wish."

The importance of the vice presidency has soared in recent years as Lyndon Johnson and Gerald Ford were catapulted from that post to the presidency, and as Spiro Agnew and Thomas Eagleton embarrassed the men who picked them as running mates.

Since Carter has ruled out an FBI check on his pick, he and his staff must accept the responsibility for coming up with a good running mate.

But Carter is also thinking about his plan to reorganize the federal government. He said Tuesday night he is considering asking Congress, before his inauguration, to reenact legislation that would give him reorganization authority.

When questioned about that proposal, he seemed to regret having brought it up, and emphasized he and his staff are just studying the possibility.

Carter seemed to indicate that he wanted the legislation, which has expired, in place so that he could begin reorganizing as soon as he takes office.

Carter flew here from New York after meeting with 30 labor leaders, including Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

He also attended a fund-raising reception in the ornate, chandeliered Waldorf-Astoria grand ballroom, where prominent New Yorkers, including some Republicans, contributed $150,000.

Earlier in the day, Carter addressed a session of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, but made no mention of tapping a mayor for the vice presidency even though a conference committee passed a resolution urging presidential nominees "to select a mayor or a person who is knowledgeable about urban affairs and sensitive to our problems as a vice presidential running mate."

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Carter: A Joint Foreign Policy

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

ASHEVILLE, N.C., June 28 — Jimmy Carter, invoking memories of the bipartisan foreign policy of Harry Truman, said tonight he envisions inclusion of Republican as well as Democratic leaders in development of his foreign policy if he is elected President.

Carter made the remarks here in the midst of a fund-raising tour that may be so successful, aides said, that it could result in the return of up to $250,000 in federal matching funds to the U.S. Treasury.

Carter came to Asheville for a $1,000-a-person fund-raising dinner at Biltmore, the old Vanderbilt estate. It reportedly netted $232,000.

At an airport rally before the reception, Carter, the prospective Democratic presidential nominee, continued his post-primary emphasis on foreign policy—stressing cooperation in obvious contrast to the intramural disputes over international issues between President Ford and his Republican primary challenger, Ronald Reagan.

Asserting that the United States has made foreign policy errors whenever the executive branch has operated in secrecy, he pledged openness with the public and cooperation with Congress in the conduct of a Carter foreign policy.

"I believe in letting you and the bipartisan congressional leadership be a joint partnership in the establishment of the foreign policy of our country," he told about 400 cheering supporters at the Asheville airport.

"I believe we can have a good relationship between me as President and the Congress of the United States," he said. "Our people are sick and tired of the constant squabbling and backbiting, the lack of trust . . ., the lack of consultation and the lack of mutual respect between the Congress and the White House.

"I remember when I first became interested in foreign affairs, when Harry Truman was in office. He always had Sen. [Arthur] Vandenberg, a great Republican senator, and Sen. Walter George, a great Democratic senator from Georgia, and they always consulted with him in setting up . . . the Marshall Plan, the United Nations, aid to Turkey and Greece and the establishment of Israel as a nation.

"It was a working relationship between the White House and the Congress. We haven't had that lately and I intend to restore it."

Carter, the former governor of Georgia, who has never held an elected office in Washington, noted that he has not had "a great deal of experience" in foreign affairs but said that a foreign policy "that would make us proud again" could be based largely on "sound judgment and common sense and intelligence and openness."

Scheduled to attend the dinner were seven U.S. senators and a number of other present and former public officials from Southern and border states, including Attorney General Andrew P. Miller of Virginia and former Sen. Joseph D. Tydings, who recently lost a return bid for the Senate from Maryland.

Before Carter took off from Atlanta for the second week of his three-week fund-raising drive, Morris Dees, his chief fund-raiser, said that Carter's debt from the primary campaign had been reduced from $1 million to between $400,000 and $500,000.

However, Dees said that, before full federal funding is provided for the fall general election campaign and National Convention costs, Carter hopes to raise another $1 million on his own.

As of now, Dees added, it looks as though the campaign could wind up with a surplus of up to $250,000 that may be returned to the government.

The following discourse took place between Brandt Ayers, editor and publisher of the Anniston (Ala.) Star and Michael Novak, Catholic theologian and executive director of the Ethnic Millions for Political Action Committee.

H. Brandt Ayers

Carter and Ethnicity: Southern Symbols

Dear Michael:

In your last letter you said something about Jimmy Carter that intrigued me: "I was close to Jimmy, and on the brink of supporting him, when I pulled back. . . . I would like to feel that in the northern cities he won't side automatically and solely with blacks. . . ."

You are probably right in wondering about his attitude toward "ethnics." Growing up in Georgia, he, like the rest of us Southerners, tends by instinct to reduce all of the tribes of America down to two, black and white.

All the separate histories that made the South—English, Scotch, Irish, German and yes, Ibo and Zulu—have been fused into the only cultures we see and know, black and white.

Ancient hatreds nourished by centuries of European wars disappeared under the accumulated weight of common experience: settling a new land, defining it and fighting for it, taking up arms against it and suffering its scorn for an entire century.

Slavery and segregation and American culture so obliterated tribal and national distinctions that black Americans traveling in Africa today find themselves to be strangers under the skin.

Being of Polish ancestry—carrying in you a blood-loathing of Russians, czarist or Soviet—it must seem strange to you and even slightly unpatriotic, but we never really paid much attention to Captive Nations' Day down here.

Southerners, of course, would proudly claim they are second to none in anti-communism but we don't have that feeling of a homeland lost and humiliated in the way Lithuanians or Armenians do.

We didn't truly observe Captive Nations' Day because, in a sense, we were one. Our historical memory—carried in our blood and perpetuated by stories our parents and grandparents told us—is of the Lost Cause: defeat, occupation, economic exploitation and scorn.

Down here the courthouse still closes on Confederate Memorial Day and Martin Luther King's birthday is observed with solemn intensity by Southern blacks.

The Confederacy and King are jarringly different symbols to exist side-by-side but Dr. King and Governor Carter shared more with each other than they did with northern "ethnics."

Both were Protestants (isn't everybody?) sharing the same Baptist faith, reading identical Bibles and trying their best to obey its commands to love their neighbor and do unto others.

When Carter hung Dr. King's portrait in the Georgia statehouse, it was a redemptive act, an expression of secret Protestant guilt that we had disobeyed God's wish that everyone be treated as His children.

Feeling the way we do—not talking out loud about our guilt but feeling its pangs nonetheless—we were surprised at the violent reaction to Dr. King's Chicago marches. Not until I read your book, "Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics," did I begin to understand the source of northern prejudice.

"Martin Luther King came to Chicago as if its symbolic structure were the same as Alabama's. He miscalculated," you wrote. "Ethnic Catholics have felt the accusing, jabbing finger of Protestant moralists since their arrival in this nation. There are few quicker ways to stoke smoldering resentment and to awaken an unendurable inner hatred than to look down upon others from some moral height."

You helped me understand that Poles, Italians, Greeks and Slavs are more interested in assurances that they won't get laid off, that they can make house payments, than in hearing another Protestant sermon.

But the crowd in the Bridgeport section also chanted that it wanted to be an Alabama trooper, "that is what I'd really like to be-ee-ee. Cuz if I was an Alabama trooper, I could kill the niggers legally."

How is any black, or Jimmy Carter, to translate that?

Introducing this nation of strangers to each other—breaking down tribal loyalties and prejudices so we can know and like each other—is a difficult and dangerous task.

As a theologian you know that the temple and sacraments of the "ethnics" are holy to them, but they tend to exclude the rest of us. Remember the piece you did for Commentary magazine, and how the intellectuals howled that you were "racist"?

It isn't true. And, anyway, it doesn't matter. A fight among intellectuals does little damage beyond a little scratching and hair-pulling. But Jimmy Carter may be President. For him to miscalculate—either way—could mean civil blood and fury.

Most cordially yours,
Brandt Ayers

Marquis Childs

Rickover and the Carter Connection

In his autobiography, "Why Not The Best?" Jimmy Carter writes of his admiration for Admiral Hyman Rickover whom he rates as an influence on his life second only to that of his parents. The title of the book comes from a question Rickover put to him when Carter was about to assume new responsibility in the development of nuclear propulsion for submarines which Rickover had pushed against the resistance of traditional-minded admirals.

With Rickover still on active duty at 76 and as articulate and outspoken as ever, the Carter connection could prove important should the peanut farmer from Georgia become President. The spunky admiral's latest crusade is directed at the cost overruns in shipbuilding contracts. Just this month testifying on the Hill he said that the Defense Department's proposal to settle shipbuilders' claims could become "one of the biggest ripoffs in the history of the United States."

Both Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary William P. Clements Jr. recently stressed the need to settle the claims promptly without regard to merit. Earlier this year Rickover had testified:

"Unfortunately contractors appear to be submitting claims in amounts that are based on what they need to make their desired profit, regardless of their own mistakes or inefficiency, rather than that to which they are legally entitled."

The Rickover charges are part of an extensive study by the Center For Defense Information on weapons cost overruns. The Center estimates the cost overruns for current systems at $55 billion. The figures come in part from a report to Congress by the General Accounting Office.

The amounts are so stupendous as to be almost beyond imagination. The total baseline cost estimate, normally used prior to making full production decisions, was $121 billion. The current estimate for these major systems is $176 billion, a growth of just under $55 billion.

Despite the fantastic rise in costs, only a small part of it attributable to inflation, the Ford administration is ordering production go-aheads. The stellar example is the B-1 Bomber which the President himself ordered into production even though the new plane is still in the research and development phase. The cost of the bomber has risen 84 per cent above the baseline estimates of 1970 while performance requirements have been lowered, according to the Defense Center.

Competitive bidding is virtually nonexistent as the major defense firms share out the contract plums. Here again Rickover's testimony of two years ago is pertinent:

"About 88 per cent of the defense contract dollars today are placed under other than truly price competitive situations. Design competition, or the so-called competitive negotiated contracts, are not really price competitive.

"Further, it is generally the same contractors who do defense business year after year. It is about as hard for new defense contractors to enter the business as it is for new firms to enter the automobile industry. The investment is so large that many contractors practically become appendages to the government which the government has to support."

It was Ernest Fitzgerald, a civilian employee of the Air Force, who first blew the whistle on the staggering overrun costs. He took as the most conspicuous example the C-5A plane which had advanced in cost from an initial $3.4 billion to $5.3 billion by 1968. Congressional investigation showed that thousands of parts had been left off supposedly completed C-5As and the plane was notoriously inefficient.

In striking testimony before a Senate hearing Fitzgerald said that in effect the big defense contractors had become part of government. They were akin to the state corporations Mussolini had created in Italy, combining the worst features of private monopoly and government bureaucracy.

In his autobiography, Carter describes how Rickover asked him about his standing in his class at Annapolis. He swelled his chest with pride as he replied that he had been 59th in a class of 820. Rickover was not impressed, following up with the question, "Did you do your best?" Tense with his desire to make the best possible impression, the young naval officer finally gulped and said, "No, I didn't *always* do my best." As he turned away, Rickover asked, "Why not?" and, describing himself as white and shaken, Carter left the room.

Such a close and hero-worshipping connection should mean a lot if Carter becomes President. He will surely turn to the crusty admiral for counsel on his dealings with the military.

Michael Novak

. . . And Misunderstood Northern Attitudes

Dear Brandy,

You are right when you said in your last letter that neither you nor Jimmy Carter is equipped by knowledge or instinct to understand Northern ethnics. You are trying; good. But it is more important for the Democratic nominee, a Southern Baptist, to understand Northern (and predominantly Catholic) ethnic attitudes about themselves, and about blacks.

Jimmy Carter used terribly wrong language in preparing himself for the Pennsylvania primary. He spoke of "ethnic purity," "diametrically opposite kinds of families," and "black intrusion" (if I recall his exact words correctly).

"Purity" is a Southern concept. It is deeply offensive in the North. Practically every ethnic group in the North boasts, instead, of its mixing with others. People in neighborhoods are proud to say—as a New York Times reporter picked it up in Pittsburgh—that "we have a regular little League of Nations here." People pride themselves on ethnic mix. Why?

In self-defense. They wish to show that they accept others and be accepted by others. There are virtually no ethnically pure neighborhoods in the North (those that are, are, in the main, Anglo Saxon), although many are predominantly of one sort or another. Not "ethnic purity" but "ethnic concentrations" is what Carter should have said.

Scandinavians in New York are more concentrated than blacks, and when one thinks of "tight-knit ethnic enclaves" one thinks of predominantly Anglo-Saxon suburbs around Boston like Newton, Lexington and Concord.

So Jimmy Carter rang the wrong bells with "purity"; a Southern word (at least in hate literature that still reaches my desk), a word very frightening to almost everyone in the North. It is opposite of the Northern vision and ideal.

Then, in taking his words back, Carter wrapped himself in black support. The most dangerous accusation against a Southern politician with national aspirations is "racist." Carter, naturally, overcompensated. In Detroit, Mayor Coleman Young embraced Carter so powerfully—and so offensively, insulting Udall for his Mormon religion, which Udall had long ago rejected on grounds of race—that many white Democrats didn't vote at all.

The combined Democratic vote for Carter, Udall, and all the others was less than George Wallace alone received in 1972 (800,000 to 700,000). George McGovern won over 120,000 more primary votes in Michigan in 1972 than Carter did in 1976.

Protestant moralists in the North frequently pit blacks against ethnics—unintentionally, but effectively. Will Carter join the Protestant powers in Northern cities and side entirely with blacks? That, so far, is the indication. And that is what seems so unfair.

The immigrants who came to America after 1870 feel no guilt for slavery. They were serfs as long ago as blacks were slaves. And today their neighborhoods are the most integrated.

In general, to my mind, white Protestants—North and South—are mesmerized, fascinated, by race. All they see is color. In concentrating on blacks as though they were an absolutely unique case, they isolate blacks. All statistics are given in "white" and "black." But not all whites are "white"; not all have the same educational opportunity, economic success, entrance into the professional class, etc.

To see the situation of blacks in the spectrum of the situations of all 138 other ethnic groups in the Northern U.S. is to see it more fairly and justly. Thomas Sowell, the black economist, has established a useful beginning in his book, "Race and Economics." Blacks are not, in all respects, the least well-off Americans. West Indian blacks, indeed, rank in the top 10 ethnic groups in economic success.

Blacks are not standing alone at the end of the line to apply for a share of the American dream. Even in Boston, the schools of white South Boston were judged inferior to the schools of black Roxbury, before busing began.

I realize the difficulty and danger of the task, as you put it in your letter, of "introducing this nation of strangers to each other—breaking down tribal loyalties and prejudices so we can know and like each other. . . ."

Neither am I anti-Carter. I am impressed by him and my sister was a deputy director of his Michigan campaign. But, so far, he has given a substantial segment of the Democratic Party no reason to identify with him beside the claim, "Trust me." He does not seem to understand or represent us, the ethnic millions.

Carter will need ethnic Democrats to carry New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and similar states. He is a quick learner and he can find the words to win our support. But I will need to see some evidence before I can support him.

With much affection,
Michael

THE SUN
A 14 BALTIMORE, TUESDAY, JUNE 29, 1976
WILLIAM F. SCHMICK, JR., Publisher • PAUL A. BANKER, Managing Editor • J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor

Unity replaces Democrats' delegate rift of '72

By STEPHEN E. NORDLINGER
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Four years ago the Democratic party was torn apart in a bitter struggle between the forces of Hubert H. Humphrey and George McGovern over who was entitled to crucial delegates to the party's national convention.

Yesterday, the Democratic Credentials Committee, scene of some of the most rancorous clashes in 1972, met again to prepare for the coming convention, but a strikingly new atmosphere enveloped the session.

There were some challenges to delegates here and there around the nation—about 40 in all—but the keynote was harmony and unity.

As at the Platform and Rules Committee meetings earlier this month, the Democrats, apparently tasting victory this November with Jimmy Carter, kept as far away as possible from disputes that could reopen divisions.

"I'm on time this morning and the party is on time," Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, told the Credentials Committee as he opened a three-day session at the Mayflower Hotel. "Three and a half years ago we said we would be reunified as a party and we'd do it by July, 1976, and we have done it."

Mr. Strauss attributed the absence of discord to the new party rules on delegate selection, which he said "were the culmination of 12 years of intensive political reform" that began as a result of the 1964 challenge of the integrated Mississippi Freedom Democratic party to the all-white regular delegation from that state.

In contrast to what he described as an open political process "that can't be manipulated for political gain," Mr. Strauss charged that the Republican party, in selecting delegates, "still has a unit rule, winner-take-all primaries and no affirmative action program."

"The Republican party has built into its delegation selection every single process to enable its affairs to be conducted in a high-handed, capricious and manipulative manner," he declared.

Carrying on this theme, Senator Alan Cranston (D., Calif.), chairman of the Credentials Committee, said that the Democratic party through its series of reforms now had "the fairest, most open, most democratic delegate-selection process in the history of American politics."

Four years ago, in the struggle for the presidential nomination, there were 120 challenges to delegates with 40 per cent of the convention seats under attack. This year there were only scattered challenges, a third that number, and some of those were settled before yesterday's meeting.

"I don't believe any of the challenges look particularly difficult," Senator Cranston told a news conference last Friday as he prepared for the three-day meeting. "None of them has the political and emotional impact of the civil rights battles or even the bitterness of 4 years ago over the youth and minorities. They just don't seem to be present this year."

Several of this year's challenges involve a rule that delegates chosen to support a presidential candidate must be approved by him. In several districts in Florida, for example, supporters of Mr. Carter are challenging delegates who were elected as pledged to him but were not on his list.

None of the party officials publicly mentioned it but, with Mr. Carter assured of the nomination, it seemed idle to mount serious challenges for large blocs of delegates. The success of the party delegate-selection rules in promoting harmony appeared only part of the story.

Robert F. Wagner, former New York mayor and head of the Compliance Review Commission, set up to implement the new rules, traced the reform process from the ban on racial discrimination after the 1964 convention to the extensive guidelines established after the 1972 convention on the recommendation of a commission headed by Barbara A. Mikulski, a member of the Baltimore City Council.

Each state was required to establish a satisfactory delegation-selection process and challenges were allowed at the final stage only on the basis that the state lacked an acceptable plan or that the delegates were named without conforming to it. This restriction limited the number of challenges that could divide the party at the last moment.

"The days of the back-alley power play over delegates are over," Senator Cranston asserted.

Plains, Ga., (Pop. 683) prepares to be famous

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Sun Staff Correspondent

Plains, Ga.—Plains Baptist Church is appealing for more ushers. The Sumter County Chamber of Commerce has had an inquiry from Holiday Inns. A restaurant frequented by the traveling press corps is mapping expansion plans.

And in Americus, 9 miles east of here, local businessmen pushing for approval of liquor by the drink are warning that, without it, the town might lose the revenue that will be generated if local boy Jimmy Carter gets to the White House.

"A lot of things have changed in this town," an overburdened long-distance operator sighed the other night. "And I think a lot more are going to."

Even before Mr. Carter's nomination, not to mention the election, changes are evident in the area that includes this sleepy southwest Georgia hamlet where the prospective Democratic presidential nominee lives and where he would likely establish his vacation White House.

For example, the Best Western motel in Americus, which bears the sign "Welcome to Carter Country" and has been housing reporters and Secret Service agents, last month made its first profit in two years. Occupancy, just 50 per cent last summer, is now running over 80 per cent.

The main thing that is concerning the 683 citizens of Plains, and those in surrounding towns, is how to control the inevitable growth, and make certain that local people, rather than outsiders, are the chief beneficiaries.

Tomorrow, a 26-member delegation, including Mr. Carter's brother, Billy, is going to Johnson City, Texas, to learn what happens to a small community when one of its residents becomes president.

They plan to talk to local businessmen and will visit Friday with Lady Bird Johnson at the LBJ Ranch.

On the whole, there seems to be a general acceptance of the need for at least some expansion.

"We need a good restaurant or two, and we need a couple of good motels," said state Senator Hugh Carter, a first cousin of the candidate and the successful proprietor of the "world's largest worm farm" and an antique store that is the only business with an advertising sign on the outskirts of town. (There are currently no hotels, motels or restaurants in or close to Plains.)

"What we would object to is a lot of joints," he told a reporter. "We don't want riffraff in here."

"We are prepared to control it," said Plains Mayor A. L. Blanton. "But we want local people to do it and benefit from it."

Actually, Mayor Blanton, who won his unpaid, nonpartisan office two years ago by four votes over Billy Carter, has a personal interest in Mr. Carter's election.

"I hope when Jimmy gets elected, they'll open up a little airport here and they'll need a traffic controller," said Mr. Blanton, a federal air traffic controller who now has to commute down to Albany, an hour away. "Then I won't have so far to go."

Likewise, Jimmy Murray, the manager of the Best Western motel in Americus, admits his interest in pushing for a local referendum on whether to legalize sales of liquor by the drink.

"Most of the other towns have mixed drinks," he pointed out, handing a reporter a leaflet from the "Speak up for Americus Committee" that points out that "much revenue was lost to the Johnson City area" because the traveling press corps and others stayed in Austin and San Antonio, where they could get "a good meal, a comfortable room, a cocktail."

Mr. Murray said his motel has never been profitable since it was built in 1970. "We showed our first profit last month in a couple of years," he said, and the future looks even brighter.

Already, Mr. Murray has rented more than 30 of his 100 rooms on a permanent basis to the news media—and the Secret Service is probably occupying a similiar number.

Current rate is $12.72 a night, but Mr. Murray allows that "those rooms will probably go up a bit in price" so the motel can do some renovating.

Another place talking about renovating is Faye's Bar-B-Q Villa, which has been doing a booming business since several television cameramen and technicians discovered it a few weeks ago. It is located in two attached trailers but the owner, Faye West, the wife of a Georgia Highway Patrol lieutenant, says, "We're going to have to expand."

Mr. Murray hopes the Chamber of Commerce won't encourage the construction of additional motels too quickly, noting that the five other places in town have also only started to pick up in business lately.

But Jimmy Grubbs, the president of the Americus-Sumter Chamber of Commerce and organizer of the Johnson City trip, said he got an inquiry last week from th Holiday Inns, which held th franchise for Mr. Murray motel until last year.

"I wouldn't be surprised t see a good chain motel deve op between Americus an Plains," he said, adding tha he thinks that stretch of roa is the most likely area for de velopment.

One place where very littl change is likely is in the cit of Plains. A zoning chang pushed through last year b Mr. Carter himself restricte development within the 1 mile-diameter town limit.

But as Mayor Blanto pointed out, there is little th city can do outside its limits.

There have been a fev changes inside Plains.

Buildings have been paint ed, including the old Seaboar Coast Line Railroad depo that now sports the cam paign's green and white color and houses the candidate's lo cal headquarters.

The old office of his fami ly's peanut warehouse busi ness has been converted into local press office, and long distance telephones are bein installed for the candidate's burgeoning press corps.

At the local post office outgoing mail is now hand stamped so that recipient will be aware that their lette or postcard came from Plains.

Mrs. Blanton has opene Kountry Korner Krafts, a lit tle gift shop, and Sandy Wal ters opened another one above her husband's grocery store.

A large red, white and blu sign overlooking the stores i the center of town proclaims "Plains, Ga., Home of Jimmy Carter, Our Next President."

And last week, they tool down the old water tower across the street, lest it b considered an eyesore in th possible future presidentia vacation town.

Carter may give U.S. extra funds

By a Sun Staff Correspondent

Asheville, N.C.—Jimmy Carter's fund-raising drive, which last night brought him to the luxurious Biltmore Estate, once owned by the Vanderbilts, is going so well he may turn some money back to the federal treasury, one of his fund-raisers here says.

Morris Dees, Mr. Carter's finance chairman, told reporters before the prospective Democratic presidential nominee flew here from Atlanta that projected revenues from 16 post-primary fund-raising events are likely to total $3 million, including federal matching funds.

The original goal, to cover Mr. Carter's debt from the primaries and the cost of his convention operations, was $1.6 million, but expenses have risen about $1.15 million so that will mean a net surplus of about $250,000, Mr. Dees said.

While Mr. Carter doesn't have to do so, Mr. Dees said any surplus will be returned to the treasury.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

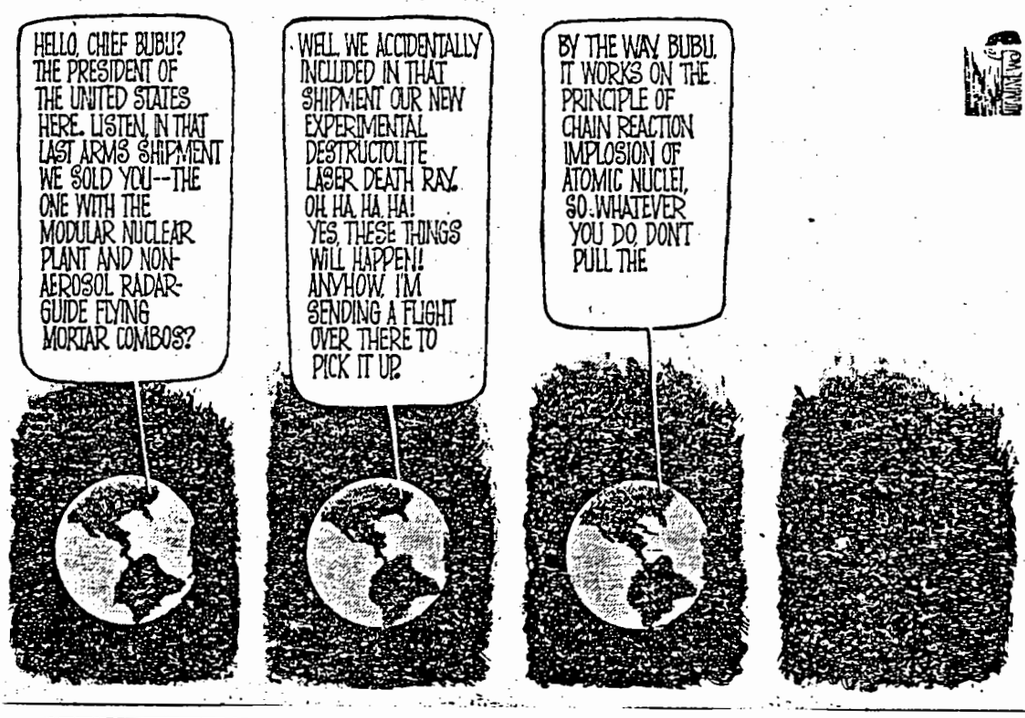
6/24

Also Enclosed See;

New York Magazine, June 14th,'76

Newsweek Magazine, June 28th,'76

New York Magazine, June 28th,'76



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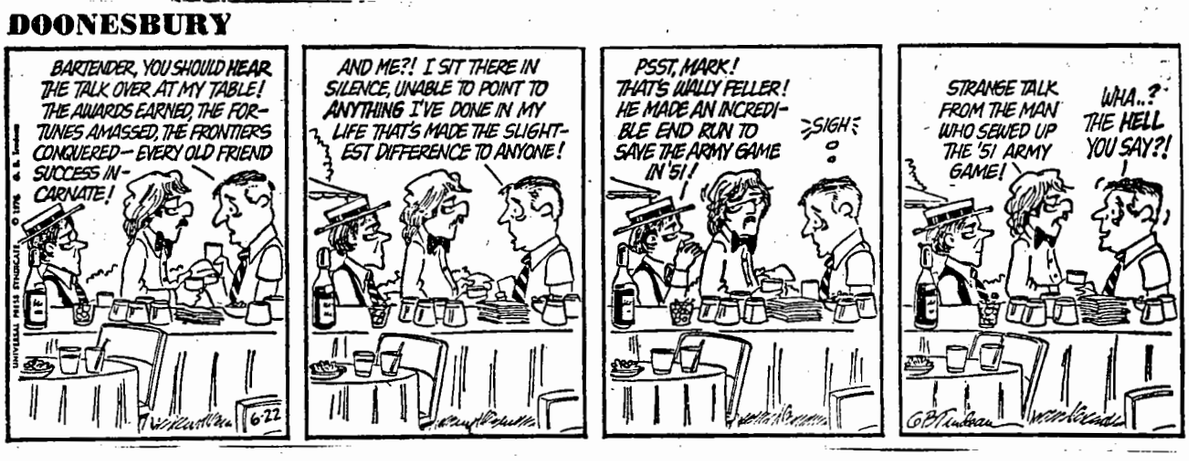

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News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Italian Communist Party officials said yesterday that they would not press for immediate inclusion in a new Government in return for a more formal role in formulating policy with the Christian Democrats. During the election campaign, the Communists had stressed the need for a Government of "national unity" embracing all parties except the neo-Fascists. [Page 1, Column 1.]

Angola's application for membership in the United Nations was vetoed by the United States on the ground that the west African nation failed to meet the requirements of independence while thousands of Cuban troops remained on its soil. The United States delegate said in the Security Council that there was no justification for such a foreign force in a truly independent state. [1:1.]

National

A Department of Justice investigation into illegal burglaries committed in the last five years by the Federal Bureau of Investigation could ultimately involve hundreds of the bureau's agents, according to sources close to the inquiry. The investigation has already prompted a dozen agents, including an assistant director of the bureau, to seek private counsel. [1:8.]

In its last report, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency had failed to fulfill their obligations in investigating the death of President Kennedy. While concluding that there was no new evidence to justify a conclusion of conspiracy, the report called for a new investigation by the new Senate Intelligence Committee. [1:7.]

Investigators for the Labor Department are said by sources close to the investigation likely to place the teamster union's Central States Pension Fund into a Federal trusteeship amid reports that hundreds of millions of dollars from the fund may be unaccounted for. In addition, indictments may be sought against some of the 16 present trustees of the pension fund. [1:6-7.]

Jimmy Carter, who will probably be the Democratic Party's Presidential candidate, told the Foreign Policy Association that his administration would encourage a more active participation by other democracies in the resolution of international problems. The former Georgia Governor criticized the Ford Administration's foreign policies as being "secretive" and "amoral." [1:2-4.]

Democratic members of the House of Representatives approved some of the package of reform proposals that would substantially change the administrative operations of the chamber, including its payrolls and expense accounts. Many of the members had earlier refused to agree to a proposal to end the practice of withdrawing up to $11,000 a year in expense money. [1:2-3.]

The National Institutes of Health released guidelines to govern research in the revolutionary and potentially hazardous field of genetics. The research has been called one of the most exciting frontiers of biological science, but some of it is deemed so potentially dangerous to public health that scientists have adopted moratoriums on some experiments. [1:2-3.]

Metropolitan

Representatives of seven Northeast states formed a regional coalition to fight for the regeneration of their economies. Citing common problems of high unemployment, obsolete transportation systems, energy shortages, slow economic development and high living costs, the group pledged to form a united front to lobby in Washington for favorable Federal policies. [1:5.]

Two men who have been questioned by Federal officials in the disappearance of James R. Hoffa were indicted with two other men for the kidnapping and murder of a New Jersey Teamster Union official in 1961. Federal officials said the indictments of the officials, Anthony Provenzano and Salvatore Briguglio, were not connected with Mr. Hoffa's disappearance. [1:6.]

A number of Long Island public officials began blaming New York City as the major source of the sewage that has washed up on their beaches recently. Meanwhile, a few Suffolk County beaches reopened, while others in both Nassau and Suffolk were cleaned in anticipation of reopening for the weekend. [1:4.]

A barge carrying seven million gallons of fuel oil ran aground in the St. Lawrence River, spilling 250,000 gallons of oil and forcing a temporary closing of the waterway. The barge was towed for another seven miles by its tug before anchoring so that the Coast Guard could place booms around it to contain the leaking oil. [1:5-7.]

The Other News

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Weather: Partly sur
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VOL. CXXV .... No. 43,251 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 24, 1976 — M

35 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities.

Carter Pledges an Open Foreign Policy

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Jimmy Carter pledged himself yesterday to an open foreign policy that would encourage a more active participation by other democracies in the resolution of international problems.

"The time has come for a new architectural effort," he said in an address before the Foreign Policy Association here, "with a growing cooperation among the industrial democracies its cornerstone, and with peace and justice its constant goals."

Excerpts from Carter address appear on Page 22.

In the third major speech on global affairs of his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, the 51-year-old former Governor of Georgia reiterated many of the themes he has sounded in the past, criticizing the Ford Administration's foreign policies as "secretive" and "amoral," and promising a new diplomatic posture that he said would reflect "the decency and generosity and common sense of our people."

Without mentioning Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Mr. Carter criticized him as a "Lone Ranger" caught up in a "one-man policy of international adventure" — perhaps a foreshadowing of the anti-Administration theme he would sound in the election campaign if Mr. Ford should become the Republican candidate.

The New York Times

Jimmy Carter addressing Foreign Policy Association at the Waldorf.

Now apparently assured of his own party's nomination, Mr. Carter seemed at ease before the more than 2,000 people who crowded into the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel to hear him. In his speech and later remarks, Mr. Carter did the following:

¶Pledged continued American control over the Panama Canal.

¶Recommended assistance to Italy from the United States and Western European nations after electoral gains by the Communist party there.

¶Suggested an emulation of Japan's mutual relationship with China and Taiwan.

¶Chided the Soviet Union for its relatively small amount of foreign aid.

¶Called for a modernization and standardization of the defense forces deployed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organi-

Continued on Page 22, Column 7

Carter, in Speech in New York, Pledges an Open Foreign Policy

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

zation.

But the underlying thesis of his speech yesterday was his emphasis on new and continuing alliances between the United States and other democracies—the "natural allies" of which he has spoken so frequently during his campaign.

More Productive Aproach

Such relationships would be the focus of his foreign policy if he is President, Mr. Carter suggested, and from such liaisons would evolve a more productive and effective aproach to international tensions, food shortages, overpopulation, poverty, the arms race and allocation of resources.

He recommend periodic conferences of the leaders of the world's industrial democracies and said that "as we do away with one-man diplomacy" — another jab at Secretary Kissinger — "we must once again use our entire foreign policy apparatus to reestablish continuing contacts at all levels."

Summit conferences, he said, "are no substitute for the habit of cooperating closely and continuously at the working level of foreign diplomacy."

Mr. Carter also expanded another of his campaign themes—the need to include other governments in the process of joint policy-making.

"Our Western European allies have been deeply concerned, and justly so, by our unilateral dealing with the Soviet Union," he said, recommending that future dealings should "reflet the combined views of the democracies, thereby avoiding suspicions that we may be disregarding their interests."

'Partnership' Stressed

That emphasis on alliances with other democracies calls for a "partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan," Mr. Carter said, asserting that those regions "are prepared to play even larger roles in global matters."

The Democratic candidate outlined the dimensions of the cooperation he was suggesting by calling for new combined efforts in economic and political affairs, increased attention to mutual security and a plural commitment to the alleviation of poverty.

Such "creative alliances' would also have a beneficial impact in the area of human rights, he said.

"Many of us have protested the violation of human rights in Russia, and justly so," he continued. "But said he "deplored the recent bloodshed in South Africa," and traced its roots to the "long season of racial inequities" there.

"We respect the independence of all nations," Mr. Carter said, "but by our example, by our utterances and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world."

'Live With Diversity'

Similarly, he said that while most Americans might not welcome the rise to power in other democracies of parties or leaders whose ideologies seem incompatible, "we must learn to live with diversity and to cooperate" as long as such parties and leaders respect the democratic processes, uphold existing international commitments and are not subservient to external political direction.

"The democratic concert of nations should exclude only those who exclude themselves by the rejection of democracy itself," he added.

With respect to China and response to a question from the audience—that Japan's diplomatic steps were worthy of American emulation. Japan, he said, has managed to establish a productive relationship with both governments without damaging its ties with either.

He also said that "Italian political problems have been caused by the underlying social malaise of the country," and suggested that any solution requires "patient and significant assistance from Italy's Western European neighbors as well as from the United States."

Mr. Carter's speech yesterday was the product of his study group on foreign policy, but it was essentially the creation of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the 48-year-old Columbia University professor who has been advising Mr. Carter on foreign policy for several months.

Goalie Stresses Shutouts

MONTREAL (UPI)—A former Montreal Canadien goaltender, George Hainsworth, still holds the National Hockey League record for shutouts in a season, blanking 22 opponents in 44 games during the 1928-29 season.

Carter and Kissinger

Democrat Moves Step Closer to Making Secretary's Style an Issue in Campaign

By LESLIE H. GELB

Former Governor Jimmy Carter, fleshing out his key theme of promoting closer cooperation among industrial democracies, invited comparison yesterday with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. To emphasize his promise of an open administration Mr. Carter moved a step closer to making the Secretary a campaign issue. Without citing Mr. Kissinger by name, he referred to a "secretive 'Lone Ranger' foreign policy."

News Analysis

In attempting to amplify his substantive proposals and contrast them with Mr. Kissinger's, Mr. Carter pledged to make relations among the United States, Western Europe and Japan, and not Soviet-American relations, the principal focus of his foreign policy.

Although Mr. Carter's speech, delivered yesterday in New York, sounded much like recent comments of Mr. Kissinger, there was an indication that their attitudes and policies might not be that similar.

Where both men call for more consultations and new institutions for the industrial democracies, Mr. Carter adds the idea of a "new architectural effort" reminiscent of the Truman Administration. He gave no details.

Where both are concerned, even alarmed, by the growing strength of Communist parties in Western Europe, Mr. Carter appears more willing to adjust to the freely expressed will of other democracies. He said:

"We must learn to live with diversity, and we can continue to cooperate, so long as such political parties respect the democratic process, uphold existing international commitments, and are not subservient to external political direction."

Where Mr. Carter and Mr. Kissinger share a deep concern about possible moves by the Soviet Union to extend its influence in the developing world, the likely Democratic presidential nominee appears more determinted to avoid decisions that might lead to Soviet-American confrontation.

Thus, Mr. Carter, like Mr. Kissinger, warned Moscow that proxy wars in places like Angola "may be potentially more dangerous than face-to-face disagreements, and at best they make a mockery of the very concept of détente."

But then Mr. Carter went on to say that he opposed the Administration's proposed new arms sales to Kenya and Zaire as "both fueling the East-West arms race in Africa even while supplanting our own allies—Britain and France—in their relations with these African states."

Members of the Carter camp are aware that their candidate's problem on foreign policy is to show how his proposals differ from what Mr. Kissinger is now doing.

Mr. Kissinger has taken pains in the last year or so to shore up relations with Western Europe and Japan to overcome resentments from his past practice of proceeding unilaterally with the Russians. He has reportedly been successful in these recent efforts.

As Mr. Kissinger begins to phase out of his responsibilities and as Mr. Carter starts to plan his campaign, the two men seem almost to be in a race to promise a new spirit of cooperation with traditional allies.

According to members of the Carter camp, the former Governor wants to make his mark in foreign policy, to sound Presidential. To do this, Mr. Carter's strategy seems to be a combination of attacking Mr. Kissinger's style and adopting some of his expressed ideas.

With respect to policies, Mr. Carter said he wanted Western Europe and Japan to play a bigger role in shaping a new international order. He also stated that "they are prepared to play" such a role, which might prove to be a dubious judgment in the light of Mr. Kissinger's numerous attempts in this direction.

Mr. Carter also told his audience that he would seek closer coordination with the other industrial democracies in internal economic policies, in helping the poor nations, in reducing trade barriers, and in avoiding erratic fluctuations in monetary exchange rates. In these sentiments, Mr. Kissinger and Mr. Carter are at one.

Mr. Carter, however, never once endorsed any of these recent Kissinger efforts, even though he once again called for bipartisan harmony in the formulation of American foreign policy.

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Democrats, Complained to, Cut Costs to the Press at Convention

By M. A. FARBER

Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, said yesterday that, following complaints, considerable progress was being made in reducing the costs to news organizations of covering the Democratic convention here next month.

Mr. Strauss, in an interview, said the national committee could have done "a better job" in recent months in assuring that the costs to news organizations of furnishing and equipping special work areas at Madison Square Garden and the Statler Hilton were reasonable.

But the chairman, and committee staff members, cited a number of instances in which expenses for such items as draperies, chairs and television rentals had been cut substantially from the figures originally presented to news organizations last month.

Two weeks ago representatives of a number of news organizations, many of whom felt that the original prices were "outrageous" or "exorbitant", met with Mr. Strauss in Washington to register their complaints.

A half-dozen newspapers and magazines canceled their requests for special work areas, indicating that they would work out of hotel rooms and the general press section at Madison Square Garden. The Associated Press, which had reserved 2,800 square feet of special work area, cut back to 450 square feet and said that much of its operation would be centered at the news agency's headquarters in Rockefeller Center.

"We were told that drapes alone would cost $15 a linear foot," said Craig Ammerman, chief of The Associated Press New York bureau.

"It was worse than exorbitant," he said. "It's true the prices have improved, but it's a little late now to be deciding what you're going to do. Anyway, we have plenty of space in Rockefeller Center, and most of our equipment."

Other prices the news organizations complained about included $40 for a typewriter, $135 for a desk, and $60 for a chair. Now, for example, a four-foot table can be had for $13 and a chair for $16 for the duration of the convention.

Staff members of the national committee said that the cost problems arose in large part because all furnishing and equipment orders were being channeled through a general contractor that is building the podium and doing toher work at Madison Square Garden.

As a result of the complaints from the news organizations, the staff members said, other concerns have been found and are offering cheaper prices, such as $4.50 for a linear foot of drapery. Moreover, they said, an attempt is being made to reduce delivery costs by permitting multiorder deliveries for a number of news organizations.

Vince Clephas, communications director of the national committee, also noted that some news organizations had recently cut back on the number of hotel rooms they were reserving.

"That started just after Carter locked up the nomination," he said. "Some of the organizations now feel that coverage of the convention will be simpler than if it had been a fight."

Man Convicted of Killing 4

SIOUX CITY, Iowa, June 23 (UPI)—Jerry Allen Mark was found guilty yesterday of killing his brother and three members of his brother's family in their farm home near Cedar Falls, Iowa, last Nov. 1. The Woodbury County District Court panel returned the verdict on four counts of first-degree murder after deliberating five hours.

Doubt Voiced on Legal Bar To Delegate Vote-Buying

By WARREN WEAVER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 23 — Legal authorities conclude that there is nothing to prevent a Presidential candidate from buying the support of convention delegates and very little to prevent a pledged delegate from switching sides any time he chooses.

Attorneys for President Ford and Ronald Reagan, currently in a fierce contest for the Republican Presidential nomination, emphasized in interviews that their respective campaign committees were not making financial offers to delegates in return for their support, at least in part because such overtures might backfire.

But they agreed that the criminal laws prohibiting vote-buying did not appear to apply to national political conventions and that the courts were unlikely to intervene to enforce state laws that require a delegate to support the candidate he is formally pledged to for one or more ballots.

Few Legal Restraints

As a result, there appear to be very few legal restraints to prevent a free-for-all between the President and the former California Governor if the competition for a delegate majority at The Republican National Convention this August in Kansas City, Mo., is as close at it now appears.

John G. Murphy Jr., general counsel to the Federal Election Commission, said he thought that one Federal criminal statute could be stretched to cover bribery of convention delegates, but he conceded that "the letter of the law" did not clearly support his interpretation.

National political conventions have historically been freewheeling affairs, with the Vice-Presidential nomination and Cabinet appointments more or less openly bartered for delegate votes. The courts have rarely been called upon to intervene and, most recently, have refused to do so.

Federal law prohibits offering or giving a bribe "to any person either to vote or withhold his vote or to vote for or against any candidate," but election law experts interpret this as controlling primary and general elections rather than conventions.

Another criminal code provision bars a candidate from promising appointment to public or private office in return for support, but it is equaly unclear whether this is intended to apply to nomination as well as election.

"I can't find anything specifically prohibiting making payments to a convention delegate," Loren Smith, general counsel to Citizens For Reagan, said, "but anything like that would be found to have strong repercussions politically."

Robert Visser, general counsel to the President Ford Committee, said that the criminal prohibitions against vote-buying appeared to apply to "regular voting at the polls." He said that historically it had always been permissible to offer delegates "a lunch at the White House," or even transportation to the convention with a stopover in Hawaii.

Mr. Murphy, the election commission counsel, cited the only Federal statute that specifically includes conventions along with elections. It prohibits offering "any . . . . compensation . . . made possible in whole or in part by any act of Congress . . . to any person . . . for the support of any candidate . . . in connection with any . . . political convention."

The commission official said that any campaign funds offered to a delegate to influence his vote could be interpreted, at least in part, as coming from Federal primary subsidies voted by Congress as part of the 1974 campaign law. Thus, he said, such an offer would be "against the spirit of public financing of elections."

There was general agreement that a 1975 Supreme Court ruling made it unlikely, if not impossible, that a Presidential candidate whose pledged delegates have switched to his opponent without his permission could get any help in the courts through a civil action.

Illinois Delegates Involved

In a case involving the seating of an insurgent Illinois delegation at the 1972 Democratic convention, the high court ruled that state courts could not enjoin delegates from taking convention seats, even when they were barred by state election laws.

Presumably, this means that the courts would not enforce state laws dictating how a convention delegate should cast his vote, almost certainly not after the convention was over and the successful nominee was running for President.

Once again, however, political sensitivity to news that pledged delegates have deserted their presumed leader for his opponent is likely to prove a much greater practical deterrent than the question of court intervention.

The question of delegate bribery arose most recently when the Federal Election Commission approved a policy statement two weeks ago that authorized an uncommitted delegate to "solicit or receive donations" from a Presidential candidate to meet "costs of travel and subsistence for national nominating conventions."

Such payments could easily come to $1,000 or more for a delegate and seem, to politicians if not to lawyers, to be difficult to distinguish from a bribe. The commission specified, however, that such payments would be chargeable against the candidate's spending limits and should not exceed "reasonably necessary travel and subsistence costs."

MUNICIPAL WORKERS BREAK OFF TALKS

District Council 37 of the State, County and Municipal Employees announced yesterday that it had broken off citywide contract negotiations because of what it termed New York City's failure to recognize the needs of members and to conduct serious bargaining.

Edward Handman, a spokesman for the council, said that there had been no movement by the city in the talks and that the city negotiators had failed to move away from their original position in which they had demanded a reduction in various fringe benefits and current contractual provisions.

The union, which represents about 120,000 city workers in the citywide bargaining, has threatened to take a strike vote on July 1 if there is no agreement by that time. No date for a possible strike has been mentioned, however.

There was no formal comment from the city's Office of Labor Relations regarding the breaking off of negotiations. But a spokesman reiterated that the city had no money with which to grant wage increases and that it was continuing to seek concessions in the fringe benefit area.

Excerpts From Carter's Foreign Policy Talk and Replies to Queries

Following are excerpts from the prepared text of Jimmy Carter's speech here yesterday before the Foreign Policy Association, and from a question-and-answer period that followed. The questions and answers were recorded by The New York Times through the facilities of ABC News.

The time has come for us to seek a partnership between North America, Western Europe and Japan: Our three regions share economic, political and security concerns that make it logical that we should seek ever-increasing unity and understanding.

I have traveled in Japan and Western Europe in recent years and talked to leaders there. These countries already have a significant world impact, and they are prepared to play even larger global roles in shaping a new international order.

In addition to cooperation between North America, Japan and Western Europe, there is an equal need for increased unity and consultation between ourselves and such democratic societies as Israel, Australia, New Zealand and other nations, such as those in this hemisphere, that share our democratic values, as well as many of our political and economic concerns.

Ending One-Man Diplomacy

There must be more frequent consultations on many levels. We should have periodic summit conferences and occasional meetings of the leaders of all the industrial democracies, as well as frequent Cabinet-level meetings. In addition, as we do away with one-man diplomacy, we must once again use our entire foreign policy apparatus to re-establish continuing contacts at all levels. Summits are no substitute for the habit of cooperating closely at the working level.

There are at least three areas in which the democratic nations can benefit from closer and more creative relations.

First, there are our economic and political affairs.

In the realm of economics, our basic purpose must be to keep open the international system in which the exchange of goods, capital, and ideas among nations can continue to expand.

Increased coordination among the industrialized democracies can help avoid the repetition of such episodes as the inflation of 1972-73 and the more recent recessions. Both were made more severe by an excess of expansionist zeal and then of deflationary reaction in North America, Japan and Europe.

Though each country must make its own economic decisions, we need to know more about one another's interests and intentions. We must avoid unilateral acts, and we must try not to work at cross-purposes in the pursuit of the same ends. We need not agree on all matters, but we should agree to discuss all matters.

We should continue our efforts to reduce trade barriers among the industrial countries, as one way to combat inflation. The current Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations should be pursued to a successful conclusion.

Monetary Renovation

But we must do more. The international monetary system should be renovated so that it can serve us well for the next quarter of a century. Last January, at a meeting of the leading financial officials agreement was reached on a new system, based on greater flexibility of exchange rates. There is no prospect of any early return to fixed exchange rates—divergences in economic experience among nations are too great for that. But we still have much much to learn regarding the effective operation of a system of fluctuating exchange rates. We must take steps to avoid large and erratic fluctuations, without impeding the basic monetary adjustments that will be necessary among nations for some years to come. It will be useful to strengthen the role of the International Monetary Fund as a center for observation and guidance of the world economy, keeping track of the interactions among national economies and making recommendations to governments on how best to keep the world economy functioning smoothly.

Beyond economic and political cooperation, we have much to learn from one another. I have been repeatedly impressed by the achievements of the Japanese and the Europeans in their domestic affairs. The Japanese, for example, have one of the lowest unemployment rates and the lowest crime rate of any industrialized nation, and they also seem to suffer less than other urbanized peoples from the modern problem of rootlessness and alienation.

Similarly, we can learn from the European nations about health care, urban planning and mass transportation.

There are many ways that creative alliances can work for a better world. Let me mention just one more, the area of human rights. Many of us have protested the violation of human rights in Russia, and justly so. But such violations are not limited to any one country or one ideology. There are other countries that violate human rights in one way or another—by torture, by political persecution and by racial or religious discrimination.

We and our allies, in a creative partnership, can take the lead in establishing and promoting basic global standards of human rights. We respect the independence of all nations, but by our example, by our utterances and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world.

We must certainly try.

Let me make one other point in the political realm. Democratic processes may in some countries bring to power parties or leaders whose ideologies are not shared by most Americans.

We may not welcome these changes. We will certainly not encourage them. But we must respect the results of democratic elections and the right of countries to make their own free choice if we are to remain faithful to our own basic ideals. We must learn to live with diversity, and we can continue to cooperate, so long as such political parties respect the democratic process, uphold existing international commitments and are not subservient to external political direction. The democratic concert of nations should exclude only those who exclude themselves by the rejection of democracy itself.

On Mutual Security

The second area of increased cooperation among the democracies is that of mutual security. Here, however, we must recognize that the Atlantic and Pacific regions have quite different needs and different political sensitivities.

Since the United States is both an Atlantic and a Pacific power, our commitments to the security of Western Europe and of Japan are inseparable from our own security. Without these commitments and our firm dedication to them, the political fabric of Atlantic and Pacific cooperation would be seriously weakened and world peace endangered.

As we look to the Pacific region, we see a number of changes and opportunities. Because of potential Sino-Soviet conflict, Russian and Chinese forces are not jointly deployed as our potential adversaries but confront one another along their common border. Moreover, our withdrawal from the mainland of Southeast Asia has made possible improving relationships between us and the People's Republic of China.

With regard to our primary Pacific ally, Japan, we will maintain our existing security arrangements, so long as that continues to be the wish of the Japanese people and Government.

Korean Withdrawal

I believe it will be possible to withdraw our ground forces from South Korea on a phased basis over a time span to be determined after consultation with both South Korea and Japan. At the same time, it should be made clear to the South Korean Government that its internal oppression is repugnant to our people and undermines the support for our commitment there.

We face a more immediate problem in the Atlantic sector of our defense.

The Soviet Union has in recent years strengthened its forces in Central Europe. The Warsaw Pact forces facing NATO today are substantially composed of Soviet combat troops, and these troops have been modernized and reinforced. In the event of war, they are postured for an all-out conflict of short duration and great intensity.

NATO's ground combat forces are largely European. The U.S. provides about one-fifth of the combat element, as well as the strategic umbrella, and without this American commitment, Western Europe could not defend itself successfully.

Nature of Warfare Changed

In recent years, new military technology has been developed by both sides, including precision-guided munitions, that are changing the nature of land warfare.

Unfortunately, NATO's arsenal suffers from a lack of standardization, which needlessly increases the cost of NATO, and its strategy too often seems wedded to past plans and concepts. We must not allow our alliance to become an anachronism.

There is, in short, a pressing need for us and our allies to undertake a review of NATO's forces and its strategies in light of the changing military environment.

Even as we review our military posture, we must spare no effort to bring about a reduction of the forces that confront one another in Central Europe.

Balanced Reductions

It is to be hoped that the stalemated mutual-force-reduction talks in Vienna will soon produce results so that the forces of both sides can be reduced in a manner that impairs the security of neither. The requirement of balanced reductions complicates negotiations, but it is an important requirement for the

maintenance of security in Europe.

Similarly, in the SALT talks, we must seek significant nuclear disarmament that safeguards the basic interests of both sides.

The democratic nations must respond to the challenge of human need on three levels.

First, by widening the opportunities for genuine north-south consultations. The developing nations must not only be the objects of policy but must participate in shaping it. Without wider consultations we will have sharper confrontations. A good start has been made with the conference in international economic cooperation, which should be strengthened and widened.

To Lower Trade Barriers

Secondly, by assisting those nations that are in direst need.

There are many ways the democracies can unite to help shape a more stable and just world order. We can work to lower trade barriers and make a major effort to provide increased support to the international agencies that now make capital available to the third world.

This will require help from Europe, Japan, North America and the wealthier members of OPEC for the World Bank's soft-loan affiliate, the International Development Association. The wealthier countries should also support such specialized funds as the new International Fund for Agricultural Development, which will put resources from the oil-exporting and developed countries to work in increasing food production in poor countries. We might also seek to institutionalize, under the World Bank, a "world development budget," in order to rationalize and coordinate these and other similar efforts.

It is also time for the Soviet Union, which donates only about one-tenth of 1 percent of its G.N.P. to foreign aid—and mostly for political ends—to act more generously toward global economic development.

Third, we and our allies must work together to limit the flow of arms into the developing world.

Concern Over Arms Sales

The north-south conflict is in part a security problem. As long as the more powerful nations exploit the less powerful, they will be repaid by terrorism, hatred and potential violence. Insofar as our policies are selfish or cynical or shortsighted, there will inevitably be a day of reckoning.

I am particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman. We sold or gave away billions of dollars of arms last year, mostly to developing nations. For example, we are now beginning to export advanced arms to Kenya and Zaire, thereby both fueling the East-West arms race in Africa even while supplanting our own allies—Britain and France—in their relations with these African states. Sometimes we try to justify this unsavory business on the cynical ground that by rationing out the means of violence we can somehow control the world's violence.

The fact is that we cannot have it both ways. Can we be both the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war? If I become President, I will work with our allies, some of whom are also selling arms, and also seek to work with the Soviets, to increase the emphasis on peace and to reduce the commerce in weapons of war.

Questions and Answers

Question. This is addressed in the third person. How would President Carter establish full diplomatic relations with China without abandoning our commitment for the defense of Taiwan?

Answer. You ask me a question that nobody yet has been able to answer, but I'll do the best I can.

I think that ultimately the first step would be one that already has been taken by Japan, or perhaps Canada, to try to have guaranteed to the People's Republic of China a continuation of noninterference in the affairs of Taiwan, to have strong trade relationships with Taiwan, and to establish full diplomatic relationships with the People's Republic of China.

When that time might come in the future, I'm not prepared yet to say. But that ought to be the ultimate goal of our country.

Guarantees for Israel

Q. Governor Carter, what new ideas do you have, beside the present declared U. S. policy, concerning Middle East questions?

A. Well, I made a major statement on the Middle East in Elizabeth, N. J., two or three weeks ago that spells out my positions.

One of the new commitments that I think should be made is an unequivocal, constant commitment to the world that is well understood by all people that we guarantee the right of Israel to exist, to exist in peace, as a Jewish state.

I think there's been too much equivocation about that and doubt cast upon that factor by public statements made by leaders of our countries in the last few months.

That ought to be one basic change.

"I believe, also, that we should pursue aggressively the effort as spelled out under United Nations Resolution 242 that the individual countries surrounding Israel should negotiate directly with Israel, recognizing two things: one, the permanent existence of Israel, and secondly, adopting a position of nonbelligerency toward the State of Israel.

We, I think, can play a role that's presntly been requested of President Ford by Mr. John Rabin and others of Israel, which I don't know if it's been pursued yet or not. I would maintain our strong naval forces in the eastern Mediterranean.

I would let it be clear to the Soviet Union and others that neither we nor they nor anyone else should prospectively plan on involvement in any Middle Eastern confrontation that includes combat. I think we should strengthen our commitment to give Israel whatever defense mechanisms or economic aid is necessary to let them meet any potential attack.

I would certainly never consider sending troops to Israel. I've never met an Israeli leader who advocated that. I would also favor, whenever Israel and the other countries are ready, the pursuit of a general approach to the Middle Eastern question rather than a step-by-step approach.

But in the meantime, encourage Jordon, perhaps Syria, Lebanon when their crisis is over, to negotiate with Israel on a mutual basis.

Position on Panama Canal

Q. Governor Carter, please clarify your position on the current U.S.-Panama negotiations. Will you, as President, continue the current thrust toward a new treaty?

A. This is one of the questions, along with others that have been asked somewhat frequently during an 18-month campaign around the country. It would possibly be surprising to some of you to know that even back 16 or 18 months ago, when I campaigned through New Hampshire or through Oklahoma, or through Iowa or Florida, 30 or 40 percent of the questions at least related to international affairs, which is a very encouraging insight into the consciousness and attitude of the American people.

The Panama Canal question has been made vivid in its political importance by Governor Reagan in his campaign against President Ford.

I think the American people have lost sight of the fact that the early agreements signed in the 1900's under the aegis of President Theodore Roosevelt spelled out that Panama should have sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone; that we should have control as though we had sovereignty, that we should have limited arms and troops placements there; that there should be an adequate payment to Panama for the use of the canal.

I think this is a basis on which we could continue our negotiations. I would never give up full control of the Panama Canal as long as it had any contribution to make to our own national security.

But I believe the Panamanians will respond well to open and continued negotiations and the sharing of sovereignty and control, recognizing their rights in that respect. I would certainly look with favor on the possible reduction in the number of bases that we have in the Panama Canal Zone, possibly a reduction in the number of military forces we have there.

I would certainly look with favor on a continued increase of payments for the transport of materials through the Panama Canal Zone. I think it's accurate to say that until two or three years ago the rate of payment for a ton of cargo transported through the canal had never been increased since the canal was opened. We've had one major increase since then and another one is under contemplation there now.

Policy on Southern Africa

Q. Governor, what would your policy be toward southern Africa, including Rhodesia as well as South Africa, and what do you think we can accomplish?

A. I personally agree with the recent posture taken by Secretary Kissinger as relates to Africa. This is a long delayed interest that's been expressed at the top levels of our government in the acts in question, as was the case in Angola, where we waited too late and clung to the Portuguese until they left and had no continuing relationship with the Angolan people there.

I personally favor majority rule. I would do everything I could to let, for instance, Great Britain, who still claims dominion over the Rhodesian area, play a major role in outside influence. I see no reason for us to play a pre-eminent role.

I would do everything I could to encourage this change toward majority rule with peace, and let our posture be maintained through open expressions of our concern and throaugh—as expressed in my talk—legitimate use of economic or political pressure.

So, ultimately majority rule, acquired as early as possible, minimum of conflict or bloodshed, and using our influence through peaceful means and letting other nations who have a more direct relationship play the preeminent role.

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Candidate Carter: An End to 'Lone Ranger' Diplomacy?

New World Alliances Needed, Carter Says

Jimmy Carter says in Washington that his running mate will probably be "someone with Washington experience," although "I have a completely open mind." Page 18-A.

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

NEW YORK—Jimmy Carter proposed Wednesday that the United States fashion new alliances among the world's democracies, reject meddling in the internal affairs of other nations and stop "secretive, Lone Ranger foreign policy."

It was the third major foreign policy speech in recent weeks for Carter, the almost certain Democratic presidential nominee who is sometimes criticized for lack of experience in international relations.

"We must stop trying to play a lonely game of power politics," Carter declared in a speech before the Foreign Policy Assocation (FPA). "We must evolve and consummate our foreign policy openly and frankly."

The speech was politely but unenthusiastically received by 1,400 members of the FPA, a private, nonpartisan group meeting in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

In general, Carter proposed closer and more stabilized relations among the democracies of North America, Western Europe and Japan to combat global problems and to counter "our potential adversaries" in the Communist bloc.

While pledging to avoid "the folly of our trying to inject our power into the internal affairs of other nations," Carter also promised sanctions against "countries that violate human rights."

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Carter

From Page 1-A

The former Georgia governor deplored the lack of human rights in Russia and South Africa and added, "By our example, by our utterances, and by the various forms of economic and political persuasion available to us, we can quite surely lessen the injustice in this world."

Carter also proposed supplying new air defense and antitank weaponry to NATO, while pledging at the same time to "spare no effort to bring about a reduction of the forces that confront one another in Central Europe."

Carter said he is "particularly concerned by our nation's role as the world's leading arms salesman .... Sometimes we try to justify this unsavory business on the cynical ground that by rationing out the means of violence, we can somehow control the world's violence.

"The fact is that we can not have it both ways. Can we be the world's leading champion of peace and the world's leading supplier of the weapons of war?"

Carter said he would work with our allies and the Soviets in striving to reduce arms sales.

Among the specific proposals in the 30-minute speech were:

—Periodic summit meetings among industrial democratic powers;

—Strengthening the International Monetary Fund to govern the new system of flexible currency exchange rates;

—Reduction of trade barriers;

—Creation of a world development budget under the World Bank for underdeveloped countries;

—A review of "the increasingly antiquated NATO strategy and force postures," along with standardization of NATO weaponry.

Carter spent several days polishing the speech, which was largely prepared by his foreign policy task force and Carter staffers Stewart Eizenstat and Patrick Anderson.

Columbia University Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, a possible secretary of state in a Carter administration, was instrumental in the speechwriting.

Other advisors included former government officials Cyrus Vance and George Ball and Professors Milton Katz and Abram Chayes of Harvard, Richard Cooper of Yale, Richard Gardner of Columbia and Henry Owen of the Brookings Institute.

The speech reflects Brzezinski's belief that the time is ripe for shaping a new system of free world alliances comparable to the situation that President Harry Truman faced at the end of World War II.

Carter, as president, could break sharply from the current administration policy of secretive maneuvering, which encourages a national mood of isolationism, Brzezinski believes.

Carter's mention of the Lone Ranger apparently was an allusion to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whom Carter has previously criticized for a solo foreign policy based on surprise and drama and an alleged neglect of our allies.

In the speech, Carter said of elections this week in Italy, "It is clear that Italian political problems have been caused by the underlying social malaise of the country."

Carter said that "it is too early to appraise the ultimate result" of the elections.

In response to a question from the audience, Carter said he favors "ultimate majority rule acquired as early as possible with a minimum of conflict and bloodshed" in Africa.

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Carter Gets the Endorsemer Of New York Elected Blacks

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

NEW YORK—With the Democratic nomination well in hand, Jimmy Carter continued political chores Wednesday, picking up endorsements from New York State black elected Democrats and holding fund-raising receptions.

Meanwhile, Alabama Gov. George Wallace said Wednesday he would not take a position in a Jimmy Carter administration if the former Georgia governor were elected president.

U.S. Rep. Charles B. Wrangel, chairman of the congressional Black Caucus, met with Carter in New York Wednesday and announced the endorsement of the state Council of Black Elected Democrats.

"If there is one solid base of support that I have enjoyed throughout the primary season through some 30 primaries, it has been the support of minority groups," Carter told the group.

Carter held five separate $1,000-per-person fund-raisers, closed to the press, in New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

Campaign spokesman Rex Granum said Carter hoped to raise $175,000 to help erase a $1 million campaign deficit.

Carter flew to Washington Wednesday evening to prepare for Thursday meetings with the Democratic congressional leadership.

In a copyrighted interview with The Columbus (Ga.) Ledger, Alabama Gov. Wallace said that he would not take a position in a Carter administration.

"I would not accept a position if one were offered," Wallace said, adding quickly, "and I have no knowledge that one will be offered."

Wallace gave his support to Carter for the Democratic nomination after Carter ran well in the final primaries in Ohio, California and New Jersey on June 8. Wallace said in the interview that if he were to take a cabinet post, there would be "those who believe my support was being swapped off for a job and I'm not just hunting a job."

Wallace would not discuss what, if any, role he will attempt to play at July's Democratic convention in New York, and he sidestepped questions on whether he would be directly involved in campaigning this fall for Carter.

Meanwhile Wednesday, Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, D-S.C., committed himself Wednesday to supporting Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination.

In a telephone call to state Carter's South Carolina campaign manager, Sen. Richard W. Riley, D-Greenville, Hollings said he was formally switching his delegate vote from uncommitted to Carter.

The Harvards Are Waiting for Carter to Call

BOSTON — Jimmy Carter was not Harvard University's favorite presidential candidate, but now that he has captured the Democratic party, the Harvards are beginning to come round to his side, and a lot of people in this university community are waiting for the phone to ring.

Carter, Reagan and even Ford may be running "against Washington" but a lot of young members of the university faculties around here still want to go there. They know all about the triumphs and tragedies of Kissinger, Bundy, Rostow, McNamara, Schlesinger, Galbraith, Dunlap, Richardson and many others, but a new generation has come along since Kennedy's days, and at least some of them are eager for work in a new administration.

The contrast between the men of the Roosevelt-Kennedy era and the Nixon-Ford era is striking. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who served in the White House, and Kenneth Galbraith, who was Kennedy's ambassador to India, are less involved in Carter's campaign than in any election since the'30s. But many of the younger faculty members at Harvard and elsewhere in this community want a chance at national service in Washington.

They are not as excited by Carter as the Galbraith-Schlesinger generation was about Roosevelt, Stevenson and Kennedy, but they're not overwhelmed either by the tragedies of Vietnam and Watergate, and are looking to the future.

For almost a decade now, during the Nixon and Ford years, these young liberal faculty members have had no opportunity for national service. Also, in this decade, many of them have married young professional women, who also long for responsible work at the center of national and international affairs.

Accordingly, Carter has the same opportunity here to recruit talent as Roosevelt did in '32 and Kennedy did in '60, if he's interested. Roosevelt used Felix Frankfurter to put together his "brains trust" in 1932, and Kennedy appointed Archibald Cox to do the same in 1960.

Carter has scarcely had time to think about this problem. Also, he has other ways to recruit a knowledgeable staff for the White House, if he's elected, on domestic and foreign affairs. For example, Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State at the University of Georgia; William Friday, president of the University of North Carolina, who may be the most distinguished and experienced educator in the South and certainly one of the very best in the nation; Terry Sanford, former governor of North Carolina and now president of Duke University; and Alexander Heard, president of Vanderbilt University.

How to put his small political staff out of Georgia, together with the larger staff of experts on national and international policy — this is now Carter's problem. Also, how to pick experts who can help him define the problems of the coming years at the convention and in the campaign — this is what he now has to do in the next few weeks.

Carter has many supporters in Cambridge. Men like Abe Chayes and Dick Neustadt, who worked with Kennedy in the '60s, and many others at Columbia University in New York and the Brookings Institution in Washington, who are trying to help but haven't had a chance to talk to him personally.

But though Carter has proved to be a genius at picking up delegates in the states, he has done very little so far about mobilizing brains in the universities, South or North. His staff is very small. He confides in very few of them, and they have very little knowledge or contact with his potential supporters in the industrial or intellectual communities of the North and West.

This could be a missed opportunity. For in the eight years since the Democrats have been out of power, a quite different generation has grown up, not only in the North and South, but also in the Congress and in the bureaucracy of Washington.

Carter may not believe it, but many of these younger intellectuals around the universities in the Boston area are attracted by his optimism, and his belief that the problems of the modern age can be solved. They have heard all the ghastly stories about the corruption of power in Washington, but still want to get involved in the national capital.

If you speak to young men and women in their middle thirties around here who are established in the universities or in the fancy law firms about what they intend to do in the future, many of them say they are waiting to see what happens in the election. Most of them are hostile to both Ford and Reagan, and vaguely troubled by Carter, but they are not cynical or indifferent to national service. They are merely hoping for a chance to show that a new generation is ready to serve.

Other Voices/Reg Murphy

Bitter Medicine of Carter

SAN FRANCISCO—When Jimmy Carter announced a couple of years ago that he was a candidate for President, I wrote a column which ran under this headline: "Jimmy Carter Is Running for WHAT?"

The exact taste of those words is known to my palate. I've eaten them a thousand times in the past six months. Jimmy Carter took an improbable campaign and turned it into the Democratic presidential nomination. The Georgians who read the first column have not let me forget it.

But what has been learned out of the campaign? Is it possible yet to know how such an incredible process took place in a society that watches its politicians closely, suspiciously, even nocturnally?

There are several lessons to be learned from Carter. First, initiative. He took himself and his goals seriously when nobody else did. He became the chairman of a party campaign committee in a year when nobody else wanted it.

He planted Hamilton Jordan, as dedicated a South Georgian as Carter himself, in the Democratic National Committee headquarters. Jordan compiled the names and the contacts for the early Carter forays across the political landscape.

With Jordan feeding him information, Carter concluded that he might not win so many primaries but he could pick up some delegates everywhere. He actually got more than 50 per cent of the Democratic votes in only a handful of states. But he got some delegates in almost every state because they were being allotted proportionally to the amount of the popular vote he attracted.

At the end of the primary season, Carter suddenly had so many campaign pledges and delegates that nobody could challenge him. It was a question of making only a few deals, and he made them efficiently.

He had been as deliberately vague as possible so as not to stir up any animosities. He had soothed the old pols with his quiet drawl. He has silenced most of his enemies at home through their fear of the power he was accumulating. And he somehow had escaped the microscope that other candidates had to crawl under for the media.

So now Jimmy Carter has shown the world that he not only knew what he was running for, but that he knew precisely how to run for it. He is a formidable campaigner who will at least give the Republicans a run for their money in the November general election.

Those of us who scoffed, who said it never could happen, who watched and waited for the inevitable crumbling of the Carter campaign, have been fooled badly. We simply did not understand that the country wanted a smile more than it wanted issues. We failed to grasp that it would accept the argument that having Washington experience was bad.

Most of all, we misjudged the caliber of the Democratic primary opposition. It seemed a couple of years ago that the Democrats would produce a dozen attractive and knowledgeable candidates. They failed to produce even one alternative to Carter which satisfied a very broad base. (Sen. Frank Church and Gov. Jerry Brown might take exception, saying they started too late. They would have a point.)

In the meantime, there is this terribly dry taste in my mouth. It is a mixture of old ink and newsprint. The word WHAT is particularly hard to chew. But we learned to take bitter medicine a long time ago, didn't we?

(Reg Murphy, former editor of The Atlanta Constitution, is now editor and publisher of The San Francisco Examiner in which this column recently appeared.)

HARRIS POLL

Carter Tops Ford By 13 Pct.

By LOUIS HARRIS

With his first ballot nomination now assured, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter has moved out to a sweeping 53-40 per cent lead over President Ford and a much wider 58-35 per cent margin over former Calif. Gov. Ronald Reagan, according to the latest Harris Survey, held in mid-June.

The base of Carter's strength is his apparent ability to carry his home area of the South. He leads Gerald Ford in the border states by 68-29 per cent and in the deep South by 57-38 per cent. He is ahead of Ronald Reagan in the region by almost the same margin: 68-28 per cent in the border states and 55-37 per cent in the deep South.

He is the first Democrat in 12 years to demonstrate a capacity to win a solid South.

The reason for Carter's current wide lead in this latest poll of 1,480 registered and likely voters is that traditional Democratic groups have rallied behind his candidacy now that the primary season is over.

—Among labor union members, Carter leads the President, by 61-33 per cent and Reagan by 64-30 per cent.

—Among blacks, he holds a 71-17 per cent edge over Ford and a 75-11 per cent spread over the former California governor.

—Among people who view themselves as liberals, Carter is ahead against President Ford by 67-27 per cent and against Ronald Reagan by 76-18 per cent.

—Among Catholics, he runs well ahead of the President by 53-40 per cent and he beats Reagan by a more sizable 58-36 per cent.

—Among Jewish voters, a problem for him in the primaries, Carter leads President Ford by 61-26 per cent and Reagan by 70-18 per cent.

—Among Democrats, Carter's massive 72-21 per cent lead over Gerald Ford and his 73-20 per cent edge over Ronald Reagan are impressive by the standards of the last two presidential elections, when the Republican candidate was able to garner between 31 to 40 per cent of the Democratic vote. Significantly, Carter wins the vote of those who cast their ballots for George McGovern four years ago by 73-19 per cent against President Ford and by a higher 80-12 per cent against former Governor Reagan.

Despite Carter's broad-based support, there are some key segments of the electorate where the vote is close:

—Among the college-educated voters, a rising part of the electorate, Carter holds no better than a 48-45 per cent lead over the President, but a much more sizable margin of 54-38 per cent over Reagan.

—Among suburban residents, Carter now holds a 50-43 per cent edge over Gerald Ford, but a much higher 58-36 per cent lead over Reagan.

—Among professional people, the Carter lead over the President is a narrow 48-46 per cent, but in the case of Reagan, it is a much bigger 57-36 per cent.

—Among independent voters, Carter is ahead of the President by a relatively close 48-43 per cent, but he leads Reagan by 55-34 per cent.

Between June 9 and 14, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of 1,480 people who were registered and had voted in 1972 or 1974 or said they were certain to register in 1976:

"Suppose for President this November, it were between Gerald Ford for the Republicans and Jimmy Carter for the Democrats. If you had to make up your mind right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

FORD VS. CARTER	
Ford	40%
Carter	53%
Not sure	7%

The Harris Survey also asked:

"Now suppose for President this November, it were between Ronald Reagan for the Republicans and Jimmy Carter for the Democrats. If you had to make up your mind right now, would you vote for Reagan the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

REAGAN VS. CARTER	
Reagan	35%
Carter	58%
Not sure	7%

P

Carter Seeks VP With Washington Experience

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

WASHINGTON—Jimmy Carter's running mate will probably be "someone with Washington experience," although "I have a completely open mind," Carter said Wednesday night.

"The likelihood is that my choice would be someone with Washington experience," Carter said upon arriving here for a day of talks with congressional leaders Thursday.

Carter said, "There are about 10 or 12 people in whom I have a great interest" as a potential running mate.

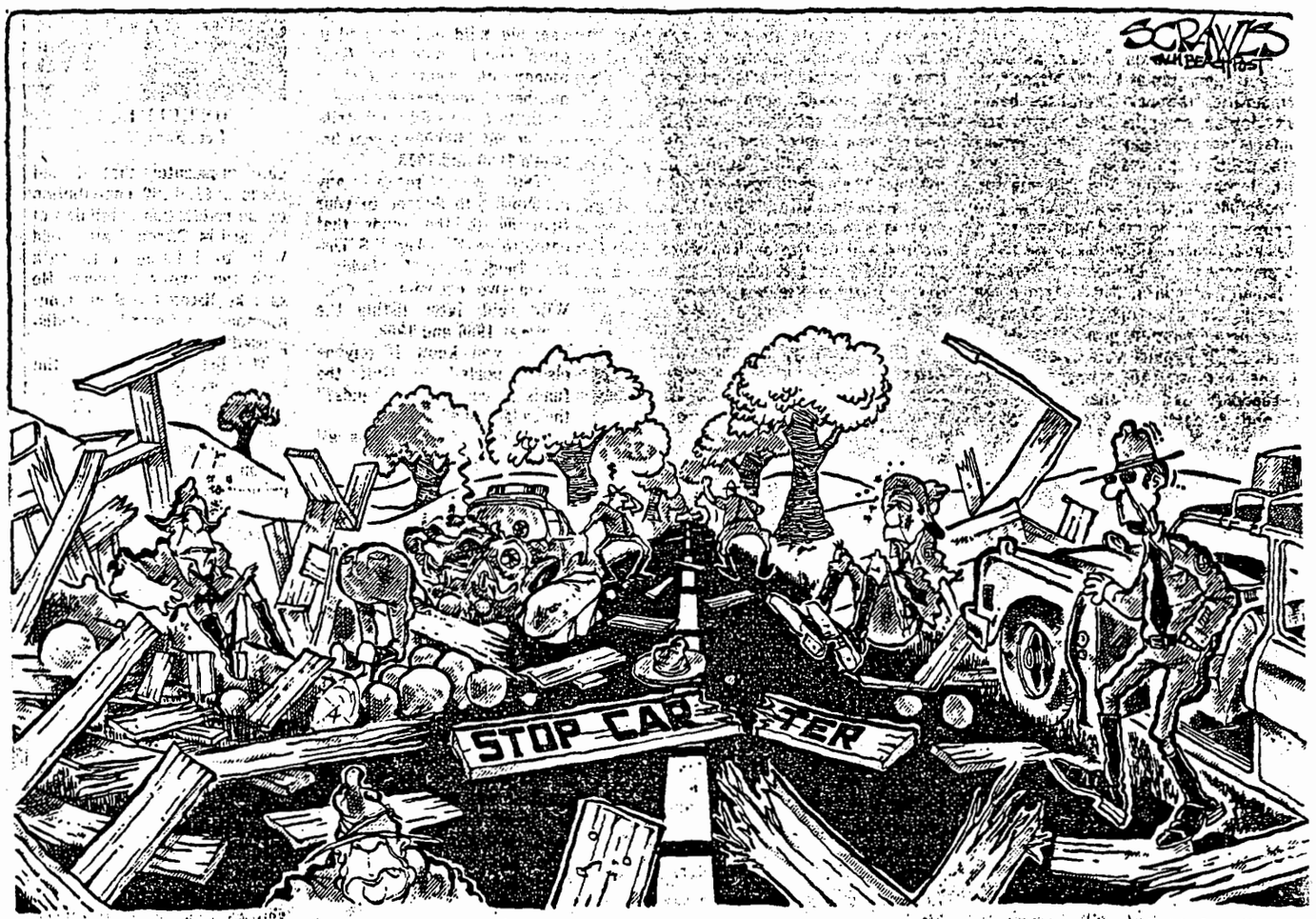
The former Georgia governor, who has the Democratic presidential nominating wrapped up, said he has been discussing the vice presidency "with 15 or 20 people, both inside government and out of government."

He has asked these persons for advice on the matter, but has not yet talked directly to any potential running mate, Carter said.

His staff is now researching the backgrounds of possible vice presidents, and he has ruled out the possibility of using FBI investigations, Carter said.

"We have decided not to use the FBI at all. The more I thought about it, the more I thought it would be an ineffective thing," Carter said.

"In the next 10 days at the latest," Carter said, he will begin one-on-one conversations with five or fewer possible running mates.



'How's the Roadblock Coming, Fellas?'

Baldy Is on Vacation

The Weather
—Partly cloudy, high in the ow near 70. Chance of rain is r cent today, 40 per cent to- Thursday—Partly cloudy, high s 80s. Yesterday—3 p.m. AQI, mp. range, 87-74. Details, C2.

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Carter, in Unity Move, Pledges To Back Platform

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

BOSTON, June 22—Jimmy Carter, moving to unite the Democratic Party behind him tonight pledged his support for the party platform and for efforts to assure "compatibility" between himself and other Democrats running this fall.

Although buoyed by recent polls showing him running well ahead of President Ford or Ronald Reagan, Carter also cautioned against overconfidence at a fund-raising reception here that began two days of efforts to liquidate his million-dollar primary campaign debt and strengthen his ties with Democratic congressional leaders.

At the fund-raiser, which netted him about $50,000, Carter was joined by former House Speaker John McCormack and Govs. Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts and Ella Grasso of Connecticut.

Outside the affair at the Museum of Science, striking Massachusetts state government workers picketed Dukakis with signs reading "Mike for V. P., Please," a not-too-subtle suggestion that Carter invite Dukakis out of Massachusetts.

In his remarks to the reception, his first to a political gathering since he cinched the Democratic nomination two weeks ago, Carter did not express his usual reservations about such party plank as one advocating federal takeover of welfare costs. He did say he would "expand" on the platform during his campaign but mentioned no specifics.

"I would ask all of you to join me in a commitment not to stand easy because we still have a long way to go," said Carter. "Not only in assuring that the Democratic Party in itself will be a harmonious, productive and trustworthy entity but that we face the Republican challenger this fall with a complete commitment never to betray the trust of the American people, never to violate the commitment that we have now expressed in the platform of our party..."

Carter also said he would "work just as hard now to assure compatibility" between Congress and the executive branch of the government and among all Democratic candidates for office this fall as he did to win the primaries earlier this year.

Carter, who resumed campaigning today after a week of vacationing at the beach and rest at home in Plains, Ga., will hold five fund-raisers in New York City Wednesday and spend all day Thursday in a series of meetings in Washington on Capitol Hill.

Among those he will consult are House Speaker Carl Albert and House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the House Democratic Steering and Policy Committee, and Sens. Robert C. Byrd, Edmund S. Muskie and Henry M. Jackson. He will also hold general meetings with the Democratic members of the Senate and House and is scheduled to conclude the day with a meeting with Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss.

At his Boston reception, Carter noted that he bypassed Massachusetts during the primaries in favor of concentrating on defeating George C. Wallace in Florida but said he would campaign aggressively in the state this fall.

The GOP Delegate Scramble: Sectional Politics . . .

Ronald Reagan and his backers are employing one dangerous and divisive tactic in the closing phase of the battle for the Republican presidential nomination. They are playing sectional politics in a party that needs no further splintering.

At last weekend's Iowa Republican convention, the Reagan forces distributed a flyer claiming "Reagan has the strength where it's needed in November. (President) Ford has carried only the northeast states, the states least likely to go Republican in the November general election. Reagan has carried the South and the West, which we must have to beat (Jimmy) Carter, and which are most likely to carry the GOP to victory in November."

Accompanying this was a map showing the northeast quadrant as Ford country, except for Indiana, where Reagan won the primary; and the other three-quarters of the country for Reagan—except for blocs of Ford support in Florida, Kansas and Oregon.

Reagan himself has made the same argument in recent speeches. It is his way of rebutting Mr. Ford's claim that he is "more electable" than his California challenger. But it is an argument that distorts reality, damages Reagan's own interests and destroys the already fragile hopes for preserving Republican unity after this nomination fight is finally settled in Kansas City.

"The truth of the matter is that, by current measure, neither Republican contender is electable against probable Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter."

The truth of the matter is that, by current measure, neither Republican contender is electable against probable Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter.

The latest Gallup Poll puts Mr. Ford 14 points behind the former Georgia governor and shows Reagan trailing by 23 points.

When they start that far behind, the only way either man can hope to overcome Carter is by convincing voters across the country, in the course of the general election campaign, that Carter is less qualified to be President than they now suppose. Any successful Republican campaign will have to be a national campaign—aimed straight at Jimmy Carter.

Instead, Reagan appears to be arguing, for short-term gain, that Republicans can win with some sort of warmed-over version of the Goldwater-Nixon "Southern strategy." Not only is this implausible, it is self-destructive.

If the Ford campaign committee were smart, it would take Reagan's Iowa propaganda sheet and see that it got into the hands of every Republican delegate in Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Florida and Kentucky. These all happen to be states where Reagan is trying to break off "soft" Ford delegates or woo the uncommitted delegates to his column.

One wonders what their reaction would be to the news that Reagan's forces are writing off their states as "the least likely to go Republican" in November.

Second, one must wonder what the Republican nomination would be worth if the premise of Reagan's propaganda should be true.

He appears to be writing off seven of the big ten states—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Florida, New Jersey and Massachusetts. The biggest states that would leave in the Republican column are California, Texas, and either Indiana or North Carolina.

Translated into electoral votes, that would put Carter ahead 188 to 84, and leave the Republicans with an almost impossible burden to overcome.

Reagan does have one valid point to make in talking about the geography of the presidential race. He clearly has demonstrated a strong regional base in the West—the only area of the country where Carter failed to win a single presidential primary.

Except for Oregon, where he finished a close second to the President, Reagan has won every primary and state convention held in the West. His sweep is likely to be completed in New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. At this point, he appears to be a better bet to carry his home state of California against Carter than Mr. Ford would be of beating Carter in Michigan.

But to go beyond that and suggest that Reagan holds the key to November victory by his strength in the South is a substantial distortion. Mr. Ford might have a hard time holding much in the South against Carter. But so would Reagan.

The new Gallup figures show the Georgian leading Mr. Ford by the landslide proportion of 61-to-32 per cent in the South, with 7 per cent undecided. But the same poll puts Carter ahead of Reagan in the South by an even wider margin, 65 to 30 per cent, with 5 per cent undecided.

With that kind of showing, there is no reason for Reagan to play divisive sectional politics inside the GOP. His propaganda writing off seven of the ten major states to the Democrats is a disservice to his party and himself.

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CAPITAL SPECIAL

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What does the Democratic platform mean?

The Democratic platform is as tame as Jimmy Carter's rhetoric and, in its own courtly-cute way, as inscrutable. Somebody once said about a corporation's annual reports that they are to be compared with a lady's bikini in that they reveal enough to maintain interest, while concealing the vital parts.

Consider, for instance, the simple sentences that concern foreign policy. Under the heading "Middle East," the Democrats say: "We shall continue to seek a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The cornerstone of our policy is a firm commitment to the independence and security of the State of Israel. This special relationship does not prejudice improved relations with other nations in the region."

Ah, but it does. This is not to say that it shouldn't: but plainly it does. The United States has taken the official position, along with other countries represented in the Security Council, that Israel should return the conquered territories. Israel declines to do so, giving reasons some of which are by no means unreasonable. Still, there is such a thing as concern for justice to the Palestinian refugees; and there is no doubt that in the absence of a homeland for them and the return of the conquered territories there is both injustice in the area and a great animosity toward the United States. As James Reston and James Michener, both Democrats, have at one point put it, official Israeli intransigence is an obstacle to Mideast settlement, and the encouragement of it should be something less than a cornerstone of our policy.

Or is that intransigence a vital interest of ours?

The next plank concerns "Asia." It is very straightforward. "The Vietnam War has taught us the folly of becoming militarily involved where our vital interests were not at stake. Our relations with China should continue to develop on peaceful lines, including early movement toward normalizing diplomatic relations in the context of a peaceful resolution of the future of Taiwan."

The first part of that could have been written by George Washington and and inserted into his Farewell Address — in fact it was. The dangling ambiguities are the vital parts. What is a "peaceful" solution to the future of Taiwan? And is Taiwan's independence from Peking a vital interest of the United States? The existing treaty presupposes this, but as recently as in the last Democratic platform dominated by Senator McGovern, the proposal was to rescind that treaty. Precisely what we don't know from this declaration is everything we really want to know about U.S. policy in the Far East.

In the domestic area, the usual gods are serially oblated. A maximum production is made in behalf of full employment. Not long after that, it is suggested that the minimum wage rate should "keep pace with the increase in the cost of living," which is another way of saying that such unemployment as results from the minimum wage law should not be interfered with.

Welfare reform consists of "income maintenance, substantially financed by the Federal Government." "Financed by the Federal Government" is a codeword for "It won't cost you anything," and is the essence of Democratic economic witchcraft.

Since we are going to have full employment, and higher minimum wage, and free medicine, we have to say something about inflation, and we do. We are against inflation. Does that mean we are in favor of wage and price controls? Well, no, not immediately anyway. In the language of the platform, "We do not believe that such involvement (in wage and price decisions) requires a comprehensive system of mandatory controls at this time." If one American can be found who disagrees with that statement, you will have to look for him in Haight-Asbury, Belmont, Massachusetts, or Walden Pond.

Indeed, there is only one plank in the Democratic Platform that suggests any concern whatever for husbandry. It is listed under the heading "The Developing World." "The United States should not provide aid to any government — anywhere in the world — which uses secret police, detention without charges, and torture to enforce its powers." Roughly speaking, that means the Democrats will authorize aid to Switzerland.

Well, party platforms should be written and not studied. They are interesting primarily as musical productions. This one sounds like the organ in Radio City Music Hall, unlike its predecessor which sounded like the Rolling Stones. As such, it is guardedly welcome.

The Hand That Rocked Carter's Cradle

By Orde Coombs

"...'Miss Lillian is afraid of no man. She says what's bothering her, and if you don't like it, she ain't about to ask you why'..."

Plain talker from Plains: *At age 77, Lillian C*

I knew Jimmy Carter was going someplace when Aunt Bessie, black, 76, a lifelong Republican who still can't stand Franklin Roosevelt, told me that she was going to vote for Carter because of his mother. She had come to New York from Preston, Georgia, near where Jimmy Carter was born, and in her Bedford-Stuyvesant apartment she was happy to lecture me: "You young people don't know nothing, do you? You don't know that there are quality white people, even though most of them are nonquality. And you don't know that Lillian Carter nursed more than half of the colored people in her part of Georgia."

And then I read that Congressman Andrew Young had declared that Carter's mother was "one of the truly great women of our time." When I talked to him, he said: "I knew Lillian Carter long before I knew Jimmy, and I learned from her and others that the difference between Southern liberals and Northern ones is the difference between partnership and paternalism."

I decided I had to meet this quiet legend, and so recently I flew down to Plains and made my way to her house before the Georgia sun had gotten hot.

Lillian Gordy Carter comes out of her modest brick house, with its dull paneling and its "family-antique" furniture, and I can see the smile starting, so that by the time we shake hands, it has already sliced her face and brought me quickly into the vortex of her "Southern charm." Age has wrinkled her face, which now rests somewhere between the cragginess of Lillian Hellman's and the canyons of W. H. Auden's in his last days. She is not without vanity, but she firmly believes that, as a woman born on August 15, 1898, she has "earned the right to carry the years" where they show. The rest of her is styled, prepared, ready. She has gotten used to giving interviews, to "helping Jimmy in really the only way I know how, and that's by telling the truth."

I watch this septuagenarian with critical eyes and I notice the dime-sized brown spot on her right cheek; the neatness of her light-blue pantsuit; the small feet encased in navy-blue canvas shoes; and the hair—full, gossamer whiteness that has been perfectly coiffed—and I am thinking that no adman could conceive a more perfect picture of white middle-class American grandmotherhood.

"Some bugs are eating my grass," she says. "Look at that. They are eating from the house to the road. Did you ever see such? Come on in. Come on in. Be careful of that step. More newsmen have tripped over that than anything else. They claim they can't see it. Now, where do you want to sit?" I keep my frozen smile and say nothing, for she is not going to snow me with Southern kindness and calculated disingenuousness.

She starts up again. "Do help me with this chair. I can't lift a thing. Is the sun too much for you over there?" And then, suddenly, it hits me, and I know why the words tumble out, why Lillian Carter cannot stop her meanderings. She is the out-of-place doyenne of Plains, Georgia—a woman who has been ahead of her time and still *is* in her hometown, but who has suddenly found that the times have caught up with her, that now she can get off her chest all she ever wanted to during the past 50 years among people who could not stand her eccentricities, her deviations from normal racist behavior.

"I never had close friends," she tells me. "I was never one to be running in and out of people's homes. Small-town people can sometimes be afraid of independent minds."

"But weren't you able to do as you wished?" I ask. "After all, you were relatively well off."

"I have not always been well off,"

ll speaks her mind as freely as she did in the past, when her views were not welcome among whites in her hometown.

she counters, "but I've always had a mind of my own."

This statement was seconded later in the day by a 98-year-old black woman: "Miss Lillian is afraid of no man," she told me. "She says what's bothering her, and shoot, if you don't like it, she ain't about to stop to ask you why."

But a white woman shopping in Turner's Hardware Store was not so admiring: "Lillian Carter always felt she was better than us. She always felt she was a great reader. She brought up that church-integration thing in 1954, just so she could show us up. She didn't want colored people in there any more than we did. She thinks she is so smart and we're so dumb. Jimmy's much nicer."

As I sit on a yellow-and-brown-striped couch, she pulls her right leg under her and plops down in a yellow chair. "I must have my rest from twelve noon till one. But we can talk after that. If I haven't tired you out."

"Don't you always watch soap operas at that time?" I ask her. "Don't you always watch *The Young and the Restless* and *All My Children*?"

"You found me out," she squeals, "so stay and watch them with me. I started to look at them when I had my cataracts removed, and now I'm hooked. But it is a rest period for me, because I just sit here and laugh and carry on my own dialogue with the actors."

As she speaks about her unanswered conversations with television actors, I remember the TV "star" who is the reason I am in this small town in Sumter County, Georgia, where the Seaboard Coast Line train runs through the center carrying yellow Hustler-brand peanut pickers, and where the Carter Worm Farm office is a stone's throw from the Sandcraft tourist shop that sells peanut jewelry. This is an area that saw bloody civil-rights battles during the sixties, but now boldly displays a poster of the Sumter County Improvement Association, with its picture of black hands and its legend:

HANDS THAT PICK COTTON
NOW CAN PICK OUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

It is from this place that the most successful politician of the year has emerged, a man who is so Janus-faced, they say, that he is able to win the fervor of disparate people who ought to be natural antagonists. Because of this

Photographed by Betsy K. Frampton

"... Though Carter was sympathetic to Martin Luther King, he kept his mother from joining King's voting-rights marches ..."

propensity, other presidential candidates have ganged up to attack Jimmy Carter, but they have all ended up sounding like Jimmy-one-note.

"We don't really know what Jimmy Carter stands for," says Gerald Ford.

Mr. Carter is waging a "campaign of generalities calculated not to offend people who may disagree with him," says Frank Church.

"Who is the real Jimmy Carter? What's behind the smile?" asks Jerry Brown.

Carter is a "waffler," says Mo Udall.

And so I've come to this town with no jail, with only one (white) policeman by day and one (black) by night, to find out what I can about a peanut metaphysician who, like a parrot I once owned, keeps saying to 215 million people, "trust me, trust me." I figured that if there was any person who could reveal the chinks in his armor—that granite control and iron will—it would be the woman who rocked his cradle, changed his diapers, and guided him to manhood.

I quickly get down to business. "Why do you think that your son, who has spent so much of his life in a little town in Georgia, should be the president of the United States? What qualifications does he have to make him even dream of this high office?"

Mrs. Carter folds and unfolds her hands. "Well, he is an honest man. An intelligent man. A hardworking man. A man devoted to his country and his God. And his heart is full of love and compassion." (Here it is again! Carter's own theme, one that worked so well in the rough steel towns of Pennsylvania that he won 65 out of 67 counties. Can it be that behind those hard, blue-collar exteriors lie closet hippies waiting to proclaim love as a philosophical imperative?)

I look at her looking at me, and I say coldly: "I could say all those things about the man who runs my neighborhood delicatessen, and God knows, he must work even harder than your son. But I certainly wouldn't want to see him president of the United States."

"Of course not," she snaps. "Your delicatessen man probably never dreamed large dreams and worked to see them come true. Besides, I don't think you can compare Jimmy's record and what he's trying to do now with selling roast beef."

She has had to learn how to talk back carefully, how to make her point and not offend, for her roots are deep in the red Georgia clay, even though her spirit has always soared with Dostoevski and Tolstoy. She was born in Richland, a simple southwest Georgia town, and she moved from there to Plains in 1921. She has traveled to many countries around the world, but she has remained a small-town woman, anchored in Christian beliefs and in an unflinching devotion to what is right and opposition to what is wrong. It was her postmaster father who taught her "compassion," she says. He provided for his eight children, as well as his two adopted ones, and a grandmother who had nowhere else to live. "With thirteen of us around the table for supper, we had to learn that we couldn't always have an extra slice of bread just because we wanted it. Someone else might have a greater need." He also taught her not to judge people by the color of their skin, for Bishop William D. Johnson of the African Methodist Episcopal Church was a regular visitor to the Gordy house. These two men would talk about the Bible and "the living Christ." They would talk about the solace they got from the Methodist church, and then, raising their voices in disharmony, would sing:

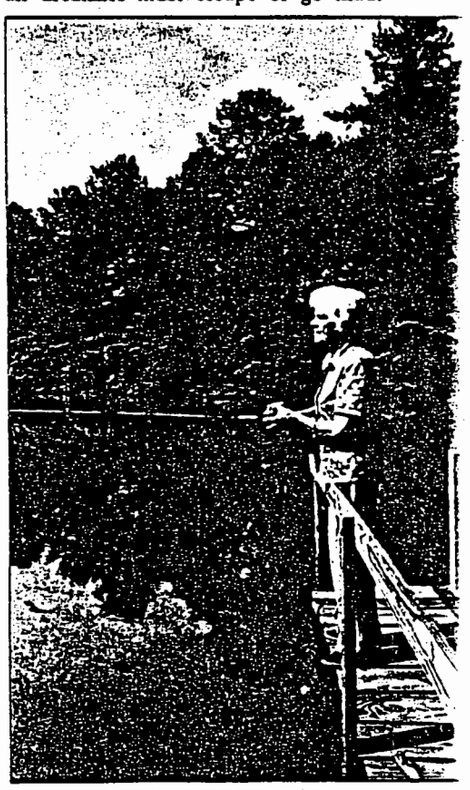
> The King of love my Shepherd is,
> Whose goodness faileth never;
> I nothing lack if I am His
> And He is mine for ever.

Lillian Gordy never forgot those early years, so by the time she married James Earl Carter in September, 1923, she was so rooted in what she was that neither his aggressive pursuit of money nor his antiblack stance could unsettle her sense of herself. "He was considered a fine catch, you know. He had a grocery store, a dry-cleaning place, and a farm. I was working for the Wise brothers, who had a sanatorium here. Dr. Sam Wise thought that Earl would go far and that I would be a good wife for him, so he introduced us." Her eyes wander off for a moment and I can see nostalgia pulling her away. I bring her back abruptly to the present.

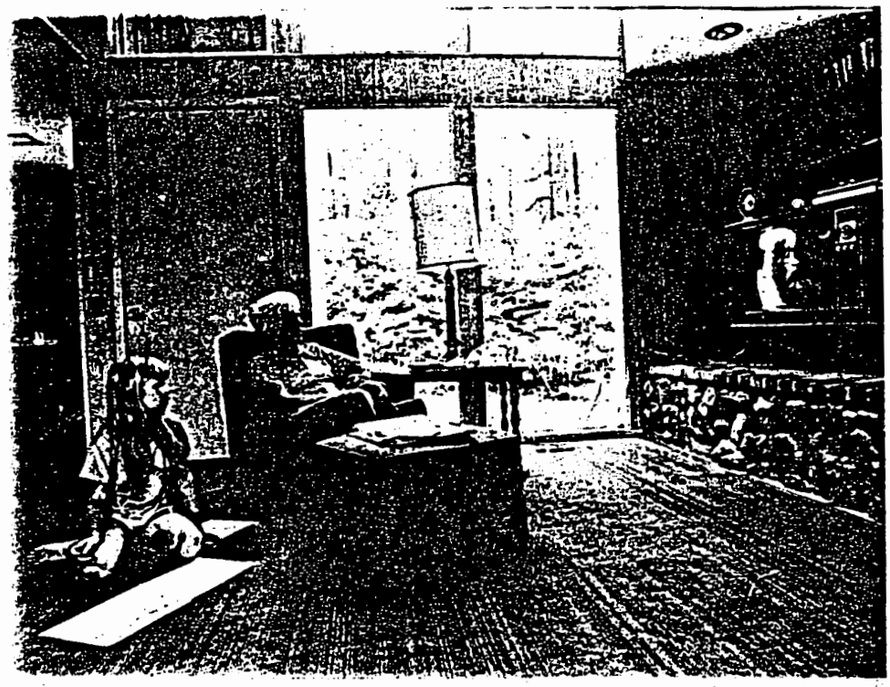
"Your son says that your husband was a segregationist, and all the black people around here who knew him say he was a terrible man."

For the first time today, Lillian Carter's jaws get tight, and she rises in her chair to defend the man with whom she lived for 30 years. "Earl was of his time. Of his time. He was not like me, certainly, but he did not stop me from doing what I wanted to do. You are too young to know, but I am talking about the twenties when we had nearly 200 black people working for us on our farms. It shames me now to talk about it, but they made practically no money, so they couldn't pay for any medical expenses. Well, I would go to their homes and nurse them and deliver their babies. And Earl, yes, Earl, would pay for their expenses. He never interfered with me, and in spite of everything, he was compassionate. Oh, he said things. He believed in the black man's inferiority, but he was no different from all those people around here and all over the country who are now trying to pretend they were never prejudiced. Earl would have changed, like everybody else who has changed. It annoys me to hear people denounce him when he was simply a Southern man who lived at a certain time."

She is breathless, and as I look at those watering gray-blue eyes, I understand the passion and pain of Jimmy Carter, and I sense where the chinks in his armor lie, why he plays it both ways. For he was born to a land that can boast only of pine trees, peanuts, and corn. A land where the heat comes hissing out of the red clay and the undulating highway is littered with dead possums. It is a land from which all dreamers must escape or go mad.



Time off: *Mrs. Carter fishes for bass.*



Time out: *Feigning a "rest" period, Miss Lillian halts all activities from noon till one o'clock in order to watch two soap operas. Here she is joined by her granddaughter.*

And he was born to a father whose business was his life and who remained, for as long as he lived, a stranger to the world of books and new ideas. And to a mother to whom the spiritual life and her moral convictions meant so much that she would not warp her conscience to fit the society's mold. But because she knew how easily the land could claim a boy, she prevailed upon her brother to send books and postcards from around the world to Jimmy, so that he would realize that Plains should not be the center of his universe. And when her flights of fancy went beyond what she knew, she entrusted him to the crippled, plain, and almost blind Julia Coleman, who taught school and who handed him *War and Peace* when he was twelve.

It must have been from that time that Jimmy Carter began to wonder about his future possibilities. But he was raised a dutiful son and so he never rebelled against his father. Although the pull of his mother's light was strong, he always refused to curse his father's darkness. When disagreement with his father about racial matters came to a head in 1950, he decided never to bring up the question of black equality again. So Jimmy Carter learned early to attempt to synthesize varying points of view, and when those attempts failed, he learned "to waffle." And so he can say with equal ease: "I am and have always been a conservative. . . . I'm basically a redneck" (1970) and "I've always been a liberal on civil rights" (1976). Though he was sympathetic to Martin Luther King Jr. and his cause, he prevented his mother from joining King's voting-rights marches in Albany, Georgia. He didn't want her to get involved; it was too close to home.

In Lillian Carter's blue, four-door Caprice Classic, we drive to the pond house which her children built for her when she came back from India, aged 70 and 30 pounds lighter, after having spent two years as a Peace Corps volunteer. As we walk around the grounds, she tells me she has a lot of faith in God, but that she does not talk about it "as much as some people." "Like your son?" I ask. She smiles. "What I mean is that I'm a devout Baptist, but my practice is not as strong as my daughter Ruth's, who is an evangelist and faith healer, or Jimmy's, who worked up North spreading the word."

I interject, "It bothers me that your son feels that he is in direct communication with God. Doesn't it bother you?"

"We are all in communication with God," she answers firmly. "Some know it, others don't. Too much has been made of this religious issue. It's a private thing. I can tell by looking at you that you don't believe in what I'm talking about, about the power of prayer. But in India, when they placed me in the family-planning unit, I was very unhappy and I prayed to be moved out of it and into an area where I could do some good. My prayers were answered almost immediately."

I ask her if she prays for her son's victories. "No. Just that all will be right for him, and whatever God decides is fine, because it is all in his hands anyway."

Lillian Carter opens her arms to the sudden Georgia wind. "It's been a good life. Sometimes I feel like just sitting out here with a fishing pole and a book and looking at the squirrels run up these pine trees." I know those are mere words, for although she is 78, she feels she is too young to vegetate.

And suddenly I am thinking of old, illiterate, black Ephraim in Faulkner's *Intruder in the Dust*, who says: "If you got something outside the common run that's got to be done and can't wait, don't waste your time on the menfolks; they works on what your uncle calls the rules and the cases. Get the womens and the children at it; they works on the circumstances." Faulkner knew that women like Lillian Carter existed, and that they always worked on the circumstances and always broke the rules when the heart had its reasons.

And then I remembered that she had said something that struck me as strange at first, but later made sense. "The black people are having a harder time adjusting to the new situation than the whites." I asked her what she meant, and she talked of the hostility of young blacks to all whites. "They know nothing of the old order. They haven't suffered very much from it, but now they feel that they must make us pay. They have to convince themselves they are forever free from the fear of white people. But they still have to contend with racists like Uncle Buddy, my husband's brother, and others in this family. There's a lot of work to be done."

All of Lillian Carter's morality works for her son in 1976. It is a morality based simply on doing for your neighbor what you would like him to do for you. It is part of being a "good Christian." And it is part Pollyanna. It may be what the country needs now, but it will not take us into a new century, for it is essentially a morality of the past.

But for now the old morality will do. Lillian Carter knew that there were principles too dear to be compromised. She knew, too, that no matter how much she was vilified, she would eventually be proved right. For today, all over the South, mothers who could not understand Lillian Carter's "pussyfooting around" and insisting on principles are gazing in amazement at their sons—strangers who, in rebellion against their mothers, are singing in bitter irony:

> Up against the wall, Redneck Mother.
> Mother who has raised a son so well.
> He's 34 and drinking in the honky tonks;
> Just kickin' hippies' asses
> And raisin' hell.*

Meanwhile, Miss Lillian's son, teeth a-glowing, is marching steadily toward the White House. ■

JERRY VS. RON VS. JIMMY

Which Republican would run the strongest race against Jimmy Carter in November? A Gallup poll released this week shows both Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan trailing Carter—Ford by 53-39, Reagan by 58-35. Nevertheless, as Carter waits for the Democratic convention to confirm him, both the Ford and Reagan camps are trying to prove that their man has the best chance of upsetting him.

The Ford strategists argue that the Republicans can ill afford to throw away the panoply, patronage and ability to control events that come with incumbency. With the nation at peace and in the midst of an economic recovery, they also believe that many voters will choose to stick with the known qualities of Jerry Ford rather than turn over the nation's leadership to Jimmy Carter, whose personality and brief record in office still make some voters uneasy.

But the President's men's most potent argument is that only he can pull the Democrats and independents that the GOP, a minority party, needs to keep control of the White House. Reagan's ideological candidacy, they say, will drive even some Republicans into the Carter camp—and might prove disastrous to the party's governors, congressmen and state legislators running for office. Only with a middle-of-the-roader does the GOP stand a chance of holding the heartland plus picking up three of four industrial states, such as Michigan, Illinois or Pennsylvania, that the party must win in November. And, Ford's advisers say, if the President picks the right running mate—Texas's John Connally, Tennessee's Howard Baker or even Reagan, for instance—Ford might also carry some sun-belt states that Carter now counts as his own.

Fumble-footed: Reagan's backers counter that Carter's ascendancy among the Democrats gives Republicans all the more reason to turn to the Californian. Against Carter's populist, anti-Washington campaign oratory, they argue that Jerry Ford's fumble-footed style and 27 years in Washington would send the GOP to defeat. Conversely, a Reagan candidacy would allow the Republicans to match Carter's fresh face with one of their own, cut the soul out of Carter's anti-Washington gospel and provide the party with a superb attack politician who could goad Carter into a debate over issues—something Reagan did to his advantage against Ford.

The Californian's right-of-center message, his handlers say, mirrors the current mood of the country. Far from being another Barry Goldwater, Reagan, they point out, twice carried his home state as governor with margins supplied by Democratic crossovers. With those sorts of calculations, the Reaganites contend they could hold the conservative states of the Farm Belt, carry the West—where Carter failed to win a primary—and pull some of the South, particularly Texas, away from the Georgian.

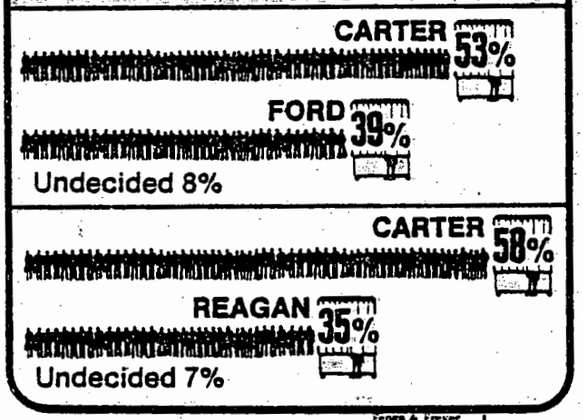
The problem with both Ford's and Reagan's arguments is that in the very areas where they claim the advantage against the other Republican, Carter does better than either of them. Despite Reagan's win-the-West strategy, for example, the latest California Poll shows him lagging behind Carter 46-38 in his home state. California pollster Mervin Field says he is "hard-pressed to find a normally Republican state where either Ford or Reagan has an edge."

But that does not necessarily doom the GOP to another Goldwater debacle. Carter has a tendency to get testy under pressure; if he loses his cool—or fails to convince the majority of his still-soft supporters that he is a man they can trust, the Republicans could manage an upset. Pollsters also emphasize that the underdog traditionally gains about 10 points between September and November. The problem is that the evidence suggests the Republicans must make up more ground than that—and they have yet to select the man to do it.

—SUSAN FRAKER with bureau reports

CARTER IN A WALK?

A Gallup poll, taken June 11-14 after the final primaries, shows Gerald Ford doing slightly better than Ronald Reagan against Jimmy Carter—but Carter trouncing either of them.



Fenton & Fraser

had him work on the waverer. "There are three Reagan delegates in a Western state who are having second thoughts," said another Ford delegate hunter. "We'll get [Agriculture Secretary Earl] Butz, their senator and congressmen to call them . . . and the President himself if it's necessary."

Contrary to popular belief, the delegate hunters insisted, their major weapon was not the promise of special favors but simple psychology. "You get a lot of people who like to paw the ground and get some more attention," said one expert. "We're giving them the attention they want." Making any offer at all could backfire. Said one potential Utah delegate: "The dangling of a carrot . . . could be interpreted wrong and be hurtful." And brandishing a stick was also dangerous, the delegate hunters claimed. "Anybody who tries to put on too much pressure makes a big mistake with Republicans," said Ford supporter Dent. "You don't twist arms in this party; Republicans need a soft, easy approach."

FOUR CALLS A DAY

Still the stalkers were persistent. One uncommitted delegate in Delaware reported receiving four calls from the Reagan camp in a single day. "The game is over and we've got it locked up," was their message. And Reagan forces in Ohio were reported to be keeping close contact with a number of Ford delegates in hopes of converting three to ten of them; their argument was that the party would suffer serious defections to Carter in November if Ford topped the ticket. In some cases, however, delegate hunters for both sides found it wise to steer clear of some potential targets. "I don't want to be pressured," one delegate warned a caller this week. "I'm tired of it so just don't call me anymore."

For all the eleventh-hour maneuvering, there was a growing sense in both camps that the struggle between them might be growing out of hand—undercutting the chances of either Ford or Reagan to mount an effective Republican challenge to Jimmy Carter in the fall. In Rose Garden remarks to several hundred teen-age Republicans during the week, the President emphasized the need to avoid a "grudge fight" and said party unity was "essential if we are to be successful in November." Reagan, in pulling his punches on Ford in Iowa, seemed to be getting the message. Maintaining such a gentlemanly posture may yet prove difficult, however, as the Lebanon mini-*crise* fades and the Republican Presidential race moves ever closer to the wire.

—DAVID M. ALPERN with HAL BRUNO and JOHN J. LINDSAY in Washington, GERALD C. LUBENOW with Reagan and FRANK MAIER in Des Moines, Iowa

All for One, One for All

On the seventh day after he wrapped up the Democratic nomination, Jimmy Carter rested. In blue jeans and T shirt, Carter, his family and his Secret Service entourage headed out from their holiday encampment on Georgia's posh Sea Island resort at 6:30 a.m. for an all-day fishing expedition. They returned with one very small tuna, two king mackerel and a playful tale about the one that got away. But if a fisherman's trophy eluded him, nothing else escaped the nominee-to-be. Candidates, delegates and contributors jostled to get on his bandwagon. The Democrats fashioned a platform in Carter's own image, while the Republicans remained leaderless and divided. As Carter saw it, the returns were already in. "I want to win and I don't intend to lose," he told reporters. "I would like to be a great President."

Wally McNamee—Newsweek

T-shirt candidate: 'I don't intend to lose'

As they hammered together their platform in Washington last week, the Democrats bore little resemblance to the party that had torn itself apart over Vietnam in 1968 and over "acid, amnesty and abortion" in 1972. In 1976 such divisive issues were subordinated to a single goal—the White House—and the wishes of a single candidate. Carter's issues man, Stu Eizenstat, repeatedly took the microphone to urge the delegates against "buzz words," "emotional issues" and "purple language that's going to give the Republicans pot shots." Carter "whips" patrolled the floor during each vote, showing thumbs up or thumbs down. The desire for unity was overwhelming, especially in the debate over whether a pardon should be extended to Vietnam deserters as well as draft evaders. Sam Brown, a onetime antiwar activist, was for it; Eizenstat was opposed. But even as a vote was being taken, the two huddled and reached a compromise that was adopted without dissent. "You have to give up a bit," Brown allowed later, "in order to take control of the Presidency."

Love-in: The result was a 104-page document, written in boiler-plate English with vague and generally moderate solutions to the nation's ills (page 21). The delegates simply ignored such too-hot-to-handle issues as capital punishment and homosexual rights, reluctantly upheld legal abortion and busing, and refrained from hanging a price tag on national health insurance and welfare reform. There was only one marked deviation from Carter's line—a plank for a guaranteed minimum income—and one minority report: a relatively tame proposal to repeal the Hatch Act prohibition against political activities by Federal employees. Under party rules, no new proposals can be introduced in Madison Square Garden, and the convention promised to become a Jimmy Carter love-in.

Early in the week, Carter headed to New York City, where he heard of Frank Church's capitulation in Washington, personally accepted Morris Udall's surrender and invoked Franklin D. Roosevelt as his model before flying to Dallas for a 90-minute banquet that raised $230,000. "It's been a mighty fine day," he exulted, and on the flight to Sea Island, he was in an uncharacteristically expansive mood. He talked some about the Republican contenders and his strategy for next November—"We have already analyzed every state, [its] Democratic make-up, relative strategic importance and how much time we'll spend"—but with rare frankness he talked mostly about Jimmy Carter.

His ambition had come from his father, Carter said—"Daddy didn't just sell tomatoes, he made ketchup from them in the backyard"—and his other assets were also homegrown, including "my relationship with poor people. That's where I came from. That's where I lived. Those are my people—not only white, but particularly blacks." Unlike Lyndon Johnson, however, he also felt comfortable with the Eastern Establishment. "I'm sure of myself," Carter said. "I don't feel ill at ease when I'm in a Harvard professor's house and there are 200 or 300 people around asking questions."

'Good Ole Boy': He didn't feel "quite as much at home" with Joseph Rauh, the veteran Washington liberal who, said Carter, had tried to shout him down at an Americans for Democratic Action party a year ago.* But in general, he was a "good ole boy" who felt "just as much at home around [brother] Billy's filling station as I do in a black Baptist Church, as I do with the big-shot Texas businessman." It was only when he compared himself to the stature of the Presidency that he felt inadequate, Carter said. "When I compare myself to other people who might be there instead of me, I do feel adequate."

AP

Fish story: Carter and family after Sea Island outing

His confiding streak ended with the flight, and Carter retreated to a friend's home two islands removed from the press. He and his staff thrashed over the agenda for the convention, discussed

*Rauh explained last week that he had merely been insisting that Carter speak at the same time as the other Democratic hopefuls.

strategy for the autumn campaign and reviewed past mistakes: Carter fretted that his staff sometimes appeared "a little cocky," Atlanta Rep. Andrew Young worried that Carter's task forces appeared to recycle old Kennedy and Johnson hands. But the discussions focused mostly on the selection of the Vice Presidential nominee. While he was "reluctant" to order up FBI investigations of possible running mates, Carter said, he might ask for help if allegations were made against his final choice. And this week, he promised, he would name a committee of twelve to fifteen "distinguished Americans" to recommend possible candidates for Vice President.

Carter's campaign will return to the road this week, when he flies to New York to give a foreign-policy speech (it will stress a strong defense and NATO) and attend four fund raisers to reduce his $1.2 million debt. He was unwilling to cut short his working vacation to attend a dinner in Houston honoring Democratic Party chairman Robert Strauss—but he phoned to ask Strauss to stay on after the convention, and campaign manager Hamilton Jordan offered lavish praise. "Some people don't like his style," Jordan said about Strauss. "Some people don't like his politics. But he's done a fantastic job of bringing the party together." The same thing might have been said last week about Jimmy Carter.

—SANDRA SALMANS with ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign and JAMES DOYLE in Washington

Exit (Finally) Brown

Jerry Brown finally packed it in last week. Though he remained a declared candidate, the California governor conceded that Jimmy Carter will almost certainly be the Democratic Presidential nominee, and Brown's remaining campaign activities will be limited almost exclusively to his home state. Brown had held out longer than any other challenger, and his seven-week, all-out campaign had wrought some interesting changes in his style, his rhetoric, his outlook and perhaps even his hopes for the future. NEWSWEEK'S *Martin Kasindorf was with Brown on the last hectic days of the governor's national campaign. Kasindorf's report:*

He picked up the phone in his New York hotel room and was put through to Sen. Edward Kennedy in Washington. Could he, Jerry Brown asked, drop down to the Capital to call on the senator? No, Teddy said, he was sorry but his schedule wouldn't allow it. Brown tried to recover. "Well, I'm moving forward in a responsible manner," he said, speaking too quickly and a bit pompously. "I just wanted you to know where I'm at. I really want to spend some time with you. And let's push the issues!" Brown hung up and reported to his assembled staffers: "He was telling me he was not going to support somebody who may not win." (Brown did later meet with Kennedy for twenty minutes, to discuss issues.)

Terry Arthur

Brown: He loved every minute of it

For Edmund G. Brown Jr., a man of undeniable vanity and inbred competitiveness, Kennedy's message was hard to take, but harder to ignore. Still he resisted the idea of quitting; only losers quit and he was a winner, claiming six primary victories over Jimmy Carter in six tries.* Brown had reveled in the public adulation the campaign had brought him, shedding his seminarian's shyness and even appearing relaxed with wom—

*Brown won in Maryland, Nevada, Rhode Island, California; was second in Oregon delegates; shared the victory of an uncommitted slate in New Jersey with Humphrey.

THE DEMOCRATS' MAGNA CARTER

Solidly middle-of-the-road in tone and reflecting the views of nominee-apparent Jimmy Carter in substance, the Democrats' platform is expected to win easy approval at their convention in New York this July. Excerpts from the major planks:

Government reform: Supports zero-based budgeting, mandatory reorganization timetables and sunset laws compelling Federal agencies to justify themselves or go out of business. Calls for "full public disclosure" of finances by "major public officials."

Health care: Advocates a "comprehensive national health insurance system with universal and mandatory coverage," to be financed through payroll deductions and general tax revenues.

The economy: Aims at lowering adult unemployment to 3 per cent within four years through "public works projects and direct stimulus to the private sector." Localities should be aided by Federal "anti-recession grant programs" and possibly by "a domestic development bank or federally insured taxable state and local bonds." Although wage-price controls are not needed now, a "strong domestic council on price and wage stability should be established."

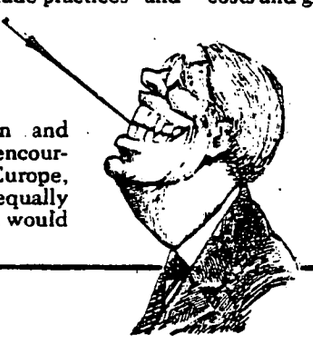
Taxes: Pledges a "complete overhaul of the present tax system" to reduce the "use of unjustified tax shelters" and expense-account deductions, end "abuses in the tax treatment" of foreign income, revise Federal estate and gift taxes, and eliminate inequities "on the basis of sex or marital status." Reforms would ensure that "high-income citizens pay a reasonable tax on all economic income."

Foreign policy: Urges "continued reduction of tension with the U.S.S.R.," but also condemns Soviet military pressure on "many Eastern European" and African nations and criticizes Russia for "unfair trade practices" and "offensive" violations of civil liberties. Backs stronger ties to Western Europe, NATO and Japan and urges that the U.S. encourage democracy in Europe, while "being equally clear" that the U.S. would cooperate with "any legally constituted government." Affirms "our continued resolve" in South Korea but suggests that U.S. ground forces there should "gradually" be phased out. In the Mideast, would go beyond current U.S. policy only by recognizing Jerusalem as the Israeli capital and moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Energy: Supports "effective restrictions on the right of major companies to own all phases of the oil industry" if competition proves "inadequate." Also endorses legislation that would prohibit "corporate ownership of competing types of energy."

Welfare: Favors a "simplified system of income maintenance" requiring most able-bodied recipients to accept jobs or job training. The Federal government would shoulder all city costs and gradually take on some state expenses.

Vietnam: Recommends a "full and complete pardon for those who are in legal or financial jeopardy because of their peaceful opposition to the Vietnam war, with deserters to be considered on a case-by-case basis."



Conrad © 1976 Los Angeles Times

AA

en. Aboard a plane bound for Los Angeles, he chatted easily with a stewardess about planes and life in Larchmont, N.Y. Suddenly she broke in: "You like campaigning, don't you?" Brown gushed, "I love it." Then almost visibly pulling back from too much revelation, he said self-mockingly, "Somebody's got to save the country."

Nor was Brown so much the abstract thinker of his own near past. He drifted week by week away from the politics of limits, of inaction and of lowered expectations that had made him famous. He began sounding like the traditional liberal, with talk of full employment through massive economic intervention by government. Taken on a guided tour of the burned-out South Bronx slums of New York City last week, his ascetic soul seemed scarred by the close look at urban rot, and he hardly spoke of anything else for the next 24 hours. "I hope I've expanded," he said. "I grow."

Schooled by his lifelong rivalry with his politician father to question the authority of elders, Brown refused to believe that Carter's endorsements by the likes of Richard Daley or George Wallace could drive him out of the race. But he had always said he wouldn't "push reality any faster than it wanted to go," and Carter's devastating delegate count forced him inexorably toward the exits. With $250,000 in Federal matching funds, he did still plan to make a 30-minute nationwide television speech this Friday. His campaign had not been without its rewards. He had one-upped his father, who may have been governor but never made a national run for President. And his new stock of national recognition—he climbed from nowhere to the Presidential favorite of 15 per cent of Democrats in the latest Gallup poll—might still prove useful in another run, at another time.

What Hath Ray Wrought?

The muddy ripples of the Elizabeth Ray affair spread on through Washington last week. As a result of his relationship with Ray, Congressman Wayne Hays resigned his chairmanship of the influential House Administration Committee. The FBI stepped up its investigation of Hays's alleged misuses of power, while Congress moved quickly to rid itself of some of the abuses Hays had helped to create. And two other congressmen were caught up in sex scandals of their own.

A fortnight ago, Democratic Rep. Allan Howe of Utah was arrested in Salt Lake City on charges of soliciting the services of two policewomen posing as prostitutes. The New York Post and the Scripps-Howard newspapers also revealed that Rep. Joe Waggonner Jr. of Louisiana had been taken into custody in Washington last January when he tried to solicit a decoy-prostitute for sex. Waggonner and Howe both denied the charges, but throughout the week, these and other tales of Congressional deeds and deals dominated headlines, cocktail chitchat and even the Capital's day-to-day business.

Some suspected that the rage for exposing sexual behavior was going a little far. "There is almost a vigilante spirit towards members of Congress," despaired one Washington reporter. As newspapers organized squads of reporters to pursue the rumors of Capitol naughtiness, some journalists began to question whether all the keyhole-peeping was really a matter of legitimate public concern (page 79). And the involvement of police decoys in the Howe and Waggonner cases raised ethical issues as well (following story).

Very few Washingtonians, however, seemed much chagrined at the decline and fall of Wayne Hays, who was released from a hospital in Barnesville, Ohio, last week, after treatment for an overdose of sleeping pills. Because of charges that he had put Ray on his payroll exclusively for her sexual services, Hays had already resigned his chairmanship of the Democratic National Congressional Committee. After learning from a colleague that House Democrats were expected to oust him from his Administration Committee post this week, Hays decided to resign that chairmanship too—though he left open the possibility that he might try to regain the job later. "When [I am vindicated]," he said, "I shall ask for a re-examination of my position." But few Democratic leaders saw any chance of that, and because of Hays's health and upcoming Congressional recesses, he was not expected to return to Washington before September—if at all. Hays's wife, Pat, however, denied reports that he might withdraw from his race for re-election to Congress. "He emphatically is going to run again," she told NEWSWEEK.

AP

UPI

Howe with family, Waggonner: Charges of entrapment

Marco Polo: Hays's lawyers have reportedly obtained statements from Congressional garage attendants and cafeteria employees that Ray regularly showed up for work—evidence they hope will support Hays's contention that she actually earned her $14,000 salary, and thus clear him of possible fraud charges involving Ray. But the Justice Department is also investigating the possibility that Hays misused public funds in other ways. The Washington Post reported last week that Hays, whose frequent overseas junkets earned him the nickname of the Marco

The Capitol Letter/Edwin Diamond

PAT CADDELL'S JOURNEY FROM McGOVERN TO CARTER

Pat Caddell, Jimmy Carter's public-opinion analyst, walked past the Turkish-coffee drinkers sitting in the early-afternoon sun at the Algiers Coffee House below the Brattle Theater. It was the day after Richard Daley, Henry Jackson, and George Wallace had come out for Carter. Even the Carter inner circle hadn't expected the opposition to fade so fast at the end. "Like Saigon," said Caddell, "just like the collapse of the Highlands. . . ." There was a party in Plains, Georgia, and now Caddell was back in Harvard Square. The blue-jeaned student types who do the phone interviewing at Caddell's Cambridge Survey Research, Inc., had begun Phase III, as they call it, of the effort to make Jimmy Carter the next president of the United States. They were working the phone banks, following the rising sun across the country, keeping WATS lines busy, first in Maryland, then Indiana, Wisconsin, Colorado, Oregon. They tested voter perception of Ford *and* Reagan, moving from sample point No. 32 (Prince Georges County) via skip patterns (random calls on every fifth phone-book page) toward the quota of eighteen interviews (nine male, nine female).

Phase I had begun for Caddell last fall when he tired of standing on tiptoe waiting for George McGovern to decide whether to run. Caddell had been McGovern's pollster in the 1972 campaign and, in fact, had first met Carter back then when the Georgia governor was a leader of the stop-McGovern drive. This time, Caddell agreed to work for Carter in Florida to stop another George—George Wallace.

Phase II came after Florida, when Pat Caddell, age 26, decided that Carter was really a "liberal" and "the only candidate who understands the complexity of the country." Caddell also thought Carter was the most electable Democrat.

On the candidate's side, Jimmy Carter, age 51, decided that Caddell was the ablest practitioner of the quirky art of reading the voters' hearts and minds. The Washington *Post* had called Caddell "America's most painstaking pollster. . . ." So, why not the best?

Phase III, of course, is the presidential election itself. Last week, Caddell's people were making "quick-glance" phone surveys in Carter's target states. Currently, Caddell is recording "base-line" attitudes and studying registration shifts since 1972. Cambridge Survey also is looking at the choices of "soft" and "volatile" voters in "Republican" states—like Colorado, Wisconsin, and Indiana—that could go for Carter in November. "You can't wait for the 'traditional' start of the campaign on Labor Day," Caddell says. "Voter perceptions are hardened by then. . . . You can't even wait until after the conventions. You have to start now. . . ."

Eight years ago, Caddell was a high-school student in Jacksonville, Florida, where his father was a Coast Guard officer. He did $200 polls then, paying his classmates to go into key Jacksonville precincts to collect vote counts so he could make election-night predictions for WJXT-TV, the *Post-Newsweek* station. ("Let's give that crazy kid a desk and some phones," ordered Bill Grove, the man who hired Caddell.)

Today, Caddell has Carter, and a dozen senatorial and gubernatorial candidates as well as some 30 corporate clients who pay up to $20,000

Illustrated by Robert Grossman

a year each to get the quarterly *Cambridge Reports*, a consumer-oriented survey. The firm, counting corporate and political accounts, grosses $1 million a year. "We do politics for the fun, not the money," Caddell says. Cambridge works only for Democratic candidates, and only for those Cambridge likes.

That statement would rank high on one of Cambridge Survey's own credibility scales. Shambling, with dark hollows around his eyes, a perpetual cigarette dangling from his lips, tout style, Caddell looks and acts 40 years old. He likes to be around politicians, interpreting the cross tabs, explaining what's on the minds of the voters, advising on policy. Mr. Insider. One friend claims the real brains of Cambridge Survey is John Gorman, also 25 and also a co-founder of the company back in his and Caddell's senior year at Harvard College. (A third co-founder, Danny Porter, was murdered while on an Adirondacks camping trip with his girl friend.) Gorman designs the polls, constantly reworking the vote ladders, the semantic differentials, and the projective statements (as in "Most politicians don't really care about people like me . . .").

There is no inherent magic to polling. What, then, distinguishes the Cambridge group? The answer seems to be the same things that worked for Carter himself—effort, ambition, understanding of the way things work. Some polling operations make house calls to do the interviews. Others do telephone samples that are faster and cheaper. Cambridge Survey does both—plus "panel backs" (calling up the sample again). According to Sam Popkin, a University of California political scientist who was Gorman's instructor at Harvard, "Pollsters can be dishonest; they can be incompetent. Some do nothing more than tell the candidate, 'Here's what people say they like about you . . . here's what they don't like . . . try A instead of B. . . .' But Caddell and Gorman do absolutely high-quality, *honest* stuff . . . they get at the dynamics of the process."

Hamilton Jordan, the Carter campaign manager, thought that Caddell's initial polling done late last year was decisive. "Florida was the make-or-break state for us," Jordan says. "We had to beat Wallace there." According to Jordan, the first Cambridge polls showed "a stereotype of Carter as just another Southern politician," especially among the more recent migrants to the state. As a result, Carter media-buyers concentrated on radio-TV spots in central Florida, where many ex-Northerners live, and in the Miami area, to reach Cuban and Jewish voters.

Victory, John Kennedy said, has 100 fathers; defeat is an orphan. Everyone now can step forward and claim a piece of the Carter win. Caddell himself thinks Cambridge Survey's biggest direct effect on the campaign came the weekend before the Michigan-Maryland primaries of May 18. At one time, Carter held a twenty-point lead in Michigan over Morris Udall. To save money, campaign pollsters sometimes end their polling efforts with a Friday/Saturday phone survey before a Tuesday election primary. (Caddell suspects something like this happened in the strapped Udall campaign in Michigan.) Caddell, however, kept polling in Michigan through Sunday/Monday. By Sunday night, he recalls, phone interviewers spotted a massive defection of likely Democratic voters to the Republicans.

Worse still, of every five defectors, four were likely Carter voters. By Monday morning, Caddell's polls showed the Carter lead over Udall had plummeted to six points—and was still dropping. It was the Night They Almost Lost Michigan. A panel-back survey indicated that the defectors were, mainly, 1972 Wallace voters who were going to Ronald Reagan because "the Republican race seemed more exciting. . . ." Caddell's calls to Carter and to Hamilton Jordan produced money for sound trucks and some last-minute radio feeds intended to stop the massive hemorrhaging. The candidate himself came back to the state. Carter won by 1,800 votes. "We caught the trend early enough to do something," Caddell now says. "If we had lost Michigan the same day we lost Maryland, it would have been a disaster. . . ."

But they didn't lose Michigan, and now Pat Caddell's future seems quite as bright, in its way, as his candidate's. A kind of synergy sets in when a man in Caddell's line of work stands next to a winner. The offers in journalism—a syndicated column, say—start to come. Heavyweight corporate clients—the merchant princes and consumer industries and banks—start coming in larger numbers with bigger problems. Such accounts pay nicely, and promptly, and to that extent they effectively subsidize the fun part, the political accounts.

Something very much like that happened to another young public-opinion analyst, Lou Harris, sixteen years ago. Harris did the polling in the crucial West Virginia primary of 1960 for John F. Kennedy, who beat Hubert Humphrey there and went on to win it all.

Carter's victory, in short, could make Pat Caddell a very rich and very important man. ■

THE DISK

I AM a woodcutter. My name does not matter. The hut where I was born and where I shall probably soon die stands at the edge of the forest.

It is said of the forest that it stretches as far as the sea, which rings the whole earth and on which wooden huts like mine wend their way. Never having seen this sea, I don't know. Nor have I ever seen the other side of the forest. When we were boys my elder brother made me vow that between us we would chop down the entire woods until not a single tree was left. My brother died, and what I seek now—and what I shall go on seeking—is something else. To the west runs a stream that I know how to fish with my hands. In the forest there are wolves, but wolves do not scare me, and my axe has never been untrue to me.

Of my years I have never kept count. I know they are many. My eyes no longer see. In the village, where I venture no more, since I would lose my way, I am known as a miser. But how much treasure can a mere woodcutter have laid up?

To keep snow out, I shut tight the door of my house with a stone. One evening long ago, I heard labored footsteps approach, and then a knock. I opened, and a stranger came in. He was old and tall, and he was wrapped in a threadbare blanket. A scar marked his face. His years seemed to have given him more authority than frailty, but I noticed that he was unable to get about without the aid of a staff. We exchanged a few words that I no longer remember. At the end, he said, "I am homeless and sleep wherever I can. I have travelled the length and breadth of this land of the Saxons."

These words testified to his years. My father had always spoken of the Saxon land, which nowadays people call England.

I had bread and fish. We did not speak a word during the meal. Rain began to fall. With a few skins I made him a pallet on the earth floor, where my brother had died. When night fell, we went to sleep.

Day was dawning when we left the hut. The rain had stopped and the ground was covered with new-fallen snow. My companion's staff slipped from his hand and he ordered me to pick it up.

"Why must I obey you?" I asked him.

"Because I am a king," he answered.

I thought him mad. Picking up the staff, I handed it to him. He spoke with a different voice.

"I am king of the Secgens," he said. "Often in hard-pitched battle I carried my people to victory, but at the fateful hour I lost my kingdom. My name is Isern and I am of the race of Odin."

"I do not worship Odin," I said. "I worship Christ."

He went on as if he had not heard me. "I travel the paths of exile, but I am still king, for I have the disk. Do you want to see it?"

He opened the palm of his bony hand. There was nothing in it. Only then did I recall that he had always kept the hand closed.

Staring hard at me, he said, "You may touch it."

With a certain misgiving, I touched my fingertips to his palm. I felt something cold, and saw a glitter. The hand closed abruptly. I said nothing. The man went on patiently, as if speaking to a child.

"It is Odin's disk," he said. "It has only one side. In all the world there is nothing else with only one side. As long as the disk remains mine, I shall be king."

"Is it golden?" I said.

"I don't know. It is Odin's disk and it has only one side."

Then and there I was overcome with greed to own the disk. If it were mine, I could trade it for an ingot of gold and I would be a king. I said to the vagabond, whom to this day I go on hating, "In my hut I have buried a box of coins. They are of gold and they shine like an axe. If you give me Odin's disk, I'll trade you the box."

He said stubbornly, "I don't want to."

"Then," I said, "you may continue on your path."

He turned his back to me. One blow with the axe at the back of his neck was more than enough to bring him down, but as he fell his hand opened, and in the air I saw the glitter. I took care to mark the spot with my axe, and dragged the dead man to the stream, which was running high. There I threw him in.

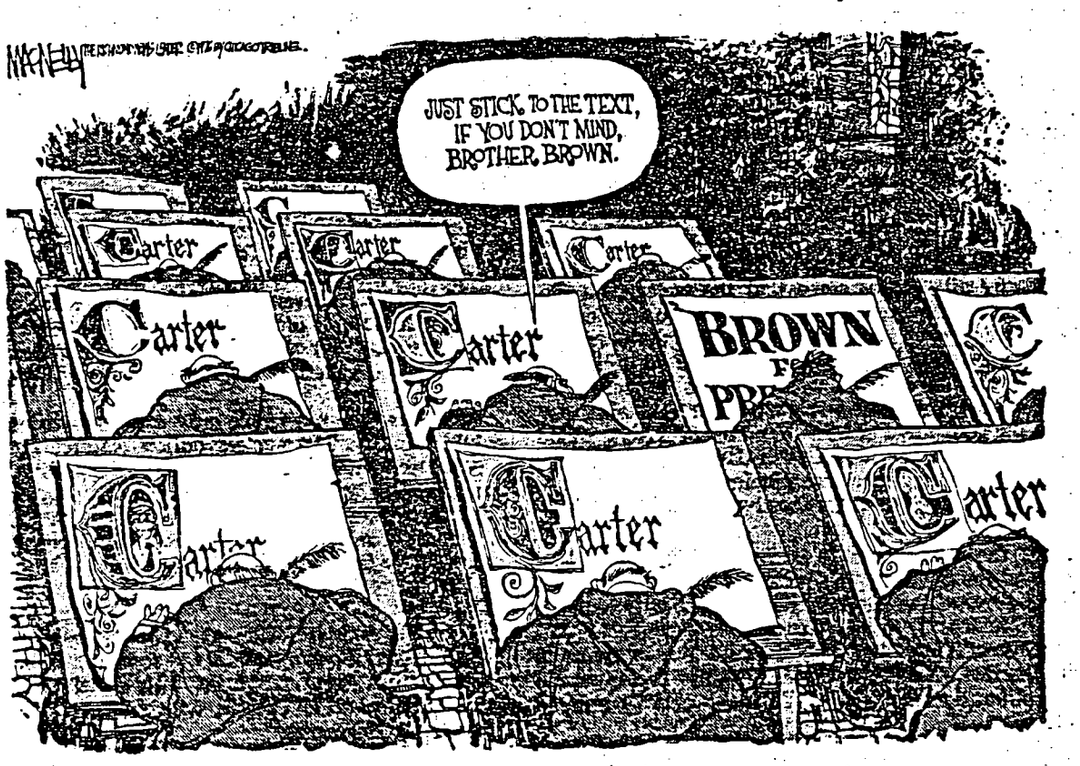
Coming back to my hut, I searched for the disk. I did not find it. That was years ago, and I am searching still.

—JORGE LUIS BORGES

(Translated, from the Spanish, by Norman Thomas di Giovanni.)

"Miss Stillman, has anyone from the media inquired who I'm coming out for?"

FF


JUST STICK TO THE TEXT, IF YOU DON'T MIND, BROTHER BROWN.
Carter
Carter
Carter
Carter
Carter
BROWN
Carter
Carter
Carter

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

6/2

PRIMARY RESULTS AT A GLANCE

RHODE ISLAND
(Complete Returns)

Republicans

Ford	9,341 (66%)
Reagan	4,419 (31%)

Democrats

Uncommitted	19,066 (32%)
Carter	18,171 (30%)
Church	16,767 (28%)

SOUTH DAKOTA
(99% of Precincts)

Republicans

Reagan	42,952 (51%)
Ford	36,858 (44%)

Democrats

Carter	24,853 (41%)
Udall	20,229 (34%)

MONTANA
(76% of Returns)

Republicans

Reagan	37,514 (63%)
Ford	21,137 (35%)

Democrats

Church	44,622 (60%)
Carter	18,445 (25%)

51A

B

News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Syrian tanks advanced deep into Lebanon along the Damascus-Beirut highway and swung north to relieve Christian forces cut off for months by Palestinian guerrillas and Lebanese Moslems. The apparent purpose was a decisive military intervention to end Lebanon's civil war. The Syrian operation coincided with the arrival in Damascus of Prime Minister Aleksei N. Kosygin of the Soviet Union and could seriously embarrass his government. [Page 1, Column 8.]

The United States coupled tacit approval of the Syrian intervention with another warning to Damascus not to increase its forces to an extent that might trigger an Israeli military response. Israeli officials in Washington agree that so far Israeli security is not threatened but refuse to take a relaxed view publicly. [1:6-7.]

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and Treasury Secretary William E. Simon expressed annoyance at the "last-minute" rejection of the proposed international resources bank by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. In a joint statement, they said the 33-31 vote at the Nairobi meeting did not augur well for the future of the dialogue of the worldwide development effort. [1:6-7.]

National

Jimmy Carter's rivals sought to deny him victories in the Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana Democratic primaries. Senator Frank Church of Idaho was the favorite in Montana and given an even chance in Rhode Island, while Representative Morris K. Udall predicted a victory in South Dakota. In the Republican contests, President Ford appeared well ahead in Rhode Island with Ronald Reagan strongly favored in Montana and slightly in South Dakota. [1:3.]

A national survey by The New York Times and CBS News indicates that if the November election were held today with Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter as candidates, Mr. Ford might have a slight edge among white voters, but black voters would vote by more than 5 to 1 for Mr. Carter, giving him a 46-to-40 victory. He would defeat Mr. Reagan by an even larger 48-to-36 margin. Most of those questioned on Mr. Ford's pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon opposed it and preferred Mr. Carter overwhelmingly. [1:4.]

The Supreme Court ruled 5 to 4 that the Civil Service Commission may not bar resident aliens from Federal civil service jobs. The majority said the regulation of long standing violated their rights to due process of law by depriving them of an "interest in liberty" without rational basis. The dissenters contended in effect that the delegation of power to the commission by President and Congress was a political decision not to be questioned by the courts. [1:5.]

Nuclear power development faces a major hurdle in the California primary next Tuesday. A stringent nuclear-limitation initiative measure is on the ballot. California polls show unusual public uncertainty and confusion on the issue. The electrical industry acknowledges that its passage could trigger a national upsurge of resistance. [1:5-7.]

The Textile Workers Union of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America voted in separate conventions in Washington to merge, forming a body of 500,00. They plan a new drive in the largely unorganized South and Southwest. [1:8.]

Metropolitan

Harold M. Jacobs, the new chairman of the New York City Board of Higher Education, said he would ask the panel to approve "some form of tuition" for City University, but lower than the State University rate. A majority of the reconstituted board is expected to take some action. Meanwhile, the State Legislature was withholding action on a fiscal package for increased long-term state aid and emergency financing to let the university reopen to finish its term. [1:1.]

The Municipal Assistance Corporation has called on the Beame Administration to plan additional budget cuts of $150 million in the coming year as a precaution against various "soft spots" in New York City's austerity plan. It has reportedly found $250 million to $300 milion in potential problems in the $12.5 billion expense budget scheduled to start July 1. [1:2.]

Patrick J. Cunningham took a leave of absence as Democratic state chairman pending disposition of charges against him of bribery, conspiracy and tampering with evidence. He designated Jessica Johnson of Buffalo, the first vice chairman, to replace him temporarily. Former Mayor Robert F. Wagner as Governor Carey's chief patronage dispenser is likely to lead in fact. [1:2.]

The Other News

All the News
t's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Cloudy today; c
night. Mostly sunny and
morrow. Temperature rang
55-65; Tuesday 64-77. P

XXV .... No. 43,229 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2, 1976 — 15 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. 20 CE

RIVALS TO CARTER SEEKING SHUTOUTS IN 3 STATE VOTES

Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana Testing Drive to Stop Georgian

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Jimmy Carter's rivals hoped to shut him out in yesterday's three primaries — in Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana—to further disrupt his drive toward the Democratic Presidential nomination.

"We're going to beat Jimmy Carter in South Dakota," commented Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the Georgian's main competitor in the state. "We're going to put a wobble in that bandwagon."

Senator Frank Church of Idaho was the heavy favorite in Montana, next door to his native state. In Rhode Island, where the competition was heaviest, Mr. Church was given an even chance of defeating Mr. Carter, with Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California attempting to win votes for a slate of uncommitted delegates.

Among Republicans, President Ford appeared to hold a solid edge in Rhode Island. Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, his rival, was considered well ahead in Montana, slightly ahead in South Dakota.

Delegates at Stake

Only 56 Democratic delegates and 39 Republican delegates were at stake yesterday, probably the least important in the series of primary days that started last Feb. 24.

But in the Ford-Reagan contest, the smallest swing means something. Barring upsets in next Tuesday's final set of primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio, both of the Republican candidates will enter the convention in Kansas City in August fewer than 100 votes shy of a winning total of 1,330.

Each of the Democrats had different goals yesterday. After seven second-place finishes, Mr. Udall sought a first victory to give his candidacy credibility against Mr. Carter in Ohio. Mr. Church, a late entrant with three recent victories to his credit, sought to make it five and to establish himself as the logical alternative to Mr. Carter. Mr. Brown hoped for an upset to smooth the way for his expected California victory.

Turnout Was Light

Although the weather was generally good both in New England and the upper Midwest, the voting turnout was light.

Neither Mr. Ford nor Mr. Reagan campaigned in any of the three states. While the voting went on yesterday, the President was in Washington, probably the most important of the three states, Mr. Ford contented himself with a telephone call to his Providence campaign headquarters and Mr. Reagan with five-minute telephone interviews with local

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

Poll Shows Blacks Heavily Favoring Carter Over Ford

By ROBERT REINHOLD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 1—The major reason that Jimmy Carter appears to be leading President Ford as the choice of the electorate at this point is the former Georgia Governor's overwhelming support among blacks.

This conclusion, drawn from the latest national political survey conducted by The New York Times and CBS News, suggest that the black vote would be pivotal if the election for President were held today between President Ford and Mr. Carter. Mr. Carter was chosen by blacks in the survey by more than 5 to 1.

The Democrats can traditionally count on heavy majorities among blacks. Senator George McGovern of South Dakota was said to have received 87 percent of the black vote in 1972. But Mr. Carter's lead this year is all the more significant; because he seems to be retaining that strong black support, even though he is a white Southern politician, and because the white vote is so evenly divided.

The survey results strongly suggest—at least if the November election were to be held today—that the President and Mr. Carter would run about even among white voters, with Mr. Ford possibly edging out the former Georgia Governor by a slim margin. However, when blacks are added they go overwhelmingly (by more than 5 to 1) for Mr. Carter, giving him the victory by about 6 percentage points.

If these findings are reflected in Mr. Carter's private polls, as

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

Carter Leads Ford on Black Vote in Poll

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

seems likely, they help explain why he has so assiduously courted the black vote, and why he exerted so much effort to counter the adverse effects of his recent comments about preserving the "ethnic purity" of urban neighborhoods.

The new results also indicate that Mr. Ford's pardon of former President Richard M. Nixon holds the potential of damaging him greatly if the Democrats make an issue of it. The majority of those questioned, which included Republicans, Democrats and independents, said that they opposed the pardon, and these persons said that they would prefer Mr. Carter by a very heavy margin.

These results are tentative, because the issues and personalities will certainly sharpen and change once the two parties nominate their candidates and the contest is joined. Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, of course, may not be nominated.

But if they are, it is possible to get some view about the potential shape a Ford-Carter race would assume by asking voters to express their preference "if the Presidential election were being held today."

The survey indicates that Mr. Carter would defeat Mr. Ford by about 46 to 40 percent and Ronald Reagan by 48 to 36. Mr. Carter is the only Democrat who would overwhelm the President, according to the survey.

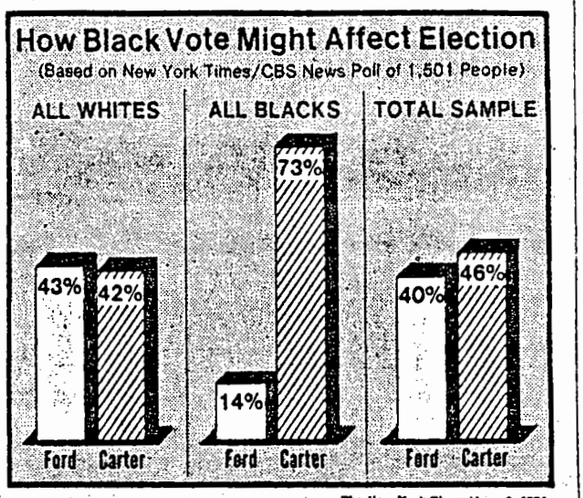
The margin of error in the survey means that these results could differ somewhat if all voters were interviewed. But The Times!CBS News figures closely resemble those reported by the Gallup and other polls.

One of the most striking things to emerge from the Times-CBS News survey is the potential impact of blacks. The whites divided almost evenly, 43 percent to 42 for Mr. Ford. but the blacks preferred the Georgian, 73 to 14. Although blacks made up only 12 percent of the sample, their preference was so lopsided that they gave Mr. Carter the edge over Mr. Ford, 46 to 40.

The findings underscore one of the most puzzled-over phenomena of the 1976 primary campaign—the appeal of Mr. Carter, a white southerner, to black voters. He has led among blacks in every primary. In Florida, he won more than 70 percent of their votes.

Blacks normally vote heavily Democratic, and given their complaints about the Ford Administration's record on civil rights, there seems little chance that the President could overcome Mr. Carter's advantage by appealing to blacks. Instead he may choose to move further to the right on civil rights possibly exploiting the busing issue, to increase his white vote.

A problem for Mr. Carter could be to reduce the political apathy among blacks that usually results in low election day uturnout. Four years ago, only 52.1 percent of voting-age blacks went to the polls, as compared with 64.5 percent of whites. This could spell the difference in a close election.



The black vote is all the more important because it is heavlly concentrated in the large industrial states with large blocs of Electoral College votes. Some analysts have attributed President John F. Kennedy's victory over Mr. Nixon in 1960 to black voters.

The new survey suggests the Democratic candidate this year will again win handily among blacks, but leaves open the question whether theywill vote in sufficient numbers to affect the outcome. Already some black leaders have complained they are being ignored by the Democratic Party, Hnd that blacks deserve more seats at the national convention than they are getting.

The Times/CBS news survey also points to another issue dividing Democrats from Republicans. One that could be a heavy liability for Mr. Ford is the Nixon pardon.

In his contest with Mr. Reagan, the president suffers only slightly for the pardon, because, the survey shows, nearly two-thirds of Republicans approve of it.

The sentiment is much different when the question is put to all voters. A majority disapprove of the pardon, and among these voters Mr. Carter led by a solid 55-31 margins. Those approving the pardon preferred Mr. Ford, but by a slimmer margin, 49 to 40.

In other respects a Ford-Carter race would shape up like a traditional Republican-Democratic contest. Although Mr. Carter has been the preference of conservative Democrats in the primaries, he comes out as the liberal candidate in the survey.

Mr. Carter did very well among liberals, average among moderates and less well among conservatives. The results for Mr. Ford were the converse.

Formal education and incomes also were correlated with choice, with the Republican doing best among the better educated and highly paid. Mr. Carter did particularly well among blue collar workers and union members.

The survey suggests that the state of the economy will greatly help or damage Mr. Ford, depending on which way it turns. Among those satisfied with it Mr. Ford was the preference, 58 to 34. Those dissatisfied chose Mr. Carter, 52 to 35.

Iranian Consulate Occupied By Students in Geneva

GENEVA, June 1 (AP)—About 15 Iranian students occupied the Iranian Consulatt General in Geneva today for about two hours to protest what they said was a new wave of repression of political dissidents in Iran.

The students sent a communique from the consulate offices charging that 11 "patriots" recently been shot to death, including two children. The demonstration was peaceful and the police did not intervene.

Tht Iranian government reported last month that 10 leftist guerrillas were killed in raids northwest of Teheran. The guerrillas were said to have had links to radical Arab groups.

One of the Geneva students, reached by telegraph, said that the demonstration was also directed against the Iranian secret police. The students identified themstlves as members of the Iranian Students Federation.

The demonstration came four days after the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists, charged that the stcret police was involved in violations of human rights in Iran.

Man Killed in Tel Aviv Blast Identified by West Germans

WIESBADEN, West Germany, June 1 (AP)—West Germany's Federal Criminal Office said today it had identified the dead man whose suitcase bomb caused two deaths in a Tel Aviv airport explosion a week ago as a 25-year-old West German, Ternd Hausmann.

A statement said Mr. Hausmann, whose name was given in papers found on his body as "Hugo Miller," had been known to th German police since 1969, when he was charged with disturbing the peace.

He had also been accused of attempted robbery in 1972 and his finger prints had been on file.

Mr. Hausmann was born in the Ruhr industrial area town of Wuppertal on July 1, 1950.

Rivals to Carter Seeking Shutouts in 3 State Votes

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

radio stations.

The President outspent the former California Governor, however; in South Dakota, for example, is reportedly invested about $35,000 on advertising against $13,000 for Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Church was the only candidate of either party to visit Montana, whose delegate-selection system varies by party. For the Democrats, 17 delegates were to be allocated on the basis of the primary vote, but for the Republicans, the primary is a nonbinding "beauty contest," with the delegates to be elected at a state convention June 24 and 25. All will be uncommitted.

Mr. Carter, who had counted on relatively easy victories in Rhode Island and South Dakota until recently, rushed back to the two states last weekend in an attempt to combat his rivals' aggressive campaigns, which eroded his early leads.

Associated Press

Morris K. Udall speaking at Newark Airport.

His task in South Dakota was a difficult one. Mr. Udall, hungy for victory, won the endorsement of Senators James Abourezk and George McGovern and spent four days crisscrossing the sparsely populated state. Mr. Carter also had to contend with an uncommitted slate ut ptogether by Gov. Richard F. Kneip, which favored Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

In Rhode Island, Mr. Carter began building a grass-roots organization a year ago. But Mr. Church, emphasizing that he understood the problems of small states because "I come from one," worked furiously to overtake Mr. Carter. So did Mr. Brown, who sought write-in votes in the preferential race and support for the uncommitted slate in the delegate races.

GROWTH OF CITIES SEEN LEVELING OFF

Special to The New York Times

VANCOUVER, British Columbia, June 1—The basic premise of the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements here—that the world's cities will keep on growing into monstrosities that somehow must be made livable—was challenged today by a leading United States ecologist.

What is virtually inevitable, said Lester R. Brown, is that mounting urban shortages of food, energy and jobs soon will automatically curb the influx into cities, even with the prospective doubling of the world's four billion population in the next 30 years.

Mr. Brown, the president of the Worldwatch Institute, a Washington environmental research organization, spoke before a United Nations sponsored conference of non-governmental organizations running concurrently with the human-settlements Habitat conference, which opened yesterday.

He said that governments should revise "hidden" policies that are encouraging the rural-urban migration and put more emphasis on "restoring the countryside, particularly as the source of the world's every-tightening food supply."

The New York Times/Bob Collister

E

Democrats' Styles Vary in Jersey Race

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, May 31 — The contrasting styles and strategies of the rival Democratic campaigns in New Jersey's Presidential primary election have been clearly delineated in recent days as the thousands of volunteers and party workers were being marshaled, muscled and motivated for the race's final week.

The common objective is the winning of at least a majority of the 91 delegates that will be elected June 8. However, the approaches to achieving that vary considerably, particularly among the Democratic Party regulars who are attempting to hold the state uncommitted for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California—or either of the two.

For the regulars, this means cashing in on the loyalty and in some cases fear of the Democratic rank and file in New Jersey's big cities and gearing up old-line organizations in places like Hudson County, Camden, Middlesex County and here in the capital.

For the other two main contenders, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, it means applying here the tactics that have worked for them in other states.

East Orange Site

Carter campaign headquarters occupy a suite of second-floor offices in a revitalized downtown section of East Orange. For the first few months the campaign was run by a group of New Jersey Democrats. Now, however, it has been taken over by Carter officials who came in from other states with earlier primaries.

There are about a dozen of these aides, and their Southern accents give them away in the nearby restaurants and in the sagging old Edgemere Hotel, where they stay at night to save their candidate hotel rates that are two to three times as high elsewhere.

Their leader is Phil Wise, a 25-year-old veteran of the Carter primary campaigns: Florida, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Maryland. He was taught Sunday school by the candidate in Plains, Ga., where both of them grew up.

"I started working for Jimmy Carter when I was 15 and he was running for Governor the first time in 1966," Mr. Wise said.

He worked in Governor Carter's administration and was in charge of the Georgian's Atlanta political headquarters during the first six months of his Presidential campaign. His strategy here, he says, is the same as it has been in most other states: work harder than anyone else, exploit the disenchantment that Democrats and independents seem to feel toward government and politics, and reach as many Democrats in the state as possible.

The Carter headquarters is managed by Charles Walthers, a political neophyte and a United Airlines pilot who flew Mr. Carter on a charter flight in early March and was so impressed with him that he spends days now between flights managing day-to-day affairs.

The New Jersey leader of the campaign is Dan Gaby, a tough, articulate leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

And so it was everywhere. In each of the state's 40 legislative districts that will elect two delegates each, workers for Mr. Udall and the regular party organization were setting up mail-stuffing parties, lining up companies and organizations to conduct telephone canvasses, and planning door-to-door appeals that are directed by Democratic voting lists that every campaign uses like radar.

For instance, Mrs. Mary Farrell held a Udall mailing effort the other night in the dining room of her brick Tudor home in Teaneck, one of the most liberal communities in New Jersey.

Mrs. Bernice Schiller, a Udall delegate candidate in the 37th District, said volunteers the night before had stuffed 6,000 envelopes to be mailed to district Democrats at her home and that a dozen or so persons seated around Mrs. Farrell's dining room table would stuff 5,000 more. They drank coffee, talked about the campaign, and licked address stickers produced from a computerized voting list.

Drawing Contrasts

If there is a fundamental difference in the styles of the Udall and Carter campaigns, it is the attitudes and perceptions of the people involved at the grassroots level.

Carter advocates seem to see their candidate as embodying a populism, a political regeneration, and a restoration of a broad Democratic coalition. They also see him as a sure winner.

In contrast, Udall supporters are not quite sure that the Arizona Representative will be nominated, much less elected. But they want his—and their—liberal positions on the major issues articulated in the primary and later used either to nominate him or to insure the nomination of someone else who espouses the same political ideals.

As a consequence, the Udall campaign seems to have more of the young liberals and reformers who worked in the antiwar campaigns of Eugene J. McCarthy, Robert F. Kennedy and George McGovern in the past—although each of the current major campaigns has a substantial share of them all.

The Udall Headquarters

The Udall headquarters occupies a dilapidated two-story frame house in the downtown section of Union, squeezed between a gasoline station and a company that makes fire alarms, vacuum cleaners and bidets.

While scores of young Udall volunteers have converged in New Jersey from other primary states, working in various districts here and living in homes opened to them by Udall supporters, the campaign in the state is run by New Jersey Democrats.

Like the Carter campaign, the Udall drive is emphasizing appeals to registered Democratic voters. But it is far more selective, targeting suburban districts that seem more likely to produce liberal delegates. It is headed by Fred Bowen, 36, a prominent, issue-oriented liberal Democrat, and David Hull, 28, who has worked in liberal Democratic campaigns around the country since 1968.

"We're doing the same thing Carter is, only more selectively and with a lot less money," Mr. Hull said.

The uncommitted campaign involves most of the big county organizations, political mechanisms that do not have to be created every four years like the others. The fundamental premise is the same everywhere: put pressure on Democrats committed to the party and who enjoy its patronage to support its fight for Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Brown or for some brokering power at the national convention.

While the campaign is led by State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman, it is being run day to day by Daniel Horgan, a hard-working ex-Marine who operates out of a suite of 10th floor rooms at the Inn of Trenton, just down the street from the State House here.

Mr. Horgan, along with several other Democrat state officials, worked in the McGovern campaign in 1974. This year he is being helped by a large number of young students backing Governor Brown. But for his effort this year, Mr. Horgan was dismissed from his $39,500 a year state patronage position in the Department of Community Affairs by Governor Byrne, who is supporting Mr. Carter.

Carter and Audiences

His Speeches Develop an Intimacy in Their Appeals to Middle Americans

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, June 1—In a carefully prepared and ended speech last week in Ohio, Jimmy Carter said he had come a long way in the last 16 months but that his was still the "same campaign" he began with. "What we learned from thousands of people," the former Georgia Governor said, "we gave back to them in a political program that reflected what they wanted, not what we wanted for them."

News Analysis

It seemed to be not only an authoritative but also an accurate description of Mr. Carter's campaign style and technique. Although it is not working as well as it once did, he has tenaciously stuck to a "basic speech", that, more than anything else, flatters the voters. Mr. Carter spends most of his time talking of the "goodness" of the American people and deploring the badness and "incompetence" of those who govern them.

He has also increasingly begun to embellish and to expand his message. Perhaps because of losses late in the primary election season and perhaps because of charges of "fuzziness" on issues, he has seemed to put more emphasis on a slightly altered image.

Discerns Intimacy

Although he is one of the least demonstrative and personally accessible of politicians, he likes to say that there has "developed an intimacy between the candidate and the voters of this nation that is very precious to me." Last month in New Brunswick, N. J., he went so far as to call it "an intimacy almost unprecedented in this country."

Mr. Carter also says, while sometimes varying the words slightly, that "what has bound me closely together with the people is my stands on the issues important to their lives."

In practice, in his speeches he usually restricts the discussion of issues to a few, although he may discuss almost any problem in question-and-answer sessions that follow some speeches.

It may not be deliberate, but his handling of audiences seems to be one of the most dexterous in recent political history. Much of what he says appeals to the conservative impulses of Middle America, but he manages to do it without demagoguery and without compromising his own image as a humane and progressive man.

There is a strong populist flavor, and a faint echo of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, when Mr. Carter denounces present income tax law and codes as "a disgrace to the human race."

Some of his suggested remedies are as radical as those of Fred R. Harris, the former Oklahoma Senator and a "new populist" whose own Presidential hopes were short-lived. Mr. Carter says he would abolish the preferential tax rate for capital gains and would significantly increase the tax rate on higher incomes—but his style is so "cool" and the words are so dissolved in other rhetoric that it does not seem to alarm middle-class listeners, or, at times, even to penetrate their consciousness.

His speeches are mostly received with a strange quietness and with relatively little applause. But he almost always gets a good hand when he promises to "reform the welfare system." Audiences nod or murmur approvingly when he says there are 12 million people "chronically on welfare and two million welfare workers, one worker for every six recipients."

Removal From Rolls

Another burst of aPplause usually comes when he asserts that there are 1.3 million people who should not be on welfare rolls and that, after being trained and offered a job, if they refuse employment, "I would not pay them any more benefits."

Mr. Carter, however, does not inveigh against "welfare cheaters." The majority of recipients who cannot work should be, he adds quietly, "treated with respect, decency and love." This line never gets applause but it is never omitted.

In Grand Island, Neb., recently, Mr. Carter sternly told a questioner, who urged that local governments take care of "unfortunates," that "I have not seen any inclination by local governments to take adequate care of thier unfortunates."

The most notable issue of all is Mr. Carter's promise to "completely reorganize the executive branch of government," and the corollary argument that the American people are competent, honest, truthful and sensitive, but that the Government is none of these things. Although the soft tones of his voice do not vary, he slides easily into hyperbole when discussing what is clearly his favorite subject. In Lorain, Ohio, last week, he called the Federal bureaucracy "totally unmanageable."

Popular Appeal

That kind of assertion is unquestionably the most popular part of Mr. Carter's political appeal. His attacks on the "horrible, bloated" machinery of government always draw approbation.

If he gives to his audiences, he also seems to feed on them, and the exchange has left him convinced that his campaign is still on the right track. A month ago in Cincinnati he remarked in a speech, "The main theme in the consciousness of America is the restoration of government and leadership that is, first of all, competent and sensitive to the needs of people . . . honest and truthful. These are not unimportant, peripheral generalities."

He argued that these issues "permeate" politics this year. His firm belief in the existence of such a "super" issue of competence may explain why, until recently, Mr. Carter showed a different and less passionate interest in detailed legislative issues than some of his political rivals.

BUSY BROWN SEEKS NEW YORK VOTES

Californian Pressing Final Bids for Delegate Backing Beyond the First Ballot

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California spent a busy day in New York City yesterday seeking support for a beyond-the-first ballot Presidential nomination at the Democratic National Convention here in July.

If he had much luck, it was not immediately visible.

His main chance to pick up backing for his 11th-hour effort came at a meeting at the Hilton Hotel put together by former Representative Allard K. Lowenstein, who describes himself merely as "a fan," although he is generally considered to be one of Mr. Brown's principal political advisers.

Mr. Lowenstein, who was an architect of the movement to "dump" President Johnson in 1968, said his people had reached "as many as possible" of the metropolitan area's elected delegates on the Memorial Day weekend to invite them to the session.

He estimated that "25, give or take a few," delegates were among the 70 or so persons, at least half of whom were members of the press or Brown volunteers or staffers, who greeted the 38-year-old Governor at the morning meeting at the Hilton.

Journalists attempting to interview the delegates could find no more than half a dozen.

Of those, most appeared to be in about the same frame of mind as Carol Berman, a delegate from the Fifth Congressional District, in Nassau County, who is pledged to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who won the New York primary election but has withdrawn from active campaigning.

'Shopping' for President

"I'm President shopping," she said.

Later, after hearing Governor Brown speak, she added:

"I was impressed with Brown. I thought he didn't have any of the trappings of the Presidency about him. I think he's a forceful man."

But the Brown-for-President camp was obviously disappointed by the light turnout. A large room at the hotel, which had been booked for the meeting with delegates and other New York political figures, was yielded at the last minute as it became apparent that only a small number of those invited were showing up.

The site was quickly shifted to a much smaller room, where members of the press were already gathering for a news conference that was to follow the first session.

Of the New York political figures invited—and the Brown camp was reluctant to say who they were—the only ones to be identified by the candidate's aides as attending were Theodore Weiss, Robert F. Wagner Jr., Robert Steinhut, Aileen Ryan and Miriam Friedlander, members of the City Council; and two state party officials, Betty Schlein, vice chairman and Bert Drucker, secretary of the State Democratic Party.

"I don't know how to say this without offending anyone," a Brown aide said almost apologetically, "but some of the more important party people said they didn't want to attend this meeting but would meet with Governor Brown privately during the day."

A Private Meeting

At least one who was apparently in such a category, Donald Manes, Queens Borough president, arrived after the meeting and acknowledged that he was going to Mr. Brown's quarters at the hotel.

Mr. Manes, who was state chairman of the Jackson campaign, which won 103 delegates could not be reached for comment after his conference with Governor Brown.

Later, Governor Brown paid what aides described as "courtesy calls" on Governor Carey at the Waldorf-Astoria and with Mayor Beame at Gracie Mansion.

Mayor Beame, one of the Jackson deleates, has already come out in suport of former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the front runner in the campaign, whom Mr. Brown and other active candidates acknowledge they must block on the first ballot to have any chance at the nomination.

Like the others elected on the Washington Senator's slate, he is committed to stay with Mr. Jackson through the first ballot unlessed released.

Governor Brown, both at his meeting with the delegates and other political figures and at the news conference that followed, devoted more time than usual to discussing the plight of the nation's cities.

"I don't have any doubt," he said at one point, "that the central question about the survival of this country is the destruction of the cities and whether we can reverse that."

All in all, Governor Brown put in a rather typical New York City campaign day for a would-be Presidential candidate.

After being interviewed early on the CBS-TV Morning News, he slipped off for a private meeting with Golda Meir, the former Prime Minister of Israel, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, "to discuss her views on foreign policy and the state of Israel."

Politics And Policy

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 1—President Ford and his principal aides are acting with increasing confidence that he can defeat former Gov. Ronald Reagan for the Presidential nomination, and go on to win the election in November.

Though he still speaks like a man with the hiccups, and is running well behind Governor Carter in the latest Gallup Poll, Mr. Ford has recovered from his spring slump and is regaining the initiative in the debate over foreign affairs.

It is in this field that the President plans to use his office to demonstrate his ability to act on the world scene and at the same time to dramatize Governor Carter's comparative inexperience in foreign affairs.

The President is now planning a seven-nation economic summit conference to be held in Puerto Rico, probably at the end of June, just before the opening of the Democratic Presidential nominating convention.

Later in the year, probably in September, the President is hoping to arrange and participate in a major peace conference on the Middle East at Geneva, and while officials here insist that these plans have nothing to do with the Presidential election, they will obviously put Mr. Ford on center stage at critical points in the race.

Mr. Ford's diplomatic strategy, regardless of what political objectives he may have in mind, entails certain risks, particularly in the Middle East. He has approved Syria's intervention in the Lebanese civil war, which troubles the Israeli Government and many politically influential Jewish organizations in the United States.

The President has also approved U.S. statements at the United Nations

WASHINGTON

criticizing Israel for establishing Jewish settlements in territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 Israeli-Arab war.

Ambassador William Scranton, speaking for the United States at the U.N., called the Israeli settlements in Arab territory "an obstacle to the success of the negotiations for a just and final [Middle East] peace," and he added that Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem "cannot be considered other than interim and provisional."

Chaim Herzog, the Israeli Ambassador to the U.N., replied that "any attempt to point the finger at Israel's actions and to characterize them as obstacles to peace is nothing but a cynical falsification of history. . . . We reject it out of hand."

Accordingly, it may prove easier to call for a peace conference than to negotiate the terms of settlement, which have eluded the principal protagonists and the big powers for over 28 years.

For to get a settlement without the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization is likely to be even more difficult than persuading Israel to negotiate with official representatives of the P.L.O. Thus the President could find himself deeply involved in a diplomatic struggle over the Middle East and also in a divisive political controversy over Israel in the middle of the election campaign. This would get him the headlines all right, but he might not like them.

The official line here, however, is that the problems of the world will not adjust themselves to the convenience of American politics, but will have to be dealt with, as in the case of the tragedy in Lebanon, before they get out of hand.

Secretary of State Kissinger is also said to favor making a major effort to convene a Geneva Middle East conference even if this coincides with the Presidential campaign. In his view, failure to get a settlement this year might mean a delay of at least another year, unless President Ford were elected in November, and Mr. Kissinger has always argued that the longer the delay, the greater the danger of another, and more devastating Middle East war.

Even so, it is hard to imagine a settlement of such intractible political and border problems in the Middle East, to say nothing of the future of Jerusalem, at a time of political uncertainty in the United States and political feuding in Israel and the Arab capitals.

Nobody can know before November who will be occupying the White House next year and whether the governments in power here and in Israel, Egypt and elsewhere will support any settlement that might be arranged, especially since it will have to be guaranteed by the major powers.

Besides, Governor Carter's statements on the Middle East controversy are subject to various interpretations, and it may be necessary, after the two nominating conventions, to get the two nominees together on a common and nonpartisan Middle East negotiatiating position.

This is what Roosevelt and Dewey did in 1944 in an effort to keep the formation of the United Nations from becoming a critical issue in the Presidential campaign of that year. Some such arrangement may have to be negotiated between the candidates again this year, for a bitter debate over the Middle East this fall is not likely to improve the chances of peace either in the Middle East or in

WEATHER
Chance of thundershowers. Details on Page 11C.

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Brown Claiming Gains on Carter

The Associated Press

Rhode Island Democrats have thrown additional question marks into the Democratic race for president by giving Jerry Brown what he says is a victory that makes him the preeminent challenger to front-runner Jimmy Carter.

On a primary day in which the voters continued to send out mixed signals and five of the six major candidates involved claimed some sort of victory, the most noted result was in Rhode Island.

There a small turnout of voters gave an uncommitted slate 32 per cent of the vote to 30 per cent for Carter, the former Georgia governor, and 28 per cent for Idaho Sen. Frank Church.

Brown, the California governor, had urged voters to vote uncommitted, and when they did, he said they were really voting for him.

In other results from Tuesday's primaries, Ronald Reagan defeated President Ford in Republican voting in Montana and South Dakota but Ford gained a 2-1 victory in Rhode Island and swept all 19 delegates there. That gave the President a 28-11 edge in delegates for the day, although Montana has still to select its slate of 20 at a convention.

Carter, meanwhile, was winning in South Dakota with a 41-34 per cent edge over Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, who had hoped to win his first primary and instead finished second for the eighth time. And Church captured Montana easily with over 60 per cent of the vote to 24 per cent for Carter.

So going into next Tuesday's primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio, which will select 540 Democratic delegates and 331 on the

Turn to Page 12A, Column 1

PRIMARY RESULTS AT A GLANCE

RHODE ISLAND
(Complete Returns)

Republicans

Ford	9,341 (66%)
Reagan	4,419 (31%)

Democrats

Uncommitted	19,066 (32%)
Carter	18,171 (30%)
Church	16,767 (28%)

SOUTH DAKOTA
(99% of Precincts)

Republicans

Reagan	42,952 (51%)
Ford	36,858 (44%)

Democrats

Carter	24,853 (41%)
Udall	20,229 (34%)

MONTANA
(76% of Returns)

Republicans

Reagan	37,514 (63%)
Ford	21,137 (35%)

Democrats

Church	44,622 (60%)
Carter	18,445 (25%)

Brown Claims He's Challenger

Continued From Page 1A

Republican side, this is the way they stand:

Republicans, with 1,130 delegate votes needed for nomination: Ford 805, Reagan 654, uncommitted 144.

Democrats, with 1,505 needed: Carter 903, Udall 308.5, with an uncommitted bloc of 415.5. Brown, who got no official delegates on Tuesday, is far down the list with 18, although he should improve that standing next week in his home state of California where there are 280 at stake.

But the 38-year-old governor, in New York in an attempt to solicit delegates pledged to Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson, whose campaign has lapsed, talked like anything but an also-ran.

"The outcome in Rhode Island was crystal clear," he said. "I was the only one urging voters to pull the uncommitted lever." He added: "I think this makes me the main contender next to Mr. Carter."

There were nine uncommitted delegates elected in a separate selection in Rhode Island, and Carter and Brown were playing something of a numbers game over them. Brown said that of the 28 candidates running for positions, 19 favored him. Carter noted that four of them had endorsed him and said he wasn't writing off the results.

On the whole, Carter said, it wasn't a bad day.

"We are very pleased about South Dakota," he said. "I really believe that the so-called stop-Carter movement has much less significance than it did a week or so ago. I believe there's a growing feeling that an effort to stop anybody at this late date is divisive."

Udall, who has been saying regularly that the nomination is still open, seemed this time to agree with Carter. Udall said that if the former Georgia governor wins a solid victory in Ohio, it "will make it very unlikely that anyone is going to stop him . . . It may well be all over."

Church, however, said his candidacy is still very much alive and said he was satisfied with Rhode Island. He said he didn't consider the results there a victory for Brown because it isn't clear who the uncommitteds represent.

Then, noting that his victory in Montana was the fourth of his late-starting campaign, Church added: "There's a real possibility I might end up the candidate if Carter doesn't win it on the first ballot."

On the Republican side, both Ford and Reagan claimed the day as a victory.

Ford campaign manager Rogers C.B. Morton said the President had done better than expected in South Dakota and Rhode Island.

The Ford forces were particularly happy about their delegate sweep in Rhode Island, accomplished under a complicated formula by winning the vote statewide and in congressional districts and holding Reagan under the 33.3 per cent figure he needed statewide to win any delegates.

Ford himself called campaign workers in Rhode Island and, noting it had rained there during the day, said: "The sun shone in the right spots on the ballot boxes."

But Reagan, in California, said he had never expected to win in Rhode Island and was satisfied with his two victories.

"We are very happy," he said and added: "South Dakota was the one we were very edgy about. We thought that was a horse race, very close."

In a separate primary on Tuesday, Democratic Sen. John C. Stennis won renomination in Mississippi for a sixth term with an easy triumph over token opposition. He has no Republican opponent in November, only an independent.

And in Montana, Rep. John Melcher won the Democratic nomination for the seat being vacated by retiring Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. The Republican nomination was undecided.

ROWLAND EVANS
and ROBERT NOVAK

The Odds Against Udall

Cleveland

REP. MORRIS Udall, liberal darling of fashionable suburban salons, arrived here last week and immediately drove to Klein's Bar for a payday beer-and-chaser with auto workers — setting the tone for a campaign whose outcome could determine the Democratic party's fate in 1976.

Udall, the clear underdog against Jimmy Carter in next Tuesday's Ohio primary, is perceived well to Carter's left in a state where Democrats disdain flaming liberals. Nevertheless, cheered by beating Carter among Michigan blue-collar voters, Udall is concentrating here on wooing working men, particularly around Cleveland.

The stakes are enormous. A Carter win in Ohio would neutralize his probable California loss and all but assure his nomination. A Udall upset, however, would so fortify suspicions of growing voter resistance to Carter that a battle to the death at Madison Square Garden would be guaranteed.

This poses an irony for a party that has suffered grievously from sectarian strife. Udall, self-appointed guardian of the party's liberal tradition, can only stop Carter's consensus nomination by defeating him in white neighborhoods where antiblack emotion runs high.

Outwardly, the odds against Udall seem prohibitive. With Ohio measurably less liberal than Michigan, Carter leads both in southern Ohio and in conservative areas within the Udall-targeted Cleveland area such as west side Cleveland and suburban Parma. To complicate matters, Sen Frank Church has scheduled six days in Ohio, threatening Udall's liberal suburban base.

But Udall enjoys an asset here that he lacked in Michigan: help from the United Auto Workers (UAW). Despite UAW President Leonard Woodcock's endorsement of Carter, politically potent UAW regional director Bill Casstevens has put the union behind Udall in Cleveland (and was at Udall's side at Klein's Bar).

Carter and Udall both started from scratch in Ohio last week. Carter's newly arrived manager here is Tim Kraft, architect of Carter's triumphs in Iowa and Pennsylvania. But a new face for Udall arrived in Cleveland May 26 as his Ohio manager: political consultant Mark Shields, who had resisted Udall's year-long pleas for help until personal misgivings about Carter changed his mind.

Shields, who managed John J. Gilligan's 1970 election as governor of Ohio, immediately transferred Udall's state headquarters from Columbus to Cleveland, establishing the new emphasis. Shields is operating autonomously, without direction from Udall's brother and national campaign manager, Stewart. That frees Ohio from Stew Udall's dogma giving priority to precinct organization that handcuffed his brother's campaigns in New York, Wisconsin and other primaries.

Consequently, Shields is concentrating the $250,000 Ohio budget (lavish by Udall standards) on radio and television, especially in The Cleveland market reaching over 40 per cent of Ohio Democrats. One newly filmed TV spot compares the Udall and Carter records to underscore Udall's attack on Carter as a trimmer not to be trusted by working men.

Besides going after blue-collar votes, this attack is intended to provoke Carter into losing his icy composure.

Accordingly, Udall strategists were delighted when Carter opened his Ohio campaign with an angry indictment of anybody opposing his nomination as an enemy of change and reform.

Carter's vulnerability and Udall's difficulty in exploiting it are typified by reactions of the influential leader in one ethnic Cleveland ward. He has rejected Carter's courtship because "there's something about Jimmy Carter that scares me." But after listening to Udall address the Cleveland City Club last Friday, the ward leader told us: "I'm afraid he's too intelligent, too much like Jack Gilligan."

What might yet save Udall, paradoxically, is white resentment over Carter's substantial black support. Endorsement of Carter last week by Zeke Forbes, brother of black city council president George Forbes, "could give Udall the west side," according to one powerful Democrat there. Detroit's black Mayor Coleman Young, who lost white votes for Carter in Michigan with his absurd attack on Udall as a Mormon, could do the same here during an Ohio speaking tour. Udall operatives have been delightedly passing word that former Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes, now an NBC commentator in New York but still the black most hated by this city's whites, joined the anti-Mormon attack on Udall in a network radio commentary.

Udall is so doctrinaire a liberal that he displays little empathy for urban whites, chiding Carter for not supporting forced racial busing. That makes winning the Ohio primary all the more essential for Carter. If he cannot carry Cleveland's west side against the champion of the liberal suburbs, how would he fare there against Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan? —

'he Weather
tly cloudy, high in mid
to low 60s. Chance of rain
cent today, 50 per cent to
Wednesday—Chance of rain.
id 70s. Yesterday's temp.
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Anti-Carter Aides Fired By McGovern

By Austin Scott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), himself the target of a 1972 drive to block his presidential nomination, fired two of his top aides yesterday for "becoming publicly involved in the stop Carter movement."

The aides, Alan Baron and Jack Quinn, promptly charged in a joint statement that Democratic hopeful Jimmy Carter and his supporters had pressed McGovern to ask for their resignations.

"Sen. McGovern has told us he was under intense pressure because of our political activities," their statement said. "These activities were engaged in entirely in our free time. It is regrettable that Gov. Carter and his supporters have found our dissent and our principles so dangerous that they felt compelled to bring this pressure."

Over the weekend, first Newsweek and then The New York Times mentioned Baron and Quinn as attending meetings of anti-Carter strategists. Quinn is a former campaign director for Morris Udall.

In a statement McGovern, who has endorsed Udall in four primaries, recalled that four years ago a number of politicians, including Carter, "engaged in a desperate effort to deny me the presidential nomination even after all the primaries were over and I had secured nearly 1,500 delegates."

McGovern called that a "destructive, exhaustive effort that set the stage for the overwhelming Democratic defeat" in 1972. "I want no part in any such effort in 1976," he said.

His endorsement of Udall, he said, "does not mean that I will permit my office to become involved in an anybody-but-Carter movement . . . If Gov. Carter becomes the nominee, he will have my support."

McGovern called Baron and Quinn "able young men," and said he hoped they would "remain friends

See McGOVERN, A3, Col. 5

McGovern Dismisses 2 Staffers

McGOVERN, From A1

of mine, but they are involved in activities that are incompatible with their responsibilities to the Senate and to me."

Carter, during a campaign stop in Cleveland, said he was "grateful" for what he called McGovern's "sound position." It shows, he said a general move within the Democratic party toward "more harmony and unity."

Baron and Quinn had not yet issued their statement when Carter commented and he was not asked whether he or his supporters had put any pressure on McGovern. But Carter press secretary Jody Powell, en route to California last night denied Baron's and Quinn's charges of pressure. "I don't have any idea what they are talking about," Powell said.

Referring to anti-Carter activities, Powell added: "This sort of thing has been going on for months. If we had been able to halt this sort of abuse, we would have done it before now."

McGovern was not available for comment.

Baron, a key organizer for the liberal wing of the party in 1972, became active in its reform caucus after the 1972 defeat, and served earlier this year as an informal adviser to Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.).

Quinn, who worked for Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-Wis.) in 1968, was on McGovern's senate staff during the 1972 campaign, and then worked for the Commission on Delegate Selection and Party Structure before taking over the Udall campaign in September, 1975.

Baron, who had been with McGovern for a year and a half, was his executive assistant. Quinn, who rejoined McGovern's staff last month after leaving Udall "for personal reasons," was a legislative assistant.

Carter Denies He Asked Wallace to Support Him

By Helen Dewar
and David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writers

CLEVELAND, May 31—Jimmy Carter today denied he has asked George Wallace's support for the Democratic presidential nomination but confirmed he has discussed possible backing from another rival, Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

Carter campaigned in four states, spanning the nation, on this Memorial Day holiday, predicting he has "a good prospect" of winding up the primaries next Tuesday within 200 votes of nomination.

The former Georgia governor's chartered jet touched down in Rhode Island, Ohio, South Dakota and California in the start of a whirlwind effort that will see Carter crossing the continent four times in eight days.

Rhode Island and South Dakota vote Tuesday, along with Montana, while California, Ohio and New Jersey wind up the primaries on June 8.

Carter is looking for first place finishes in Rhode Island, New Jersey and Ohio, and he said here he hopes to do "extremely well" in California's proportional representation primary, despite the opposition of favorite-son Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.

Sen. Frank Church of Idaho is favored in Montana. He and Brown are contesting Carter in Rhode Island, and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona is challenging him strongly in South Dakota.

During Carter's brief stopover here, which lasted just long enough for him to be photographed attending a softball tournament and to be interviewed on a local television show, it was learned that he has lined up an endorsement from former Ohio Gov. John J. Gilligan.

Gilligan, who was narrowly defeated for re-election in 1974, remains a leading figure in national liberal Democratic circles and is thought to have influence with the labor and liberal Democrats of Ohio, where Church and Udall are focusing their stop-Carter campaign.

Gilligan is reported to believe that if Carter is denied the nomination, it will go to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey under circumstances so embittered that it would be unlikely that Humphrey would be elected President.

Gilligan is expected to endorse Carter formally when the Georgian returns to the state for additional campaigning later this week.

In Providence this morning Carter denied a Time magazine report that he had begun discussions with Wallace about a switch of Wallace delegates to Carter's column. "Neither I nor anyone authorized to speak for me has said anything to Gov. Wallace," Carter said. "We have avoided talking to any candidate who is still active in the campaign."

But that ban did not apply to Jackson, who ended his active candidacy after the Pennsylvania primary in April. Carter said he has met with The Washington senator once and talked to him more recently by phone, both times expressing interest in his support. But he said Jackson indicated that for the present he preferred to keep his delegates in his own hands.

Carter told reporters there was "no sign of slippage" in his polls in the remaining primary states, despite his defeats in four of the last eight contests.

He said he "would be disappointed and surprised" if he lost Rhode Island Tuesday, but predicted no more than "a reasonable showing" in South Dakota and Montana. "I would like to come in first in all three states," he said, "but I can't expect that."

H. Brandt Ayers

Jimmy Carter: For All or For None?

ANNISTON, Ala.—Reading Jimmy Carter for many national reporters is like living through the nightmare of a television game-show host:

It is the climactic moment when the identity of the real guest celebrity will be revealed. The emcee looks at

The writer is editor and publisher of The Anniston (Ala.) Star.

the three men facing him; each is fiftyish, sandy-haired and with identical glow-in-the-dark smiles.

"Now," he says, pausing for effect, "will the REAL Jimmy Carter please stand up." All three men rise simultaneously. There is no mistake, all three ARE the real Jimmy Carter.

It is true, there is more than one Jimmy Carter and each is the genuine article. But it is nearly impossible for the non-computerized sensors of the press to pick up all the images, digest them and project a single, coherent portrait of the candidate.

Even from my own closer perspective, just over the Georgia line 100 miles from Atlanta, it has been hard to fit the multiple impressions into a single face.

From the very beginning it was so. After a gubernatorial primary campaign, aimed at the Wallace constituency but not explicitly racist, came his inaugural address in which he said, "The time for racial discrimination is over."

Out of that phrase we reporters cast the real, the one and only Jimmy Carter, the leading racial liberal of the class of 1970 Southern governors, whose future words and deeds could be predicted with reflexive certainty.

He said some other things in that address which were clues to the complexity of the man but none of us were paying much attention, so absorbed were we with racial politics.

But the incoming Georgia governor also said, "No poor, rural, weak or black person should ever again have to bear the burden of being deprived of the opportunity for an education, a job, or simple justice."

Well, of course, it is expected on ceremonial occasions to say a kind word for the farmers, the poor, the huddled masses and all those other minority groups listed on the Statue of Liberty.

Evidently, though, Jimmy Carter meant it. He seems to have an equivalent concern for the South Georgia boy dipping sardines on a soda cracker and the black teen-ager jukin' down the streets of Atlanta.

Does he really? I believe the man has extraordinary empathy based on contact with him and his staff over time and on extensive recent conversations with three men close enough to him to tell him "no."

But I also admit to having been puzzled by him for years. First, there was the upper middle-class reformer fighting for governmental reorganization and much later the man of moral courage hanging Martin Luther King's portrait in the state capitol.

In between was his invitation to George Wallace to make a speech in Georgia. (Was he also a closet Lester Maddox?)

And then, there was the Calley thing. The New York Times on May 22 published a story which said, in effect, Carter's campaign criticism of the Vietnam war is rather odd for a man who was an eleventh hour convert on the issue and who had apparently supported Lt. William Calley after his conviction for the My Lai massacre.

I remember the reaction to the Calley verdict here in Anniston, a military town, and I can imagine that it was even more explosive in Georgia where the trial was held.

People said all kinds of things in defense of Calley. But what they meant was, "I don't believe it. The enemy does things like that but not American soldiers."

For those parents whose sons weren't hiding in college, it momentarily became necessary to believe in Calley's innocence in order to believe in their country.

Carter's first act was to direct that all calls on the subject be switched to him and later proclaimed an "American Fighting Men's Day." It was to demonstrate "complete support for our servicemen, concern for our country and rededication to the principles which have made our country great."

What is to be made of all this? Was Gov. Carter pulling an act of political sleight-of-tongue, slyly indicating to the folks that he was for Calley without actually saying so?

Or, was he a leader in the trenches of decision, whose moral judgments cannot wait for the leisurely pace of the next issue of New York Review of Books, a man compelled to act and who did in such a way that anger was diverted toward a positive demonstration of patriotism and principle?

Even accepting the most favorable interpretation, the problem of communicating a coherent image remains.

Jimmy Carter has gone a great distance by indicating to such disparate groups as blacks and Wallace voters that both have a right to believe it is their country and that their bill of grievances should be paid equal attention by their President.

It is the act of a great leader to wage a campaign of national unity successfully. But he must get across the conviction that being for everybody is not the same as being for nobody, standing for nothing.

His great strength, uniting different people behind a single leader, is now being turned against him by challengers like Sen. Frank Church, who says the Carter campaign is one of style, signifying nothing.

The press cannot and will not help Carter meet this challenge. It can report only what he said then, and now, not what he meant to say.

As a candidate, and even more importantly as a possible President, he must make the public and press understand that soothing feelings of injured national pride, as in the Calley incident, is not the same as winking at a national disgrace.

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A Thought About the Democrats

OVER THE LONG holiday weekend, as we worked our way through the political reporting in the prints and listened to more of the same on the air, we were suddenly seized with a piercing insight, and we would like to share it with you before the returns from Rhode Island and Montana confound us once again with fresh delegate counts and new estimates of momentum gained—or lost. The insight was really no more than a thought, not necessarily original, about the Democrats, and it came to us in the form of a question: As a practical, political matter, and leaving philosophy aside for a moment, what's in it for Governor Brown, Congressman Udall and Senator Church to stop Jimmy Carter? The answer is not difficult if you think that any one of those three members of the stop-Carter squad can win the nomination for himself. In that case, there is obviously a whole lot in it for each of them. But the delegate numbers do not encourage the belief that any of the three will have the same sort of position that Ronald Reagan will hold on the Republican side as the logical—if not actually the overpowering—alternative to President Ford. On the contrary, everybody seems to agree that in a deadlocked Democratic convention, the logical alternative to former Governor Carter would be Hubert Humphrey.

And that is what set us to wondering what is in it for the up-front members of the stop-Carter movement. For if Senator Humphrey is going to be the Democratic nominee for President, the next question is: Who will be his running mate? One of the possibilities that was giving rise over the weekend to a lot of pregnant phrases and knowing looks was Senator Edward Kennedy. The idea is not exactly new, but there was Senator Kennedy at Senator Humphrey's birthday party in Minneapolis, and as the Carter delegate count continues to climb, that is enough to make a Humphrey-Kennedy ticket look newly desirable to a lot of devout Democratic liberals, including many now loosely allied with one member or another of the stop-Carter movement. On its face, it is a ticket with a certain natural appeal. The two men are strong on name recognition, compatible on issues, nicely balanced geographically. It is a ticket that a lot of Democrats who are made uncomfortable by new faces could be very comfortable with.

But—and here we get to the heart of the matter—it is also a ticket that leaves Jimmy Carter with absolutely nothing to show for what has been far and away the most impressive performance of any of the candidates. And this, we submit, would be not only a difficult, but a dangerous proposition to put before a great many rank-and-file Democrats, including in particular a great many of the so-called new Democrats of the South. It is not necessary to reach a judgment about whether Mr. Carter would make a good President—or even whether he is better qualified than any other Democratic to be the candidate—to acknowledge his accomplishments, whatever the outcome of the final primaries. The fact of the matter is that he has run in more places in more parts of the country and done better than any of his opponents. It was left to Mr. Carter to dispose of George Wallace, once and for all—no mean contribution to his party, by itself—while simultaneously and successfully invading the North, the Midwest, the Northeast. In the process, he has amassed so many delegates that it will be hard enough to deny him the nomination for the presidency. For the convention also to deny him the vice-presidential nomination, it seems to us, would be doubly difficult, precisely because of the damage this could to the Democratic Party almost everywhere in the South in the fall.

So where does this leave Governor Brown, Congressman Udall and Senator Church? It seems to us, if this analysis has even the most transitory validity, that it leaves them in a worthy struggle to advance liberal policies within the party, and perhaps even to push Mr. Carter into positions more to their liking. But otherwise, it leaves them in something of a mug's game. They have already shown that they can bushwhack Mr. Carter by carefully picking their ambush sites and, with one or two exceptions, giving each other unobstructed shots at the leader. But that strategy obviously does not give any one of the three a very strong chance of collecting enough delegates to become a solid alternative. At best, it promises to stop Mr. Carter, but most probably in favor of Senator Humphrey—with Mr. Carter as his most logical running-mate.

More likely, it promises to slow down the former Georgia governor and to force him into a certain amount of heavy wheeling and dealing to secure the blocs of delegates he will need to carry him over the top. At that point, the stop-Carter movement could be expected to lose some of its high sense of mission and a large part of its remaining camaraderie. For at that point, the contest would be for the vice-presidential nomination and the wisdom of the ages would be crying out for somebody Northern and liberal—perhaps not somebody as unfamiliar and unorthodox as Governor Brown, but possibly someone like, let's say, Congressman Udall or Senator Church. This doesn't mean, and isn't meant to imply, that the active members of the stop-Carter movement are less than sincere in their stated objective of securing the presidential nomination for themselves. What it may mean, however, is that their best hope for advancement towards the presidency—and the vice presidency is, after all, a recognized route—may not be for the movement to succeed, but for it to progress nicely up to a certain point, and then fail.

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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Rockford Poll: Carter in Driver's Seat, But Some Have Qualms

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

ROCKFORD, Ill. — Doug Aurand has a reputation here for being a politician remarkably adept at detecting any change in the political winds, so folks paid some attention the other day when he transferred his allegiance for 1976 from Hubert H. Humphrey to Edmund G. Brown Jr.

"I just got tired of waiting for Humphrey to make a decision," he explains. "And I've been kind of fascinated by Jerry Brown."

But Doug Aurand, who is the Winnebago County treasurer, is a practical man above all, and he has no illusions about some mysterious

Brown virus running through the Illinois delegation to the Democratic national convention. Carter won 60 delegates in the March 16 primary, and almost all the rest — at least 100 — will follow the lead of Mayor Richard J. Daley.

This is another in a series of reports on how the issues and candidates in the 1976 presidential elections are viewed in one community — Rockford, Ill. These reports parallel those on one Washington metropolitan community, Rockville, Md.

SO AURAND'S decision reflects more than anything else a continuing resistance to Jimmy Carter.

"I'm just not a Carter man," he says, puffing on a cigar in his office in the courthouse. "I'm just not willing to go for him."

And when you ask him why, the reasons sound familiar. "He has different answers for the questions, de-

pending on what part of the country he's in," he says, blowing out the smoke. "I don't like someone who's blaming all the problems on Washington. He's attacking some men I have a high esteem for."

Nor is Doug Aurand's doubt unique in Rockford and Winnebago County these days. Mike Rotello, the young alderman who leads the Carter forces here, concedes that he, too, is troubled by the perception of Jimmy Carter as vague on issues, although he is convinced it is an inaccurate one.

"I do hear that," he says, "and I get a little bit upset about it. People say 'Where does Carter stand?' and I ask them what effort have you made to find out. I think it has been blown up into something that is all out of proportion."

OUT OF PROPORTION or not, it is there. Interviews with 43 voters over two days last week found that almost all know quite a bit about Jimmy Carter, and most of them think well of him. But eight of the 43, including six Democrats who are prepared to vote for him in November, have some question about just where he fits this year.

"I thought this thing was all settled," the wife of an auto worker said, "but then he started sliding in some of the primaries and I began to wonder if they knew something we didn't know."

Her husband is less troubled, however. "That's what happens anytime somebody gets a leg up, the rest of them start shooting at him. They can't stand to see somebody get ahead. That's just politics."

See ROCKFORD, A-6

ROCKFORD

Continued From A-1

And, whatever his troubles, there seems to be at least a rough consensus that Carter will be nominated at the convention in July, if only because no one has the foggiest notion of how a realistic alternative might come forward this late in the game.

"I think what the Democrats better do," says a black truck driver, "is stop all this picking, picking, picking and wake up that Jimmy Carter's the man so let's get on with it." Tipping his porch chair back and pulling on a cold can of beer, he adds the clincher: "Otherwise, we all know what's going to happen — four more years of the Republicans, that's what. I don't want that."

TWO OF THE THREE active candidates still in the field against Carter — Morris K. Udall and Frank Church — are only dimly perceived here even now. Interviews with 46 voters here shortly before the Illinois primary in March found only 12 who could identify Udall with reasonable accuracy, and last week only 14 of 43 could do so. Almost half could identify Church as someone they had seen on television, but only half of those were aware he was a serious presidential candidate.

Brown has had a somewhat greater impact. Fifteen of the 43 knew something specific about him — more often than not that he was the one who wouldn't sleep in the governor's mansion in Sacramento.

"I find him rather interesting," said an obviously prosperous woman as she tightened her grip on her snarling dog. "I think the government has tended to become too imperial anyway, but I'm a Republican and I really can't imagine voting for him." She loaded the dog and herself into a $12,000 automobile and ran down the window for one last comment: "Of course, anyone who can really do something about taxes can have my vote but I don't really know what Brown has done about that, and I guess it's too late to find out."

THE NOTION that it is "too late" to stop Jimmy Carter is a common one here these days, and it may be a good omen for him in the final weeks of campaigning for primary votes and bargaining for convention delegates.

Rockford's Democratic mayor, Robert McGaw, reflects the practicality of the politically active here. He has always been partial to Humphrey and never very intrigued by Carter, but now he says: "I think most of the rank and file Democrats are ready to go with Carter, even if they're not enthusiastic about it."

And, asked if he hears people raising doubts about Carter, he shrugs: "You hear it, but it doesn't seem to bother them."

Mike Rotello, who began the local Carter movement more than five months ago, is not totally sanguine. The recent primary setbacks, he says, "haven't been devastating but some people are saying he's been winning all along so what's the matter now. . . . I think it's important that Carter shows well in the late primaries."

But Rotello thinks it would be "very, very difficult to deny him the nomination" on the strength of his opponents' late efforts "to cut away in bits and pieces."

"WE'RE AT THE POINT now where we're putting it together," he says, "and if he goes in there with 1,200 or 1,300 votes, it would be very dangerous for the party (to stop Carter)."

The view here may be instructive because this industrial city of 150,000, the second largest in Illinois, and surrounding Winnebago County has seemed to reflect the impact of the national campaign with striking accuracy over the last six months. Last November almost no one had heard of Jimmy Carter, and in January, Mike Rotello's efforts to put together a delegate slate for him in the 16th Congressional District were viewed with tolerant amusement by his political elders. Even the week before the March 16 primary, such savants as Doug Aurand and Mayor McGaw were persuaded Sargent Shriver would carry the district.

As it turned out, Rotello and three other Carter supporters, none of them figures of great influence in Democratic party affairs here, were elected delegates. Aurand, running as Humphrey delegate, survived, as did one other prominent party figure from another county. But McGaw, running uncommitted, was beaten, and so was the entire slate supporting Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson III as a "favorite son" in an effort to preserve bargaining power for the convention.

CURIOUSLY, however, the man who headed that slate, County Board Chairman Frank St. Angel, has proved to the most accurate mirror of Carter's rise here.

In November, St. Angel wasn't sure he had even heard of the former Georgia governor, but by January he was telling a visitor: "This man Jimmy Carter is kind of impressive and his candidacy seems a little more prominent." He might be, St. Angel suggested then, a good running mate for Hubert Humphrey. By March, however,

he had gone a step further and begun thinking of Carter as a potential nominee. "I think Carter has been addressing himself to specific problems," he said then. "He has some imaginative approaches to economic problems, and he kind of reflects the image of a nonpolitician when the people are kind of fed up with the usual politics. Yes, sir, I have a very open mind as far as supporting Carter goes, a very open mind."

These days St. Angel remains persuaded that Carter "is saying the things that people want to hear these days. It's been a brilliant campaign . . . and I think Carter's captured the imagination of the people."

AND THE BACKFIRE against Carter in the late primaries is, in St. Angel's view, totally predictable. "He's scared a lot of the entrenched politicians. He's a threat to them. . . . I think that's a part of the effort of the entrenched politicians to subvert his campaign."

The notion that Hubert Humphrey is still a threat to Carter seems to have little strength here anymore. St. Angel dismisses it as something being pursued now largely by "special interest groups" and McGaw is convinced Humphrey hurt himself by making a production of his withdrawal, then rushing out to embrace Jerry Brown before the cameras in Maryland.

Some of the voters have noticed that, too. A service man for a vending machine company put it this way: "It looks to me like Humphrey doesn't want to go after it and doesn't want to let it go. I guess nobody wants to just step aside and leave it to the younger men. Everybody understands that all right."

And an elderly black woman said "I've always had the greatest respect for Sen. Humphrey but he's trying too hard now. It's time he gave it up."

INTEREST IN THE CONTEST for the Republican nomination is far less evident here now, particularly since President Ford carried the 16th District easily over Ronald Reagan. The assumption of the voter-in-the-street seems to be that Ford is assured the nomination, and party activists are more interested in the possibility that James Thompson, their gubernatorial nominee, will recapture Springfield.

Peter Kostantacos, who stepped down as county chairman two months ago, is convinced interest in the state race "is bringing them together" and healing most if not all of the divisions of the Ford-Reagan primary here. And what they are interested in, he believes, is who can help the rest of the ticket.

"I don't know, but I think Reagan will attract a hell of a lot fewer votes out of the middle," he says, "and we need those people to stay and vote for our guys down the line."

Meanwhile, there are other things to talk about. City taxes are going up and some of the property-owners are hot about it. Pat North, whonused to serve in the state Senate, is on trial in Chicago, accused of selling a vote. There are problems financing and operating the schools. The fight for the Democratic presidential nomination seems remote more than two months after the primary here, a subject for what-might-have-been speculation among the professional politicians.

If the primary were now, says Doug Aurand, it might not be so easy for Jimmy Carter to win four delegates in the 16th District. "We'd see that the regular Democrats would get together," he says, rolling his cigar, "for survival purposes."

The way things stand now, however, Jimmy Carter is the only survivor here.

Numbers Work In Carter's Favor

Associated Press

Three Democrats were trying again today to slow down Jimmy Carter's drive for their party's presidential nomination. But despite some recent success, the numbers are working against them.

In each of today's three primaries — in Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana — Carter is being challenged by a combination of Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California — a combination that has provided trouble for him in the past three weeks.

But whatever happens — and it is possible that Carter could lose all three — the former Georgia governor will get some of the 56 delegates at stake and add to his delegate total, now well over half the 1,505 needed for nomination.

REPUBLICAN primaries in the same three states will produce a total of 59 delegates. Neither President Ford nor Ronald Reagan has campaigned in any of them and both took it easy during the Memorial Day weekend.

Carter, Brown and Church all spent Memorial Day in Rhode Island. Carter, who last week said he expected to win there, deescalated that yesterday, saying before leaving for Ohio and South Dakota, "I have a good chance to win in Rhode Island."

The Rhode Island primary has two phases: A "beauty contest" for the popular vote and a separate contest for the 22 delegates.

Church, who defeated Carter in Nebraska and Oregon, is the main challenger to Carter in Rhode Island's popular vote contest, where latecomer Brown, who won in Maryland and Nevada, is seeking write-ins. In the delegate race, Brown is telling supporters to back the uncommitted slate.

In South Dakota, Udall, a seven-time runnerup, says he has a good chance for his first victory, and says this will give him momentum going into Ohio. Church is believed to be the favorite in Montana, which abuts his native Idaho. Each state awards 17 delegates.

races in today's primary states have been relatively dormant with both men aiming for the June 8 primaries and their 321 delegates.

Ford is believed to have a solid lead in Rhode Island and some GOP leaders there figure he can win all or most of the 19 delegates. Montana and South Dakota are less clear, although Reagan is given an edge in both, which will award 20 delegates each in proportion to the vote.

In a related development, Reagan's campaign manager, John P. Sears, said yesterday that his candidate has decided to spend next weekend in Ohio to capitalize on support there that "has been increasing steadily."

Reagan picked up support yesterday from Thomas B. Curtis, former head of the Federal Election Commission.

UDALL IS ENDORSED in South Dakota by the state's two senators, James Abourezk and George McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential candidate.

The June 8 primaries in Ohio, California and New Jersey will produce 540 Democratic delegates, and Carter's main problem going into them will be to renew his image as a winner. Since Church and Brown have begun active campaigning, he has lost to one of them in every state where they have put forth a serious effort.

Nonetheless, Carter's delegate accumulation continues. He could lose all three primaries this week and all three June 8 and still be some 200 delegates richer because of proportional representation.

Additional states will pick delegates in conventions. There are also uncommitted delegates and those pledged to candidates who have withdrawn that may go to Carter. With them, he is almost sure to have more than 1,100 delegates going into the convention.

THE REPUBLICAN

McGovern Firings Praised by Carter

From News Services

When told of Sen. George McGovern's firing of two staff aides after they were identified as leaders of a movement to keep Jimmy Carter from getting the Democratic presidential nomination, Carter said, "I think that is a very smart position to take and I support him."

Alan Baron, McGovern's executive assistant, and Jack Quinn, who joined McGovern's staff about two weeks ago after having served as a campaign manager for presidential candidate Morris K. Udall, complied with the senator's demand yesterday for their resignations, a McGovern spokesman said.

"In effect, he has fired them," said Bob McKeithen. He said it was unclear exactly what role Quinn and Baron played in a stop-Carter drive. "Apparently they were spending some time, some office time, on the telephone," he said.

CARTER, REACHED in Brook Park, Ohio, en route to a campaign date in South Dakota, praised McGovern for his decision.

"It's important for a U.S. senator to have good, sound political judgment, and perhaps Sen. McGovern decided that these two staff members don't have sound judgment politically," Carter said. He added he had felt no "adverse effects" from the efforts of Baron and Quinn.

"It's been fairly well disorganized and they've been through now 14 or 15 different candidates in the last three or four months trying to stop me or others," Carter said. "Almost every congressional leader with whom I have talked in the last three or four weeks (has) assured me that they're not going to be any part of any sort of stop-Carter movement."

McGOVERN, in a statement, said that "in 1972 a large number of politicians, including Gov. Carter, engaged in a desperate effort to deny me the presidential nomination even after a the primaries were ove. and I had secured nearly 1,500 delegates. That was a destructive, exhausting effort that set the stage for the overwhelming Democratic defeat in the general election. I want no part of any such effort in 1976."

"The fact that I have endorsed Congressman (Morris) Udall in the Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Michigan and South Dakota primaries does not mean I will permit my office to become involved in an 'Anybody-but-Carter movement,'" the South Dakota Democrat said.

McGovern said he would support Carter should he become the party's nominee and that he "will do what I can to help him become a good president" should he win in November.

BARON AND QUINN were identified in a New York Times story yesterday as strategists in a stop-Carter movement. Baron was quoted in the story as saying: "A lot of our people see Carter as a positive evil, surrounded by a staff committed to no ideals, like Haldeman and Ehrlichman."

The story said an afliance of Carter opponents was telephoning uncommitted delegates and delegates committed to inactive candidates, urging them to stand fast.

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The Weather
Partly cloudy, high near 80, the 60s. Chance of rain 20 per cent today, 30 per cent tonight. Tuesday chance of rain, high near 80. [illegible] 1 p.m. AQI, 33; Temp. 57-67. Details are on Page B2.

The Washington Post

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76 Pages—4 Sec

Amusements C 6
Classified B 9
Comics D10
Crossword D11
Editorials A14
Fed. Diary B 2

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Year [illegible] No. 178 © 1976, The Washington Post Co. MONDAY, MAY 31, 1976 Phone (202) 223-6000 Classified 223-6200 Circulation 223-6100 Higher beyond Metropolitan [illegible] See Box A2

Carter Feels Some Heat In R.I.; Ford Is Favored

By John Hackett
Special to The Washington Post

PROVIDENCE, R.I., May 30—Once seemingly a cinch to walk away with Tuesday's Democratic presidential primary here, Jimmy Carter now is feeling some heat from Sen. Frank Church and Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown.

After a whirlwind state tour last Tuesday, Carter had intended to leave the rest of his Rhode Island campaigning to others. Instead he returned Sunday night, and plans to march in a Warwick Memorial Day parade and hold a press conference.

His Rhode Island campaign co-chairman, Russell C. Dannecker, acknowledged that Carter's Atlanta headquarters "are concerned, of course," about further inroads by the Idaho senator and the California governor. Both of them have scored recent primary victories over Carter and are looking for another in advance of the climactic contests June 8, in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

Carter still is considered the favorite here. However, the former Georgia governor may win fewer of the 22 Democratic National Convention delegates than he expected.

Delegates are allocated in proportion to votes. A candidate needs at least 15 per cent of the popular vote to qualify for delegates.

President Ford is widely seen an easy winner over former California Gov. Ronald Reagan in the contest for the 19 Republican delegates.

The minimum qualification there is one third of the popular vote. Reagan is trying to reach it in this heavily Democratic state by appealing to conservatives in the other party to cross over and vote for him. There are no party restrictions in the state election laws.

"I am inclined to believe Ford is going to sweep the whole thing," declared Americo Campanella, Republican state chairman and a Ford delegate candidate.

Interest generated by the three-way Carter-Church-Brown contest may push voter turnout beyond the 50,000 forecast by state election officials, who predict that four-fifths of Rhode Island voters will pull Democratic levers.

Democratic state chairman Charles T. Riley suggests that closer to 100,000—nearly a fifth of the eletorate—may participate.

Gov. Philip W. Noel, Democratic Party leader and a Senate candidate, has remained neutral in the presidential contest.

But Sen. Claiborne Pell and Rep. Edward P. Beard have accompanied Church on campaign rounds throughout the state. This was expected to help him especially with such active voting groups as teachers and the elderly, with whom Pell and Beard have been identified.

Brown is counting on his recent success in primary outings, a heavy media campaign, and a hastily assembled cadre of uncommitted delegate candidates, but his name is not on the ballot. He is appealing for votes among the uncommitted slate.

Church is more likely to accumulate some delegates. "He could pull off an upset," according to Chairman Riley. As in Nebraska and Oregon, Church is trying to reverse an earlier pro-Carter leaning by intensive eleventh-hour campaigning.

He is helped by fellow liberal Morris K. Udall's withdrawal from active campaigning here. The Arizona congressman is on the ballot with a slate of delegates, but his state chairman, Dennis J. Roberts II, confirmed that he is concentrating on South Dakota's Tuesday primary on the tacit understanding that Church will stay out of there.

Others on the Democratic ballot are Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania and George C. Wallace of Alabama and Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana—none of whom has delegate slates—and New York anti-abortionist Ellen McCormack, who may make a respectable showing in this two-thirds Roman Catholic state.

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	867
Udall	299
Jackson	241
Wallace	157
Stevenson	86
Humphrey	56
Church	47
Brown	17
Harris	15
McCormack	3
Walker	2
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	430
Total chosen to date	2,222
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Mississippi, Massachusetts; Florida, Illinois, Oklahoma, North and South Carolina, Canal Zone, Wisconsin, New York, Arizona, Alaska, Virgin Islands, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, Louisiana, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Nebraska, New Mexico, Michigan, Maryland, Virginia, Vermont, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Idaho, Nevada, Iowa, Oregon and Hawaii and partial selection in Puerto Rico, Texas, Kansas, Minnesota, Alabama, D.C., West Virginia, Connecticut, Colorado, Washington, and Missouri.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	775
Reagan	642
Uncommitted	177
Total chosen to date	1,565
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Puerto Rico, D.C., North Carolina, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Guam, South Carolina, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Maine, Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Nebraska, West Virginia, Virgin Islands, Hawaii, New York, Michigan, Maryland, Kansas, Alaska, Vermont, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Idaho, Nevada and Oregon and partial selection in Illinois, Texas, Minnesota, Louisiana, Missouri, and Virginia.

Coming up June 1: Primaries in Rhode Island, with 22 Democratic delegates and 19 Republican delegates; South Dakota with 17 Democratic delegates and 20 Republican delegates; and Montana, with 17 Democratic delegates and 20 Republican delegates.

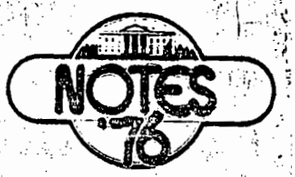
The Washington Post

Carter Adds 3 Delegates From Iowa

Democratic presidential front-runner Jimmy Carter has added three national delegates to his camp at the Iowa Democratic Convention in Des Moines.

The former Georgia governor won three of the seven remaining Iowa delegates, and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona got two. The other two delegates chosen Saturday were uncommitted.

The rest of Iowa's 47 delegates were chosen at district conventions earlier this



year. The state's delegation now has 20 Carter supporters, 13 uncommitted, 12 for Udall and 2 for inactive campaigner Fred Harris, a former Oklahoma senator.

Hawaii Democrats also held a weekend state convention and confirmed the 17 delegates selected in precinct caucuses: 15 uncommitted, 1 for Udall and 1 for Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.).

Humphrey Strength

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, now an inactive candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, narrowly leads front-runner Jimmy Carter, 22 per cent to 19 per cent, among registered voters interviewed by the Harris Survey.

California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. has moved up to a strong third place at 15 per cent—up from 3 per cent in March—while Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy—who is not running — finished fourth with 13 per cent. Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) received 9 per cent, and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace 7 per cent, the survey reported yesterday.

With Kennedy out of the race, Humphrey received 24 per cent, Carter 23 per cent and Brown 18 per cent. Figures for Udall and Wallace remained the same.

Humphrey also came out on top in the latest Gallup Poll match against Republican presidential hopeful Ronald Reagan. Humphrey held a 52 per cent to 42 per cent lead in late May.

From staff reports and news dispatches

Sunnier
ly sunny today, near 82. Chance of ers tonight, low in Tomorrow's high in Details: B-5.

The Washington Star

HOLIDAY EDITION

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State Takes on Special Significance for Carter, Church

Jerry Brown Becomes 'Problem' in Rhode Island

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

PROVIDENCE, R.I. — Tony Conigliaro is thinking about going back into baseball — maybe next year. He is thinking about it, that is, when he isn't pushing pasta and Jimmy Carter.

The sport at Tony's restaurant on Pine Street is not in the talk about his returning to the majors. It is politics and throwing darts.

A much-punctured picture — the target of the darts — shows California Gov. Jerry Brown and his state campaign director here, Mark Weiner.

Conigliaro's place is right across the street from Carter headquarters and the former Red Sox star indicates he is a partisan of the former Georgia governor. The dartboard has its own message: Jerry Brown is the "problem" for those who would win Rhode Island's presidential primary tomorrow. He is the tough adversary now.

THAT BELIEF is held not only among Carter's followers and promoters. It is shared by the backers of the third man in the presidential contest here, Idaho Sen. Frank Church.

Suddenly, the primary in the littlest state has taken on a special significance, and it has become a serious three-way contest, the most important primary happening tomorrow.

For the first time, all three of the candidates still taken seriously in these last two weeks of Democratic primaries face each other in an elec-

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Carter Leading Ford and Reagan, New Gallup Poll Shows

United Press International

The newest Gallup Poll says neither Republican candidate would do very well against Democrat Jimmy Carter if the election were held now.

The poll results published yesterday showed Carter beating President Ford by a 52-40 spread among the 1,001 registered voters interviewed across the country May 21 to 23. It also showed Carter beating Ronald Reagan, 55 to 37 percent.

Both Ford and Reagan "are suffering serious defection among GOP rank and file," with Carter getting about 25 percent of the Republican vote, Gallup said.

MEANWHILE, Vice President Nelson Rockefeller predicted that Ford will go to the GOP convention 28 votes short of the nomination but would pick up enough support from uncommitted delegates to beat Reagan on the first ballot.

Rockefeller hinted that Ford would go over the top — 1,130 votes are needed — with help from 30 uncommitted delegates in the Pennsylvania and New York delegations. Rockefeller, influential in getting 119 of his home state's 154 previously uncommitted delegates to announce for Ford, noted the number of uncommitteds in both states. The former governor of New York also has influence in Pennsylvania.

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RHODE ISLAND

Continued From A-1

When Carter has met one or the other of these two late challengers, he has lost in Nebraska, Maryland, Idaho and Nevada. When he faced them both, in Church's neighboring state of Oregon, he finished second, behind Church and just ahead of Brown.

SO CARTER and his political aides look on Rhode Island as the place to reclaim his status as the front-runner with momentum, at a crucial time — just before the "big three" closing primaries on June 8, California, New Jersey and Ohio.

Church and his staff see the Rhode Island test as an important, almost a necessary, opportunity to show that he is something other than a Western states winner.

In the Brown camp, there is some of that same ambition to prove he can win anywhere. But the Californian and his aides see something more here — another chance to make a strong showing by doing it the hard way.

In Oregon last week, Brown finished only two points behind Carter, and did it by a write-in campaign, a feat that was considered most impressive.

In Rhode Island, there is no chance even for a Brown write-in. The circumstances and the rules don't allow it. If he is to win or finish close to the top in this state, he has to do it by the awkward and difficult method of persuading Rhode Islanders to vote for no named candidate for the presidency.

HE IS RUNNING as a candidate of the "uncommitted" and thus is asking the people to vote for that slate on the ballot tomorrow.

But after Oregon, the Brown effort here, however difficult in fact, is not being dismissed by either of his opponents. Each of the other organizations concedes that Brown sentiment is growing.

As Church's state campaign manager, Paul Breault sees it, this can only help the senator. "If Brown is taking votes away, I just can't see that they all come from us; for every 10 votes he gets, 7 come from Carter."

As one of Carter's state cochairmen, Russ Dannecker, sees it, Brown's drawing power can only hurt Church. "Our canvassing shows our support has not been weakened. It shows there is more support for Brown than for Church."

NO ONE OFFERS any hard polling to prove that Carter, long the clear favorite in Rhode Island, won't finish first. Indeed, there is a rough consensus among political managers suggesting that Carter is now favored by about 35 percent and Brown and Church each by somewhere around 20 percent or less. Church's aides talk of him closing the gap, as he did in Nebraska and Oregon.

But with Carter's long lead here, in time and organization, and his personal campaigning, and in view of his recent losses, he supposedly needs more than a narrow win, and he definitely needs to avoid being upset.

Carter also needs to look good in a contest with a serious "uncommitted" challenge, to answer the suggestion that many Democrats are so opposed to him that they want someone else to come along, at the convention if not earlier.

Carter aide Dannecker says he still detects "some feeling of a faint hope of a deadlock," a feeling he attributes largely to followers of Sen. Hubert Humphrey.

HUMPHREY IS still considered to be very popular in the state where he won two-thirds of the vote in his own presidential race against Richard Nixon in 1968.

"He was very strong (this year) when it looked like he would be on the ballot or would organize an uncommitted slate," Dannecker says. "After his announcement (of noncandidacy), a lot of that has evaporated."

The Carter manager, however, continues to believe that the uncommitted slate is being used — by Brown, but on behalf of supporters of Humphrey and of Sen. Henry Jackson — as a "stop Carter" effort.

Brown had a chance to be on the ballot himself here, but he skipped that. "I can interpret that in no other way than as part of an 'anybody but Carter' movement," Dannecker suggests. "You look at the people on the Brown steering committee; maybe 80 percent of them were Humphrey and Jackson supporters."

Brown campaign director Weiner insists that the California governor is running only for himself in seeking votes for an "uncommitted" slate pledged publicly to Brown.

POINTING TO his own chest, the 22-year-old Weiner says: "This is an effort conceived by me to get Jerry Brown in the primary. Rhode Island is important to his campaign. When you are looking for a mandate from the people, every act you take, every primary you're in is considered to be a clear test."

Weiner, who is on leave as an aide to Gov. Philip Noel, does go on to say that "a lot of my people just don't buy Jimmy Carter. He's a manufactured candidate with a plotted campaign." He concedes that the "uncommitteds" he is organizing are looking for someone else, but he contends their embrace of Brown is sincere.

Weiner is running as an uncommitted delegate candidate himself. Until May 1, he was publicly pledged to Sen. Jackson. When he began working with Brown political advisers Allard Lowenstein and Mickey Kantor to put together a pro-Brown "uncommitted" slate, Weiner boasted that he could get 90 percent of those already on the ballot in that column to come out for Brown.

Of the 27 delegate candidates in the uncommitted column, about 20 had been for Jackson, according to Weiner. Now, he claims

that 19 are for Brown.

JACKSON'S NAME remains on the ballot, with his own slate of delegate candidates. There are eight presidential names and the uncommitted block, but only Brown, Carter and Church are seeking support. Carter has finished his campaigning here, leaving behind family members or stand-ins like Auto Workers Union President Leonard Woodcock. (Labor is influential in state politics.) Brown and Church came for the holiday weekend, with Church most active in a four-day swing through today.

Tomorrow's election is confined entirely to the presidential issue. Other primary balloting comes in September.

It is almost universally assumed that President Ford will beat former California Gov. Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary. Most of the handful of elected GOP officials in the state are working for Ford.

Democrats, who dominate Rhode Island politics overwhelmingly, will be choosing 22 delegates in a complicated voting scheme that makes it hard for Brown to put over his last-minute plea to support him by voting in the space marked "uncommitted."

ACTUALLY, ONLY 17 delegates will be chosen tomorrow. The five others will be chosen at a convention later in the month. All delegates will be allotted according to the percentages that a candidate or the uncommitted column gets.

Here is how it will work tomorrow: a Democratic voter must mark a box at the top of the columns, for one of the either named cadidates or for "uncommitted." Only if the marks in that box on all ballots count up to at least 15 percent of the total vote will any delegates be allotted to that column.

But the voter must also make marks beside the names of individuals running on the various slates. So, it is conceivable that the "uncommitted" column would draw enough votes to be allotted some delegates, but Brown would not necessarily get the delegates because persons on the list who are not for him would get enough votes to fill some of the delegate spots.

For example, the best-known name on the uncommitted list is the speaker of the Rhode Island House, Rep. John J. Skiffington. But he is pledged to Carter. If, as expected, he gets the most individual votes, he would be picked as an "uncommitted" delegate if that slate is allotted any delegates at all.

BUT WHAT politicians and other observers will be watching is the total number of votes cast in the top boxes. That will show who the "popular" winner is. Carter and Church votes, of course, will be theirs clearly, but the votes cast for "uncommitted" could be interpreted either as pro-Brown votes, "anti-Carter" votes, or "wait-and-see" votes.

There has been an active effort here by each of the three main candidates' organizations to get endorsements from well-known personalities. They have been important to Democratic candidates in the past.

Each can claim some this time. Brown has former Gov. Dennis J. Roberts, Carter has former Gov. Frank J. Licht, and Church has Sen. Claiborne Pell and Rep. Edward P. Beard.

Gov. Noel is neutral, apparently because he was chairman of the Democrats' platform committee earlier this year. He has been described as miffed by what he considered to be a snub by Brown when Noel visited California earlier this year, but Weiner, who is close to Noel, discounts that now.

POLITICS

Continued From A-1

"If you get as close as 28, 30, 32 at the convention with 160 to 170 uncommitted, I don't think it's going to go beyond the first ballot," Rockefeller said yesterday on CBS-TV's Face the Nation.

ROCKEFELLER said "composite" predictions giving Reagan the benefit of the doubt in the remaining primaries and state conventions show Ford will go the convention with 1,102 of the needed 1,130 votes.

He refused to say he would support the GOP ticket if Reagan is on it. "I don't speculate or waste my time thinking about things I don't think are going to happen," he said.

"I would hardly believe the President would select Mr. Reagan (for vice president). The President is in the center and Mr. Reagan is to right of him. The voters are to the center or to the left of center. . . . The sheer logic of it rules out" a Ford-Reagan ticket, he said.

REP. BARBARA JORDAN of Texas said yesterday on NBC's "Meet the Press" that the Democratic platform must support busing to desegregate schools but "in the interests of community sanity and reasonableness, we have to explore all alternatives."

Jordan, who will keynote the Democratic convention in July, said the party could not ignore busing, which President Ford and Atty. Gen. Edward Levi again raised as an issue by suggesting intervention in the Boston school case.

"The Democratic party is going to have to say we recognize that in some instances as a matter of last resort the law says . . . that busing may be necessary," Jordan said. "However, in the interests of community sanity and reasonableness, we have to explore all alternatives. But I say we cannot afford to simply ignore the issue."

She was one of five black panelists, all of whom agreed busing is a useful tool although it might not be appropriate in all circumstances.

Other panelists were California Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally; Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League; the Rev. Jesse Jackson, director of Operation PUSH in Chicago, and Mayor A. Jay Cooper of Pritchard, Ala.

ONLY SEVEN Democratic delegates were chosen this weekend, all in Iowa. Three were for Carter, two for Morris Udall and two uncommitted. They completed Iowa's 47-member delegation, which now stands 20 for Carter, 12 for Udall, 2 for Fred Harris and 13 uncommitted. The only Republican delegates chosen were three in the Southwest Virginia 9th District, all uncommitted.

The primaries tomorrow in Montana, South Dakota and Rhode Island produce only 56 Democratic and 59 GOP delegates, and come a week before the final primary showdown, in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

The main action among Democrats was in Rhode Island, where Frank Church and Edmund G. Brown Jr., sought votes this weekend. Carter planned election-eve visits to Rhode Island and South Dakota, where Udall was mounting a strong challenge with the backing of both senators, George McGovern and James Abourezk. Church was conceded Montana, which is next to his homestate, Idaho.

OFFICIALS OF BOTH major political parties said that despite their best efforts to encourage women to become delegates to the national conventions, the percentage of female delegates will fall below that of 1972.

Mary Louise Smith, chairman of the Republican National Committee, and Scott Lang, director of credentials for the Democratic National Committee, said in separate interviews that 1976 is quite different from 1972 and women may not fare as well as a result.

Neither party is using a "quota" system for representation of women or other usually under-represented groups.

Part of the reason 1976 is "different" is because of the 1972 Democratic National Convention's quota system. In an attempt to open the party up, quotas were invoked for women and minorities, and many regular politicians were bumped from the convention.

Visits Shah of Iran

TEHRAN (UPI) — Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschaleger arrived yesterday for a five-day state visit at the invitation of Shah Mohammed Reza Pmlevi.

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he Weather
rtly cloudy, high in 70s. 60. Chance of rain 50 per ... 20 per cent tonight. Partly cloudy, high near day—Noon AQI, 27; Temp. 63. Details on Page D2.

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Ford Offers FBI Aid to Democratic Nominee

By Saul Kohler
Newhouse News Service

President Ford said this weekend he would make available the services of the FBI to the Democratic presidential nominee to check potential running mates in order to avoid repetition of the 1972 post-convention change forced upon candidate George McGovern.

In an interview, the President said he would do so upon request of the Democratic presidential candidate and with the approval in writing of the prospective vice presidential candidates. He added that time would be a factor because of the speed with which a nominee must complete his party's ticket.

Mr. Ford also said in the interview, conducted Friday in the Oval Office, that his own running mate would be announced either at the Republican National Convention in August or just prior to it, and that he would seek a candidate with whom he could have "personal compatibility, a comfortable relationship."

"The one thing that I think I want—because after all, you have to, in effect, live with him for four years—is some personal compatibility, a comfortable relationship," the President said. "Now that doesn't indicate I am thinking of anybody or excluding anybody, but I think you have to have a personal compatibility or it would just be an unwholesome situation."

Mr. Ford said it would be inappropriate for him to identify any individual whom he is considering seriously, nor to exclude anybody, including former Gov. Ronald Reagan, who is challenging him for the nomination, or Vice President Rockefeller, who has forsworn seeking a full term.

"Now Gov. Reagan has himself indicated he wouldn't be interested, but that doesn't prevent me from keeping him in mind," the President said. "Now, Gov. Rockefeller has done the same thing, except he put it in writing in a letter to me. But to winnow it down at this stage, I think it is just premature for a number of reasons."

Mr. Ford made these additional points in the hour-long interview:

• He would "regret" a 1976 campaign based on anything but issues and would favor running against Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) because "a Humphrey-Ford contest would be ideologically a good contest for the American people."

• He has "moderated" his expectations that Jimmy Carter would win the Democratic nomination because "the pendulum may be swinging back a bit" following Democratic primary victories by Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. of California, and Sen. Frank Church (Idaho).

• He is, "like a lot of Americans," unsure where Carter stands on issues with which a President has to deal and he has read inconsistencies in Carter's positions, "so I don't think a Ford-Carter contest would be nearly as clear-cut as a Ford-Humphrey contest."

• He cannot maintain all military bases with a reduction of 1.4 million in military manpower and with continuing congressional cuts in military spending. He noted that even in his home state of Michigan, an air base will be closed in a county with 20 per cent unemployment, "and it will lose them about 2,500 jobs, civilian jobs, and take away about 3,000 or 4,000 military jobs."

• He wants to see a broad-based, "high-level, very knowledgeable" commission of outsiders investigate the U.S. Postal Service and report to him by early next spring.

• He believes the Warren Commission, which he served on and, which investigated the assassination of President Kennedy, "got full cooperation of all federal agencies at that time" and he noted that the commission had "found no evidence of a conspiracy, foreign or domestic."

Mr. Ford, who himself was the subject of a searching inquiry by 400 FBI agents when former President Nixon nominated him to be Vice President, said he would make the FBI available to the Democrats if asked, in view of the replacement of Sen. Thomas Eagleton (Mo.) by McGovern four years ago.

McGovern substituted Sargent Shriver after it was disclosed that Eagleton had undergone electric shock therapy for mental depression — a fact he had not disclosed to McGovern prior to his selection.

"If the Democratic presidential candidate asks me as president, with full approval of the prospective nominee, full approval in wiriting, I would have no objection to it," Ford said of FBI availability. "But it would have to be in writing from the presidential nominee. It would have to be concurred in by the Vice President prospective nominee. Under those circumstances, I would see no objection . . ."

It generally is accepted that an incumbent President "checks out" prospective running mates. But, heretofore, the party out of power has had no access to the FBI for this purpose.

Thus, Mr. Ford's willingness to cooperate with an opponent who might request such aid is a major departure from previous presidential practice.

Ford Election Group Fires Ad Director

LOS ANGELES—The President Ford Committee has fired advertising director Peter Dailey because of White House unhappiness with his television campaign commercials.

Dailey, a Los Angeles ad man, has been replaced by James J. Jordan, president of the prestigious New York advertising agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine, and Osborn. A spokesman for the Ford committee emphasized that Jordon is being paid for his own time and said that his agency has not been hired for the campaign.

Jordan's name was suggested by Don Penny, a new White House speechwriter. The two men are friends and knew each other when Penny headed a New York company that produced TV commercials.

Peter Kaye, press secretary for the Ford committee, said "there was some dissatisfaction with Dailey's spots at the White House." One White House aide said that the TV spots used by the Ford committee were "basically lifeless" and did nothing to mobilize Ford supporters.

An official at the Ford committee, complaining about Dailey's emphasis of the State of the Union message in a commercial, said: "It was presidential all right, but it showed the President last January, not now."

Dailey, who did the advertising for Richard Nixon's 1972 campaign and this year

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again formed his own group to do the Ford committee advertising, declined to respond to a request for comment.

Jordan has prepared three new television commercials and four radio commercials for the President's California campaign against challenger Ronald Reagan. The political spots will begin Tuesday in California and feature what one Ford committee official called "slice of life dramatizations" demonstrating why Mr. Ford should be kept in office.

—Lou Cannon

Iowa Delegates

DES MOINES — Iowa Democrats met in state convention to fill the remaining seven slots in the state's 47-member Democratic National Convention delegation.

Most of Iowa's delegates were chosen April 10 in gatherings in the state's six congressional districts. Jimmy Carter captured 17 of the 40 slots, but Rep. Morris K. Udall, who began his campaign in Iowa on a bleak note at precinct caucuses Jan. 19, scored major gains among Democratic regulars, winning 10 delegates.

An uncommitted group, which began the four-step delegate-selection process with a plurality among Iowa's democrats, accounted for 11 delegates, while Fred Harris won two.

From staff reports and news dispatches

Kissinger Hits 'Parade' Article

The following statement was released yesterday by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger:

It has come to my attention that Parade magazine, in its edition to be distributed May 30, has an article which suggests that I would be willing to engage Gov. [Ronald] Reagan in a public debate during the current political campaign.

The idea of such a debate apparently is being promoted by the magazine. I want to make it absolutely clear that I am not challenging Gov. Reagan to a political debate, nor would I participate in any such debate. The remarks attributed to me in the article were never intended as a serious discussion. Rather, they apparently grew out of some random responses to the observations of the writer while he was taking photographs of Mrs. Kissinger and myself recently in California for what he said was a picture layout.

I consider the conduct of foreign policy to be nonpolitical. It is for that reason that I recently canceled two public appearances in California because they were so close to the California primary election that they might have created a wrong impression.

While I shall feel free to explain the substance of our foreign policy in a nonpolitical context, I consider a debate with a candidate incompatible with the nature of the office of Secretary of State.

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David S. Broder

Frank Church: The Unbeaten Candidate

LOS ANGELES—Until Frank Church beat Jimmy Carter for the second and third times running in the West this week and headed his presidential campaign for the news centers of the East, the Idaho senator was the most overlooked candidate of the year.

He chafed under the blanket of obscurity, but it was not necessarily a disadvantage. For it gave Church the element of surprise as he successfully executed a nomination strategy that is the opposite of Carter's in every respect but its boldness.

Carter started his campaign exceptionally early—16 months ago—and decided to run everywhere, accepting the risk that he would inevitably suffer some defeats along the way. Church started his campaign exceptionally late—about two months ago—taking as a plausible excuse for delay his duties as chairman of the Senate Intelligence Investigating Committee. And the watchword of his strategy is to run in few primaries but win everywhere he runs.

So far, he has done that, beating Carter and the field in Nebraska, Idaho and Oregon. Next Tuesday, he tries to keep the string alive in Montana and Rhode Island. If that works he faces his crucial test on June 8 in Ohio, New Jersey and California, where Jerry Brown and Morris Udall are also taking their last runs at Carter.

Church obviously has his work cut out for him but he is likely to surprise people—if the reaction of those who saw him campaigning for the first time this past week in the West is any guide.

Church's reputation among those who have watched him in the Senate for almost 20 years is that of a plump, sometimes pompous, pillowfighter of a politician, who is more inclined to pummel a point to putty rather than dispatch it with a neat upper-cut.

The rhetorical, arm-waving, mechanical Frank Church—whose exaggerated gestures and stilted constructions are disturbingly reminiscent of another high school debate flash named Richard Nixon—has not vanished. The Frank Church hollering into a microphone to an inattentive audience at a high school mock convention in Portland was the same Claghorn performer who embarrassed himself as the Democratic convention keynoter 16 years ago.

The surprise was the cool, controlled and highly effective Church who could be seen both on live interviews and in filmed ads on Oregon television last week. That Church won votes.

Nor was the contrast simply one of styles. Church is automatically categorized as a Washington establishment man after almost two decades on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. But now he takes a back seat to no one when it comes to kicking establishment pets around.

Perhaps his most widely shown TV spot was one aimed at the foreign aid program. He described President Ford's support of overseas assistance as "politics" and promised that President Church would "slash" the program if he had a chance.

Church has, in fact, been a critic of foreign aid in recent years. But the biting blanket indictment of that mainstay of American foreign policy for the past 30 years is probably not what Church emphasizes when he's dining at Averell Harriman's or serving as an American delegate to the United Nations.

Other targets of the campaigning Church are any federal legislation that would restrict access to guns; laws that require federally financed hospitals to provide abortions to women on demand; and, most surprisingly, porposals for comprehensive, federally financed health insurance.

But along with those conservative stands, Church comes out four-square for the Humphrey-Hawkins "guaranteed jobs" bill, the equal rights amendment, breakup of vertically integrated oil companies, and full disclosure of political and personal finances. He campaigns more on the Watergate issue than any other Democrat and regularly denounces the pardon of Richard Nixon.

In short, he mixes up his pitches. And that is one reason why he may have unexpected appeal to voters who seem pretty mixed-up themselves about what they want in their ideal President. He is a man who says, with a straight face, that only someone with 20 years experience as a Washington insider has the know-how to take on the dreadful bureaucracy.

His campaign enterprise is one that, at this point, is all benefit and no risk for him. At worst, he has established himself as a credible contender for future years and a plausible choice for Vice President in 1976. If Carter is stopped, Church is a more "brokerable" candidate than the other survivors of the primary trail, and he may be thought preferable by some delegates to a man like Hubert Humphrey who never entered the primaries at all.

With only 10 days left of direct competition, Church is still unbeaten. No other active candidate can make that statement.

The Gallup Poll

Carter Leads Ford

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J—Democratic challenger Jimmy Carter holds wide leads over both President Ford and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan in the latest nationwide test elections, with the President running only a slightly stronger race than Reagan.

The results show Carter leading Mr. Ford 52 per cent to 40 per cent and Reagan 55 to 37 per cent. The findings are based on the choices of registered voters nationwide.

Today's findings on the Carter-Ford race closely match those recorded at the beginning of the month when Carter led, 52 to 43 per cent. Carter took over the lead from Mr. Ford in an early April survey.

Comparison of the support given Mr. Ford and Reagan in the latest test elections brings the following to light:

- Both Mr. Ford and Reagan are suffering serious defection among the GOP rank and file, with about one-fourth of Republicans defecting to Carter in each trial heat.
- Among the college-educated segment of the electorate, the vote for Mr. Ford matches that given Carter, but Reagan trails the Democratic candidate with this group.
- Young voters (18 to 29) lean 2 to 1 to Carter over Reagan, but the ratio is considerably closer in the Carter-Ford trial heat.
- Reagan trails Carter in all regions except in his native West, where the race is about even. Similarly, Mr. Ford achieves a standoff in his native Mideast, but trails in the other three major regions of the nation.

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Why Senator Kennedy should resist the draft

By THEO LIPPMAN, JR.

It was inevitable that as soon as Jimmy Carter stumbled or appeared to be stumbling, as has happened in Nebraska, Maryland, Idaho, Oregon and Nevada, the draft Ted Kennedy talk would be revived. That is too bad. There are at least five good reasons why all Americans—including Democrats as liberal as Mr. Kennedy is—should not want to see him a candidate for President this year. One of those reasons is not that he couldn't win. He almost certainly could.

Kennedy-for-President talk stayed alive even after his flat and unequivocal announcement in September, 1974, that he would not accept a draft in 1976. He said his family obligations came first. People should have accepted that. He has unique family responsibilities. He is the sole surviving male Kennedy of his generation. He is the only "father" his many nieces and nephews (and own children) have to look to. Those children have a special reason to want Edward Kennedy to stay out of presidential campaigning. As a long-time friend and confidant of the senator's put it once: "Those children are fatherless *because* of presidential politics."

Through the rest of 1974 and all of 1975, Mr. Kennedy continued to lead every other Democrat when the public-opinion pollsters asked Democrats who they wanted to see lead the party in 1976. It was not until 1976, after the primaries had started, that Jimmy Carter and that other non-candidate, Hubert H. Humphrey, began to lead the polls. Even then Edward Kennedy did well when his name was left on lists.

But as Mr. Carter won more and more votes and delegates, the public's desire for a Kennedy candidacy seemed to fade away. Every now and then some spokesman for liberal forces would say publicly that it sure would be nice to have the Massachusetts senator opposing Mr. Carter. Joseph Rauh, of the Americans for Democratic Action, spoke for many liberals when he attributed Mr. Carter's early victories to the fact that "our first team"—Kennedy—wasn't on the field.

Shortly after California Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr., defeated Jimmy Carter so handily here May 18, a reporter for the New York *Daily News* wrote that Senator Kennedy was ready to accept a draft as presidential nominee, even as vice presidential nominee if Hubert Humphrey were to head the ticket. The senator denied that, but several Washington reporters and commentators said the story was "hard" and the denial "soft." Often, though not always, that reflects off-the-record statements by the principal.

Last week *Time* magazine had a lengthy interview with Mr. Kennedy. So did *Newsweek*. The latter quoted him as saying, "My position is unchanged.... I wouldn't accept a presidential or vice presidential draft." But it put him on the cover. *Time* ended its story with a description of the "prolonged ovation" Mr. Kennedy received after testifying to the Democratic Platform Committee, then this: "Back in his office, Kennedy looked pleased with himself. It had been an exhilarating encounter for him. Then he was asked directly: Would he like to be President? He thought for a moment, then replied: 'I can't sit around stewing about that.' He paused. 'Of course I'd like to be President. But it's not going to happen in this period of my life. I've accepted that.' But one sensed that his blood was up and his juices, lately stilled, were moving."

The effect was to encourage the drafters.

Before liberal Democrats start pressuring Mr. Kennedy to accept a draft or to stop Carter (the same thing), they ought to consider some reasons why his candidacy is not in the national interest.

The first is the one discussed above. He has a greater obligation to his family than he does to the country, as everybody does. What would the messages to the young be if Mr. Kennedy succumbed? I think one would be that the state's interests deserve a higher priority than the family's. Another would be that there is such a thing as the indispensable man—*only* Mr. Kennedy can save the party. Both notions are, I believe, silly, hideous.

The second reason is related. Almost surely there is someone with a gun waiting for a Candidate Kennedy or a President Kennedy. We don't need that tension.

The third reason a Kennedy candidacy would be bad for the country in 1976 is Chappaquiddick. The senator announced he was not a candidate for the presidential nomination shortly after the New York *Times* published a long article on the fifth anniversary of that tragedy. The article (since expanded to a book) charged that while Senator Kennedy may or may not have behaved improperly before the accident that took the life of Mary Jo Kopechne, he certainly abused his office and the law after the accident. It was charged that he conducted a cover up as subversive and smelly as Watergate, the only difference being that the Chappaquiddick coverup worked.

I myself think that is too severe, but who can deny (1) that an awful lot of people think there was a coverup and (2) an awful lot more only want to talk about the sex-and-drinking rumors whenever Senator Kennedy's name comes up? What kind of debate on the issues could this country have if he were the presidential nominee? What kind of debate on presidential character could we have?

A 1976 contest between any of the other leading possibilities in both parties stands a good chance of being relatively good-natured and on the high road. Opportunities for such presidential contests are too precious to be booted away when they present themselves.

The fourth reason a Kennedy candidacy would be wrong at this time is that he would probably win. Despite Chappa-

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Mr. Lippman, an editorial writer for The Sun, is author of "Senator Ted Kennedy."

Would Senator Edward Kennedy like to be President? "I can't sit around stewing about that. Of course I'd like to be President. But it's not going to happen in this period of my life. I've accepted that."

quiddick he won re-election by a landslide in Massachusetts in 1970. There is as passionate a pro-Kennedy population in this country as there is an anti-Kennedy one. Polls and other evidence suggest that Mr. Kennedy is more popular nationwide than President Ford or Ronald Reagan. This is despite the fact he is wholeheartedly committed to the liberal philosophy and liberal causes. He says he enjoys politics only when he is on "the cutting edge of social change." The same pollsters who record his popularity also record that most Americans consider themselves conservatives or moderate conservatives.

So a Kennedy presidency would result in another sort of tension—that between a leader who wanted to move rapidly ahead, particularly on social and economic issues—and a nation that clearly wants to pause. Woodrow Wilson once said that the American people can be lifted above selfishness to some idealistic crusade only once in a generation.

History bears President Wilson out, and this generation has had its Great Society. A President Kennedy too far ahead to lead would not satisfy himself or the nation. It could be a tense, sterile, unhappy time. Liberal leaders should be saved for liberal times.

Another reason he should not run is because he is one of the best senators, probably, as Richard J. Walton, a critic of John F. Kennedy, says, *the* best. Legislators as talented and hard working as Edward Kennedy are rare. He does as much or more routine good work on Capitol Hill as any of his colleagues. A lot of important legislation bears a liberal hallmark because of him alone. Beginning in 1977 he could be chairman of the Judiciary Committee and one of the most powerful young senators ever, with an opportunity to have an impact on almost every domestic program.

Senator Kennedy has a dimension of glamour and international prestige claimed by no other member of Congress—or of any other legislative or parliamentary body in the world. He can attract public attention to issues and ideas in a way that no other legislator can. That is important in an age in which slow-deciding branches of governments are yielding more and power and decision-making authority to executives. This country has always placed its faith in divided government and a power balance of sorts. It needs super senators to maintain that balance. It may even need such good senators more than it needs good presidents.

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Sloppy
Cloudy today with a chance of thundershowers, high near 75. Partly cloudy tomorrow, high near 80. Details: D-14.

The Washington Star

SUNDA
EDITIO

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First of a Series

Interviews by Robin Thrush
And the Editors of FAMILY WEEKLY

Memorable Opinions of the Men Who Have Sought the Presidency

Jimmy Carter
Democrat

Jimmy Carter seems indefatigable. He arrived in our New York offices smiling but serious, with an entourage of Secret Servicemen and campaign assistants who were, by contrast, out of breath and dragging their feet.

Carter is known as a man most people have difficulty keeping up with. The former governor of Georgia has about him an air of supreme confidence. Many of his critics claim he is "fuzzy" on the issues, but he answered all our questions in specific detail, talking expansively, perhaps even glibly.

There is about Jimmy Carter an unstinting belief in his own abilities. He even prefaced some of his remarks with, "When I'm elected President..."

On Federal Bureaucracy: Every time a new problem evolves, Congress creates a new agency, In 1974, the Congress and the President created 84 new agencies. Each one may be needed at the time it's created, but after a period of five or six years, when the need has passed, it's still there. We now have about 1,900 that we know about—there are probably 600 to 800 more that we don't know about. There is an evolutionary and almost inevitable procedure as far as Government agencies are concerned: the first thing that happens is that the agency enshrouds itself in secrecy; next, it tries to conceal the fact that it even exists so that it won't be scrutinized by the public or the General Accounting Office. Another thing it does is to start to make work for itself. I don't want anybody to vote for me this year unless that voter wants to see the entire executive branch of our Government completely reorganized and made efficient, economical, simple, purposeful and manageable for a change.

On Investigative Agencies: We've got to have a good intelligence network. We can't afford to predicate foreign-policy decisions on public-relations handouts from Communist dictators. But I see no reason why the CIA should plot murders or assassinations against a nation that's at peace with us. I don't see any reason why the CIA should ever violate the law in any respect to investigate the private affairs of the American people. The only thing I can assure you is that, when I'm President, if the CIA or the FBI or other secret organizations should ever make a mistake, I'll call a press conference and I'll tell the American people what happened and be personally responsible that there is no recurrence in the future.

On Détente: When Russia first agreed to the principle of détente, the Soviet Government was operating out of weakness. Now, it's operating from a position of supreme confidence and strength. I think our position has weakened. And one of the reasons is that we have yielded to Russia on every controversial negotiation point. Détente is a very good arrangement if it means communication, trade, openness, tourism, student exchanges, cultural knowledge. But yielding on trade negotiations and neglecting our natural allies because of our preoccupation with Russia are things that concern me.

On the U.N.: I think we ought to look at the U.N. as a forum for presenting the American position. Some functions of the U.N. are very crucial to us—those concerning the international monetary fund, trade agreements, freedom of the seas, access to commodities, population problems, food-shortage problems. The General Assembly is quite often irresponsible. But its irresponsibility derives from the lack of substance effected by its decisions. I think if everybody in the U.N. felt, "When we pass a resolution, it will have some effect," the U.N. would become much more responsible about its decisions. . . . As President, I would adopt a position that the ambassador to the U.N. would be the most important ambassador of all.

On the Third World: We have no comprehensive policy towards South American countries, Central American countries or the countries of Africa. Most of those countries feel that we don't care about them. In the last few years I've been in 11 foreign nations. Often I've had the opportunity to spend a day with a nation's president, prime minister or one of its top ambassadors. Invariably, they say to me, "We haven't had a friend in the White House since John Kennedy died." It wouldn't take much to restore that kind of personal relationship and mutual respect: frequent visits by the Secretary of State or other top leaders; appointments of *qualified* ambassadors for a change; the visit of a President's family.

On Abortion: I do *not* favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions. I also do *not* favor a constitutional amendment that would give states a local option—those are the two pro-

Continued on page 6

posals that have been made. But under the present Supreme Court ruling, I'll do everything I can, as President, to minimize the need for abortions with a comprehensive federal program, established by law, that concerns education in family planning, access to contraceptives by those who believe in their use—including minors, by the way—and better adoptive procedures. There's no easy answer to abortion. They'll still be debating that issue 50 years from now. But the present Supreme Court ruling says that during the first 13 weeks a mother is entitled to make that decision. I don't think that will change.

On Education: To express the needs of future education in a few words, I'd say the key phrase is: individualization of instruction—that is, treating children as individuals. Throughout my four years as Governor, everything I did in education was designed to treat each child differently, to give each one a chance to progress at his or her own rate. I'm generally in favor of cutting down on the number of federal agencies, but one new agency I would consider creating would be a separate Department of Education. I don't think we'll ever have adequate attention paid to education while it's buried under health and welfare in one oversized department.

On the Role of the Attorney General: We ought to get the Attorney General out of politics. When I was a child and a President ran a successful campaign, the campaign manager became the Postmaster General. Nowadays, the campaign manager becomes the Attorney General. That's a cabinet position where, in my opinion, we ought to have a nonpartisan political figure because that person is responsible for administration of equitable and fair laws in an enthusiastic way. I think the Attorney General should be appointed for a limited period of time —say five to seven years—and given the same independence Leon Jaworski had as special Watergate prosecutor.

On the Economy: The major thrust of my administration will be toward employment. While I don't think the Federal Government should assume responsibility for providing the majority of jobs, I do think it can work to strengthen the private sector . . . I would do everything I could to keep interest rates low . . . I believe in developing new industrial prospects, like a solar heating industry . . . I also believe in the aggressive sale of American products overseas. And we should remove the incentives, tax and otherwise, that have encouraged American corporations to manufacture products in foreign countries while their former employees in this country are out of work.

William F. Buckley Jr.

Does Christian faith give direction to a president?

Time Magazine's biannual essay on the vicissitudes of the Roman Catholic Church is launched with an epigraph attributed to an elderly woman parishioner of St. Thomas Aquinas Church, Ames, Iowa: ". . . I hope I die soon so that I can die a Catholic."

The lady expresses the misgivings of many Catholics, here and abroad, though the statement of her frustration is philosophically perplexing. Rather like the story of the man whose doctor informs him that he has terminal cancer, and asks what he proposes to do. The patient reflects for a moment, and then says he will join the Communist party. "Better one of them should go than one of us."

The travail of the Catholic Church is of continuing interest to non-Catholics, for reasons analogous to the curiosity Republicans feel about Democratic sentiment, in the historical knowledge that their own platform of a few years hence is being written. As Catholicism is, so to speak, Protestantized, so is Protestantism. If you find Catholics wondering out loud about the doctrine of the Trinity, you will find more Protestants like the famous Unitarian who believes in "at most one God."

At the same time, you find a growing hunger for the formal stuff of Christianity. That formal stuff is really quite simply stated in the Apostle's Creed, or whatever they decided to re-name it at Vatican II when on a rainy afternoon they ran out of more subversive ideas. It is of course the notion of the Incarnation — that's about it; all the rest is derivative, and interpretive.

Much has been written about the Christianity of Jimmy Carter. Everything evil is being imputed to his Christian belief, short only of the allegation that he is a secret Catholic. Ten years ago, they'd have been saying that about him. But nowadays to be a secret Catholic is no more arresting politically than to be a non-secret Catholic. People do not seem to care, because Catholicism has lost so much of its distinctive flavor. "The Catholic Church of today," Clare Boothe Luce says resignedly, "isn't the same church I joined."

That is certainly true, and as its moorings weaken, so, pari passu, do the dogmatical moorings weaken of the coordinate Christian religions. Again, with the exception of fundamentalist Christianity, which it is widely assumed is what Jimmy Carter subscribes to.

What are the implications of that faith? For a president of the United States? It is very difficult to say. Consider the most pressing question a president might need to answer: whether to use nuclear force to defend the independence of the United States. How would a Christian answer that one differently from a non-Christian? Well, we all know that there are Christian pacifists. But there are also non-Christian pacifists.

Speaking for what was in those days a fairly dutiful flock, Pope Pius XII said that some things were of "such great value" — for instance, the freedom to worship — that they could be defended "at any cost." That was interpreted as a papal blessing on the use of the atomic bomb under certain circumstances. It is not recorded that the Pope's sanction affected in any way American policy on the use of the bomb.

Suppose that the Soviet Union succeeded with a first strike against our counterforce weaponry, leaving us merely with nuclear submarines which could petulantly dump on the Soviet Union, killing off 50 million Russians, but leaving us then exposed to a retaliatory strike against our population centers?

Is there a distinctively Christian response? Or is it unfair to construct the deductions after positing a successful first strike by the Soviet Union? Would the Soviet Union risk a first strike if they knew the American president would instantly put his submarines into action? Is it possible for a president (a) to convince the Russians that that was exactly what he intended to do; while (b) secretly committing himself not to initiate mutual slaughter, if it came right down to it?

Is there a shaft of Christian reason that illuminates the problem? Is it explicable in the vocabulary of fundamentalist Christianity, or, for that matter, of Jesuitical casuistry?

What does it mean to be a Christian is easier to answer, and Christ, the authority on the matter, did so repeatedly, usually in the form of a parable. But there are no parables that quite fit the apocalyptic responsibilities of a president. With the important single exception that the life we lead here on earth is not the final experience of the human being. Though on this much everyone would gratefully agree, that it is certainly our last political experience.

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4

COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES

DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Brown	Carter	Church	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Ala.*	35	—	2	—	—	—	27	—	6
Alaska	10	½	—	—	—	—	—	—	9½
Ariz.	25	—	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Ark.	26	—	17	—	—	1	5	—	3
Canal Z.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Colo.*	35	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	2
Conn.*	51	—	17	—	5	15	—	—	14
D.C.	17	—	8	—	—	5	—	—	4
Fla.	81	—	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Ga.	50	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii*	17	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Idaho	16	—	2	14	—	—	—	—	—
Ill.	169	—	60	—	—	—	3	92	14
Ind.	75	—	51	—	—	—	10	—	14
Iowa	47	—	17	1	—	10	—	7	12
Kan.*	34	—	14	—	1	3	—	1	15
Ky.	46	—	37	—	—	2	7	—	—
La.	41	—	13	—	—	—	9	—	19
Maine	20	1	10	—	—	6	—	1	2
Md.	53	—	32	—	10	7	—	—	4
Mass.	104	—	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Mich.	133	—	69	—	—	58	2	—	4
Minn.*	65	—	—	—	—	1	—	43	5
Miss.	24	—	5	1	—	—	11	3	4
Mo.*	71	—	28	—	1	3	1	—	38
Neb.	23	—	8	15	—	—	—	—	—
Nev.	11	6	3	1	—	—	—	—	1
N. H.	17	—	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
N. M.	18	1	8	—	—	6	—	2	1
N. Y.	274	—	33	—	103	73	—	—	65
N. C.	61	—	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Okla.	37	—	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Ore.	34	9	11	14	—	—	—	—	—
Penn.	178	—	73	—	28	23	3	6	45
P. R.	22	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
S. C.	31	—	11	1	—	—	8	1	10
Tenn.	46	—	36	—	—	—	1	—	9
Texas	130	—	94	—	—	—	—	9	27
Vt.	12	2	3	—	—	3	—	—	4
Va.*	54	—	23	—	—	7	—	—	24
V.I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Wash.	53	—	—	—	24	5	—	—	11
W. Va.	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
Wisc.	68	—	25	—	7	25	10	1	—
Wyo.	10	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	7
Totals	**2,363**	**21½**	**880**	**48**	**246**	**298**	**170**	**189**	**452½**

* Process incomplete

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

6/7

The New York Times/Gary Settle

53A

News Summary and Index

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Planes were reported to have bombed Palestinian and Lebanese leftist positions yesterday in eastern Lebanon, where Syrian forces were stationed. Both the Beirut radio, controlled by leftists, and the right-wing Phalangist radio, reported the attacks. Yasir Arafat, the leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization, was reported to have sent an urgent message to Arab heads of state charging that Syria had started an all-out offensive. [Page 1, Column 3.]

National

An analysis of the 29-year history of the Central Intelligence Agency, prepared with the cooperation of the C. I. A. for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities, said that the agency over the years became a bureaucracy that ran amok because of conflicting interests and that it had failed to fulfill several of its essential missions. The analysis, written by Anne Karalekas, a Harvard-trained historian, blames a succession of Presidents, Congress, the armed services and the C. I. A. itself. [1:8.]

Five persons were killed and 30,000 made homeless by the flood that followed the break up of the Teton Dam in Idaho on Saturday. Property damage was estimated in the hundreds of millions of dollars. A 35-mile stretch of farm and grazing land north of Idaho Falls was inundated. The flood was about five miles wide at some points. The number dead may increase when local members of the Mormon Church complete a house-to-house count in the area. [1:1-2.]

Democratic Party leaders in New Jersey seemed fairly sure that Jimmy Carter would win the victory that had been widely predicted in the state's primary tomorrow. They estimated that Mr. Carter would win a majority of the 91 convention delegates that will be chosen, but there was general disagreement over the size of his prospective majority. [1:6-7.]

President Ford, amplifying his opposition to court-ordered busing in a television interview, said that parents should have the right to send their children to segregated private schools if the schools did not benefit from Federal funds or tax advantages. He repeated his pledge to ask Congress "in the very near future" to enact legislation limiting the scope of Federal court jurisdiction in school desegregation cases. He said Attorney General Edward H. Levi has assured him that such legislation would be constitutional. [1:5.]

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama has apparently given up hope that he will ever be President. His characteristic pugnacity was gone and he seemed thoroughly dispirited as he made a final, feeble effort to get support in California's primary tomorrow. A new poll estimated that he would get only 2 percent of the vote. He seemed almost relieved that his quest for the Presidency that began in 1964 was almost over, except for the Democratic National Convention next month, where he will probably use the 170 delegates committed to him in political bargaining. [1:6-8.]

Thousands of dollars invested in stocks and bonds from 1970 to 1974 were lost by the athletic association that runs varsity sports for the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs. The academy acknowledged the loss in response to a report by Representative Les Aspin, a member of the House Armed Services Committee. Mr. Aspin and the academy differed on the amounts. [1:4.]

Metropolitan

When New York City's public colleges would reopen was more uncertain than ever when it became apparent that Assembly Democrats would not support the financing program for the City University system that the Democratic leaders in the Legislature, who worked out a strategy to get Republican backing, had planned to push through. Upstate Democrats in the Assembly were reluctant to support a rescue plan for the City University when State University schools in areas they represent were facing stringent budget cuts. [1:1-2.]

Ted Gross, who had been a member of the administration of Mayor John V. Lindsay and who had served a prison term for taking kickbacks on city contracts, was found shot to death in an automobile in Brooklyn. A companion, identified as Melita Sneed of the Bronx, was critically wounded. Mr. Gross, who was 44 years old, served as a member of a street peace-keeping team during the Lindsay administration and later became Youth Services Commissioner. [1:2-5.]

The Other News

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY ED

Weather: Chance o cloudy tonight. Si Temperature range Sunday 54-60. Det

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Carter Victory Is Forecast In Jersey Vote Tomorrow

Some Party Leaders Predict Georgian Will Win a Majority of State's 91 Delegates—Brown Impact Unclear

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, June 6 — Knowledgeable Democratic Party leaders in New Jersey seemed fairly sure today that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia would win the victory that had been widely predicted for him in Tuesday's Democratic Presidential primary in the state.

Most of the leaders' assessments appear to be tentative and laced with imponderables. They estimated that Mr. Carter would win a majority of the 91 delegates that are to be elected.

However, there was wide disagreement over the extent of his prospective majority. Moreover, State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman and leader of the party's forces backing the uncommitted delegate candidates, predicted that they would elect a majority.

The vote in New Jersey is one of three major primaries on Tuesday, the last of the 30 in the series that started Feb. 24 in New Hampshire. Tuesday's other contests are in California and Ohio.

In New Jersey, the uncommitted delegates have endorsed both Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, thus giving the regular party organization the unusual choice of having two candidates for just one vote.

Governor Brown's late candidacy and the defeats he inflicted upon Mr. Carter in Maryland and Rhode Island have caused many of the same Democrats who were predicting a Carter victory this weekend to question whether a final two days of campaigning here by Governor Brown would force a standoff and produce a crucial victory for the stop-Carter forces here and across the nation.

The third major contender is Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

In the Republican primary, President Ford is the overwhelming favorite to win virtually all of the 67 delegates, although they appear on the ballot uncommitted. Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California has not campaigned here, nor has he authorized inclusion of his name on the ballot. Even so, conservative Republicans have organized a delegate campaign in his behalf, both statewide and in selected Congressional Districts, committed on the ballot to someone called "Former California Governor."

In the Democratic race, a

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

JERSEY VICTORY SEEN FOR CARTER

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

consensus of several party officials here forecast the following prospective result Tuesday: Mr. Carter could win 45 to 50 delegates; the uncommitted (Humphrey-Brown) 29 to 30; and Mr. Udall from 12 to 16.

As for Mr. Carter's prospective victory, there were a number of Democrats who speculated that he could win as many as 55 if their perception of weakness and apathy among the county Democratic organizations was accurate.

Conversely, no party has ever offered a delegate ticket that featured two candidates instead of just one. Furthermore, Senator Humphrey is held in considerable affection by a majority of Democratic loyalists and Governor Brown has generated considerable excitement here following his impressive victories over Mr. Carter in Maryland and Rhode Island and the write-in support he attracted in Oregon.

"Jerry Brown gave us what we didn't have," one uncommitted delegate remarked. "He gave us something to rally behind, something we couldn't do behind Humphrey."

With that in mind, Brown supporters within the party organization succeeded in persuading Mr. Brown to campaign here Monday and Tuesday in an attempt to offset a weekend here planned by Mr. Carter, Mr. Carter is to campaign here Monday and part of Tuesday.

"My gut feeling is that a lot of Democrats are still choosing this weekend and that either one of them—Brown or Carter—could shift the election by a dozen delegates either way," one party official remarked. If we ever pull even with Carter on Tuesday, it will be Jerry Brown's doing and no one else's," he said.

While 91 delegates actually will be elected Tuesday—81 from the state's 40 legislative districts and 10 statewide—another 17 will be selected later by those elected, in proportion to the delegate victories they will have won on Tuesday.

Allotment of Delegates

For example, if Mr. Carter were to win 45 delegates Tuesday, or half those being contested, he would be entitled to eight more in the following selection process, giving him a final total of 53.

And while there is a preferential selection on the ballot, pitting Mr. Carter against contenders who either have dropped out of the race or were never in it, it is regarded by politicians as simply a beauty contest and devoid of any real political value.

Initially, New Jersey was not accorded much importance in comparison with the bigger primaries Tuesday in California and Ohio, which together with New Jersey are the final ones and which will elect three times as many delegates as will be elected here.

However, Governor Brown appears to be extremely confident of keeping his big lead in his home state and Mr. Carter appears to have a lead in Ohio, thus making New Jersey an obvious target of opportunity, which Mr. Carter exploited in a full weekend of campaigning in the state.

The apparent Carter strategy is to win big both in Ohio and New Jersey to offset Mr. Brown's anticipated victory in California.

Essentially, the Humphrey-Brown delegates are counting heavily on the big Democratic organizations in the counties to produce big enough numbers to offset the support predicted for both Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall in the suburbs.

Democratic Factions

However, the Democratic organizations are not considered so visible or so vital as they used to be in some places, and Carter forces are predicting delegate victories in such organizational strongholds as Mercer and Middlesex Counties.

The one bastion of organizational strength is Hudson County, where the Democratic organization under Mayor Paul T. Jordan of Jersey City has mobilized an all-out campaign to elect uncommitted delegates.

However, in Essex County, which is another big Democratic prize, Harry Lerner, the Democratic county chairman, has endorsed Mr. Carter. Together with Mr. Lerner's oganization and his own apparent strength among black voters in Newark, Mr. Carter is given a good chance of picking up a substantial number of delegates there.

As for Mr. Udall, his strength appears confined to districts that have strong liberal constituencies. As a consequence, he is favored to win perhaps as many as seven delegates in Bergen County and perhaps six to eight more in other places, such as Morris County.

The uncommitted statewide slate is headed by United States Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. He replaced Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., who pulled out after Mr. Carter won a stunning victory in Pennsylvania.

Initially, Governor Byrne planned to run on the uncommitted slate, too. But he was rebuffed at the beginning by party leaders and he pulled out himself. Then, two days after the Pennsylvania results, Mr. Byrne endorsed Mr. Carter and urged every other Democratic Governor to do so as well.

Carter Gets an Ovation After Assuring Jews in Jersey on His Religious Views

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

ELIZABETH, N. J., June 6—Jimmy Carter was interrogated before an audience of Jews today about his evangelical Christian beliefs and expressed his belief in the "absolute and total" separation of church and state in a pluralistic society.

Whether his words will quell the disquiet expressed by some American Jews about his "born again" Southern Baptist religion remains to be seen, but the audience that heard him today greeted his words with loud applause and with a standing ovation when he left the hall.

The occasion was reminiscent of, although not nearly so heralded and formal as, the appearance by John F. Kennedy at Dallas in 1960 to calm fears about the prospect of a Roman Catholic President.

The former Georgia Governor, who holds a wide lead in the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination, appeared this morning before about 2,000 people at the Jewish Educational Institute in Elizabeth to give a formal and carefully prepared speech outlining his views on United States policy toward Israel and the Middle East.

Supports Israel

In that speech he expressed "unswerving" support for Israel's right to exist as a Jewish national state and called for "early movement" toward a full and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem and a shift away from the step-by-step diplomacy practiced since 1973 by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

In a question period after the speech, a man in the audience said that journalists had written that "Jimmy Carter is identified with many members of his church who have a long history of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism." He then asked, "Do you think this applies to you and how do your beliefs and how do your feelings relate to many members of your church?"

Mr. Carter, who was wearing a blue velvet yarmulke, said: "One of the major problems that I have faced in this election is because of my own religious beliefs. I am a Baptist. I am a deeply religious person, and particularly among Jewish voters this has been a cause of some concern. I think it is the kind of issue that should be addressed frankly."

The short, slender former Governor said that Baptists viewed their religion as "a very personal relationship between a person and God"—subject to no authority, even of the church itself.

'Worship Same God'

"I worship the same God you do," Mr. Carter said in his characteristically mutted tone. "We study the same Bible you do."

"There are good Baptists and bad Baptists," he continued. "There are good Jews and bad Jews. There are good Catholics and bad Catholics. But the judgment of who's bad is one that is best left to God. I learned from my early years that you should not judge other people because while you look at the mote in your brother's eye, you should be more concerned about the beam that is in your own eye.

"I also believe that this is a country where anyone's own religious beliefs should not be a matter of prejudice or concern; and, of all the people in the world who should have the least prejudice because of another's religious faith, it should certainly be you."

He said that "another important tenet of my own Baptist faith is an absolute and total separation of church and state,' which he said he believed in "very deeply."

Mr. Carter's closing words were punctuated with applause when he remarked that, when the United States offered early recognition to Israel in 1948, "the President of the United States in those days was Harry Truman, and Harry Truman was a Baptist."

In answers to other questions, Mr. Carter said he did not favor public financial support for religious instruction or for parochial schools, and he said that he supported the Supreme Court's decision on prayer in public schools. He said that, while he favored a major reform of income tax laws, he would "certainly not do anything" to reduce tax deductions for charitable purposes, an issue important to many Jews.

Oh his formal speech, Mr. Carter said that "there is no doubt in my mind" that it would be carefully studied by the Soviet Union and Arab states because of "my present stature as a candidate for President of the United States."

He accused the Republican Administration of "an inconstant, vacillating position" on the Middle East.

"I favor early movement to a discussion of the outline of an eventual overall settlement," Mr. Carter said, adding that he believed that limited settlements "leave unresolved the underlying threat to Israel." He disgressed from his written text at this point to say that he had discussed this "particular subject" last week with Golda Meir, the former Israeli Prime Minister.

Settlement in Stages

Mr. Carter called for major concessions by Arab states as part of a settlement, including face-to-face negotiations, diplomatic recognition and relations with Israel, a peace treaty, open frontiers in the Middle East and an end to embargoes directed against Israel.

Mr. Carter said that the "general" settlement would "probably have to be executed," or implemented, in stages over a period of time.

He said that the Palestinian refugees "have rights which must be recognized in any settlement," but added, "There can be no reward for terrorism."

He said he could not "accept the intervention" of combat forces of the Soviet Union into any future Arab-Israeli conflict.

The candidate later spoke at a black church, participated in broadcast interviews and flew this afternoon to Ohio, where he will end 16½ months of campaigning for delegates in a race that has seen him enter 30 of 31 primary elections, far more than any other politician in American history. Ohio, New Jersey and California vote on Tuesday, and Mr. Carter hopes to win in the first two states and gather a substantial number of delegates in the latter.

6 Policemen Held in Brazil In Dead Squad Killing of 23

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 6 (UPI)—Six policemen have been arrested in death squad murders of 23 people in 15 days, the Rio de Janeiro state security chief said today.

The security chief, Gen. Oswaldo Ignacio Domingues, said the six were being questioned aboutthe mass murder last month of five supposed criminals whose bodies were dumped in a vacant lot west of Rio.

He refused to identify the policemen.

In Cleveland's 5th Ward, Voters Displa A Sour and Testy Mood Over Prima

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, June 3—The rain beat down steadily and a wall of spring fog rolled in off Lake Erie one day this week, hiding the tall spire of the Terminal Tower, Cleveland's downtown landmark near the northern fringe of the city's Fifth Ward, and masking the hearths and stacks of the steel mills on the industrial flats that hug the ward's southern flank.

The mist snaked through the ward itself, casting a shroud over the small factories and homes, the Ukranian-American Club and the Rocky Marciano Gym, St. Rocco's Church and Bonnie and Clyde's country-and-western bar, the Iglesia de Dios, the Polish Legion of American Veterans Club and all the other symbols of the Fifth Ward's jumble of ethnic strains.

This is another series of articles on voter attitudes in four American communities —urban, small-city, suburban and rural—that will appear from time to time during the 1976 campaign.

In all, the day was a perfect reflection of the gray-to-black mood of the Fifth Ward's voters the week before the Ohio Democratic primary—the most important of the primary season's last major tests for former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Political Sourness

The ward's voters seem united in nothing so much as splendid, suspicious and perverse testiness. The sourness about things political is everywhere. And it is even more pervasive and virulent than when soundings of opinion began last February in this industrial enclave of 22,000 blue-collar workers who have voted Democratic as long as people can remember—even in the Nixon tide of 1972.

That mood is the central fact of political life, not only in the Fifth Ward, but also in 1976 Presidential politics generally. It may have everything to do with the outcome of next Tuesday's primary, both here and in the rest of northern Ohio.

Such ground is where the Ohio Democratic primary is being fought out. The result will determine, in large part, whether Mr. Carter gets the final batch of delegates he needs to assure himself of the nomination. For Mr. Udall's part, he has been forced, quite simply, to make his last stand here.

Dangers for Carter

Mr. Carter appears to be ahead in the Fifth Ward. But dangers lurk for him here, and the voters' mood could prove treacherous.

Inside the 14th Street Coin Laundry, out of the rain and amid the clean, sweet smell of newly washed clothes, Mary Burroughs discussed political matters as she folded T-shirts and towels.

She works at Kean's Beauty Shop, near the center of the Fifth Ward. There, she says, people talk politics "all the time."

What do they say?

"Everybody's a crook," she replied. "You can't really blame them. You lose your faith in these guys, and this guy Hays [Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, who is embroiled in a sex scandal] isn't helping matters at all."

Mr. Carter's strategy all year has been to play to the loss of faith expressed by Mrs. Burroughs. To him it has been the year's super-issue, transcending more traditional issues such as economics.

Mrs. Burroughs said Mr. Carter would get her vote on Tuesday because he "seems to be O.K." in comparison with politicians generally. She also said that Mr. Carter "knows what he's doing," and that, unlike some of his challengers, "he's been in there from the start."

A Different Story

But across the ward at Bonnie and Clyde's, Tom Perry, a 41-year-old former West Virginian who helps build fork lift trucks, tells a different story.

Most "hillbillies," as they call themselves—and Ohio has hundreds of thousands of them—are expected to vote for Mr. Carter. But to Mr. Perry, who was "raised up as a Democrat," labor-union variety, and is a former supporter of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Jimmy Carter is "just another millionaire"—a member of the establishment that the Georgian peanut farmer has made his target.

So Mr. Perry says he intends to vote for Mr. Udall because he wants to "block Carter." That suggests part of the ironic price Mr. Carter has had to pay for his success: He is now perceived by many voters as one of "them," a privileged politician, one of the powerful who is prospering at the people's expense.

He's Not Impressed

"'Course, if I was a politician, I'd probably be crooked myself," said a worker at the Reliable Spring and Wire Forms Company in the Fifth Ward. Apparently, he is not impressed by Mr. Carter's optimistic assertion that all would be well if the country had "a government as good as its people." Nor is he impressed with Mr. Carter himself.

"There is no man for me right now," he said, adding that he would not vote next week.

Over and over, the refrain is heard: "I don't like any of 'em." With one emerging exception. "It's too bad that Jerry Brown couldn't be better known," said Marge Haddad, a quality-control technician at Reliable Spring. "I'd vote for him if he were on the ballot."

A few others, perhaps taking to the "new outsider," say the same. But Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California is not on the ballot here. Nor, in this 20th Congressional District, is Senator Frank Church of Idaho, Mr. Carter's other major opponent in Ohio.

Mr. Church is, however, on the statewide at-large ballot, and Fifth Ward voters will have an opportunity to vote for him in that phase of the primary. How well he will do in the ward is difficult to gauge, given the late-blooming nature of his campaign. Any votes for him however, are likely to help Mr. Carter and hurt Mr. Udall.

Mrs. Haddad said she would vote for Mr. Carter. "What choice do you have?" she asked.

Ward Five appeared to have swung to Mr. Carter a month ago, shortly after his pivotal victory in the Pennsylvania primary. In part, the Carter momentum seemed to have caused the swing. Partly, it was the perception that he was a winner, and many Ward Five voters, solidly Democratic and liberal in many ways—despite their onetime affection for Governor Wallace—want a victory over the Republicans in November.

Lukewarm Support

But few voters a month ago could provide clear, positive reasons to vote for Mr. Carter. His support seemed lukewarm, of a piece with the "softness" of the Carter vote elsewhere, vulnerable to the erosion that some polls suggest has amounted in other states to 5 to 10 percent of the vote.

Indeed, there is some evidence of Carter slippage in Ward Five. One example: A month ago, three women at a common workbench at Reliable Spring all said they favored Mr. Carter. This week, two said they did not plan to vote, and the other said she was undecided.

Joe Mazzeo, the Democratic ward leader who has been for Mr. Carter since mid-February, insists that Mr. Carter will still carry the ward. But he has had little chance to work for Mr. Carter, he says, because his efforts are concentrated on electing his cousin, Michael Climaco, to Congress.

Meanwhile, Udall workers are reported to be waging an energetic campaign in the ward. One of them, a representative of the United Automobile Workers, reports that more than half the people he talks to say they will vote for Mr. Udall. "Whether they really will remains to be seen," the representative said.

Primary Climax

The first phase of the Presidential election process comes to its noisy end tomorrow, with climactic primaries in New Jersey, Ohio and California—all three of them heavyweights in population, delegates and electoral impact. As the crucial primary day approaches, both President Ford and former Georgia Governor Carter have their parties' nominations almost within their grasp. If there are to be upsets now, they will have to be big ones, to permit the one Republican challenger or the half-dozen Democratic contenders to stay alive.

On the Republican side, President Ford received an unexpected boost from former Governor Reagan's latest verbal goof, the suggestion—however couched in the hypothetical—that there might be circumstances in which American troops should be sent to Rhodesia.

To longtime watchers of the Reagan campaign, this little episode fit into an uncanny pattern of ill-timed blunders that have already cost the candidate dearly. Mr. Reagan's waverings about Social Security early in the campaign lost him essential support in New Hampshire and Florida. His unenthusiastic musings about the Tennessee Valley Authority did him no good among Tennessee and Kentucky Republicans.

Far-fetched though it may seem, the Ford forces believe that Mr. Reagan may now be tripping himself up in California. A loss in his home state would surely end his challenge for good. If Mr. Ford should make a strong showing in California—even short of victory—and go on to take Ohio and New Jersey as expected, the incumbent President would be in a firm position that no amount of pre-convention maneuvering is likely to demolish.

Among the Democrats, the siege is tightening around Mr. Carter from all sides; yet the front-runner would have to collapse in all three states to lose his ground.

California's Democrats allot their delegates proportionally to the popular vote—unlike the Republicans' winner-take-all rules. Thus, even though the late-starting Governor Brown can expect a majority on his own turf, Mr. Carter may pick up some convention votes. In Ohio the anti-Carter vote will be split between Congressman Udall and Senator Church.

It is New Jersey where the anti-Carter forces seem at their most desperate, fielding an uncommitted slate ready to go for either Governor Brown or Senator Humphrey—anyone, it would seem, except Jimmy Carter. Mr. Brown hopes to repeat his Rhode Island triumph of the uncommitteds, while Senator Humphrey persists in his campaign with such vigor as to mock his continuing claims of noncandidacy.

Those are the permutations for tomorrow. By Wednesday the preliminaries should be over and American voters could find themselves facing just two major candidates for the Presidency of the United States.

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America 'Busy Being Born,' Carter Says on National TV

From Press Dispatches

Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter told a nationwide audience on all three major networks Sunday night that America is "busy being born," not dying, as it enters its third century.

Carter took his theme from a line in a Bob Dylan song in the five-minute taped broadcast.

Meantime Sunday, Carter and the other presidential candidates were performing live, swarming through New Jersey, Ohio and California to win favor and votes in the three big contests that will end the primaries phase of the 1976 campaign.

President Ford was in New Jersey and Ohio; Ronald Reagan in Ohio.

Five of the Democrats, meanwhile, made consecutive appearances on ABC's "Issues and Answers," and President Ford was on CBS' "Face the Nation." Together, they did little but restate old positions and make optimistic predictions about Tuesday's outcome.

Together, the three primaries Tuesday will produce 540 Democratic delegate votes and 331 for the Republicans.

In another development, Time Magazine reported that Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who has withdrawn from active campaigning, is ready to throw his support to Carter. Time said that Jackson, whose 248 delegates place him third in the Democratic race, feels Carter would be a stronger nominee and president than Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. Humphrey, who has declined to campaign actively, says he may become a candidate if Carter falters on Tuesday.

Jackson denied the Time report on Sunday, saying, "I've made no decision as to what move or steps I might take." He said Time did not contact him about the matter. "I'm keeping in close touch with my delegates and may or may not make a recommendation to my delegates before the convention," he said in a telephone interview from Washington.

Carter himself made a major address in Elizabeth, N. J., Sunday. In the speech to a Jewish audience he said would be read intently in capitals around the world, Carter declared he has an "absolute" commitment to Israel's survival.

See CARTER, Page 14-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

Wearing a blue velvet yarmulke, the headcap worn by Jews in their houses of worship, Carter also asked American Jews to set aside their misgivings about him based on his open proclamation of his own Baptist faith.

"Of all the people in this world who should have the least prejudice because of their religious faith, it should certainly be you," Carter told about 1,500 persons crowded into an auditorium in the Jewish Educational Center, a school and synagogue.

Carter, who had wide Jewish support in Georgia as governor, has not received much backing of Jews elsewhere during his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination. If Sen. Jackson —who does enjoy strong Jewish support —endorses Carter, the Georgian would undoubtedly pick up even more Jewish votes.

The frontrunning Democrat scored in Elizabeth—his speech was interrupted 18 times by applause. He was given a standing ovation when he left the hall.

In Los Angeles, President Ford's California campaign director said Sunday that radio and television commercials charging that Reagan could start a war are being aired despite protests from Reagan aides.

Ford, responding to questions in New Jersey, also stood by the commercials, which are based on Reagan's comment last Wednesday that he would consider sending a token show of troops to Rhodesia in order to prevent bloodshed there.

"The President Ford Committee made that decision ... I approved the concept," Ford said of the commercials.

Asked Wednesday how he would keep the peace in Rhodesia, Reagan replied, "Whether you would have to go in with occupation forces or not, I don't know."

He said the United States might serve as a mediator in insuring an orderly transition to black majority rule in the African nation. A white minority government is currently in power.

Reagan later accused headline writers of distorting his view, and said, "What I have suggested is a peace mission, not involving troops, not involving anything warlike, but with the United States trying to offer its services as a mediator ...

Meanwhile, in the taped television news programs, California Gov. Jerry Brown continued his attack on the Washington establishment and its mentality and said that if he were president, he would stop the "wining and dining, the inflated salaries that surround the chief executive and his minions in Washington."

Brown, a heavy favorite to win his home state's primary, taped his segment in Los Angeles, where he ran afoul of the vagaries of fitting television appearances into the candidates' jet-age schedules. On the show, he challenged Carter to disclose on his segment his plan for reorganizing the federal government.

But Carter had taped his segment in Cleveland on Saturday, although it was shown after Brown's, and when Brown found that out he amended his challenge and said he wanted an answer by Tuesday. Carter has said that he cannot say specifically what his plan will be until he has studied the various government agencies.

U. S. Sen. Frank Church's segment was hastily taped Saturday in Cleveland just before the Idaho senator had to fly home to help with the problems created by the collapse of the Teton Dam. He generally downplayed his chances in Ohio, but said his success in beating Carter in four recent primaries should help his chances at the convention.

U. S. Rep. Morris Udall, an eight-time second-place finisher, conceded that if Carter wins in Ohio and New Jersey "it's probably all over." But the Arizonan said that if he can win Ohio and do well in New Jersey, "then the convention will really be a convention."

The other Democrat on television was Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, whose campaign has been lagging since March, when he lost to Carter in Florida and North Carolina.

Asked what candidate best reflects his view and which he might back at the convention, Wallace replied: "I won't say what candidate best reflects the views of George Wallace. For the moment, I'm a candidate. It may get all tied up at the convention and they may turn to George Wallace."

In the important tallies for convention delegates, President Ford lost some ground during the weekend to Reagan, the conservative challenger for the Republican nomination.

Reagan picked up 35 new delegates — 15 in Louisiana, 17 in Virginia and 3 in Colorado to one for Ford in Virginia. So Ford now has 806 of the 1,130 delegates needed for nomination to 690 for Reagan. Polls show Reagan the favorite in California, where the winner will get all 167 delegates, but Ford is favored in Ohio and New Jersey and says he expects to get most of the delegates there.

In his television appearance, Ford said he believes he is closing on Reagan in California, where a poll showed him behind 56 per cent to 32 per cent and added: "We think there's an opportunity to win California."

There was little change during the weekend in the Democratic tally. Carter won three more in Kansas, Rep. Udall picked up one, and three more were uncommitted.

Minnesota Democrats chose their final 16 delegates Saturday to complete their 65-member delegation. Of those 16, thirteen went for Minnesota Sen. Humphrey and three were uncommitted. Minnesota's delegation breaks down this way: Humphrey 52, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris 2, anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack 2, Udall 1, uncommitted 8.

Nationwide, with delegate selection about three-fourths complete, Carter has 909 votes. Udall, in second place, has 307.5. Uncommitted delegates total 393.5. It takes 1,505 to win the nomination.

J

Federal Funds Big Help To 'Georgians for Jimmy'

By MATTHEW C. QUINN
United Press International

With the help of the federal campaign fund, more than 100 Georgians are ringing doorbells in Ohio to urge voters to cast their ballots for Jimmy Carter in Tuesday's primary.

If not for federal matching funds, the Carter campaign would lose money on the excursion and would be in the red for a dozen such projects undertaken earlier from the shows of New Hampshire through the Maryland primary.

Carter and his aides frequently point out that the Georgians make the trips "at their own expense" as a sign of their commitment to their former governor.

But most of the expenditures were made in the form of campaign donations and were matched by money from the federal political fund.

Robert Lipshutz, Carter's national campaign treasurer, said the supporters make contributions to the campaign instead of directly paying for their fares and expenses. The campaign then charters planes or buses and rents hotel rooms.

"We don't end up making money on it, but it (the matching funds) helps us come closer to breaking even," Lipshutz said. "I doubt if any of them made money."

The campaign will just about break even on the efforts of a planeload of Georgians now in Ohio but may clear more than $4,000 on a busload of Sandersville, Ga., residents in Cincinnati, according to figures supplied by Paul Hemmann, national campaign administrator.

Lipshutz said only the first $250 from an individual is matchable by the federal government and many of the "Georgians for Jimmy" have surpassed that limit with cumulative contributions.

The $1,000 limit on private contributions also applies and the campaign reimburses persons who have passed that limit and go on the charter plane and bus trips.

Florida's Sen. Stone Endorses Carter

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. (UPI) — Florida U.S. Sen. Richard Stone Saturday endorsed Jimmy Carter for the Democratic presidential nomination, saying Carter will maintain a strong national defense and build on the "common bonds" in American society.

Stone, Democrat from Tallahassee and Miami, said he withheld a public endorsement until now "because I felt a judgment was best arrived at after a period of national debate and discussion.

"The candidates have now been tested on the issues. As a result, one in particular has grown in stature. That person is Jimmy Carter."

Florida's other senator, Lawton Chiles, is running for re-election and is not expected to make a public endorsement.

Carter "can lead America responsibly and with sound judgment that transcends the easy answers and does not rely on extravagant taxing and spending," Stone said. "He and I share the commitment to cut waste and bureaucracy in the federal government."

Carter "is firmly committed to the maintenance of a strong and balanced national defense in general, and to the improvement of our essential naval defense capabilities in particular.

"Jimmy Carter demonstrates consistently the talent for combining reconciliation with leadership that builds on the strong common bonds inherent in our society."

PREPARED SPEECHES

Carter Altering His Style

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

NEWS ANALYSIS

NEWARK, N.J.-Like grits and champagne, Jimmy Carter and formal prepared campaign speeches do not quite seem to go together.

Nevertheless, formal texts of speeches are being used more and more in what amounts to an ongoing alteration of the Carter presidential campaign.

The change reflects the belief of the Carter high command that his vintage off-the-cuff, love-and-decency rhetoric will not carry him through the final primaries Tuesday and the expected campaign this fall against the Republican nominee.

In the midst of this change is a 39-year-old speechwriter, Patrick Anderson.

Anderson wrote the "vision of America" passages used by Carter in a $45,000 five-minute telecast on all three networks Sunday night.

Unfortunately for Anderson, Carter—a first-rate extemporaneous stump speaker—appears less successful in delivering a prepared text.

Why, then, the new emphasis on formal speeches?

For one thing, Carter strategists say, he is testing out various phrases and approaches that might be adopted in the traditional nomination acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention in July—not to mention the presidential inaugural address in January.

Also, Carter apparently is stunned by his opponents' persistent charges that he evades the issues.

It is significant that Anderson signed on with Carter in the aftermath of the Robert Shrum furor.

Shrum is the leftist speechwriter who abandoned Carter on April 27, charging the candidate with duplicity and lack of principles on issues.

Anderson took on speechwriting tasks four weeks ago, and the Carter campaign began stressing certain issues including foreign affairs, which Carter says will be the main topic in the fall campaign.

"I am a pragmatic liberal as opposed to a purist liberal, which may distinguish me from Mr. Shrum," observed Anderson, who is a novelist.

At a Washington, D. C., party last year, Anderson met Peter Bourne, a Carter campaign official. "I went in cold," Anderson recalled. "I had no prejudice one way or another about Jimmy Carter."

Anderson then traveled with the candidate for a few days and ended up writing a strongly pro-Carter article in the New York Times Magazine last December.

Anderson had ghost-written books for Watergate conspirator Jeb Magruder and former Democratic national chairman Larry O'Brien. Then he sold paperback rights to his latest novel, *The President's Mistress*, in March and "I was not in my usual position of a month-to-month struggle to exist," he said.

In May, Carter press secretary Jody Powell asked him to work for the former Georgia governor and Anderson accepted.

"Basically I think he (Carter) is a gut liberal," Anderson said. "He has great compassion for the have-nots in our society."

Responding to Shrum's charge that it is impossible to tell Carter's honest feelings on the issues, Anderson said, "I think Carter's honest feelings spill out every day he gets on the stump."

As for Carter's use of prepared speeches, "There is a certain amount of OJT (on-the-job training) involved this," Anderson conceded.

So far, Carter's delivery of prepared texts does not quite match the rhythm of his informal speeches, which employ complex sentences and an extremely wide vocabulary.

Carter came out of nowhere to become the likely Democratic nominee by preaching love, honesty and competence. Never a tub-thumping rabble-rouser like George Wallace, Carter impressed audiences with his apparent soft-spoken sincerity.

While leaving his basic, carefully practiced message intact, Carter now seems at times to be tampering his winning formula by using ghost-written texts.

Many observers were surprised when Carter delivered a fairly conventional prepared speech at a hospital dedication last week in Watts, the black section of Los Angeles torn by riots in 1965.

Carter hes been phenominally successful in communicating off-the-cuff with black audiences, speaking of his closeness to them and his conviction that the Voting Rights Act was the savior of the South.

Two occasions of high emotion generated by Carter and blacks' response to him, in a church in South Chicago and another in Indianapolis, have become nearly legendary in the 1976 campaign.

However, Carter chose to read a prepared text at the Watts ceremony. While he was obviously well received, the audience appeared less enthusiastic than the previous church crowds.

Carter noticeably kept glancing down at the text to read his lines while speaking. Another problem was that the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. was scheduled to appear with Carter but then was unable to attend.

Interestingly, Carter quoted at length Bobby Kennedy's speech about love made on the night that Martin Luther King Jr. was murdered in 1968. Carter rarely has found it useful to wrap himself openly in the aura of the Kennedys.

The new Carter style began in earnest in Ohio 10 days ago with the first "vision of America" speech, designed as a "positive" statement in contrast with rival candidate Morris Udall's "negative" attacks on Carter.

Besides the "positive" thrust, Anderson's speeches employ the contrived antitheses extensively developed by Kennedy speechwriter Ted Sorenson.

"The people ask that a president be both tough and gentle, both a statesman and a politician, both dreamer and fighter," Anderson wrote.

With its "I see an America..." phrasing and descriptions of social justice and harmony, the Carter speech was reminiscent of King's 1963 "I have a dream" speech as well as Richard Nixon's 1968 "I see a day" nomination acceptance speech.

News reports the next day mostly ignored the "vision of America" part of the speech in favor of the attack on "the entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power of the stop Carter movement."

K

Hal Gulliver

An Old Astronaut Flying With Carter?

TOLEDO, Ohio—This major state, one of the last Big Three primary states voting Tuesday, may turn out to be the critical one for Jimmy Carter, even to the point of furnishing a vice presidential candidate should the Georgian win the Democratic presidential nomination.

Carter decided only Friday afternoon to cancel a flying campaign trip to California on the eve of the primary balloting in favor of spending more time in Ohio and New Jersey.

Ohio also is the last desperate battle ground for Congressman Morris Udall, still seeking his first primary win. Udall is basing much of his campaign in Ohio on a direct personal attack on Carter, accusing Carter in political advertisements and speeches of being two-faced on issues or failing to stand up on particular issues. It was in direct response to such attacks (coming not from Udall alone) that Carter decided to buy network television time Sunday evening. Of course the purchase of some of such TV time at a cost of $45,000 is also a sign that the Carter campaign organization is doing pretty well in raising money these days.

Carter advisors had been debating the California trip for a day or so before the decision to cancel it, trying to calculate how best to take advantage of the remaining time before the single most important primary day of the 1976 presidential election year. The decision makes sense on the basis of the different primary laws in California, Ohio and New Jersey. Gov. Jerry Brown is expected to carry California handily in any case, but the proportional representation there means that Carter will win delegates directly in relation to the percentage of the popular vote he receives in that state Tuesday. A last minute visit might win Carter additional votes but probably at most only on the order of several percentage points.

On the other hand, both Ohio and New Jersey are fertile delegate hunting grounds for a different reason. They both have what have been called "loophole" primary laws. A candidate carrying a congressional district can win all delegates in that district. This means that at least in theory a single candidate could sweep in Ohio or New Jersey and win virtually every single delegate, regardless of percentage of the vote. Carter has apparently decided that the political value of picking up additional votes in these two states in the last day's campaigning far outweighs any potential for gains in California.

Back to that vice presidential notion.

Ohio Senator John H. Glenn all but endorsed Carter Thursday for the Democratic presidential nomination. Glenn, the nation's first globe circling astronaut was already on most lists of potential vice presidents. He clearly did not undermine his chances with Carter, now the likely Democratic nominee, by timely helpful comments just prior to this Ohio primary.

Assuming that Carter should nail down the number one spot on the Democratic ticket, Glenn offers at least some of the assets needed in a running mate. His name is already well known. The geography works with such a national ticket. The Ohioan has a reputation as a freshman senator of working hard to build a solid record in the Senate. There is even a sense in which Glenn would be a reassuring presence to those party leaders who still regard Carter as a maverick; Glenn's reputation is that of a cautious hard-working figure, very much tuned in to the Washington establishment.

It is still a long way politically to the Democratic National Convention in July. Carter or someone must be nominated before there can be any serious consideration of vice presidential nominees. But Glenn's stirring words on Carter's behalf, coming when they did, certainly should put him on the list of people Carter as potential nominee would consider.

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SECTION ONE

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CANDIDATES SHUN CALIFORNIA RACE, CONCEDING VOTE

Reagan and Brown Expected to Win at Home Tuesday, So Rivals Move East

OHIO, JERSEY STRESSED

Ford and Carter Likely to Trail on Coast in Biggest Selection of Delegates

By WALLACE TURNER
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, June 5—The California Presidential primary, which will elect more delegates to the two national conventions than any other, will be run off Tuesday in an atmosphere that makes plain the fact that candidates in both parties have already conceded its results.

The predictable winners have gone off to other states to push their campaigns, and the expected losers have already begun to move on newly calculated pathways they hope will lead to victory at the national conventions.

With the predicted California results seemingly accepted by all political camps as unchangeable, campaigning this weekend is concentrated in Ohio and New Jersey, the two other states where voting Tuesday will end the long Presidential primary season this year.

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan seems to be the certain winner of the California Republican primary, where all of the 167 convention delegates will go to the winner.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., leading by a wide margin in the Democratic primary, will get a lion's share of the 280 delegates when they are divided proportionately after the election.

For Mr. Reagan a victory in

Continued on Page 33, Column 1

Carter Woos Jewish Vote; Some Gain in North Cited

By ROY REED

Jimmy Carter has been fervently courting Jewish voters in the North, and his suit seems to be paying off. Several Jewish leaders report a small, but definite, movement toward the former Georgia Governor during recent weeks.

Considerable coolness remains. But political, religious and organizational leaders who are in touch with large numbers of Jews in the Northeast predict that Mr. Carter will receive a substantial majority of Jewish votes if he becomes the Democratic Presidential nominee.

Mr. Carter has begun to advertise heavily in Jewish publications. He is meeting with Jewish leaders in each primary state and is sending Jewish supporters from the South to plead his case in the populous Jewish community of New York.

He and his people are attacking what they perceive as an anti-Southern bias among Northern Jews, a fear (acknowledged by some Jews in New York) that his evangelical Christianity threatens Jews and an increasingly widespread impression that he is "fuzzy" on such issues as the security of Israel.

The Carter effort has been helped by the candidate's endorsement by Mayor Beame, the first Jewish Mayor of New York, and by such New York Jewish leaders as Howard Samuels, the prominent Democrat, and Morris B. Abram, the former president of Brandeis University and honorary president of the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Abram was reared in Georgia.

In addition, some Jewish reli-

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Carter Courts Jewish Vote; Some Gain in North Cited

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gious leaders have begun to warn Jews against harboring the same kind o freligious bigotry that they themselves have been subjected to. Mr. Carter is a Southern Baptist.

A long memorandum on that question is being sent this weekend to about 800 Jewish leaders across the nation. It was written by Rabbi March. Tanenbaum, director of national inter-religious affairs for the American Jewish Committee in New York.

The memorandum says, "It is no more accurate nor responsible to lump together all evangelicals into one group than it is to generalize about 'the Jews' or 'the Catholics.' "

Shaken by Showing

Mr. Carter and his campaign officials reportedly were shaken by his poor showing among Jewish voters in the Maryland and Michigan primaries.

He had expected to pick up the Jewish support that had gone to Senator Henry M. Jackson after Mr. Jackson stopped active campaigning. Instead, Jewish votes went to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona by margins of 6 or 8 to 1.

The alarmed Carter camp began systemtically trying to change that. One of the main tools was the enthusiastic support of Mr. Carter by Jewish leaders in his home state of Georgia. Several Georgia Jews have high positions in his campaign.

A letter signed by 29 Jewish leaders from Georgia has been sent to scores of Jewish leaders in Northern and Western cities, urging them to support Mr. Carter.

The letter says Mr. Carter strongly supports Israel and the cause of Soviet Jews. It points out that he appointed several Jews to high office while he was Governor of Georgia. It says he was "an honest, courageous, progressive Governor."

Caution on Religion

"It is for these reasons," the letter says, "that we are so troubled by reports of concern regarding Governor Carter's religion from a few who do not know him. He is a religious, ethical person. But, this is reason for support, not concern."

It concludes, "Of all people, we as Jews should abhor those who would oppose any candidate because of his religion."

A number of Northern Jews interviewed this week conceded having at least a slight fear of Mr. Carter because of his readines to proclaim his Christian beliefs. One man said he feared that Mr. Carter, by continually talking of his religion, might encourage religious conformity and damage the cause of pluralism.

Eli Evans, an author rearded in North Carolina who has resided in New York for the last several years, said Northern Jews seemed more inclined than southern Jews to be suspicious of assertive Christians.

Jews living in the South, he said, are acquainted with fundamentalist Christians and do not fear them, in spite of groups like the Ku Klux Klan that claim to base their racism and anti-Semitism on church doctrine.

Mr. Evans said many Christian fundamentalists believe that God intended for the Jews to have a protected homeland in Israel.

"My grandfather had a farmer who would come into his store in Kinston, N. C., and asked to be blessed in the original Hebrew," he said.

Mr. Evans said he viewed the Carter candidacy as an opportunity to start an overdue Jewish-Christian dialogue such as the Roman Catholic-Protestant dialogue that occurred when John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, ran for President in 1960.

Others drew a parallel between Mr. Carter and Mr. Kennedy. Rabbi Tanenbaum said Presidential elections had become a kind of "rite of passage" for ethnic and religious minorities.

Once Mr. Kennedy dispelled the myth that a Catholic could not win the Presidency, he said, the Catholic stereotype in the minds of other Americans began to wither away.

The same may happen with the stereotype of evangelical Christians this year, Rabbi Tanenbaum said. He pointed out that President Ford and Ronald Reagan, as well as Mr. Carter, considered themselves evangelical Christians.

"In time," he said, "every group is going to reach for the brass ring. A Jewish candidate for President is going to be put to the test the same way Kennedy and Carter have been."

Something more than religious bias seems to account for the coolness toward Mr. Carter in the North. Several Jewish leaders said they thought a more important reason was that Northerners in general do not know much about Mr. Carter.

Some pointed to a lingering anti-Southern bias.

Rabbi Eugene Borowitz of Port Washington, L.I., who teaches at the New York School of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of religion, said:

"Northern Jews on the whole are suspicious of Southerners. They identify Southerners with [the late Senator Theodore G.] Bilbo, Huey Long and George Wallace, with bigotry and social backwardness."

He added with that with the decline of the candidacies of Senator Jackson and Mr. Udall, some Northern Jews "are slowly edging our way toward the available man."

Another man attributed the movement toward Mr. Carter to an urge to "get on the ship before it pulls out of the harbor."

Still another, Bertram H. Gold, the executive director of the American Jewish Committee, said he had noticed a greater desire to find out more about Mr. Carter apparently because of "a greater recognition that he looks like a viable candidate."

Mr. Gold said that he had seen many liberals, Jewish and otherwise, taking a new look at Mr. Carter and asking themselves, "Why haven't I gone out for this guy? Am I biased against him because of his religion and because he's a southerner?"

One who has changed his mind about Mr. Carter is Peter Strauss, president of radio station WMCA, who has held high positions in the presidential offices of former President Lyndon B. Johnson and the New York Senate campaign of Robert Kennedy. He has been a long-time supporter of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and says he would support him for the nomination this year. "If Carter fails and lightning should strike."

"But I'm more interested in a unified party effort," he said, adding that Mr. Carter might provide that unity.

He said many Jews seemed concerned over Mr. Carter's lack of doubts about himself. "The Jews love agonizers," he said.

"But at this stage," Mr. Straus said, "it looks as if Carter will be the nominee. I'm satisfied, as a Jew and as a Democrat, that he would be a damned good President."

Carter Tells Crowds in Jersey He'd Move to Strengthen Navy

CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PATERSON, N.J., June 5—Jimmy Carter said today that the United States Navy was "probably superior to the Soviet Union" fleet and that as President he would favor "an aggressive shipbuilding program with concentration on quality and mobility" of American vessels.

The auditorium of Public School 25 here was filled with several hundred adults this morning who applauded the former Georgia Governor's remarks on a variety of issues.

Mr. Carter, however, was heckled later on Bergenline Avenue in West New York. Among the people pressin in on Mr. Carter and Secret Service agents were supporters of Representative Morris K. Udall and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and a score of young people who were reluctant to state their political loyalties but hinted they favored Senator Hubert H. Humphrey for President.

Called Dizzy and Nixon

The hecklers waved hand-lettered placards with such words as "Jimmy Carter, the Nixon of 1976" and "Jimmy is Dizzy on the Issues." The usually cheerful Mr. Carter seemed uncomfortable and displeased in the jostling and confusion.

Mr. Carter was introduced at the Paterson school by Representative Robert A. Roe, who praised him warmly. During a rest stop in West New York he met with that city's Mayor Anthony M. DeFino.

Mr. Carter's remarks on naval defense policy were in response to a question from the audience. Mr. Carter, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy who was a submarine officer, did not minimize the growth of naval power by the Soviet Union. But he said that "over all we are still very competitive with the Soviet Union."

Wants Strategy Study

He said a review of strategy was desirable and might find that naval strength in Asian waters could be reduced. But he said a strong—even expanded—presence in the Mediterranean might be needed to preserve stability in the Middle East.

Mr. Carter later drove into Manhattan in the afternoon to tape an appearance on the ABC program "Issues and Answers" that will be aired tomorrow.

In the evening he was to attend fund-raising receptions at homes in Scotch Plains and Princeton.

Mr. Carter will campaign in New Jersey again tomorrow, and fly to Ohio in the evening.

At a rally at Military Park in Newark the crowd was small, but friendly. Mayor Kenneth Gibson welcomed Mr. Carter to the city, as he had done a few days before, but once again did not endorse his candidacy. However, the Essex County Democratic leader, Harry Lerner, reaffirmed what he called his "1,000 percent" support for Mr. Carter.

CANDIDATES SHUN CALIFORNIA RACE

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this primary was always necessary if he was to maintain hope of winning the nomination. After he lost in the early primaries, it became necessary for him to win in Texas, as well as here.

Mr. Reagan won a startlingly large victory in Texas. The only problem in California, as seen by Mr. Reagan's managers here, is to get out the Republican vote, for their theory is that he is the overwhelming favorite of California Republicans.

President Ford's campaign managers seem reconciled to a loss in California but hope to keep it from being so overwhelming as to devastate the President's chances in the 11 state conventions that follow this primary.

Mr. Reagan left the state for the weekend, to campaign in Ohio, and President Ford has not been here at all recently. Mr. Reagan will return for a final whirlwind state tour on Monday.

On the Democratic side, Governor Brown announced yesterday that he would spend the weekend in New Jersey, returning to California Tuesday night.

In the two weeks before the California primary, Governor Brown will have spent more time in Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey than he spent in California.

Carter Shifts Plans

Jimmy Carter, the Democratic front runner, had earlier planned to arrive in Los Angeles Monday afternoon for a last minute pitch, but yesterday his staff announced that this had been abandoned.

The former Georgia Governor has said that he thinks "it is not reasonable to expect" that he could defeat Governor Brown in the Governor's home state.

Instead, the Carter plan is to capture a significant share of the California delegate votes when they are divided in proportion to Tuesday's vote.

Mr. Carter's staff has talked to reporters in terms of "hoping" to get 25 per cent of the vote, which would mean about 70 delegates. The Brown campaign spokesmen have spoken of the "hope" of holding Mr. Carter to under 100 delegates.

Observers here have taken these statements to mean that both camps expect Mr. Carter to get about 80 to 90 delegates.

Vote-Dividing Formula

The formula by which the Democratic delegates will be divided is this:

¶Of the 280 delegates, 210 will be picked according to the primary election vote as cast in the state's 43 Congressional districts. Four to seven delegates are alloted to a district, according to the size of the Democratic vote there.

¶The Secretary of State will calculate the vote for each candidate in each district and those receiving under 10 percent will not be considered further in dividing the delegates in that district.

¶The percentages are then recalculated, and a new cutoff point established, based on the number of delegates at issue in the district. If, for example, the district has four delegates, a candidate must get at least 25 percent of the vote to share, or if there are five delegates, the candidate must set 20 percent.

¶At a vote after the primary results are established, the elected delegates and members of the steering committees appointed by candidates last spring will select 70 delegates to be named at large.

No matter what the vote, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, although his name is on the ballot, can win no delegates because he withdrew from campaigning without naming a steering committee.

Others on the Democratic ballot are former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, Senators Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Frank Church of Idaho, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, and Ellen McCormack of Long Island, the anti-abortion candidate nominated by petition. There is also a place to vote for an uncommitted delegation.

Church and Udall Hopes

Polls have indicated that only Senator Church and Representative Udall have a chance to make the first cutoff point of 10 per cent.

Mr. Church's campaign staff has indicated that he hopes to get at least a few delegates, and his volunteers have been concentrating in Congressional districts that include large universities.

In nonpartisan issues on the ballot, the indications are that an initiative measure that would severely limit the construction of nuclear power plants will be defeated.

Senator John V. Tunney seems to be landing his chief challenger, Tom Hayden, the former college radical, for the Democratic nomination for the seat Mr. Tunney now holds.

S. I. Hayakawa, the former president of San Francisco State University, seems to hold a narrow lead for the Republican nomination, trailed by Robert A. Finch, former Lieutenant Governor and former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the first Nixon Cabinet.

The most unusual campaign gimmick has been used by Williard Connor, of Sterling City in Butte county in the Sierra mountains.

Church Says Vote in Ohio Could Decide Nomination

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

MANSFIELD, Ohio, June 5—"This could be the telling election," Senator Frank Church told a group of rubber workers in Toledo this morning. "As Ohio goes, so probably will go the national convention."

Freely translated, what that means is that, barring another unlikely Church "miracle" here, former Gov. Jimmy Carter will be the Democratic Presidential nominee. Or, as Mr. Church put it in an interview on his chartered Viscount flying here, it "looks more and more" that way. But he added that he was of course not ready to "write off" Ohio because of a "very large undecided" vote.

Yesterday Mr. Church told a reporter for a local newspaper that he believed both the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates would have to be chosen from among those aspirants who had been through the primary testing season—and it is obvious that he believes himself a more likely Vice-Presidential choice than either Representative Morris K. Udall, who has not won a single primary, or Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

Amenable to 2d Spot

Asked how he would react to a Vice-Presidential bid from Mr. Carter, Mr. Church said: "It would depend upon the role that he would be willing to give the Vice Prssident in his Administration."

Later in the interview, however, he returned unbidden to the subject, saying: "If Carter were to want me to run with him and the conditions were right, he knows that I've proven a very effective campaigner and that I would campaign as hard for him and tha ticket as I have campaigned for myself."

And, indeed, Mr. Church is still campaigning hard for the Presidential nomination that he does not realistically expect to win, after losing about a day and a half this week to an ear and throat infection that finally forced him to take to his bed. He was disappointed but not disheartened by coming in third in Rhode Island, where a victory, he had predicted, would make him a truly "national candidate."

Both he and his advisers reject the notion that there is any element of regionalism in his four victories, to the extent of calling Nebraska — a state about as far west as Texas—an Eastern state.

But Mr. Church, now in his fourth term as a Senator from Idaho, does tend to view the countrY from a Far West vantage point. In Providence, he referred to being "out here" in Rhode Island; in Toledo yesterday, he kept describing Ohio as part of the "industrial Northeast."

TV Exposure Sought

Here in Ohio, where his campaign organization has opened six offices in the state, Mr. Church is seeking as much free television exposure as he can get, but not confining himself to television studio interviews. His budget for paid radio and television advertising in this state is a little more than $50,000.

Starting late yesterday, he spoke at a rally and appeared at a popular Hungarian tavern-restaurant in Toledo where it is traditional for any politician to shake hands. Today he is greeting people in a shopping center, talking with striking rubber workers at an Akron plant gate and giving a talk to a union local. Tomorrow's schedule includes an appearance on a national television show, another at a black church and a speech at a teamsters' picnic.

His standard speech, which is varied slightly as circumstances, audiences and time dictate, stresses two themes he has used since he began his campaign in mid-March. These are the "draining" of jobs into Southern and Southwestern states that have so-called right-to-work" laws and his own record of support for repeal of the right-to-work clause, and the "massive hemorrhaging of capital, this massive exportation of our jobs" overseas caused by government policies that offer "every possible incentive, every possible encouragement, every possible inducement to move our capital out of America, every possible tax break on foreign earnings."

Investigations Cited

Because foreign investments are covered by a government-subsidized insurance program, he told his audience this morning, "you're putting it up to export your jobs to foreigners." Mr. Church also tells his audiences that he has led "the only serious investigation ever undertaken by Congress" of multi-national corporations.

"That's why I'm in this campaign," he told reporters as his plane began its descent into Mansfield's airport, "trying to get these issues discussed." Still given to weighting his rhetoric with polysyllabic words, Mr. Church charges that government-employment bills such as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill—which he supports as temporary measures—are simply a "palliative."

Sometimes, however, he does cut the fervor of his speaking style with a smile and a light comment: "We're not going to get pushed around by the tiny Republic of Panama, folks—let's not get panicky over that."

He generally tells audiences that he has won four of five primaries. It is actually four of six, but when asked about this, he said that he does not include Nevada because he had little or no organization and had barely campaigned in the state.

Even is he is back in the Senate in the fall, the 53-year-old candidate said, he will have no regrets. His victory in Nebraska, he feels, "eliminated the worry in the Senate that there would be a serious backlash against" his investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency. And, he added, he has gained national standing "that will be helpful to me in the Senate."

He is also likely to inherit the chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee when its current chairman, Senator John Sparkman, Democrat of Alabama, retires. And should, there be an open race for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1980, Frank Church the late-starter, would have a very long head start.

Ohio: Urban and Industrial Yet Republican

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

CINCINNATI—In "The Megastates of America," Neal R. Peirce begins his discussion of the nation's sixth-largest state with these words: "Ohio, mother of second-rate Presidents, hung up about its own identity (East to Westerners, West to Easterners), the personification of the middle-class society, is the least distinctive of the great industrial states."

It is also decidedly more conservative and more Republican than its sisters, Michigan, Illinois and Pennsylvania. President Ford should win this state easily, as he did the three others. But this is not, on the face of it, fertile territory for Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who will attempt in Ohio on Tuesday for the ninth, final and perhaps crucial time to defeat Jimmy Carter in a Presidential primary.

John F. Kennedy liked to say that Ohioans would cheer for him in 1960, but they wouldn't vote for him. He carried Michigan that year, but not Ohio; the same thing happened to Hubert H. Humphrey in 1968.

Long before the peccadillos of Wayne L. Hays became public knowledge, the state had a reputation for a lackluster Congressional delegation. The two major Ohio figures on Capitol Hill since World War II have been Robert A. Taft, the aloof but intellectually powerful conservative Senator, and William M. McCulloch, a key figure in the passage of civil rights legislation in the House. Both were Republicans, and the state is the only major one whose delegation is solidly Republican (15 seats to 8) today.

The best index to Ohio's political character, however, is its Governors. The two dominant figures in the last quarter-century have been Frank J. Lausche, a dour and tight-fisted Democrat from Cleveland, and James A. Rhodes, a Republican from southern Ohio with a fondness for locker-room humor. Both believed in low-tax, low-service government.

Mr. Rhodes, the current Governor, has molded a career out of such unlikely clay as Chamber of Commerce sloganeering ("Profit Is Not a Dirty Word in Ohio"), a down-home manner (he thinks nothing of getting down on hands and knees and grubbing for earthworms with kids at a campaign picnic) and the most complete system of interstate highways in the country.

Twice liberal Democrats have tried to bring Ohio government more into line with the pattern in other urban states. But both of them, Michael V. DiSalle, a portly Italian-American from Toledo, and John J. Gilligan, a slim Irish-American from Cincinnati, were repudiated by the voters after one term.

In part, the explanation for Ohio's enduring conservatism and Republicanism is demographic: in the southern part of the state, particularly, the population tends to be of Anglo-Saxon or German-American stock, which dilutes the strength of the ethnic vote in the northern industrial cities. In part, the explanation is historical: the Republican organizational advantages created by "Boss" Hanna of Cleveland, the man who gave the nation William McKinley, have been perpetuated by modern Republican technicians such as Ray C. Bliss.

But probably the most important explanation is geographic. Ted Celeste, who is running Mr. Carter's Ohio campaign, gestured toward a road map last week and remarked: "Look at all the yellow splotches. Every one of those is a city with 50,000 people or more."

Ohio has 19 such cities, including eight with populations of 100,000 or more. The result is a decentralization of power that has made impossible the growth of dominant urban political bases like Detroit and New York and Chicago. Illinois, by contrast, has only three cities over 100,000—Chicago, Rockford and Peoria—and Cook County is able to provide the bulk of a state-wide majority in good Democratic years.

Nor are Ohio's cities dependably Democratic. Cincinnati, an early settlement in the hills along the Ohio River that has retained considerable worldliness, is usually controlled by the Republicans.

Even Cleveland now has a Republican Mayor, Ralph Perk. A troubled city whose Cuyahoga River is so polluted that it once actually caught fire, and whose downtown area rivals any in America for desolation after 5 P.M., Cleveland is split between the largely black East Side and the ethnic or "cosmo" wards on the west. It had the first black mayor of any major American city in Carl Stokes, a charismatic and innovative if administratively unsteady figure. But in recent elections black candidates have been unable to appeal across racial lines and blacks have been voting lightly. The result is Mr. Perk, white and cautious.

With the exception of Dayton, the smaller cities are less than fascinating: Toledo, a Lake Erie port town whose baseball team has been variously known over the years as the Mud Hens and the Glass Sox (after the dominant local industry); Akron, with its occasionally odoriferous rubber factories and its recently scandal-tinged Soap Box Derby; Youngstown, with its steel mills and Mafia overtones; Columbus, the capital, a Sauk Center grown big whose mayor used to wear an illuminated bow tie in the shape of the American Flag.

Ohio is an industrial bulwark of the nation, a leader in steel, tires, automobile assembly and a host of other products. Its carefully tended farms form the beginning of the Great Plains. Some of its small colleges, such as Denison, Kenyon, Oberlin and Ohio Wesleyan, are renowned. The attractiveness of life in small towns such as Mansfield and Athens explains much of the state's animus toward urban domination.

The state's strongest political figure, Senator John H. Glenn, the former astronaut, is the product of such small-town surroundings. He will be the keynoter at the Democratic National Convention in New York, and there are those who consider him a Vice-Presidential prospect.

R. W. Apple Jr., is a national political correspondent for The New York Times.

California: Unpredictable Yet Representative

By JOHN HERBERS

LOS ANGELES—As California's restless millions prepare for another Presidential primary in this year of anti-big government politics, a small but clangorous war that has been raging on the Santa Monica Freeway seems an appropriate backdrop. The struggle began on March 15 when the State Department of Transportation, launching a demonstration project for curbing the extravagant use of energy in traffic jams, restricted one of four lanes to buses and cars carrying three or more people. The outcry that individual liberties had been violated was immediate and sustained.

Protests range from legal action to use of dummies propped on car seats to fool highway patrolmen. Last week a long caravan of autos carrying one person each forced its way onto the restricted lane in an act of civil disobedience that led to mass arrests, even as the state was declaring the experiment a success in traffic control.

California has long been an outpost for individualism and the pursuit of happiness, and now it is the nation's largest state with more than 21 million people, most of them bunched in the lower third of the state between the mountains and the Pacific. Economic growth and sprawling urban corridors heavily dependent on the automobile have forced an awareness of the need for environmental protection and energy conservation on an electorate that is educated and sophisticated, yet extremely volatile and polarized.

This may be the only state that could have a student radical leader of the 1960's, Tom Hayden, cause an established United States Senator, John V. Tunney, to run scared in the Democratic senatorial primary while fielding a Presidential candidate, Ronald Reagan, who, with strong support from his home base, has forced the national Republican campaign to the far right.

And on Tuesday, the same Mr. Reagan will return to California to confront President Ford in a Republican primary that Mr. Reagan must win if he is to carry his contest for the party's nomination to the Republican National Convention. At the moment, most authorities agree, Mr. Reagan is favored to carry his home state.

Contrasts and contradictions abound. While the median family income in the nation's wealthiest state is above $15,000 and there is one automobile for every 1.8 residents, the unemployment rate in recent years remained consistently above the national rate. The report for May showed 10 percent, or almost a million Californians out of work, compared with a national figure of 7.3 percent. The aerospace and electronics industry, which went into decline after the 1960's, has never recovered to its 1967 peak. Thus the great national trek to the Pacific shores by Americans seeking a better life and a pleasant environment has slowed drastically.

Federal Prosperity

While the growth of the Federal Government has become a target in both the Reagan campaign and that of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., in the Democratic Presidential race, California prosperity has been built to a large degree on Federal payments. In 1974, California supplied about $29 billion in Federal tax revenues while receiving $31 billion in Federal outlays, or $1,573 for every resident. The Department of Defense alone spent about $12 billion here.

Contravening demands for new economic growth and environmental controls that slow expansion have had an impact on politics. Even as the electorate appears to have grown more conservative, Democratic candidates have been more successful than Republicans at bridging the gap, increasing their margin of control on almost every level. Of the more than 8 million voters registered for Tuesday's primary, 57 percent are Democrats and 36 percent Republicans. The state has two liberal Democrats in the Senate while, in the House of Representatives, 28 of the 43 California members are Democrats. On the state level, both the Governor's office and the Legislature are under Democratic control.

The Republicans are so badly split along ideological lines that their ability to win state-wide elections has been shattered in recent years. The conservatives who have sustained Mr. Reagan have influence beyond their numbers because they work harder, supply more money and turn out in the elections in larger proportions than the moderates.

While the Democrats predominate in most areas, they are not organized by party. Anyone running a state-wide campaign must depend on the media to win the millions of votes needed for victory. Traditional campaign organization does not work. There is a saying among political operatives that even if a Presidential candidate could assemble an army of young workers large enough to canvass successfully for votes he could not pay the peanut-butter bill.

Yet despite its distinctions, the California electorate in many ways is a representative slice of America. Well over half of its population is suburban. There are large pockets of blacks and Mexican-Americans. Together the two groups make up more than a million of the voters registered for the primary. There are 1.6 million government employees in California. The economy is diversified to such an extent that Californians frequently describe themselves as capable of being a separate and important nation.

All of this has created a sense of parochialism. The political experts said when the primary campaign opened that Gerald R. Ford and Jimmy Carter were not well known among Californians, even though one is the President and the other the leading Democratic Presidential candidate. Both, of course, had had wide exposure in California newspapers and on television but because neither had been seen in the California context, they remained remote.

John Herbers is an assistant national editor of The New York Times.

The Campaign On TV: Some Cancellations

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

LOS ANGELES—For five months now, the media men have been buying television time to promote the hopes of Presidential candidates who are driven by the commercial exigencies of that communication system and the impatience of its audience to rely on the 30-second "spot" as a prime tool for reaching and moving voters.

To the dismay of no one, this process of contrived mass persuasion, which started in Iowa the week before the Democratic precinct caucuses there, will go into intermission next week—tens of millions of dollars later—with the counting of the last primary votes. The contribution of the media men to public enlightenment is obviously open to debate. So is their effectiveness; this year even fewer media men than candidates have managed to stay to the end of the primary season.

On the Republican side, neither President Ford nor his challenger, Ronald Reagan made it from New Hampshire to California with the same media advisers and strategies with which they set out. Mr. Reagan shifted his strategy more than two months ago. The President's changes became apparent only last week, when a new kind of Ford commercial appeared on television in California.

Last fall the two Republicans both turned to media men who had advised the winner of the last two Presidential elections. Mr. Reagan picked Harry Treleaven, a New York ad man who oversaw the selling of the President in 1968 in a manner that was tartly chronicled in Joe McGinnis's book of that title. The President Ford Committee looked to the tactical success in 1972 of the now-notorious Committee to Re-Elect the President and hired Peter H. Dailey, the Los Angeles ad man who handled the advertising for Richard M. Nixon his last time out.

Each adviser tailored his strategy to his candidate and the problems his candidate faced. Thus, Mr. Treleaven calculated that the most important goal for Mr. Reagan's media strategy was to establish his "credibility" as a candidate of Presidential stature. Showing the former governor in a studio situation would risk calling attention, Mr. Treleaven feared, to his past as a former actor. So Mr. Reagan's earliest commercials were pieced together from films shot in actual campaign situations in New Hampshire and Florida.

A Star Reborn

The spots that resulted had the authentic look of a news clip that Mr. Treleaven had sought. If 1,000 or so Republicans in New Hampshire had cast their ballots differently, the commercials would probably have been regarded as a great success. But after the candidate's early string of defeats, his advisers concluded that the Treleaven spots lacked punch. Then, almost by chance, they re-discovered Mr. Reagan's extraordinary strength as a studio performer.

At the end of the Florida campaign, the candidate had taken a free half-hour offered by a Miami station and delivered a studio speech. He lost in Florida, but a film of that speech was shown throughout North Carolina in the final weekend of the campaign there. After the candidate's upset victory, the Reagan forces never looked back. Mr. Treleaven and his approach were both dropped, and costly network time was purchased for fund-raising speeches, one 30 minutes long at the end of March and another five minutes long at the end of April.

The speeches were recorded in a Los Angeles studio where a sedate and dignified living room set, featuring a winged armchair upholstered in yellow, was assembled for Mr. Reagan. Of the 24 commercials he will have used in California, 22 were recorded in that armchair; 19 of them were snipped out of the March and April speeches. It was the television medium in its most basic form: a living-room-to-living-room approach. Given the performer's unmatchable skills, the fact that his living room was just a stage set proved to be of no concern to anyone.

Mr. Dailey's strategy for Mr. Ford also involved a room, the Oval Office. The media adviser knew from the start that his candidate could not compete with Mr. Reagan as a campaigner. His voice was flat and his generally stolid face changed expressions so slowly that, on the tube, it hardly seemed to change at all. But, as the invisible Nixon campaign in 1972 had demonstrated and as Mr. Dailey kept arguing, there was no need for the President to campaign. He was the President, even if he was unelected; he could dominate the network news programs almost every night in the week from the Oval Office.

Therefore, Mr. Ford's ads had to do nothing more than reinforce a perception of calm, collected, purposeful leadership, Mr. Dailey argued. His spots were a marvel of careful editing: the President was portrayed in a succession of still photographs that showed him, at various moments, to be decisive, pensive and cheerful. When his voice was heard at all, it was only for a few seconds that had been carefully excerpted from the quintessential Presidential performance, the State of the Union Address.

The strategy seemed to work in the early primaries, but Mr. Ford's advisers found it hard to keep him in the Oval Office. After North Carolina, the President returned to campaigning, hoping to deliver a knockout punch to Mr. Reagan in Texas. The more he campaigned, the less his above-the-battle television spots seemed to work.

The media advisers argued for a return to the Oval Office, but Mr. Ford concluded that their strategy was essentially defective. He gave his approval to a new series of commercials that employed professional actors and the sort of homey settings and dialogue that are normally used to hawk sleeping pills and deodorants. Mr. Dailey has resigned.

The new Ford approach to television advertising could be interpreted as evidence of desperation in the White House. Coming only a few days before the end of the primary season, it will probably have only a marginal impact on the President's final standing in the delegate tally. But it seems obvious that the Reagan forces hit upon a strategy that fitted their candidate comfortably, while the Ford campaign, in the closing weeks of the primary campaign, was still groping for a magical solution.

On the Democratic side, the campaign trail has been fairly strewn with advertising strategies and slogans that failed to stir any deep response. Only Jimmy Carter seemed to have a clear idea of the uses and limitations of a media strategy. And only he has ended the long primary campaign with his original media adviser, an Atlanta ad man, Jerry Rafshoon. But for the past few months, the polls and the commentators have tended to suggest that Mr. Carter was the toughest, most successful politician on the American scene while his ads were still depicting a homey provincial, preaching an updated Gospel on the goodness of America.

The effect, at least on viewers who have been attentive to Mr. Carter's hard-driving campaign as it has been portrayed on the news programs, may have been to produce a double-exposure: the Jimmy Carter of the commercials was no longer congruent with Jimmy Carter the front-runner. Recognizing this problem, the Carter campaign has bought five minutes of network time on all three networks tonight in the hope that a statement by the candidate on his "vision of America" would help reconcile his homey and hard-driving sides in the minds of the mass audience.

If there is a moral to be discovered in the media campaigns so far, it is bound to be trite: that television ads can never be viewed in isolation from the rest of the campaign.

Joseph Lelyveld, a member of The New York Times Washington bureau, reports on politics.

5

'Carter, Evangelism, And Jews'

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, June 5—The other day, Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, who is national director of inter-religious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, circulated a statement to Jewish leaders throughout the country on "Carter, Evangelism, and Jews."

"Is Jimmy Carter good for the Jews?" Rabbi Tanenbaum asked, and then continued: "That question is probably the liveliest and most anxious political issue today in the Jewish community.

"Liberal Protestants and Catholics in the Northern cities similarly are asking: 'Is Jimmy Carter good for America?'"

This brings into the open one of the previously submerged issues of the '76 Presidential campaign, not unlike "the Catholic issue" raised by the candidacy of John Kennedy in the election of 1960. It troubled Kennedy then, as it troubles Carter personally now, but it was resolved in '60 because Kennedy faced it publicly, and Carter, who is appearing before the Newark, N.J., Jewish Educational Center this weekend, as Kennedy appeared before the Protestant preachers in Houston 16 years ago, is following the Kennedy example.

What is the issue? In personal terms it is that Mr. Carter, like Mr. Kennedy in 1960, is a comparative unknown, identified in the political struggle with all the ancient beliefs and prejudices of the faiths of their childhood. But there is a fundamental difference:

WASHINGTON

Carter is a deeply religious man, and Kennedy wasn't.

Mr. Kennedy had a comparatively easy time with the Protestant clergy in Houston who feared that a Roman Catholic President might put the papacy ahead of the Presidency. Those of us who were there then reported that Kennedy had a triumph, not because he believed in his religion but because he didn't really believe, and convinced his critics that they really had nothing to worry about.

Mr. Carter has a much more difficult problem. He is identified with many members of his church who have a long history of anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. The Southern Baptists, like the Jews, the Catholics, the Mormons, the Christian Scientists, the Presbyterians, Anglicans and all other sects, have their fundamentalists and their modern dissenters, but for the moment, Mr. Carter, having given witness to his faith, is being charged with all the bigotry and ancient prejudices of his clan.

Rabbi Tanenbaum, in his memorandum, defines the anxiety of the Jews, as he sees it, but also appeals for patience and understanding.

Ignorance and fear are the main problems, he suggested. "Most Northern Jews and Christians have no experience with evangelical Christians and base their perceptions on historical and literary images which are overwhelmingly negative.

"Historically," he adds, "evangelical Christianity dominated American nationalism for the first 100 years of our country. In that 'evangelical empire,' as Dr. Martin Marty called it, in order to be regarded as a patriotic American, you had to be an evangelical Christian. Neither Catholics, Jews, nor dissenting Protestants were allowed to vote or hold public office.

"So one of the unanswered 'Yankee questions' is whether a President Jimmy Carter would help resurrect a mentality of second-class political status for non-evangelicals . . ."

The Jews are not the only ones asking these questions about Mr. Carter. They happen to have some special questions about his views on the future of Israel—would a "twice-born" Christian, alluding to the importance of a "personal relationship" to Jesus Christ, really agree as President to the sovereignty of Israel over Jerusalem?

Obviously, this doesn't bother Abe Beame, the Mayor of New York, and many other Jews who are supporting Mr. Carter for the Presidency—particularly including many of the leaders of the Jewish community in Atlanta, who know Carter better and support him more enthusiastically than the doubting Jewish leaders of New York.

Still, it would probably not be wise to ignore or minimize this liberal opposition to Mr. Carter, and particularly the anxiety of the Jewish community about him. So far, he is winning against the main labor, political and intellectual forces of his party, whom he has overwhelmed but not convinced.

Maybe this is why Rabbi Tanenbaum was more cautious in his statement at the end. He didn't answer his questions: "Is Jimmy Carter good for the Jews?" or the larger question: "Is Jimmy Carter good for America?" He merely suggested a little caution about imposing religious judgments on their political decisions.

"What most Northerners do not understand," he said, "is that there is today a pluralism of theologies as well as social values among evangelists, as there is among Catholics and Jews. The traditions of religious liberty in America began, after all, with Roger Williams, a Baptist, as is Jimmy Carter.

"And there are new evangelicals who are committed to social justice as passionately as any Northerner. The point of this message is not to presume to tell you whom to vote for, but to [urge you] to do your homework, and not vote on the basis of prejudice, mythologies, and stereotypes."

The Middle West: 'Balance Wheel' of the Republic

By Nick Thimmesch

DUBUQUE, Iowa—The rich, black soil of Iowa plays host to the recently planted corn. Farmers claim that only inclement weather can stop them from having another boomer year. Unemployment is lower here than in other regions. The Middle West, in this Bicentennial year, remains the balance wheel to the Republic. The heartland stretches from Ohio westward halfway through Nebraska, and from Minnesota south well into Missouri. It is not the most spectacular region in the nation, but surely is the steadiest. The Middle West considers the East's dictums and the West's enthusiasms, perhaps indulging itself for a while, but always comes to its senses, thus moderation.

The political liberalism in the Middle West is usually practiced by people unafflicted with urges to destroy. The conservatism is the sort which judged Barry Goldwater radical in 1964, because it perceived him to be against Social Security, assistance to agriculture and reckless with peace.

This year Middle Westerners seem comfortable with Jimmy Carter. They ask a visitor from Washington whether Carter would be a good President, and they also want to know, of late, what kind of man is California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown.

Talk to Republicans and you will hear concern about President Ford's challenge from Ronald Reagan. The question which keeps popping up is, will Reagan really beat the President out of the nomination?

Middle Westerners are more interested in Barbara Walters and her $1-million-a-year job than they are in the Panama Canal. Hell, said one man whose patriotism is above reproach, what is the canal good for anymore anyhow? He had read a lot about it and figured that while it was just fine that Teddy Roosevelt was so proud of it, today the canal isn't worth going to war over.

People who live along the Mississippi River enjoy catfish and avoid extremes. Inland, around the cities and towns which dot the undulating prairie, brown and black now until the corn shoots emerge, there seems to be a contentment from not thinking about politics or great issues. It would be difficult to get anyone from Algona, Iowa, worked up over Angola.

There is great value to the nation in having this Middle Western balance wheel. The East has its high practitioners of doomsaying. Too many of the influential in the great metropolises are jaded. Still, the East holds considerable power, generates many new ideas and has a corner on the communications and opinion-making business.

The West has always been a refuge from the East, especially whenever the East became problematic. The West also lured those who were bored in the Middle West or failing in it. Adventurism always characterized the West. Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis that the West served as a national safety valve stands up well.

Take a chance in the West because people out there don't care who you are or where you came from, but can you do it? So the West became freeways and hopeful transients and neon greetings to open spaces. The West goes without neckties, has dinner on the patio and doesn't worry that much about Henry Kissinger.

Again, historically, the Middle West functions as a balance wheel between the rambunctious West and the more rigid, institutionalized East. But in recent years, the West has become more subtle in its life style and has even become concerned about its alluring qualities. The states of Washington, Oregon and California aren't at all eager to accept newcomers. They want to sit back and enjoy without being pestered by visitors and unseemly growth.

The great surge of movement, of growth, in America is felt in the South and Southwest; the balance wheel can handle it. The South is in a marvelous renaissance, freed of its fetters over race and receiving overdue respect. Visit the Southwest and you'll wonder if there ever was a recession. High-rises shooting like beanstalks. Glistening new shopping centers proudly sprawling. Excitement and vigor, and that's why they do get worked up over the Panama Canal. Lusty red, white and blue—that's the tone in the sunbelt states.

All of this amounts to generalization, of course. Walls do not isolate our great regions. There is big traffic back and forth in people and ideas. Our nation is vitalized because of such intercourse.

But it's reassuring to reflect on the whole, as we move closer to the 200th birthday of the Republic and realize that the Middle West quite nicely fills the role of the national balance wheel. Ours is a society capable of great gyrations and regional shimmy. But in the heartland there is a stability and measured approach—in fact, word and deed—which serves the Republic so well.

Nick Thimmesch is a syndicated writer. This is one of his recent columns.

But the Hand Was the Hand of Humphrey

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

On April 23, just before the Pennsylvania primary, Senator Hubert Humphrey wrote me to insist that "if I wanted to be a candidate for President, I would enter the primaries." Six days later, he announced that he would not enter the New Jersey or any other primary, seeming to confirm what he had further written me:

"I have said a thousand times to inquiring reporters that continually ask the same question that I am not a candidate. . . . I plan to run for re-election to the United States Senate. I think it's highly unlikely that I will receive the Presidential nomination. If, however, the Convention turns to me, it will only be because the delegates want me. . . ."

That has been Mr. Humphrey's public position throughout the campaign. It did not stop him from coming to the assistance of Representative Morris Udall in the Wisconsin primary —an obvious effort to slow down Jimmy Carter that had the net effect of making Mr. Udall appear to be a Humphrey stand-in.

Senator Henry Jackson had to ask Mr. Humphrey to stay out of New York to give him a clear shot at the labor vote in that state. In Pennsylvania, Mr. Humphrey could not be kept away and his appearances before enthusiastic labor groups made it clear that their support for Mr. Jackson was just a blind for their real preference—Hubert Humphrey. That helped ruin the Jackson campaign in Pennsylvania.

Since saying that he would not enter the New Jersey primary, Mr. Humphrey has spent parts of five days in campaign-like activities in that state. He has allowed himself to be jointly endorsed with Gov. Jerry Brown of California by an uncommitted slate of New Jersey delegates. That may well have damaged Mr. Brown's chances to score an upset against Jimmy Carter, as he already has done in Maryland and Rhode Island; and it will certainly diminish the effect of such an upset on Mr. Brown's own candidacy.

Meanwhile, a "draft Humphrey" movement headed by Joseph F. Crangle, the Buffalo Democratic leader who also is a mastermind of the "ABC —Anybody But Carter" effort, is well under way. And on June 3, Mr. Humphrey came almost all the way out of the closet. He told R. W. Apple of The New York Times that he would probably begin active pursuit of the Presidential nomination if Mr. Carter emerged from the June 8 primaries with fewer than 1,200 to 1,300 of the 1,505 delegates needed for nomination.

This news puts Mr. Udall and Senator Frank Church, who are taking on Mr. Carter in Ohio, and Mr. Brown, who is running against him in California and trying to do so in New Jersey, on notice that if they can do well enough on Tuesday to stop Mr. Carter, Hubert Humphrey will then jump into the race, too.

Mr. Humphrey is, of course, entitled to change his mind. He is certainly entitled to seek the Democratic nomination. He is not obligated to run in the primaries; he didn't in 1968. And it is a time-honored tactic to work for a deadlocked convention, while setting oneself up as a "compromise" choice.

There's nothing objectionable in any of that, except that if it all results in Mr. Humphrey's nomination, he may have difficulty reuniting the Democrats he will have done as much as anyone to deadlock; and except that if it all fails to nominate Mr. Humphrey, Mr. Carter or the ultimate nominee may well have been crippled by a convention battle at the outset, of the campaign.

As for Mr. Carter, everybody's target, he conceivably could end the race with smashing victories Tuesday in Ohio and New Jersey and a good showing in Jerry Brown's California preserve; but his recent track record does not suggest he'll have such a finishing kick. And if the Tuesday results are poor enough for Mr. Carter to bring in Mr. Humphrey, they will be poor enough to hamper his ability to wheel and deal for the last few hundred delegates he'll need.

He is likely to be, however, the ultimate beneficiary of the 150-odd George Wallace delegates, most from Southern and border states, who'll hardly go to one of the other candidates against another Southerner. He may well be able to get almost 100 delegates from Mayor Daley of Chicago, particularly by promising Senator Adlai Stevenson 3d the Vice-Presidential nomination. Henry Jackson also has more than a hundred delegates, and has said he won't recommend that they vote for anyone who didn't run in the primaries.

The "ABC" movement and the "draft Humphrey" forces—which are virtually the same thing—run twin risks, therefore. If they succeed, they may well divide the party. If they lose, they may have forced Mr. Carter to clinch his nomination with the support of party elements more conservative than he is, with lasting effect on his campaign and his possible Administration.

WEATHER
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The Atlanta Journal

★ AND ★

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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By ANDREW MOLLISON
and BRAD TILLSON
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

CLEVELAND — Just two days before the Super Tuesday primaries in Ohio, California and New Jersey, the puzzling question of whether Jimmy Carter can clinch the Democratic presidential nomination that day remains unsolved.

Even if he loses in California, as expected, Carter could, for all practical purposes, win the nomination through strong victories in Ohio and New Jersey.

But it appears unlikely that the three widely varying races in Tuesday's Triple Exacta will produce that clear-cut a result. Mixed results could extend the quest for the nomination even beyond the July 12 opening of the Democratic National Convention in New York City.

"Nobody knows what will happen next week," Carter said a few days ago. Not many political professionals seemed willing to dispute that observation.

To stop the Stop-Carter movement Tuesday, Carter would need to best one or both of his recent challengers in California, an old victim in Ohio, and an unknown quantity in New Jersey.

Turn to Page 25A, Column 2

Continued from Page 1A

He is the only candidate actively campaigning in all three of the large states that together will send 540 delegates, one-sixth of the national total, to Madison Square Garden for the final rounds.

At the end of the week he was the underdog in Gov. Jerry Brown's native California, favored in Ohio and had as good a chance as anyone else in New Jersey.

A California win by Carter would eliminate Brown from the national race. But a Field poll released Friday showed Brown leading Carter, 51 to 20 per cent, with 9 per cent for Idaho Sen. Frank Church, whose last-minute blitz dropped when he was sidelined by a bad cold and strep throat.

In Ohio, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Church and a bevy of uncommitted slates were expected to divide the anti-Carter vote.

Even Udall, the eternal optimist who stayed in the primaries after an astounding string of second-place finishes, admitted that "it's all over in all likehood if Carter wins here."

In New Jersey, Carter is opposed by a narrow Udall effort, confined mostly to strongly liberal suburban and university population pockets, and by an amorphous "uncommitted" slate whose members disagree about whom they really are for. Church's campaign is run by volunteers in living rooms and kitchens.

Some of the uncommitted New Jersey delegates favor Brown and a few like Carter, but because most are in love with Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, a win here would giver Carter some sort of a claim to more voter appeal than the veteran standard-bearer.

Humphrey said during his five appearances in the past month in New Jersey, including two at fund-raisers for the party-run slate, that he was not campaigning.

Workers for the uncommitted slate were worried that many voters in New Jersey might take Humphrey at his word, and vote for someone else's delegates.

Carter changed his tactics slightly for this final round, in apparent reaction to the success his opponents had in labeling him as fuzzy on issues in some recent primaries.

He will make a five-minute talk in what an aide called "a positive tone" on all three national networks at 10:55 Sunday. The paid television time will cost his campaign $45,000.

In New Jersey, his campaign purchased newspaper ads headlined "Is Jimmy Carter Really Vague on the Issue? Decide for Yourself." The ad outlined Carter's stands against unemployment, bureaucracy, the Arab oil embargo and wasteful foreign aid, and in favor of tax reform, welfare reform, mandatory national health insurance and effective foreign aid.

His campaign also prepared and distributed material aimed at two special constituencies that have not been identified with him in the past: New Jersey Jews and California homosexuals.

His heavy media expenditures in all three states exceeded those of his rivals.

Here is the outlook in each state:

OHIO — Carter should win most of the 152 delegates despite a strong Udall campaign and a weak Church effort in this, the most conservative of the large northern industrial states.

Carter has already won primaries in every state bordering Ohio except West Virginia, the only primary in the country that Carter did not enter.

Church is entered in only 15 of the 23 congressional districts where most of the delegates are chosen on a winner-take-all basis.

He should split the anti-Carter vote with Udall, who ignored Church's advice that he drop his Ohio campaign to give his fellow westerner a clear shot at the former Georgia governor.

"That's like a high school team telling Ohio State to get out of the Rose Bowl game," Udall said.

Church denied that he was part of a stop-Carter movement. "I'm engaged in a support-Church movement," he said.

But Udall, besides using tough anti-Carter commercials that were criticized by neutral Sen. John H. Glenn Jr. (D-Ohio), the top vote-getter in the state's history, joked in Cleveland that he was about to preside over "a meeting of the Stop-Carter Movement, Inc."

Udall said the minutes would be read by Church, the invocation delivered by former Jesuit seminarian Brown and the main address delivered by Humphrey.

Glenn and 37 other prominent Ohio Democrats are on the nation's favorite-daughter slate, in what most of its members view as a long-shot effort to become convention brokers through nominally backing State Treasurer Gertrude Donahey. Carter, Church and Udall also have slates competing for the 38 at-large seats.

On the district level results could be complicated by strong home-district bids by Rep. Louis Stokes among black Cleveland voters and by Rep. Wayne Hays, who wants a vote of confidence from his eastern Ohio constituents in the wake of an embarrassing sex imbroglio, but views his efforts in five other districts as "down the tubes." Three other congressmen and a county prosecutor head other mini-slates as favorite cousins in one district apiece.

"What happens here will have a profound impact on the uncommitted delegates," Carter told Ohioans, but when his state campaign manager predicted that Carter would win two-thirds of the state's delegates, Carter dismissed the prediction as "naive" and "a mistake."

CALIFORNIA — Brown, back in his home state for the first time since he left to campaign in Maryland, could

win more than half of the state's 280 delegates.

This weekend he is stumping by airplane from one end of the state to the other. He has offices and volunteers in each of the state's 43 congressional districts, 674 neighborhood headquarters, high personal popularity, the usual home-state advantages, and has a name — Edmund G. Brown — that between him and his father, a former governor, has appeared on every statewide California ballot since 1952.

"It's our ball field," said his campaign manager, Mickey Kantor. "We got to win here."

"I don't think there's any reasonable prospect of beating Brown," said Carter press secretary Jody Powell. "What we're really trying to do is pick up delegates."

Church, his $100,000 budget dwarfed by the $250,000 estimated spending by Brown and the more than $400,000 Carter is spending, decided to go to Ohio after recovering from his illness because "you can run in Ohio without coming up against an incumbent governor."

Udall closed his headquarters here, but could pick up scattered delegates from liberal areas.

Confident of victory, Brown's campaign is already setting up a six-day "post-primary presidential campaign" starting Wednesday. Brown will try to raise his national poll rating through flying visits to Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Kentucky and Indiana, hoping that higher popularity will help him pick off uncommitted delegates or those pledged earlier to candidates who have since dropped out.

NEW JERSEY — Party regulars still shudder about the "bloody Thursday" following the Pennsylvania primary that ruined their hopes of sweeping all 108 New Jersey delegates for Humphrey.

Within three hours on that day, Humphrey refused to file, some top Democrats dropped off the slate, and the governor endorsed Carter and promptly fired the state patronage employe who was directing the party slate campaign in his spare time under orders from the state party chairman.

Since then, Atlantic County Chairman Burton Pincus observed: "The race has been neck and neck between Carter and the uncommitted slate, but the excitement is with the politicians, not the public.

Among the distractions within the last week of the campaign were a $500,000 lawsuit against a county party chairman, an indictment of a Democratic congressman (the latest of more than 200 indictments of New Jersey politicians since 1972), the imprisonment of a former state Republican chairman and the arrest of an entire state prison softball team and its guards on jail break charges by a county sheriff who thinks the state is too soft on convicts.

Humphrey appeared at fund-raisers for the state party's uncommitted slate, but at one $100-per-person event drawing more than 200 persons, only 67 of the tickets were paid for before the event was over. The event was Thursday, leaving little time to spend the other money if it ever does get paid.

Complicating the campaign is a balkanized election system, set up without anticipation of the wild internal splits within the party The 81 delegates elected in 40 separate races in state legislative districts, and others running on a statewide slate will not be affected by the non-binding "beauty contest" primary that will also be on the ballot.

Nor was it anticipated that the slate would have at least two candidates — Brown and Humphrey — and be headed by Sen. Harrison Williams, who will also be on the ballot in his U.S. Senate primary bid for re-election.

"When you vote for Brown and I vote for Humphrey, we'll be voting for the uncommitted slate," Marge tells George in one of the slate's radio commercials.

"So?" says George.

"So that's the first time we've agreed on anything in 37 years," says Marge.

And George notes: Marge, did you know we'll be voting for Sen. Harrison Williams twice . . . Marge!"

Brown formed his New Jersey campaign committee Wednesday, too late to make the advertising deadline for weekly papers, and was mystified by the uncommitted delegates' main brochure, mailed to 500,000 households, which said the slate is "committed to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey" but "views with favor" Brown's "emergence (as) a new leader on the national scene."

"Don't believe everything you read," he advised. "The New Jersey campaign is probably the most difficult of all those I've been in."

David Hull, director of Udall's New Jersey field operations said: "We will consider it a victory if we deny Carter a majority."

Peter Schuchter, manager of Udall's state office in Union, said: "I have a feeling, not of bitterness, but of sadness, because Carter might not be a very good President."

From Jimmy Who? To the Big Payoff

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

NEWARK, N.J.— Sixteen months and 12 days ago Jimmy Carter of Georgia set out on what surely will go down as one of the more improbable presidential campaigns the Republic has seen in its 200 years of existence.

Carter's first campaign trips were of such little note that aides actually can't even remember where he went. But they do remember that he often had no more than five or 10 people in the crowds he spoke to. Lacking larger audiences, he carried his message to schools, homes and restaurants.

His peers in the political profession and the news media generally scoffed at him if they noticed him at all.

Carter customarily traveled alone or with a single aide, usually by commercial airline, and when he was on the ground he got around as best he could. There was rarely anyone to help facilitate his travels.

First Round Almost Over

The first go-round of it all will come to an end Tuesday when three of the nation's most populous states (California, Ohio and New Jersey) will hold the last presidential preference primary elections and select 580 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. They will mark the end of 30 presidential primaries in which Carter has run, beginning with New Hampshire in February.

The former Georgia governor has come a long way in the interim, to say the very least.

He now flies about the country in a chartered jet which is usually filled to capacity. In addition to 50 or 60 national newsmen who tag along, he is normally accompanied by two or three press aides, a couple of professional fund-raisers, a full-time speech writer, hordes of Secret Service agents, at least two staff members who worry about nothing other that seeing that everybody is on the plane with their baggage, and even a typist responsible for putting down Carter's speeches and position papers between campaign stops.

His big jet has in essence become a traveling campaign headquarters.

His audiences now swell into the thousands as they did Friday in three of Ohio's cities. He filled public squares in Dayton and Columbus, packed a high school football stadium and was nearly mobbed in a big shopping center in Toledo.

Moving from a near-nobody to frontrunner, Carter has virtually rewritten the book on running for president and established some facts that national politicians are going to have to consider carefully in the future.

Southerner Can Win

First, Carter proved that a Southerner can be accepted in other parts of the country and even turn his background to advantage.

Second, he showed that the voters are not necessarily tuned into the old-line political and labor bosses anymore, especially if they have anything to do with Washington.

Third, he demonstrated that the long-standing political marriage between black voters and the old liberal establishment has been dissolved.

Finally, Carter proved that voters this year are not particularly interested in highly technical and specific ideologically identifiable answers to problems.

He has taken his biggest dose of criticism from opponents on this particular point but he steadfastly refuses to waiver.

At a press conference at a Toledo airport Friday Carter was asked why a recent poll showed that a majority of his supporters didn't really understand where he stood on the issues. Carter responded in a sense that it was because they didn't care to.

"But they know more about where the other candidates stand," a newsman insisted.

"You mean the ones who have been losing?" Carter shot back.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the Carter campaign is his proven ability to win over black voters. Carter, in fact, may be on his way to becoming the first real white political hero blacks have had since the late Robert F. Kennedy.

It drives his liberal opponents crazy—they still can't understand how Northern blacks can vote for a former governor of Georgia—but Carter is warmly received, sometimes almost mobbed, in every black community he enters.

Polls suggest he will carry the black vote in California Tuesday by as much as 5-1 over popular Gov. Jerry Brown.

In Ohio, there could be little doubt but that Carter will overwhelm his only serious opponent, U.S. Rep. Morris Udall, in the black areas. The situation is less certain in New Jersey where the politics are more complicated.

Carter's stunning success story to date has largely been one of consistent support from blacks, plus an uncanny capacity to draw support from white moderates and conservatives.

Appeals to Diverse Groups

The Georgian demonstrated his unique appeal in California last week when he drew a big crowd in Los Angeles' black Watts section and then a few hours later wowed a bunch of farmers, who if it weren't for their wide-rimmed cowboy hats could be described aptly as rednecks, in the San Joaquin Valley. He demonstrated it again in Toledo Friday when he was nearly mobbed in a shopping center by blacks and got a rousing reception in an almost entirely white crowd at the football stadium.

It is Carter's ability to bring such diverse groups together that has won him election after election, state after state and confounded his opponents. The whole thing is based on his refusal to espouse specific, hard-core positions on the issues. Based on an assumption that the interests of all kinds of Americans are not that much different, Carter has refused to identify himself with any particular political philosophy and chosen instead to address himself in terms that appeal to almost everyone.

It is this approach that has drawn the harshest criticisms from Carter's opponents, although it is precisely the thing that appears to have insured his winning the Democratic nomination for president.

SAVANNAH TAVERN OWNER

Pinkie's Carter's No. 1 Toastmaster

By NEIL SWAN
Journal Staff Writer

SAVANNAH—Somehow, some people scattered around the country who support Jimmy Carter for President think that Savannah is the capital of Georgia.

And some think that Carter is still governor.

So, when they write to him, these grassroots supporters address their letters to the "Capitol" in Savannah.

And the mail is duly delivered—to a dingy, dimly lit tavern run by a man who's a combination of legend, inspiration and spell-binder to Savannah tipplers, political hangers-on and politicians across the state.

He's Pinkie Masters, a political observer, campaigner and election warhorse without compare; a man who cannot utter more than three sentences without mentioning a candidate, office-holder or a campaign.

His brand of politics is dispensed before fascinated listeners at the Pinkie Masters' Lounge, where any visiting politician who knows his stuff feels obligated to make an appearance. Even teetotaling Lester Maddox has stunned the bar's patrons with his presence.

To Pinkie, politics is fun. It's his life. He spends hours talking politics and often turns his tiny bar into a sign shop, turning out campaign placards for one of the many hopefuls he has selected to back.

He often gets so deep in his political speculations and so involved in rambling stories which dumbfound newcomers that he leaves the bartending chores to others, often the patrons themselves.

He's been at it for years, but Pinkie is now at the zenith of his career. He is, he says, one of Jimmy Carter's original backers, a man who was supporting him back in the days when no one took the brash governor of Georgia seriously in his bid for the nation's highest office. Pinkie now sees his man coasting the rest of the way into the Democratic nomination and then winning the presidency.

Pinkie really can't explain why it happens, but he is getting correspondence and calls from Carter supporters across the country.

He displays a telegram from a man in Falconer, N.Y., sent shortly after Carter drew massive criticism for his off-hand comment about "ethnic purity."

The telegram is addressed to "Gov. Jimmy Carter, State House, Savannah, Ga." and the message is "Quit apologizing to the bastards."

"They deliver a lot of these letters to Jimmy here," Pinkie says, his eyes dancing with delight and his ever-present cigarette bouncing against his bushy gray moustache, scattering ashes all about.

"I think some people hear it on TV and they think 'Atlanta' sounds like 'Savannah,' so they write here," he explains.

And Pinkie gets the letter, probably because he has opened a "Carter for President" office next to his bar, even though he is not Carter's official campaign manager for the area.

And he gets calls.

"Some guy calls here one night and he says he likes Jimmy and he wants to work for him. He wants some bumper stickers and I ask for his address. That guy was in Great Falls, Montana!" Pinkie says with a wide grin.

"I get calls like that a lot. I talk to these people and I think they are here in Savannah and then they say they are in Lake City, Fla., or Wyoming or somewhere."

Bar patrons take it all in stride, because nothing about Pinkie or his tavern is ordinary.

The decor, mementos and trivia displayed with total abandonment of taste or organization can keep a visitor occupied for hours.

Above the back of the bar sits a small, permanently displayed Christmas tree.

On the walls are old pictures of boxers—Pinkie once was a boxing promoter— autographed photos of politicians current and not-so-current (a youthful Carl Sanders beams down, as well as Mary Hitt, one of the few Pinkie proteges who did not get past the electorate) and scores of ads and promotions for various brands of booze and beer.

An anti-Carter voter in the bar charged that the presidential hopeful paints himself as a good Baptist but had actually served drinks at the U-shaped bar while visiting his friend Pinkie. Bartending is very unBaptist-like, he notes.

Pinkie, obviously thinking of the charges that Carter is "two-faced," leaps to his feet and hotly denies the allegation.

"He didn't do it. He never served one drink. Jimmy went behind the bar, sure," shouted Pinkie. "But he was just shaking hands, campaigning. It's easier to shake hands with all the people if you're behind the bar. He knocked some drinks over."

Later, when the Carter critic leaves, Pinkie relaxes his stand a little, admitting that the presidential hopeful may have helped out with bartending chores.

This seems to be true, if anyone is really all that concerned about whether Carter ever poured a drink in a bar. At least, his pouring skills were detailed in an Oct. 30, 1974 story in The Atlanta Journal.

At that time, Pinkie commented on then-Gov. Carter's hand-shaking visit to the Savannah bar.

"He's an awful bartender," Pinkie had said. "He's always spilling the drinks."

AA

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDI

Weather: Sunny, ple clear tonight. Warme Temperature range: Friday 52-76. Details

CXXV.... No. 43,232 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 5, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. M 20

Carter Buying Simultaneous Time on Three Networks

The New York Times/Gene Smith

Jimmy Carter mixing with crowd after campaign speech yesterday in Columbus, Ohio

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, June 4—Jimmy Carter has purchased simultaneous live-minute spots on the three television networks in an effort to reverse an undercurrent of negative feelings about his candidacy that has been showing up in recent polls and interviews with voters.

His taped talk, which will be broadcast nationally at 10:55 P.M., Eastern daylight time, Sunday, is already showing as a political commercial here in Ohio, where the Democratic front-runner faces a crucial primary test on Tuesday.

In the talk, Mr. Carter speaks in inspirational terms and cadences about his "vision" of the country.

In the process, he seeks to reconcile two sides of his character — the soft-spoken peanut farmer and the relentless politician — that have evidently struck some voters as contradictory and raised the criticism among political opponents that although Mr. Carter has broad appeal, he inspires no intense loyalty.

"Our people," he says, "want a President to be both tough and gentle, both statesman and politician, both dreamer and fighter. You expect him to have the drive and stamina to reach the White House, and the wisdom and patience to govern wisely."

By buying time on the three networks at once—a device

Continued on Page 11, Column 5

Carter Pays 3 Networks For Simultaneous Time

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

known as "roadblocking" by television time buyers—Mr. Carter assures himself the largest political audience of the campaign so far and, according to experts in the field, one of the largest television audiences ever assembled in this country for a paid political broadcast, possibly the largest.

Television time buyers who have worked on national campaigns, including those of Richard M. Nixon and Senator George McGovern in 1972, were unable to recall a previous instance in which a candidate had purchased time simultaneously on the three networks.

When the talk begins, according to audience surveys, television sets in an estimated total of 28 million homes will be tuned to the three networks. An estimated total of 43 million adults will be watching, about 30 percent of all Americans over the age of 18.

The time on the three networks will cost the Carter campaign a little less than $50,000. If the campaign had sought statewide exposure of a similar intensity in the three states in which Mr. Carter goes before the voters on Tuesday, it would have cost nearly as much in the unlikely event that the campaign managed to buy the time on local stations in all the television markets in those states.

$800,000 in 2 Weeks

In its drive to finish the primary season with as many delegates as possible, the Carter campaign has spent $800,000 on television and radio in the last two weeks, according to Gerald Rafshoon, the head of the Atlanta advertising agency that prepares the Carter commercials.

It was hoped, Mr. Rafshoon said, that the talk would have some impact on uncommitted delegates from the nonprimary states.

In elaborating his "vision of America," Mr. Carter seeks to broaden the perception many voters have had of him as a candidate and a man and a man. His closest campaign advisors believe that he has suffered in recent weeks not only from the attacks of his rivals for the nomination but also from the fact that whenever the voters have seen him on television, he has seemed to be preoccupied with his delegate tallies and status as front-runner.

Issues Lose

"Our major problem in this campaign has been the coverage of the television networks," Patrick Caddell, Mr. Carter's pollster, said in a telephone interview. "If Jimmy answers 52 questions on issues and one political question, it's the one political question that hits the air."

At one point in his talk, Mr. Carter quotes the singer Bob Dylan by name, saying that the America he envisions is "busy being born." The talk was reportedly drafted by the candidate's newest speech writer, Patrick Anderson.

It represents Mr. Carter's first purchase of network time. Ronal Reagan, Representative Morris K. Udall and Senator Frank Church have all purchased network time in recent months in an effort to raise money for their Presidential campaigns, but they were satisfied with one network. No appeal for funds is included in Mr. Carter's talk.

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Candidates Having Little Impact On San Fernando Valley Voters

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, June 4—With the cycle of Presidential primaries finally coming to a close, a curious contrast can be drawn between its beginnings three and a half months ago in the snows of New Hampshire and the climax, or anticlimax that voters here in the suburban sprawl of the San Fernando Valley are now experiencing.

There are about 375,000 registered Democrats in the San Fernando Valley, three times as many as there are in the entire state of New Hampshire. But the valley has not seen anything even faintly similar to the intensive face-to-face campaigning and house-to-house canvassing that went on in every New Hampshire town. In fact, except for the fleeting images on the television screens, there has been no campaign here at all.

Even the advertising campaigns on television and radio are thin. Between them, Jimmy Carter and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. are spending less than two-thirds of what Senators George McGovern of South Dakota and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota invested in broadcast commercials in 1972; if the inflation of the last four years is figured in, the figure is less than one-half.

That may help to explain why the campaign seems so unfocused and diffuse in the valley, a passing intrusion in the quiet suburban streets with their semitropical gardens and simple stucco homes.

Some Mild Comments

"It seems like nobody's really surfacing," said Dan Murray, a milkman, who commented mildly that Mr. Carter "affects me in a good way, sort of," that Morris K. Udall "impresses me kind of nice," and that Governor Brown "probably wouldn't be too bad."

The responses of voters in a section called Sherman Oaks were by no means all that tolerant of the candidates, but the same tentative note was often struck. The ultimate beneficiary seemed to be the native son, Mr. Brown, who had the backing of more than half the voters who said they had made up their minds even though none of them appear to think he could be nominated this year.

Indeed, most of the Brown supporters appeared to have misgivings about him, mainly doubts about his motives for running and readiness for the office. Usually, they explained their votes by expressing even deeper misgivings about Mr. Carter.

Ken House, a sales manager for the Campbell Soup Comapny, said he had been disturbed in recent months by what he described as Mr. Brown's failure to take a clear stand on such important California issues as nuclear power and rapid transit. The Governor's belated entry into the Presidential race only deepened Mr. House's doubts.

Distrust for Brown

"I like him basically," he said, "but there's a little bit of distrust. I get a funny feeling lately that he's really aspiring to some other things pretty quickly. I don't think he's ready, and, even if he's ready, I don't know if I'll be ready for him until he's more concrete."

On the other hand, Mr. House could point to the Governor's frugality and intelligence. In Mr. Carter's case, Mr. House said he felt only uneasiness. "I can't give you a lot of reasons," he said. "I just don't want Carter, I don't have a solid feeling for him."

Others tried to express reasons. Ralph Prettyman, an insurance agent who said he was voting for Mr. Brown "partly to help him along with his future," said that the former Georgia Governor's "appearance irritates me." Mike Ferraro called him "too cocky." And June Wilson said of Mr. Carter: "To me, he's just Mickey Mouse on a white horse. I can't take him seriously."

A grade school teacher said she felt it would be a mistake to elect a Southerner, then added "I don't want to give my vote to anyone I don't want to give my vote to, if you know what I mean." Apparently, she meant she did not want to be stampeded.

Few voters seem to have passed through the stage of sorting out their impressions to that of calculating the effect of their votes on the process of selecting a nominee. However, in one household, that of Paul and Caroline Kirsch, a lively debate on just that point has been going on for several days.

The Kirsches were on the fringes of the radical student movement in their college days. Then Mr. Kirsch got a doctorate in history with a thesis on French fascists of the 1930's. Now he dispatches taxis for the Beverly Hills Cab Company, a circumstance that leads him to bitterly resent Governor Brown's parsimonious approach to university finances.

"We're the hope of 60's that fell flat on its nose," Mrs. Kirsch said. "Now we're in barbecue land, and it's a mad scramble everyday."

Mrs. Kirsch believes that the failure of California liberals to work for Mr. Brown's father in 1966 insured the election that year of Ronald Reagan as Governor. Similarly, she reasons, failure to back Mr. Carter now could insure the election of a Republican in November. Her husband believes that Mr. Carter will probably be nominated anyway and that California liberals should try to impress on him their dissatisfaction with the positions he has taken so far.

The best way to do this, he contends, is to vote for Senator Frank Church of Idaho, whose candidacy is just beginning to be perceived by most of the Sherman Oaks voters. Besides, Mr. Kirsch says, when he thinks of Mr. Carter, "what remains with me is a guy who looks like Eleanor Roosevelt when he smiles."

Darr Hawthorne, a producer of animated TV commercials, said it was an open question in his mind whether his impression that Mr. Carter "never really says anything" was the fault of the candidate or the editors of the TV news shows. But on the whole, he suspects it is the candidate's fault.

Avoiding A 'Nonanswer'

"The media people know that they're not going to get a lot out of these guys if they just ask a lot of heavy questions" he said. "They know they'll just be manipulated around to a nonanswer."

It's different with Mr. Brown, he thinks. "He's not even a Democrat or a Republican, a liberal or a conservative," Mr. Hawthorne said. "He's able to weave through party lines and make a fair judgment."

However, for some, a notion that Mr. Brown is restless in his job seemed to be eroding his reputation as a new and different kind of politician.

"We're paying him to be Governor; I sort of feel cheated," said Bill Gropp, who drives a Coca-Cola truck.

"I'm a little bit put off by his ambitiousness," said Mary House, a secretary and psychology student.

Mrs. House said she found Mr. Carter's smile "threatening."

And Katherine Guy, a Republican who said she would vote for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey if she had the chance, remarked that she was "a little bit frightened" by Mr. Carter because I'm not sure anybody can be that sincere." As for Mr. Brown, she thought he had "a big ego" and that he was "on a lark."

The long cycle of primaries had left her with a depressing conclusion. "It creates a certain animal who is not necessarily the best person to be President," she said.

Spanning the Spectrum

Carter Shows Rare Skill in Courting And Gaining a National Constituency

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

COLUMBUS, Ohio, June 4—Early in the 1976 Presidential campaign some politicians and journalists expressed surprise or wonder that opinion polls showed that conservatives seemed to see Jimmy Carter as a conservative and liberals to see him as a liberal. There may be more political mastery than mystery in that fact. All politicians running for national office must address a national constituency of complex and widely diverse parts.

News Analysis

Their audiences often vary remarkably, and most candidates do speak with at least different nuances to different crowds.

But no one seems to be more skillful than Mr. Carter in evoking — and maintaining — the loyalties of a wide spectrum of American voters. Two occasions in his campaign this week provided an interesting example.

Praises King

In Los Angeles yesterday the former Georgia Governor gave one of the most moving speeches on the American racial dilemma heard in a long time. Speaking to a predominantly black audience in Watts, near the so-called Charcoal Alley neighborhood once burned out in slum riots, Mr. Carter dedicated a new psychiatric ward of the Martin Luther King Jr. Hospital and paid an extended tribute to the late Dr. King.

"Martin Luther King Jr.," Mr. Carter said in his soft, rounded voice, "was the conscience of his generation. He was the doctor to a sick society.

"He was the man, more than any other in his generation, who gazed upon the great wall of racial segregation and saw that it could be destroyed by the power of love. I sometimes think that a Southerner of my generation can most fully understand the meaning and impact of Martin Luther King's life."

Dual Awareness

"He and I grew up in the same South," he continued, "both from Georgia, he the son of a clergyman, I the son of a farmer. We both knew, from opposite sides, the invisible wall of segregation. The official rule then was 'separate but equal,' but he and I knew we were neither—not separate, not equal."

Mr. Carter went on to describe the "slow and painful" change that began in the 1950's, saying, "Little towns like mine were almost torn apart by fear and resentment."

Mr. Carter said tribute to the success of Dr. King and of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in expanding the body of civil rights legislation. And, as he has done before, he said the liberation of the South from decades of racial conflict "made it possible for a Southerner like me to stand before you this evening as a serious candidate for President of the United States."

"I could not be standing here if it had not been for Martin Luther King Jr.," he said. "For all our progress, we still live in a land held back by oppression and injustice. We still have a far way to go."

Ideal America Waits

"The Aerica we long for is not there yet, but is still out there, somewhere ahead of us, waiting for us to find her," Mr. Carter said.

A moderator read a telegram from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. that said, in part, "Jimmy, I was with you when you started your long journey. I am with you now. . . . I have a dream too .. .that a Southerner, Jimmy Carter, is going to be President of the United States. . . .I love you and ask all Americans to love you."

An almost physical wave of love seemed to pass from the black listeners to Mr. Carter. David Cunningham, a young black City Councilman, said amid chuckles, "Governor Carter, you can indeed unify this country. . . .We have liberated the South. We need to liberate the North a little bit."

There was a neighborly attitude, too, the next day when a shirt-sleeved Mr. Carter spoke to 200 people at the prosperous 800-acre orange farm of Bill Irwin near Fresno, Calif.

Friendship and Decency

Mr. Irwin grows 1.4 million pounds of oranges a year, and they are picked by nonunionized farm laborers supplied, Mr. Irwin said, by a nearby packing house.

Mr. Carter spoke of the bond of mutual help and friendship between farmers, but did not speak of the sick society to which Dr. King had doctored. He spoke, as he usually does, of the decency, compassion and goodness of the American people.

Of farmers, Mr. Carter, a successful grower of seed peanuts, said, "We have within us a basic inter-relationship that is not in conflict between conservatism and liueralism"

The first question asked Mr. Carter after his speech was what should be done about the struggle between growers and the United Farm Workers of America union and, of late, between that union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters over the teamsters' attempts to organize the same farms.

Wants States to Decide

"Under our system of government," Mr. Carter said, "there is a very special advantage that is seldom pointed out by newspapers or political scientists"—that every right "not specifically granted to the Federal Government is reserved to the states."

"My own inclination would be to let the states face that problem [of farm labor] before we inject the Federal government into it," he daid.

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Changing Carters In Midstream

By Russell Baker

What Jimmy Carter needs at this crucial stage of his campaign is a new Carter. In fact, there is considerable evidence that he is having one built. That joke about Jerry Brown's Zen Buddhism the other day and the harsh reference a few weeks ago to Hubert Humphrey as "an old man" could never have come from the old Carter.

And what about the knife-play Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young used in Carter's behalf on the hapless Morris Udall to suggest that Udall, having once been a Mormon, might now be a racist? The old Carter with his gentle, loving kindness would surely never have let such abuse pass without rebuke.

On the hunch that Carter might be changing Carters in the middle of the campaign, I checked with Campaign Techtronics Inc., the political construction company which produced 17 new Richard Nixons between 1953 and 1972. Lee Jerbil, their brilliant chief of new politician design, insisted that the company had not been approached by Carter and, in fact, was so busy putting finishing touches on its brand new Jerry Brown that it couldn't produce a new Carter before the Democratic convention if it got the contract.

He agreed, however, that Carter was desperately in need of a new Carter. The old Carter with his new face and early Christian manners had "run like Seabiscuit" in early spring, he noted, "but in the past month he's looked more like a six-furlong horse in a 12-furlong race."

In the jargon of political handicappers, Carter has lost his momentum. It isn't surprising. In the old days, it took the public two or three years to get tired of a politician. Jerbil built a new Nixon in 1954 that didn't have to be replaced until 1958. Nowadays, however, the public's rate of politician consumption is terrifying. A new Presidential candidate is lucky if he lasts longer than a cake of bath soap.

The reason for Carter's recent troubles becomes clear once we understand this. Not only is his new face of last February now an old face, but also his new political manner, with its love and kindness for all, is now excessively familiar. The gentlemanly style delighted the public of March, but the public of May has tired of gentility. Cautious jokes are now made about Carter's Baptist devotions. Carter himself may now sense that the public of late spring is ripe for religious meanness. Thus, the joke about Brown the Buddhist and the attack on Udall the Mormon.

Could Carter possibly have picked up one of the old Nixons in a second-hand store somewhere along the campaign trail? I asked Jerbil. Not a chance, he said. Nixon had each worn-out new Nixon put in a storage vault when it came time to get into a new model. Some day he planned to give them all to charity for a tax deduction.

Could Carter possibly make a new Carter without professional help? Jerbil thought it would be very hard. Jerry Brown had taken the entire factory two years to produce, and they were still putting in modifications when Brown decided to run for President.

The designers guessed in March that by May the voters would be bored with Carter's gentlemanly style. They deliberately built Brown with curt, impatient manners that would appeal to a public eager for something different from Carter's courtly style. When word got around that Brown could even be rude to his father, he became the voting sensation of the late spring season.

What elements ought to go into a new Carter to guarantee him the nomination? Jerbil doesn't give free advice,

OBSERVER

and so we can only make an amateur's guess. It is clear that the new Carter ought to stop talking about the importance of momentum and start saying that momentum doesn't count any more. In fact, this is what Carter is now saying.

The new Carter should also probably stop trying to be Mr. Christian and start alking like a man who can be rude to his father, or at least to anybody who gets between him and the nomination. In fact, this is what Carter has started to do.

The new Carter should also stop treating professional political bosses like typhoid carriers, and make it clear to them that he can be mighty friendly in the White House to organization men who deliver for him. In fact, this is what Carter has been doing recently, and it has won him alliances with Mayor Beame, Leonard Woodcock and Mayor Young.

Should the new Carter stop promising that he will never lie to us? Dangerous, perhaps. And yet, if he were to say, "Because I can never tell you a lie, I must tell you in all honesty that there may be a time when, as President, I will have to lie to you," he might be politically reborn as the only candidate in the field honest enough to admit to a possible future obligation to lie.

I do not urge such a course, but it would certainly give us a new politician. And new politicians are what we are looking for to lead us.

Carter and Baptists

By Morris B. Abram

There has been much talk about Jimmy Carter's religious convictions. Some have suggested that Mr. Carter's religion is incompatible with the American political system.

Of course, Jimmy Carter is a Baptist and I know Baptists well. They are among the best and some are the worst people I have ever known—substitute any other religion and the same statement holds.

I grew up in Fitzgerald, Ga., 80 miles from, and 10 times the size of, Plains, Ga., where Jimmy Carter, six years younger, was raised.

I never met Jimmy until he was Governor—the best Georgia ever had—and the first who truly felt and, more important, acted as if he were the chief executive of and for all the people—blacks and whites.

I didn't join the Carter Presidential effort when he asked me in December 1974, explaining that for reasons of personal gratitude and loyalty I was with Scoop Jackson. I added that these personal considerations would not govern if Jackson were not a good man. Governor Carter said he understood and that he felt that Jackson was "good and able," and reminded me that he had nominated Jackson at the 1972 Democratic convention.

Governor Carter told me that he was acquainted with very few members of the Jewish community outside Georgia and he asked if I would help him meet others. I said of course, and I did so without hesitation because I knew a good deal about Governor Carter's record. For example, he had appointed a Jewish friend of mine from Ocilla, nine miles from Fitzgerald, as the chairman of the Board of Regents of the university system of Georgia. This action was particularly significant to me because I had once wanted to serve on that board but under previous governors I never had a ghost of a chance.

My father's best friend was a "hard-shell" Primitive Baptist. His name was Elijah Dorminy and he was high sheriff of Ben Hill County. The sheriff and my father, a Rumanian immigrant, both had only a third-grade education. The sheriff's brother, George, a deputy sheriff, had been killed in a shootout with a Negro fugitive. Elijah Dorminy was a man of charity and peace. There were lynchings during my boyhood in most of the surrounding counties, but never in Ben Hill.

In the early 1920's a Ku Klux Klan organizer came to Ben Hill from Indiana and, as was customary, looked up the sheriff to induct him as one of the first members of the Klavern. As a boy of 10, I heard Elijah Dorminy relate the encounter:

Klan organizer: "Sheriff, we want you in our organization."

Sheriff: "What do you believe in?"

Organizer: "We promote Americanism and we are against niggers, Catholics and Jews."

Sheriff: "I believe in Americanism, but I don't think the rest of your program has anything to do with it and I'm not joining."

Organizer: "Then we will have to run you out of office."

Sheriff: "Oh, no, I'm going to run you out of town the first time you violate the law."

A quick, quiet investigation revealed that the Klan organizer was wanted for a crime elsewhere and he left—one step ahead of the sheriff.

Elijah Dorminy loved me and every member of my family. I don't doubt that he would have considered it a great achievement and beneficial for all of my family had we been willing to see religion his way and be "born again." But like all true Baptists, he was a man of profound tolerance as well as a strict separationist. He thought that the church and state were best left in a state of parallel life and wary coexistence.

I surmise that Elijah Dorminy was not acquainted with the life of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island and the father of religious toleration in North America. I know I never heard him mention that Roger Williams was the founder of the Baptist church in the United States. But in his bones he had absorbed the essence of Baptist Christianity, the least established and the most independent of all the Christian sects I lived among during my 44 years in Georgia.

For example, in 1928, when Al Smith was the Democratic candidate, my father, by supporting Smith, a New York Roman Catholic, lost fully half of his Christian friends. Elijah Dorminy, an elected official, espoused the same unpopular candidate.

I understand the suspicions that many Northern liberals have of Southern Baptists. They are like the suspicions of the Southern Protestant towards the Catholic, Al Smith. As with all generalizations, this one falls apart under specific scrutiny.

I do not claim that Jimmy Carter knows all the nuances of American pluralism. But on his record, and knowing him, I believe he wants to learn. Nothing that has happened in the months of his Presidential campaign has changed my mind.

Morris B. Abram, a New York lawyer, was chairman of the Moreland Act Commission on Nursing Homes.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

6/8

ALSO SEE :

NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, JUNE 6TH

TIME MAGAZINE, JUNE14TH

WASHINGTON – Jimmy Carter has acknowledged seeing an Unidentified Flying Object in the skies over Georgia. "It was," he said, "a very peculiar aberration."

54A

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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

To help support the declining British pound, the United States and other industrialized countries provided Britain with a $5.3 billion standby line of short-term credit. The United States contributed $2 billion of the total. The pound promptly rose strongly in foreign-exchange markets, closing at $1.77 in New York. This compared with a low of $1.70 touched briefly last Thursday after a sustained decline. [Page 1, Column 8.]

With domestic economic developments in its favor that included a supporting international line of credit of $5.3 billion from 10 nations, the British pound made a strong recovery. In addition to the international loan, Prime Minister James Callaghan's announcement that he would postpone further moves toward nationalization of the shipbuilding and aircraft industries was regarded favorably in the foreign exchange markets, and Britain's miners agreed to accept stiff wage restraints. [1:6-7.]

Beirut was held in a stranglehold yesterday by Syrian troops. Syrian armored columns were reported to have advanced toward the city from positions taken last week in eastern Lebanon. Reports from the stronghold of the Progressive Socialist Party of Kamal Jumblat in the mountains east of Beirut said that the Syrians had pushed from the advance positions at Makse, 21 miles east of Beirut, to Mureijat, within 19 miles of Beirut on the Beirut-Damascus road. [1:1.]

Chile's military Government was accused by the Inter-American Human Rights Commission of "arbitrary jailings, persecutions and torture" of political prisoners while issuing decrees and statements to "tranquilize or confuse" world opinion. The commission made many specific charges in a report issued at a meeting in Santiago of the foreign ministers of the Organization of American States. The Commission is an affiliate of the O.A.S. [1:1.]

National

The last of this year's 30 Presidential primaries will be held today in three of the 10 largest states: New Jersey, Ohio and California. It seems that Jimmy Carter will win enough delegates to put him in relatively easy hailing distance of the Democratic nomination. Neither President Ford nor Ronald Reagan seems likely to resolve in these primaries their contest for the Republican nomination. Republicans in the three states will choose 331 convention delegates, a quarter of the total needed for nomination. Democrats will choose 540 delegates, more than a quarter of the total needed for nomination. [1:2-3.]

The Supreme Court ruled that a statute or other official act is not unconstitutional because it places a "substantially disproportionate" burden on one race. The Court said it was also necessary to prove a "racially discriminatory purpose" in a case that challenged an examination given to police force applicants in the District of Columbia, in which blacks failed in a higher proportion than whites. The Court rejected the challenge 7 to 2. [1:1-8.]

Metropolitan

Patrick J. Cunningham, who was recently indicted on a charge of selling a judgeship, was accused in a new indictment of threatening a Bronx weekly newspaper with financial retribution unless it silenced its criticism of two Bronx politicians, who were also indicted. Mr. Cunningham; Stephen B. Kaufman, and Jerome Glanzrock, a former Democratic district leader, were said to have attempted to pressure the Bronx Surrogate into withdrawing legal advertisements from The City News. [1:6-7.]

Auditors employed by Comptroller Harrison J. Goldin charged in a report that the city had agreed to high rents for daycare centers that it leased directly, "without relation to cost, resulting in excessive profits to developers." In at least some cases, the auditors said, the program is "unconscionably a developer's dream—no money down and a substantial return." [1:5.]

State Senator Warren M. Anderson, leader of the Republican majority, announced that he would push for the appropriation of an immediate $24 million loan to the City University so that the New York City institution can reopen. His loan proposal was approved by the other Republican Senators. [1:4.]

A plant that will convert metal scrap recovered from New York City's refuse into high-quality commercial steel will be built in Brooklyn. It will be first plant of its kind, its promoters said. Mayor Beame and Paul Liu, president of the Ashmont Metal Company, signed contracts that will lead to the plant's construction in Bensonhurst. [1:1-2.]

The Other News

"All the News
at's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Mostly sunny to
tonight. Partly cloudy to
Temperature range: toda
Monday 57-82. Details on

XXV....No. 43,235 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JUNE 8, 1976 — It costs beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. M 20 C

Carter Appears Near Goal In Last 3 Primaries Today

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

LOS ANGELES, June 7—Barring unforeseen collapses on three fronts, Jimmy Carter appears likely to win enough delegates tomorrow to put him within relatively easy hailing distance of the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who said last week that he would probably begin an active search for delegate support if Mr. Carter stumbled tomorrow, remarked in Chicago today that victories in Ohio and New Jersey would "propel" Mr. Carter to the nomination.

Barring an improbable upset victory by President Ford in California, neither he nor his rival, Ronald Reagan, seems likely to resolve their contest for the Republican Presidential nomination.

Tomorrow is the political Super Bowl, with three primaries, the last of 30 this year, in three of the largest states.

In a single day, Republicans in the three states will choose 331 delegates, a quarter of the total needed for nomination; Democratic voters will choose 540 delegates, more than a third of the total needed for nomination.

What was once California's special prerogative, bringing the quadrennial primary campaign to its climax, is now

Continued on Page 22, Column 3

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Carter Seems Near Goal in Last 3 Primaries Today

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

shared with two other states, and on this final day of the long march that began in New Hampshire in January, only Mr. Reagan was in California, pressing the search for votes.

Mr. Ford was in Ohio, stumping with Senator Robert Taft Jr. and Gov. James A. Rhodes and reminding Republicans there of what happened to their party in 1964 when they nominated Mr. Reagan's ideological twin, Senator Barry Goldwater.

Mr. Carter campaigned today both in Ohio and New Jersey, having abandoned plans to return to California. Among his active rivals, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Senator Frank Church of Idaho concentrated on Ohio, and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, confident of the fealty of Democrats at home, drew big New Jersey crowds.

Tally of Carter Support

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who said last week that he would probably bgin an active search for delegate support if Mr. Carter stumbled badly tomorrow, remarkd in Chicago today that victories by Mr. Carter in Ohio and New Jersey would "propel" him to the nomination.

The former Georgia Governor made further strides in combating one of his most persistent problems, his lack of support among Jews. Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut endorsed Mr. Carter in a Senate speech, and Senator Richard Stone of Florida was reported ready to announce his support very soon. They are the only Democratic Senators who are Jewish.

According to The New York Times's tabulation, Mr. Carter enters tomorrow's balloting with 907 committed delegates, and there is reason to believe that he can count on approximately 75 more by the time the delegate-selection process ends.

Mr. Humphrey and other Democratic leaders believe that it would be suicide for the party to deny Mrs. Carter the nomination if he can accumulate 1,200 of the 1,505 needed by the time the convention begins. Thus, the anti-Carter forces reckon that they must limit him to fewer than 200 addition al delegates tomorrow.

They do not appear to have the capacity to do so, however. Even though Mr. Carter is expected to lose to Mr. Brown in California by a substantial margin, he seems to be assured of at least 85 delegates in California; his opponents consider 75 his rock-bottom minimum in Ohio, and the leaders of the uncommitted forces battling Mr. Carter in New Jersey, whose projections are considered optimistic by otther politicians in the state, concede him at least 40 there.

Actually, the best estimates of reasonably impartial experts inthe three states suggest that, unless the Georgian's recent difficulty in small-state primaries betrays undetected dry rot in his campaign, he could emerge from tomorrow night's tabulations with 250 or more new delegates.

Following are brief appraisals of the situations in each of the three primary states on the eve of the voting:

NEW JERSEY

Republicans (67 delegates): Mr. Reagan entered no slates of delegates here and refused the use of his name to a citizens' group that did assemble slates. They were compelled to describe him on the ballot only as "former California Governor" and they are expected to win few if any delegates.

Democrats (108 delegates): Mr. Brown's impressive crowds today added further uncertainty to a situation already difficult to fathom, Both he and Mr. Humphrey were endorsed by the uncommitted slate, and both have campaigned for it, more or less overtly, in the hope of hurting Mr. Carter. The uncommitted operation has been underfinanced, however, with only the Hudson County organization of Mayor Paul P. Jordan of Jersey City and the old-line elements in Camden making impressive efforts.

Ohio

Republicans (97 delegates): Mr. Reagan has already conceded 24 delegates to Mr. Ford here; he failed to file in eight districts with three delegates each. With the possible exception of some southern Ohio districts with highly conservative electorates, Mr. Ford is favored to win most of the areas where the Californian did file.

Democrats (152 delegates): Ted W. Brown, the Secretary of State, perdicted a record turnout of 2.5 million voters, which should help Mr. Carter His campaign manager, Richard Celeste, said "all the vibes are good."

No one appears to doubt that the Georgian will win the bulk of the 38 delegates to be chosen at large, with the rest split between Mr. Church and Mr. Udall. At best, the two liberals would seem to have chances of winning in seven districts and favorite sons in three. That would leave Mr. Carter with about 85 to 90 delegates.

CALIFORNIA

Republicans (167 delegates): Some analysts believe that Mr. Ford might have won this major bloc had he chosen to campaign hard for it. He did not, in part because of the expense of campaigning here, which might have pushed his outlays close to the Federal limit, and Mr. Reagan held a 17-point lead in the Field poll that was published this morning.

The poll showed the President making up some ground on Mr. Reagan, but not enough to affect the outcome.

Democrats (280 delegates): No one, including Mr. Carter, doubts that Mr. Brown will win, and it appears unlikely that anyone other than the two of them will win more than a handful of delegates. The question, therefore, is how large a minority the front-runner will be able to salvage here.

The Field poll gives Mr. Brown 54 percent and Mr. Carter 20, but the exceedingly complex delegate-selection plan used by the Democrats in California will tend, in an essentially two-man race, to give a larger share of the delegates than of the popular vote to the candidate who finishes second.

Udall Is Said to View Ohio Primary As a Sign of Carter-Church Ticket

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 7—Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona is said to be wondering whether he is running in the Ohio primary against the concerted force of a Carter-Church ticket. It was Senator Frank Church of Idaho, a latecomer to the Democratic primary campaign, who urged Mr. Udall to drop out of the race after Mr. Udall failed to win the South Dakota primary last week.

Campaign Notes

Udall Democrats are asking whether there is Carter-Church complicity, or just accident, in the fact that Mr. Church is concentrating his Ohio efforts in the more liberal, urban northeast corner of the state where Mr. Udall thinks he is relatively strong against Mr. Carter.

Mr. Church has not campaigned much and is not even fielding full slates of delegates in the more rural southern Ohio districts that the Udall campaign, too, has largely conceded to Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor.

Morris Dees, a prodigious fund raiser for the Carter campaign, hopes the Udall suspicions are right.

"I'm telling everybody I want Church for Vice President," Mr. Dees said the other day from his home in Alabama. "He's decent. He's got foreign policy experience. For all the years he's been in Washington he's an 'outsider,' like Jimmy. He's not part of the Washington club. He's strong in the West.

"He's a winner. He's never attacked Jimmy. He's going to have some delegates. And he's just a decent fellow. I intend to influence Jimmy every way I can for Frank Church."

As Senator George McGovern's fund raiser four years ago, Mr. Dees tried unsuccessfully to get his friend Jimmy Carter the second spot on the Democratic ticket.

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By the tables at Duke Zeibert's, the place where local wits gather daily, there is growing talk of a "Bring Back Bo" club, in honor of Howard H. (Bo) Callaway, the former Army Secretary and original manager of President Ford's campaign.

Too many people, it is felt, remember the ski resort promotion that forced Mr. Callaway out of politics; too few remember that Mr. Ford had a 5-0 shutout record in the early primaries against Ronald Reagan at the time Mr. Callaway was relieved.

●

Lawrence F. O'Brien, the former Postmaster General and two-time Democratic Party chairman, gave Jimmy Carter some friendly advice (names and numbers of some local players) in the Pennsylvania and Maryland primaries.

And as soon as he recovers from his exertions, as League president, in the National Basketball Association playoffs, Mr. O'Brien, who made his reputation in John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign, is thought eager and likely to take a hand at politics again.

Senator Abraham Ribicoff the Connecticut Democrat endorsed Mr. Carter from the Senate floor today, another signal to Democrats that Jewish leaders in the party find the front-runner acceptable.

Mr. Ribicoff said he was "deeply disturbed" by "those who would deny a man the Presidency solely because he was a Southerner."

The Carter campaign was endorsed yesterday by Senator Richard Stone of Florida, the other Jewish Democrat in the Senate.

Mr. Carter's public aspersions, meanwhile, on the proliferation of "Christmas tree" proposals in the Democratic platform, particularly the demands of the Democratic mayors, has shaken some cautious new friendships, including that of Mayor Beame of New York, according to some sources.

Mayor Henry W. Maier of Milwaukee, chairman of the party's caucus of mayors, felt that Mr. Carter had committed himself by letter to full Federal takeover of welfare costs and also to emergency "countercyclical" relief for local government in hard times.

When Mr. Carter backed away from platform planks on those themes last week, Mayor Maier canceled his pro-Carter tour of Ohio.

Brown to Decide in Days How Far to Battle Carter

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, June 7—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. will decide in a few days whether to carry his late-starting battle with Jimmy Carter for the Democratic Presidential nomination all the way to the party's national convention in New City next month.

While conceding that "obviously its going to take a fortuitous series of events to propel me into the White House," the 38-year-old California Governor has not abandoned the hope of overtaking the front-running Mr. Carter, who already has more than 900 of the 1,505 delegate votes needed for the nomination.

But aids who have been involved in recent strategy meetings say that Mr. Brown will not anticipate in a stop-Carter fight to the finish if it becomes apparent that the former Georgia Governor is the overwhelming favorite of the party's leaders and rank and file to be the Democrats standardbearer in the general election..

Must Guard Reputation

"Some of us are already suggesting that he volunteer early to nominate Carter if it comes to that," one aide said, "to show that he doesn't want to divide the party the way Humphrey did in 1972 by hanging on right up to the convention."

The feeling in the Brown camp, according to the same insider, is that the young Governor has "made a tremendous showing in his national debut by winning in Maryland, Rhode Island and Nevada and getting 107,000 write-in votes in Oregon" and that he would only tarnish his growing reputation by assuming the role of spoiler, especially in a lost cause.

The results of tomorrow's important hrimary elections in California, New Jersey and Ohio, which have a total of 540 delegates, will obviously weigh heavily on Governor Brown's decision as to the course he should take.

With only a handful of delegates at the moment, he is expecting to pick up as many as 150 with a solid victory over Mr. Carter and Senator Frank Church of Idaho, his principal opponents in his home state.

Campaigns in Jersey

And with late polls showing him with such a long lead in California that his rivals have recently left the field here pretty much to him, Mr. Brown was back in New Jersey today making a last-minute effort to lead the uncommitted delegate slate there to a triumph over Mr. Carter.

Since he is not entering the Ohio primary, he can only hope that Senator Church and Representative Morris K. Udall can keep the Georgian from making an impressive showing there.

"We will just have to wait until after Tuesday," Governor Brown has said repeatedly the last few days when pressed about his plans as he barnstormed around his home state to negate any impression that he was "taking it for granted."

At the same time, he has refused to participate in what he scornfully calls "numbers games." Over and over, he has declined to agree with the prediction of some political experts that if Mr. Carter wins 200 or more delegates tomorrow he will have the nomination all but locked up.

Discounts Carter's Appeal

In interviews and in public statements, Governor Brown has insisted that Mr. Carter has "peaked," that the Georgian's national support is "thin" and that he has demonstrated little appeal in the big industrial states.

"They're not going to nominate someone who can't carry the big industrial states," he said the other day. "Carter lost in Massachusetts, Carter lost in New York. Now if he loses in California and doesn't do very well in New Jersey, I think I have a chance."

Contending that he did not think Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota could be nominated because the party was looking for "new candidates to get away from the divisiveness of the last four years," Mr. Brown said that he considered himself the most likely alternative should Mr. Carter stumble.

"Humphrey has to take a run at it and not quite make it and fall back," he said with a smile. "Then the Carter delegates start to fall away. That's the scenario."

At another point, Governor Brown said he was not looking for a first-ballot nomination but for "third-ballot consideration."

In trying to insure that the nomination will remain open beyond the first ballot, he said, he has been in touch in recent days with such leaders as Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, no longer an active candidate, and Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago, both of whom command the loyalty of sizable blocs of delegates. He said they had assured him that they had no current plans to throw their support to any candidate.

"We'll see on Tuesday whether there's a race or there isn't," one aide said, "but come what may," Governor Brown will go to Louisiana on Wednesday to address the State Legislature there Thursday and then go on to the Missouri State Democratic Convention and probably to Massachusetts, Connecticut and the New York State convention next week.

Udall Ohio Commercials Are Found to Help Rival

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

AKRON, Ohio, June 7—The fourth advertising spot in the third break for commercials on the Saturday night movie featured Representative Morris K. Udall in shirtsleeves.

Norman Georges, a worker at a Goodyear tire factory that has been closed by a strike since mid-April, understood the Arizona Democrat to be saying in the commercial that he had been right in opposing the Vietnam war, and that Jimmy Carter had been wrong.

To Mr. Georges, an undecided voter who was watching the program at home in a small den that he had paneled himself, this theme was about as welcome as a recurrence of a debilitating disease. He himself had been in favor of the war in the beginning, he recalled, and had even thought of enlisting. He was in his mid-thirties then.

If he had been wrong, he didn't want to start arguing again about how and why; nor did he feel any identification with a candidate who had been on the opposing side when the country was deeply divided, even if that candidate could say now that he had been right.

"There's no sense in rehashing the past like that," Mr. Georges said with irritation. "The present is too damn important."

A Different Message

However, the message that the Udall spot had been attempting to get across was not the one Mr. Georges had received. The candidate had not been trying to rehash Vietnam, but to raise questions about Mr. Carter's convictions by asking how it was that he had managed to keep silent about his abhorrence of the war until it was all over.

"So who is Jimmy Carter?" Mr. Udall had asked in the spot.

Except for one 30-second television commercial that Mr. Udall filmed originally for use in the Wisconsin primary two months ago and a radio spot including the endorsement of the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, and broadcast over black stations, all the Udall commercials used in Ohio in the closing days of the Democratic campaign criticized or ridiculed Mr. Carter.

A similar strategy was thought to have been effective for Mr. Udall in Michigan last month, but in Ohio it appears instead to be arousing a little sympathy for the front-runner. Interviews with Mr. Georges's neighbors in Firestone Park, a lower middle-class neighborhood of small, neat homes with aluminum siding and carefully kept lawns, indicated that the Udall ads were planting as many doubts about Mr. Udall as they were about his opponent.

'Positive' Phase

By yesterday afternoon, when Mr. Udall appeared for five minutes on a talk show on the Cleveland radio station WSUM, he found himself being asked why he did not spend more time explaining his own positions, and whether his attacks on Mr. Carter amounted to a "desperation tactic."

In fact, recognizing that a negative campaign can easily be overdone, Mr. Udall's advisers had decided against broadcasting a 30-second spot that showed a teletype machine rattling out news reports attributing contradictory positions to Mr. Carter made in different places.

Ronald Reagan's weekend swing through Ohio was supported by a fairly intensive advertising blitz. An Akron station played commercials directed at former supporters of Alabama's Governor, George C. Wallace, although Ohio law makes it difficult for Democrats to cross over and vote in the Republican primary. A Reagan commercial on Cleveland stations, aimed at voters of eastern European descent, said that President Ford at the Helsinki conference last summer "traded away all those lands and peoples for something called detente."

Brown, in Jersey, Presses Bid to Close In on Carter

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California returned to New Jersey yesterday in a final campaign effort to exploit what he and Democratic leaders in the state perceive as a late-breaking surge for him in today's Democratic Presidential primary election.

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia is regarded by party leaders as the favorite in the election. However, the same leaders are convinced that Mr. Carter has been slipping steadily during the last few weeks and that Gvernor Brown is closing in on him fast.

"If we pull an upset in New Jersey," the 38-year-old Governor told a crowd in Camden yesterday morning, "then the Jimmy Carter bandwagon will fall off the tracks."

"The battle for theee nnmination," he shouted, "is right here in New Jersey."

Both Governor Brown and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota have been endorsed by the uncommitted delegate candidates fielded by the party's regular party organizations in the state, the first time that has ever been done there.

Change For Uncommitted

However, knowledgeable Democrats said it was Mr. Brown's candidacy that offered the uncommitted candidates any chance of winning a majority of the 91 delegates at stake in today's election. Seventeen others will be picked later.

The polls in New Jersey will open from 7 A.M. until 8 P.M. Also to be contested is the Republican Presidential nomination, and primary contests will be held for United States Senate and House seats.

Slightly groggy from four hours of sleeping on the phone floor on an overnight flight from California, Governor Brown campaigned in Camden, Trenton, Woodbridge and Monmouth County. He also gave a news conference at the Statler Hilton Hotel here to gain access to the television news programs last night.

In Camden, an estimated 500 people, an overwhelming majority of them city workers who had been encouraged to leave their jobs to hear him speak, stood outside City Hall to listen to the Governor chide Mr. Carter.

"Jimmy Carter thinks he's got it all wrapped up," he said. "But we're going to beat him in California and give him a good run right here in New Jersey."

However, Mr. Brown attracted the day's biggest crowd in the downtown shopping commons of Trenton, where an estimate 1,200 people jammed themselves under a bright sun to hear him speak.

Surrounded fy regular party officials on a platform, Mr. Brown went through his usual campaign speech, including his statement that he had succeeded in cutting the state payroll in California. While it might have been a good point anywhere else in New Jersey, there were an inordinate number of state workers in the crowd and they let him know it with a few scattered boos.

As for Presidential high living, Mr. Brown said: "If I lived in the White House—assuming that I would—there no longer would be the clinking of champagne glasses, no more days of wine and roses. I'd cut out all that nonsense and all that folderol and get everybody back to work."

There were a few hecklers and one of them asked he how he got so far so fast. "Let's face it," Mr. Brown replied. "If my name was Smith, I wouldn't be here today."

Asked by another how he would handle detente, Mr. Brown smiled and said, "I'd try a little Jesult logic on Brezhnev. I d get him a room, lock the door, and fill him with coffee. He'd give up in eight hours."

Later, he walked among more shoppers at the Woodbridge Mall and was almost mobbed.

"He's gorgeous, I'm going to vote for him," said Mrs. Ralph Procaccino of Princeton.

Mr. and Mrs. John Jeffries of Linden said they were dropping Mr. Carter and switching to Governor Brown.

And Lou Petzinger of Piscataway, who was getting his left ear pierced at Adventure Jewelers, was becoming a little nervous as Helen Vermillo, who held the needle, kept on sneaking looks at the candidate.

"I was afraid I'd miss his ear," she said afterward.

"So was I," Mr. Petzinger added.

Last night, Mr. Brown gave a pep talk to his campaign workers at the small airport parking lot in Hazlet. He stayed overnight in Elizabeth and was scheduled to return to California this morning after appearing on several news programs and television interview shows.

Group Gives $100,000 To Women Candidates

WASHINGTON, June 7 (UPI)—A women's fund-raising group announced today that it expected to contribute $1000,000 to female candidates this year to try to break up "a virtually exclusive Men's club" in the Senate.

Leaders of the group, the Women's Campaign Fund, say this represents the first time any group has tried to gather a substantial sum of money to elect women, who make up fewer than 7 per cent of the country's elected officials.

The group was founded in 1974 with a loan from the General Motors heir Stewart Mott. In that year it provided $22,500 to 28 women candidates for state and Federal office in amounts ranging rom $1,750 to $100. Seventeen of thos women won.

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The Southern Connection

By William V. Shannon

WASHINGTON, June 7—The decision of the Democratic Party on whether to nominate Jimmy Carter goes to the fundamental problem of the South's political relationship with the rest of the nation.

For the last 30 years, two racial developments have proceeded simultaneously in this country. In the South, blacks, with considerable help from the Federal Government, have broken down segregation. As this struggle proceeded, the once solidly Democratic South has been in political turmoil.

The old solidarity had been based upon the national Democratic Party's tacit acceptance of a segregated, white-dominated South. When in the Truman Administration the national party began to intervene on behalf of blacks to disrupt the status quo, whites in the Deep South rebelled. Their rebellion took various political forms, including the Dixiecrat third party in 1948, independent electors in 1960, Goldwater Republicanism in 1964, George C. Wallace's third party in 1968, and Nixon Republicanism in 1972.

Meanwhile, in the North, blacks migrated to large cities where some blacks had always lived and to many smaller cities where they had formerly been almost unknown. Racial problems that had once been thought of as primarily or peculiarly Southern now became familiar in the North.

As racial problems became nationwide, there arose the danger that the politics of the whole country would take on an increasingly Southern character. In the South, discussion of serious economic and social issues had repeatedly been frustrated as demagogues turned every question into a racial issue. Governor Wallace showed how this demagogic technique could be applied in the North. He exploited racial fears and antagonisms in Michigan and Indiana as skillfully as he did in Alabama. As recently as this spring, he swept the city of Boston in the Democratic Presidential primary on the busing issue. Thus, there lurked in the national consciousness a nightmare of a nationwide politics based on racial demagoguery, of an America become Alabama writ large.

Jimmy Carter's accomplishment has been to put an end to this Wallaceite nightmare. It is logical that the cutting edge of his national candidacy has been his black support. In effect, black voters have had a veto power over the aspirations of Southern white politicians. As long as the South maltreated blacks, the rest of the country would not trust a Southerner with the Presidency. The confidence that blacks in Georgia have in Mr. Carter is the guarantee to the rest of the nation of his good faith.

It is a profoundly encouraging development for the whole nation that the South has produced a leader that the rest of the country can accept. After wandering down various dead-end streets such as the Goldwater candidacy and the Dixiecrat and Wallaceite third parties, the South is at last moving back into the main road of American politics.

If the Democratic Party were now to reject a Southern politician with a national outlook, centrist convictions, and black support, many Southerners might reasonably conclude that he had been the victim of regional prejudice. In many ways, Mr. Carter's situation resembles that of John F. Kennedy in 1960. He, like Mr. Kennedy, has shown himself to be a superb politician with the potential to be a creative national leader. He, too, has an ideological problem with some of his party's liberals. He has liberal alliances and commitments without having been a certifiable liberal throughout his career or on all issues.

Mr. Kennedy's obstacles were old religious antagonisms and musty fears of the papacy which, when exposed to the sunlight of contemporary reality, crumbled like Egyptian mummies into dust. Mr. Carter's cultural problem is that many Northern Democrats do not readily identify with a rural Southern Baptist from Georgia. He, like Mr. Kennedy, has largely stripped himself of the cultural clichés of his region and his religion. He is no more Senator Claghorn than Mr. Kennedy was James Michael Curley. Yet unavoidably he remains a somewhat alien figure.

Mr. Kennedy could not have won in 1960 without the electoral votes of six Southern states. Furthermore, once elected, he found that he could not govern without at least the minimal cooperation of Southern committee chairmen in Congress.

Similarly, Mr. Carter cannot win the election or govern effectively unless he obtains the support and cooperation of the Irish-Italian-Jewish-Slavic coalitions that dominate the urban politics of the Northeast and the industrial Middle West.

Mr. Kennedy broke the taboo against Catholics. Now Mr. Carter is attempting to do the same for the Deep South. His task is more complicated than merely lining up those 1,505 delegates needed for the nomination. By private negotiation and public gesture, he has to demonstrate that he understands the interests and the needs of those members of his party with whom he has least in common and that he truly seeks to be President of all the people.

William V. Shannon is a member of the Editorial Board of The Times.

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Candidates Seeking Delegates In Primary Showdowns Today

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

CHERRY HILL, N. J.—The long 1976 presidential primary season lurched to a close Monday as candidates strove for votes in Tuesday's important primaries in the delegate-rich states of California, Ohio and New Jersey.

No candidate in either major party is likely to emerge from the final primaries with enough delegates to secure the presidential nomination. Thus, political maneuvers to sway uncommitted delegates between Tuesday and the national convention this summer probably will decide the nomination.

Democratic frontrunner Jimmy Carter closed out his primary campaign, begun in January, 1975, with handshaking at a morning factory shift change in Cleveland, rallies in Wickliffe, Cincinnati, and Akron, Ohio, and a final evening rally in Cherry Hill.

At the shopping center rally, Carter told an enthusiastic crowd, "This is my last speech of the primary season. I figured up on the airplane over here that since I began in January of 1975 I have made about 2,050 speeches. So maybe this is my 2,051st speech."

Carter claims to have more than 1,030 delegates of the 1,505 needed for the nomination, although United Press International puts Carter's delegate total at 911.

If he wins roughly 250 or more of the 540 Democratic delegates up for grabs Tuesday, the nomination would be so close as to be almost automatic.

Carter said he "would be disappointed with anything less than 200 (delegates) Tuesday and pleased with anything more than that."

Carter's two top rivals in Ohio, Idaho Sen. Frank Church and Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, conceded Monday that he will win that state's primary, but both still held out hope they will capture respectable shares of Ohio's 152 delegates.

Church, who has won four primaries, said in Cleveland he did not expect to win because "I had very little time to campaign in Ohio."

Udall, who has not won a primary, said while campaigning in Toledo he hoped to "finish a strong second to Carter."

Ohio voters also will have the opportunity to vote for uncommitted delegates.

In New Jersey, where 108 delegates are at stake, Carter faces a narrow Udall effort confined mostly to strongly liberal suburbs and university areas; a thin Church campaign handled by volunteers; and uncommitted delegate slates, most of which favor Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

See CAMPAIGN, Page 6-A

Campaign

From Page 1-A

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is heavily favored to win the lion's share of California's 280 delegates, but the Fleld poll in California last week showed Carter getting about 20 per cent of the vote. Since the 280 delegates are divided proportionally, that would give Carter 56 more.

Elsewhere on the campaign front Monday:

—President Ford, portraying Ronald Reagan as a can't-win candidate, told Republicans in Springfield, Ohio, that the former California governor would lead the party to a disastrous defeat in November.

—In Los Angeles, an angry Reagan accused Ford of "taking the low road" by approving ads that Reagan said dishonestly portray him "as a dangerous individual who would take the nation into war."

—U.S. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, D—Conn., rose in the Senate to endorse Carter's candidacy for Democratic presidential nomination. Ribicoff said, "Gov. Carter has been as forthcoming on the issues as any other candidate. I have become convinced that Jimmy Carter is a man of character and ability. I am confident he will make a good and strong president."

—Declared noncandidate Humphrey said in Chicago that if Carter wins in both Ohio and New Jersey, it will "propel" the Georgian to the nomination. "If he doesn't, it's an open convention," said Humphrey, who will reassess his noncandidacy after the primary results are in.

—Sen. Edward M. Kennedy repeated his declaration that he won't run for president or vice president this year under any circumstances, and The Boston Globe reported that the Massachusetts Democrat is getting angry with being linked to a "stop-Carter" movement.

—In Washington, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield urged his fellow Democrats not to engage in any "stop campaign against any candidate" for the party's presidential nomination. "If we stay together and remain united, as we are now, there is no doubt in my mind that we will win in November," he said.

—A request by Sen. Church that the NBC, CBS and ABC television networks be forced to sell him five minutes of simultaneous air time Monday night to match a Carter broadcast was rejected by the Federal Communications Commission, a FCC source said. Carter broadcast a taped campaign message on each of three networks simultaneously Sunday night.

—Democratic party Chairman Robert Strauss told the Women's Democratic Club in Washington that if he has anything to say about it, President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon will be a major campaign issue this fall.

—Brown, campaigning in New Jersey, said the primary there was crucial. "This is where the Carter bandwagon finally runs off the track," he said. "I don't know what's happening in Ohio. California's all right. The battle's right here." With his name not on the ballot, Brown was trying to get votes for the uncommitted delegates. "We'll get them elected first and then convert them," he said.

In Thursday's primary "Superbowl," urban black votes in Newark, Cleveland and Los Angeles will be watched closely for their effect on the Democratic race.

The black votes were pivotal for Carter in winning earlier primaries, notably Florida and Illinois.

However, his bandwagon is meeting obstacles thrown up by some black politicians in the Tuesday primaries.

In Cleveland, U.S. Rep. Louis Stokes, angered by Carter's insistence on challenging Stokes' own favorite-son delegate in his congressional district, is urging blacks to support liberal candidate Morris Udall.

In Los Angeles, black California Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally is actively working for the presidential campaign of California Gov. Brown.

Dymally stands to become governor if Brown, who is favored to win his home state's primary, goes to the White House.

In Newark, Mayor Kenneth Gibson backs an uncommitted delegate slate favorable to Humphrey. Gibson calls Carter "my good friend" but has declined to endorse him.

However, the Essex County (Newark) Democratic machine on the whole supports Carter.

Carter plans to spend Tuesday night in Atlanta to receive the election returns and attend a campaign fund-raising party. He has planned a major staff meeting Wednesday to review his delegate standings.

In New Jersey, voters are allowed to choose their party ballot, although the effect of possible party crossovers is unclear. In California, Democrats are not allowed to vote as Republicans or vice versa. Ohio discourages but does not flatly ban party crossovers.

At an impromptu news conference in Springfield Monday, President Ford said he would start immediately wooing uncommitted and not-yet-chosen delegates.

Predicting that he would obtain the votes necessary to clinch his nomination, Ford said he was certain delegates not yet committed "are interested in winning. They aren't interested in nominating a candidate who can't win."

The President said he expects to visit some state conventions where additional Republican delegates will be chosen, but he declined to say which ones.

Ford wound up his primary election campaign with a motorcade through western Ohio during which he continued to hit hard at Reagan and also to emphasize what he can do for the local economy.

In Middletown, home of Armco Steel Corp., Ford announced the imposition of import quotas on stainless steel, a move he said would mean more jobs for Middletown.

Later, in Dayton, he declared he has included in his budget an increase in funds for nearby Wright Patterson Air Force Base.

Meanwhile, Reagan charged in Los Angeles that the Ford ads have rekindled a party feud that lay buried for 12 years and have harmed Republican prospects of winning in November.

The ads stem from Reagan's controversial comment—which he later withdrew—that he might consider dispatching U.S. troops to Rhodesia to prevent bloodshed as the African nation moves toward black majority rule.

The anti-Reagan ads are being run on 80 radio stations in California on the eve of the winner-take-all GOP primary, in which Ford appears to be far behind. They conclude with a female voice saying: "When you vote Tuesday, remember: Governor Reagan couldn't start a war; President Reagan could."

Talking to reporters, Reagan branded the ads "a totally dishonest attack." The former California governor said he had hoped Ford had nothing to do with it and that he would have fired whoever was responsible.

But top Ford campaign officials said the President had cleared the concept, if not the text. Ford defended the decision to run the ads while campaigning in Ohio, saying, "If you speak the facts, I think the American people ought to hear them."

To Reagan, Ford's tactic means that the party has been torn apart. He suggests that he would not be quick to forgive or forget should he fail to win the GOP nomination.

200 Carter Fund-Raising Parties Set

6A

Some 200 fund-raising parties for presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter are scheduled around the nation for Tuesday night.

Campaign officials said Monday they hope to raise $250,000 through the sale of $10 tickets. They said ticket buyers will be registered in an effort to secure federal election matching funds for a total take of about $500,000.

Carter, the frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination, will appear at the party in Atlanta, aides said. The party here is set to begin at 8 p.m. at the Hyatt Regency Atlanta's Phoenix Ballroom.

The parties, which are set in most of the 50 states, will feature bands and dancing. There will be cash bars, but no dinner.

The Atlanta party will feature two rock bands and a bluegrass group.

Most of the parties will be directed at watching election returns from the primaries in New Jersey, Ohio and California.

The money raised Tuesday night is to be used to pay for communications arrangements at the Democratic National Convention in July in New York City.

The parties are being held as a "finale" to the primary season, which ends Tuesday.

The idea, the spokesman said, is to take a "grass roots" approach, keeping the ticket prices down.

Among the parties planned in the nation, there will be a "discotheque" evening in Montgomery, Ala., and free hot dogs will be given away at a new Nathan's in New York City.

K

Hal Gulliver

Jimmy Carter and the Jewish Voters

ELIZABETH, N.J—The "born-again" Christian of Plains, presidential candidate James Earl Carter was eyeball to eyeball wih roughly 2,000 Jewish Americans the other morning . . . and in the end nobody blinked.

The crowd in the Jewish Educational Center here seemed to like what it heard and interrupted the Georgia carefully prepared speech fully 16 times, giving him a standing ovation at the end.

Carter, wearing a yarmulke, followed the speech text carefully, an unusual thing in itself. He rarely uses a prepared text at all. But this was special, an effort to stake out ground on the Middle East and Israel and, yes, on his Southern Baptist background that would be reassuring to Jewish voters.

Carter has not done well with Jewish constituencies in his long 16-month-plus presidential campaign. Atlanta and Georgia Jewish leaders have campaigned for Carter and personally contacted other Jewish leaders over the country in his behalf.

Yet in the early primaries, Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson was the favorite of Jewish voters. Jackson had been an outspoken supporter of Israel and had long ties to many national Jewish leaders.

This plus his record on things like Soviet treatment of Jews, translated into strong support in some early primaries. That was understandable, of course. But even as Jackson's campaign faded many Jewish leaders (especially outside the South) expressed great reservations about Jimmy Carter.

Because he is a Southerner? That seemed part of it. Because he is a Baptist? That seemed a lot of it, not only that he was a Baptist but one who talked freely (if only when asked) of being "a born-again" Christian.

Carter in his prepared speech here reiterated his support of Israel in firm words. "Surely, the Jewish people are entitled to one place on this Earth where they can have their own state on soil given to them by God from time immemorial," he declared.

The heart of the matter, however, came in an early question, one Carter clearly anticipated. Didn't he as a Baptist belong to a church that had a history, at least on occasion, of being anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic?

"I worship the same God you do," Carter said, and he went on for a minute or two in a measured thoughtful answer. There are good Jews and bad Jews, good Baptists and bad Baptists, good Catholics and bad Catholics, he said, and maybe in the end we must leave to God the judgment of who is good and who is bad, and Carter suggested that Jews have reason historically to be aware of the need for tolerance of other faiths and added that Baptists believe strongly in separation of church and state, and noted that the United States was the first country to recognize the new nation of Israel "12 minutes after it was founded" and that, as it happened, the President of the United States "in those days" was Harry Truman and Harry Truman was a Baptist."

It was an impressive performance. Some journalists compared it to John Kennedy's 1960 meeting with Baptist ministers in Houston when Kennedy's Roman Catholic faith was a campaign issue.

Carter is making some progress with Jewish voters, as the response at the Elizabeth meeting indicated. And there are some voices in his behalf, one of the most articulate that of Morris B. Abram, now a New York attorney, who happens to be a native Georgian and happens to be Jewish and just happens also to have grown up in Fitzgerald in the heart of south Georigia Baptist country about 80 miles from Plains.

Abram has written an article about Jews and Baptists and Jimmy Carter, reprinted on today's opposite editorial page.

Warming
Sunny today, high in mid-80s. Cool tonight, low in 50s. Chance of rain near zero. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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CARTER'S CRITICAL TEST IN MIDWEST

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

CLEVELAND - The California primary is being held in Ohio this year.

Traditionally, the California vote the first Tuesday after the first Monday in June is the critical test in the competition for presidential nominations. But this time the home state domination of former Gov. Ronald Reagan among the Republicans and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. among the Democrats has made the primary there ho-hum.

In Ohio, however, about one million Democrats will make a decision Tuesday that is likely to settle their party's presidential nomination.

IF JIMMY CARTER wins here, as is expected almost universally, it will be virtually impossible for Hubert Humphrey or anyone else to prevent him from capturing the nomination.

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OHIO

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If Carter were to lose here, the doubts about his hold on the electorate that have sprouted recently would grow to full-size trees overnight. Humphrey would become an active candidate, and the convention a full-scale brawl.

On the face of it, Carter should have little to fear here Tuesday. His campaign is the best organized and best financed, and he has the invaluable advantage of being projected night after night on the television news programs as the inevitable ultimate winner.

His opposition is divided and weak. Originally Morris K. Udall hoped to make this the OK Corral of 1976 Democratic politics. But Udall's credibility as an alternative to Carter suffered serious damage when he lost in their first direct confrontation in South Dakota last Tuesday. And the entry of Sen. Frank Church has increased the likelihood that the anti-Carter vote will be split.

CHURCH, with only a few days to campaign here, has been far less visible in this state of 11 million population than he managed to be earlier in such small states as Nebraska and Oregon.

Local politicians generally doubt he will get even as much as 20 percent of the Ohio vote.

Udall, relying upon the same strategy he used in running a close second to Carter in Michigan, has based his campaign almost entirely on trying to picture the former Georgia governor as vague and inconsistent on the issues, a perception causing serious concern in the Carter camp. That has been the message of Udall's personal campaigning and of the $100,000 in radio and television advertising he has purchased here.

But the negative tone of the campaign, coming from a candidate who has yet to win a primary, has not been visibly effective, and there has been some evidence of backlash. One Democratic activist, Mary King of Euclid, announced the other day that although she is on the ballot as a Udall delegate candidate, she is switching to Carter. Udall, she said, has been running "a completely negative, deceptive and lying" media campaign.

In fact, the toughest commercials Udall used against Carter in Michigan were dropped here by Mark Shields, the astute professional from Washington who came here to run the last-gasp Udall effort. The remaining spots do question, however, Carter's consistency and candor on such issues as the war in Vietnam, tax reform, oil companies and health insurance.

THE DOUBTS about Carter are the most valuable weapon in the Udall arsenal but not the only one. He has a cadre of veteran Cuyahoga County Democrats working for him, and he got the best of the deal that was made with the liberal labor coalition that is supporting Carter in ten congressional districts and Udall in nine.

The Carter districts are in southern Ohio, where there are fewer Democrats, and the Udall districts are in the centers of blue-collar strength in the north. For example, about 140,000 of the 190,000 members of the United Auto Workers in Ohio live in districts where the coalition is supporting Udall.

At factory gates and in the working class neighborhoods of Cleveland, Akron-Canton and Youngstown, however, it is apparent that Carter is far better known than either of his opponents here.

"I don't know anything about this fellow Udel," an auto worker in Parma said the other day, "so how can I vote for him."

The result is that political speculation here centers most on just how many of the 152 delegates at stake Carter may win Tuesday. He could capture as many as 100 only if he manages to keep Church below the 15 percent threshhold that guarantees a candidate a share of the delegates.

CARTER HAS slates running in all 23 congressional districts, Udall in 22 and Church in only 14. There are also favorite son slates running under the somewhat muddied banner of Rep. Wayne Hays in six districts and supporting Rep. Louis Stokes and Rep. Charles Carney in one each.

The Stokes slate in the 21st district, the home of 90 percent of Cleveland's black population, is the only one given a chance of winning. Udall chose not to compete there, but Carter — who has been winning most of the black vote all year — did list delegates, much to the irritation of Stokes and other establishment black leaders here.

Carter is the favorite in ten to twelve districts in the southern two-thirds of the state and is considered at least even with Udall in six or seven in the north. The best bets for the Arizona liberal appear to be the 12th district around Ohio State University, the 9th around Toledo, and the 22nd, the liberal suburbs to the east of Cleveland.

AND THE FREE-FOR-ALL IN NEW JERSEY

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

PRINCETON, N.J. — In Anne Clark Martindell's sienna-walled sitting room, a strong hint of remembered elegance is still there.

Now more comfortable than it is refined, it nevertheless retains the class that could be expected of No. 1 Battle Road. Paintings reach across a nice range of respectable taste. The furnishings, too, speak of a former grace.

It is a room where one might have found light amusement trying to remember, from the style of orange-and-black blazer, which Princeton class was which in the annual Reunion and P-rade yesterday.

See NEW JERSEY, A-6

Area Delegates Picked

Ford takes all Maryland delegates; Reagan scores in Virginia — Page C1.

NEW JERSEY

Continued From A-1

But the talk there these days is of politics, and the special kind of mixed politics that nearly every one in New Jersey is playing for Tuesday's presidential primary.

MARTINDELL — State Sen. Anne Martindell, certified New Jersey liberal Democrat and reformer — is for Jimmy Carter; indeed, she is one of his real assets in the primary.

But another of his real assets is Harry Lerner, the undoubted boss of Essex County, probably the most powerful county political leader in the state. He has his organization working for Carter.

"We've got Essex," Martindell confidently predicts, "because we've got Lerner."

But the other side, she concedes, has Hudson County, because it has James P. Dugan — state senator, state Democratic chairman and a strong organization man himself.

The "other side" is the uncommitted slate, which is seen as the strongest challenge to Carter for the 108 delegate seats that New Jersey will occupy at the Democratic convention. Ninety-one are being chosen Tuesday.

THAT SIDE, too, has its own strange mixture. It is in the candidates that the slate is prepared to support: familiar old politician Hubert Humphrey, and the newest of the new, California Gov. Jerry Brown.

Few observers are taking very seriously the other challenger in New Jersey, Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz. It is fairly commonly believed that Udall might have been a real challenger if he had spent more time here.

Another liberal opponent of Carter's, Sen. Frank Church, is doing nothing to support his candidacy here, claiming lack of funds but known to be more interested in Ohio, as is Udall.

New Jersey Republicans have a primary Tuesday, too, but it is stirring far less interest than the Demo-'ats.' President Ford is on the ballot alone, but he has no delegate candidates running for the 67 seats. The full slate put together by state GOP leaders is formally uncommitted, apparently primarily out of loyalty to Vice President Rockefeller.

MANY BUT reportedly not all of the delegate candidates on the slate are pro-Ford. Challenger Ronald Reagan may get 10 or more; some of his partisans think he could get 15.

Reagan's name appears nowhere on the ballot, but there is a slate — organized without his public or formal approval — running for 40 of the seats. To avoid legal and money complications for Reagan under the new campaign law, this slate is on the ballot pledged only to an unnamed "former California governor."

Reagan has stayed out of the state; Ford is due there today, for a few hours. Because Ford has spent nearly all that the law allows in his primary contests so far, most of today's visit is billed as "non-political." After some negotiations, his organizers here were allowed to put on one rally: a stop that is purposely arranged on the route between his "non-political" speech in Paterson and the airport.

FOR ALL of the byzantine complexity on both sides of the primary in this state, there is one simple theme that does emerge, on the Democratic side. This will be this year's only primary contest between Carter and Humphrey even though Humphrey is not on the ballot.

In a very real sense, Humphrey is "entered" in Tuesday's race. He has been in the state four times in recent weeks, most recently for a highly visible overnight swing last Thursday and Friday.

Those for whom Humphrey has long been a favorite — and there are many in this state — found his latest visit to be a campaign effort in all but formal name, and they were delighted.

State AFL-CIO president Charles Marciante, who is running as a member of the uncommitted delegate slate, was beaming as he met Humphrey Friday in Cherry Hill. So were the construction labor leaders to whom Humphrey spoke; they gave him four standing ovations, and shouted his name throughout his 45-minute speech.

DAN HORGAN, one of the managers of the uncommitted delegates slate, recalled that after Humphrey said he was staying out as a formal candidate, "our money dried up immediately. We had major defections. (Newark Mayor Ken) Gibson and (Rep. Peter) Rodino withdrew from the top of our ticket. It looked like an apparent Carter landslide. We had lost everything. We were really flat."

What saved the effort, however, was Jerry Brown, according to Horgan. "We looked up, and here's Jerry Brown — getting good press in Maryland, a bit of a phenom. He comes on strong in Maryland, and New Jersey is everything Maryland is and more — coastal, more Catholic, more liberal. The appeal was here, natural appeal."

In the process of embracing him for reasons of political necessity, some members of the slate are said to have found Brown genuinely appealing. By election day, Horgan estimates, maybe half of the uncommitted slate will be pro-Brown.

AT A MEETING ten days ago, the slate informally endorsed both the California governor and the Minnesota senator. Posters going up around the state show photos of the two, side by side, under a banner: "Uncommitted Humphrey-Brown Slate."

The use of a Humphrey-Brown poster subtly suggests the private preference of many of the slate managers: Humphrey for president, Brown as his running mate.

Among Carter's supporters and workers, Humphrey is definitely viewed as the opponent — not only in New Jersey, but nationally. They are bitter in their talk about the senator.

THE HO-HUM RACE IN CALIFORNIA

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — California presidential primaries in the past have been marvelous climaxes to the lesser, preceding contests — major political confrontations that generally had a seismic fallout. This year's California primary, for a variety of reasons, however, is just a shadow of its predecessors.

One measure of the change is that the only candidate in the state over the weekend before the voting on Tuesday is Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., and he travels to New Jersey tomorrow to woo the strong slate of uncommitted delegates there.

All the other active presidential candidates, Jimmy Carter, Rep. Morris Udall, Sen. Frank Church, President Ford and Ronald Reagan, are working Ohio and New Jersey

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CALIFORNIA

Continued From A-1

where all but Reagan hope to make gains to offset the California results.

Only Reagan will return to California before the election. He plans to campaign in Oakland, Walnut Creek and the San Fernando Valley as a windup to the long primary season.

CALIFORNIA obviously is important but much of the drama has been drained off by the present two favorite son candidates, Reagan and Brown, who, according to the latest Field poll, have overwhelming leads over their opponents in their respective primaries.

The poll shows Brown leading Carter by 51 percent to 20 percent and Reagan leading Ford by 56 percent to 32 percent.

This represents gains for both Reagan and Brown. In the previous Field poll Brown led Carter, 45 to 22, and Reagan led Ford, 49 to 39.

Most of the suspense in the primary is in the two U.S. senatorial races where Sen. John Tunney is leading Tom Hayden for the Democratic nomination by 50 percent to 37 percent and Republican S.I. Hayakawa leads Lt. Gov. Robert Finch and Rep. Alphonzo Bell by 32 percent to 24 percent for Finch and 22 percent for Bell.

Other reasons for the decreased importance of California is the proliferation of primaries that enables the candidates to offset their anticipated defeats in the other states and, for the Democrats, the change from winner-take-all to apportionment of the delegates in proportion to the candidates' popular vote.

BOTH REAGAN and Brown supporters thought the Field poll results were too optimistic and predicted much tighter races because of California's history of late surges by the trailing candidates.

According to the orthodox wisdom, Reagan has to win California to keep his challenge viable whereas Ford does not. The Republican primary is winner-take-all with the winner of the popular vote winning all 167 delegates.

On the Democratic side the question is whether Carter, the frontrunner for the nomination, will do better than the Field poll indicates. A loss of that magnitude would further reduce his recently faltering momentum unless he does well in Ohio and New Jersey.

The Democrats will elect 210 delegates by congressional district. Each candidate will get a share of the delegates from each congressional district proportional to the popular vote in each district, but a candidate must get at least 10 percent of the popular vote to get delegates. Another 70 at-large delegates will be awarded to the candidates in proportion to their vote on Tuesday.

FORD HOPES primarily to close the gap on Reagan and avert a damaging psychological blow. "If we can show his lead melting and he wins by less than the poll figures, we can go to the delegates and argue that if Reagan can blow the lead in May and June he can blow it in November," said a Ford spokesman.

The President is toughening his attacks on the challenger in advertisements scheduled to be aired throughout the state today. The ads have an announcer saying, on behalf of the Ford campaign, that "Gov. Reagan could not start a war — President Reagan could."

Reagan aides blasted the advertisements as a last-minute "smear" and wired TV and radio stations demanding "that you do not run libelous commercials by the Ford campaign committee accusing Ronald Reagan of being ready to start a war in Rhodesia."

The ads bore in on Reagan's controversial recent remarks widely interpreted as meaning that he would be willing to send American forces to Rhodesia in the interest of peace and "avoiding bloodshed."

Reagan later said he never should have answered a hypothetical question and criticized newspaper headlines which he said "put me in a rather warlike position."

Journey from New Hampshire to Ohio Has Been a Political Lifetime

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

CLEVELAND — When Jimmy Carter goes campaigning these days, it requires two buses to transport his entourage of press and staff. The chartered jet is growing more and more crowded. The candidate walks constantly bathed in the lights of the television cameras.

Six months ago Jimmy Carter could pass through New Hampshire virtually unnoticed, often accompanied by only a single staff member. Two reporters made it an event.

But once again the long course of presidential primaries that will end Tuesday in California, Ohio, and New Jersey has transformed the political landscape. Like George McGovern four years ago, Jimmy Carter has been lifted from the darkest obscurity by the verdict of Democratic voters in one state after another, one Tuesday after another.

HE IS NOW as well known to the American electorate as the incumbent Republican president, Gerald Ford, whose own situation has also been altered by 27 primary elections. Indeed, in the public opinion polls these days, Carter leads both Ford and his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, for the general election in November.

It is a situation virtually no one foresaw when the first primary votes were cast in New Hampshire Feb. 24. Then the conventional wisdom among the Democrats held that the contest for their nomination would come down to one between a liberal, most likely Birch Bayh, and a conservative, most likely Henry M. Jackson, who would have to deal with the wild card presence of the formidable George C. Wallace. If neither of them could do it, everyone agreed, a brokered convention would turn to Hubert H. Humphrey.

On the Republican side the consensus last winter was that there would be an early verdict, that a minority party and an incumbent president could not be expected to survive week after week of primary ups and downs. And the notion of a genuine convention fight among Republicans had litle or no credence.

But more than 8 million Democrats and more than 4 million Republicans have changed all that in the primaries and made it a very different political world than the one they lived in six months ago.

BAYH NEVER lifted his head above the pack, collapsing after humiliating defeats in the first primaries in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Jackson enjoyed a brief moment of brilliance in Massachusetts and New York, but was exposed in Pennsylvania as the same loser he had been in the past.

And, once beaten by Carter in Florida March 9, Wallace was reduced week by week until he is now just another minor candidate winning less than 10 percent of the vote and lacking any substantial influence in the party that had been preoccupied with him for a dozen years.

The only remaining competitors to Carter are Morris K. Udall, who has made a career this year of just managing to survive, and the two late starters, Frank Church and Edmund G. Brown Jr. But none of them is likely to be a serious alternative if Carter makes it through that final Tuesday as expected. And the chances of one more hurrah for Humphrey have grown more remote every day.

What no one could have predicted six months ago is that an obscure former governor of Georgia would reach this final weekend having won 17 primaries in 28 attempts.

The Republican competition has veered even further from the form Ford seemed to be scoring that early knockout in New Hampshire and Florida, then seemed on the brink of extinction himself a few weeks later in Texas and Indiana. But the President rebounded in Michigan and upset Reagan in Tennessee and Kentucky, destroying the myth of the conservative challenger's invincibility in the Southern and border states.

ENTERING these final states, Ford is once again the favorite, but what is most apparent is that the Republicans are not going to get through without a last struggle at their convention in Kansas City in August.

Whatever the fortunes of the individual candidates, the most significant result of the primaries has been the impact they have had on the conditions of the two parties.

The Republicans, already reduced to representing only one voter in five, have been further demoralized by the inability of either candidate to show sustained appeal to the electorate. Astute professionals in both the Ford and Reagan camps now question whether the nomination they are fighting so bitterly to win is going to be worth anything once it has been awarded. Both Ford and Reagan have written records as candidates that make them extremely vulnerable to the Democrats in the fall campaign.

BUT NEITHER is the Democratic situation as hopeful as party leaders had forseen when the primaries began. The Democrats began the year pledged to pragmatism but found themselves at the end of the course still groping for unity.

Carter has swept the field without persuading much of his party that he has the kind of grip on the electorate to defeat the Republicans in November. And, perhaps most important, the vocal Democratic liberals have continued to fight him to the bitter end, raising questions about him daily that are certain to be used against him if he does indeed win that nomination.

When the year began Jimmy Carter was an unknown outsider. But he has lived a political lifetime from New Hampshire to Ohio.

Carl T. Rowan

Jimmy Carter isn't so fuzzy on the issues

My prayer lately has been for a thousand angels to protect me from people in restaurants, tennis courts or at parties who ask what kind of president Jimmy Carter will make.

These are people who believe the Gallup Poll that shows Carter clobbering either President Ford or Ronald Reagan, or who believe the "we've got the nomination" arithmetic the Carter camp is putting out.

Some questioners can't disguise their happiness that Carter may become the new leader. They are sick of names like Humphrey and Muskie. They want a new face, especially on a man who talks about religion and Jesus and decency.

Others ask their questions out of uneasiness, even fear. They see a shark behind Carter's smile. They say they are "scared as hell" by his declarations of religiosity, and especially by the evangelism of his sister.

Others say they are frightened by signs that Carter is a "poor loser" who is addicted to whining outbursts about imagined plots and conspiracies to deny him a White House to which he is entitled. Some say Carter reminds them of Richard Nixon in his most active states of paranoia.

But most questioners simply raise the complaint that Carter is so "vague" on the issues they "can't tell where he's coming from."

Okay, so how do these criticisms and reservations grab me?

● Warning bumps pop out all over me when any potential leader claims a special godliness. But if Carter really swears to the sort of morality we haven't had in our national leadership for a decade, I'm willing to see what he produces.

● As for his evangelistic sister, I'm never going to condemn any politician for what his relatives do or don't do. Who in this world wants to be judged by the actions of even his closest kin?

● Carter does seem to me to be a poor, even mean, loser who just might turn into a ruthless winner. "Jaws" may very well lurk behind that permanent smile.

● The most unfair rap against Carter is that he is "fuzzy" on the issues. I've read Carter interviews in many places, including the most recent *Family Weekly*, and I think Carter has been as honestly forthcoming as we ought to ask any presidential contender to be. Listen to a few Carter quotes and opinions from *Family Weekly* on some issues that I think will be very important in the election:

Detente: "I think our position has weakened. And one of the reasons is that we have yielded to Russia on every controversial negotiation point. Detente is a very good arrangement if it means communication, trade, openness, tourism, student exchanges, cultural knowledge. But yielding on trade negotiations and neglecting our natural allies because of our preoccupation with Russia are things that concern me." No evasion here by Carter. A bit of pandering to the fear-mongers, perhaps, but this isn't "vague."

Abortion: "I do not favor a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortions. I also do not favor a constitutional amendment that would give states a local option . . . I'll do everything I can, as president, to minimize the need for abortions with a comprehensive federal program . . . that (gives) access to contraceptives by those who believe in their use — including minors, by the way . . . The present Supreme Court ruling says that during the first 13 weeks (of pregnancy) a mother is entitled to make that decision (about an abortion). I don't think that will change."

Nothing evasive about that. Rather gutsy, in fact.

Carter says he's for "voluntary" busing, which does strike me as a cop-out. His stance on the United Nations would, I think, enhance the prestige of that body, improve U.S. influence in it and lessen the chances of another world war.

Carter yields to demagoguery a bit when he talks about the "federal bureaucracy," but he displays a measure of diplomatic sanity the West needs badly when he talks about "the Third World."

The Georgian notes that the U.S. has no real policy toward these 100-plus poor nations, and he quotes foreign leaders as saying to him: "We haven't had a friend in the White House since John Kennedy died." Carter sort of pledges to be the new friend.

Okay, so you want me to tell you what my bottom-line conclusion is about Carter! All I can say is that I do not find him unacceptable, but I want to hear more from him, and to weigh whatever alternatives may exist, before I give him anything approaching an endorsement.

Super
today and tomor-
high both days
80. Clear tonight,
Details: C-4.

The Washington Star

SUNDAY EDITION

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Udall Drive Keeps Off-Center List

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

GARFIELD HEIGHTS, Ohio — When Morris K. Udall arrived at the Knights of Columbus Hall here yesterday for the annual rib roast, it was quickly apparent that the event would not be what political advance men like to call "a good hit."

To be sure, the K of C had sold more than 500 tickets at $8 a copy for ribs and all the beer you can drink. But Udall arrived before the crowd. The Little League parade was still going on a few blocks away.

"Most of the candidates," a K of C committee member said, "don't show up until around 5, when there's the band and dancing and all."

DESPITE THIS slight miscalculation, Udall went through the motions with his usual good humor, shaking hands, signing autographs and offering a short and familiar speech.

"We're coming down to the wire in this campaign," he said "and we are going to find out who is the friend of the working man. We'd better get organized in these last few days."

Mo Udall has been saying something like that in the last days of a lot of primaries this year, and he has yet to win one. And the fact that the schedule yesterday was a little awry was grimly appropriate. Everything Udall has done throughout this long season of primaries has been off-center a few degrees.

If the results in this critical primary tomorrow fulfill the expectations of the political community, Udall is out of chances and Jimmy Carter will have a firm grip on the Democratic presidential nomination.

UDALL CONCEDED as much when he appeared on ABC-TV's "Issues and Answers" shortly before coming here. "If he wins big in Ohio and New Jersey, it's probably all over," he said.

Udall has been riding on the edge of extinction throughout the 30 primaries, but he has managed to grab a branch and keep himself afloat when it seemed impossible for him to do so.

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DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

He was written out of the race before the end of March but then finished a respectable second in New York and almost defeated Carter in Wisconsin early in April. He collapsed again in Pennsylvania, but came back with two more close second-place finishes in Connecticut and Michigan.

But no one expects him to finish a very close second here, although he is still rated ahead of the third Democratic candidate active in this campaign, Sen. Frank Church. The only question about Udall among professionals is whether he will try to hold the "progressive forces" of his party together until the convention to serve as a counterweight to Carter.

ON THE DAY of the three big and final primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio, however, the Democratic liberals are ending the campaign just as they began it in New Hampshire and Massachusetts last winter — with their strength divided and their forces in disarray.

If Udall ever had a chance to defeat Carter in this essentially conservative state, they were probably compromised beyond recall once Church entered the field.

Church has made only a limited impact here, and his campaign became snakebit over this final weekend. Saturday night he was forced to break off his schedule here and fly back to Idaho because of the Teton Dam disaster. He made it back to Cleveland early last night too exhausted for anything but a night's sleep.

Meanwhile, Carter continued campaigning with characteristic relentlessness. He flew back to Ohio last night after a day in New Jersey and planned to spend today hopping from Cleveland to Cincinnati to Akron before returning to New Jersey for one more crack at the free media coverage there.

Udall also planned a late fly-around, in Ohio, but the universal view was that he was now just going through the motions.

Humphrey's Delegate Total Hits 52

Associated Press

Supporters of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey won 13 of the 16 national delegates elected at the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor convention yesterday, raising Humphrey's homestate total to 52.

The other three delegates chosen were uncommitted.

Humphrey previously has been listed as the first choice in the presidential field by 39 delegates elected earlier at congressional district conventions.

Yesterday's selections completed Minnesota's 65-member delegation. Besides Humphrey's 52 and eight who are uncommitted, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris has two, antiabortion candidate Ellen McCormack has two and Arizona Rep. Morris Udall has one.

TENNESSEE'S 43-member Republican national delegation will consist of 22 Reagan supporters and 21 Ford supporters after Saturday's award of seven at-large delegates each to Ford and Reagan. The award by the state party was based on results of the May 25 Tennessee primary.

In Louisiana on Saturday, Reagan won 15 of the 17 at-large delegates selected. The other two were uncommitted. The 41 members of the Louisiana contingent to the GOP National Convention will include 36 Reagan backers and five uncommitted delegates.

And in Colorado, Republicans chose the first of their 31 Republican national delegates, giving Reagan all three of those selected at district conventions Saturday. The remaining 28 Colorado GOP national delegates will be chosen at later district conventions.

SEN. ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia won six national convention votes as a favorite son candidate Saturday and the two remaining at-large candidates chosen by West Virginia Democrats were uncommitted, giving that state's 33-member national delegation a total of 26 votes for Byrd and seven uncomitted.

In Kansas on Saturday, Democrats named three uncomitted delegates, three Carter backers and one Udall supporter to complete their 34-member national delegate slate. The Kansas contingent to the Democratic convention will include 16 votes for Carter, three for Udall, one for Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and 14 uncommitted delegates.

A View on Mideast Peace

Withdrawal Is Key, Carter Advises Jews

ELIZABETH, N.J. (AP) — Jimmy Carter has told a predominately Jewish audience that a permanent solution to the Middle East conflict must be based on acceptance of a United Nations resolution requiring Israel to give up some territory taken in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

Addressing about 500 persons at the Jewish Education Center here, he reaffirmed his support for Israel and drew heavy applause when he condemned the U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism.

"I reject utterly the charge that Zionism is a form of racism," Carter said. "Indeed, Zionism has been in part a response to racism against the Jewish people."

CARTER, campaigning for the New Jersey Democratic presidential primary tomorrow, also said that as president he would not tolerate any involvement in the Middle East from the Soviet Union.

"We want no clash with the Soviets, but we could not accept the intervention of its combat forces into any Arab-Israeli conflict," Carter said. He said the United States must maintain a strong military presence in the eastern Mediterranean area to make this position clear.

He also said the major world powers should not impose a Middle East peace solution but that Soviet agreement was needed so that the Soviets would not have "any reason or excuse to subvert that settlement."

HE ENDORSED U.N. Resolution 242, calling for Israelis and Arabs to acknowledge each other's sovereignty, and "to be specific, Arab recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a Jewish state."

Carter was applauded about two-dozen times during his address, especially when he said his remarks would be the foundation of his Middle East policy and that "the survival of Israel is not a political issue. It is a moral imperative and I would never yield on that point."

Carter said his own Baptist faith has been a major problem in his campaign, "particularly among Jewish voters for whom it has been a cause of some concern.

"Baptists I think, among all religions, believe that all religion is a personal and intimate relationship with God. . . . I worship the same God you do."

5

Sunny Days
Sunny today, high 74 to 79. Fair tonight, low 53 to 60. Sunny tomorrow, high 77 to 80. Details: E-4.

The Washington Star

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Brown Asks 'Vote of Confidence' on Coast

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

LONG BEACH, Calif. — Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is urging California voters to give his record as governor a vote of confidence in Tuesday's presidential primary, and the latest Field poll indicates that they may do just that.

The poll shows Brown leading Jimmy Carter, his major rival, by a whopping 51 percent to 20 percent, with 9 percent going to Sen. Frank Church. This represents a gain from the previous Field poll completed May 8, which showed Brown with 45 percent, Carter with 22 percent and Church with 3 percent.

The Field poll findings were borne out by Los Angeles Times interviews in 13 communities around the state, which showed the respondents favoring Brown over Carter by about the same porportion.

IF THE POLL'S findings are matched in the popular vote Tuesday, Brown could win nearly 200 of California's 280 Democratic delegates, depending on whether Church and the other candidates on the ballot get a high-enough popular vote percentage to be awarded delegates.

It is hard to believe that there would be this big a spread, however, because California primaries have a history of candidates rapidly closing leads in the final days. This was true of the 1972 presidential primary race between Sens. Hubert Humphrey and George McGovern and in the 1974 general gubernatorial election.

Talking with reporters on a small charter plane from Long Beach to San Diego, Brown indicated that he will attend state conventions where delegates will be chosen after the primaries are completed Tuesday. He also will work on uncommitted delegations elected in primary states and on slates committed to candidates who have dropped out of the race.

"We'll see how it shakes down after the primaries," he said. "But we're talking about states like New York, Masachusetts, Illinois and Louisana."

At every stop Brown attacks the idea that Carter is really the frontrunner for the Democratic nomination. He also urges the voters to support him in Tuesday's presidential primary partly to send the state legislature the message that they approve of his attempts to keep down government spending and avoid new taxes.

HE CHALLEGED Carter to debate him and Church and criticized Carter's expenditure of about $400,000 for the California primary, more than twice what he's spending.

See BROWN, A-6

BROWN

Continued From A-1

"It's unfortunate that Gov. Carter is trying to buy the election while he's traveling off to other states such as Ohio," Brown said. "I would like to debate the man and discuss the issues in a friendly way."

He scoffed that Carter's purchase of television time is the "centerpiece of his new politics."

"Here is a man who sets the highest standards of anyone in the race. He said he would never lie or evade an issue, but he's evading the issue of debating by not responding. Jimmy Carter, wherever you are, come back."

Brown contends that there are widespread doubts about Carter which indicate to him that Carter has "alienated a basic part of the Democratic constituency and that he lacks appeal to a broad base of the Democratic party." He contends that Carter has shown that he cannot win in the Western states and that he has never won a decisive victory outside the South.

But Brown still has to contend with the fact that Carter now has about 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates needed to nominate and could come close to locking up the nomination if he wins decisively in Ohio.

"His trajectory has slowed," Brown responds. "Do you want to concede it to him now? We have to go through the whole process, and that won't be completed until the 1,505th delegate is counted. I'm not asking for a first-ballot nomination. I just want a third-ballot consideration."

BROWN ALSO used Carter as a means of getting into his pitch for lowered economic expectations and the need for greater concern for the environment. "I'm not going to be smiling away the next 10 years," he says. "The next 10 years are going to be difficult."

He says that for the human species to survive governments must slow down the nuclear arms race and work to preserve the finite resources of soil, water and clean air.

For all his aloofness and coolness Brown appears to enjoy campaigning. At a rally at the San Diego Community Concourse he gave a loose, breezy speech and had good rapport with a largely youthful audience.

Weary Bold Forbes Hangs on to Win Belmont—Page I

The Weather
–Sunny, high near 80, low in s. Chance of rain near zero tonight. Monday—Mostly high in low 80s. Yesterday air index: 47; temperature 54-79. Details on Page B2.

The Washington Post

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Year · No. 184 | © 1976, The Washington Post Co. | SUNDAY, JUNE 6, 1976 | Phone (202) 223-6000 | Classified 223-6200 Circulation 223-6100 | Higher beyond Metropolitan See Box A2

'Momentum Game' in California

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — Jimmy Carter appears headed for certain defeat at the hands of native-son Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. in Tuesday's California Democratic primary. The authoritative Mervin Field Poll has him trailing the popular Brown by 51 per cent to 20 per cent, a seemingly insurmountable lead.

Four years ago that prospect would have been viewed as disastrous. Then, the California primary was winner-take-all for both parties—all delegates going to the candidate finishing first. But now, thanks to "liberalization" of Democratic Party rules, Carter — the bane of diehard liberals — will be looking to the West Coast late Tuesday night with more hope than the Field Poll inspires.

Winner-take-all has been scrapped by the Democrats in favor of selection of the state's 280 delegates by proporational representation, 210 of them in 43 congressional districts and the rest to be picked later based on the statewide results. And therein lies Carter's hope to snatch something from the jaws of a popular-vote defeat.

State party rules decree that a candidate who wins 15 per cent of the vote in any congressional district is entitled to one delegate. Carter aides say he will get at least that much in each of

See DEMOCRATS, A8, Col. 6

DEMOCRATS, From A1

California's congressional districts, assuring him of a rock-bottom 43 delegates plus a proportional share of the at-large block of 70.

In addition, Carter said here last week, his aides have calculated that for each additional 5 per cent of the vote he should pick up about 14 more delegates. In a strategy that is now focused on delegate acquisition to nail down a first-ballot nomination, the rules enable Carter to view California as a hunting ground rather than as a burial place of his aspirations.

Carter goes into Tuesday's primary tripleheader of California, Ohio (152 delegates) and New Jersey (108) claiming 1,031 delegates and predicting that he will add about 200 more of the 540 at stake that day. Aides here are aiming to win 100 of them in California, a figure that would vitually assure attaining that limited goal, leaving him no more than 300 delegates shy of the nomination, at least in his own calculations.

How close he can come to 1,300 may be critical to Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's (D-Minn.) plans to enter the race or stay out. Hence, all eyes will be on the late return from California Tuesday night, even if a Brown popular-vote victory is declared or achieved early.

Front-runners like Carter like to say, of course, that "the name of the game is delegates." But for Brown and the third active contender here, Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) the acquisition of delegates is secondary to continuing a sense of momentum about their candidacies to carry into the crucial five weeks before the Democratic National Convention.

Brown needs both a strong showing in the statewide popular vote and a majority of the delegates to sustain a forward thrust. Church, who received ony 9 per cent in the Field Poll, can virtually ignore the delegate chase if he can pull another surprise by beating Carter for second place in the popular vote.

Brown, riding the crest of an 84 per cent approval rating as governor, is banking on favorable media attention and the near-solid support of party, labor and minority-group leaders to bring him a clear-cut victory over Carter and Church.

In a press conference here Thursday, Brown said he thought 50 per cent of the statewide vote was too high to hope for, and that he'd be pleased with a vote "somewhere in the 40s." He noted that there will be seven names on the ballot—Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), Fred R. Harris and Ellen McCormack are the others — and that Carter would outspend him on television.

Unless he clearly outdistances Carter and wins half the delegates in his own state, some of thbloom will be off him.

GOV. JERRY BROWN
... needs strong showing

man Charles Manatt, a Brown supporter, says Brown is likely to win any state, some of the bloom will where from 130 to 190 delegates, with 50 or 60 a "realistic" expectation for Carter. Carter was to return to California Monday, but cancelled those plans to remain in the East, possibly as a result of the Field Poll results.

Bill Hall, Church's press secretary, said the candidate's real objective is a continued appearance of growing strength.

"We see it essentially as a momentum game, not a delegate game," Hall said. "Our intention is to go into the convention with momentum and get the nomination on the second ballot."

Church has defeated Carter in the Nebraska, Oregon, Montana and Idaho primaries.

But Church suffered a tactical setback Wednesday night when he was forced to his bed shortly after his arrival with a throat and ear infection, and had to cancel the bulk of his California schedule. He flew to Ohio Friday, skipping speeches before the state lefislature and the University of California that might have generated widespread media coverage.

Brown, as governor, has a natural advantage in attracting free TV coverage, and he has been milking it this final weekend, while charging that Carter, spending twice as much on media, has been trying "to buy his way" to victory next Tuesday.

But Carter has been organizing in California since April 1, and he has 32 field offices—14 in the north, 18 in the south—manned by colunteers, and his effort is more than an eleventh-hour media push. Canvassing of voters, door-to-door and by phone, is extremely diffucult in the nation's most populous state, but the Carter camp is attempting it in every one of the 43 congrtsional districts.

Last week Broen challenged Carter to debate the issues there, bu Carter brushed the idea aside as "RIDICULOUS." Church, too, issued a debate challenge, but Carter ignored him as well.

Brown's manager, Kantor, told an interviewer, "I don't see any burning issues. There is a difference in appeal, not only in style but in their background and ap- There's no Panama Canal in proach to government. the Democratic Party"—a reference to that controversy between President Ford and Ronald Reagan on the Republican side.

Aides of both Carter and Church hope that Calforni- ans, even those who like Brown as governor, may have second thoughts about voting for a 38-year old man for President. "I think his presidential support is soft," Lovell says. "People in their minds wonder whtther Jerry Brown is ready to be President."

However, Brown has made Tuesday's primary a referendum on his 15-month performance as governor, and the party pros, union, black and Chicano leadership have lined up behind him.

Among blacks, who in other states have constituted one of Carter's most dependable blocs, Brown has scored a near-sweep of Mayor Thomas Bradley of the leadership, including Los Angeles, Lt. Gove. Mervyn Dymally and state Rep. Willie Brown.

One of the few prominent blacks for Carter is Los Angeles City Councilman David Cunningham, who contends that the other black leaders have been lured gy the proposition that if Broen becomes President, Dymally will be the nation's first black goverdidates. Udall had been or nor. Still, Cunningham says, Carter should win about one-third of the state's black vote.

An unpredictable wild card Tuesday could be a drain-off he has now bypassed Cali- gainzing here, and although of votes by the also-ran can- fornia for the Ohio primary, strength among liberals. So, he is said to retain some does Harris, who won the endorsement of the 40,000-member California Democratic Council.

dent of the CDC, says Wallace Albertson, presi- "there's no way we can rescind our endorsement" now that Harris is an inactive candidate, but although some members will stick with him to send delegates to the convention, most, like herdelf, have gone over to Brown.

Controversial Issues

Hopefuls Differ on Ecology

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

Environmental issues, which have remained in the background during the presidential primaries, could generate sharp disagreement in the general election campaign because of substantial differences between Democratic and Republican candidates.

The issues are controversial. Should the government encourage vast strip mining in the Western plains? Should automobile manufacturers be allowed to postpone stricter pollution controls? Does offshore oil development endanger the fragile coasts where a majority of Americans reside? Should there be a moratorium on nuclear power?

The Democrats generally favor strict laws and more funding to control water and air pollution, strip-mining and urban growth. They place more emphasis on conservation and solar power as alternatives to nuclear, coal and oil development.

President Ford and Ronald Reagan, on the other hand, favor fewer restrictions on industrial polluters, and prefer an aggressive nuclear, coal and oil development program to environmentalists' strict energy conservation proposals.

Although environmentalists are divided in their opinions of the Democratic candidates, few would disagree with the League of Conservation Voters' recent assessment that President Ford's record on environmental issues is "hopeless."

The league, a coalition of officials from the Environmental Policy Center, Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club and state ecology groups, released a 38-page profile of the Ford record.

"Under the banner of energy independence, he has in effect demanded that the American people sacrifice the Clean Air Act, accept increasing risks of a nuclear catastrophe, deplete their Western water supplies, ruin coastal spawning grounds for fish (and) strip-mine their grazing lands," the league asserted.

Mr. Ford said he vetoed the strip mine control bill twice because it "would have hurt our energy program, would have cut down on the number of jobs in this country."

The President also proposed to cut the Environmental Protection Agency's budget this year, and to increase subsidies for energy development in the nuclear, coal and oil industries.

"If accomplishing every worthy environmental objective would slow down our effort to regain energy independence (from foreign oil producers) and a stronger economy, then of necessity I must weigh all factors involved," Mr. Ford has said.

Both Republican candidates are antagonistic to government regulation, but some environmentalists say the former California governor is more of a conservationist than the President. While he was governor, Reagan cracked down on water pollution and refused to spend money on massive dams and canals.

However, he was a firm opponent of government intervention to determine land use or to enact firm coastal protections and air pollution controls.

Reagan has advocated vigorous nuclear energy development, which many environmentalists oppose as expensive and unsafe. "We must cut through bureaucratic red tape and obstacles thrown up by some who call themeselves environmentalists, but who, in reality, want us to feel guilty

See PRESERVE, K2, Col. 1

Presidential Hopefuls Differ on Ecology

PRESERVE. From K1

for being a prosperous nation," he said.

Among the Democrats, Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall and Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter get environmentalists' highest marks on their records and current positions.

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown has been criticized for not translating philosophy into action, and Idaho Sen. Frank Church for promoting expensive synthetic fuel and nuclear power development.

Carter has said, "If there is ever a conflict between development and environmental guality, I will go for beauty, clean air, water and landscape."

While governor, Carter increased spending on natural resource programs, appointed conservationists to state office and used political muscle to pass bills protecting rivers, marshes and parks.

Environmentalists were indebted to him for blocking construction of the Sprewell Bluffs dam on the Flint River, the state's last free-flowing river.

Carter, a former nuclear engineer, critcizes the Ford administration's promotion of nuclear energy and advocates stricter environmental controls to prevent potential radiation accidents.

Instead of nuclear power, the United States should "conserve energy drastically, make a major shift to coal and substantially increase our use of solar energy," Carter has said.

Udall was an environmentalist before ecology became a popular issue. He led the fight in Congress for strong strip-mining controls and for land use planning to limit urban sprawl and preserve critical environmental areas.

In the House, Udall has voted to restrict nuclear power and has introduced legislation to fund energy conservation and solar energy.

He has spoken out against Administration and labor efforts to weaken auto emissions standards in the Clean Air Act.

To deal with energy shortages, Udall urges strict efficiency standards for appliances, better home insulation and factory conservation techniques, requirements for better gas mileage in cars, and more federal support for mass transit.

Brown has called his environmental record an "outstanding" area of accomplishment in his administration. He cited his support for a $75 million urban parks bill, for strong air pollution controls and for mass transit instead of highways.

However, some California conservationists have criticized Brown for not supporting Proposition 15, ballot proposal in the June 8 primary that would limit nuclear power plants, and for not supporting coastal planning and farmland preservation bills.

"Brown says important things about the capability of natural ecosystems to absorb our excesses, and backs up his words with a simple lifestyle . . . but his performance in office is fair at best," said the League of Conservation Voters.

Brown "has followed a pattern of endorsing general concepts but then failing to support the bills that are necessary to implement his ideas," the league charged.

The California governor disputed the league's assessment: "I haven't given a lot of speeches—that's not my method. It's true I sometimes hold back because the more bills I endorse, the fewer pass. We don't have a rubber-stamp legislature."

Church was an early leader in the Senate for legislation to protect scenic rivers, to establish wilderness areas, to require clean air standards and to clean up polluted rivers and lakes.

But some environmentalists have criticized him for supporting Bureau of Reclamation dam and irrigation projects which, while they help farmers, often pollute rivers and destroy wildlife.

Church supported strict strip mine controls and has said he believes in a broad energy strategy, including conservation and aggressive development of coal, oil, synthetic fuels and solar energy.

However, some environmentalists say his Senate votes show Church to be more of an "energy developer" than a conservationist. He favors government subsidies for developing synthetic fuels, coal gasification and liquefaction, and oil shale production—techniques considered expensive and wasteful by environmentalists.

Joseph Kraft

Ohio, the Swing State

CLEVELAND—For 60 years after the Civil War national politics were dominated by the regional struggle between North and South. Ohio, with both northern and southern sectors, became a swing state, and furnished five Presidents.

This year regional rivalries again dominate American politics. As the last primaries come up on Tuesday, Ohio, far more than California or New Jersey, is once again the swing state—the place where both President Ford and Jimmy Carter can tie down the nomination.

Consider, first, the case of Mr. Ford. His decision not to visit California—as he had promised—announces that he is conceding the state to Ronald Reagan.

The President can afford to take a cavalier attitude toward California because he has a means of wiping out the 167 delegates that go with the winner-take-all primary there. Ohio and New Jersey have 164 delegates.

Mr. Reagan has hardly campaigned at all in New Jersey. So there is no test there. But both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan are working hard in Ohio. Mr. Reagan could win as much as 40 per cent in that up-or-down fight. But my guess is that President Ford will carry both states and win at least 125 of the delegates.

Tacking those numbers onto the present figures gives Mr. Ford just under 1,000 delegates and Mr. Reagan a little under 900. About 300 delegates, scattered among states that have not finished their selection process, will hold the balance.

The uncommitted delegates are almost certainly not devout Reaganites. The highly ideological conservative Republicans who look to the former California governor tend to get committed early and noisily. The uncommitted are those who, lacking an ideological reference, want to support the man who can bring home the bacon.

But as a bacon-deliverer the President has it all over Mr. Reagan. He is in a position to confer immediate benefits from the White House. More important, the polls and the regional pattern of primary wins and losses both indicated that Mr. Ford has a much better chance of winning the election in November. Hence the heavy odds are that the uncommitted delegates will troop to Ford, giving him the nomination—without California—on the first ballot.

The case of Mr. Carter is slightly different. He won handsome victories in the early primaries and state conventions largely because he was a new face with a fresh approach. Now the novelty has worn off, and his big asset—as even the moralists in his corner are not loath to claim—is that he is a winner.

The winner's reputation has been slightly tarnished by recent primary results in Oregon, Idaho, Nebraska and Montana (where Carter lost to Sen. Frank Church of Idaho) and Maryland, Nevada and Rhode Island (where he lost to slates associated with Gov. Jerry Brown of California). It has not been much helped by very narrow victories over Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona in Wisconsin and Michigan. So to come into the convention with the momentum required to put him over the top, Mr. Carter needs a big win on Tuesday.

In California, he has some surprising support from activists who know how to get out the vote—notably the environmentallsts. But Gov. Brown is extremely popular in the state, and Sen. Church also has a following. So the best Carter can hope for there is a good second.

Neither can the winner's reputation be much advanced in New Jersey. Mr. Carter is opposed by an uncommitted slate that is so unsure of itself that it is leaning simultaneously toward Hubert Humphrey and Gov. Brown. His own slate has been endorsed by Gov. Brendan Byrne and a large group of both regulars and McGovernite liberals. So it will be no easy thing to determine who wins in New Jersey and why.

Ohio, however, offers a clearcut confrontation in a representative state that is still northern and southern and also urban and rural. Mr. Carter faces Rep. Udall, whom he has repeatedly beaten, and Sen. Church, who has just entered the race. The former Georgia governor should win big, thus setting up the burst he needs to go over the top at the convention in New York.

It is just possible that he will retort to taunts from the Udall camp with a show of his wonted temper. That could cost him the state or the nomination or —at a later stage, perhaps—the election. But once again, at a time when regional considerations have emerged anew, Ohio has become the swing state in national politics.

2

David S. Broder

Morris Udall And Liberal Conscience

CLEVELAND—It has been a long, long campaign for Morris K. Udall. The weariness of the effort that began almost two years ago with those first exploratory trips to New Hampshire and Wisconsin is etched deep in his craggy face as he slogs through these final days in the wards of Cleveland.

Unfolding his long body from a cramped seat on his campaign bus, he rallies himself for another effort by calling on his one resource not limited by the federal campaign act—his humor. "Come on, you stop-Carter people," he tells the reporters, who are as tired as he is. "It's gonna be a grand rally of the faithful. Hubert Humphrey will be there—in spirit. Jerry Brown will deliver the invocation. Frank Church will read the minutes of the last meeting. And I will give the message."

The Udall-for-President campaign is not one that will rank among the classics. Unless there is a miracle here in Ohio on Tuesday, Udall will go back to Tucson and Washington empty-handed —having failed to win a single primary of the score he entered.

As the candidate would concede, it has been a botched up campaign in many respects. There were dozens of tactical and strategic errors, small and large, that diluted his efforts and diminished his returns.

Udall himself bears direct responsibility for the failure to fit his brother, Stewart, into a stable, non-abrasive role in the campaign. A procession of campaign managers testifies to his inability to put his own campaign house in order.

The frustrating series of second-place finishes, studded with examples of what-might-have-been, confirmed the critical judgment of some House colleagues. They said in advance that Udall was a man of uncommon ability who lacks the steely determination and quick instincts that spell the difference between victory and defeat.

But if frustration was predictable for a man whose efforts in Congress have often been stymied, it was equally predictable that Udall would acquit himself with honor, dignity and good humor in his quest for worthy goals.

He communicated to a broad national audience the convictions he has voiced for 15 years in the House and in his home district: a respect for the human and physical environment; a commitment to social justice; and a belief in institutional reform and a strict standard of personal political accountability.

All this he conveyed without condescending or pandering to the prejudices of a particular audience. No one but Mo Udall would have reminded the prideful voters in New Hampshire, on the eve of their primary, that "a week from tonight, you won't get a presidential candidate to come within 100 miles of this state." And no one but Udall would have made them laugh at themselves and their inflated self-importance.

Humor is his trademark, and it offended some people to have a presidential candidate try to be entertaining. But the humor was directed at himself and the foibles of politics. It was his way of maintaining his own sense of proportion. Long before he became a candidate himself, he warned against the power-seekers who pursue the presidency with a grim, relentless, all-consuming determination. Their exercise of power will reflect their pursuit of power, he said.

By staying funny, Udall stayed true to his own nature and convictions. But he was also honest in more important ways. He did not back off from his support of school desegregation in Boston or the Detroit suburbs, and he did not disown 40 years of Democratic programs in an effort to become "anti-establishment."

So Udall can live with his memories of this campaign. A more interesting question concerns the conscience of what used to be called the liberal community.

Udall did not assert an inherent claim to liberal support, even though he was early in the contest. "There was no obvious choice" among the many liberal aspirants, he said the other day. "But after Massachusetts and surely after Wisconsin and New York, it was clear" that he had defeated the other liberal contenders and emerged as Jimmy Carter's real rival.

But those he had defeated and who shared his positions—Birch Bayh, Fred Harris, Milton Shapp, Sargent Shriver, among others—either remained silent or endorsed other candidates. So did many other liberals.

Had the votes that went to a single one of those candidates, Fred Harris, been shifted to Udall, he would have beaten Carter in New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Michigan. It takes no genius to calculate how different the Democratic picture would appear today.

But Udall is not given to recriminations, even about Michigan, where the leaders of the United Auto Workers, the most liberal union in the country, worked actively to defeat the surviving liberal candidate because he was "a loser." All Udall will say about Michigan is that "it was kind of poignant to read in that post-primary poll that one out of ten Carter voters said they really preferred me, but thought I had no chance to win."

Udall lost Michigan by two-tenths of one per cent of the vote. He lost Wisconsin and a lot of other states by small margins. The political histories will show that record. One hopes they will also record the respect Mo Udall won from those who have watched his campaign.

The Weather
...day—Sunny, high in 70s, low near ... Chance of rain near zero through ...night. Sunday — More sunshine, ...h near 80. Yesterday — 3 p.m. ... index: 33; temperature range: ... to 78. See details on Page D2.

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Carter Pushes Drive In Ohio, New Jersey

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

TOLEDO, Ohio, June 4—Jimmy Carter, badly trailing Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. in California polls, today scrapped plans for a last-minute trip to the state in favor of a redoubled effort in Ohio and New Jersey before Tuesday's final round of primaries in the three states.

In a move unprecedented for his campaign, Carter also announced he is spending $45,00 for five minutes of late evening time on all three networks Sunday. Aides said the ad is aimed at countering anti-Carter advertising by his rivals, principally Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, his main rival in Ohio.

However, the decision to scrap an election-eve rally in Los Angeles for more time in Ohio and New Jersey on Monday appeared aimed primarily at the combined efforts for uncommitted delegates in New Jersey being carried out by supporters of Brown and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

Carter press secretary Jody Powell cited what he called "heavy advertising in New Jersey to get voters who prefer both Brown and Humphrey to cast their ballots for the same set of officially uncommitted delegates."

[In Sacramento, Brown said he will go to New Jersey Monday for a last-minute effort to win delegate support.]

Powell said another major reason for canceling the California trip was the fact that it would take nine or 10 hours of travel time that could better be spent in active campaigning in the other two states.

Carter hopes to come out of Tuesday's final round of primaries with 1,200 delegates, about 170 more than his own current tally. A total of 540 delegates is at stake in the three states: 280 in California, 152 in Ohio and 108 in New Jersey.

The former Georgia governor is regarded as the favorite in Ohio and New Jersey. He was in a similar position recently in several other states and suffered last-minute slippage, tarnishing his image as a winner although not appreciably damaging his status as front-runner among convention delegates.

Asked if he is devoting more time to Ohio and New Jersey because he senses similar eleventh-hour erosion there, Carter said the trip is "directly related to the number of delegates we expect to get." He smiled enigmatically and declined to say more.

He denied that the release yesterday of the independent California Poll showing him favored by 20 per cent of the state's voters to Brown's 51 per cent was a major factor in the decision.

Carter has consistently conceded the lead in California to Brown but hopes to pick up at least 70 delegates there, according to an estimate by campaign aides earlier this week.

Powell said other surveys taken more recently than the California Poll late last month showed Carter has improved "significantly" and Brown has declined "somewhat."

Throughout a day of campaigning today in Dayton, Columbus and Toledo, Carter was pressed constantly by reporters for reaction to renewed reports that Humphrey might get into the race if Carter stumbles in the final stretch.

Exhibiting some exasperation when a 30-minute television interview in Columbus was devoted almost entirely to Humphrey, Carter said: "The only way Sen. Humphrey could reassess is to withdraw from the race and endorse me."

However, campaigning earlier in Columbus, Carter said the nomination of Humphrey at a "brokered convention" would seriously divide the Democratic Party and pose a "major obstacle" to the party's victory in November.

He told television interviewers that Humphrey's nomination in 1968 after failing to run in primaries contributed to the Democrats' defeat that year and would do so again.

BB

Ohio Udall Delegate Switches to Carter

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

CLEVELAND, June 4—A member of Rep. Morris K. Udall's Ohio delegate slate announced today that she has switched her support to Jimmy Carter to protest what she called "a completely negative, deceptive and lying" anti-Carter ad campaign by Udall.

Udall's Ohio presidential campaign manager, Mark Shields, defended the new set of television ads as responsible and accurate depictions of Carter's "calculated, planned" effort to conceal his views on the issues.

"Jimmy Carter has shown more positions in this campaign than a Marilyn Chambers movie," Shields said. Chambers is the star of some pornographic films that have been the center of several obscenity battles.

The increasingly bitter exchange marked the closing days of the battle for Tuesday's Ohio primary, where Carter is opposed by Udall and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. Both challengers have conceded that a clear Carter victory here would virtually assure his nomination at the Democratic National Convention next month in New York City.

Carter is favored in all advance polls here, but his managers have expressed concern that Udall's anti-ads could weaken the Georgian's support as they did in the May 18 Michigan primary, where Carter won a hairline victory.

Carter predicted yesterday that the Arizona representative's tactics would rebound in Ohio, saying, "This is not a year to run a campaign by attacking other candidates."

While Udall was flying back to Ohio from New Jersey, Shields called a news conference to issue a 10-page "fact sheet," which he said documented the charge that Carter has been evasive and contradictory on the issues.

Reporters were shown three newly made TV spots hitting Carter's alleged "fuzziness." One depicts Carter as a jack-in-the-box "playing a little game with us" by "keeping the lid on" his views on tax reform, national health insurance and the breakup of oil companies.

A second spot shows Udall charging that Carter "supported the Vietnam war almost to the last ditch" but is now claiming that he opposed it as early as 1971.

A third commercial, shown at the press conference but not yet cleared by Udall for airing, accuses Carter of shifting stands on oil companies and on the union-shop issue and asks: "Will Ohio stop the double-talk?"

Two hours after Shields' press conference, a Carter worker called a Washington Post reporter to suggest an interview with Mary King, the delegate who has switched her support from Udall to Carter.

King, an active Democratic worker in the suburb of Euclid for 20 years and a 1972 McGovern delegate, was elected to the Udall at-large delegate slate in March. She readily confirmed that she has gone to work as a telephone canvasser and speaker for Carter because "I just don't believe in Morris Udall anymore."

Sheldon Schecter, Udall's Ohio chairman, called King's switch "an act of meanness and revenge."

He said King had become angry when she was denied the right to run as a Udall delegate from the 22d District, where she lives, because she was slated as an at-large candidate.

King denied that her treatment as a delegate candidate had anything to do with her change. "I don't switch candidates for anything like that," she said.

She said she supported Udall until she saw the anti-Carter ads he ran during the Michigan primary—particularly an animated cartoon of Carter, alternately smiling and frowning, as the announcer recited what were described as contradictory statements by the Georgian.

King said she was "really shocked" at that ad, but had not complained to anyone in the Udall campaign because "I've been so disgusted that I've avoided them."

Tom Braden

The Vanishing Farmer

AMHERST, Mass.—"Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God." Thomas Jefferson said that, and today Jefferson is championed by Republican and Democratic presidential candidates alike as the founding father best able to articulate what America is all about; Americans were first and foremost people of the land.

But what of the American farmer today? What can he hope for, and who are his champions?

Here in the Upper Connecticut Valley, the American farmer is a vanishing species. Since World War II, the number of farms in Massachusetts has dropped from 34,000 to 4,700.

And a recent study by a team of students here at Amherst's Hampshire College shows that 58 per cent of the farmland in the valley has been lost to other uses between 1950 and 1969. The average age of those still working Hampshire County farms is 55; their children are leaving the land and selling it to developers.

In this bicentennial year, Daniel Shays is being celebrated in local pageants here as something of a hero. He took up arms against city bankers and big government because he and his followers had returned from fighting the war to find bureaucrats and businessmen seizing their hard-earned land in payment for war debts.

But the fact is that Shays' rebellion was put down in short order, and the farmers have been on the run ever since. Today, those who are able to continue farming are victimized by heavy land taxes, a shortage of experienced labor, the high cost of mechanization and the death tax. The small farmer must buy his equipment and supplies retail, but sell his crops wholesale. He rarely gets more than half the market value; the middlemen make a killing.

The average farm of today is nearly twice the size it was in 1950, measuring about 400 acres. Those who still live on farms are doing quite well—the average farm-operator family made about $17,000 in 1974. But far from representing a boon to the American farmer, these figures signify the fact that the federal government has encouraged a winnowing out, a survival-of-the-fittest competition that has turned most family farms into agribusiness plots or shopping malls. Nationwide, the farm population has decreased from nearly 50 per cent at the turn of the century to just more than 4 per cent today. Only the big businesses can survive. We are losing a great part of our national heritage; both the physical and cultural environments suffer.

The Nixon-Ford administration has taken a hard line, withdrawing price supports in an attempt to increase production and lower prices. The National Farmers Union sympathizes with the ideology behind such actions—limit government interference in free enterprise—but it bitterly resents the fact that those farmers who have survived have been denied subsequent rebound prices by administration market and export controls. Farmers point also to the Russian wheat deal as an example of mismanagement and depletion of resources; the resultant shortages and high grain prices drove the market value of the U.S. cattle industry plummeting from $41 billion in 1974 to $21 billion in 1975.

Today farmers seem to be looking, against their instincts, for more government intervention in the economy; the farmers' union backs public health and unemployment programs, a consumer protection agency and price supports. As Gerald Ford is persona non grata on all counts, it is safe to assume farmers will be voting Democratic in the fall, though we may see some of the more conservative voting for Ronald Reagan in the primaries—as they did in Nebraska.

Jimmy Carter, the peanut farmer from Georgia, is the potential beneficiary of the troubled farmers' votes, but the plain fact is that the number of "those who labor in the earth" is diminishing so rapidly that they may not be much of a political factor. As historian Richard Hofstadter observes, "The United States was born in the country but has moved to the city."

CC

Clayton Fritchey

The Bandwagon Will Keep on Rolling

The reports of Jimmy Carter's political death are exaggerated, despite the flashes from the primary front.

Bulletin: "The Carter bandwagon is finding difficulty going that last extra mile." (Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. of California.)

"It's easy," says Jerry Brown, "to come to the top of the hill, and then the rocks start to roll back on you. I have a hunch that's going to happen to Carter."

So do many others, including much of the press. In the last week there has been an avalanche of headlines and "leads" telling the readers: "Carter is slowed"; "Carter winning image deflated"; Carter's thunder stolen"; "Carter campaign sputters"; "Carter nomination in jeopardy now."

Well, is it? Not really. If there is a sure thing in this world, it is Carter's nomination in Madison Square Garden next month, probably on the first ballot, followed by acclamation. The other candidates can hardly be blamed for whistling in the dark, nor the press for trying to keep up the suspense—that's the nature of journalism—but it is no substitute for reality.

There are going to be 3,009 delegates at the Democratic National Convention, which means 1,505 required for nomination. For all practical purposes, Carter either has them in the bag—or close enough to the bag—to insure his success. Any other outcome would be the greatest upset in the modern history of the party.

In the primary finals next Tuesday, when 540 delegates are to be elected in California, Ohio and New Jersey, Carter has to win only a third of the delegates to end up with 1,150 to 1,250 delegates, or possibly more. So even if he loses all three states he will have won more primaries, and more primary elected delegates, than any previous Democratic candidate.

It is said that Carter has lost momentum and popular support, despite his early primary successes, but it doesn't show up that way in the polls. He is not only rated first among the Democratic contenders but the surveys show him defeating both President Ford and Ronald Reagan by large margins. My recollection is that, with few if any exceptions, the candidate leading the pack in the polls has gone on to win the Democratic nomination.

The only Democrat who comes close to matching Carter in the polls is a non-candidate, Sen. Hubert Humphrey. The last Gallup Poll showed Humphrey defeating Mr. Ford by 48-46 per cent, but Carter beat the President by 49-43 per cent.

In a more recent national poll taken for The Washington Post, Carter defeated Gerald Ford 48-34 per cent, while Humphrey and Mr. Ford ran a dead heat. Carter would also have defeated Reagan by 50-32 per cent. Still another poll by Louis Harris showed Carter beating Mr. Ford by 47-43 per cent but Jerry Brown losing to the President by 48-38 per cent.

The history of Democratic conventions since abolition of the two-thirds rule in 1932 is that they don't fool around very long with dark horses or stop-the-favorite movements when the favorite looks like a winner in November. The prime instinct of political parties is to win, which is the best thing Carter has going for him if Madison Square Garden turns into a "brokered" convention.

As Carter has intimated, he is not above a little wheeling and dealing himself if it becomes necessary. If it comes down to settling matters in an air-conditioned, smoke-filled room, who has the best grip on the key cards? Who has the vice presidency to offer? Or the national chairmanship? Or many other inducements?

If Carter were to take Sen. Adlai Stevenson III as his running-mate—and he could do worse—he would get at one stroke 86 additional delegates now pledged to Stevenson and Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, and that alone would just about do it for the former Georgia governor. And then there are the 164 votes (mostly Southern) now in the Wallace column. The natural place for them to go, of course, is to another Southerner.

The South is a major clue to the coming Democratic convention. Except for Wallace victories in Alabama and Mississippi, Carter has won all the Southern primaries, plus Border States like Oklahoma, Kentucky, Missouri and Tennessee. If nominated, he could well regain the Solid South for his party; if he is dealt out at Madison Square Garden, it is not hard to imagine how the South would react in November.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Jimmy Carter's Ethnic Support

CLEVELAND—On Cleveland's white ethnic west side is evidence of surprising support for Jimmy Carter, pointing unmistakably to victory in Tuesday's Ohio primary and beyond it to the Democratic presidential nomination.

Our interviews in Precinct 5 of Ward 5, a fairly good barometer of recent statewide Democratic voting, not only showed remarkable Carter sentiment but also utter failure for Rep. Morris Udall's anti-Carter campaign here. Rather, Udall's tactics have so backfired against him that many anti-Carter voters tended instead to either fall back on an old face (Gov. George Wallace) or seek out a new one (Sen. Frank Church).

The results of day-long interviewing June 2, helped by Patrick Caddell's Cambridge Survey Research, of 95 registered voters who will vote in the Democratic primary (expressed in voters, not percentages): Carter, 46; Wallace, 15; Church, 14; Udall, 11; Sen. Henry M. Jackson, 1; Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, 1 (write-in); Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., 1 (write-in); Gertrude Donahey, 0; undecided, 6.

Precinct 5, selected for us by Caddell, is dominated by Catholic blue collar workers of Czech and Polish extraction with a $9,300 median annual income, according to the 1976 census. The precinct, 100 per cent white and sensitive to racial stresses, departed from normal Democratic allegiance to back Nixon in 1972.

Udall must win such neighborhoods to break out of his liberal suburban base and defeat Carter Tuesday. His failure to do so in Precinct 5 is obvious. If this reflects the blue collar vote generally, it would combine with Carter's basic southern Ohio strength for a substantial triumph.

Although joblessness was described by these voters (including several unemployed workers) as the most important issue, they support Carter for non-economic reasons—mainly "honesty" but also "morals," "religion" and "character."

A 31-year-old machine operator explained he backs Carter because "I'm hoping for an honest man." Citing "sin and crime" as the biggest issues, a machinist's wife told us Carter's "morals and character seem to be better than any of the others." While calling school busing most important, another factory worker's wife, 32, picked Carter because of "highly moral standards and a Christian attitude."

Some Carter backers are less certain. "He seems to be straight-forward, but there's still something about him I'm not sure of," a 65-year-old retired gas station operator told us. "He's a little to goody-goody." Many more doubtful Carter backers criticized him for evading issues, better than half of all voters interviewed saying Carter does not seem to know where he stands on issues.

Udall's meager support, in fact, is more anti-Carter than pro-Udall. A 63-year-old disabled laborer supports Udall while knowing nothing about him because Carter "talks and smiles too much. He reminds me of Nixon." A retired truck driver's wife, 64, nearly echoed Udall's televised spots: "Jimmy Carter's not facing issues."

But Udall's vague image among Precinct 5 voters is solely of attacking Carter—and that hurts Udall. A truck driver's 40-year-old wife, calling Carter "deeply religious," condemned Udall as "one of those who are always slamming another politician." With an unexpected one-third of these voters agreeing that Udall is running a smear campaign, he gets only a 41 per cent favorable rating (to Carter's 70 per cent).

Church's image is much better. Although barely more than half those interviewed had an opinion about Church, 63 per cent of them were favorable (many praising his national television commercial). "I'd like to get somebody who would be different," said a 48-year-old paper mill security guard backing Church.

Much of the surprising loyalty to Wallace, who has not campaigned in Ohio, is racially connected. Typical was a 20-year-old laborer who said: "Carter seems more for blacks than whites."

But these voters by 5 to 1 correctly perceived Carter as more conservative on busing than Udall. Moreover, somne supported Carter *despite* his racial views. "He's for busing and I'm not," said a 33-year-old waitress who backs Carter anyway. A 43-year-old auto plant screw inspector, supporting Carter, said, "he's been talking pretty straight except for one thing." The exception: Carter's apology for defending "ethnic purity."

Carter is not only the primary election choice of these voters but also is preferred against Sen. Hubert Humphrey and President Ford. Although Humphrey carried Precinct 5 nearly 2 to 1 in 1968 against Nixon, our interviews gave him a feeble 48 per cent favorable rating. In a Ford-Carter showdown, the 95 voters backed Carter 69 to 21, with 5 undecided.

Disgusted with politicians and fearful of the economic future, many of these beleaguered white inner-city dwellers perceive in Carter a symbol of better, bygone days. "He's the closest one to Kennedy since he died," said a 56-year-old barmaid—an improbable comparison repeated by others. That may be why Precinct 5 voters, while agreeing with Udall that Carter is evasive, will not let that affect their votes on Tuesday.

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The well-planned enigma of Jimmy Carter

Despite his attempts to remain unknown, a portrait of the man is beginning to emerge.

NYT 6/6/76

By James T. Wooten

Early on one frosty morning back in late January, a sleek Lear jet paused hesitantly at the end of a runway on the outskirts of Oklahoma City, its wing lights pulsating in the gray darkness, its engines screaming against the prairie's peaceful silence—and suddenly, with a thunderous acceleration, it lurched into its takeoff roll.

Inside, John Chips, a jovial but intensely conscientious agent of the United States Secret Service, began muttering into his two-way radio. "Uh, base. Come in, base, this is Dasher," he said. "Uh, Dasher to base. Come in. Over," and the static from the receiver stuttered through the little cabin as the plane abruptly lifted its needle nose and climbed steeply into the dawn.

"Uh, roger, Dasher. Go ahead," came the reply. "Uh, base, I'm reading you," Chips answered, rotating his wrist and squinting at his watch. "We have a wheels-up on Dasher at 0600. Do you copy? Over." Another burst of static was followed by the same disembodied, sing-song voice, pronouncing a crackling benediction. "That's a roger, Dasher. We do copy—and a good morning to you all." The plane banked sharply, Chips leaned back in his seat, closed his eyes, and was almost asleep when a sandy-haired man sitting just behind him reached forward and touched his shoulder.

"Mr. Chips," the fellow said sternly, "I'm not sure I like being called 'Dasher.'"

The agent turned uncertainly.

"But," the man added quickly, his face exploding into an enormous smile, "it's a darn sight better than 'Peanuts.'"

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Nearly five months later, Dasher is still smiling, and with good reason, too, for James Earl Carter Jr., the 51-year-old Democrat with the soft Georgia drawl, has come from almost laughable obscurity to within grinning distance of his party's Presidential nomination. He has taken his lumps along the way, of course—in New York, Nebraska, Maryland, Oregon, and elsewhere—but Tuesday after Tuesday, week after week, his tireless, ubiquitous campaign has harvested thousands of voters and hundreds of convention delegates with a greedy, methodical, relentless, insatiable hunger, leaving behind a long and shambling parade of disenchanted dreamers: Bayh, Harris, Sanford, Shapp, Bentsen, Jackson and even George Corley Wallace, whose $6 million last hurrah he deftly reduced to the impoverished whinings of a man without a constituency.

Now, on the eve of this week's climactic primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey, Jimmy Carter stands at the top of the class of 1976. Even the Republican National Committee, apparently much more certain of the Democratic nominee than its own party's choice, is already making plans to conduct a $50,000 study of his record as Governor of Georgia. Moreover, most public-opinion research fixes the present level of his national strength and popularity at a point substantially above that of President Ford, Ronald Reagan or any other possible G.O.P. contender.

So, wherever he travels these days, he finds the crowds large and enthusiastic, and just last month, a young stewardess aboard his chartered campaign plane approached him with a glass of milk and called him "President" Carter.

He smiled that smile and with choir-boyish humility said, "Not yet, young lady, but you just stick around."

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Still, for all the fame that the last few months have brought to the patrician peanut farmer from Plains, Ga., for all the media exposure that has made him a household word, Jimmy Carter remains a mystery in the minds of many Americans.

Some have come to view him as the candidate of a thousand faces, the Lon Chaney of American politics. Pat Paulsen, the owlish comedian, tersely summarized such doubts when he predicted in Atlanta last February that even if Carter were to become President, he would never be enshrined on Mt. Rushmore because "they just don't have room up there for two more faces." Another wag has recreated the imaginary moment when Carter's father burst angrily into the old family home in Plains, and demanded to know if young Jimmy had cut down the cherry tree. The smiling response from the future Presidential contender? "That's an interesting question."

While one of the most remarkable facets of public response to him this year has been the resolve of many voters—with what sometimes seems to be utter desperation—to believe affirmatively in the positive if yet undefined possibilities of his candidacy, many others have decided that what is not known cannot, under any circumstances, be trusted. But the schizoid reaction is understandable. Carter is himself a bundle of contrasts.

He is a man, for instance, who has offered himself to the electorate as consistently and impeccably honest. Yet he has frequently touted himself as a "nuclear physicist," when in fact he is not. As an Annapolis graduate and a naval officer assigned to the infant atomic submarine program, he did become a highly trained and, according to several old military buddies, efficient nuclear engineer, who can explain nuclear energy, from fission to hazards, perhaps better than any man in public life—but he is not now and never has been a nuclear physicist. "It was a difference in concepts, in semantics," he explains when challenged—but there are still speeches in which he says it again, and members of his staff wince when he does. Why would he do that? David Nordan, the political writer at The Atlanta Journal, thinks he knows why. "If folks in South Georgia own a pretty good mule, they just naturally say, 'I've got the best damn mule in the world.'"

There are other contrasts in Jimmy Carter. He

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is, he says, a devout Southern Baptist, which ordinarily means a rigidly, theologically conservative Christian for whom alcoholic abstinence and purity of language are cardinal virtues. Yet he accepts parts of the neo-orthodox theology of Reinhold Niebuhr and Soren Kierkegaard; he is a man who—before the campaign—enjoyed a good Scotch or, after an aggressive set of tennis, was fond of a couple of cold beers; and he is not above a certain impurity of language. On the subject of Richard Nixon, he once told a reporter that he often prays for the former President—and then volunteered: "I despise the bastard, but I pray that he will find peace." To an aide who relayed a local political leader's request for a favor, he has been known to reply: "He can kiss my —— and you can tell him I said so."

Is this hypocrisy from the candidate of love?

He smiles and shrugs and points out that it is well within the bounds of Southern Baptist rules and tradition for each person to deal individually with his faith and its practical application. "I am what I am and I believe what I believe and I do not think that I am a hypocrite," he says. "And I would respectfully retain the right to analyze my own religious beliefs and not turn that function over to someone else."

Still, in matters of religion as well as foreign policy, economics, fiscal theory and a thousand and one other possible concerns, most Americans enjoy the process of getting to know a potential President—many of them demand it—and this year, more than a few have angrily responded to what they believe is Carter's enigmatic campaign. Harper's Magazine, for example, has engaged in a battle with him over what it perceives to be his "pathetic lies," and dozens of Washington elite — from columnist to analyst to high ranking bureaucrats of both Democratic and Republican persuasion—have attacked him for what they see as his inconsistencies and a refusal to explain who he is and what he believes.

"I sense all that," he said in May as his plane took him from a long campaign day in Maryland to New York City for a speech at the United Nations. "But I also know that I'm not really very well-known even by people who are close to me." Some of those people concur, and although Carter has plenty of associates, ranging from fellow farmers in Plains to politicians in Atlanta, it is difficult to compile a list of friends that goes much beyond his wife, Rosalynn ("She's his best friend," a staff member says); his long-time mentor, Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer, Hamilton Jordan, his campaign manager, and Jody Powell, his press secretary. "You probably might scoff at this," Carter said, "but I've always been naturally shy."

When he ran for the State Senate in 1962, "it was painful for me to shake that first hand every morning. I had to make myself do it, you know, talk myself into it. Rosalynn was the same way. If she had to make a speech or appear somewhere for me she would almost *(Continued on Page 76)*

Carter

Continued from Page 16

weep. We both had to overcome it." Carter also believes that the Presidential campaign is not always the best forum for real communication or self-revelation, although his press relations seem no more strained or more cordial than most Presidential candidates'. "But you have to be so damned cautious," he said. "An unguarded comment interpreted the wrong way can become a matter of great concern."

Like "ethnic purity?" he was asked.

"Yes, like 'ethnic purity,' he replied. The reference was to the major gaffe of his campaign, a moment in which he told a reporter who had asked him about the distribution of low-income public housing in the suburbs that he saw "nothing wrong with the 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." The candidate says that while it was a mistake to use that phrase, he meant that he saw nothing wrong with ethnic character and ethnic heritage. Later he publicly apologized for his remarks, but the matter hasn't been forgotten by millions of Americans, many of whom, incidentally, found in his remarks another reason to like him.

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His commentary on the communications constrictions of a campaign is a fair one, but there is about Carter something else—a sense of purposeful enigma, as though that is precisely the way he wants it to be. In fact, from the perspective of his campaign strategy, that does suit him nicely. He and his aides long ago divined that this year, perhaps as in no other, the candidate taking clear-cut positions on every subject raised and answering every question asked would probably not get past New Hampshire. Thanks to the trauma of the Vietnam War and the scandals of Watergate, there would be but one significant issue in 1976, the issue of integrity, and although there might be passing moments of interest in other concepts, that would be the permanent focal point of the voters, even if they neither sensed it nor articulated it. Abortion, capital punishment, right-to-work laws, taxes, the economy, foreign policy—all would be there, of course, and all would be pertinent, of course, and none of them could be ignored; but the crux of the 1976 election would be the Nixon-Agnew legacy, and the most successful candidates would base their pursuits on that foundation.

Carter's strategists—chiefly Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell, as slick and sly a pair of country boys as ever came out of South Georgia, and Charles Kirbo, the Atlanta lawyer—also reasoned that his status as an unknown would be a marvelous asset: He would be precisely the sort of candidate voters would embrace, because whatever else might be important, they would probably not be stimulated by or interested in what they believed they already knew and understood; they would be ready and eager for something else, something different — perhaps, even unknown.

So right from the very beginning of the Carter campaign, the trick has been to stay as fresh and as new and, perhaps, as enigmatic as possible, and no candidate was better suited than Carter. With his quick, broad mind and his finely tuned sense of the language, he has been able to wade through more than a year of selling himself all over the country without revealing much of his merchandise. Many of his critics argue that he has refused to take positions but this is not really so. He has in fact taken positions on a variety of subjects —some of them controversial —but he has stated them in such carefully phrased English, so as not to offend those who take the opposite position, that the feeling persists that he is a man who believes in everything or nothing. He can build sentences as soft as ice cream. They melt in most voters' ears.

He pays close attention to nuance and shading, and his rhetoric rarely varies. Crafted over months and months of practice, each noun, each verb has been carefully selected, tested and etched into the rural rhythms of his syntax. Earlier this year, for example, he was besieged by questions on abortion, which he consistently defined as a "failure to

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induce" a pregnant woman to carry a child to delivery. When someone pointed out that "induce" had a harsh, rather obstetric ring to it, Carter immediately began using "persuade" in its place. He has not changed since.

Generally, a Carter speech is a Carter speech, right down to minute inflections and pauses, whether in the snowfields of New England, the cornfields of the Middle West or the sunshine of Florida. It may bore the journalists and aides traveling with him, but the people who come to hear him listen raptly, their eyes seldom leaving his craggy face. In Maryland a reporter complained in a press conference that Carter's answer to his question was not very clear. "Would you like for me to repeat my answer?" the candidate asked, and when the reporter nodded, he did: word for word, comma for comma, gesture for gesture.

However, there are departures. He has frequently invoked the name of Martin Luther King Jr. before black audiences as a part of his recitation of American heroes, but omitted it before whites. Although he has frequently espoused the gradual withdrawal of American troops from Korea, before conservative audiences he has said he is "against withdrawal" of troops "except on a phased basis."

So, it is little wonder that most public-opinion research shows Carter with substantial support from both liberals and conservatives, all of whom apparently believe they have found in him a friend and champion. That seems the essence of his strength, and certainly is a significant truth about his campaign thus far: Even now, after more than two-dozen primaries, Carter remains essentially an enigma, save for his promises of honesty and integrity, essentially unknown, the way he was when he began.

One day last month, as he campaigned outside Salisbury, Md., he paused in a large crowd and spent four or five minutes chatting with two young women from nearby Pocomoke. When he finally moved away, both were enthralled.

"Oh, he's so marvelous," sighed Karen Dix.

Someone asked why.

"I don't know, he just is," she said.

"At least, he's not like the others," Vickie Wilson said.

And how could that be if they knew nothing of him?

"I don't know," Miss Dix said. "I don't know, but I just know he's not like the others."

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Indeed, he is probably not much like any of the men running for President this year. His character is as complicated as his political strategies. He can be gently kind, patient, warm; he can "charm the lard off a hog," as the Georgia Secretary of State, Ben Fortson, says, but Fortson adds that Carter is also a man whose "eyes can burn the buttons off your vest." He does possess a wry, self-deprecating sense of humor, but it is often submerged by his single-minded commitment to his goals. He can be stubborn, despises admitting an error and he is not a good loser. Jody Powell, who is said to be his closest associate, says he tries very hard not to be around "if the Governor took a licking on something." In his campaign autobiography, Carter cites an aphorism he says he firmly believes: "Show me a good loser, and I'll show you a loser."

The candidate's sister, Mrs. Ruth Stapleton, an evangelist from Fayetteville, N.C., recalls that when Carter lost in the Democratic gubernatorial primary in Georgia in 1966, his first statewide campaign, he retreated to a grove behind his house in Plains where he sat down on a stump, "put his face in his hands and cried like a baby."

It was soon after that defeat, Carter recalls, that he had the "religious experience" that has become the subject of no little discussion during the 1976 Presidential campaign. He has seldom made religion part of his rhetoric on the campaign trail, other than in the general thrust of his appeals for love, excellence and compassion; but his testimony to being "a twice-born" Christian has nevertheless concerned many voters. To the evangelical Christian, the concept is simple. It merely means that a person begins a new life—is "born again"—when he or she accepts the living presence of Jesus as God's divine son in his life. That acceptance results in the forgiveness of sin and the assurance of eternal reward after death — and there is nothing that is more central to the experience of a young boy growing up in the small Southern town than the life of the local Baptist church. It is often the sole center of community life—the scene of the marriages, funerals, baptisms and revivals that periodically occur. A "revival" is a very important event in the little rural village. It usually occurs in the church in the spring of the year and involves the importation of a visiting minister for services of worship and preaching for one or two weeks with a heavy emphasis on evangelism.

But Carter does not seem to allow his deep religious convictions to impede the fulfillment of his public responsibilities. In fact, he seems no more or no less a believer than many thousands of his fellow Southern Baptists. There seems to be no reason or evidence to suggest that he would not zealously guard the separation of church and state if he were elected President.

It was in his church that Carter also confronted another facet of Southern life—segregation. According to friends and enemies, he and his family and one other person were the only ones who voted in a congregational meeting for the entrance of blacks into the church. All the rest of the votes, including the pastor's, were opposed. He took a similar stand when the White Citizens Council initiated an organizational drive in the town. It signed up every white man in town—except Carter. So he bristles when Northern liberals suggest that he is either a racist or that he is at least guilty of equivocating on the subject. That anger is typical of the white Southerner who has been through what is generally considered a real crucible and maintained a sense of decency. In March, when Senator Hubert Humphrey said that anti-Washington campaigns such as Carter's were actually racist campaigns against social legislation that had helped American minorities, Carter responded immediately with an untypical attack on Humphrey's age, record and credibility. "Humphrey rang Carter's bell," Powell said. Soon afterwards, Humphrey said he was not really talking about Carter and not calling him a racist. "I don't want to fight with him," he said. It is perhaps because many black Americans do understand the pressures in a Southern village that such large numbers of them, both in the North and the South, are supporting Carter, who says, "I believe they know whether I am or am not a racist."

Nevertheless, despite the inner contrasts of his style

and character, despite the well-planned enigma of his Presidential campaign, a portrait of the man does emerge for those who look closely. He seems, for one thing, to be one whose instincts lie in the direction of economic health and stability achieved by a blend of private undertakings and Government participation. He believes the basic solution for unemployment must come from the private sector, and he sees the Federal Government as an employer of last resort; yet he also favors job-generating Government subsidies to private industries, and he says he would provide 800,000 summer jobs for young people and double the scope of the Comprehensive Employment Training Act from 300,000 to 600,000. Though he came to the position belatedly, he has committed himself to help revitalize the cities. He supports public-service employment and, if conditions seemed to warrant it, he would endorse the creation of such Depression-era agencies as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Adminstration.

He regards full employment as a major objective and unlike the Ford Administration believes it possible to push jobs and reduce inflation simultaneously. He does not subscribe to the notion that an inflationary trend should be offset by increased unemployment. "There are far more humane and economically sound solutions," he says. To those who argue, he answers that full employment, which he defines as a 4.5 percent overall jobless rate—3 percent among adults — is possible "because the economy is currently performing substantially below capacity." He adds that any effort to provide jobs must be accompanied by equally strenuous attempts to control inflation, but: "I would put my emphasis on employment and take my chances on inflation."

Accordingly, he is against tight-money policies and he wants Congress to allow him to appoint his own Federal Reserve Board chairman — a person, he says, who, while maintaining the board's independence from the executive branch, should also hold economic views compatible with the President's. "The monetary restrictions of the last few years did nothing but slow down the economy," he says. "It wasn't a sensible way to counteract the price rises that were occurring. For instance, there was an absolutely unnecessary pressure placed on the housing market through the disappearance of mortgage money. The consumer became frightened and it mushroomed and became a general setback to the formation of industrial capital — and, of course, the availability of jobs."

The difficult problem of dealing with both unemployment and inflation at the same time is feasible, he says, if a strong leader is able to apply the full weight of the Government. He wants less strictures and more enforcement he wants the removal of Government regulations that unnecessarily add to prices—such as the rule against trucks hauling goods on their return trips — and he wants antitrust and consumer-protection laws strictly enforced. He wants less direct Government involvement in the economy, but he also wants interest rates and "excessive" price and wage increases closely monitored and pressure applied to hold them in check.

He is a reformer on health —he favors some kind of national program, though he hasn't worked out the details —and on taxes. "Our tax system is a disgrace," he says. "The average family earning $10,000 or less pays a larger portion of its income in taxes than a family with an annual income of $1 million or more." But he argues that tax reform is much too complicated a task to approach piecemeal and proposes an omnibus reform bill which would bring about "a simple structure with all income treated the same, with income taxed only once, with a truly progressive tax rate so that those who make the most" will pay the most in terms of percentages. While he vows not to espouse anything that would economically damage the middle class or the poor, he has included the tax deduction for home mortgage interest among the "incentives I would like to do away with." It is, he insists, an upside down arrangement—but he also says he would have to be President for at least a year before he would be in a position to propose a detailed, comprehensive program of tax reform.

But he steps quickly back toward the center, or perhaps even further, on the oil com-

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panies. Both Fred Harris and Representative Morris Udall recommend the vertical breakup of petroleum conglomerates but Carter steps away from that, saying he fears that a forced divestiture would escalate consumer prices. But he says the oil companies should not be allowed to own other types of energy companies—coal, for instance, or nuclear facilities.

Another tenet of Carter's is his belief in the need for restoring public confidence in Government. He wants a "sunshine law," similar to the one he pushed through the Georgia Legislature. It would open to the public meetings and deliberations of Federal boards, commissions, regulatory agencies and Congressional committees. "I would make some exceptions when it comes to narrowly defined national security matters [ah, there it is again], legal accusations still unproved or in litigation or knowledge that might cause major damage to the country's economy." He supports "broad public access, consonant with the rights of personal privacy . . . to Government files," and he recommends a "maximum declassification" of secret materials. He wants complete financial disclosure by everybody in Government, "and I mean everybody," and he wants lobbyists watched and monitored closely.

The showpiece of his Georgia administration was his reorganization of the state's old bureaucracy. He reduced the number of budgeted agencies from 65 to 22. (As an example of his willingness to exaggerate for effect, he often tells voters now that there were 300 agencies before he began. That is accurate, but many of them were unbudgeted and unstaffed.) Some Georgians doubt the efficacy of his reorganization, calling it, as Tom Murphy, the Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives and a constant Carter critic, has said, "rearrangement of the furniture." Moreover, the money saved is also a matter of debate. Ernest Davis, the Georgia auditor, insists there were no substantial economies. Though Carter disagrees, he shifts his argument to increased efficiency and that has definite merit to many.

"He was a helluva boss, a

real stickler," a member of his staff remembers. "He drove us like slaves. He wanted everything perfect and he wanted it yesterday—and I'll tell you this about the man, he just doesn't have time for anything or anybody that doesn't match his standard of excellence." Could he bring that to the White House? He says he could and he theorizes that the trauma of the last few years has kept many talented people out of Government service. His critics are not so sure of that. He has, according to one Washington veteran, frightened almost everybody with his wispy campaign, especially ideologues who have been in and out of various past Administrations. Carter is not impressed. "Look," he says, "some of the biggest problems we have right now are the result of ideological and political loyalties gone wrong. I'm committed to doing the best job possible, regardless of the politics involved, and that's exactly the sort of people I want to help in my Administration—and if that's not what people want, then they can go elsewhere. That is not going to be a problem for me."

As his acerbic commentary on former President Nixon might suggest, Carter views the last few years as a period in which "our most precious assets were jeopardized." He says he abhors its abuses and illegalities, and proposes a "code of ethics" for his White House: "Errors of malfeasance will be immediately revealed, and an explanation given to the public, along with corrective action.... All requests to the Internal Revenue Service for income tax returns by anyone, from the President on down, should be recorded. Access to this essentially private information should be strictly circumscribed"; he proposes that the office of Attorney General be removed from the Cabinet and transformed into an independent office with a tenure that would extend beyond a President's. The Attorney General could only be removed for malfeasance by the President and the Congress. "What I'm trying to do is to protect the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the rest of the Justice Department—but particularly the F. B. I.—from the weight of politics." Still, he does not really propose radical surgery in the executive branch. He is against any dissolution of the Central Intelligence Agency, for example, and he opposes any cessation of its covert operations. "We need them, I regret to say; I wish we didn't, but we do."

What sort of people would be working for him? Thus far in the campaign, he has been talking with George Ball, Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University, people from the Brookings Institution in Washington and others—none of whom is regarded in the political establishment as being either extremely hawkish or dovish, radicals or reactionaries—but no one dominant figure has surfaced in his circle of advisers. His style as Governor was to gather from many knowledgeable people as much information as available, and then make his own decision. He would probably draw his staff from the same traditional well that previous Presidents have—the nation's economic and academic establishments. He would not, he insists, even consider retaining Henry Kissinger, because of Kissinger's "penchant for secrecy" and "lack of faith in the American people."

As President, Carter says he would propose to the Congress that his Cabinet members, including the Secretaries of State and Defense, appear regularly before both the House and Senate "to answer questions from the members of Congress." He says he would request that such sessions be broadcast live and that in that way, executive policy making would be open first to the Congress and as a result to the American people.

Carter sees the need for redesigning foreign policy in a way that would prevent unilateral intervention in the affairs of other nations. He says the United States should not be militarily involved in any venture that does not directly involve the security and safety of the country. He has criticized this country's shipment of arms to Angola, questioned President Ford's decisions during the Mayaguez affair and has consistently maintained throughout his campaign that his would be the kind of administration in which a Vietnam would be impossible. But he has also promised to respond with a "declaration of economic war" to any future oil embargo by the Arab states. He favors the continuation of détente with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, but he criticizes past implementations of that policy as much too soft. He believes that with tougher bargaining, the United States could demand and get more concessions from both the Russians and the Chinese.

On national defense, he says he would be the first President since Harry Truman to actually run the military, and he says he would cut out most of the fat that has accumulated over the years at the Pentagon, "the most wasteful part of the Government." On the other hand, he says, the President's first duty is to protect the country and to that end he would not scrimp militarily, even though he would attempt to cut defense spending by from 5 to 7 percent.

The dominant theme running through his campaign is that he is a man who knows how to get things done—a competent executive, a skilled technician, a shrewd businessman who was able to turn his father's relatively modest holdings into a money-making machine, an aggressive Governor who turned Georgia's bureaucracy upside down and made it work for the people.

But would Congress be amenable to his plans for such complete reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy?

What would the Senators say, for example, if he refused to recognize their hoary right to, in effect, name Federal judges and made such appointments strictly on merit, as he has promised to do? How much cooperation would he then get from the Senate?

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Jimmy Carter is, in one sense, like every other person who has ever offered himself for public office. He is not above trimming — a little backing here, a little filling there, a bit of hyperbole, perhaps, and a nuance of language that puts things in the proper light for the proper audience.

The average white liberal running for public office in the South was traditionally someone who could hardly resist the temptation to excoriate the Wallace-Maddox vote, to chastise it because of its wool-hat ignorance and its vehement racial bigotry. But Carter did not. He applied a little bit of Isaiah à la Lyndon Johnson ("Come now, let us reason together . . .") and a little bit of Dale Carnegie and it was a successful recipe. "You can't walk into these little towns in Georgia," he once told me, "and hit these people over the head with what bad folks they are on race. It does them no good, it does me no good politically and it doesn't have any impact at all on the problem. You have to tell them they're good folks — and they are; I'm not insincere about that; they're as good as anybody in the world — and you have to tell them gently that all of that is past and gone and that they've been misled by foolish politicians and demagogues before and you have to show them and make them believe that you aren't going to do that to them any more." And Carter won.

These days Wallace is no longer a problem to him. He has dealt him a politically mortal blow, but when he was locked with him in survival contests in Florida and North Carolina, Carter took great pains not to criticize him publicly, implying that there was really nothing essentially wrong with the Wallace message — it was just that the messenger could never really be elected.

There is something about this that puzzles and worries many of those who have watched him over the years, just as there is about his views on Vietnam. He was once a man who spoke no ill of our military involvement in Southeast Asia, but now he defines it in the standard dove coos. It was, he now says, a "racist" war, fought by the sons of the lower middle class and the working class and all those who were unable or unwilling to run to Sweden or hide in the nation's colleges and universities. He says that to black audiences these days and they like it a lot. He comes off as a fellow who was right there all along, a compatriot of every enlightened antiwar American — but even on this, he seems eager not to offend and so he rejects genuine amnesty for draft resisters or defectors and substitutes instead a general pardon.

When Carter was Governor, Lt. William Calley was convicted in a court martial in Georgia of murdering civilians in Vietnam—and, led by Wallace, Maddox and assorted other stalwart defenders of the Southern mystique, a protest movement against the conviction exploded almost overnight. The political pressure was immense. There were hundreds and hundreds of calls and telegrams to the Governor's office. Finally Carter responded by declaring a special day of tribute to the United States armed forces, a day on which he recommended that all Georgians show their appreciation by turning

on the headlights of their cars. He now insists that he saw Calley as an "abhorrent aberration" in the American military tradition, that he was "horrified" by what Calley had done and, although he believed Calley was a scapegoat for others high in the line of command, he was glad Calley was convicted. If so, there were damn few people in Georgia in those days who knew that about their Governor.

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And so the country, in one way or another, tries to come to terms with Jimmy Carter, and, one way or another, many Americans have decided that he is not a liberal, not a conservative, not a racist, not a man of long governmental experience, not a religious zealot, not a Southerner of stereotypical dimensions, and not the kind of candidate to whom they are accustomed—and from such negative deductions, many voters have concluded that Jimmy Carter is not entirely unacceptable as a Presidential candidate.

The other part of the equation, however, remains. Shrouded in what he calls his shyness, cloaked in the obfuscatory hoopla of a campaign, and hidden in the folds of his own strategy, there is, no doubt, a Jimmy Carter not yet seen or heard—not a man substantially or strikingly different from the one the voters have already judged, but several parts of a man yet to be noticed and appraised: weaknesses, or maybe strengths, or perhaps generous portions of both in unknown ratios.

Occasionally, the mystery even occurs to him, as on that frosty morning back in January when Dasher spotted the Mississippi River six miles below, snaking a boundary between Tennessee and Missouri: "I wish I had a nickel for every time I've crossed that thing."

Tired of the chase, he was asked.

No, he said, just tired of airplanes.

Fear of flying?

No, he said, just too isolated from everything at 30,000 feet.

"But, yes," he added, "I am tired. I do get tired. I was very tired this morning. I almost went back to sleep. I really wanted to go back to sleep."

Why didn't you?

"Well," said Dasher, smiling that smile, "I'm as curious as anybody about what sort of President I'd be." □

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DEMOCRATS

Carter's Plan to Scoop It Up

As the long primary season moved into its final week, TIME *National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian learned that Washington Senator Henry Jackson is ready to support Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination. Jackson had won 249 delegates in the primaries through last week, and Carter will capture a sizable chunk of them. The Senator's move will lift Carter closer to the winning figure of 1,505 delegates, and Jackson hopes by his action to help Carter sew up the nomination.*

Jackson's decision is based on his judgment that Carter would make a stronger Democratic nominee and President than Senator Hubert Humphrey. Only a few months ago Jackson had hard feelings about Carter, but after several personal talks with the Georgian, his attitude has softened. In addition to accepting the inevitability of Carter's nomination, Jackson has come to respect his skills. At the same time, he remains bitter that Humphrey kept insinuating himself into the primaries.

Jackson's decision was bound to be well received in Carter's Atlanta headquarters, where his staff has been busily at work rounding up delegates. Throughout last week Ajemian sat in on strategy sessions there and observed a young, disciplined group casting its political lines across the country. His report:

"What's doing?" the man repeated his caller's question into the phone. "Your husband is going to be President, that's what's doing." It was well past midnight in the empty Jimmy Carter headquarters in Atlanta, and Hamilton Jordan, the campaign director, was talking to Rosalynn Carter, the candidate's wife. She was sitting alone in a motel room in Dayton, concerned about her husband's recent primary defeats. So was Jordan, who was dead tired but sounding cheerful.

Slumped down in his high-backed swivel chair, his brown boots propped on his typewriter, Jordan, 31, looked like a young man—with his pink face and shiny black hair—speaking to a late date. As he talked, his fingers riffled through a sheaf of unanswered telephone slips, and every so often he rolled one up and tossed it across the room at a nearby wastebasket.

"Jimmy's got an image problem, Rosalynn," Jordan said gently. "We used to be the new face. Now we're the old face, the Establishment. Jimmy's got to get off this tactical stuff, all this talk about how many delegates he's got. He sounds too political.

"But Rosalynn," Jordan went on, his voice now more reassuring, "these stop-Carter people have no place to go; they've got no candidate. And no muscle, no big names, no Senators or Governors. Don't worry. We've got delegates all over the place; this thing is all set now. I'd say it's a hundred to one."

When he hung up, Jordan, in the night stillness of the office, began to reminisce about 1968. He had just returned from Viet Nam where he served as a civilian volunteer in refugee relocation. He came home to Albany, Ga., and took a job in a local bank. Within three months he was bored and began driving over to Plains, 40 miles away, to visit with Carter. A political science student at the University of Georgia, Jordan had worked as youth coordinator in Carter's losing 1966 gubernatorial campaign. The two of them started driving around the state: the toothy politician with huge ambitions and the eager 22-year-old helper who was more easygoing but had the competitive zeal of his mentor. They drove the Georgia roads to towns like Rome and Moultrie talking to voters. Jordan jotted down all the names and did the necessary follow-up work.

When Carter won the governorship in 1970, he made Jordan his executive secretary, but within two years the Carter sights were already higher. He asked Jordan to write him a memorandum on what it would involve to become President. The young aide delivered this extraordinary document to Carter only a few days after the 1972 presidential election. It was 70 pages long and had chapter titles like "Establishing a National Image," "The Years in Between," "George Wallace," "Edward Kennedy." One of Jordan's suggestions was that Carter plant a man on the Democratic National Committee and, when the moment came two years later, Carter picked Jordan for the job. The chunky fellow who wore denim jackets and no neckties went to Washington for a year where he collected and stored political information for future use. Near the end of Carter's term in 1974 Jordan produced another memo. This time the new chapter titles assumed a big success: "The Announcement," "Relationship with Robert Strauss and the National Committee," "The Carter Presidency."

Now, as the final week of primaries began, with the four-year mission almost complete, resistance to Carter was suddenly becoming stiffer and more visible. Carter had lost five of the last nine primaries. But somehow his forces had to keep getting delegates. And the man at the center of the delegate roundup, as he had been at the center of other Carter struggles, was Jordan. The last three big primaries—California, Ohio, New Jersey—were upon them. The possibilities seemed clear. If Carter won any of the three, the stop-Carter movement almost surely would collapse. But if he lost all three, it could mean a tough fight to pressure pockets of delegates to join a candidacy that was drifting.

The day following his talk with Rosalynn Carter, Jordan called his staff together for a meeting. The group around the table looked awfully young, but they were tossing around big names: Mayor Abe Beame was aboard, one said, and that would help with the Jewish voters, and Chicago's Dick Daley was issuing compliments. Staffer Rick Hutchinson, who at 24 looks like one of the painters of Tom Sawyer's fence, spoke of Tennessee Governor Ray Blanton being the key to that state's uncommitted bloc and the chances he would deliver its nine del-

IN THE FINAL WEEK OF THE PRIMARIES, CARTER CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR HAMILTON JORDAN CONTINUES TO PURSUE DELEGATES

BILL GRIMES

egates. There was talk about Alaska's Mike Gravel endorsing, and the need to work on Hawaii Senator Dan Inouye. Perhaps Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge, a close friend of Inouye, would help there, one of the young men suggested. North Carolina Senator Bob Morgan was already working on the Wallace delegates in his state.

Then Jordan talked of the three big targets: Scoop Jackson's 249 delegates, Daley's 88, and George Wallace's 200. If Carter has 1,200 delegates or more after the last primaries, any of these three Democratic leaders could certainly help clinch the nomination for him. Predicted Jordan: "We'll find someone out there who wants to be a hero." Even before Scoop's decision, the Carter group believed the Jackson delegates might well wind up with them. Carter, at the same time, has been calling Daley every ten days or so. And it was expected that the Wallace bloc, once released, would stick with a Southerner.

Southern Power. The heart of the Carter strength, of course, is the Southern delegates. Of the 3,008 who will convene, about 750 are from the South, and Carter already has 500 of them. They represent almost half his present total and have put him in the position to bargain for the rest he needs. But the true power of the South is revealed in still another Jordan memo to Carter, written only last week. It points out his probable strength in the electoral college: well over half the required 270 votes could come from the South. A new field survey Jordan has just ordered reinforces the conviction about Carter's overwhelming regional strength. In Tennessee, the poll shows Carter defeating Ford 60% to 32%, and Reagan 57% to 35%.

The strategy conference over, Jordan was back in his small cluttered office and his secretary, Caroline Wellons, had a whole new batch of calls for him. Staff people kept sticking their heads in the closed door. "Shall we send Daddy King to L.A.?" someone asked about the elderly minister who has been so active in Carter's campaign for the black vote. A few minutes later another person wondered whether it was O.K. for Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of the Army, to go to a New Jersey fund raiser. A bulletin from the field reported that Senator Abraham Ribicoff might be ready to endorse Carter, and Jordan, welcoming it with some relief, ordered that if that happened a letter about it should be sent to all the Jewish delegates.

On the phone, Jordan explained to some nervous field people why Carter seemed so snappish lately. "This thing about being fuzzy on the issues is really getting to him," he told one man, "and it shows." Someone popped in to say he had some information about Daley, and asked who on the staff was supposed to talk to the Chicago Mayor. Jordan said abruptly: "Jimmy talks to Daley, nobody else." The man quickly retreated.

The possibility of a last-minute Ted Kennedy move keeps coming up, though Jordan appeared entirely unworried. At one point, Political Director Landon Butler came into Jordan's office with a grim look on his face, holding a copy of the afternoon Atlanta newspaper. With some agitation he reported: "Jimmy says here that Ted Kennedy can kiss his ass." Jordan grinned, but at the same time reached for the newspaper with a trace of concern. Then he looked up, laughing in relief. "Landon, you've got this backwards," he said. "Jimmy says he's not going to kiss *Ted Kennedy's* ass to get the nomination."

After a day's trip to Ohio to check in with the boss, Jordan lumbered back into the Atlanta office, throwing out gags, cutting up with the staff. But when he turned serious, so did they—instantly. Within minutes, he was back on the phone, calling one of his friends in Washington in the liberal labor coalition, which has been supportive of Carter. He had heard that one of their staff had attended a stop-Carter meeting, and Jordan wanted to show his annoyance. "Hey, good buddy," he opened with the familiar greeting, and then he made his point. "I assume you guys don't know about this man," he said, "but I just want you to know that I do."

The Jordan net was out everywhere. A call came from the top aide of a Governor who controls about 20 delegates. The aide was shopping for favors, and Jordan went along. "I don't know what your boss's ambitions are," he said, "but we need his help now, not later."

By late Friday night, the candidate himself was back in Plains, and on Saturday morning he called in to talk to Jordan. He told his campaign manager he had been over to Brother Bill's gas station eating some mullet. Yes, he would cut a day off his weekend, as Jordan and Rosalynn Carter had suggested, even though he did not want to. "I figured that was one fight you weren't going to win," Jordan needled the candidate.

To the Hilt. As Jordan was talking, one of Carter's longtime friends, a businessman named Philip Alston, broke into the room. He was distraught. "Doesn't this party realize," he said loudly, "that the whole South will be furious with the Democrats if they take this nomination away from Jimmy? The whole damn South." Jordan tried to calm Alston down, and when he left, Jordan remarked: "Phil is dead right about that one. If they try to take this away from Jimmy, we're ready to use the Southern argument to the hilt. We've got the votes, and if the South is rejected, it will tear up this party."

There was an edge in his voice. The young man who had written the prophetic memo for Carter, who was now writing another about the fall campaign and the transition to the White House, who had predicted that a massive regional change in American politics was at hand, abruptly looked different. He looked less the likable prodigy and more like a tough and seasoned political operator.

RONALD REAGAN IN CALIFORNIA

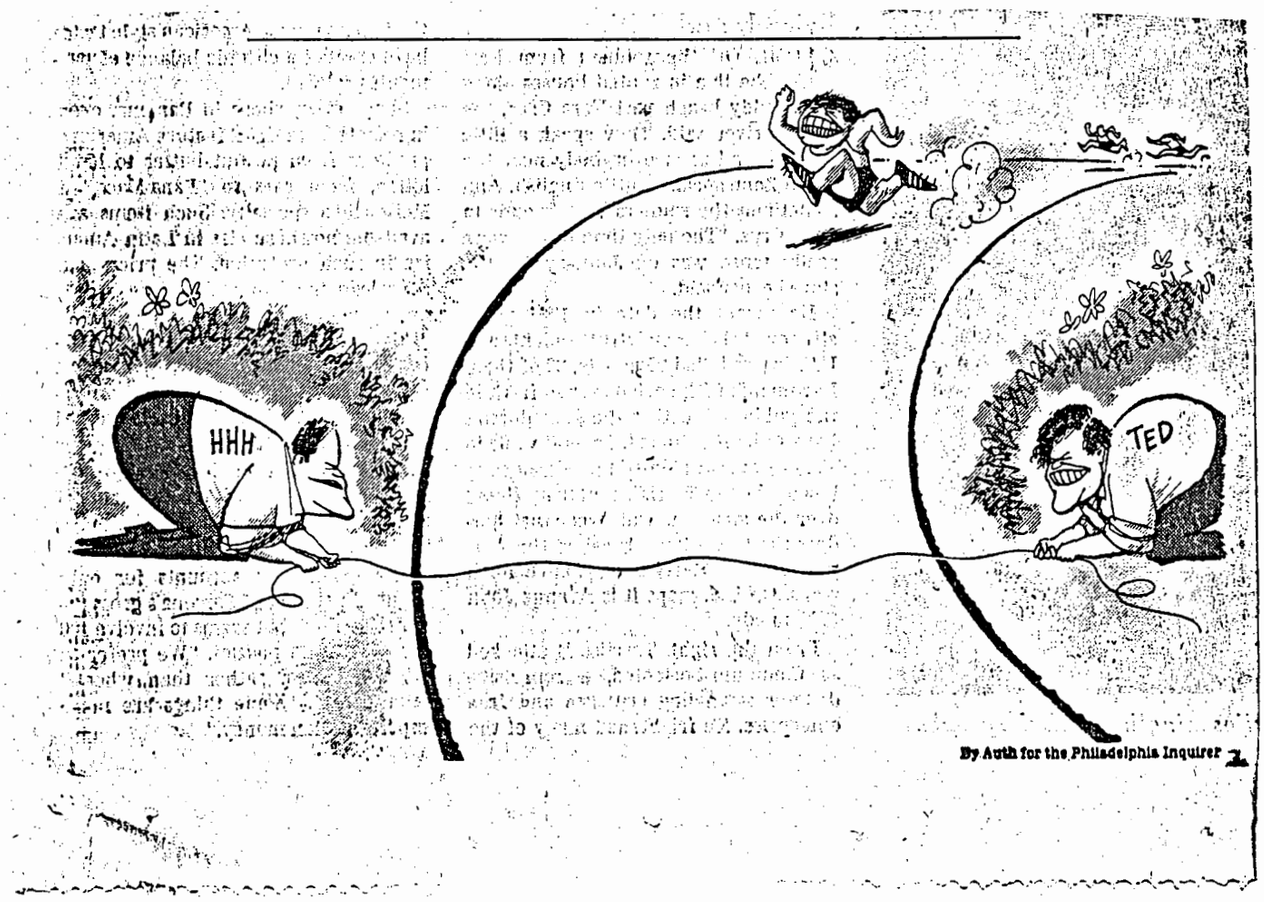
REPUBLICANS

"Reagan's Rhodesian Expeditionary Force"

To his *machismo*-minded hard core, Ronald Reagan's occasionally bellicose campaign utterances are simply long overdue flexings of America's muscle. But last week a remark that he would be willing to send U.S. troops to Rhodesia exploded like a tripped-over land mine. By week's end the candidate was in full retreat.

The gaffe came in response to a question during a Sacramento Press Club appearance. After a potshot at Henry Kissinger for siding with black Rhodesians against Ian Smith's minority white regime, Reagan suggested that the U.S. and Britain should instead serve as "mediators" in the dispute. "How would we do that?" he was asked. "With an occupation force, with military troops, with observers or what?" Replied Reagan: "This is one that I think you would have to be completely involved with the Rhodesian government to find out if that [a peace-keeping force] would be necessary." Then: "Whether it would be enough to have simply the show of strength, the promise that we would [supply troops], or whether you would have to go in with occupational forces or not, I don't know. But in the interest of peace and avoiding bloodshed, and to achieve democratic majority rule, I think it would be worth this—for us to do it." In short, if Smith asks, he gets U.S. troops.

"I'll bet there are going to be a lot of questions on that," Reagan told grimacing aides hustling him off to the bunkers to await the fallout. He won his bet. Screeched a San Francisco *Chronicle*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