

News Summaries 7/76

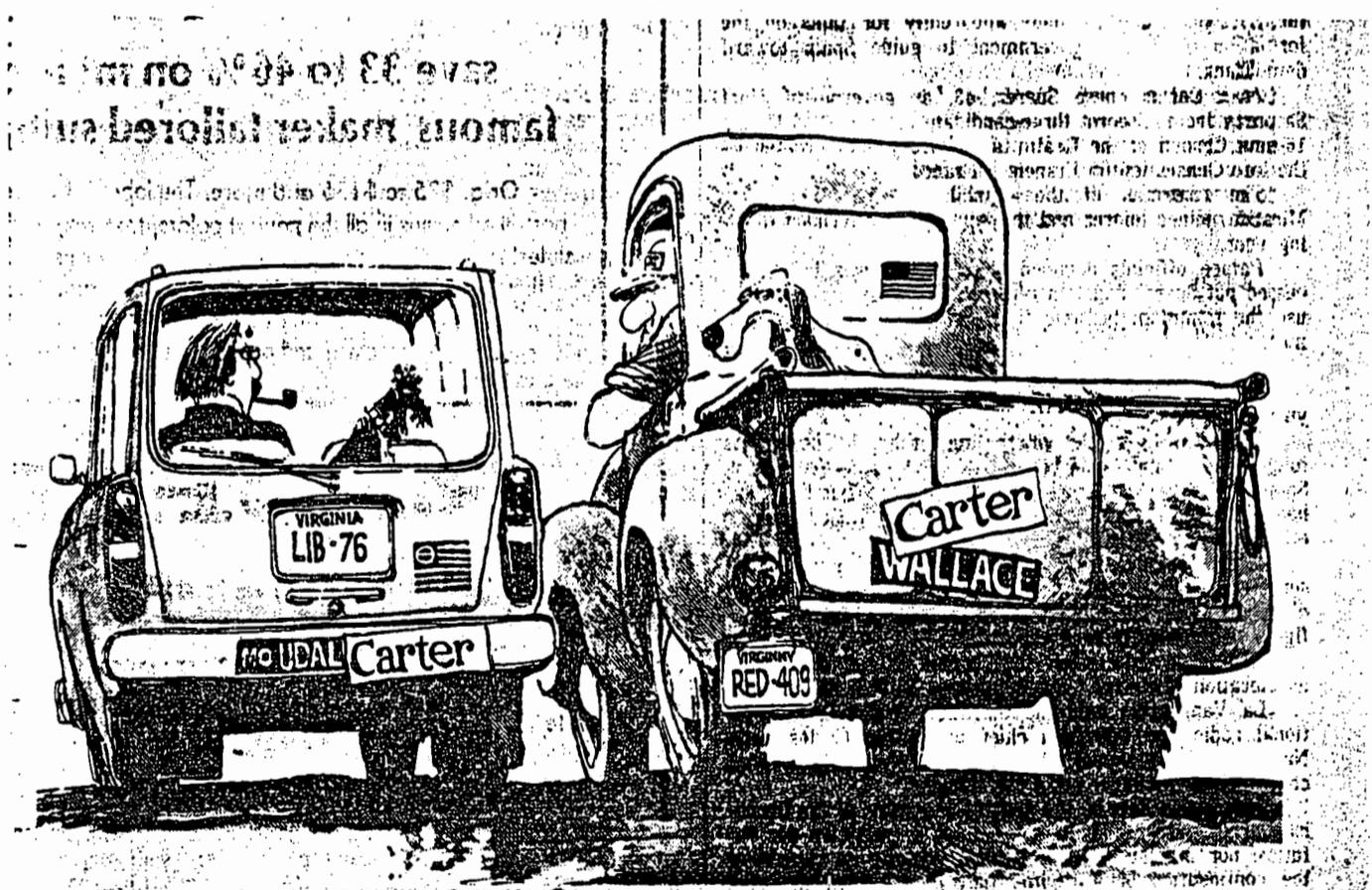
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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.
7/1 thru 7/6



RICHARDSON MILLS

The Palm Beach Times

64A

Governors To Press For Welfare Reform

By ANDREW GLASS
and DAVID MORRISON

Constitution Staff Writers

HERSHEY, Pa.—Claiming that their states are being bled dry by the soaring cost of helping the poor, the nation's governors appear ready to take the lead in fostering a drastic overhaul of welfare.

A resolution calling for sweeping welfare reforms received wide support Monday at the first session of the National Governor's Conference.

Some conservatives around the meeting table raised fears that federalization of welfare would further increase Washington's formidable powers. But the prevailing mood here favors a clean start as the best means of lifting the crushing burdens on taxpayers in supporting welfare clients.

Gov. Brendan Byrne of New Jersey, a liberal Democrat, told the group: "We have known for years that the current patchwork of federal, state and local welfare programs is not working. We have tinkered with these programs in hope that true reforms would finally result.

"That approach has not worked. Our system, if we can call it a system, is as inequitable and inefficient and open to abuse today as it ever was."

These sentiments were quickly endorsed by a wide range of Byrne's colleagues, including such moderates as Georgia Gov. George Busbee and Ohio Gov. James Rhodes, a Republican.

Said Busbee: "We sit here and kid ourselves that we administer these programs when it is really the federal regulations that apply. We should not shoot it down."

Busbee was referring to a draft resolution, to be voted on Tuesday, which calls for a national minimum payments and eligibility standards for all welfare recipients.

The resolution also provides for coverage of all eligible individuals, "a rational" administrative system, elimination of current reasons for the poor to remain unemployed and fiscal relief for state and local governments.

Byrnes said the reforms would probably result in increased costs to the federal government of between \$3 and \$5 billion. But he noted that the B1 bomber program, recently approved by Congress, would cost, by way of comparison, \$27 billion before projected overruns.

As the governors prepared to tackle the welfare issue, political talk in the

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Welfare

From Page 1A

lobbies seemed unusually listless for a presidential election year.

Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss, sporting a green guest badge, whispered in a dozen ears of white-badged governors while he patted the backs of a dozen more.

The object of all this activity was to pave the way for a unanimous resolution of support for Jimmy Carter from the Democratic contingent when their former colleague comes to breakfast Tuesday.

In mid-morning, Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel, no fan of Carter, told a reporter that "it would be premature" to give Carter such a blanket endorsement in advance of next week's Democratic National convention in New York.

But after a back-rubbing session with Strauss, Mandel turned as mushy as a chocolate bar in the hot sun.

Strauss let it be known that Mandel would be offering the endorsement resolution at breakfast.

The realization that Carter is the new power in the Democratic party was unquestioned in this chocolate-making town. California Gov. Jerry Brown, never quite reconciled to a Carter nomination, did not even bother to show up.

The welfare reform proposal is the fruit of nearly two years' work by an 18-member task force created by the governors' committee on human resources.

No specific figure for a national minimum payment was advanced. But the report noted the need for regional variations to reflect the differences in the cost of living.

It called for welfare recipients between the ages of 17 and 60 to register for work when applying for benefits.

The only exception would be for the disabled, students, persons with young children or older dependents needing fulltime care.

Idaho Gov. Cecil Andurs, chairman of the human resources committee, predicted the report would be adopted. Andurs said the most controversial portion of the plank will be the proposal for mandatory registration.

"We are not saying that the blind are going to have to go work," he said. "We're not saying that the disabled are going to have to go work, and we're not trying to force the mother with two or three dependent children to go to work and leave those children alone."

"But that group makes up about 60 per cent of welfare recipients and the other 40 per cent might very well produce some work capacity."

C

Muskie-Carter Talks End

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PLAINS—Sounding slightly more optimistic than he did when he arrived, Sen. Edmund Muskie, D-Maine, flew north Monday after a morning-long interview with Jimmy Carter.

"My view is that I don't make any decisions until the Governor makes a decision," Muskie said Monday afternoon when asked if he would accept a second spot on the Democratic ticket.

Carter, who is barely more than a week away from the Democratic presidential nomination, nodded his head approvingly at the tactful reply.

The former Georgia governor said he will interview three or four more candidates before he settles on a running mate next week.

A source close to the Carter camp said Carter aide Charles Kirbo, acting as vice presidential talent scout, will screen U.S. Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.) for the vice presidency in Washington Tuesday.

Carter is expected to meet later this week with Rodino, 67, who chaired the House Judiciary Committee's impeachment hearings against Richard Nixon, the source said.

Carter, the Democratic presidential nominee-in-waiting, likely will interview Washington Sen. Henry Jackson in New York, according to the source, after Carter goes there Saturday to prepare for the Democratic National Convention. Carter and Muskie talked about the president's relationship to Congress, budgeting techniques and the



Talking It Over: Muskies, Carter

role of the vice president until 4 a.m. Monday, and started again after a 9:30 a.m. breakfast. Muskie and his wife Jane reached Plains about 2 a.m. after arriving in Americus by chartered jet.

A veteran of 17 years in the Senate, Muskie said the conversation never turned to his

vice presidential qualifications. "He may in the process have been trying to get some feel for me and how he would react to me, how comfortable he'd be with me," Muskie noted.

Carter, he said, has "a deep interest in how he can best

a productive and constructive relationship with

Muskie and Carter of the need for a vice president that would not be a bitter—presumably in a racial race—against, a

the tall, 62-year-old landed in Americus it his chances to get on set were less than slim. ing talked with Governor after a couple of weeks d (Atlanta lawyer and talent scout) Mr. s) Kirbo last week, I the conclusion that concentration was on names," he said. "So ght's call was a surprise."

r took Muskie for a this tiny town around Monday and found n tourists greeting him rthern tourists greeting who padded around in uede sneakers.

he basis of their talk said he "certainly" had led out the former governor and called allied to be president president.

he landed Muskie ex-some reservations the vice-presidency, it a "mixed bag—at d the same time an nity and a meaning-less exercise."

After conferring with Carter he repeated "I would not be interested under any circumstances in occupying a chair. I'd be interested in a job that is meaningful and satisfying and has at least as great a potential as the Senate has.

TODAY: SIX PAGES OF BICENTENNIAL ARTICLES AND PICTURES

The New York Times

CITY EDITOR

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Temperature range: 10
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CARTER TO BEGIN TALKS ON TICKET

Will See Muskie Today and
Other Possible Running
Mates Soon After

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., July 4—Jimmy Carter has asked Senator Edmund S. Muskie to visit him here tomorrow and discuss the Maine Senator's qualification to serve as Mr. Carter's running mate on the 1976 Democratic ticket.

Mr. Carter told reporters gathered at the driveway of his home in this small Georgia town this morning that he expected to talk to at least four other persons about the Vice-Presidential nomination between now and the Democratic National Convention, which convenes July 12.

In saying that recent news reports about the list of persons under consideration were "substantially accurate," Mr. Carter appeared to confirm that he was also considering Senators Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois and Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

The former Georgia Governor, who is assured of the Presidential nomination, said that it would be wrong to assume that there was any special significance in the fact that Senator Muskie was the first to be invited to meet with him. And, indeed, few political observers

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E

seem to feel that Mr. Muskie is a front-runner for the job. He was the Vice-Presidential nominee in 1968 and an unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1972.

A highly knowledgeable source said that the three men with the best chances of being selected by Mr. Carter were Senators John Glenn of Ohio, Frank Church of Idaho and Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota. However, it is clear that Mr. Carter has made no firm decision or commitment.

[Senator Muskie, in Bangor, Me., said he had not decided whether he would accept an offer to be the running mate. The Associated Press reported, "It's not like something I've thought about for a long time," he said, adding that he had not discussed it with his family.

[Senator Muskie confirmed that Mr. Carter had got in touch with him Saturday night but said, "Mr. Carter hasn't made any decisions yet." Mr. Muskie said he disagreed with Mr. Carter on some issues, and he said that they would discuss their differences on Monday.]

Possible Choices

Mr. Carter said that Senator Muskie and his wife, Jane, would arrive at the Americus, Ga., airstrip 14 miles away about midnight and be his guests overnight before beginning an all-day conference tomorrow.

By saying that recent news reports about the list of persons under consideration were "substantially accurate," Mr. Carter appeared to confirm that he was also considering five other Senators: John Glenn of Ohio, Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois, Frank Church of Idaho, Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and Henry M. Jackson of Washington. However, he said that at least one other person not named in news accounts was also on his list.

The former Governor, dressed in a suit and Bicentennial tie that he had just worn to services at the nearby Plains Baptist Church, declined to announce the list of other persons he would ask to sit down in face-to-face examination with him, saying that he would release each name before the meeting took place.

He said, however, that two others had already agreed to meet with him—one in Plains this week and one in New York, where Mr. Carter will go on Saturday to prepare for the national convention.

He plans to ask "at least two more" persons to meet with him, Mr. Carter said. One of these may come down here and the other may meet him either in Washington or in New York.

But Mr. Carter added, "I would like to retain the option to pursue it further" and to consider still more prospects if he is not ready to choose after these meetings.

The "two major things" that would influence him, Mr. Carter said, are "my own judgment about who might be best to govern this country and be compatible with me." A third consideration would be "some kind of balance for the ticket," he said.

To the extent that "balance" is important, Mr. Muskie is the only Roman Catholic known to be on Mr. Carter's list. He is a Polish-American from a far northern state—but not a large industrial one. And he has had relatively long Washington experience to offset Mr. Carter's lack of any.

Mr. Muskie "has been willing

to present himself to the American people," Mr. Carter said.

That remark seemed to have less relevance for Senator Muskie than for Senator Mondale. In 1975 Mr. Mondale tested the Presidential waters but withdrew, saying that the Presidential primary election system, with its endless nights in motel rooms and its numbing effort, was not for him.

Mr. Carter, who has asserted that his own 16-month campaign in 30 primary states was never an "ordeal" but rather a valuable experience, is said by his associates to have thought that Senator Mondale's withdrawal represented a sign of weakness.

Mr. Carter said today that his close confidant, Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta attorney, had "interviewed, I think, seven people, and is going back to Washington tomorrow to continue with other interviews."

Not Limiting Choice

Mr. Carter repeatedly stressed that, while he was being consistent in his previously expressed plan to conduct final discussions with about three to five people, he did not want to limit himself or close all other possibilities.

He said Mr. Kirbo had visited other persons who "were not reported" and "has also talked with other prospects by telephone." This might mean that persons outside Washington, such as governors, had also been considered and still had a chance.

The order of the interviews was "primarily to accommodate the obligations of those I am interviewing," he said.

"We've very carefully evolved a complete list of questions," Mr. Carter said. "They involve attitudes toward" the draft Democratic Party platform, and what Mr. Carter called "reports that have sometimes been critical by those who may be personally biased" about the Vice-Presidential prospects.

The questions he would put to the Vice-Presidential prospects such as Senator Muskie, he added, would also involve "financial investments, previous contributions or other actions which may be some embarrassment."

Mr. Carter said his friend Mr. Kirbo had "expressed some concern to me about individual persons or some things he thought I should discuss with them personally. So I have kept a catalogue of those questions."

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Trimmy Jimmy

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — Some people become incensed when I proudly point out the striking similarities in the campaigns of Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon, as if this were in some sly way a derogation of Mr. Carter. If the motives are rightly suspect, the comparisons are nonetheless valid:

1. *Pick out a word, make it your own.* In 1968, the Nixon word was "watershed." He spoke of "watershed elections" in a "watershed year" until voters looked forward to the deluge, which ultimately came.

Mr. Carter's favorite word is "miracle." To most pols, a political miracle is any kind of victory, but in Mr. Carter's usage, a subtle evangelical message comes across. He speaks mystically of "an almost miraculous closeness" between himself and the electorate; his newest biography, by Howard Norton and Bob Slosser, is titled "The Miracle of Jimmy Carter," and the other day in Chicago, JC called Mayor Daley his "miracle man."

2. *On the little things, promise 'em anything.* In 1968, Nixon promised the oilmen their depletion allowance and the steelmen their continued protection; nobody noticed, and key industries were energized to support the candidate.

In 1976, Jimmy Carter has been meeting with labor unions, making little deals with each, and buying intensive support as well as the legal limit in contributions. He has quietly assured the newly merged textile workers union that he is sympathetic to their needs, which has been taken as a hint that he will help them with tariff barriers; he has offered the maritime workers a "working relation-

ESSAY

ship," which is taken to mean more subsidies in the form of requiring the use of high-cost United States merchant ships.

All these little union deals would drive up prices, of course, but Mr. Carter counters that with a pledge to restrain inflation (presumably, he has a deal with the miracle workers).

3. *On the big things, promise 'em nothing.* In 1968, Nixon started out far ahead and "played not to lose." This strategy requires forthright fuzziness, on the premise that each hard position loses more votes than it gains. The danger then was the appearance of overconfidence, à la Dewey—and Humphrey almost won.

Since getting suckered into supporting socialized employment in the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, Mr. Carter has been more selective in his enthusiasms: He's for welfare reform, as most of us are; but on the breakup of the oil companies, an article of populist faith, he says he is against it "except as a last resort," whatever that means. Perhaps he has a secret plan to end them.

4. *Discover radio.* In 1968, when the heat was on to get more specific, the Nixon campaign found a way to overcome the criticism: eloquent radio speeches, which nobody listened to. This worked so well, Nixon pledged to use the radio medium in his Presidency.

Jimmy Carter has said that he plans to punctuate his Presidency with "30-minute radio broadcasts . . . I intend to do this about once a month when I am President."

5. *Surround yourself with order-followers.* In 1968, the men who were inclined to argue with the candidate soon found themselves outside the decision stream; this was later exaggerated into a "palace guard."

In 1976, the "Atlanta wall" around Carter is made of men of his own creation: Here comes Mr. Hamilton Jordan, 31, a political technician who has been with Mr. Carter all his adult life; Jody Powell, 32, who cheated his way out of the Air Force Academy and would be in charge of never lying to us as press secretary; and adman Jerry Rafshoon, 42, this year's Harry Trelevan, peddling a product that does not take any unpopular stands. Joe McGinnis, where are you with "The Selling of The President, 1976"?)

Robert Shrum, the speechwriter who defected, says of Mr. Carter: "He doesn't like people to argue in front of him, or with him. He would much prefer to deal with things written down on paper . . . I think as President he would prefer to deal through memoranda rather than orally. I think that things would tend to get funneled through one person, probably Hamilton Jordan, from inside the government. And would probably get funneled out in terms of public relations through one person, probably Jody Powell."

Sound familiar? The only person in the inner circle who is not a snap-to-Carter product is Charles Kirbo, 59, an Atlanta lawyer and fundraiser who is not likely to undergo a searching Bebe Rebozo-type examination from the press until late in the campaign.

Comparisons are odious, especially to those Nixon-haters who are trying so earnestly to become Carter-lovers. Representative Andrew Young, who wants to see a liberal glint in those Carter eyes that dart back and forth so like Nixon's, claims his candidate is a man "whose record is better than his rhetoric." Perhaps, but can't anyone hear that as an echo of John Mitchell's "watch what we do, not what we say"?

"It's not scandalous to make a word or phrase your trademark, or set up a tightly-knit loyalist team, or to trim your positions to match the current mood of the electorate. It's the way to get elected. To the 1968 Nixon hands, the 1976 Carter campaign is the sincerest form of flattery.

G

Georgia, Georgia... Georgia on My Mind

MONTGOMERY, Ala.—If you head south from Plains over the country roads through the peanut fields of southwestern Georgia, you soon will come to Jenkins' Crossing.

It is not so famous a place nowadays as Plains, the home of my neighbor Jimmy Carter. In fact, Jenkins' Crossing no longer has any geographic importance at all, except perhaps to the engineer of the little train which slows down as it crosses the highway at that point on its clackety-clack daily run over decrepit tracks, hauling fertilizer, cottonseed, lumber and other essentials of the region.

It is, however, of considerable importance to me. If scant available records are any guide, that land first came into the possession of someone named Jenkins sometime around the turn of the 19th century, scarcely 25 years after the issue of the great Declaration whose 200th anniversary we are celebrating.

It is not fashionable in these days of that ever-renaissant, ever-elusive "New South" to speak much about ancestry, but if you strip us to our essential core, you will find that most Southerners feel some small measure of kinship with the Rev. Gail Hightower, the half-mad, cuckolded preacher of Faulkner's world who used to see ghosts of his ancestors thundering across the night sky.

So it was that when I stumbled upon a small, romanticized history of my county—among the volumes in Widener Library at Harvard, of all unlikely places, never before opened since it was put on its obscure shelf 30 years before—my fascination quickly turned into eager anticipation when I reached the section drawn from my own family's Bible records.

One of the earliest entries recorded the birth of one Royal Jenkins, in 1787, and I vaguely wondered if the name reflected latent Tory sympathies.

Then I came upon a series of deaths in rapid succession. "Russell

F. Jenkins departed this life March 30, 1853... Sarah Jenkins departed this life April 9, 1853... Alexander Daniel Jenkins departed this life April 27, 1853..." And so on.

At the conclusion of this melancholy recitation was a solemn note of explanation: "The above five were poisoned by a slave." Not even the name of this individual, who had made known in so dramatic a way grievances against the Jenkins family, is recorded. Nor are we told what happened to this stealthy rebel.

My visits to Jenkins' Crossing—I still call it "home"—are infrequent these days, and they are usually hurried trips, to handle some business matter involving the land which finally passed into my absentee ownership. On one such visit a few weeks ago, I took along Nancy Jenkins, who is six, for companionship on the drive through this dreary and desolate region, a countryside dotted by sad gray shacks, many almost taken over by the ubiquitous kudzu vine, populated now only by ghosts like those of Hightower's dying reverie.

It is rare these days even to see a mule, that worthy and uncomplaining beast of burden whose energy so long sustained the agriculture of this region. I recall, not long ago, chuckling when I saw a young man on a modern tractor with air-conditioned, glass-enclosed cab, listening to high-volume rock-'n'-roll stereo music as he drove the great machine so effortlessly over the cotton field, doing the work that would have required a dozen men, women and children just a generation back? Can there be, I asked myself, any kinship between this young "farmer" and one who had grappled with a strong weed with his bare hands, had watered the soil with his sweat?

In an idle moment, Nancy and I strolled in the fields, now luxuriant with this year's peanut crop. Overwhelmed by the heavy presence of the past, I tried to communicate my feelings to my small daughter.

"Nancy," I began, "did you know that your father, your grandfather,

By Ray Jenkins

your great-grandfather and your great-great-grandfather all worked in these fields when they were little like you?"

Her curiosity was aroused, and she waited expectantly for some point to my story. But, alas, there was none. Then, sensing my uncertainty, those celebrated ancestors closed the taint, this slip of an offspring of all matter with a shrug and a murmur, more bewildered than impertinent.

"Well, so what?"

Indeed, so what? How could she understand what the place had meant to me, a child growing up nine miles from the nearest paved road? Like her older brothers who had also grown up in the city, she did not even know the color of a cotton bloom.

Unless a man has picked cotton all day in August; has sat in an out-house in 20 degrees in January and passed this time of necessity by reading last year's Sears Roebuck catalogue; has eaten a possum and liked it; has castrated a live pig with a dull pocket knife and has wrung a chicken's neck with his own hands; has learned at least a few chords on a fiddle and guitar; has tried to lure a sharecropper's daughter into the woods for mischievous purposes; has watched a man who had succeeded in doing just that have his sins washed away in the Blood of the Lamb in a baptism in a muddy creek; has been kicked by a mean milch cow and kicked her back; has drunk busthead likker knowing full well it might kill him; had wished the next day it had killed him; has watched a neighbor's house burn down; has drawn a knife on an adversary in fear and anger; has half-soled his one pair of shoes with a tire-repair kit; has gone into a deep dark well to get out a dead chicken that had fallen in; has waited beside a dusty road in the midday heat, hoping the R.F.D. postman would bring some long-coveted item ordered from the

The title of this article was drawn from the song "Georgia on My Mind." Lyrics by Stuart Gorrell, music by Hoagy Carmichael. © 1930 Peer International Corporation. Copyright renewed. Used by permission.

catalogue; has been in close quarters with a snake; has, in thirsty desperation, drunk water that worked alive with mosquito larve called wiggle-tails; has eaten sardines out of a can with a stick; has killed a cat just for the hell of it; has felt like a nigger was mistreated but was afraid to say so; has stepped in the droppings of a chicken and not really cared; has been cheated by someone he worked hard for; has gone to bed at sundown because he could no longer endure the crushing isolation; has ridden a bareback mule three miles to visit a purty girl who waited in a clean, flimsy cotton dress—unless he has done these things, then he cannot understand what it was like in my South.

It is a definition, I hasten to add, which conveys neither superiority nor inferiority; it is morally neutral. It is just that my experience was different from that of my children. Jimmy Carter will understand, but not my children.

When I was Nancy's age, I had no reason to believe that I would ever leave the farm; indeed, I had every reason to believe that my children and grandchildren would be born there, just as my parents and grandparents had been born there.

But there were forces at work which would not permit this orderly plan of nature to be carried out. Our little country school—whose cornerstone bore the name of some visionary forebear who valued education—closed in the 1940's, its enrollment decimated by the great trek from the farms to the cities.

Arrangements had to be made for me to continue my education. (Like Jimmy Carter, I was later to become the first member of my family to graduate from college.) So I went to live with an aunt, in a little town called Camilla, so that I could finish high school.

The distance was only about 20 miles but, culturally, it was a different universe. It is no exaggeration to say that the cultural leap from the farm to Camilla, a town of only 3,000, was greater than the leap from Camilla to New York City would have been.

So I was the link in the cultural chain which broke. This is not all that unusual in America, really. Anyone in Boston with an Irish name, anyone in Chicago with a Polish name, anyone in New York with an Eastern European Jewish name can probably tell you precisely when the same thing happened in their own families, usually a couple of generations back.

And yet, this event comes rather hard for those who must make the break. And it was all the more so in my own case because it was a chain which had not been broken since some poor wretch named Jenkins, given the option of spending his life in a debtors' prison in England or coming to the new colony of Georgia, boarded one of Gen. James Oglethorpe's ships and set sail into the perilous unknown in the first third of the 18th century.

Except for the introduction of the internal-combustion engine, itself scarcely more than a novelty in the rural milieu of the 1930's and 1940's, my childhood was not unlike that of my forefathers for five generations back. But it was radically different from my children's childhood.

About the time I was leaving the farm for good, to go to the state university to take up what my mother surely thought was the odd career of journalism, a small, fragile piece of humanity was being blown about by storms of a different kind which beset Europe in those same years that I was growing up on the farm. In due course that orphaned child from Germany came to rest in Georgia. There, the two broken links came together, and the boys and little Nancy were born in due course. They are, I am sure, not even aware today that they are among that 1.4 percent of Alabama citizens listed in the official Census of the United States as being of "foreign stock." In fact, they are scarcely even aware that they are the second links in the new chain.

Ray Jenkins is editor of the editorial page of *The Alabama Journal*.

The Atlanta Journal

★ AND ★

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

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★★

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Price 15 Cent
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Carter to Meet With VP

Dark Horse Muskie

By FAY S. JOYCE

Journal-Constitution Staff Writer

PLAINS—Edmund Muskie and Jimmy Carter planned to discuss the vice presidency here Monday, Carter announced Sunday. Carter's meeting with the Maine senator most of Monday would be his first face-to-face interview with a possible vice presidential candidate.

Carter said chief vice presidential talent scout Charles Kirbo would return to Washington Monday to conduct more interviews.

"There are at least five (possibilities) with whom I'd like to meet already. And after Mr. Kirbo concludes his interviews, there may possibly be more," Carter said at his home here. The former Georgia governor is to receive the Democratic presidential nomination a week from Wednesday in New York.

Saying there is "no significance" to Muskie's being first, Carter called him a "superb governor" with "management experience" and praised him for heading up a new Senate budget committee that

is "an admirable improvement over procedures in the past." Muskie was governor of Maine from 1955 to 1959.

Muskie, he said, demonstrated his "acceptance around the nation" when he campaigned unsuccessfully for president four years ago, and when he ran in the number two spot under Hubert Humphrey in 1968. Humphrey and Muskie were narrowly defeated by Nixon and Agnew.

The man from Maine is considered a dark horse among the six senators Kirbo interviewed on Capitol Hill late

last week: John Glenn, Adlai Stevenson, Frank Church, Walter F. Mondale, Henry Jackson, and Muskie. The Atlanta lawyer also met with Abraham Ribicoff, but he said Sunday his "main purpose" was to solicit Ribicoff's advice.

Asked if Ribicoff is also being considered for a running mate, Kirbo said, "You'll have to ask Jimmy."

When Muskie once visited Georgia during a campaign swing, Kirbo called him "shaggy looking." Kirbo has not

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Carter

From Page 1-A

commented publicly on Muskie's looks this year.

When Kirbo met with Muskie in Washington last week, the Atlanta attorney did not question Muskie about himself, only other vice presidential possibilities.

Speaking from the lawn of his home after church services Sunday morning, Carter said he will "keep my options up until the time of the nomination" and not publicly divulge his choice before.

"I have already talked to two (candidates) for the second spot about coming down here and one about going and meeting me in New York. I would guess that there would be at least two more, one of whom may come down here. The other one may meet me either in Washington or New York," said the former Georgia governor.

Carter will fly to New York Saturday to prepare for next week's Democratic convention.

Muskie said he received a telephone call from Carter Saturday night at his home in Kennebunk Beach and agreed to fly to Plains after Sunday's Bicentennial festivities in Bangor, Maine.

The senator said he talked with Carter two weeks ago about the qualities he thought the Democratic vice presidential nominee should have, but the possibility he might have the No. 2 spot was not discussed.

Little more than a week ago, Muskie said he was being considered as a running mate by Carter "to bridge the age gap." Muskie is 62 and Carter is 51.

Muskie declined at that time to say whether he would accept the No. 2 spot, saying, "It will be Governor Carter's decision."

Muskie was due to arrive at the Americas airport, around midnight

aboard Carter's chartered Lear jet. Carter said they would talk most of Monday about Muskie's attitude toward the Democratic platform, "critical reports by those who may have been personally biased, financial statements or previous contributions, or other actions that may be some embarrassment."

Carter said that when Kirbo filled him in on last week's Washington research, he "expressed some concerns to me about the individual person or some things he thought I ought to discuss with them personally."

"So I have kept a catalogue of those questions and I'm just going to search now for compatibility between myself and them, and make my own judgment about who might be best to govern this country and be compatible with me. Those are the two major things. I always said the third consideration would be some kind of balance for the ticket."

DENYING THE RUMORS

Jordan Won't Seek Office

Consternation rippled through high political circles in Georgia last week when word went around that Hamilton Jordan was thinking about returning to Georgia—presumably from a Carter White House—to pursue plans of his own in a couple of years.



Merriner

But Georgia politicians can relax. Jordan, the young manager of Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign, said he has no intention of running for governor or the U.S. Senate or anything else in 1978 or beyond.

"The voters will never get a shot at me," he vowed.

The speculation about Jordan's political ambitions stemmed from remarks he recently made to an interviewer who asked what his White House role would be, assuming Carter is elected.

"What I said," Jordan related from his home in Albany where he spent the holiday weekend, "was that if Jimmy serves eight years I would not spend the whole time there."

"I have enjoyed it (politics), but I think I want to do something else."

The departure of Hamilton Jordan (pronounced "Jerdan") from politics into teaching or some other career would remove a bright impresario from the political stage. But his feeling of having a surfeit of politics is perhaps understandable.

As the man who is running a spectacularly successful campaign, Jordan has had people not only pounding on his door but—literally—trying to burn it down.

Press secretary Jody Powell once offered an exclusive interview with Carter to Hunter S. Thompson, the author of the "Fear and Loathing" chronicles, who is known to have a certain flair.

But Carter insisted on sleeping on the campaign airplane when the interview was supposed to take place. Thompson, enraged, got off the plane in Chicago, returned to Orlando, couldn't find Powell, tracked down Jordan to his motel room and banged on the

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

door, offering comments of an unflattering nature.

When Jordan—who had been forewarned about Thompson's approach—wouldn't answer, Thompson squirted lighter fluid on the door and window and lighted it, hoping to smoke Jordan out. But Jordan was implacable, the flames died down and Thompson stormed away.

Perhaps that experience helped prompt Jordan to say last weekend, "I would never run any more campaigns myself. That is a promise."

Jordan also quelled rumors that he and Carter are thinking about placing Jordan in Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss' post after the November election.

That move would make strategic sense. Jordan's forte is political organization rather than staff administration. And his chairmanship could transform the role of the DNC.

Historically, if the party's presidential candidate wins, political power becomes centered in the White House and the national committee is reduced to a formalistic shell. If the candidate loses, the committee is left with a huge campaign debt and loss of power to the opposition party.

But putting Carter's man Jordan in control of the DNC would in effect give Carter a ready-made national political apparatus.

Nevertheless, "I would not want Strauss' job. That does not interest me at all," Jordan said.

So maybe all the General Assembly members who encountered the brassiness of Governor Carter's executive secretary in the early '70s, all the Democratic politicians who got his help when he was staff chief for the DNC congressional campaign effort in 1974, all the reporters who have been victims of his relentless good-ole-boy joshing will have to get used to the idea of not having Hamilton Jordan to kick around any more.

Poll Says Carter Not A Shoo-In

By The Associated Press

Despite Jimmy Carter's wide lead over President Ford and Ronald Reagan in many national polls, Americans are far from sold on the former Georgia governor as their next president, Time magazine said Sunday.

A Time poll conducted by an opinion-research firm for this week's issue shows that doubts persist even among registered Democrats about Carter, the magazine reported. It said the poll showed that while 47 per cent of the polled Democrats are satisfied with Carter as their party's nominee, another 44 per cent would prefer someone else.

The poll, conducted through a nationwide telephone canvass of 1,007 registered voters, also reported that Ford was far more popular among voters than Reagan, and if Ford is nominated by the Republican party the race against Carter may be far closer than predicted.

K

HARRIS POLL

State Governments 'Closer to People'

By LOUIS HARRIS

It is no coincidence that the impending nomination of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter by the Democrats in New York next week takes place during a dramatic shift in public confidence away from the federal government to state government.

In the latest Harris Survey, by close to a three-to-one margin, the public nationwide feels that state government can be trusted more than the federal government. And by a lopsided 65-12 per cent, a sizable majority believes that state government is "closer to the people."

In 1960, earlier Harris Surveys found that the pendulum had swung the other way. After a long period in political history during which the breeding ground for presidents was widely believed to be the statehouse, where a governor could learn to administer government as well as to deal with a legislature, it was found that governors were becoming increasingly unpopular. They were blamed for rising taxes at the state and local level. In addition, they were criticized for not having sufficient exposure to broad national and international problems which U.S. senators face regularly.

Thus, from 1960 through 1972, both the Democrats and the Republicans nominated candidates whose political training was in the Congress: Kennedy and Nixon in 1960; Johnson and Goldwater in 1964; Humphrey in 1968 and McGovern in 1972.

Yet, in 1976, there is every sign that public confidence in the federal establishment has been so shaken that great advantages accrue to those who do not come out of the Washington scene. By 68-20 per cent, the public feels that "Washington, D.C. is out of touch with the American people."

It now seems that the pendulum has swung back and the country may be turning to the state capitals for its presidents. Two of the three survivors of the primaries — Reagan and Carter — come out of state rather than the federal government. Another governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, made an impressive showing in all six of the primaries he entered this year.

The latest Harris Survey documents the swing toward state government and away from the federal government.

— By close to three to one, people tend to think that state rather than federal government "really cares what happens to the people."

— By a striking 58-8 per cent, a majority feels that the federal government is "more wasteful" than state government.

— By over three to one, people hold the view that federal government now is "more corrupt" than state government.

— By 44-23 per cent, the public is convinced that the federal government "gives the taxpayer less value for the tax dollar."

In only one area — attracting more able people — does the federal government come out ahead. This could be the block on which the federal establishment might be able to start rebuilding public confidence. However, if the national recognition and political rewards for service in state governments are now about to increase sharply, it is possible that the more talented and aspiring officeholders of the future will be attracted to state capitals.

These results suggest not only that it is increasingly likely that future national leaders will be drawn more from state capitals than from Washington's Capitol Hill, but also that political faith and confidence is going to be rebuilt first at the local and state levels. It is just possible that a skeptical people are going to have to watch government work where they can see it close at hand before full trust is restored.

In mid-June, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of 1,480 likely voters:

"I'd like you to keep in mind the federal and state government. If you had to choose, which do you think (READ LIST) — the federal or the state government?"

	State Govt.	Federal Govt.	Differ-ent	Not Sure
Positive				
Is closer to the people:	65%	12%	16%	7%
Can be trusted more:	39%	15%	35%	11%
Really cares what happens to the people:	36%	14%	40%	10%
Attracts more able people in government:	20%	41%	27%	12%
Negative				
Gives the taxpayer less value for the tax dollar:	23%	44%	21%	12%
Is more corrupt:	12%	41%	34%	13%
Is more out of touch with what people think:	12%	56%	21%	11%
Is more wasteful:	8%	58%	26%	8%

Bill Shipp

Beware the Slow-Talking Lawyer

Put yourself in place of Ohio Sen. John Glenn, the great American hero, the first U.S. astronaut to orbit the earth, a man decorated by presidents and kings and queens.

Or say you are Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, scion of one of the nation's great liberal Democratic families, darling of Mayor Richard Daley's unstoppable Chicago political machine.



And now you, Glenn or Stevenson, stand an excellent chance of being Jimmy Carter's choice for vice president and, therefore, a very good chance of being elected to the nation's No. 2 office.

But, of course, the Carter people would like to talk to you before mak-

Hal Gulliver Is on Vacation

ing a decision. They mention some obscure name in their organization and suggest you chat with him. The "Governor" would like that, they say.

So you're ushered into a room in Washington and introduced to a red-

neck looking fellow who speaks in a lazy south Georgia drawl and may leave the impression that he just came from a checker game in the back of the hardware store in Powder Springs and got beat two out of three times.

He may tell you about his pickup truck or the billy goat that Jimmy Carter gave him one time. He may say he used to be "pore" but he gets along all right now. If either of you think you are having an interview with one of Carter's good old boys who just loped in from the filling station, you are too dumb to be vice president — even if you are a pioneer astronaut or a member of a Great

American Political Tradition.

You have been interviewed by one Charles Kirbo, a man more responsible for the successes of Jimmy Carter than anyone. He was Carter's lawyer in 1962 when the "other guys" stuffed the ballot box in a state senate race to keep Carter from getting elected. But Kirbo slow-talked his way to victory for his client in the courtroom, and Jimmy Carter's political career was off and running.

There's no use here in retracing all Kirbo's accomplishments in behalf of Carter since then. Or in behalf of himself for that matter. He is a senior law partner in one of Atlanta's largest law firms, and he ain't pore no more.

He passed on most of Carter's major appointments when Carter was governor. Many people close to Carter at the time saw Kirbo as a kind of father figure for the governor. He, according to the Carter people, seemed to be all wise, all knowing, easy to talk to, easy to get along with.

On the other hand, Kirbo, according to the anti-Carter people, is a snake in the grass who is politically thin-skinned, ill-tempered, vindictive and can't stand a loser. That country sage bit is just an act Kirbo uses to disguise a quick lethal mentality, they say.

There's more than a little truth in both descriptions. But if Kirbo can hold his position as a top-adviser to Jimmy Carter, he could bring to a new presidential administration some traits that few Harvards could ever hope to acquire. Kirbo, by his own admission, was raised in poverty and hunger and hard work. He labored in the fields for years alongside the blacks and the whites who tried to scratch a living out of next to nothing.

He once said: "I've been hungry and pore as hell... When you get into the knowledge of poor people, you get into something that many intellectuals don't understand. They want to talk about being Left and Right, liberal or conservative."

But a poor man wants to talk about making a living, feeding a family, and enjoying at least a little bit of The Good Life, and Kirbo understands that. Because he does, Kirbo could contribute far more to Jimmy Carter and the nation than merely screening the great and near-great applicants for vice president.

He could bring to a new national administration a rare and deep understanding of where America really needs to go as she begins her third century. He also possesses the sure political instinct of how to get there.

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The New York Times

CITY ED

Weather: Partly sunny, cloudy tonight. Clear. Temperature range: Friday 73-82. Daily

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Group From Carter's Hometown Visits Johnson City, Tex., in Quest for Advice

By JAMES P. STERBA
Special to The New York Times

JOHNSON CITY, Tex., July 2—Clemens Lindig thought they were just another bunch of tourists when they trooped into his bar here yesterday afternoon, roused him from his afternoon snooze and loaded up on cans of cold beer.

"Jimmy who?" he said after they left. "Oh, yeah, the peanut farmer."

Back on their chartered bus, P. J. Wise popped the top on a cold brew and said to Buford Reese:

"You know Buford, we're going to have to get us an eating place in Plains pretty darned quick. We're going to have to fight off the fly-by-nighters, and be just awful nice to the tourists and the press."

Mr. Wise and Mr. Reese are neighbors of Jimmy Carter in Plains, Ga. They and 25 other men from Plains, from nearby Americus and from surrounding Sumter County, calling themselves the "peanut brigade," came to Texas this week with an unusual goal. They wanted to find out what happens to a small town when one of its natives becomes President of the United States.

Looking Ahead

"We don't think we're being presumptuous, although we thought about it," said Earl Godwin, a Plains pharmacist and \$5-a-month Mayor pro-tem. "We've been affected already and we're just trying to plan ahead."

Lady Bird Johnson, the for-

mer President's wife, met them this morning at the L.B.J. ranch and wholeheartedly agreed.

"This is the most sensible thing you could be doing," she said over coffee and cookies.

The Plains folks have had a taste of the national spotlight during Mr. Carter's campaign toward the Democratic Presidential nomination. What they found out in two days in Johnson City, Austin, and other nearby towns is that they have misjudged the magnitude of their possible future in that spotlight.

Tells of Benefits

"We just weren't thinking big enough," said Johnny Sheffield Jr., Mayor of Americus, which is nine miles east of Plains and has a population of 18,000. George Christain, President Johnson's former press secretary, helped broaden their view.

"Most small towns don't get into the paper unless there's a tornado or a train wreck," he said. "All of a sudden your town is going to be on the map. The date-line of Plains or Americus is going to go all over the world and that will have a significant economic and public relations benefit."

Plains has a population of 683, as against 763 now in Johnson City. Mr. Christian told the Georgians to expect an invasion of tourists and reporters and said the reporters, especially if they get bored, would find things wrong with their community.

"I bet they'll turn right around and write about it, too, won't they?" said Theo Baldwin, a local banker and Americus city councilman.

Souvenir Shops a Problem

Mr. Christian nodded, then said: "But contrary to the popular belief, the working press corps is made up of highly balanced people, and the benefit of having them

around generally exceeds the detriments. Our problems were with a few columnists and TV commentators who didn't know the President and would come in here and cause us some problems."

Charles Mathus, Johnson City's Mayor pro-tem, told the visitors that caring for the press was a minor problem compared with fending off an infestation of souvenir stores and land speculators.

To save the land across the road from the Johnson ranch from commercial exploitation, the President had to enlist the aid of local ranchers to buy it up and had to prod outside corporate executives into guaranteeing the loans. Then, everyone stood firm against the developers.

"Otherwise you'll have a summit meeting in the shadow of a ferris wheel," Mr. Christian said.

The Georgia delegation did not get to talk to many ordinary people in Johnson City, but they were impressed with the town's cleanliness and obvious pride.

'A Lot That's Positive'

"This community pride is a very important thing, and we're learning that there's a lot that's positive on top of the negative," said Lewis Lowe, the only black man in the group. Mr. Lowe is school principal and an Americus city councilman.

"This is a great opportunity to improve the quality of life for everyone," he said.

Several former aides to President Johnson told the group that the novelty of having a hometown President would wear off after a while.

"I guess it's like a kid with a chocolate pie," said Mayor Sheffield of Americus. "He's going to like it for a while, but sooner or later he's going to get sick of it."

"We know Plains is going to change," said Billy Carter, Jimmy's 39-year-old younger brother. "But we're going to try like mad to keep it just the way it is."

CARTER CONFERS ON RUNNING-MATE

Meets With Advisers at His
Home in Georgia to Go
Over and Narrow List

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., July 2—Jimmy Carter heard today a report from a trusted lieutenant who has been screening and interviewing possible Vice-Presidential running mates for him, and began to pare the list to three or four names.

Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer, who is a close confidant of the former Georgia Governor, said that a report that some of the men under consideration had already been eliminated was "ridiculous."

He specifically denied the report in an Atlanta newspaper that the front-runner was now Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d, and that Senator John Glenn of Ohio had lost ground because Mr. Carter's staff assistants find him too independent-minded and fear the former astronaut's personal grammar might "upstage" Mr. Carter in a political campaign.

"You can't upstage a presidential candidate," said Mr. Kirbo scornfully as he stepped off a chartered executive jet aircraft at nearby Americus, Ga. Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's campaign manager, and Jody Powell, the press secretary, were with him.

Mr. Jordan said, "These reports are not accurate. Jimmy hasn't made any choice yet."

Conference at Carter Home

The three men drove to Mr. Carter's home in Plains to begin consulting on what all of them had learned directly, as well as from an informal panel of advisers around the country, about possible Vice-Presidential choices. Mr. Carter said in Chicago yesterday that he was still seriously considering "seven or eight names."

He restated then his previous determination not to disclose his final choice until he himself has been formally nominated by the Democratic National Convention in New York.

The plan, Mr. Jordan said, was for Mr. Kirbo to speak alone for a time with Mr. Carter and then for all four men to continue the discussion.

Reports in Washington have been that Mr. Kirbo in the last several days spoke there with Senators Glenn and Stevenson and also with Senators Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, Frank Church of Idaho, Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota and others have also been considered, however.

Narrowing the Field

Mr. Carter said yesterday that some time this weekend he would make a semifinal selection of three or four possible Vice-Presidential nominees and then would invite them to meet at some length with him so that he could personally assess them and get to know them better.

A few days ago he commented that "I want to be sure I am acquainted with them."

He said at that time that "we have been keeping careful notes" on what had been said about the possible choices by a list of about 45 national figures whom Mr. Carter has consulted personally by telephone.

"And in addition to that, he 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 derived from comments about them among those who know them best."

Mr. Carter said he would like to invite them to his home in Plains as overnight guests, pre-

sumably one at a time. But he expressed a willingness to go to their homes if they preferred.

In a comment made Tuesday night to journalists, Mr. Carter gave what may be an insight into the kind of considerations that may be crossing his mind. He was asked if Senator Mondale's position on busing to achieve school integration would "augur against him?"

P

'Mr. Jefferson knew, as those who honor him know still, that there is no such thing in human life, no such thing in human history, as what we call "security." He knew that what makes a people great, a nation powerful, is purpose.'



Now
Let Us
Address
The Main
Question:
Bicentennial
Of What?

'So far, indeed, is Mr. Jefferson's revolution from being obsolete that it is now the one truly revolutionary force in the age we live in. And not despite the police states but because of them. When the K.G.B. is king the only possible revolution is the revolution of mankind. The revolution of Sakharov, of Solzhenitsyn.'

By Archibald MacLeish

IT IS a common human practice to answer questions without truly asking them and the American Bicentennial is merely the latest instance. Everyone knows what the Bicentennial celebrates: the 200th anniversary of the adoption, by the Continental Congress, of the Declaration of Independence. But no one asks what the Bicentennial is because no one asks what the Declaration

was. The instrument of announcing American independence from Great Britain? Clearly that: but is that all it was? Is it only American independence from Great Britain we are celebrating on July 4, 1976—only the instrument which declared our independence? There have been other declarations of unilateral independence from Great Britain (Rhodesia's comes most recently to mind) which no one is likely to remember for 200 years, much less to celebrate. Just as there are words, including the best-remembered words, in the American Declaration which seem to have more in mind than an American independence from the British crown.

"All men" are said in that document to be created equal and to have been endowed with certain unalienable rights. All governments are alleged to have been instituted among men to secure those rights—to protect them. Are these, then, American rights? Doubtless—but only American? Is it the British Government which is declared to have violated them? Unquestionably—but the British Government alone? And the revolution against tyranny and arrogance which is here implied—is it a revolution which American independence from the mediocre majesty of George III will win or is there something more intended?—something for all mankind?—for all the world?

In the old days when college undergraduates still read history, any undergraduate could have told you that these are not rhetorical questions: that there were, from the beginning, two opinions about the Declaration and that they were held by (among others) the two great men who had most to do with its composition and its adoption by the Congress.

John Adams, who supported the Declaration with all his formidable powers, inclined to the view that it was just what it called itself: a declaration of American independence. Thomas Jefferson, who wrote it, held the opposite opinion: it was a revolutionary proclamation applicable to all mankind.

"May it be to the world," he wrote to the citizens of Washington a few days before he died, "what I believe it will be: to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all, the signal of arousing men to burst the chains."

And he went on in reverberating words which later and less-honorable revolutionaries have aborted to a different end: "The mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs for a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them by the grace of God."

Moreover, these two great and famous men were not the only Presidents of the Republic to choose between the alternatives: A third, as great as either, speaking in Philadelphia at the darkest moment in our history—bearing indeed the whole weight of that history on his shoulders as he spoke—turned to the Declaration for guidance for himself and for his country and made his choice between the meanings.

Mr. Lincoln had been making his way slowly eastward in February 1861 from Springfield to Washington to take the oath of office as President of a divided people on the verge of Civil War. He had been making little speeches in city after city as he went, saying nothing, marking time, attempting to quiet apprehensions which his irrelevancies only aggravated. He had reached Philadelphia on the 21st of February where he had been told by the detective Pinkerton and by Secretary Seward's son of the conspiracy to murder him in Baltimore as he passed through that city. He had gone to Independence Hall before daylight on the 22d. He had found a crowd waiting. He had spoken to them.

He had often asked himself, Mr. Lincoln said, what great principle or idea it was which had held the Union so long together. "It was not," he said, as though replying directly to John Adams, "the mere matter of the separation from the mother country."

It was something more. "Something in the Declaration," they heard him say. "Something giving liberty not alone to the people of this country but hope to the world." "It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men."

His hearers seem to have remembered his words in different ways and it is understandable that they should, for these were private words spoken as much to himself as to them—a speech as moving as a great soliloquy in a tragic play. Anyone else, any modern President certainly, would have said, as most of them regularly do, that his hope for the country was

fixed in huge expenditures for arms, in the possession of overwhelming power. Not Mr. Lincoln. Not Mr. Lincoln even at that desperate moment. His hope was fixed in a great affirmation of belief made almost a century before. It was fixed in the commitment of the American people, at the beginning of their history as a people, to "a great principle or idea": the principle or idea of human liberty—of human liberty not for themselves alone but for mankind.

It was a daring gamble of Mr. Lincoln's—but so too was Mr. Jefferson's Declaration—so was the cause which Mr. Jefferson's Declaration had defined. Could a nation be founded on the belief in liberty? Could belief in liberty preserve it? Two American generations argued that issue but not ours—not the generation of the celebrants of the 200th anniversary of that great event. We assume, I suppose, that Mr. Jefferson's policy was right for him and right for Mr. Lincoln, because it was successful. The Civil War was won when it became openly and explicitly a war for human liberty—a war to lift the weights from the shoulders of all men. But whatever we think about Mr. Lincoln's view of the Declaration, whatever we believe about the Declaration in the past, in other men's lives, in other

men's wars, we do not ask ourselves, as we celebrate its Bicentennial, what it is today, what it is to us.

Our present President has never intimated by so much as a word that such a question might be relevant—that it even exists. The Congress has not debated it. The state and Federal commissions charged with Bicentennial responsibility express no opinions. Only the generation of the young, so far as I am informed, has even mentioned it, and the present generation of the young has certain understandable prejudices, inherited from the disillusionments of recent years, which color their comments.

Tell your children—or, if you prefer, tell my grandchildren—what Thomas Jefferson thought of his Declaration and you will get a blank look with overtones of embarrassment—embarrassment for you. Inform them that in your opinion Mr. Jefferson's Declaration remains the most profoundly revolutionary document ever published by a responsible people—the only revolutionary declaration ever made on behalf, not of a class or a creed or a special interest of one kind or another but of all mankind, all men, of every man—and you will be told, with courteous amusement, that you have to be kidding.

Express your view that the nation brought into being by that great document was, and had no choice but be, a revolutionary nation, and you will be reminded that, but for the acci-

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dental discovery of a piece of tape on a door latch, the President of the United States in the Bicentennial year would have been Richard Nixon. And so it will go until you are told at last that the American Revolution is a figure of obsolescent speech; that the Declaration has become a museum exhibit in the National Archives; and that, as for the Bicentennial, it is a year-long commercial which ought to be turned off.

Well, the indignation of the young is always admirable regardless of its verbal excesses—far more admirable, certainly, than the indifference of the elders. But, unfortunately, it is the indifference of the elders we have to consider. And not only because it is a puzzling, a paradoxical, indifference but because it is as disturbing as it is paradoxical.

Does our indifference to the explicitly revolutionary purpose of the Declaration—our silence about Mr. Jefferson's interpretation of that purpose—mean that we no longer believe in that purpose—no longer believe in human liberty? Hardly.

Two years ago we forced the resignation of a President we had just elected by an overwhelming majority because we discovered that he had been engaged in a conspiracy to con-

ceal the truth from us—which means, a conspiracy to obstruct the processes of self-government—which means a conspiracy to suppress our liberties. Rarely has the country been united as it was, and still is, in the sense of outrage which forced that resignation. There can be no doubt, I think, that we in our generation believe in our liberties, in human liberty, in Mr. Jefferson's cause.

But if this is so, if we still believe in the cause of human liberty, why do we celebrate the anniversary of the document which defined it for us without a thought for the meaning of the definition, then or now? Why have we not heard from our representatives and our officials on this great theme?

Is it because, although the Republic continues to believe in human liberty for itself, it no longer hopes for it in the world? Because it no longer thinks such a hope "realistic"? Because, aware of the apparently inexorable conquest of the earth by the most monstrous of all forms of despotism, the modern police state, the country has concluded that the Declaration of Independence is an instrument of purely historical interest and that the American Revolution is a fable for infants like *The Ride of Paul Revere*?

If we think that, we had better give up thinking. It is true, of course, that the police states, whatever their ideologies (the ideologies no longer matter, only the police), have suc-

ceeded in subjugating more than half humanity. They are the new "establishment," the new "existing order."

But it is also true that there is not a single police state of any ideology which does not confess by its Berlin Walls, its nets of concentration camps, its prison hospitals for the "insane," its censorship of books, its silencing of mouths, its suppression of minds, that it is afraid. And what it is most afraid of is precisely the ghost of Thomas Jefferson. Opposition from within, the police state can put down. Wars it can win for a time as Hitler won wars—for a time. But the free man, the free mind, it cannot conquer, it can only imprison, only torture, only kill.

So far, indeed, is Mr. Jefferson's revolution from being obsolete that it is now the one truly revolutionary force in the age we live in. And not despite the police states but because of them. When the K.G.B. is king the only possible revolution is the revolution of mankind. The revolution of Sakharov, of Solzhenitsyn.

This, then, is the second puzzle, the second paradox, of the Bicentennial. If we still believe in the cause of human liberty for ourselves, as the events of the last three years prove we do, and if the cause of human liberty is now the one great revolutionary cause in this inhuman world, as the police states know it is, whether we know or not, then why is this greatest of our anniversaries celebrated without a word to start that music in the heart again?

Because we are afraid to affirm our purpose as a people for fear of angering those who have a different purpose? I don't think so. Because we have fixed our minds so long on the menace of the Russian purpose that we have forgotten what our own great purpose was? That is arguable. And the words which would make the argument are three: containment, McCarthyism and Vietnam—containment abroad, McCarthyism at home and Vietnam as the inevitable consequence of both.

In 1945, when we had driven the Nazis out of Europe and the Japanese out of the Pacific in the name of human freedom and human decency, we stood at the peak, not only of our power as a nation but of our greatness as a people. We were more nearly ourselves, our true selves as the inheritors of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, than we had ever been before. And yet within a few years of that tremendous triumph, of the unexampled generosity of our nuclear offer to the world, of the magnificence of the Marshall Plan, we were lost in the hysterical fears and ignoble deceptions of Joe McCarthy and his followers and had adopted, as our foreign policy, the notion that if we "contained" the Russian purpose, countered the Russian initiative, we would somehow or other be better off ourselves than if we pursued our historic purpose as Jefferson conceived it.

The result, as we now know, was disaster. And not only in Southeast Asia and Portugal and Africa but throughout the world. Containment put us in bed with every anti-Communist we could find including some of the most offensive despots then in business—despots almost as offensive as the Commissars themselves. It produced flagrantly subversive and shameful plots by American agencies against the duly elected governments of other countries. And it ended by persuading the new countries of the postwar world, the emerging nations, that the United States was to them and to their hopes what the Holy Alliance had been to us and ours 200 years before.

But bad as all this was, the worst and most destructive effect of this breach of faith, this treason to our own past, was what it did, precisely, to ourselves. It aged us. When I was a young man, sixty years ago, Americans thought of their country as young—thought of the Republic as a nation still at the beginning of its history. A generation later, after the hysteria of McCarthyism and the corrosion of containment, we had become an elderly society huddled over an old man's dream—the dream of "security."

Mr. Jefferson knew, as those who honor him know still, that there is no such thing in human life, no such thing in human history, as what we call "security." He knew that what makes a people great, a nation powerful, is purpose. And what our nation celebrates this year—what it should be celebrating—is precisely the purpose Mr. Jefferson bequeathed to us, the purpose Mr. Lincoln took for answer in his agony.

We are as great as our belief in human liberty—no greater. And our belief in human liberty is only ours when it is larger than ourselves: liberty, as Mr. Lincoln put it, "not alone to the people of this country but hope to the world." We must become again his "last, best hope of earth" if we wish to be the great Republic which his love once saved. We know that. We must say so even now, even toward dark, without a voice to lead us, without a leader standing to come forth. We must say it for ourselves. No one else will say it for us.

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Archibald MacLeish, a poet and playwright, lives in Conway, Mass. This article is adapted from a presentation at a symposium at the Bicentennial commemoration of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

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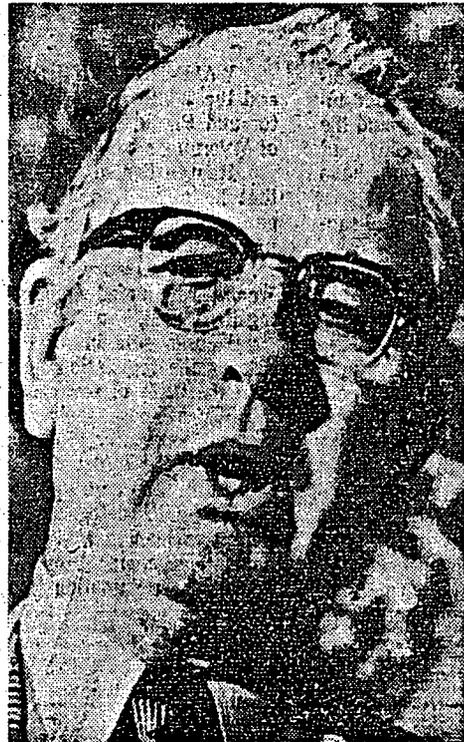
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The Man Behind The Man



JIMMY'S GEORGIA SAGE
Atlanta Lawyer Charles Kirbo

Kirbo Is One of Few Who Can Say No to Carter

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

July, 1964: He was a close adviser to the last four Democratic presidents of the United States and now he was playing a critical role in choosing the next vice president.

In his Harvard-trained accent, James Rowe interviewed a prospective vice president named Hubert Humphrey. It was a merciless interrogation that left Humphrey exhausted.

Humphrey is okay, Rowe reported to Lyndon Johnson. There is no scandal in his background that could embarrass you.

With that, Rowe went back to practicing law in the highest corridors of the Washington establishment.

July, 1976: He is a long-time confidante of the next Democratic presidential nominee and now he is playing a critical role in choosing the vice presidential nominee.

In his sorghum-thick University of Georgia drawl, Charles Kirbo interviewed prospective vice presidents this week. The talks were courtly, almost leisurely—but the potential running mates soon discerned a tough, steel-trap mind under Kirbo's placid, rustic exterior.

Kirbo reported his findings to candidate Jimmy Carter. With that, he left Washington to putter around his Roswell farm and later left to spend the

holidays weekends in his Bainbridge home.

The transition from Jim Rowe to Charlie Kirbo is as good a symbol as any to illustrate the transfer of Democratic party leadership from Washington insiders to Carter insiders.

Rowe was one of the original Roosevelt New Dealers and a fixture in the Washington hierarchy for more than three decades. Kirbo is a Georgia lawyer who until a few years ago was unknown outside his home state and next year may well become the highest political adviser to President Jimmy Carter.

At first glance Kirbo is an unlikely figure to help determine the next Democratic vice presidential nominee.

He is a man who was described by a top Georgia Democrat as "not a political animal as such," who had a lackluster term as state party chairman, who holds no political ambition and shrugged off a chance to be a United States senator.

U.S. Rep. Andrew Young, perhaps more than half in jest, describes Kirbo as "an old-fashioned Georgia cracker."

But Kirbo is the man whom Jimmy Carter trusts implicitly to keep him out of another Thomas Eagleton or

See KIRBO, Back Page

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Spiro Agnew fiasco when he chooses his running mate.

As the "elder statesman" in the Carter high command of hustling young political operatives, Kirbo was the logical choice to grill senators about their potential place on a Carter ticket. Also as the elder statesman, he is one of a very few people who can say "no" to stubborn, iron-willed Jimmy Carter.

In their appreciation for what succeeds politically, Kirbo and Carter deliberately adopted the leave-no-stone-unturned vice presidential screening strategy of Lyndon Johnson and Jim Rowe.

"I have talked with Jim Rowe," Kirbo said. "I was disturbed about these long interviews and that sort of thing. I thought maybe he had some special questions.

"After talking with him, I saw that he perceived things about the way I did... There is about 20 or 25 questions you can ask a fellow, and he will either have to tell you or lie."

The interview questions were shaped by Kirbo, Rowe and former federal Judge Griffin Bell, now a partner in Kirbo's prestigious Atlanta law firm of King & Spaulding. The questions dug out the candidates' "conduct and family problems," Kirbo said, along with health, financial and tax records.

"Of course (screening running mates) is easier now because most of the politicians file these campaign statements," Kirbo said. "The press does a better job now of ferreting out people's shortcomings."

Also, "the people we were checking already had good reputations," referring to Sens. Adlai Stevenson, Walter Mondale, John Glenn, Frank Church, Edmund Muskie and Henry Jackson.

People who know Kirbo say his aw-shucks, country-boy demeanor belies a tough cross-examiner. "I don't know," said Kirbo, "I thought I was rather gentle." The face was solemn as always, but the eyes twinkled.

Tall, aloof, soft-spoken, Kirbo is picking up a reputation in the national press as an authentic Georgia sage. He has charmed Northern reporters with a drawl that you could pour over pancakes.

Relaxing in a Washington hotel bar a couple of weeks ago, Kirbo offered this assessment of Ronald Reagan's chances of beating Carter in the South: "Jimmy's got the farmer vote... (there was a pause seemingly long enough to get up and order another drink)... The black vote... The redneck vote (with solemn finality). Ain't nobody else..."

The listeners guffawed and the story was widely repeated.

Kirbo would just as soon do without his new celebrity. A television program featured him recently and "my children sat there and watched it with me and they laughed at me because I talked so slow. So I decided I better

get out of the television business," Kirbo said.

The sudden media exposure may have exaggerated Kirbo's actual influence with Carter. It is easy to overblow the power of someone who looks wise and works behind the scenes and remains close-mouthed.

A former Carter staffer who took part in political strategy sessions with Kirbo recalls him as being cautious and taciturn, seldom offering crucial suggestions.

Kirbo is not the "mastermind" behind the Carter campaign because the real master planner is Carter himself. But it seems evident that Kirbo is "first among equals" in the small inner circle of Carter advisers.

In staff meetings Carter reportedly will defer to Kirbo but nobody else. Carter is 51 and Kirbo 57. The only other senior top advisers are, like Kirbo, upper-crust Atlanta lawyers—Philip Alston, 65, and Robert Lipshutz, 54.

"Kirbo is a very penetrating operator. He reads people extremely well," said a Georgia politician.

Said another, "If you were to trip up (in a court case), he would grasp it immediately."

Carter staffers who want to try out an idea often must clear it through Kirbo. And he keeps up a stream of memoranda and phone calls to Carter, analyzing politics and urging tough stands on defense and crime issues.

A measure of Kirbo's political acuity is his design for the 1970 Georgia gubernatorial race in which an urbane, well-educated, well-traveled, wealthy engineer and agribusinessman campaigned as a redneck farmer. Carter won, beating wealthy Atlanta lawyer Carl Sanders.

In early 1971 the Georgia Capitol guards were perplexed when this pickup truck kept showing up in the cherished VIP parking spaces. It belonged to Kirbo, who had been named Governor Carter's chief of staff.

The pickup became the Kirbo trademark, a reminder of his farming boyhood and his determination not to get too cityfied in Atlanta.

He no longer drives a pickup from Roswell to his gleaming downtown office building every day. "The truck I had drank so much gas that I sold it and got a used truck," he said ruefully. "My wife doesn't like me to drive it, it doesn't look as good as the other."

The sixth of eight children, Kirbo started practicing law in Bainbridge in the southwest corner of the state in 1946. Griffin Bell, a native of Americus which is close to Carter's hometown of Plains, used to go hunting with Kirbo.

In 1960 Bell recruited him for King & Spaulding, which is now training its fourth generation of Atlanta establishment lawyers. "It opened up a whole new world for me," Kirbo said of the move to Atlanta.

Kirbo handles trial work for General Motors and occasionally for Coca-Cola.

In 1962 Bell asked him to represent

Carter in a case of vote fraud in a state Senate election. An attorney for Carter's opponent, incidentally, was a young Albany lawyer, named George Busbee.

Carter won his Senate seat and scarcely saw Kirbo again until he announced a belated decision to run for governor in 1966. Kirbo tried to discourage the idea as a pipe dream, but Carter finished a surprising third in the primary.

Kirbo became the premier strategist of the successful 1970 campaign. "When he was campaigning in '70," Kirbo said, "I began to wonder about him being president, he handled himself so well. But I didn't know how well he could run the government..."

"Then after he was governor about six months, I began to see how well he ran the state, I figured he had a fair chance of being president. I began to discuss it with various people, (banker and politician) Bert Lance, (Carter campaign manager) Hamilton Jordan and (Carter advertising chief) Jerry Rafshoon."

Meanwhile, Kirbo served as state Democratic chairman for Carter, an assignment Kirbo says he failed.

"It was not my cup of tea," he said. "I didn't want the job but Jimmy and I both looked for a couple of months and offered it to a lot of people but nobody wanted the damn job. I ended up taking it and couldn't get rid of it."

"He was more of a titular chairman," said a party insider. "I think he took the chairmanship just as a way to work for the governor."

Kirbo was plagued with the split between the Sanders and Carter wings of the party, as well as the pro-McGovern and anti-McGovern wings in 1972. Although he was a weak chairman, sources said, Kirbo was fair in his treatment of the opposing blocs.

"The Sanders wing was more mad with Jimmy himself than they were Charlie. He belongs to a very prestigious law firm and Carl belongs to a very prestigious law firm," observed one source.

Carter continues to infuriate the Sanders group to this day. He insisted on dumping Sanders from the party platform committee, even though Sanders is close to Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss.

In 1971 Sen. Richard Russell died and Kirbo declined Carter's offer of an appointment to fill out Russell's term. It went to David Gambrell, who charged in 1973 that the state party run by Carter and Kirbo was "probably the worst example of political instability, personality cults and hip-pocket politics that exists in this country today."

Carter and Kirbo were not amused. And you don't see Gambrell around the Carter campaign much this year.

"I got tired being chairman of Georgia," Kirbo said, and he has no intention of taking over Strauss' job as national chairman after the November election.

He also disclaims any desire to go to Washington for a post in a possible Carter administration. "I can't think of a job I want," he said, "or one I'd be any damn good at."

Glenn, Stevenson Top VP Choices?

By **FAY S. JOYCE**
and **JIM MERRINER**

Jimmy Carter, insisting that he is keeping "an open-ended list" of vice presidential prospects, closeted himself with his top advisers Friday to ponder his choice of a running mate.

Meanwhile, a source close to Carter said that Sens. Adlai Stevenson III of Illinois and John Glenn of Ohio apparently are the top contenders, and another source, U.S. Rep. Andrew Young, expressed reservations about Glenn.

Carter, a shoo-in as the Democratic presidential nominee, said he may begin interviewing three or four prospects as early as Sunday night.

The former Georgia governor admitted that he is leaning toward two or three candidates, but he insisted that the decision is subject to change right up to the time he is nominated at the national convention on July 14.

Carter, Atlanta lawyer Charles Kirbo, campaign manager Hamilton Jordan and press secretary Jody Powell all disputed press reports that Carter has

narrowed his list to six senators.

"I think some of the reporters followed Kirbo around (in Washington) the last couple of days and observed whom he visited," Carter said. "And nobody knows about any preferences."

"In fact, I have deliberately not decided myself, and nobody has any authority to speak for me. Even Kirbo doesn't know, and he's the only one I have talked to about it."

The report gave Stevenson, Glenn and Sen. Walter Mondale of Minnesota the inside track, with Sens. Henry Jack-

son of Washington, Edmund Muskie of Maine and Frank Church of Idaho running in the dark-horse lane.

Powell called the story "bull," and Jordan also blasted it.

Asked if potential running mates will come to Plains to meet with him, Carter said, "I am going to leave that up to them. If they want to come here, it suits me fine; if they prefer to meet me in Atlanta or Washington or somewhere else, I will accommodate them."

Carter spent more than four hours in his red brick home conferring with

Kirbo, Jordan and Powell. Kirbo was to meet alone with the former Georgia governor at the start of the session.

A person close to Carter said that Stevenson appears to be the leading candidate, with Glenn second and Mondale third. Mondale decided not to run for president last year because the campaign is too time-consuming, and Carter, who has campaigned for 18 months, feels that Mondale should not now be handed a vice-presidential nomination, the source said.

In Washington, D.C., Rep. Young,

whose support helped win the crucial black vote for Carter in the primaries, assessed the top three possibilities.

"Anybody Gov. Carter chooses is fine with me," he said, but said that Glenn is not a "heavyweight."

"But I've just heard him speak once, and had one 15-minute conversation with him," he noted.

He praised Mondale as "a consistently liberal senator." Asked if Mondale's pro-busing stand might hurt his

See VICE PRESIDENT, Back Page

Vice President

From Page 1-A

chances with antibusing Carter, Young said no.

"There was a Harris or Gallup poll ranking 32 issues the American people are interested in, and busing was 29th," Young said. "Jerry Ford is making an ass of himself by trying to stir it up."

Young added that Stevenson, who with Glenn allegedly lacks an impressive record in the Senate, is not tainted politically by his close ties with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

Carter based most of his campaign on his image as a nonpolitician free of the machine power brokers like Daley.

Accepting Daley's choice as his running mate would seem to contradict that image.

"Stevenson is enough of a person in his own right," Young said.

Carter will remain in Plains Saturday and go to Westville Sunday for a Fourth of July celebration. Next week, he is scheduled to attend the National Governor's Conference in Hershey, Pa.

Carter reached home at 2 a.m. Friday, winding up four days of fundraising that brought in \$940,000.

At a Thursday night reception in Chicago hosted by Daley, Carter announced the money-making swing had erased his campaign debt.

"All the News
that's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Partly sunny
tonight. Fair, pleasant
Temperature range: 68-74
Thursday 68-84. Details

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Carter, in Texas, Cautious On Oil-Industry Breakups

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

HOUSTON, July 1—Jimmy Carter told a group of oilmen today that he would favor a partial break-up of the oil industry "only as a last resort."

The former Georgia Governor's remarks would seem to put him at odds with liberal Senators of his own party who have been vigorously pushing for breaking up oil companies, separating operations from production fields through refining to the service station pumps.

However, in his appearance in this city, Mr. Carter said also that he would favor legislation requiring the oil companies to divest themselves of their "wholesale and retail" operations unless he were "satisfied" that adequate competition existed in the industry.

Mr. Carter, who is now assured of the Democratic Presidential nomination, also told oil industry and other business executives here that there was "an unwarranted inclination on the part of politicians and the people" to blame the oil industry for inflation and fuel shortages.

Business and Consumers

Mr. Carter was on an eight-city fund-raising tour that ended in Chicago tonight.

In a luncheon speech to about 130 prominent Texans at the Houston Club, a citadel of Southwestern wealth and economic power, Mr. Carter appeared to stress the idea that private enterprise had no legitimate fears, should he be elected President.

"I want to be sure," he said, "we have a minimum of interference of government in the affairs of business." But he qualified this by adding, "provided we can assure that consumers are adequately protected from a violation of the competitive commitment that's got to be part of all our lives."

In his remarks to the guests at the luncheon, Mr. Carter also seemed to suggest that oil companies themselves could prevent any sort of divestiture by maintaining an adequate level of competition among themselves.

Earlier in the day, at a news

conference, Mr. Carter said that if he were the Prime Minister of Israel he would not be in favor of giving up the contested Golan Heights to Syria and that he would also be inclined to retain control of "Jewish and Christian holy places" in the city of Jerusalem.

Asked to amplify these remarks, Mr. Carter said he did not wish to try to suggest exact future boundaries in any overall settlement of the Middle Eastern problem, but he spoke of suggestions made by others that "might possibly give access to Moslem Places" in Jerusalem for Moslems while preserving the Jewish Wailing Wall and other sacred places.

He also said, "I do think Moslems should have access to their own holy places," suggesting that many Moslems disliked the idea of passing through Israeli-controlled territory to reach mosques and other shrines in Jerusalem.

Mr. Carter also said at the news conference that some planks of the proposed Democratic Party platform, which is now in draft form, were not phrased in the way that he might have wished.

He was asked if this might present any problems for him during the general election campaign and he answered, "Well, it does present a problem."

Mr. Carter declined to give any exhaustive list of his differences with the platform, which had been written under the close scrutiny of his issues advisers. But he said that one example, which he offered for illustrative purposes, was that the platform flatly and unequivocally advocated the move of the American Embassy in Israel from the city of Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, a symbolic step that might alienate Arab states who question the status of Jerusalem.

Mr. Carter pointed out that he himself had said in campaign speeches that he would consider such a move and said today "I will consider the move, but I want to understand the consequences of it after I am thoroughly briefed."

WEATHER

Mostly fair in north; partly cloudy with some scattered showers in central and southern portions of Georgia. Details on Page 19A.

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C

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Outside

Glenn, Mondale

Appear to Head VP List

By JOSEPH ALBRIGHT
and ANDREW GLASS

Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Jimmy Carter's confidante, Charles Kirbo, conducted long and searching interviews Thursday with Sens. John Glenn of Ohio and Walter Mondale of Minnesota — fueling the belief that they stand at the top of Carter's current vice presidential list.

One well-placed source said he thinks that as matters now stand, the likeliest choices are Mondale and Glenn, in that order, followed by Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. Kirbo interviewed Church and another ranking possibility, Sen. Adlai Stevenson II of Illinois, on Wednesday.

They are among seven potential candidates — all senators — who met privately with Kirbo during his two-day talent hunt in Washington. It was learned that Kirbo passed out detailed questionnaires about financial and personal matters to some — but not all — of the seven.

Carter and Kirbo mapped plans to review the vice presidency — the only guessing game left as Carter moves to consolidate his leadership of the Democratic party — at Carter's home in Plains, Friday.

The former Georgia governor has said he will meet the finalists where they live, in

Atlanta or in Plains, the rural community where Carters have lived for more than 200 years.

The others interviewed by Kirbo before returning to Georgia were Sens. Henry Jackson of Washington, Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut and Edmund Muskie of Maine.

A source in the Carter camp said each of the senators Kirbo had interviewed as potential running mates were asked to fill out a complete questionnaire on finances and personal history.

Jackson said he had been given such a questionnaire, which he described as a series of "interrogatories." Others under serious consideration declined to discuss the matter.

But Muskie reported that he had not been asked to fill out such a form. And it was understood that Kirbo did not hand Ribicoff a questionnaire either.

Glenn met Kirbo for two hours Thursday, apparently longer than with any other candidate. "We talked about a lot of things," Glenn said later. "He was interested in different things in business and finance."

Mondale, following his one-hour meeting with Kirbo, would only say, "They are very thorough — they know

what they are doing."

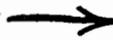
One known objection to Glenn, the former astronaut, is that he voted recently against one of labor's priority projects — the so-called common situs picketing bill, involving strikes at construction sites.

As for Mondale, some in the Carter organization reportedly feel he might weaken the Democratic ticket because of his statement, when he withdrew from the presidential race 20 months ago, that he did not have "the overwhelming desire to be president."

There is strong evidence to suggest that Carter has narrowed his vice presidential search to someone who would bring to the ticket an urban flavor that would contrast with Carter's rural Southern origins.

It also appeared that Kirbo — Carter's main agent in the talent hunt — was focusing on Northern and Western senators who were of the same political generation as the prospective presidential nominee.

Glenn, Mondale and Stevenson clearly qualify as Northerners with strong backgrounds in dealing with urban issues. Church and Jackson are Westerners, although there is no reason to believe that either of them would alienate big-city voters.



W

At 54, Glenn is slightly older than Carter while Mondale, 48, is slightly younger. Church is the same age, 51.

Two House members whose names appeared on an earlier list — Reps. Peter Rodino of New Jersey and Barbara Jordan of Texas — appeared to be out of the running. Aides to both of them said neither House member had been contacted by anyone in the Carter campaign.

Kirbo's mission to Washington was to make a personal assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of Carter's prospective finalists and also to seek the counsel of a variety of party luminaries. For example, both Muskie and Ribicoff were asked by Kirbo to judge the others who were interviewed.

Carter also is asking for advice in a series of phone calls and private meetings.

On Thursday, the party's 1972 nominee, Sen. George McGovern, disclosed that Carter called him about 10 days ago. "He bounced several names off me — the ones I recall are Mondale, Glenn, Church and Stevenson," said McGovern. "I commented favorably about them all."

A late starter is Jackson, who was not on the list of 14 names compiled by the Carter

staff for inclusion in a now-complete opinion survey by Carter's pollster, Pat Caddell.

One major political category still to be heard from was the nation's Democratic governors. Carter planned to meet with them in Hershey, Pa., Monday and Tuesday before returning to Georgia, which he governed for four years before setting out on his quest for the presidency.

Three gubernatorial names figured in the preliminary presidential speculation: Hugh Carey of New York, Wendell Anderson of Minnesota and Michael Dukakis of Massachusetts. Carey, a former House member, is the only one in this group with prior Washington experience, a qualification Carter has stressed recently.

CARTER KEEPS VEEP TO VEST

Daley Dining, Dealing

By NANCY LEWIS
CHICAGO—Jimmy Carter Thursday was wined and dined by Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, but gave little indication of where the Democratic kingmaker's choice for vice president now stands in the jockeying for the number two spot.

Daley is openly pushing the vice presidential candidacy of Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson, the 45-year-old son of the 1952 and 1956 Democratic presidential nominee. Stevenson ran as Daley's hand-picked favorite son against Carter in the Illinois primary.

Although Daley himself made no public mention of his desire to put the Illinois senator in the vice presidential

spot, Carter got questions about just that possibility at both the \$500-a-person holiday cocktail party for him and the \$100-a-plate dinner for statewide Democratic candidates that he attended here.

The probable Democratic presidential nominee gave what could only be considered nonanswers which gave little clue as to whether he plans to make the kind of apparent political deal he has so publicly eschewed in the past.

Carter is expected to meet early next week with the three or four persons still in the running for the vice presidential slot. Asked when he would meet with Stevenson, Carter replied, "I haven't said that I would meet with

Stevenson." According to whichever list of vice presidential finalists one believes, Stevenson either is or isn't in the final three choices for the second place spot.

However, the selection of Stevenson would seem to directly contradict one of Jimmy Carter's best selling aspects of the campaign—that he hasn't had to depend on Democratic fat cats to get the nomination and that he won't cater to them as president.

Thursday, Jimmy Carter mingled here with the fattest of the nation's political fat cats, the Daley Cook County and Illinois "machine." Some 300 of the political elite joined in for the \$500-a-person

cocktail party and later many of those same people shared with Carter the massive head table at the \$100 a person dinner which drew about 4,000 persons in support of the Daley-backed slate of state candidates.

Although Carter obviously wasn't Daley's first choice for the presidential nomination, the Georgia governor openly courted the Chicago mayor through practically the entire campaign. And it was Daley's backing the day after the last primary that triggered the massive shift to the Carter camp, ultimately assuring Carter's nomination.

Carter's enthusiasm for Daley the man seemed rather restrained during Thursday's festivities, but he was effusive about Daley's political clout in the stranglehold he has on Chicago and Illinois Democrats.

It was Daley, Carter noted, who made Chicago "the only major city that voted for" (George McGovern) in 1972, despite the fact that the mayor's own delegation to the 1972 convention wasn't even recognized.

It was impossible to tell whether Carter's mention of that episode might portend a similar slighting of Daley at this year's convention, which could most dramatically be signaled by Carter not selecting Stevenson as his running mate.

The Chicago fundraiser was the latest in a week-long round of such events which has added \$940,000 to Jimmy Carter's political coffers. This amount, together with money owed Carter for plane flights by Secret Service and reporters and for the return of telephone deposits, has "wiped out my debt," Carter said Thursday.

That deficit had stood at about \$1.75 million. Carter now also has enough money to finance his expenses at the July nominating convention.

Earlier in the day Thursday, Carter was in Houston, Tex., where he met with about 40 Spanish surnamed elected officials and lunched with about 130 oil men and campaign backers.

Although the meeting with the officials wasn't really very spirited or controversial, the participants gave Carter high marks on his interest.

And the Rev. Ruben Cruz of Chicago explained that Carter's just listening to the opinions and problems of Spanish-Americans was more than they had ever seen from any other presidential contender. He said Carter seemed very "human and compassionate" about Americans of Spanish origin and he was particularly impressed by Carter's pledge to select ambassadors to Latin and South American countries on the basis of merit.

2

The Carter Mystery

THE MORE the national pundits comment on the Jimmy Carter campaign the more obvious it becomes that they just don't understand the region or the tradition from which he comes. And you begin to wonder if they ever know what they are talking about.

Now they are reading great significance into the Sunday school lesson Carter taught to his class in Plains on June 27. We even have a learned analysis from The Associated Press on the "controversial issue" of the duty to obey civil authorities versus the duty to obey God.

Well, it happens that Carter happened to be in Plains on that Sunday and was able to teach his class as is his custom when he is at home. And it happens that the lesson for that day dealt with this theme.

The national pundits don't seem to know it, but it also happens to be the

case that several of the major American denominations, including the Baptists and the Methodists, follow a sequence, known as the International Sunday School Lesson for which the topics, themes and scriptural references are selected and planned years in advance by an international committee. It also happens that thousands of Sunday school teachers across the land taught the same lesson on the same theme that Sunday.

Maybe some of those national pundits ought to start going to Sunday school; it might help them to have a better perspective on understanding Jimmy Carter.

And imagine what good it would do all those folks in Washington if they are driven by curiosity about Carter to start visiting those mysterious places where this International Sunday School lesson is taught.

AT AGRIRAMA

Rosalynn Stands Behind Her Man

TIFTON, Ga. (AP)—Mrs. Rosalynn Carter, dedicating a replica of a 19th century Georgia agricultural village, said Thursday her husband would do equally well against President Ford or Ronald Reagan in a presidential election.

Her husband, Jimmy, is favored to win the Democratic nomination for the nation's highest office later this month.

Mrs. Carter says she hasn't decided whether she will personally supervise any special projects if she becomes first lady, but "I think I can help with any type of project."

In her address at the opening of Agrirama, she said the facility "reminds us that our ancestors faced hardships foreign to us, but they had a closeness to family and neighbors I think we are losing."

Carter broke ground on Agrirama in 1973 when he was governor. The project is expected to be completed in 1981 at a cost of \$4 million.

Mrs. Carter also received a lesson on how to spin cotton from a Tifton resident.

Agrirama includes a farmhouse with outbuildings and a smokehouse and a village containing a general store, print shop, cotton warehouse and gin room and a working grist mill.



Mrs. Carter in Wagon With Public Service Commissioner Ford Spinks

The Weather

Mostly sunny, high in mid-
day, low 60s. Chance of rain
today, 10 per cent to-
morrow. Mostly sunny, high
70s. Yesterday: 3 p.m. AQI
69-87. Details, Page C2.

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See Box 1

Carter Scours West for Support

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, July 1—Jimmy Carter, scouring Texas today for money and votes, promised Hispanic-Americans a voice—and the oil industry a sympathetic ear—in a Carter White House.

Before flying to Chicago to attend a 4,000-guest dinner hosted by Mayor Richard J. Daley in honor of Michael J. Howlett, Daley's candidate for Illinois governor, the apparent Democratic presidential nominee:

- Promised 130 Houston businessmen at a fund-raising lunch that he would never make a "decision of any sort of importance about energy problems," including taxes, regulation and break-up of the oil industry, without "complete consultation with representatives of the [energy] industry."

- Told about 40 Spanish-speaking elected officials he will select "one or more" persons of Latin extraction for top positions on his White House staff and consult with Hispanic advisers on major policies and diplomatic appointments for Latin American nations.

At the same time, Carter—who is already planning the first stages of a Carter administration even though he has not formally received his party's nomination—expanded the list of legislation he would put before Congress shortly after his inauguration.

He told the Spanish-speaking group he would be ready in January with programs for welfare reform, jobs, small business assistance and education as well as the first phase of a comprehensive national health care system. He had previously mentioned only one or two of the items.

In his discussion with the Houston businessmen, who were expected to contribute about \$50,000 to his campaign, Carter said he be-

lieves there is an "unwarranted inclination" on the part of politicians and the public to blame the oil industry for inflation and energy shortages.

Holding to the carefully balanced line he has taken toward government regulation of business, he endorsed minimal government interference so long as industry itself insures competition and consumer protection.

"I want to be sure we have a minimum of interference by government in the affairs of business, provided we can assure that

consumers are adequately protected from violation of the competitive commitment that's got to be part of all our lives," Carter said.

"Now, to the extent that business leaders in the energy field and otherwise will insist themselves on elimination of monopolies, on provision of the lowest possible prices, on the best delivery of services, the most intensive competitive spirit—to that extent I will be able as President to reduce the unwarranted interference in your business by government."

Reminding the businessmen, many of them oil company executives, that he was the only major Democratic presidential contender who didn't favor breaking up the oil industry, Carter said the industry could take steps to assure "an adequate degree of competition without divestiture."

With the Spanish-speaking group, Carter pledged to "end the longstanding discrimination against the Spanish-speaking community." He urged the group to

appoint an advisory committee to consult directly with him during the fall campaign and, if he's elected, during his administration.

"He obviously has done his homework... He comes the closest of any of the candidates to understanding the Spanish-American community and sympathizing with its needs," said Manuel Lopez of Los Angeles, president of the Mexican American Political Association—a group that endorsed California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. against Carter in the primary election.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Could Carter Share Foreign Policy?

Jimmy Carter is saying some amiable but nonsensical things about foreign policy these days. As campaign pap they may serve a purpose, but one has to hope he knows better.

In Asheville last Monday, for instance, he invoked the bipartisan model of Democrat Harry Truman and Republican Arthur Vandenburg and said he would include Republicans as well as Democratic congressional leaders in the development of his own foreign policy.

But what does Carter mean? As John Steele has pointed out, postwar bipartisanship meant President Truman surrendered a major share in policy formulation to Arthur Vandenburg in return for the Michigan senator's mobilization of his fragmented party behind selected programs.

What share in what policies would Carter surrender to what Republican leader or faction? Or does he think he can get Republican support for free? And what faction of his own party, on what issues, would he try to muster Republicans against?

In fact, there are few signs that Carter has yet applied himself seriously to the matter of executive-congressional relations in the making of foreign policy even though, as a bruised Henry Kissinger could tell him, that is demonstrably more important to the effectiveness of any administration's policy than his formal position on one or another issue.

What with Vietnam's (and Watergate's) erosion of the old primacy of the presidency in foreign affairs, any President—even a Democrat whose party is in control of the Congress—will have heavy trouble asserting the national interest, as the President alone is in a position to perceive it, over the often more parochial perceptions of individual legislators.

Alarms about the Russian threat no longer stifle congressional assertiveness. Secrecy does not provide the old presidential cover. Party discipline seems way out of style. Henry Kissinger has pretty much exhausted the potential for diplomatic bedazzlement.

Perhaps Carter will win such an overwhelming personal mandate that he'll be able to spit in Congress' eye. Perhaps he'll settle for a make-no-waves, lowest-common-denominator foreign policy that all but eliminates the prospect of potential confrontations with Congress.

Perhaps. But I doubt it. Congress wouldn't let a President take the no-

waves route. Anyway, there isn't one. Events are too turgid, demanding and unpredictable. Nothing one hears about Carter indicates he is the kind of fellow who, for the sake of being everybody's nice guy, would stop making policy in the area that, above all others, is a President's special place to strut his stuff.

Any arms control negotiation consummated or even continued with the Russians will have to be submitted to the Congress. Funds to sustain Mideast diplomacy, and any agreements that may be achieved, must be approved on the Hill. Movement on Third World economic concerns will involve aid or trade decisions in the congressional domain.

Just to get the executive bureaucracies in line, moreover—something no recent President has successfully done—Carter will have to neutralize the independent tendencies that the bureaucracies are able to sustain by their discreet alliances on the Hill.

In this regard, one can't escape noticing that Carter's sojourn on Capitol Hill the other day was for him a visit to a strange planet. According to the two legislators themselves, he had never previously met either Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, or Rep. Clement Zablocki (D-Wisc.), chairman-to-be of the House International Relations Committee.

Carter promised Zablocki to call him some time to solicit his advice on how to cooperate on foreign policy. He apparently didn't get around, in the crush, to saying anything similar to Sparkman. Sparkman told me he is ready to get along with Carter in the same way he's gotten along with Ford.

Most members of Carter's foreign policy task force are academics or former executive branch types, two classes of people generally more given to framing foreign policy choices in terms of the perceived international environment than in terms of the domestic political environment. Presumably, that is what helps keep afloat speculation that Carter might choose a legislator for Secretary of State.

Whether that would ensure his foreign policy smooth sailing on the Hill is another question. I tend to think that a President's success in articulating a large and sensible view of the American role in the world is more important than who he chooses to implement it. But, of course, the choice of implementer—and co-articulator—can say a great deal about his view of the world.

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Ice Day today, highs in Fair, cool lows around 60. of rain near lay. Details: C

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CAPITAL SPECIAL

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A Looser Carter Tells How He Called Mayor Daley

By James R. Dickenson

Washington Star Staff Writer

CHICAGO — Jimmy Carter wound up his four-day love-in and fund-raising trip by telling some 4,000 Illinois Democrats of his telephone call to Mayor Richard J. Daley the morning after his big victory in the Ohio primary, which all but clinched the Democratic nomination for him.

"Mr. Mayor, I hate to bother you," Carter began, and his audience, which knows all about treating Hizzoner with respect, laughed. "But I recall you saying that if I won Ohio, I would have the nomination wrapped up, and I thought that was very interesting." The audience laughed again.

"The mayor's response was that he was committed to me, that he'd help me with the Illinois delegation (laughter), that he'd help me be elected and that he'd help me to be a good president," Carter continued. "Then he asked, 'Is that enough?' (laughter). I said, 'Yes sir.'" (More laughter).

THAT WAS A FITTING climax to a week in which Carter set out to raise enough money to retire his \$400,000 campaign debt and give himself a \$300,000 fund for the upcoming national convention, a week in which he also apparently discovered the political benefits of humor.

The only major discordant note in a week in which Carter happily anticipated the formal ratification of his nomination was his cold response to reports that Dr. Peter Bourne, one of his senior advisers, had told reporters at a National Press Club breakfast that the six final choices as his vice-presidential running mate were Sens. Frank Church, John Glenn, Henry M. Jackson, Walter F. Mondale, Edmund Muskie and Adlai Stevenson III.

"I can guarantee you that Peter Bourne does not know any more about the matter than you do," Carter said frigidly after he arrived in Chicago and was met by Daley and Michael J. Howlett, the Illinois Democratic gubernatorial candidate.

"I ASSURE YOU I've not confided with Mr. Bourne about any of my plans about the vice presidency. He's

not authorized to speak for me. He knows nothing about the persons I'm considering. This is his own opinion."

Carter said that he would confer with Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer who is supervising the screening and interviewing the vice presidential possibilities. Carter said that over the weekend he would decide who the three or four top prospects are and that he would start interviewing them Monday or Tuesday. He said Kirbo was "the only person with whom I've discussed this selection process."

He said he was not going to try to hide the names from the press or try to mislead anyone. "At the time I

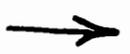
start meeting with people you'll know about it and that point will be a proper time to let the names be known, who I'm considering."

He said he would conduct the interviews either in his Georgia hometown of Plains, in Washington or at the prospects' homes, depending upon their wishes. He also said that he would not disclose his choice until after he has been nominated by the convention.

AT A \$500-per-person reception attended by about 250 Democrats, Carter was asked what Stevenson's vice-presidential prospects were. He was noncommittal, saying only that Stevenson was "well qualified to be vice president — or president, for that matter."

At the \$100-a-plate fund-raising dinner for the Illinois candidates, attended by more than 4,000, Howlett gave Stevenson a plug by recalling that the senator's father had been governor of Illinois and twice was Democratic presidential nominee, and that his great-grandfather had been vice president just before the turn of the century. "I mention this, Adlai," Howlett said, "because we expect bigger things from you."

Carter grinned broadly but made no further mention of the matter. It was one of the few times he didn't tell



his audiences what they wanted to hear.

Beginning the day in Houston, he met with Hispanic-American leaders and promised them a voice in his campaign and his administration. He promised to give them his personal bedside telephone number so they could call him directly with suggestions and criticism at any time.

"HE GIVES HOPE the way John F. Kennedy did of bringing people together," said Manuel Lopez, president of the Mexican American Political Association.

Others praised him as being the only presidential candidate who knew or cared about their problems. "Your citizenship will be first class," he promised them, and asked them to form a small, manageable advisory committee.

At a luncheon at the exclusive Houston Club, hosted by Gov. Dolph Briscoe, Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz and Joe Foy, president of the Houston Natural Gas Corp., Carter pledged his efforts to work out a long-range energy program that would prevent politicians and the public from unfairly blaming the oil and gas industry for shortages and high prices.

"We are doing our own nation a disservice by trying to blame the energy shortage and prices on the industry," he said. He said much of the problem was due to lack of an energy program.

"IN THAT CONFUSED state there is an unwarranted inclination by politicians and the people to blame the industry for shortages and inflation." He also promised as president to ensure the reduction of "unwarranted interference in your business by the government" if the industry itself worked to eliminate monopoly and ensure the lowest possible prices.

He also reminded them that he was the only Democratic presidential candidate who was not for complete divestiture in the oil industry.

Carter continued to tell jokes about his smile, which he began the day after reporters questioned him about the shortage of humor, particularly self-deprecatory humor, in his campaign. He jokingly referred to his "rare smile" and said that he was a cartoonist's delight.

"I tried to control my smile so that people would see me as a mature and responsible presidential prospect and I was pretty good at it for six days a week, but then another Tuesday night with the primary results would roll around, and more delegates would come in, and I'd start smiling again and undo all the week's practice."

HOWLETT and state chairman John Touhy provided some humor of their own. Touhy described Howlett as being "like Plato" without pausing to explain how. Howlett, a big, jovial veteran Irish politician, said that Plato, being Greek, must be a cousin of Nick Melas, the president of the Metropolitan Sanitation District, which brought the house down.

At about the same time, Stanley T. Cusper, the Cook County clerk and Daley's vote counter, was exchanging gibes with Chicago reporters who have suggested irregularities in the past. "You guys are still trying to get rid of me, but I'll be around here long after you're gone," Cusper said.

Daley, however, was taking the whole business very seriously. "It is a big and unusual pleasure for us to have at this meeting, which is the first of its sort we've ever had, one of the finest candidates ever presented to the people of the nation to be the next president," Daley said in his sometimes convoluted prose.

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Parsimonious Carter campaign finds itself flush

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
Sun Staff Correspondent

Houston — The Jimmy Carter campaign, in constant jeopardy during the primary season through lack of cash, suddenly is rolling in money.

At its Atlanta headquarters, aides now are wondering how to spend it, rather than where to raise it.

"We have got to the situation where people are trying to develop plans, since they see it's easy enough now to raise money, of how to spend it between now and the convention," says Paul Hemmann, the campaign's budget chief. "They have all sorts of interesting schemes."

In concrete terms, the dollar

deluge means that Carter staffers, recently faced with layoffs, can be kept on; campaign offices, scheduled to be closed, are staying open, and the campaign's budget for the July 12 Democratic convention in New York steadily is creeping from its original \$355,000 to more than \$375,000 with new demands being submitted daily.

"We don't want people to get the impression we are just throwing money away, so we are trying to keep some restraints on," says Mr. Hemmann.

The unusual experience of being in the black comes after more than two years of running in the red, piling up debts and anticipated expenses before

federal funds take over the financing of the general election campaign of \$1.7 million.

"There's no trouble," says Morris Dees, the campaign's chief fund-raiser. "If we end up short, we can always hold another fund-raiser somewhere."

Mr. Dees can afford to be confident after opening this sensational money-making week with a \$232,000 event in Asheville, N.C., where a year ago he thinks he would have been lucky to raise \$10,000 "if we had worked very hard."

In Houston yesterday, a city in which a year ago Mr. Dees says he probably would not even have attempted to organize a fund-raiser, the pledges expected from a reception in an

exclusive country club were \$50,000. In Chicago later, another \$125,000 also was raised, pushing the week's total to more than \$900,000.

In Asheville, Milwaukee, New York, Pittsburgh, Washington, almost wherever Mr. Carter chose to go, his campaign cashiers now are kept busy adding up five- or six-figure incomes from each day's two or three fund-raisers.

The cash-flow crisis that forced Mr. Carter to hold back his efforts in several state primaries, including Maryland's, ended, inevitably, as soon as it became clear he had the party's nomination wrapped up.

"It's a cake walk," says Rex Granham, a Carter press aide.

"If only we could have put some of this in at the beginning it would have made it easier, but hopefully not different."

Mr. Carter's spending priorities in New Hampshire meant he had almost to ignore Massachusetts; his determination to win in Florida forced him virtually to bypass South Carolina; his concentration on Pennsylvania meant short shrift for Texas; his showdown in Wisconsin produced a holddown in New York.

The campaign's political priorities turned out to be the right ones, and the Carter campaign today is enjoying, in dollar terms, the reward of its judgment.

Carter sets less U.S. trade role

By a Sun Staff Correspondent

Houston — Jimmy Carter promised yesterday that as president he would reduce government interference in business—but only to the extent that businessmen fostered competition among themselves.

Addressing a luncheon reception of more than 100 influential oil and business executives here, Mr. Carter adopted a typical carrot-and-stick posture to the question of industrial regulations.

He told his audience: "I want to be sure we have the minimum of interference of government in the affairs of business provided we can assure that consumers are adequately protected from violation of the competitive commitment that has got to be part of all our lives." Then came the further qualifier that government actions would be influenced by the business leaders on efforts to eliminate monopolies, keep prices low, deliver the best services and foster the most intensive competitive spirit.

"To that extent I will be able as president to reduce the unwarranted interference in your business of government," he said.

Mr. Carter also promised not to take any major decisions on energy problems, including divestiture of the oil industry, without "complete consultation with representatives of the industry."

In a day of politicking that took him from Texas to Illinois, Mr. Carter also met with Chicano leaders, dined with Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and kept mum about a possible running-mate.

If the North-South geographical span of the day's schedule matched its left-right political scope, yesterday appropriately demonstrated Mr. Carter's current preoccupation with uniting the party before a general election fight, which he keeps warning his supporters not to take for granted.

There was less parity over the question of a running-mate. Mr. Carter said he would meet today with his chief political consultant, Charles Kirbo, who has been conducting interviews with potential vice presidents, and then would select the three or four candidates he wanted to interview personally.

He said he would reserve identification of his final choice until he received the party nomination at the Democratic convention starting July 12.

[In Washington, the offices of six Democratic senators confirmed that Mr. Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer, had been around for interviews in the quest for a Democratic vice presidential candidate.

[Mr. Kirbo visited Senators Frank Church of Idaho, Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois, Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and Henry M. Jackson of Washington Wednesday, and Senators John H. Glenn, Jr., of Ohio, and Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota yesterday.

[It was unclear whether these were the only remaining vice presidential possibilities and if any had received any indication he will be among those invited to confer personally with Mr. Carter next week.]

One problem Mr. Carter saw on the horizon involves the Democratic party platform, several planks of which are not to his liking.

"It does present a problem on my running on these planks," he said, giving as an example the platform's firm commitment to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. Mr. Carter said that although he basically favored the move he would want to study its implications. Jerusalem is the political capital of Israel while Tel Aviv is the home of the military establishment.

Meeting Chicano leaders in Houston, Mr. Carter promised more executive appointments and told them: "I'll give you my private phone number, the telephone's right beside my bedside. I'll give you that kind of access."

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1976

City Stopover Nets Carter \$275,000

By J. Y. Smith

Washington Post Staff Writer

The television light went out and it was clear that the party was over. There were cheers when

Jimmy Carter, having spoken of his "closeness with the people" and the dangers of complacency in politics, had boozed through the crowd across the floor, made his way up the ball-

room steps at the apex of a wedge of admirers and Secret Service agents, and flown off to Houston to end a day that began in Pittsburgh and included stops in Philadelphia and Wash-

ington. The party that ended with Carter's departure was the second of two fund raisers here yesterday that occupied less than two hours of the candidate's time. Carter aides said the two affairs brought in a total of \$275,000 in campaign contributions. Together with the \$80,000 the aides said was received in Pittsburgh and the \$50,000 in Philadelphia, that made \$415,000 for the day.

"Your financial help really is important, but I hope that when I leave here I will leave you with a sense of purpose," Carter told the estimated 500 people who paid \$250 each to attend a cocktail party in his behalf at the Sheraton Park Hotel. The crowd cheered when Carter said he already had more than 1,800 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, which is expected to nominate him for the presidency in July.

They laughed when he said wasn't "running against Washington" and when he referred to Ronald Reagan as a "movie star" practiced in the arts of television. And they were serious when he said, "There's one fatal mistake the Democrats could make this year—overconfidence."

The first of the fund-raisers was at the Shoreham Americana, where 150 people were said to have

paid \$1,000 each to greet him. There were cheers when Jesse Calhoun, president of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, referred to Carter as "the next President of the United States." Carter pledged to work for the expansion of the U.S. Merchant Marine.

There were more cheers at the Sheraton Park when Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.) also referred to him as "the next President of the United States."

Earlier during the Washington stopover, Carter met privately with George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO.

The candidate said later that it was his "hope and expectation" that Meany would endorse him, but that he understood this could not occur until after the convention.

But mainly it was a day of speed, movement, lights, interviews and people. Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania joined the Carter party in Pittsburgh and accompanied it to Philadelphia, where Mayor Frank Rizzo was a greeter.

In Washington, those who greeted him included Mayor Walter E. Washington, Edward Bennett Williams, treasurer of the Democratic Party; John Hechinger, Democratic national committeeman from the District; former New York Gov. Averell Harriman; Sterling Tucker, chairman of the D.C. City Council; Marion Barry, a member of the Council, and Adm. Elmo Zumwalt, a Democratic candidate for the Senate from Virginia.

Young, who is black and from Atlanta, said in his introduction that there was a time when "it was very hard to believe that anything good could come from south Georgia," where Carter is in the peanut business, but that that Carter had made him change his mind.

Carter Narrows List for No. 2

By Spencer Rich
and Jules Witcover

Washington Post Staff Writers

Charles Kirbo, Jimmy Carter's vice-presidential talent scout, made the rounds on Capitol Hill again yesterday and his inquiries strongly suggested that the list of those under consideration has been reduced to about six.

Hamilton Jordan, Carter's national campaign manager, said he believes Carter has cut the list "in his own mind" to seven or eight but definitely has not decided.

Six who were the subject of interrogation by Kirbo with various senators yesterday were Sens. Frank Church of Idaho, Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, John H. Glenn Jr. of Ohio, Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois and Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Kirbo, who has been talking to other senators about prospective running mates, has now begun direct talks with those on the list. He spoke with Stevenson and Jackson yesterday and had appointments with others, but their offices decided to say whether they had met with the senior Carter adviser.

Another senator who has been the subject of recent

speculation, Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, said yesterday: "I'm not interested in the vice presidency. I'm not interested in anything but being a senator—that includes the vice presidency. And no one has offered it to me."

Muskie said he met with Kirbo Tuesday afternoon and "we discussed the qualifications and reputations of a number of Senators, and I gather the same conversations were held with others." Muskie said that among those discussed were Church, Mondale, Glenn, Stevenson and Jackson.

As for his own availability, Muskie, the 1968 vice-presidential nominee, said he was surprised to find himself on the list. "If Carter made a serious proposal, I'd give it serious consideration," he said. "And if we

got to that stage, I'd be interested in his view of the vice presidency—the structure and responsibilities of the office."

Muskie said he advised Carter to pick someone with Washington background "from his own political generation and a relatively fresh face, which I guess would rule me out."

Other prominent Democrats on the Hill were weighing in with their recommendations. Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey said he is in frequent touch with Carter and his aides and is continuing to recommend fellow-Minnesotan Mondale.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts said he told a Carter aide last week he would favor freshman Sen. John Culver of Iowa.

Nomination Assured, Carter Tries Humor

By Helen Dewar

Washington Post Staff Writer

PITTSBURGH, June 30—Back when he was campaigning for the Georgia state Senate 14 years ago, Jimmy Carter told about 400 supporters at a fund-raising breakfast here this morning, he used to warm up his south Georgia audiences by telling them he was a dirt farmer whose ancestral roots went back 200 years in the tiny town of Plains.

After getting rave reviews for this down-home touch in places such as Gooseberry, Ga., Carter recalled, he ran into trouble with the Lions Club in the "big" city of Columbus, Ga. "If the Carters have been in Georgia 200 years and haven't gotten any farther than Plains," a club member told him, "it's time one of 'em did something."

It was a rare display of self-deprecatory wit by the usually serious and often earnestly moralistic Carter. It was also an example of how he responds to criticism by the press, or what he perceives as criticism, by co-opting it.

Tuesday morning Carter tried out a joke on the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Milwaukee that bombed—an

over-long story about a maid (she was of European extraction, he carefully pointed out)—who let her employers adopt her two illegitimate offspring and then quit because they had too many children.

That evening a reporter, surprised as much by the attempt at humor as he was at its failure, asked Carter why he was suddenly trying to make jokes.

Before he had the Democratic presidential nomination locked up, Carter responded seriously, reporters were taping his every remark to check for discrepancies and he was too pressed for time to bother with funny remarks. Besides, "I'm not a very good joke teller," he conceded. "I feel a lot more at ease now," Carter continued, "not because of any increasing benevolence on the part of the press, I might say, just because I have more delegates than I had then."

Another reporter suggested that he lacked the self-deprecatory wit of his erstwhile rival for the nomination, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who used to poke fun at his own somewhat hapless role in "reforming" the U.S. Postal Service.

Carter was not amused at the invidious comparison. He made a lightly sarcastic reference to the reporter's publication, and then, with an edge in his voice, remarked: "If I had set up the postal system, I could find some humor in it."

But by morning Carter was ready with the made-to-order self-deprecatory joke about Plains. And at noon, he was still going strong in Philadelphia.

He told a fundraising crowd there that he would entertain questions at the end of his talk, repeating each question before answering it so he could be sure the audience heard both question and answer. That reminded him of something he heard the other night on the Johnny Carson show, he added: "The answer was '60 minutes' and the question was 'How long does it take Jimmy Carter to brush his teeth?'"

The jokes were a far cry from the slick Ronald Reagan one-liners that he might face this fall. But they went over reasonably well and helped to indicate just how far Carter will sometimes go to show he is equal to any challenge—even political humor.

Politics Today

*A Little Humor Now,
He Has the Delegates*

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — Two of the themes Jimmy Carter has been playing as he awaits the formality of his nomination by the Democratic National Convention is that he does not fear being president and that he wants advice and criticism from as many people as possible.

To say Carter doesn't fear being president is an awesome understatement, a little like saying that Genghis Khan was just a bad neighbor. And he is capable of acting on implied suggestions with an alacrity that suggests it might be worthwhile to monitor closely what people are saying to him and asking him. The question of his sense of humor, particularly self-deprecatory humor, or the lack of it, which arose this week is a case in point.

By definition, anyone who seriously aspires to the presidency has a strong ego even by the standards of the political profession in which a big ego is as necessary as strong legs are for an athlete. Even by the standards of presidential candidates, Carter's self-confidence is marvelous to behold.

FOR THE MOST PART his self-confidence has been a political asset. As an unknown it caused some astute observers to take him seriously sooner than they might have otherwise.

The problem may be in getting Carter to wait until he's elected and inaugurated, to start running the country. He has talked on occasion as though he might not be willing to wait until next Jan. 20.

Particularly his favorite issue, reorganization of the executive branch of the government. On his campaign plane Carter indicated that he was thinking of asking Congress for authority to begin reorganizing the executive branch prior to his inauguration.

Reporters were interested in the constitutional implications of this. Carter immediately began pulling back, but not enough to dispel the idea that he is impatient to get cracking.

Actually, he said, he had in mind asking the Congress to reinstate a repealed law that gave the president authority to reorganize the government. He said he would confer with congressional leaders on the advisability of this and if they advised him to wait until inauguration he would.

Pressed on the constitutionality of the idea he responded: "I'd be glad to withdraw it." Pressed again he smiled and said, "I wish I hadn't said it."

HE ALSO WAS ASKED about the high level of moral fervor and the lack of humor in his presentations. He said he wasn't the type to tell a lot of funny stories and that during the busy primary season, he considered them a waste of time. This might change, he said.

It didn't take him long. At a fundraising breakfast the next morning, he recalled that he thought his two major assets when he began his political career in Georgia were that he was a peanut farmer from Plains and that his family had lived in Georgia for more than 200 years.

"Then a fellow in Atlanta told me he didn't think I ought to go around repeating that because it wasn't going over very well with some folks. I asked him why not, and he said if my folks had been in Georgia for 200 years and had never gotten away from Plains, it was past time one of us did something."

Then at lunch he recounted a Johnny Carson joke on television in which Carson gave the answer first and wanted to know what the question to it was. "The answer was 'sixty minutes.' The question was 'How long does it take Jimmy Carter to brush his teeth?'" Carter is learning slowly to joke about his teeth and smile. At a \$1,000 per person fundraiser sponsored by the Marine Engineers yesterday, he said that "all this talk about the Navy and ships brings a rare smile to my face." The audience laughed.

In New York City he said that for six days of the week during the primary season he studied the political cartoons and tried to control his smile. "But every Tuesday night I would win some more delegates and then I'd forget what I'd been trying to do." He smiled at the audience. It responded with laughter and applause.

ANOTHER FAVORITE Carter line in making his point about the dangers of overconfidence is his explanation of what happened to Thomas Dewey in 1948. "He acted as though he'd been president for so long the people thought it was time for a change."

These go over pretty well because Carter can handle short jokes. He can't tell longer stories successfully because he lacks the raconteur's sense of timing and buildup. He doesn't just step on punchlines, he tramples them to death.

Carter contends that since he's got the nomination locked up he can relax and joke more. "In the early states there was very close scrutiny of every word by reporters looking for inconsistencies. They would tape-record my statements in one town in Iowa and then tape them in the next town to see if there were any inconsistencies."

Carter is not one to poke fun at himself, however, and there is little danger that he'll start coming across like a new Milton Berle. "I feel a lot more at ease now," he said, and then kept to the bottom line. "Not because of the benevolence of the press, I might say, but because I have more delegates."

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Mora in Carter's Fund-Raising: Less You Need It, the Easier It is

By James R. Dickenson

Washington Star Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA — Several times a day Jimmy Carter talks of the danger of overconfidence in the upcoming general election and this pleasant period for him is not a bad time for him to give himself this reminder.

Appearing with him at a fund-raising lunch here were Mayor Frank Rizzo, former U.S. Sen. Joseph Clark, Gov. Milton Shapp and Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty and Carter will wind up today at a dinner in Chicago with Mayor Richard Daley. If that doesn't fuel his dreams of party unity — and maybe of even being the new Franklin Roosevelt leading a broad-based coalition, as his flatterers suggest — nothing will.

Carter also spent part of his time talking of his long-term plans for the campaign and, hopefully, his administration, including his flirtation with the idea of beginning his proposed reorganization of the executive department before inauguration day. He has a task force that includes former White House counsel Theodore M. Sorensen and Professor Richard Neustadt, both former advisers to John Kennedy, working on the problems of transition in the event of a Carter administration and he is studying the problems of tax, welfare and health reform in addition to government reorganization.

"WE WANT TO see how long these projects might take," he explains smiling.

Carter is also considering his vice presidential running mate. "There are at least seven possible vice presidential candidates under consideration," he told reporters on his chartered campaign jet. "Very soon next week I will talk to three or four or five personally, either in Plains, Ga., or in Washington, D.C., according to their wishes."

He said that he would confer with each vice presidential possibility for three or four hours in Washington, or if they came to Plains he would put them up overnight.

CARTER ALSO raised about \$420,000 yesterday, which, compared to the money struggles of the past, proves once again that fundraising for an all-but-sure presidential nominee is like a millionaire asking for a bank loan. The less you need it, the easier it is.

The only small cloud on Carter's otherwise rosy horizon was the refusal of George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, to be photographed with the candidate when he stopped in Washington on his way to Houston. Meany said that it might be construed as a personal endorsement of Carter and that he was leaving this to the AFL-CIO executive committee, which will meet on the matter after the Democratic National Convention.

Carter also met at the Shoreham Hotel with Sen. Harrison A. Williams and State Sen. James Dugan, the leaders of the uncommitted New Jersey delegation. The delegation invited Carter to meet with them, an invitation he eagerly accepted, and Dugan indicat-

ed they would probably endorse him.

THIS MEANS THAT Carter, in effect, is turning his back on Gov. Brendan Byrne, who endorsed Carter early on and led an unsuccessful delegate slate committed to Carter in the New Jersey primary. Carter praised Williams as being best capable of "bridging the gap between the disparate elements of the party" and said he would seek Williams' counsel on who to have manage his campaign in New Jersey this fall. He also indicated that he thought it best not to get involved in the New Jersey gubernatorial race, which he said could divide the party.

This political pragmatism was echoed shortly afterwards when he told contributors to a \$250 per person fund-raising cocktail party that "I'm not against Washington. People say I've campaigned against Washington but I want to be here. (Laughter.) I know where the White House is and I have seen the Washington Monument. (More laughter.)"

Despite his frequent boasts that he has made no deals and has no obligations he promised the Marine Engineers, who held a \$1,000 per person fundraiser for him at the Shoreham, that he would work for a strengthened Merchant Marine and try to insure that all coastal shipping would be in U.S. ships and that American vessels would be guaranteed a greater share of overseas shipping. "I know this will cost a little bit extra but it's worth it to have a strong Merchant Marine," he said. This cost will be to American taxpayers and consumers.

AFTER HIS MEETING with Meany, which Carter described as "a good conversation," he said that he had asked Meany's advice on his vice presidential candidate. "We discussed the selection of the vice presidential candidate as I have with 35 to 40 other prominent Americans," Carter said. He admitted that Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer and close adviser, was interviewing potential running mates in Washington yesterday and conferring with other advisers.

"Obviously I hope to have Mr. Meany in my corner for the general election but he pointed out that it's a decision to be made by the executive committee of the AFL-CIO," Carter said.

Nevertheless, the failure of Meany to appear to be

photographed with Carter was an obvious surprise to the Carter staff.

At the Washington fund-raisers he ran into Elmo Zumwalt, the former chief of naval operations who is the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate against Independent Harry Byrd of Virginia. The two former Naval officers apparently had a very cordial reunion.

"We need more people in the Congress like you and I look forward to working with you," Carter told Zumwalt. "I hear you have a lot of support in Mr. Meany's office."

"Thank you, Mr. President," Zumwalt responded. When an organizer of the cocktail party tried to cut off photographers, Carter demurred and said, "We can't miss this one. He'll help me carry Virginia."

Charles Bartlett

Foreign affairs healing?

Jimmy Carter, although pleased that his foreign policy positions are at last getting some attention, plainly does not want to run any risks of stirring new controversies.

In fact, Carter's inclinations and strategy are combining to make him part of the healing process which is causing some foreign ambassadors to believe the United States has begun to recreate its foreign policy consensus. The dissidence and disarray that promised to prevail until the inauguration next January are fading into a tentative state of harmony.

In recent days the treaty with Spain has floated through the Senate. The new Select Committee on Intelligence is confirming a new deputy director of the CIA without much fuss. Members in both chambers kept their composure through the Italian elections. The generosity toward poor nations is restrained, but isolationism is not taking hold.

This is quite a change from the hectic months in which Congress had the bit in its teeth and was pursuing its will with little concern for the damage it did to intelligence operations, the NATO alliance, the rapport with the Soviet Union

or world confidence in American commitments.

The struggle for the privilege of conducting American foreign policy has subsided largely because the Democrats became aware that its protraction would damage them at the polls.

The danger to the Democrats was that voters would begin to believe they were taking the Soviet threat more lightly than circumstances warrant. In venting indignation at intelligence excesses or attempting to prune the defense budget, they discovered they were vulnerable to the public's perception that the Cold War may not be over.

So the specialists who help to write the Democratic platform and Carter's speeches are expounding a more consistent, centrist view of foreign policy than most of what was earlier heard from the 94th Congress. They need to level some attacks to keep up their end of the game, so they assail the personal eccentricities of Henry Kissinger's diplomacy without real thrusts at his policy objectives.

The fragile harmony may stem in some part from a lull in the rain of controversial events. A new SALT agreement, which does not seem imminent, could bring

old divisions to a new boil. Serious bloodshed in Rhodesia could polarize public sentiment. A sudden need to increase the level of support for any of the repressive regimes with which this country is allied would spark a shrill debate.

But Carter's campaign will do more to blur than exacerbate the latent divisions if events do not intrude on it. Most Democrats are being extremely pragmatic. Carter was, for example, hailed on Capitol Hill by the respected Senate Majority Leader, Mike Mansfield, even though he had just declaimed his disagreement with one of the senator's key aims, a reduction in the number of U.S. troops in Europe.

His proposal to reduce the 41,000 soldiers stationed in South Korea raises an interesting possibility. Carter is challenging the Republicans' reluctance to be critical of the Park regime's repressions and many Democrats talk with growing intensity of their concern with the curtailed human rights in some friendly countries.

This could be the first note of a Carter administration effort to develop a more selective system of alliances.

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Mr. Carter and the mayors

Gov. Jimmy Carter indicated to the nation's mayors the other day that they will find a sympathetic ear if he is elected President. But if the mayors think that Mr. Carter would simply open the doors of the federal treasury to the cities, they may be disappointed.

Two passages from Mr. Carter's speech before the U.S. Conference of Mayors sounded appropriate warnings. The mayors are a demanding group, he said, and he, too, would be demanding. He said he would expect city governments to "root out inefficiency and waste" and "deal with administrative problems in a courageous way." At another point, he said that the problems of the cities can't be solved just by throwing money at them.

That the cities need help is not an issue. Mr. Carter called the cities "America's No. 1 economic problem" and he isn't far off. Restoring the health of cities — the heart of U.S. business and industrial activity — may be the key to maintaining a healthy nation.

The question is how to help them. Mr. Carter's speech to the mayors appeared to be longer on slogans than specifics. He wants a "new coalition" of federal, state and local leadership to attack urban problems. He wants a "restoration of federalism." We've heard similar words from the present and past Presidents but the deterioration of the cities has continued.

One of the specifics of Mr. Carter's program — and it is not all that specific — is a "complete reorganization" of the executive branch to make it work more effectively in responding to urban problems. Reorganization of the government seems to be Mr. Carter's first answer to many problems; whether he'd be any more successful at it than other Presidents is problematical.

Among other specifics, he would continue the federal revenue sharing program, with emphasis on getting more aid to the cities, and would reduce federal controls on other U.S. grants to fund municipal programs. He would seek to end unemployment and reform the welfare program. All these, too, have a familiar ring.

The core of Mr. Carter's program is a pledge to provide "predictable and adequate financial support" to help cities meet legitimate fiscal needs. Exactly how he would accomplish that remains to be seen, if he gets the chance to try.

If there is a difference between what Mr. Carter is saying and what others have said, perhaps it is in dedication. There seemed to be a note of sincerity in the pledge of the Georgia peanut farmer to "work with you to meet the problems of urban America just as Franklin Roosevelt worked to meet the problems of the rural South in the 1930s."

Rebuilding the cities is as much a matter of spirit and dedication as of money. Federal money will not end the flight of whites to the suburbs; it will not solve the crime problems; it will not produce better schools; it will not end the greed of municipal unions whose demands have helped push cities toward bankruptcy; it will not end municipal mismanagement; it will not make cities centers of culture and good living.

And as Mr. Carter told the mayors, the attack on urban problems cannot be a one-way street. It will take all the cooperation that can be found among local, state and federal officials. The federal government can help but the responsibility for solving city ills falls most heavily on local shoulders.



Carter, on demand, produces a lighter side

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF

Sun Staff Correspondent

Pittsburgh—Why was it, Jimmy Carter was asked aboard his chartered airplane Monday night, that he never told any stories that poked fun at himself?

"I don't know," he told his questioner, Curtis Wilkie of the Boston Globe. "I would have to check with the Boston Globe to see what y'all's analysis of my character is, this week."

Mr. Wilkie, a sardonic Mississippian whose coverage of Mr. Carter has several times drawn the candidate's ire, persisted. He noted that Representative Morris K. Udall was often able to make fun of himself, especially his sponsorship of the controversial plan to reorganize the postal system.

"I think to be fair to myself that if I had set up a postal system I would find some humor," Mr. Carter replied.

Yesterday morning, what some have characterized as the corrective mechanism in the all-but-certain Democratic presidential nominee went into action.

Speaking to more than 400 supporters at a \$100-a-plate fund-raising breakfast, Mr. Carter recalled his first race for office, a 1962 bid for the state Senate, and his effort to find something in his background that he could use to recommend himself.

He said he finally settled on the fact that he was farmer from Plains, in the middle of the district, and that his family had been in Georgia for 200 years. But after a Lions Club appearance in Columbus, Ga., a man came up to him and told him he shouldn't say that.

"If the Carters have been in Georgia for 200 years and have gotten as far as Plains, it's time one of them did something about it," he said the man told him.

"So that's why I decided to become president," he added.

A few hours later, at a fund-raising luncheon in Philadelphia, Mr. Carter noted that on Johnny Carson's television show the other night "the answer was 60 minutes, and the question was, How long does it take Jimmy Carter to brush his teeth?"

The two incidents illustrate how quick Mr. Carter is to react to any suggestion of a

flaw in his makeup. It also demonstrates the mutually wary, appropriately adversary relationship that exists between him and the reporters who have been covering his campaign.

The almost total faith in himself that Mr. Carter displays, his constant vows never to tell a lie (a point he seldom makes anymore) or mislead a voter have stirred a predictably skeptical reaction from the more cynical members of the press corps.

At the same time, Mr. Carter has shown himself to be as sensitive to what the press is saying about him as are most politicians, a sensitivity that seems to leap out of him from time to time.

For example, the question about self-deprecatory humor in Monday night's conversation, which took place as the Carter plane sat on the runway of New York's La Guardia Airport awaiting clearance to take off, followed one about whether he has deliberately tried to restrict humor in his campaign speeches.

He first told the reporter, "I've covered that before," then noted that in the early stages of the campaign, "the reporters who traveled with me would take what I said in one city in Iowa and compare it with what I said in another city in Iowa to see if the words, the inflections were exactly the same, and I became very cautious in the way I answered questions to make sure there was as complete a compatibility as I could humanly prescribe.

"I feel a lot more at ease now than I did," he added, "not because of any increasingly benevolent attitude of the press, but because I've got more delegates now."

Earlier in the campaign, there were several tense encounters between the candidate and the press corps. There was a New Hampshire news conference at which he was hit by back-to-back questions about his harshly critical New Hampshire radio ads and about when he might produce a tax reform plan. There was a lengthy exchange in Madison, Wis., over hypothetical U.S. use of food sales to counter Soviet foreign policy. And there was a bristling session in Terre Haute, Ind., about the resignation of a speech writer,



An admirer in Pittsburgh gets a kiss from Jimmy Carter, on his way to a fund-raiser.

Robert Shrum.

Nothing like that has happened recently, now that Mr. Carter is getting more rest and having fewer formal press conferences.

On several occasions, Mr. Carter has given reporters his analysis of the way different newspapers have covered his campaign, basing his measure of approval on how early they realized his candidacy might be successful.

In that context, he has criticized the Washington Post and has praised Jack Germond of the Washington Star and R. W. Apple, Jr., of the New York Times.

However, his attitude towards the Times has been somewhat ambivalent.

During an earlier on-board conversation about two weeks ago, James Wooten of the Times asked Mr. Carter whether he thought that he had a good chance to be president frightened him.

"It might frighten you to know that I am going to be president," the former Georgia governor replied.

And when Mr. Wooten relayed the request from reporters to make a statement about his vice presidential selection process on the ground rather than in the crowded center aisle of the plane, Mr. Carter observed, "Now you're not only speaking for the Eastern liberal establishment but for the entire press corps as well."

The candidate has sometimes poked fun at other reporters, including Sam Donaldson of the American Broadcasting Company, perhaps the most persistent network correspondent covering him.

When Mr. Donaldson showed up at Mr. Carter's Sunday school class at the Plains Baptist Church in Sunday, the former Georgia governor shoved the collection plate, which had previously been passed, at Mr. Donaldson.

After the correspondent put some money into it, Mr. Carter exclaimed, "That's much better than I expect from ABC."

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Carter promises stronger U.S. mariti

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Jimmy Carter yesterday committed himself to strengthening the United States maritime fleet if elected president.

He told a \$1,000-a-head fund-raiser organized by the maritime industry here that the nation's merchant marine strength had declined "drastically and I believe dangerously."

Accusing the Nixon-Ford administrations of ignoring the weakness, he won applause from members of both maritime union and management as

he said: "I want to make sure as president that the American flag is returned to the seas again. I believe that American ships, built in American yards, designed by American engineers, built by American craftsmen and manned by American seamen . . . can once again by the envy of the maritime world.

"I believe that once again our nation can be a maritime nation, a seagoing nation that can compete for and win the right to hold a major portion of our foreign cargo."

Mr. Carter said that at the end of World War II, the United States had 6,000 merchant

ships, while a couple of years ago there were only 529 and now only 5 per cent of the country's foreign cargo was carried in American ships.

Noting that the U.S. imported much of its oil, bauxite, iron ore "and a lot of other products which are crucial to our peacetime or wartime economy," he said: "I want to be sure that cargo can be carried in time of peace or in time of crisis."

Mr. Carter said that as president he would tell the people that a strong merchant marine would cost a little more but would help protect the nation's defense.

The Philadelphia Inquirer

Historic Philadelphia's Oldest Daily—The Bicentennial Newspaper

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Thursday, July 1, 1976

Carter greeted here

like a winner

By Paul Critchlow
and Loye Miller Jr.

Inquirer Staff Writers

Jimmy Carter came to Philadelphia yesterday for what was to have been a simple, private fund-raising luncheon, but the event quickly took on all the trappings of a major presidential campaign appearance.

The former Georgia governor, who now has more than enough delegates to capture the Democratic presidential nomination, was applauded by several hundred on-lookers when he arrived for the luncheon at the Centre Square Building at 15th and Market Streets.

Carter's chartered jet, carrying the

candidate, dozens of aides and security personnel and the more than 40 journalists traveling with him, touched down at Philadelphia International Airport at 11:15 a.m.

His party was carried to the Centre Square Building in a long motorcade escorted by several police cars, red lights flashing. When Carter stepped out of his car, dozens of local reporters and cameramen, as well as persons in the crowd, converged on him. Trailing the candidate were Gov. Milton J. Shapp and Pittsburgh Mayor Peter Flaherty, both of whom went virtually unnoticed. A few minutes later, Mayor Frank L. Rizzo, who did not meet Carter at the airport, arrived. He, too, was hardly no-

ticed as he went to the luncheon on the 41st floor.

The luncheon, hosted by First Pennsylvania Corp. Chairman John R. Bunting, had been planned as a private, small, informal and non-political meeting intended to give about 30 of the area's top businessmen a chance to "open up" with Carter. The businessmen paid between \$500 and \$1,000 for their meals.

Carter's aides were invited late yesterday when Shapp called and insisted on being invited. After that a well-informed aide said, Rizzo was invited as a matter of courtesy. Carter's stop here was one of 17 events this week and last arranged to raise enough money to retire his \$1.5-

million debt left from the primary campaign and to pay for his \$400,000 in convention expenses. If he obtains the nomination, he will be able to begin drawing on \$22 million in federal funds for the fall campaign.

Aides said Carter raised about \$60,000 at two Pittsburgh breakfasts yesterday morning; they said the Philadelphia luncheon produced about \$50,000.

Speaking at the luncheon for about 25 minutes, Carter called his victory in the April 27 Pennsylvania primary the turning point of the entire campaign.

Now, he added, "We've arrived at (See CARTER on 8-A)

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City gives Carter a winner's greeting

CARTER, From 1-A

a unique — almost unique — position in the history of our party: A full month before the convention, having enough delegates by far pledged to us to win the nomination. This gives me a great deal of freedom to contribute to the platform . . . and to think about who I will recommend for vice president."

Carter said his list of 40 or 50 possible running mates would soon be "cut down to less than 10." Then, he said, "We'll be sitting down with three or four of them at my home in Plains (Ga.), or in Washington or any place of their choosing to conduct in-depth discussions to test our compatibility."

Carter did not mention any specific running-mate possibilities, but high-level sources in his campaign and Carter himself have dropped hints that his choice probably would come out of the Senate.

The likeliest prospects are believed to be John Glenn of Ohio, Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois and Frank Church of Idaho.

Church aroused speculation a bit the other day when he told reporters in Washington that he had been advised that Carter "would want to see me" to talk about the vice presidency. Church said he had also been told "We'll be seeing you," by Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta attorney whom Carter has designated as intermediary with the vice presidential possibilities.

Carter has said that he would have Kirbo screen the potential nominees before he interviews them himself.

A spokesman for Stevenson said Kirbo also had telephoned him and "said he would be in touch in the next few days." It could not be learned whether Glenn had also been contacted by Carter or Kirbo, but the tone of staff members' comments aboard the candidates plane suggested that Glenn was indeed a hot prospect.

A source at Democratic National Committee headquarters insisted that the former astronaut was at the top of Carter's list.

Carter has said he would not reveal

his choice before the Democratic National Convention, which begins July 12, and that no one was authorized to speak for him publicly.

Other senators, including Henry J. Jackson of Washington, Walter Mondale of Minnesota and Birch Bayh of Indiana, also have figured in the speculation, but their prospects are considered more remote.

One informed source very close to Carter has said that Gov. Wendell Anderson of Minnesota was also in the running, but indicated that Anderson's chances were only fair.

At the Philadelphia luncheon, which featured shrimp and strawberries, Carter exuded confidence.

"I think I have a strong sense of support among the American people," he said. "I hope to carry that right into the White House."

He warned his supporters against over-confidence, saying the Republican Party was likely to "heal up its wounds" after it nominates either President Ford or Ronald Reagan.

"The one fatal mistake I could make would be to become over-confident," he said. "I don't take any state for granted. I don't take a single vote for granted."

On his way into the luncheon, Carter was asked about his criticism of Rizzo before the primary. Rizzo has since endorsed Carter.

"I would never disavow any elected official," Carter replied. "We were successful here because of the people. The mayor's constituents are my constituents."

Seated at the head table with Carter were Bunting, co-host Samuel L. Evans, national chairman of the American Foundation for Negro Affairs; Shapp and Flaherty. Also at the head table, at opposite ends, were Rizzo and Joseph S. Clark, a leader of the drive to recall Rizzo, who is a former mayor and U. S. senator.

Among the prominent businessmen attending were Charles L. Andes, chairman of the Franklin Mint; Todd M. Cooke, chairman of the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society; Ralph S. Saul, chairman of INA; Gustave G. Amsterdam, chairman of City Stores, parent company of Lit Brothers; and D. Herbert Lipson, publisher of Philadelphia magazine.

After the hour-long luncheon, Carter left for a private meeting later in the afternoon with AFL-CIO President George Meany in Washington.

RR

Carter, sure of victory, readies transition plan

By Robert S. Boyd
Inquirer Washington Bureau

Jimmy Carter doesn't have the Democratic presidential nomination yet, but his mind is racing ahead to the fall campaign and the transition period between the election and Inauguration Day.

In fact, he has told reporters that he is already trying to decide which of his campaign promises he will try to fulfill first and which he will put off for a year or more.

"We are starting to assess the elements of the Democratic platform . . . to establish an order of priority and a time schedule for the consummation of our goals," Carter said.

The platform has not even been officially adopted by the party convention, of course, and Carter says he is aware of the dangers of overconfidence.

Campaign '76

He tells audiences that he does not want to take anything for granted, or repeat the mistake made by Republican Thomas E. Dewey, who thought he had the election sewed up in 1948 but lost to Harry S. Truman.

Nevertheless, Carter's manner betrays a serene assurance that he will be moving to the White House in January.

He has set up a task force headed by Jack Watson, an Atlanta attorney and former chairman of the Georgia Board of Human Resources, to work on problems of the transition to a Carter administration.

Watson is consulting with people who have served under previous

Democratic presidents, such as political scientist Richard Neustadt of Columbia University, who was a consultant in the Johnson and Kennedy administrations, and former Kennedy speechwriter Theodore Sorensen.

As a mark of his eagerness to get going, Carter said he was considering asking Congress, before he is sworn in as president, for authority to reorganize government agencies—one of his major campaign pledges.

The authority, granted to previous presidents, would permit him to propose a reorganization plan that would take effect immediately upon his inauguration unless vetoed by Congress within 60 days.

When it was pointed out to Carter that he might be acting prematurely by sending a message to Congress before he had taken the constitutional

oath of office, he backed off a bit and said he would seek the advice of congressional leaders before making such a request.

Meanwhile, Carter's political agents, working in cooperation with the Democratic National Committee, have almost finished planning the fall campaign.

Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss said that the 50 states had been divided into four categories—labeled A, B, C and D—according to the amount of time and effort Carter will give them.

In the "A" class are most of the big states, such as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, and certain marginal states where an extra push might put Carter over the top.

In the "D" group are states like Georgia, where victory is taken for granted, or those regarded as virtu-

ally hopeless, where the candidate will put in no more than a token appearance.

Task forces have been set up to deal with personnel, organization and issues.

Carter's search for a running mate is approaching an end.

In their search for a running mate, Carter's staff has drawn up a list of questions to ask each candidate about his personal finances, health, and other possible embarrassments.

"We will cross-examine them in a nice way," he said.

Carter will review the list this weekend and decide on the finalists, whom he will interview personally.

Carter said that he might not make up his mind until he is actually nominated, and that, in any event, he would not reveal his choice until then.

MR. CARTER HAS GENERALLY CLEAR, CAREFULLY WROUGHT POSITIONS THAT ARE AS SPECIFIC AS MOST POLITICIANS OFFER. LABELS LIKE LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE DON'T SEEM TO FIT, BUT MR. CARTER'S POSITIONS ON ISSUES SHOW HIM TO BE AN ACTIVIST, A DOER, A BELIEVER IN GOVERNMENT AS SOLVER OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, APRIL 2ND, 1976

HIS LISTENERS SEEMED STRUCK MOST OF ALL BY HOW SMART CARTER IS—SHARP IN HIS POLITICAL ESTIMATES, INFORMED ON A VARIETY OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC ISSUES.....HE IS NO MORE VAGUE ON ISSUES THAN OTHER CANDIDATES; HE JUST REFUSES TO GIVE ONE SENTENCE ANSWERS TO COMPLICATED QUESTIONS.

ANTHONY LEWIS, IN THE NEW YORK TIMES,

APRIL 1ST, 1976

.....CARTER'S EXPRESSED POSITIONS ON THESE AND A NUMBER OF ISSUES ARE AT LEAST AS CLEAR AS WHAT WE ARE ACCUSTOMED TO - AND SOMETIMES A GOOD DEAL CLEARER.

MEG GREENFIELD, NEWSWEEK, MARCH 29TH, 1976

DESPITE CRITICISM THAT HE IS "FUZZY" ON THE ISSUES, HE CAN BE EXTREMELY SPECIFIC WHEN HE WANTS. ACCORDING TO REPORTERS WHO HAVE OBSERVED HIM SINCE HIS DAYS IN THE GEORGIA LEGISLATURE, CARTER IS A QUICK STUDY, ABLE TO ABSORB THE COMPLEX DETAILS OF A GOVERNMENT BUDGET OR A KNOTTY LEGISLATIVE PROBLEM IN A HURRY.

ON TUESDAY HE GAVE ONE "ISSUES SPEECH" ABOUT NEW APPROACHES TOWARD CARE FOR THE ELDERLY TO RESIDENTS OF A BALTIMORE APARTMENT FOR THE AGED. ON THURSDAY HE TALKED ABOUT NEW INTERNATIONAL APPROACHES TO CONTROL PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE BURGEONING NUCLEAR POWER BUSINESS.....

WASHINGTON STAR, MAY 16TH, 1976

JIMMY CARTER HAS A FAR BETTER RECORD ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES THAN CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR EDMUND G. BROWN JR., THE LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS REPORTED THIS WEEK.

....THE LCV REPORT PRAISED CARTER FOR AN "OUTSTANDING PERFORMANCE" ON ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES DURING HIS FOUR YEAR TENURE AS GEORGIA GOVERNOR BETWEEN 1971 AND 1975.

WASHINGTON STAR, MAY 12TH, 1976

THE FORMER GEORGIA GOVERNOR HAS CAMPAIGNED INDEFATIGABLY FOR TWO YEARS. HE HAS BEEN TO VIRTUALLY EVERY STATE, HAS CONTESTED EVERY PRIMARY AND CAUCAS. IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER CANDIDATES, HE HAS NOT BEEN RETICENT OR PARTICULARLY AMBIGUOUS IN DISCUSSING MANY HARD ISSUES.

BALTIMORE SUN, MAY 9TH, 1976

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Carter's Latest Problem

By James Reston

Governor Carter has conquered and scattered the Democratic Party. His problem now is to put it back together and unify its defeated elements, now sulking and muttering against him on the sidelines.

This is the real test of the leader of a party of divergent but powerful elements. It is the test George McGovern failed in 1972 and Hubert Humphrey never quite passed in 1968, even after they won their party's Presidential nomination. Now it is Mr. Carter's turn to see if he can avoid their fate.

The aggrieved figures are the political leaders and labor barons he overwhelmed in the Pennsylvania primary, the loyal Humphreyites of all persuasions, the liberals who backed Mo Udall's valiant and amiable campaign, the odd mixture of anti-Soviet and pro-Israeli voters who supported Scoop Jackson, the intellectuals who don't like his style, and others who think he is too vague, too independent, too rigid, too inexperienced, too new.

Poor Jimmy! He has nobody in his corner but the people. They seem to be longing for somebody younger than the old familiar faces and somebody new, but the "slites" are complaining that they don't know him and therefore they worry about him. How he could be both new and well-known is not clear, but anyway he has a problem, and dealing with it— he will never really solve it—may be an even higher priority for him in the next few weeks than winning more primaries.

He is beginning to understand this new phase of his campaign, and even to recognize that many leaders of his party really and honestly don't know where he stands on issues that are vital to their special interests and concerns. Accordingly, he is increasing his corps of "advisers" and arranging a series of speeches and policy papers that will put some substance behind his personal and political triumphs.

As his primary election strategy and tactics have succeeded, he has gradually been gathering a team of experts, but he has been so busy winning primaries and wooing delegates that he scarcely knows the people in this expanding Democratic organization who have been working for him. Mainly, they are distinguished volunteer voices on the telephone, or sympathetic figures at hurried breakfasts between airplane stops.

On foreign policy, he has been getting occasional help from George Ball, former Under Secretary of State, and Cyrus Vance, former Deputy Secretary of Defense, and mainly from Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University, a former member of the State Department's Policy Planning staff.

On defense policy, from Paul Warnke and lately from Clark Clifford, who presided over the Pentagon in the last days of President Johnson, and also from Henry Owen of Brookings, and Gerard Smith and Paul Nitze, who negotiated the first strategic arms agreement with the Soviets at Helsinki.

On economic policy, Larry Kline of the University of Pennsylvania, has apparently been Carter's principal adviser and also Albert T. Sommers of the Conference Board of New York.

But essentially, these are strangers to Carter, and they to him, simply because in the struggle of the campaign, he has not had time to put his mind to the intricacies of policy, and this is the complaint of his critics: namely, that he is winning the Presidential nomination without telling anybody what policies he would follow if he got it.

He is close to his young staff who have put the strategy and tactics of his campaign together, and close to men like Vernon Jordan, the executive director of the National Urban League, who has been advising him on racial and other domestic problems; but in general, his policy and speechwriting staffs are thin and remote.

The problems of the front-runner are endless. The more he succeeds, the more he is expected to be Presidential, and quite fairly too. He has to integrate a small political staff mainly out of Georgia, with a large national party staff experienced in the larger affairs of the world—no easy exercise!

And meanwhile he has to make peace with George Meany of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the Democratic National Committee, the state party leaders, the writers of the party like Ken Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger, et al. If somebody can invent the 48-hour day, maybe he can do it, but it'll be no daisy. The Democrats are a contentious bunch, who would rather fight than unite, and their main consolation at the moment is that Governor Reagan is fighting President Ford and dividing the Republicans more effectively than anybody else.

Mr. Carter, however, is not noted as a reconciler within his own party. He was a loner within the Democratic Governors' organization. He is a highly intelligent but stubborn and determined man, who does not easily win the affection of his staff. This at least is his reputation. We will see in this coming phase whether he can reconcile as well as defeat his opponents.

The qualities that have brought him to the top of this greasy pole—single-mindedness, toughness, aloofness, and a certain rigidity of mind—may be precisely the qualities he doesn't need in the reconciling second phase. He didn't need his party to get the nomination, but he'll need it to win the election.

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