News Summaries, 3/76

Folder Citation: Collection: Records of the 1976 Campaign Committee to Elect Jimmy Carter; Series: Noel Sterrett Subject File; Folder: New Summaries, 3/76; Container 89

To See Complete Finding Aid:

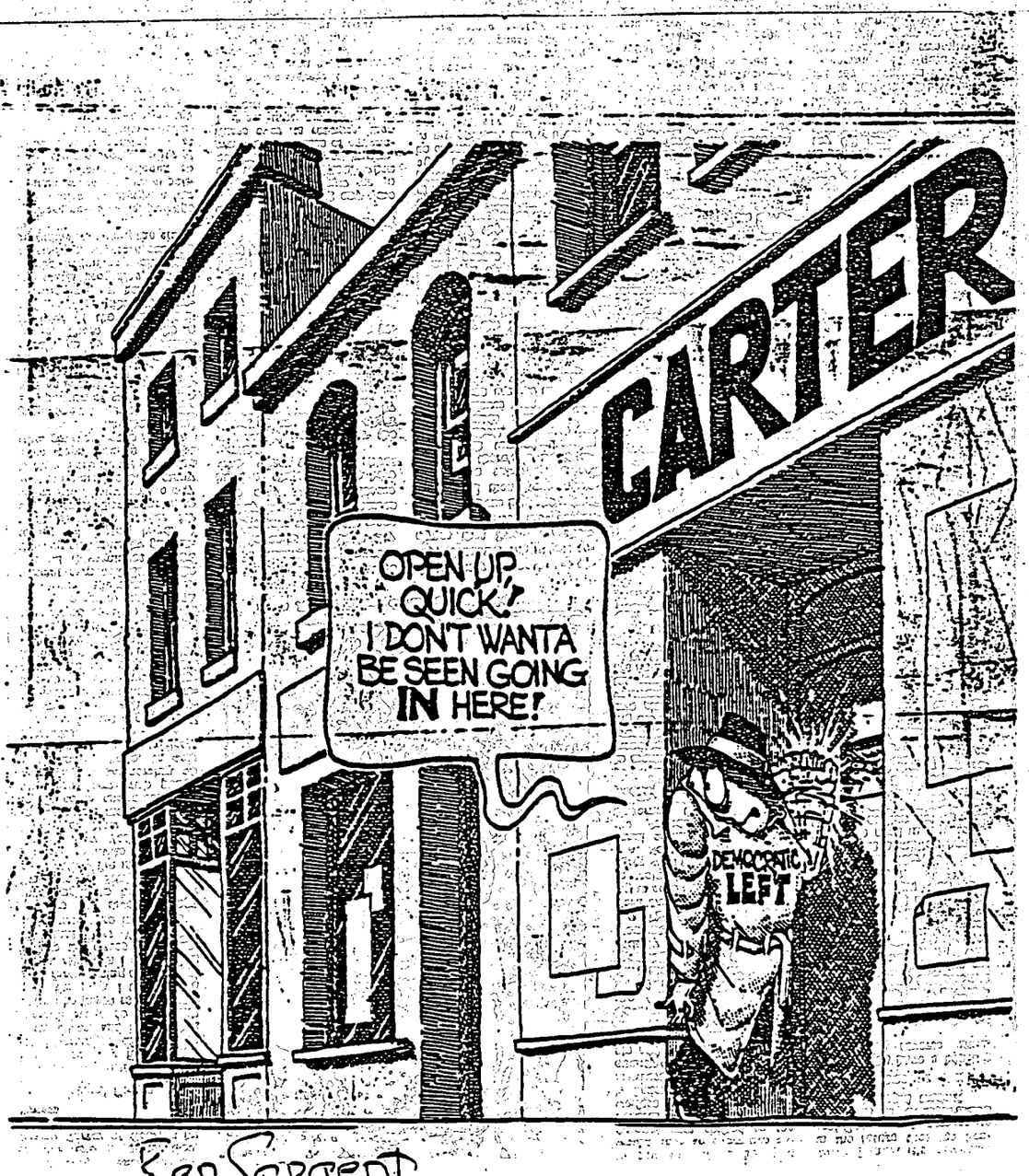
http://www.jimmycarterlibrary.gov/library/findingaids/Carter-Mondale%20Campaign_1976.pdf

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say,

Jimmy Carter And The Issues.




CARTER
OPEN UP, QUICK! I DON'T WANTA BE SEEN GOING IN HERE!
DEMOCRATIC LEFT
Ben Sargent

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

3/23



The New York Times/Jay Anderson

Gene Lanier in his grocery store in Sanford, N.C. Concerning the Presidential elections, he said: "I haven't heard too much about it. Some Carter, some Wallace. Ford is strong, he'll win."

9A

B

News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Britain yesterday proposed a two-stage plan to end the Rhodesian crisis and offered to join other countries in providing Rhodesia with financial aid to insure an orderly transition to a multiracial society. But Foreign Secretary James Callaghan said that no assistance—diplomatic or financial—would be offered unless Prime Minister Ian D. Smith agreed to accept the principle of majority rule and to hold democratic elections in 18 months to two years. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Right-wing Christian militiamen in Lebanon, supported by artillery fire, counterattacked in an all-day effort to recapture their hotel stronghold in downtown Beirut. It was not clear who held the scarred 26-story hotel, the Holiday Inn, which Moslem and leftist gunmen seized Sunday. Prime Minister Rashid Karami called on President Suleiman Franjieh at his palace in Baabda east of the capital. Mr. Franjieh continued to reject civilian and military demands that he resign. However, an emergency Cabinet meeting followed Mr. Karami's visit at which a procedure for the President's departure was agreed upon. [1:7.]

National

The Federal Trade Commission charged the General Motors Corporation with monopoly control of crash replacement parts for its cars, a practice that is allegedly costly to the public and to independent repair shops. The F.T.C.'s antitrust complaint, while formally directed at G.M., could force all the major auto makers into greater repair competition. [1:4.]

The Supreme Court firmly upheld the authority of cities to require municipal employees, such as firemen, to live in the cities that employ them. The Court had indicated in a 1972 case that residency requirements were not inherently unconstitutional as violations of either the right to due process or of equal protection. Its subsequent ruling was made in the case of a Philadelphia fireman who had moved to New Jersey. In addition, the Court said the constitutional right to travel did not include the right to work in one state and live in another. [1:5.]

Pressure is being put on Patricia Hearst to testify against her former associates in exchange for possible leniency from the Federal Government. Judge Oliver J. Carter of San Francisco's Federal District Court told Miss Hearst after her conviction Saturday on bank robbery charges that the degree to which she cooperated in an interview later this week with a Federal probation officer would influence her sentence. [1:2-3.]

Metropolitan

Mayor Beame filed notice that the city would withdraw from the Social Security System two years from now if studies in the meantime confirmed tentative estimates that withdrawing might save the city up to $200 million a year. The Mayor did not actually make the decision, but only started the two-year notice period required under Federal law. This was regarded as a bargaining move in the Mayor's fight for more Federal aid to help the city with its financial difficulties. The proposal was denounced by municipal labor unions. [1:2-3.]

The State Commission of Investigation charged that while Roosevelt and Yonkers Raceways were lobbying in the Legislature for larger shares of betting revenues, the tracks were being financially "drained" by their parent corporations. The commission said that the parent organizations, the Madison Square Corporation, which owns Roosevelt, and Ruanaidh Associates, which controls the Yonkers harness track, had transferred millions of dollars to other businesses in the last four years. [1:1.]

Eugene Gold, the Brooklyn District Attorney, reportedly was investigating an alleged $250,000 to $275,000 payoff to organized-crime figures by Seward Prosser Mellon, the Pittsburgh banker, to carry out the abduction of his two daughters from the Brooklyn apartment of his former wife. [1:1.]

A local, national and international fund-raising campaign for Carnegie Hall in which it is hoped that $6.5 million will be contributed will begin today. Isaac Stern, the violinist, is one of the key men in the drive. He said that Carnegie Hall was losing money but was not in a desperate financial situation. "We are planning the underpinnings of Carnegie Hall for the future generations," he said. A gala concert on May 18 for which more than 1,000 corporations have been asked to buy tickets at $1,000 each is expected to raise $2.5 million. [1:2-4.]

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island, Higher in air delivery cities.

2 Southerners Even in N. Carolina Town

By WAYNE KING
Special to The New York Times

SANFORD, N.C.—Twenty-five years ago, this small town lying almost in the exact geographic center of North Carolina was fundamentally a tobacco town.

There was some industry, to be sure, but it was tobacco and a few other cash crops, according to Hal T. Siler, the industrious executive vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, that made or broke the local economy year after year.

Now that has changed, dramatically, in the last 10 years, and Sanford, N.C., is an industrial town, diversified, bustling, aggressive — typical, as much as one town can be, of the transitional South.

Wallace Won in '68

With the economic changes have come social and political changes. Sanford and surrounding Lee County can no longer be confidently counted as dyed-in-the-wool Wallace country.

In 1968 Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama carried Lee County in the general election with 42 percent of the vote, well ahead of Richard M. Nixon and Hubert H. Humphrey, both with 29 percent. In the 1972 Presidential primary, Mr. Wallace drew 57 percent of the Democratic vote, with former Gov. Terry Sanford getting 36 percent and the remainder scattered among three other candidates.

Sanford is a small town whose political climate was tested in a visit last month, along with urban, suburban and rural areas around the country. Now, on the eve of the North Carolina primary election, a second visit finds Sanford about evenly divided between Governor Wallace and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia. Most of those in Sanford who would venture an opinion, in fact, gave Mr. Carter a slight edge.

"Race is no longer an issue," said one knowledgeable source. "Right now, Wallace just ain't got a thing to hang his hat on."

Area schools were not desegregated in Sanford until 1969, and in the wake of the new policy, there were fights, rock throwing, closed schools, a few fires and a few nights of curfews. The situation has cooled off, however, and the town's high school powerhouse athletic teams boast a number of black standouts.

G. O. P. Vote Later

Strictly as a political matter, however, the source said, "A lot of registered Democrats who are going to choose between Wallace and Carter will end up voting for Ford or Reagan in November."

Even here, however, there seems to be a perceptible shift in sentiment, if indeeed these pre-election predictions come to pass. President Ford is given a decided, if not overwhelming, edge in the unofficial predictions, something of a surprise in a very conservative area.

In any case, there continues to hang over the election season in Sanford a haze of disinterest. Conversations around the town hint at several reasons—the lack of a centural flaming isW e, a perception of sameness among the candidates, and over it all a leavening of cynicism.

"Well, frankly, yon just don:t hear much talk about politics," said Roy Stewart, the affable Mayor. "It seems to me most of the attention is on Jimmy Love; he's a lawyer from here in Sanford, in the state legislature, and he's running for Congress, in this district. The Presidency? Well, you hear a little talk at breakfast, maybe, but it just hasn't heated up yet."

Besides Politics

For his own part, the Mayor, who is accounted a shrewd politician, is far more interested in talking about the 50 golf courses that lie within 40 miles of Sanford, of its new water and sewer plants, of the half-dozen colleges and universities within commuting distance of the town, and of the impending annexation program that will corral five square miles and 4,000 new residents into its extended limits.

"You might want to talk about our baseball, too," said the Mayor, who, on the last visit from The Times a month or so ago, conceded that the people of Sanford at that time were probably more concerned with the fortunes of the town's American Legion baseball team than with politics.

Across town, at Gene Lanier's grocery store, the mood was a little the same, if the objects were different. Mr. Lanier fed his dog Shy a Tootsie Roll ("Loves 'em, eats paper and all"), gave his visitors a glass of lemonade, showed off his new shipment of strawberries that would dwarf a golf ball, then talked politics.

Sees Ford Victory

"I haven't heard too much about it," he said. "Some Carter, some Wallace. Ford is strong, he'll win."

Another entrepreneur, 27-year-old O. C. Johnson, who operates Sights and Sounds, a record store in the black section of town, bounced his baby in his arms and said he also found little excitement among blacks.

"Really, I've been listening to the candidates," he said. "They all promise, but they all go along with the program. They give you a tax rebate, but it's not a continuing thing, strictly political.

"They're all trying to do their thing. I mean, like Tricky Dick was doing his thing. You know, it hasn't changed. Carter, Jackson, I wouldn't go to any of their rallies. I know the game they're putting down, promises and promises.

"What I could get into, now, would be for a black to run for the County Commission or the School Board. Sanford does not have blacks in high positions. I could get excited about that. But the rest, no."

Lois Byrd the political writer for the Sanford Herald, mentioned a local political figure, now in his 70's, "unwashed and unlettered, but extremely shrewd," who had unexpectedly cast his lot with Jimmy Carter.

"The only reason he and people like him are backing Carter is that they think he's a winner," she said. "Otherwise, they'd by talking Wallace. They don't want to be on the wrong side."

"Two things have happened as this town industrialized," said Mr. Siler of the Chamber of Commerce. "The voters have gotten more sophisticated, and the leadership has become more pluralistic; there's more individualistic thinking."

Not long ago, Mr. Siler reported, the chamber conducted a survey to discover the individuals in the county its members considered most powerful. The county sheriff did not make the top 20—something that 20 years ago would have been almost unheard of in a Southern county.

The breadth and depth of the change this hints at will begin to be known today.

D

Wallace Tours N. Carolina Hoping for Victory Today

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.
Special to The New York Times

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C., March 22—In a last-minute effort to stave off defeat by Jimmy Carter in tomorrow's Democratic Presidential primary, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama traveled to six North Carolina cities and towns today, proclaiming his "fine health" and charging the former Georgia Governor with "misleading" voters.

Mr. Carter, his confidence bouyed by polls that showed him the favorite by about 10 points, ignored the charge. He felt politically safe enough to use the day making a speech in Florida, a state in which he already has met and defeated Mr. Wallace.

Mr. Wallace has been beaten by Mr. Carter not only in Florida but also in Illinois. He badly needs a primary victory—particularly in the South against fellow Southerner—is to remain what he calls a "bona fide" candidate.

In the last few days, Mr. Wallace's campaign has seemed to be in disarray and despair, though the candidate himself has not seemed notably upset. Stung by polls indicating that Mr. Carter was not only the favorite but also that Mr. Wallace's health was increasingly a pivotal issue, Wallace campaign workers had begun to snipe at one another and complain about lack of direction from the top.

The sniping has increased as the crowds attending Mr. Wallace's rallies have begun to thin, particularly when compared with the crowds he drew four years ago when he easily won the North Carolina primary.

Comparison to Roosevelt

In an effort to remain some momentum and negate the health issue, the Governor has begun comparing himself to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who he pointedly notes was elected President four times "while sitting in a wheelchair." Mr. Wallace has been confined to a wheelchair since being paralyzed from the waist down in anassassination attempt in 1972.

During a stop today in Monroe, Mr. Wallace told a small crowd:

"I want you to know that I am physically able to be President. Franklin Roosevelt was elected four times in a wheelchair. Of course, they didn't have television then, and it didn't show."

As he spoke, sitting in a shiny stainless steel wheelchair, television cameras caught the moment for the evening news program.

Mr. Wallace also has attempted to enliven his campaign in recent days by making direct, personal attacks on Mr. Carter. Previously, he had stuck strictly to ssues—little changed in his conservative view over the last decade except for moderation on racial matters.

But when he arrived in Raleigh last Tuesday for his last week of North Carolina campaigning, he switched and called Mr. Carter a "warmed-over George McGovern," and a "liar."

He asserted that the Georgian had reneged on a promise to support him forthe Presidency in 1972, and he contended that Mr. Carter's campaign was being run by many of the people who ran George McGovern's unsuccessful campaign for the Presidency in 1972.

At a news conference in Charlotte this mornng, Mr. Wallace asserted that Mr. Carter had "misled" voters by taking ambivalent stands on many issues, though the Alabamian was not specific.

From Charlotte, Mr. Wallace went by motorcade to Monroe, then traveled on to hold rallies in Wadesboro, Rockingham, Laurinburg and Lumberton. He ended the day with a large rally here.

Aides said that Mr. Wallace would hold a major campaign strategy session tomorrow in Montgomery, the Alabama capitol, to determine where to head next, politically. He already has pulled back some of his campaign workers from Virginia, a state that seems to be leaning toward Mr. Wallace, and there was talk on the campaign trail of further retrenchment.

Today's Primary

North Carolina votes today in the nation's sixth Presidential primary election of 1976.

Only two of six Democratic candidates on the ballot—former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama—campaigned actively in the state. Also entered are Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who has dropped his effort; Senator Hanry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

The Republican race pits President Ford aganist former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

Democratic voters will choose 61 delegates to their national convention; Republicans will select 54. The polls will be open from 6:30 A.M. to 7:30 P.M., Eastern standard time.

Carter Is Confident

Special to The New York Times

HOLLYWOOD, Fla., March 22—Mr. Carter, looking ahead, said today that he thought he had "a chance to fool folks in Wisconsin," where Representative Morris K. Udall has been favored in the April 6 Democratic primary. He also predicted that he would win tomorrow's North Carolina primary by a small margin.

Mr. Carter was here, in what was described as a "nonpolitical" appearance, to speak to the National Association of Record Merchandisers. He was scheduled to receive the North Carolina return tomorrow night in St. Louis, then fly to Wisconsin for two days of campaigning there.

Wallace and Carter Gain Places in Louisiana Contest

NEW ORLEANS, March 22 (AP)—Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, bucking pressure from Louisiana's political establishment, qualified full slates of candidates for spots on the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

The state Democratic Party chairman, Jesse Bankston, said yesterday that 222 candidates had qualified for the 32 posts to be chosen in voting May 1. Governor Wallace and Mr. Carter qualified 32 candidates each, Mr. Bankston said.

Former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma qualified 14 and Ellen McCormack of Long Island, N.Y. qualified four.

Louisiana will send a delegation of 41 to the convention, but nine of the delegates will be appointed by the state party. In the May voting, four delegates will be chosen from each of the state's eight Congressional districts.

Harris to Focus Efforts

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP)—Former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma said Sunday that he would focus his efforts on campaigning in Pennsylvania in an attempt to make a good showing in the state's Democratic Presidential primary April 27. "We are hoarding our money, our resources and our workers and we are going full time into Pennsylvania," Mr. Harris said on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

Reagan Declares Ford Is Evading Key Issues

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

GREENSBORO, N. C., March 22—Ronald Reagan ended his North Carolina campaign today by charging that President Ford and his supporters were evading crucial issues and might be engaging in "dirty tricks."

"The Ford people have refused to debate the issues that are of importance to the people of this country," the former California Governor said as he completed a five-day tour across this state by forecasting a close contest in the Republican Presidential primary tomorrow. The President campaigned in North Carolina Saturday and was in Washington today.

Mr. Reagan challenged the President to declare without equivocation that the United States had more military power than the Soviet Union, holding that it was not enough for Mr. Ford to assert that the United States was "second to none."

At a news conference here, one of four that Mr. Reagan conducted before traveling on tonight to Wisconsin, he told questioners that his North Carolina campaign aides had complained of foul play by the Ford camp.

The charge arose when a reporter asked Mr. Reagan if it was true that his organization was disintegrating, and that Mr. Reagan's wife, Nancy, was taking charge.

Laughs at Question

Laughing, Mr. Reagan replied that the suggestion "sounds like something that might have come out of Spencer and Roberts." The reference was to Stuart Spencer, the acting chairman of the Ford campaign, and William Roberts, a troubleshooter for Mr. Ford's campaign committee.

"It dangerously approaches what might be called dirty tricks," Mr. Reagan added.

Later, he told another questioner that he had "heard stories" from supporters that someone had tried to disrupt his North Carolina organization by canceling reservations for airplane flights and leases for telephone lines.

He said that he had also been told of dismissals of state employees who supported him. Implicit in the remark was that Gov. James E. Holshouser, the chairman of Mr. Ford's campaign in the southeastern states, was responsible for such dismissals.

Mr. Reagan said that he had only "hearsay" knowledge of the alleged dirty tricks. But he said that since they were directed at his organization, he had to "assume" Mr. Ford's supporters were behind them.

"I don't know how widespread it is," he added.

He began each of the news conferences — in Asheville, Charlotte, Greensboro and Raleigh—by declaring that he still hoped to win the primary here tomorrow, but that he was not predicting a victory.

"Win, lose or draw, I am continuing in the campaign," he added.

There was, nonetheless, a wistful tone to his professions of confidence that he could recoup sufficient strength to confront Mr. Ford on equal terms at the Republican convention in August.

Hopes to Do Well

"I expect to win some primaries," he said. "I can't tell you which ones."

Mr. Reagan, pressed to say where he might be able to defeat Mr. Ford, said only that he hoped to do well in primaries in Texas and California and in party conventions in Iowa, Arizona, Alaska, Washington State, South Carolina and Oklahoma.

He said that he would not heed White House suggestions he quit the campaign, because he expected to have "greater opportunities for victory" in later primaries, he offered Republicans the "best chance" to retain the White House in November and his departure would end pressures on Mr. Ford to couple deeds with words on the important issues.

"This whole talk of getting out of the campaign really is ridiculous," he said.

Citing remarks attributed to armament experts in and outside the Ford Administration, Mr. Reagan said that he was convinced the United States was slipping perilously behind the Soviet Union in military strength.

He said that the President and Donald H. Rumsfeld, the Secretary of Defense, had refused to state publicly that the United States was superior to the Soviet in armed forces.

"I challenge Mr. Ford to tell the American people that we are No. 1," he said. "Will he say we are No. 1?"

E

Jackson Displaying Tactical Instability

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

GREENSBORO, N.C., March 22 — The phone rings and rings at the Jackson-for-President office in Raleigh. On the day before the North Carolina primary, there is no one there to answer at noon or at 4 P.M.

For the fourth time in six Presidential primaries this year, Senator Henry M. Jackson has opted out, leaving the field, in this case, to former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Alabama.

Only in Massachusetts, where he won, did the Washington Senator participate fully from the start.

'March Was Carter's'

Mr. Jackson's theory is that most of the early tests do not matter very much, that he will win by concentrating on a few big states, elbowing past Mr. Carter by defeating him in New York April 6 and Pennsylvania April 27. He has been able to invest far more time and money there while Mr. Carter, strapped for both, has been preoccupied elsewhere.

"March was Carter's month," said William Brawley, a national campaign coordinator for Mr. Jackson. "April will be Scoop Jackson's."

Mr. Brawley was speaking by telephone from Harrisburg, where he was busy with preparations for the Pennsylvania campaign. He had been in charge here until Mr. Jackson's abrupt withdrawal from North Carolina 10 days ago.

The story of the Jackson campaign in this state is illustrative of the unusual tactical instability of the Senator's Presidential effort.

Sanford Withdrew

North Carolina was absent from Mr. Jackson's list of targets until former Gov. Terry Sanford left the race in January with the comment that Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson would probably run one-two in North Carolina.

Former Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., who had been committed to Mr. Sanford, came through with a Jackson endorsement, which was used in Florida and Massachusetts.

By Feb. 2, Mr. Brawley had put together a steering committee and the Senator flew to North Carolina to announce it. He said at a news conference that he woul dwin "a good chunk" of the state's 61 delegates.

But no one had thought through the contradiction between labor background and North Carolina's antiunionism. When Mr. Jackson criticized right-to-work laws, John T. Church, a former Democratic state chairman, quit his steering committee.

"After right-to-work hit us over the head," Mr. Brawley said today, "we could never pick ourselves up off the floor."

On March 13 Mr. Jackson announced that he was turning his attention to the North and canceling all plans for personal campaigning here.

That left in the lurch 1,500 people who had bought tickets to a Jefferson-Jackson dinner, partly in anticipation of hearing the Senator. The next day, about $40,000 worth of advertising commitments were canceled.

Changes in the New York electoral law and the new situation created by the withdrawal of Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania were cited as reasons for the switch. The real reason was that Mr. Jackson could hape to finish no better, in Mr. Brawley's view, than "a solid third"—in other words, last.

Moynihan Campaigns

MILWAUKEE, March 22 (UPI) —Daniel P. Moyhihan, former United States representative to the United Nations, said today that Mr. Jackson was the "best qualified" candidate for President in either party because of his long experience in foreign affairs.

"He is the best qualified of the many qualified candidates," Mr. Moynihan said at a news conference in a day-long trip around the state in support of Mr. Jackson's candidacy.

Shriver Is 5th Democrat To Quit Presidential Race

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 22—Sargent Shriver became today the fifth Democrat to abandon pursuit of the party's Presidential nomination, contending that his six-month campaign had been a "remarkable success" in the light of the handicaps he faced.

Mr. Shriver finished fifth in the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries, second in Vermont and third in Illinois.

His departure reduced the field of Democratic candidates campaigning in more than one state to six—former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and former Senator Fred. R. Harris of Oklahoma, who has cut down his effort considerably.

Two other Democratic candidates—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia—are still considered favorite sons from their respective states.

Mr. Shriver, the brother-in-law of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, told a news conference at the National Press Club that he had failed because he entered the race too late, he had no record in elective office or Government title and was regarded in some circles as "nothing more" than a relative by marriage of the Kennedy family.

"Under those circumstances," he said, "I think we had really remarkable results, remarkable success."

No Hint on Shift

Mr. Shriver declined to say whom he would now support for the nomination, postponing this decision until after a vacation of a week or 10 days and after the New York and Wisconsin primaries. He did not indicate any enthusiasm, however, for the current candidates.

"We have not yet by any means seen all the characters who appear in this play," he predicted at one point. "This is an unfolding drama."

In response to questions, Mr. Shriver said he thought Mr. Carter would be hard to stop. "I think he will be, I think he already is"—and repeated his campaign statement that he would not support Governor Wallace. But he declined to comment on other candidates' chances.

Mr. Shriver said his campaign had a deficit of about $50,000 after expenditures of over $800,000. The Federal Election Commission approved a subsidy payment of $3,000 for his campaign today, but he said he did not plan to apply for any further Federal assistance.

The 60-year-old former Ambassador to France who had also been Peace Corps director said he would not attempt to influence Senator Kennedy to enter the race now that he had dropped out.

No Pressure on Kennedy

"I'm not going to be a party to putting any more pressure on him than he already has," Mr. Shriver said.

The 1972 Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee also said he would leave his name on the ballot in one state, Texas, to permit his delegates there to win seats at the national convention, where they will now be uncommitted. Otherwise, his withdrawal releases the 11 delegates he had won to date.

In his formal statement, Mr. Shriver charged that some politicians "speak a simple language, proposing simple solutions and simple ideas. Like stroking a cat's back, they hope the voters will purr. But narcoticism is a disservice to Democracy."

Asked if this was a reference to Mr. Carter, he replied that he was not trying to single out anyone and that there were such people in both parties.

Democrats who had previously withdrawn from the Presidential race are former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana and Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania.

G

H

2 Uncommitted Slates Switch to Humphrey

Two uncommitted national convention delegate slates sponsored by the powerful Erie County Democratic organization announced yesterday that they would support Senator Hubert H. Humphrey for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

A third Erie Democratic slate is expected to follow suit later this week. The moves, some politicians said, could signal the switch of several uncommitted slates upstate and in the New York suburbs to Mr. Humphrey even though, as an unannounced candidate, he is not authorizing these slates and thus will not be listed on the April 6 primary ballot here.

The switch of the two slates, in the 36th and 38th Congressional Districts, brings to five the number of officially uncommitted but unofficially pro-Humphrey slates in the state. They will be listed on the ballot as uncommitted, but will campaign as Humphrey delegates.

Other switches could follow, not only in Western New York, but also in the Syracuse area and Suffolk County, where Dominic Baranello, the Suffolk Democratic leader, is considered friendly to the Minnesota Senator.

Joseph F. Crangle, the Erie County Democratic leader, is a longtime Humphrey ally. Although declining to announce a personal preference, he said that there was "a lot of sentiment" for Mr. Humphrey in the Buffalo area. And sentiment for the announced Democratic Presidential hopefuls? "That remains to be seen," Mr. Crangle said.

In any event, several Democrats said that the Buffalo area slates would not support Mr. Humphrey without the approval of Mr. Crangle.

Uncommitted slates in the 23d (Bronx-Westchester), 26th (Hudson Valley) and 27th (Southern Tier) had previously announced their preference for Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Crangle and other Democrats said that support for Mr. Humphrey would be encouraged by the view that it would be difficult for uncommitted slates to defeat slates supporting Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, who are the principal contestants in the New York primary.

"You can't beat something with nothing," the political maxim goes. Thus, Mr. Humphrey could become the focal point for many of the uncommitted slates in 20 of the state's 39 Congressional Districts.

Mr. Humphrey's chief political operative in the state, Marvin Rosenberg, a Manhattan curtain manufacturer, said that he had had no advance knowledge of the switching to Mr. Humphrey, although he said that he had spoken by telephone with Mr. Crangle. "We have no intelligence-gathering organization," he said.

Mr. Crangle, who has also spoken with Mr. Humphrey, said that he knew of no effort by Mr. Humphrey or his staff "to promote these slates."

Poll Finds Humphrey Democrats' Top Choice

The Gallup Poll reported yesterday that Senator Hubert H. Humphrey remains the top choice of rank-and-file Democrats for the 1976 Presidential nomination although he has not indicated his intention to enter the Democratic primaries.

The poll said that Jimmie Carter, former Governor of Georgia, had increased his percentage of first choices among Democrats nationwide from 26 to 28 percent and Senator Humphrey's gains have been larger—from 27 to 30 percent.

The Gallup results are based on interviews with 610 Democrats and 484 independents out a total sample of 1,425 adults, 18 and older.

Other choices, listed in the poll, disclosed 16 percent for Gov. George C. Wallace; 11 percent for Senator Henry M. Jackson; 4 percent for Representative Morris K. Udall; 3 percent for Sargent Shriver; 2 percent for Fred R. Harris; 6 percent were undecided.

Udall, in Harlem Speech, Vows Major Crime Fight

BY CHARLES MOHR

Representative Morris K. Udall promised yesterday that if elected President he would fight crime with an array of Federal programs costing as much as three or four billion dollars, saying liberals should not again let conservative politicians monopolize discussion of the problem.

The Arizona Democrat also struck out hard at his two main opponents in the April 6 New York Presidentail primary election, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, saying they had failed to show leadership on three major issues of the last decade—civil rights, the War in Vietnam and efforts to stop election-campaign abuses.

Both statements seemed to represent an attempt by Mr. Udall to raise his voice—at least figuratively—and to show a tougher political visage than has been his accustomed style.

Employing uncharacteristically vivid rhetoric, Mr. Udall told a luncheon meeting of the Upper Manhattan Chamber of Commerce in Harlem that the streets of Harlem "belong to a few hoodlums in sneakers."

Youths Called 'Losers'

The tall Representative said he could recognize the problems of fatherless, ill-educated and jobless youths, calling them "losers from the day they were born."

"We can feel guilty about them," he said, "but we must not allow them to terrorize a city. . . . I say we can and we are going to take back the streets from these hoodlums, from the dangerous junkies and the demented killers."

Representative Udal told his mostly black audience of about 60 businessmen that "we cannot afford once more to leave the issue of crime" to such figures as Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and to the Republican Presidential aspirant Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California.

He said blacks were the most vulnerable victims of crime, and said, "We who believe in social justice must make clear to all America that criminal justice is a central part of our agenda."

Representative Udall said it was "unacceptable" for New York to have to discharge policemen at a time of rising crime and said, "I can make sure your Mayor has the resources to pay them and to keep them on the job."

Mr. Udall also proposed greater Federal effort to curtail traffic in narcotics. He said the technology could be found to "search out and detect smuggled drugs" and that diplomatic and economic pressure could be used against Turkey, Mexico and other countries "that funnel hard drugs into the streets of Harlem."

Reflecting the views of his Arizona constituency, Mr. Udall has opposed registration of firearms and all but very limited forms of gun control. But yesterday he said he would "lead the fight against illegal interstate traffic in handguns."

He said present legislation—if enforced—could stop "the flood of cheap, deadly weapons into New York," but that the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of the Treasury Department, which enforces the 1968 Gun Control Act, "is underfunded, undermanned and ill-suited to the task."

He said that as President he would give the Federal Bureau of Investigation responsibility for enforcing present gun laws.

Changes Cited

The Democratic candidate also said Federal funds now allocated to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration mainly for police equipment and "hardware" should be reallocated to the courts and criminal justice system to reduce "the logjam at the courthouse door."

This would reduce plea bargaining and a tendency to release "the guilty" too soon, Mr. Udall asserted.

He said that flexible, indeterminate sentencing had "bred cynicism, not justice," and called for "a very narrow range of sentencing discretion for judges."

Mr. Udall also called for "restitution programs" or compensation for victims of crime."

Asked later about the cost of his proposals, Mr. Udall said that he did not have precise figures in mind, but that "we ought to be talking in terms of tripling" Federal expenditures on crime to a level of three to four billion dollars.

Mr. Udall, a former county prosecutor in Arizona, said that "old arguments" for rehabilitating criminals had been well-intentioned, but that "they didn't work."

He said that "about all" prisons could do was keep dangerous criminals out of society. He added, "let's stop pretending we are doing something we cannot do" in rehabilitation programs.

Mr. Udall began calling himself a "progressive" in recent weeks, in a belief that the word liberal evokes a widespread negative reaction among the public. His crime speech yesterday was seen by his staff as a major statement and, perhaps, as an effort to show that the most-liberal major candidate left in the race could take strong stands on social issues.

But in an interview yesterday afternoon Mr. Udall also continued to draw a line between himself and Senator Jackson and Mr. Carter. He said that leadership was compounded of vision and "courage to say what is unpopular at the time."



Thomas B. Curtis, Federal Election Commission chairman, in Washington yesterday at last meeting.

Election Board Loses Most of Power

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

WASHINGTON, March 22—The Federal Election Commission lost its executive authority today when Congress failed to meet a supreme Court deadline for reconstituting the agency to make it Constitutional.

Hours before the commission went into almost total eclipse, it approved payment of $980,000 in federal primary subsidies for Presidential candidates, the last money it can authorize until Congress restores its power.

Trying to crack what senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader, called "an unbreakable deadlock," Senate leaders of both parties huddled sporadically in the afternoon, attempting to draft a compromise bill that could attract a senate majority and escape a Presidential veto.

Senate debate and voting last week indicated that neither the unweildy and controversial Democratic campaign bill nor simpler Republican alternatives focused on continuing the commission had broad enough support to pass.

The Democratic bill, 65 pages long, would virtually wipe out the independence of the Election Commission and includes other features unacceptable to reform Senators. So far, none of the Republican alternatives has dealt with potential corporate abuses of the campaign law, which Democrats regard as critically important.

Another Extension Asked

The Democratic National Committee, which becomes eligible for another $500,000 in convention subsidies April 1 if the commission regains the power to approve them, asked the Supreme Court for another 21-day extension of the stay that was to expire at the close of business today.

Joining the committee were campaign chairmen for seven Democratic candidates: Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Senator Frank Church of Idaho, former Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Sargent Shriver, who withdrew from the race today.

There appeared little likelihood that the Justices would agree. They held up their Jan. 29 ruling for a month to permit Congressional action, then granted another 20-day stay, but no bill has cleared either chamber in that time.

The Democratic committee and the seven candidates were not parties to the original suit that brought about the invalidation of the commission and some sections of the campaign law, so they were forced to ask the Court for permission to as for a stay.

The bulk of today's subsidies went to Governor Wallace ($340,000), President Ford ($168,000) and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California ($123,000). All told, the commission has authorized more than $12.6 million in such payments this year.

Hays Becomes Candidate

A new potential beneficiary emerged today when Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, chairman of the House Administration Committee, filed as a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Hays, one of the chief Congressional critics of the Election Commission, later told a National Press Club luncheon that he was merely becoming a favorite son candidate in six Ohio Congressional districts to try to assure that his supporters there would be chosen as convention delegates.

He said he had decided not to try to become eligible for campaign subsidies, despite a "big temptation" to raise the necessary $100,000 privately, then put the Federal matching money into his Congressional campaign.

In his prepared text from which he only read briefly, Mr. Hays said that he "could not guarantee" that Congress would produce "any better terms" if the President vetoed the Democratic campaign bill and insisted on a simple extension of the commission.

The Supreme Court's objections would be satisfied if Congress makes all six members of the commission appointive by the President—four of them are now named by Congressional leaders, a situation that the court said violated the Constitution's separation of powers doctrine.

Democrats were discussing today a compromise that would meet the request of President Ford for a simple extension of the commission and also do these things:

¶Restrict both international unions and corporations to a single political action committee, which would collect voluntary contributions and distribute them as campaign contributions to favored candidates. Such committes are limited under present law to giving $5,000 to any candidate, and multiple committees could evade that ceiling.

¶Insure that "independent" political expenditures by citizens for or against any candidate were not collusive attempts to evade candidates' spending ceilings. The Supreme Court struck down any dollar limit on such separate citizen campaigning.

¶Bar corporate political action committees from soliciting contributions from wage-earning as opposed to executive and supervisory employees. So far, Republicans have remained adamant against this change.

Restricting the bill to these features would eliminate proposed broader Congressional supervision of the commission, curbs on campaign subsidies for unsuccessful candidates and other controversial features.

With the Supreme Court's January ruling in effect, the Election commission will remain in existence, but its activity will be limited. All 134 employees will remain on the payroll.

The commission will continue to receive campaign spending and contribution reports from candidates and committees and make them public. It will also continue to conduct audits and other invtigations to assure the accuracy of reports.

Perhaps most important, the commission will continueto receive applications for campaign and convention subsidies, giving them preliminaryprocessing, so that they can be authorized rapidly on a retroactive basis if Congress and the White House ever agree on restoring the agecp to full effectiveness.

Wallce Raises 8.6 Million

WASHINGTON, March. 22 (UPI)—Governor Wallace has raised $8.6 million in his Presidential campaign and has spent all but $716,000 of it, according to a financial statement he filed with the election Commission today.

The Campaign Doctor

By Russell Baker

The telephone rings constantly these days. Everybody wants advice. One moment it's Morris Udall. "This is Morris Udall," he says. "Udall," I tell him, "I'm a busy man. I've got Ronald Reagan on 'hold' and Fred Harris trying to get me to accept a long-distance call collect, so I'm going to give it to you short and sweet and I'm just going to say it once."

I tell Udall he has to be more Lincolnesque. Start wearing a shawl, a stovepipe hat, writing speeches on old envelopes, look sad and come out against slavery. I tell him I have been reading the political writers who say he doesn't seem to want it enough, that he doesn't have fire in the belly and an instinct for the jugular.

"You've got to show them you want it enough, Udall," I tell him. I advise Udall to slash the jugular of the very next political writer he meets. This will make everybody say he has fire in the belly and wants it enough.

OBSERVER



Victor Juhasz

"Won't that conflict with my Lincolnesque image?" he asks.

I hang up on him. I haven't time to answer niggling questions of detail. Henry Jackson has already shoved Reagan off the "hold" button. "This is Scoop Jackson," he says. Before he finishes the sentence, I am asleep.

Foresightedly, I have hired an assistant for these emergencies. His job is to wake me up within five seconds after Jackson has started talking and also, when President Ford calls, to telephone the Secret Service immediately on another line and alert them when Ford hits himself in the ear with the mouthpiece. He wakes me from Jackson.

I tell Jackson he is not using Daniel Patrick Moynihan right. "What you've got to do is keep Moynihan hunkered down behind you so nobody will see he's there. Let Moynihan do all the talking while you move your lips in synchronization with Moynihan's voice. It's the only way you can keep the country from going to sleep."

As I hang up, Jimmy Carter barges into the office. "No personal interviews," I tell him, but he throws me a peanut and smiles with such love and kindness that I haven't the heart to throw him out. He has a terrible problem.

"When I am President," he says, "I'll have to go to Washington."

"Out of the question," I tell him. "If you do that it'll ruin your image."

His advisers have told him there is no way he can get out of it.

"If you're taking advice from other people, why waste my time, Carter?"

"I've got to know what I ought to do when I get there."

"Go into the White House and sit down at the desk."

"The White House?"

"It's where the President lives."

"I know that, but where is it located?"

"Halfway between the Congress and the Pentagon and right next door to the Treasury."

"Why did they put it there?"

"They put it there, Carter, because the President's job is to get the Congress to make the Treasury send money to the Pentagon. You've heard of the Congress?"

"I think so."

"Well, don't tell anybody or you'll destroy your campaign. What about the Pentagon?"

"It has five sides, doesn't it?"

"You know too much for your own good, Carter. People are going to get the idea you've been sneaking into Washington at the dark of the moon and aren't fit any longer to be President."

I refuse to tell him anything more about Washington. It is for his own good. But he pleads. "Just one thing, please?"

"Absolutely not."

"Does it get very cold in the winter? Cold enough so I'd need to bring an overcoat?"

I have my assistant throw him out and take Fred Harris's collect call. "Could you lend us a buck until the first of the month?" asks Harris. I hang up without answering and take Gerald Ford on the other line.

"This is Gerald Ford," he says.

"Make it snappy, Ford. I'm already late for my next ulcer."

He states his problem. My assistant already has the Secret Service on the other phone. I yell to him. "Tell the Secret Service he hasn't barged his ear this time. He's got his thumb caught in the telephone dial!"

Dogging Fat Cats No More



By Harold Willens

LOS ANGELES — This Presidential primary season marks the first time since 1968 that I won't be on the prowl for fellow fat cats.

The recent Supreme Court campaign-finance rulings sounded the death knell for my kind of fundraising and for the country's sake I was glad to hear the bell toll. But I must admit to mixed personal feelings about staying out of the action.

On the one hand, no one knows better than I that political fundraisers are about as popular as proctologists and that their work is about as pleasant; on the other hand, when the cause is a crusade there is—or was—challenge in the chase and psychic reward in the catch.

During a New York dinner meeting in 1972, for example, a major film actor watched me extract $1 million for the McGovern campaign from a small group of wealthy people. The contributions ranged from $10,000 to $200,000 each. The actor said afterward that he had seen me "ennoble" a process he had previously regarded as inherently sordid and degrading.

The highest praise that can come to a fundraiser is praise that comes from a donor. In the 1968 McCarthy campaign, I made my first big-money pitch to a group of twelve affluent prospects who all responded with contributions of $25,000 or more. One of the participants was a New York investment banker. When the meeting ended, the man, who gave $50,000, told me: "I had decided that $5,000 would be my limit, but your words added a zero; thanks for prompting me to do the right thing." Such words, exceedingly rare, were exquisite balm for the battered psyche of a fundraiser foolhardy enough to seek fellow fat cats as "co-investors in a losing cause," to paraphrase the many pragmatic givers who turned me away empty handed.

Most of the money I raised in 1968 and 1972 came from people associated with a business executives organization I had co-founded in 1967 to oppose our Indochina involvement. As a spokesman for the group, I had criss-crossed the country many times and met many people who had done well and were now willing to do good. My largest single contribution from such people in the McCarthy campaign was $75,000. Scores, including myself, gave from $10,000 to $50,000. Four years later, in the McGovern campaign, several contributions exceeded $200,000 and a substantial number ranged from $25,000 to $100,000.

Many people have asked me how one springs traps for fat cats. For me the only one that has worked is this: Pick genuine prospects, ignite their generosity with sparks from your own fire for the cause, and never ask for too little. As a firm believer in philanthropic tithing I always felt that I had failed—no matter how large the total take—if contributions from maximillionaires and midimillionaires were not proportionately greater than those made by minimillionaires.

Asking for money is not a cut-and-dried procedure. In 1972 I arrived in Chicago for a fundraising foray and immediately learned from my local friends that things looked bleak. A disappointingly small number of people had responded to our invitation. The giving potential of the group was unknown. One well-known Chicagoan had consented to attend only on the condition, since he had already given generously to the McGovern campaign, that he would not be expected to make a contribution. The fire within me burned exceptionally bright that evening. My message was general, but it was meant for him, since I had to assume that he was the only genuine big-money prospect there. When I sensed that sparks were taking hold I paused. As though we had rehearsed it, he stood, made some moving comments—and a $50,000 pledge (paid the next day). His warmth radiated to others and suddenly we had over $200,000. It was a moment of ecstasy.

When Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey defeated Eugene McCarthy for the Democratic nomination in 1968, a friend of Mr. Humphrey asked me to meet with "our party's Presidential candidate." In a private one-hour conversation, Mr. Humphrey repeatedly urged me to join his fundraising team "on faith" while I repeatedly explained that only for an openly antiwar candidate could I again undertake the demeaning and debilitating money chase in which I had recently lost weight, strength and self-respect. Our discussion ended, and I retired from big-ticket political fundraising.

My decision to do it again four years later reflected the fact that the McGovern campaign became another chapter in the antiwar crusade. As in 1968, I cringed for the candidate when we would drag him through the dung heap of fundraising antics and charades, awaken him from desperately needed sleep for a bleary-eyed breakfast with a few fat cats, march others in late at night to "chat" with a candidate close to collapse, or put him through a photographic musical chairs routine at a fat-cat function so that pictures with warm personal notes could be sent to dozens, or hundreds, of potential contributors.

The Supreme Court rulings mark a historic step away from this kind of disgusting and distracting process—a process that unquestionably deters people of excellence from running for public office. As one who yearns to join the rest of the country in bidding a final farewell to fundraising, I fervently hope that this proves to be a first step toward the only kind of elections that can be called democratic by contemporary standards: elections financed by all the people rather than by a small minority. That would cost less than one-tenth of 1 percent of our Federal budget. It would be a low-cost high-yield investment in a better chance to get better people to spend the other 99.9 percent for us.

Harold Willens is chairman of a textile-machinery company. In the current campaign, he says, he has given a total of about $5,500 to four candidates.

Wallace, Reagan At Bay

By Tom Wicker

CHARLOTTE, N. C., March 21—On this last weekend before the North Carolina primary, residents of this city were almost unanimously gathered by their radio and television sets—but not to listen to Presidential candidates. The basketball team of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, unknown by most of the nation, was playing—and barely losing—in the finals of the National Invitation Tournament.

In fact, the Presidential primary seems barely to have caught this state's attention, despite ample press coverage and the presence of actor James Stewart to buck up the Ronald Reagan campaign, which needs it, since Mr. Reagan appears to be on his last legs. Curiously, he is insisting at every stop that he won't, he positively won't drop out of the race, which only serves to remind everyone that he has lost every primary so far and is favored to lose this one, too.

Another Ford victory here would leave Mr. Reagan no state primaries where he could plausibly expect a victory before May, and even then there will be little reason to suppose that he can do in Indiana, Nebraska, West Virginia, Maryland, what he was not able to do in New Hampshire, Florida, Illinois or here. Undoubtedly, he can win some delegates in the caucus states, but he can hardly hope for the nomination unless he can show the ability to defeat Mr. Ford somewhere—and before the California primary on June 8.

But there may be another reason why Mr. Reagan, a World War II Air Force officer, is insisting on staying in the race. Television spots here featured both him and Mr. Stewart, an Air Force Reserve general, hitting hard on their contention that the Ford Administration may be frittering away American military superiority to the Soviet Union.

Perhaps Mr. Reagan and his backers really believe that his campaign will force Mr. Ford into a harder line, or help him maintain high-level military

IN THE NATION

expenditures, or at least alert the public to the dangers they proclaim. Ideological conservatives among Mr. Reagan's backers and contributors may even be insisting that he continue—although at some point of futility, a losing political campaign will also become an ideological liability.

On the Democratic side, the George Wallace campaign is turning mean, with the cool and gentlemanly Wallace of a few weeks ago now calling Jimmy Carter a "liar." This is an unmistakable sign that Mr. Wallace knows he is in trouble, facing his third straight defeat by Mr. Carter, and nearing extinction as the national political force he used to be.

Obviously unflapped, Mr. Carter campaigned here in his usual low-keyed manner, contenting himself with denying that he ever made the 1972 political "deal" with Mr. Wallace about which the latter now says Mr. Carter is lying. And in a state that Mr. Wallace carried in 1972 with more than 50 percent of the Democratic vote, Mr. Carter made a flat pledge to a group of black leaders in Durham, one of whom asked him if he would "carry any blacks with you to the Cabinet."

"I will," Mr. Carter answered without hesitation. He also promised to "consider" a black for Vice President, but said he wouldn't promise to accept such a running mate.

A Carter victory in North Carolina, following his victories over Mr. Wallace in Florida and in the South Carolina caucuses, may well underline certain emerging facts about the Carter campaign:

¶In Florida, he got 72 percent of the black vote, in Illinois he got about half the black vote, and he will win a high percentage of black voters in North Carolina.

¶But in Florida, Mr. Carter also was the second choice of most Wallace voters, and in Illinois he won nearly half those who told interviewers for The New York Times/CBS poll that they thought the Government paid too much attention to minorities.

Whether Mr. Wallace's attacks will turn Wallace voters bitterly against Mr. Carter in North Carolina remains to be seen. If not, it may begin to occur to some Democrats that a moderate Southerner who can win black voters in the North and South without alienating Wallace voters in either region may have more to offer than is generally recognized.

He might be able to win numerous Southern states, for example, against Gerald Ford as well as against George Wallace. He might come nearer bringing alienated Wallace voters back to the Democratic fold, without sacrificing black votes, than Henry Jackson could. And those are two things the Democrats will have to do if they are to win in 1976 and build a party that can keep on winning.

Anyway, Mr. Carter can never be accused of lacking confidence. He was reminded at the Durham meeting of black leaders that in 1975 Morehouse College, a black institution in Atlanta, had made him an honorary Doctor of Laws.

Mr. Carter said he remembered it well. "I plan to be the first Morehouse boy in the White House," he said.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

P.O. BOX 4689 ATLANTA, GA. 30302, TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1976 42 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS

Reagan, Wallace Wind Up North Carolina Campaigns

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
and CHARLES OSOLIN
Constitution Washington Bureau

RALEIGH, N.C.—Only about one-third of North Carolina's registered voters are expected to cast ballots Tuesday in the sixth presidential primary of the 1976 election season.

But the votes cast by those few could have a decisive impact on the faltering campaigns of former California Gov. Ronald Reagan and Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

Both Reagan and Wallace, who have been fighting come-from-behind battles here for the past week, wound up their North Carolina campaigns Monday.

Reagan left the state after a series of airport press conferences. In his session with the press here, he declared that he does not plan to get out of the presidential race and that he would not answer questions about a possible end to his bid for the nomination.

He also refused to predict the outcome of Tuesday's vote. Last week, Reagan said North Carolina was the first state in which he had a chance to win; Sunday he told reporters he will be satisfied with a close vote here.

Reagan's campaign efforts have been haunted by the question of whether he would drop out if he lost in North Carolina. Ford campaign staffers have been keeping pressure on him to withdraw, and most of his campaign stops have had to open with reassurances that he was still a serious contender for the nomination.

Wallace, too, has insisted that he is in the race to stay regardless of the North Carolina vote.

Campaign aides, angered by reports this weekend that Wallace had given up hope of winning here, have declared that the race between Wallace and former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter is "a toss-up."

Wallace left the state Monday to return home to Montgomery, Ala. for meetings with campaign staffers.

A recent poll taken by a professional pollster for The Raleigh News And Observer reported that Carter was leading Wallace by 10 percentage points. A second poll done for the Carter campaign showed essentially the same results.

Ford is widely expected to defeat Reagan though most observers are unwilling to predict a point spread in that race.

A poll taken here in January showed the President ahead of his challenger. Since then, Ford has been gaining momentum nationally while Reagan has yet to win a primary.

At stake here are 61 Democratic delegates and 54 Republican ones. They will be divided among the candidates on the basis of the percentage of the popular vote that each candidate gets.

Republican voters will have a choice on the ballot among Ford, Reagan and "no preference."

Democratic voters will find on their ballots Carter, Wallace, Sen. Henry Jackson, Rep. Morris Udall, Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Fred Harris and "no preference."

Bentsen officially dropped out of the presidential race weeks ago, announcing that he would keep his candidacy alive only as a favorite son in his home state of Texas.

Udall and Harris never mounted formal campaign efforts here. Jackson made a foray into the state and earned the endorsement of former Sen. Sam Ervin but dropped out abruptly last week to concentrate his efforts in New York.

The candidates on the ballot were all placed there by the state Elections Board in late January on the basis of their having qualified at that time for federal matching funds.

No names were added to or dropped from the ballots after Feb. 3. Former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford had his name removed from the ballot when his presidential campaign folded prior to the Feb. 3 deadline.

The four candidates who have actively campaigned here have crisscrossed the state during the past week seeking voter support. Reagan and Wallace both spent six days stumping through North Carolina; Carter and Ford were in the state for two days each.

Reagan staffers said he will spend a total of about $300,000 here, while Ford campaign manager Bill Russell said the President's North Carolina budget will be around $250,000. Russell said that budget estimate does not include the cost of the President's second campaign trip to North Carolina, a one-day tour Ford made Saturday.

Wallace is reported to have spent more than $100,000 for advertising alone, while the Carter campaign has invested about $50,000 in television and radio advertising.

In spite of all that attention from the candidates, however, voter turnout here is expected to be light.

Federal Campaign Funds Cut Off

WASHINGTON (AP) — The federal matching funds faucet turned off for presidential candidates Monday with a final million-dollar splash as Congress missed a Supreme Court deadline for reconstituting the Federal Eection Commission.

How long the infusion of government money into primary campaigns might be held up depends now on when — or whether — Congress and President Ford agree on legislation rewriting federal election law.

The court, after ruling Jan. 30 that the FEC was unconstitutionally appointed, twice gave Congress a chance to pass new legislation. But attempts at a simpe revision of the law bogged down in disputes over further-reaching and politically significant proposed changes.

In a final special certification meeting before the deadline, the commission awarded $980,266 to 12 candidates. That brought the total awarded so far this year to $12.62 million, share by 14 candidates.

The champion fundgetter was Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who has received $2.79 million. President Ford, Ronald Reagan, Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Jimmy Carter each received between $1 million and $2 million.

TRB From Washington

Kissinger's Job Is Safe

President Ford isn't going to fire Henry Kissinger because he wouldn't know what to do without him. For the past seven years American foreign policy has been dominated by one man and now more than ever. We have, in effect, two Presidents, one inthe White House, the other in the State Department. As the election creeps foreward the role of Mr. Kissinger will be more conspicuous, for the conduct of foreign affairs is becoming more and more a campaign issue.



Mr. Ford is direct, Mr. Kissinger devious; Mr. Ford is plain-spoken, Mr. Kissinger is circuitous; Mr. Ford is homespun and forthright, Mr. Kissinger is brilliant and duplicitous. The President is the man who proclaims foreign policy; his secretary the one who creates it.

The country owes a lot to Henry Kissinger. He had a big role in breaking down the cold war barriers to Moscow and Peking. It is his secrecy that is often questioned. He fitted right into the strange world of Richard Nixon. His supposed superior, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, never knew what was going on between Nixon and Kissinger in the hidden business of the President's visits to China and Russia, nor in the final Vietnam peace negotiations. Later Kissinger took Rogers' place. "Peace is at hand," he told the delighted voters, October 25, 1972, just before the election.

When the Nixon-Kissinger team decided after the Pentagon Papers, leak that the emergency required a little bugging the Secretary of State went along with it, including his own subordinates. Their versions of who instigated wiretapping differ; each implies it was the other and each appeals for corroborative support to J. Edgar Hoover, who's dead.

Finicky people condemn Kissinger for these transgressions of the gentleman's code; hawks like Roanld Reagan, Henry Jackson and George Wallace condemn him for not being tough enough on Communists; and liberals can't forget the way he supported the Vietnam war. He's attacked from both sides, and meanwhile reporters love him for he's always amusing, very communicative (meet the "Senior State Department Official"), and news crackles around him. As for Henry himself, the Modern Metternichian Maestro, he throws a tantrum every now and then and threatens to quit. "I won't let him go," says President Ford, shocked.

Secretary Kissinger, I think, is working for his concept of international peace, and for America's strength and power, all the time; the difficulty is that you can't be sure of his judgment and of what short-cuts he may take to achieve his goals. He misled Congress about CIA involvment in Chile; he supported President Ford's ill-advised appeal for more money for collapsing South Vietnam just a year ago; he mysteriously allowed leaks to Foreign Policy magazine through a sympathetic writer who announced that Kissinger stood "at the apogee of his genius", and then severely reprimanded a subordinate for the leaks in an explanation almost impossible to credit. Just recently he tried to persuade Congress to go along with covert aid against the Russains and Cubans in Angola in as complete a mis-reading of the national mood as we have seen for a long time.

There is a dangerous separation between the public and the Secretary which comes down to a lack of frankness. Foreign policy won't be successful in the long run in America if the people don't understand it and approve. In good part this is Mr. Ford's fault. It is his job as President to lead and explain. Does he understand the subtleties of the Kissinger policy? Often he seems to yield ground merely because he is being pushed by critics; "detente" became a naughty word under the Reagan attack so he simply dropped it. Now the Administration is slapping back at Moscow by dramatically calling off the long-scheduled talks on energy, housing and commercial cooperation.

"We are sending them a signal," says the State Department. Nothing could please the public more than taking a swipe at Moscow, and who is to say that the snub isn't justified? But there will always be the lingering suspicion, with affairs in charge of the supple Mr. Kissinger, that it is an election year ploy, another peace-is-at-hand statement.

(TRB is the pen name of Richard Strout, Washington correspondent for The New Republic.)

James Kilpatrick

Hail and Farewell to Reagan

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — If Ronald Reagan did not exist, to borrow a line from Voltaire, Gerald Ford would have had to invent him. So far as the Republican party is concerned, Reagan has become the indispensable man.



This is said by way of hail and farewell. Barring a major upset here in North Carolina, the old actor will soon make his exit from the stage. His role in the '76 campaign is just about played out.

From the very beginning of his effort to unseat the President, Reagan had only the proverbial two chances: slim, and none. His prospects were always iffy: If the economy suddenly went to the bow-wows, or if the President committed some monumental blunder, or if his own campaign miraculously caught fire — well, then, Reagan could seize his party's prize at Kansas City.

None of these things has happened. The economy has blossomed. Ford has shown no signs of foot-in-mouth disease. And Reagan's own campaign, admirable as it has been, has ignited no passionate flres. If Reagan had announced earlier, or worked as diligently as Jimmy Carter, or raised more money or fought with bare knuckles, perhaps it might have been different. Perhaps. But not likely.

Reagan has had to face an insurmountable problem: He was not running against a congressman from Grand Rapids by the name of Jerry Ford. He was running against the President of the United States. This fact of political life left Reagan rueful and his friends embittered. Ford entered the lists not only armed with the powers of the Presidency, but bearing its ambience also.

The point bears special emphasis. We may think ourselves a sophisticated people, jaded with celebrities, bored by the trappings of high office. Such feigned indifference is far from the truth. When a President of the United States is passing by, thousands of young fathers still lift their children to their shoulders. Years later, the moment will be remembered. A President — any President — is larger than life-size.

To be sure, technically Ford is a different kind of President. He is a 25th Amendment President. Politically, the fact is immaterial. It is almost inconceivable that a political party would repudiate its own sitting President; and in any event, a sitting President so inept that he could not line up 51 per cent of the delegates to his own party convention would deserve repudiation.

These were among the odds against Reagan. To these considerations as to Ford, Reagan added a few difficulties of his own. The former governor is 65. He has lived long enough to get his temper pretty well under control, and to understand that the world stage is not peopled only by villains and heroes, but mostly by well-intentioned persons doing the best they can. In such a maturing process, one's jugular instincts tend to dry up. There is less disposition to cut and slash. A man sees events one way by the blazing light of the noonday sun; in twilight the shadows are softer.

So with Reagan. He is a strong man, but he came to this combat as a very reluctant dragon.

If North Carolina rings down a curtain, Reagan will have nothing to be ashamed of.

Wallace Tours N. Carolina Hoping for Victory Today

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.
Special to The New York Times

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C., March 22—In a last-minute effort to stave off defeat by Jimmy Carter in tomorrow's Democratic Presidential primary, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama traveled to six North Carolina cities and towns today, proclaiming his "fine health" and charging the former Georgia Governor with "misleading" voters.

Mr. Carter, his confidence bouyed by polls that showed him the favorite by about 10 points, ignored the charge. He felt politically safe enough to use the day making a speech in Florida, a state in which he already has met and defeated Mr. Wallace.

Mr. Wallace has been beaten by Mr. Carter not only in Florida but also in Illinois. He badly needs a primary victory—particularly in the South against fellow Southerner—is to remain what he calls a "bona fide" candidate.

In the last few days, Mr. Wallace's campaign has seemed to be in disarray and despair, though the candidate himself has not seemed notably upset. Stung by polls indicating that Mr. Carter was not only the favorite but also that Mr. Wallace's health was increasingly a pivotal issue, Wallace campaign workers had begun to snipe at one another and complain about lack of direction from the top.

The sniping has increased as the crowds attending Mr. Wallace's rallies have begun to thin, particularly when compared with the crowds he drew four years ago when he easily won the North Carolina primary.

Comparison to Roosevelt

In an effort to remain some momentum and negate the nealth issue, the Governor has begun comparing himself to Franklin D. Roosevelt, who he pointedly notes was elected President four times "while sitting in a wheelchair." Mr. Wallace has been confined to a wheelchair since being paralyzed from the waist down in anassassination attempt in 1972.

During a stop today in Monroe, Mr. Wallace told a small crowd:

"I want you to know that I am physically able to be President. Franklin Roosevelt was elected four times in a wheelchair. Of course, they didn't have television then, and it didn't show."

As he spoke, sitting in a shiny stainless steel wheelchair, television cameras caught the moment for the evening news program.

Mr. Wallace also has attempted to enliven his campaign in recent days by making direct, personal attacks on Mr. Carter. Previously, he had stuck strictly to ssues—little changed in his conservative view over the last decade except for moderation on racial matters.

But when he arrived in Raleigh last Tuesday for his last week of North Carolina campaigning, he switched and called Mr. Carter a "warmed-over George McGovern," and a "liar."

He asserted that the Georgian had reneged on a promise to support him forthe Presidency in 1972, and he contended that Mr. Carter's campaign was being run by many of the people who ran George McGovern's unsuccessful campaign for the Presidency in 1972.

At a news conference in Charlotte this mornng, Mr. Wallace asserted that Mr. Carter had "misled" voters by taking ambivalent stands on many issues, though the Alabamian was not specific.

From Charlotte, Mr. Wallace went by motorcade to Monroe, then traveled on to hold rallies in Wadesboro, Rockingham, Laurinburg and Lumberton. He ended the day with a large rally here.

Aides said that Mr. Wallace would hold a major campaign strategy session tomorrow in Montgomery, the Alabama capitol, to determine where to head next, politically. He already has pulled back some of his campaign workers from Virginia, a state that seems to be leaning toward Mr. Wallace, and there was talk on the campaign trail of further retrenchment.

Today's Primary

North Carolina votes today in the nation's sixth Presidential primary election of 1976.

Only two of six Democratic candidates on the ballot—former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama—campaigned actively in the state. Also entered are Senator Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who has dropped his effort; Senator Hanry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

The Republican race pits President Ford aganist former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

Democratic voters will choose 61 delegates to their national convention; Republicans will select 54. The polls will be open from 6:30 A.M. to 7:30 P.M., Eastern standard time.

Carter Is Confident

Special to The New York Times

HOLLYWOOD, Fla., March 22—Mr. Carter, looking ahead, said today that he thought he had "a chance to fool folks in Wisconsin," where Representative Morris K. Udall has been favored in the April 6 Democratic primary. He also predicted that he would win tomorrow's North Carolina primary by a small margin.

Mr. Carter was here, in what was described as a "nonpolitical" appearance, to speak to the National Association of Record Merchandisers. He was scheduled to receive the North Carolina return tomorrow night in St. Louis, then fly to Wisconsin for two days of campaigning there.

Wallace and Carter Gain Places in Louisiana Contest

NEW ORLEANS, March 22 (AP)—Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, bucking pressure from Louisiana's political establishment, qualified full slates of candidates for spots on the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

The state Democratic Party chairman, Jesse Bankston, said yesterday that 222 candidates had qualified for the 32 posts to be chosen in voting May 1. Governor Wallace and Mr. Carter qualified 32 candidates each, Mr. Bankston said.

Former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma qualified 14 and Ellen McCormack of Long Island, N.Y. qualified four.

Louisiana will send a delegation of 41 to the convention, but nine of the delegates will be appointed by the state party. In the May voting, four delegates will be chosen from each of the state's eight Congressional districts.

Harris to Focus Efforts

WASHINGTON, March 21 (AP)—Former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma said Sunday that he would focus his efforts on campaigning in Pennsylvania in an attempt to make a good showing in the state's Democratic Presidential primary April 27. "We are hoarding our money, our resources and our workers and we are going full time into Pennsylvania," Mr. Harris said on the CBS program "Face the Nation."

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say

3/21



Just Another Fan

Jimmy Carter, who's running his own race these days for the Democratic presidential nomination, took time out Sunday to act as grand marshal for the Atlanta 500 stock car race at the Atlanta International Raceway. After meeting the drivers and officially starting the event, the former Georgia governor settled down to watch some other people try to beat each other. David Pearson of Spartanburg, S.C., a supporter of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, eventually won after being a lap behind at one point. Story, more race photos on Page 1-D. (Staff Photo—Bill Mahan)

7A

News Summary and Index

MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

In what was regarded as an important military and psychological victory for them, hundreds of Moslem and leftist gunmen, backed by armored vehicles, drove right-wing Phalangists from their stronghold in the battered Holiday Inn in Beirut yesterday. The final assault was led by an armored personnel carrier, which crashed into the entrance of the 26-story hotel and fired on the last of the mortar crews defending the building's south side. Grinning civilians, peeking timorously from their apartment balconies, flashed victory signals to the hotel's captors. [Page 1, Column 8.]

Following an order from the Thai Government to close all military installations by July, the United States ended all operations at its facilities in Thailand in preparation for the final withdrawal. Meanwhile, several thousand students held an anti-American demonstration in front of the United States Embassy in Bangkok and at least four persons were killed and 70 injured when a bomb exploded in a crowd marching through the capital to the embassy compound. [1:7.]

The Spanish Government has acted on four of the seven political reforms it proposed when it came to power three months ago, but only one of them is in effect. The Government, which outlined its plan of political changes in January, has been caught in a crossfire of criticism from groups on the left that say its performance is inadequate and from groups on the right that fear it is undermining the political and social system established under Franco. The only one of the seven reforms in effect is a decree that limited an antiterrorism law. [1:5-6.]

National

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona was endorsed for the Democratic Presidential nomination by the New Democratic Coalition, which seeks to speak for the liberal wing of the New York State Democratic Party. The endorsement was voted by 70 percent of about 200 party members attending a state delegate assembly in Manhattan. [1:3.]

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, sensing that the country is ready to turn to a new generation of leadership, is taking a long-shot gamble that his ability to control the 280-member California delegation to the Democratic National Convention this summer could persuade the party to nominate him for President. Mr. Brown, who is 37 years old and one of the most popular Governors in California's history, said in an interview that he had not decided whether to expand his favorite-son candidacy into a wider campaign in other state primaries. He insisted that he was not a stalking horse for national Democratic leaders such as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. [1:1-2.]

The Federal prosecutor who won a bank robbery conviction against Patricia Hearst Saturday said that she would be turned over to the California state authorities this week to face charges ranging from kidnapping to armed robbery. [1:4.]

The jurors who found Patricia Hearst guilty of armed bank robbery wanted "in all our hearts," as one of them said, to believe that she was innocent, but they regarded the Government's evidence against her as so persuasive that within minutes Friday morning they found that all but perhaps three of their number believed Miss Hearst guilty and found her story of coercion and fear unbelievable. [1:5-7.]

Metropolitan

Four years after the student movement formed the vanguard of George McGovern's successful sweep to the Democratic Presidential nomination campaign coordinators in New York are finding that the movement has ended. The coordinators who are preparing for the April 6 primary say they are attracting groups of only several hundred student volunteers in contrast to the tens of thousands who flocked to campaign headquarters in 1972. The enthusiasm that brought about the "McGovern wave" will not be repeated at least during this election. [1:1-2.]

Exporters, apparently worried about breaching a new state law that makes aiding the Arab boycott of Israel a misdemeanor, are diverting cargo destined for the Middle East from New York City to other ports. James J. Dickman, president of the New York Shipping Association, said it was too early to tell exactly how much shipping has been lost, but he said, "we just know we're losing an awful lot of freight," and estimated that the loss might be two million tons a year. [1:7-8.]

The Other News

International

Israel upholds prayer ban on Temple Mount. Page 4
40 die in week of Argentine violence. Page 6
Peking paper urges Teng to repent. Page 7
Margaret is accused of neglecting duties. Page 8
Soviet Ritchen debates show odd views of U.S. Page 10
U.S. awaits Soviet reply to arms proposal. Page 11
U.N. trade group ends Geneva session. Page 13

Government and Politics

9 county organizations face voters April 6. Page 6
Reagan virtually concedes No. Carolina loss. Page 16
Nassau dinner dance reflects Democratic split. Page 16
Carter will appear upstate for one day. Page 16
Senator Church on Coast tries long gamble. Page 17
Rep. Dellums rejects third-party draft. Page 18
Defector raises chance of Oswald-Havana link. Page 28
Budget contains some rewards for legislators. Page 28

General

Brief, violent storm hits Metropolitan area. Page 25
Hometown of Greenwich welcomes Miss Hamill. Page 25
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 29
Unsuccessful cooperative here to be rented. Page 29
Gimbels to stop surveillance in dressing rooms. Page 29
A tenant braves all to keep apartment. Page 29
York, Evers and Jay attract few applicants. Page 29

Health and Science

Fusion reactor aims likely to break even on fuel. Page 38

Amusements and the Arts

McShann and Willlams offer Kansas City jazz. Page 20
Perahia piano recital wins fans and esteem. Page 20
Redford aids grass-roots lobbyists. Page 21
Italy cancels La Scala visit to U.S. Page 21
Herman Levin and "My Fair Lady" revival. Page 21
Short stories by Louis Auchincloss reviewed. Page 23

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1976 —

COALITION BACKS UDALL AFTER PLEA TO UNIFY LIBERALS

70% of Democratic Group That Once Leaned to Bayh Rallies Behind Arizonan

By PETER KIHSS

The New Democratic Coalition, which seeks to speak for the liberal wing of the New York State Democratic Party, yesterday endorsed Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona for the party's Presidential nomination.

The endorsement was backed by 70 percent of a state delegate assembly attended by about 200 persons at Public School 41, 116 West 11th Street, after efforts were made to promote him as a choice behind whom progressives should unite.

The sudden move to put an endorsement on the agenda, 16 days before the state's April 6 primary, followed a vote last Dec. 6 in which the group was heavily divided.

At that time, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, no longer an active contestant, polled 59.94 percent, but supporters of former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, who held 30.21 percent, and forces opposing any endorsement blocked his efforts to gain the 60 percent required for endorsement.

The group, which has 100 affiliated clubs and claims 14,000 members, also elected Frances Bennick, a district leader in Richmond Hill, Queens, as state chairman in a three-way contest.

Leadership Change Urged

Arnold M. Weiss, a lawyer, who has been chairman since December 1972, did not seek re-election, asserting: "There should be in a reform organization a rotation of leadership."

Yesterday's endorsement was primarily of symbolic value for Mr. Udall, reinforcing an endorsement in Washington Saturday by another liberal group, the board of Americans for Democratic Action.

Coalition members, even more than members of old-line Democratic clubs, tend to be free spirits in their choices and not necessarily follow the coalition's endorsements.

The breakdown of weighted voting was Mr. Udall, 10.02 percent; Mr. Harris, 8.33; former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, 5.57; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, 2.66; Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, 1.67; Senator Frank Church of Idaho, 1.47; no endorsement, 8.77; abstention, .82; and the late Socialist leader, Eugene V. Debs, .69.

Before the vote, Bartle Bull, Mr. Carter's state campaign manager, who is president of The Village Voice, said he was not asking for a Carter endorsement because of insufficient opportunity to present an adequate case. But he said Mr. Carter had so far shown he could win in eight states and that he stood for federalizing welfare, mandatory gun control

Continued on Page 16, Column 6

Oklahoma Democrats Split; Carter Wins 8 Delegates

OKLAHOMA CITY, March 21 (UPI)—Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, bearing a late endorsement from Gov. David L. Boren, won eight of 28 national convention delegates chosen at district Democratic meetings yesterday.

Party officials had predicted that he would win 12 to 14 of the delegates chosen at the district conventions, but Mr. Carter wound up gaining only one more delegate than was indicated by his showing in last month's county meetings.

Former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma won five delegates, a gain of two from his county showing. The remaining 15 delegates, including House Speaker Carl Albert, were elected uncommitted.

The party will select its final nine delegates at its state convention April 3-4. On the basis of yesterday's results, it appears three of those will go to Mr. Carter, two to Mr. Harris and four uncommitted. That would give Mr. a state total of 11, Mr. Harris 7 and uncommitted 19.

Coalition Endorses Udall On Plea to Unify Liberals

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

and support of Israel.

Assemblyman Antonio G. Oiveri, Harris campaign manager, said that the Harris forces had not tried to sway the new endosement but were running delegate slates in 23 New York Congressional districts, and earlier reports of only nine slates were in error, since the nine were merely those receiving special attention. Sholom Schwartz, Harris Brooklyn coordinator, said Mr. Harris stood for "breaking up monopolies, providing employment."

There were three speakers for Mr. Udall. Ken Mills, leader of the Lexington Democratic Club, urged "unity behind a progressive candidate," and said Mr. Udall was "against wasteful spending," for the equal rights amendment and women's rights to abortion and against supersonic transport airliners "no matter which country makes them."

John Lo Cicero, leader of the Village Independent Democrats, said he had been seeking to be a delegate to the national convention for Senator Bayh, but had switched to Mr. Udall. He said that previously there had been "a legitimate reason not to endorse before there was one progressive candidate."

Ann Diamod, a member of the Community Free Democrats on the West Side, said she had favored Mr. Harris but now was urging Mr. Udall to unify liberal support.

The cause of Senator Church, who started his campaign only last week, was urged by Norman Silverman, Far Rockaway district leader. He cited the Idahoan's early opposition to the Vietnam War, efforts to end abuses by multinational corporations and an investigation seeking reform of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The New Democratic Coalition is, in effect, the successor to the old Reform Democrats Committee for Democratic Voters started by the late Gov. Herbert H. Lehman and Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and a development coming out of the 1968 antiwar movements and Presidential bids of former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota and the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

In the 1974 primary here, the group endorsed Ramsey Clark, who won the nomination for United States Senator, and Howard J. Samuels, who lost the governorship nomination to Hugh L. Carey. In January 1972, it endorsed Senator George McGovern of South Dakota for the Presidential nomination he eventually won.

In urging her successful candidacy for chairmanship yesterday, Mrs. Bennick said the coalition "today does not articulate issues," and had failed to adopt a platform for four years.

"Issues unite us," she asserted. "Candidates divide us."

Mrs. Bennick, an artist, is 46 years old. She is state committeeman in the 31st Assembly District and has been the coalition's vice chairman for two terms. A former Bayh supporter, she is seeking to be a Udall delegate.

She won 54.4 percent of the vote, defeating another vice chairman, Mrs. Linda Davidoff, a Westchester district leader and urban planner, who had 36.1 percent, and Miguel Velez, the coalition's treasurer, of Manhattan.



The New York Times

Mrs. Frances Bennick, new state chairman of New Democratic Coalition.

Yesterday's assembly heard five potential or declared candidates for the Democratic nomination for Senator—Representative Otis G. Pike of Suffolk, Representative Bella S. Sbzug of Manhattan, former Attorney General Clark, City Council President Paul O'Dwyer and Abraham Mirschfeld a businessman.

Student Volunteers Scarce In Presidential Campaign

Four years after the student movement formed the vanguard of George McGovern's successful sweep to the Democratic Presidential nomination, campaign coordinators in this state are finding that the movement is over.

In place of the tens of thousands who flocked to campaign headquarters in 1972, campaign organizers, nearing the April 6 primary, say they are drawing only meager bands of several hundred student volunteers.

Many of these coordinators, and the students themselves, say that the "McGovern wave" was a phenomenon brought about by the issues, personalities and emotions of that time, and that it will not be repeated, at least during this election.

Gone, too, are the massive canvassings, the complicated operations to enlist campus recruits and the high-powered drive to get the votes of young people, which the student workers made possible.

"It seems almost an impossible dream at this point to get students involved," said Jerry Ciarpelli, upstate student coordinator for Jimmy Carter, who has been trying to organize young people in the region north of Poughkeepsie for

Continued on Page 41, Column 1



The New York Times/Barbara Gluck Treasher

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in his office in Sacramento. On the wall behind him is a banner presented to him by California students.

Brown Bets on California In Thrust for Nomination

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, March 21—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, sensing that the nation is ready to turn to a new generation of leadership, is taking a long-shot gamble that his ability to control the California delegation to the Democratic National Convention this summer can be converted into his party's nomination for the Presidency.

The 37-year-old Governor, whose blend of liberal and conservative politics in the nation's most populous state has earned him one of the highest approval ratings in California history, said in an interview that he had not yet decided whether to expand his favorite-son candidacy into a broader campaign in other primary states.

He insisted that he was not a stalking horse for national Democrats such as Sen. H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, who would like to see the huge 230-member California delegation denied to the current slates of contenders fighting each other in the primaries for the nomination.

"I really doubt if any of the current primary contenders is really going to be nomi-

Continued on Page 16, Column 1

E

Brown Bets on California In Thrust for Nomination

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

nated," Mr. Brown remarked as he sat on a couch in his office in the Capitol of Sacramento. "And that being the case, recognizing the odds, I think it is reasonable for me to get into the discussion."

"I am serious about it," he continued, "and while it may strike some as a bit unorthodox that a person in my position and age should be running, I think it is the virtue of my candidacy. The very factors that some people would count as making the likelihood of my success remote are the very reasons I'm runnig."

Mr. Brown, a bachelor who will turn 38 early next month, has been Governor for just over 14 months. A former Roman Catholic seminarian and the son of former Gov. Edmund G. Brown, he was Secretary of State for one term before his election as Governor, and his only other public office has been that of a school board member in Los Angeles.

Considerable Impact

His impact on California, however, has been considerable, despite the brevity of his tenure as Governor, born equally of a personal style that disdains the pomp and perquisites of high office and an approach to government that defies political orthodoxy.

He did no trule out an interest in the Vice-Presidency, even though he said he recognized that most people would then conclude it was the job he secretly sought.

"I think traditionally you're supposed to say you're running for the first job that's it, and you would not consider anything else," Mr. Brown said, smiling. "For the record I will say that. But I also know what happened to Johnson and Rockefeller. What I'm really doing is entering the debate on national issues and I'm offering myself as a choice for President."

Those issues, as defined by the Governor, center on how to restore confidence and momentum to the United States within the context of the changing world.

Shaping Discussion

"I am more convinced than ever that the role of the leader is not only to promote more and more little programs but to provide greater understanidng of what the destiny of the country is," he explained. "You have to help shape the discussion of national issues and not help foster unreal thinking.

"Now we are coming to a significant turn in the history of the human species, no less than that. The planet has just so much material and so much space, so much water and so much air — we've never had to deal in a world of limits before. I don't think that realization has been given very much voice. Maybe that's a bit global, but America has to set an example for a community that understands the situation."

He said that the nation yearned for a new start, to shrug off the negativism associated with Watergate, the investigation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency, the overseas bribery scandals and other disclosures that have occupied the nation since the national trauma of the invelvement in Vietnam.

"My nomination or election would be a clear statement for a significant break with a lat of the problems that are still very much with us," he went on.

"As I see America and the world, I see its changing role after Vietnam and Watergate and the oil embargo, and I think we need greater momentum, and I don't think we're going to get it from the people who are now presenting themselves to the American people. I frankly think the United States has been a young and vigorous country, and if we're really interested in sweeping asidethe malaise and the problems and the scandals, it might just be in order to try somebody not connected with them."

His campaign strategy, he said, is to start a dialogue on these issues in California, and if there is significant interest in what he has to say, to move the campaign "eastward."

He said he would address himself to specific issues, domestic and international, as the campaign progressed. For the moment, however, he declined to join the other candidates in what he called their "sloganeering" and would wait until his present budget-making and legislative duties eased up enough to let him develop positions.

He said he had recently conferred privately with Walter W. Heller, the economist, and Christopher Jencks, the Harvard educator, on domestic issues, and planned meetings with other experts on national issues. He has also talked with Allard K. Lowenstein, the former Long Island Representative, about campaign strategy.

Student Aides Avoiding Presidential Campaign

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

the former Georgia Governor.

"People say even their own friends don't want to get involved. There's always something better to do than campaigning; they never say what it is, and I'm not sure I understand anymore what it is," Mr. Ciarpelli said.

At the State University of New York at Potsdam, for example, in the northern reaches of the state, an ad in the campus paper summoning recruits to Mr. Carter's campaign recently drew only one response.

A late January appearance in nearby Massena, advertised in the school paper, by Senator Birch Bayh, Democrat of Indiana, then an active contender for the Presidency, attracted only seven students and four of them were student journalists.

At Cornell University, in Ithaca, political leaflets appear only once or twice a week. Four years ago a McGovern table in the student union was manned and distributing information daily.

Students at the State University at Stony Brook, L.I., say that campaign leaflets, tables and buttons are rare sights at their school and that lunch tables this year are devoid of political talk.

Unclear on Date

"Half the students don't even know when the primary is," said Richard Berzon, a senior at Sarah Lawrence College who is volunteering in the campaign of Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona.

"They think it's in May, and they can't believe it when I tell them it's April 6," Mr. Berzon said. "Thank God the name of the candidate appears on the ballot. Most of them don't even know who's running." He was speaking about conditions on the Bronxville campus.

The shift is having a noticeable impact on political campaigns here. For example, Mr. Carter's total statewide student volunteer force is currently estimated at 400 people, according to his staff, roughly what Senator McGovern had in Brooklyn in the weeks before the 1972 primary.

Aides to Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, here in New York estimate their current student-volunteer strength at 1,000 people. According to Michael H. Reich, student coordinator for New York State, there are Jackson clubs at about 150 campuses around the state, although these clubs differ widely in size and importance.

Mr. Reich, who in 1972 was a McGovern coordinator in Queens, remembers that volunteer operation and said: "It's nowhere near that this year. I've been surprised. We just don't have that many warm bodies walking around."

Even those candidates who have billed themselves as more liberal, speaking directly to concerns that moved young people four years ago, have found their drawing power diminished, according to their campaign coordinators.

Many of these political managers doubt that any candidate will be able to come close to matching the force of about 40,000 volunteers, overwhelmingly comprised of students, that Senator McGovern commanded in this state by primary day.

"Students are as apathetic as adults," said Jo Baer, co-chairman of the Udall campaign in New York. "They grew cynical at an early age." To date the Udall campaign has amassed a campus force estimated at about 1,500 people by John C. Wilbur, a 22-year-old graduate of Oberlin College who holds the position of volunteer coordinator.

'Not Children's Crusade'

The Udall campaign is also making an attempt to pick up as many of the student volunteers from the aborted campaign of Senator Bayh as it can, Mr. Wilbur said.

"It's not as much a children's crusade," said Alex. Goodwin, state coordinator for former Senator Fred R. Harris, shortly before the Harris effort here was crippled by financial crises and the defection of its delegates.

"During petitioning, we had about 4,000 people working, but it's not as if 3,900 of them were kids," he said.

Students throughout New York say that the shift in issues in the last four years, more than any other development, has taken the drive out of the student movement.

The end of the Vietnam War eliminated an issue that had vividly outraged the ideology of the movement and had come as a direct threat to a draft-age population. The issues of 1976, notably those relating to jobs and the economy, have not filled the political void left by the passing of the war, these students say.

Economics Called Vague

Richard Bartmon, a 20-year-old at the State University at Binghamton who was active in the McGovern drive and is working for Senator Harris this year, said he looked at himself and his fellow students and found that "the economy is a remote issue—it affects my parents, but not me."

"But the war touched everybody in a deep sense," Mr. Bartmon said.

William D. Hartung, a 20-year-old junior at Columbia majoring in philosophy, who spent last summer working for the United Farm Workers in New York, said that he had "strong feelings [about Vietnam] when I found out what was happening."

"But economics isn't as clear cut," he added. "I can't say I know what should be done."

William J. vanden Heuvel, campaign cochairman for the Carter campaign in New York, also said that this campaign "isn't like '72, because you don't have Vietnam."

"It's closer to 1960, in the sense that if you think back, there was no overriding issue except the personality of Kennedy," he said.

Hatred of Nixon Cited

Further, coordinators and students believe that the absence of both Richard M. Nixon and George McGovern as symbols has helped to dim student activism.

"There was more or less a personal hatred for Nixon," said Steven Barkan, a third-year graduate student in sociology at the State University at Stony Brook. "They were working for McGovern, but they were also working against Nixon."

"If you were a student and you were antiwar, you needed no other basis to work for McGovern," Margaret Costanza, upstate coordinator for the Carter campaign, commented.

"George McGovern was there, with the liberal image, with the mantle, against the hawks," said Ethan Geto, state coordinator for Senator Bayh before the Senator suspended active campaigning.

Finally, the election of 1972, which swept hundreds of thousands of young people into politics, only to crush their hopes with the stunning victory by Mr. Nixon, apparently did almost as much to sour young people about working to elect national leaders, many students say.

Effect Doubted

"I remember sitting in front of the television election night, getting drunk, thinking the hell with it," said Marilyn R. Berker, a 21-year-old senior at Columbia who worked for McGovern in '72. This year she is not working in any campaign, or does she know anyone on campus who is.

"No one is stupid enough anymore to think they'll have any effect, whereas in 1972 they thought they would," said Richard Agriss, a 25-year-old at the State University at Binghamton.

"Everyone was freaking out when McGovern was nominated, but it soon became apparent that he was going to lose," Mr. Agriss said. "After that, I gave up on politics for life."

One political coordinator who still believes the movement can come back to life, though, is Representative Udall's volunteer coordinator, John Wilbur, who has a staff of 15 to 20 coordinators working for him.

'Into Their Books'

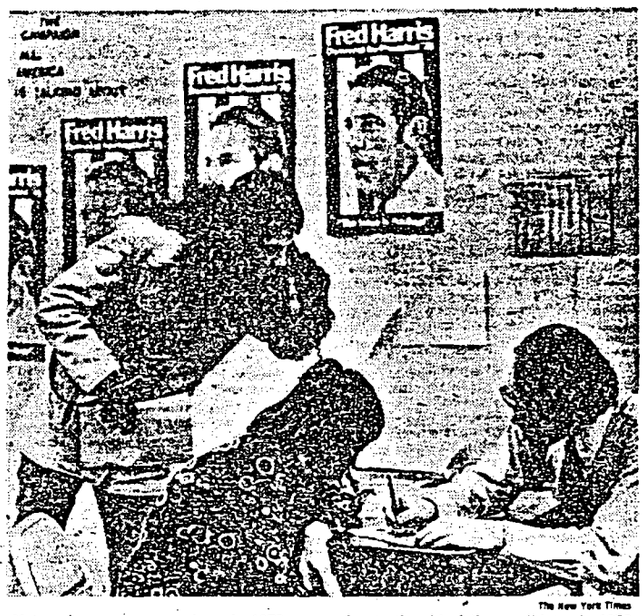
"We have to make the point clear that we're depending on them," Mr. Wilbur said. "We have to paint the picture at crisis level. They have got to know that they have to react, and react now. Once they know that, they'll be ready to go."

But that conviction will have to overcome a situation that Mr. Wilbur himself said he had encountered: "It's incredible. They're really into their books, and it's serious. They really want to learn."

Jon Reiser, a 23-year-old at the State University at Binghamton, campaigning for Mr. Harris, senses that "everyone's concerned about the future, about getting a job."

And Tina Villa, a 21-year-old English major at Columbia, feels that the same trend is afoot on her uptown campus. "College is all preprofessional now," she said. "There's no sense of intellectuality left in college. It's all about making money. It's like there's an unstoppable movement going back to the 50's.

"People are even going to basketball games again. All you can do it just insulate yourself and not be affected by it."



The New York Times

Not as many young people as in 1972 are coming to the aid of the candidates in 1976. A shift in issues has taken the drive out of the student movement.

Carter to Appear Upstate for One Day

By MAURICE CARROLL

Taking the calculated risk that "momentum" from victories elsewhere will spur his New York campaign, Jimmy Carter plans only one quick visit to this state before April 1, five days before the Presidential primary that will allocate 274 delegates to the Democratic convention. On Friday, he will dart in for a one-day upstate swing, then leave, not to return until late the next week.

"We'll only have him three or four days over all," Bartle Bull, the New York manager for the former Georgia Governor, said yesterday. "National momentum will help."

With Mr. Carter's team deliberately de-emphasizing the importance of New York, apparently on the theory that anything he picks up here will be interpreted as more than he expected to gain, the state primary on April 6 provides a confrontation between two varying campaign styles—the ideological liberal appeal of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and the traditionalist labor-based coalition of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

The tentative schedules made public yesterday by the local headquarters of both candidates indicated their concentration on New York.

Mr. Jackson will arrive on the 8 A.M. shuttle from Washington tomorrow and plans to stay at least through the weekend and to be here most of the pre-election week.

Mr. Udall plans to split his time evenly between New York and Wisconsin, both of which vote on April 6. He will shake hands with Long Island Rail Road commuters at 8 A.M. today at Penn Station and, according to his local spokesman, James Vlasto, "She should be here for seven or eight of the remaining 16 days."

37 of 39 Disticts

A ferocious spurt of candidate-capturing by the Udall team gave him delegate slates in 37 of the state's 39 districts. Through use of political muscle, diplomacy and considerable energy, his people rounded up candidates who had intended to support Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana or former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, or had been uncommitted, with the result that Mr. Udall will have coverage even broader than Mr. Jackson's.

Voters will find Udall delegates on the ballot in every district except the ninth in Queens and the 31st, around Utica, Mr. Vlasto said.

There are Jackson slates in every district except the 21st in Westchester, the 30th in the North Country and the 25th in the Hudson Valley, where a lone Jackson supporter remains on the ballot. In the upstate 28th District, according to Jay Weitzner, the Jackson spokesman in New York, there is a slate that is "uncommitted for us."

Mr. Carter is off the ballot, pending final resolution of legal challenges, in the 3d and 4th Districts on Long Island, the 16th in Brooklyn, the 21st, 22d, 27th, 31st and 33d upstate. In the 13th and 15th in Brooklyn, he claims one supporter in each on a coalition slate.

The New York-Wisconsin shuttle for Mr. Udall will find him here today and tomorrow; there Wednesday and Thursday, "and we hope to have him back on Friday and Saturday," Mr. Vlasto said.

On Final Weekend

He will spend another two or three days in the city next week and probably be here for the final weekend before the vote.

Mr. Jackson is scheduled in New York tomorrow through Sunday. From the standpoint of political significance, his appearance will be as speaker at a dinner Wednesday night for Lane Kirkland, the No. 2 man in the A.F.L.-C.I.O.; the Jackson strategy is based on reconstruction of the labor-based Democratic coalition of the New Deal era.

For most of the pre-election week Mr. Jackson is also likely to be traveling about New York.

Mr. Carter, by contrast, has told his local supporters he expects to be able to give them two or three days after returning here April 1.

"Since Florida and Illinois," Mr. Bull said, "we're beginning to get a lot more volunteers. We have very little money and we're spread across 50 states. We have to make up with public recognition of who Carter is."

The Democrats will pick among delegates pledged to the three candidates, along with "uncommitted" slates of various sorts, to elect 205 delegates in New York's 39 Congressional districts. The party's state committee will apportion the 69-delegate balance to reflect the voting percentages in the districts.

$75 Reflects Democratic Split

By GEORGE VECSEY
Special to The New York Times

LONG BEACH, L.I., March 21—What's the difference between $100 and $25? For Senator Henry M. Jackson, the difference was not merely mathematical at Democratic functions in two adjoining rooms last night.

The Washington Senator received a lukewarm response, and a few vocal taunts from some liberals, when he addressed a $100-a-person dinner of Nassau County Democrats, but when he visited a $25-a-person cocktail dance held by the same organization next door, the response was somewhat better.

Also appearing at the two functions was Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who will vie with Senator Jackson for Democratic votes in the New York State primary April 6.

Where Rivals Meet

Mr. Jackson did not receive the kind of warm reaction he had received from labor leaders and pro-Israel groups earlier last week in the New York area. By contrast, Mr. Udall seemed to touch the liberals with his quick slashes at Senator James L. Buckley, Conservative-Republican of New York, and the prospect of Concorde Supersonic transport flights into Kennedy International Airport.

The dual party was held at the restored Lido Hotel, an aging, oceanfront structure that was probably fashionable when Miami Beach was still a sand bar. Under gaudy pink ceilings and tinkly chandeliers, rival slates of delegates broke bread together—no small feat in Nassau's atomized minority party.

"What about Vietnam?" asked an anti-Jackson Democrat as the Senator spoke about defense spending.

One of Mr. Jackson's aides rushed around the room, urging waitresses to stop clattering the silverware and dishes. But the main problem was that some of the $100 patrons did not like the Senator's support of the Vietnam war, the Alaska pipeline or the Boeing Compny, the Seattle-based aviation concern that had hoped to build an American supersonic transport, and they chatted throughout his speech.

But when Mr. Jackson visited the next room, where people paid $25 for hors d'oeuvres and a dance band, the Senator began with a different approach: "I am a son of Norwegian immigrants, from the other side. My father worked in the building trades." And the response was somewhat warmer.

Many people here agreed last night that Senator Jackson's strong support for Israel could help him in populous Nassau County, where many registered Democrats are Jewish.

"Israel is a bottom line for a lot of Jewish Democrats," said Stuart Filler, a Udall supporter. "I've got friends who are liberal from way back, in labor and education and social issues. But they like Jackson because he's so strong for Israel."

Mr. Jackson's biggest applause at the $100 dinner came in reference to President Ford's ignoring of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the different Soviet writer, when he visited the United States last year.

"When I am President of the United States, I'm not going to let the Soviet Ambassador tell me who can visit the White House," the Senator said.

The two candidates seemed far apart in their treatment of welfare. Mr. Udall said he would "trust all of the people—including people on welfare who might be down on their luck." Mr. Jackson said, "Something is wrong when a person can come to New York in the morning and be on welfare in the afternoon."

One woman in the audience shouted, "That's not true!"

Carter's Representative

Both Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson alluded briefly to another opponent in the New York primary, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, who was rpresented at the dual party by his state co-chairman, William J. vanden Heuvel.

The Jackson forces have already forced Mr. Carter's name off the ballot in two of Nassau's four districts because of petition irregularities. Mr. Udall will have slates in 37 of New York's 39 Congressional districts; Mr. Jackson will have 35, and Mr. Carter will have at least 26.

The primary on Long Island could be complicated by five uncommitted slates of delegates. One potent slate would be in Nassau's Fifth Congressional District, where Stanley Harwood, the Democratic chairman, Long Beach Supervisor Hannah Komanoff and former Representative Allard K. Lowenstein are running uncommitted.

But one Jackson supporter left no doubt last night where he stood.

"I don't want another President from the South," said Matthew Bonora, a Jackson delegate and a former head of the Nassau County Police Homicide Squad. "I want a President from the North who understands the economy and who is firm on international issues. Jackson talked in specifics tonight. The other guy talked in generalities."

Coast Democrats Play Down Controversy in Platform Proposals

By LES LEDBETTER
Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, March 21—Ghosts of the 1972 Presidential campaign seemed to haunt the final meeting here yesterday of the California Democratic Party Commission on Platform and Policy.

The bitter personal and ideological in-fighting that are said to have alienated voters that year were mentioned by the 30 party regulars assigned to work out the final statement the state party wants incorporated in the national Democratic Party plaform later this spring.

There was an obvious effort, therefore, to avoid provocative words and phrases when describing the controversial position arrived at through months of public hearings by commission subcommittees.

For instance, although the commission clearly supported a woman's right to an abortion and busing to desegregate schools, the California platform avoids the words "abortion" and "busing." Instead, the document affirms the "right to individual control over the use and functions of one's body" and says "transportation of students is another tool to accomplish integration and must continue to be available," pu 1st ad

The other commissioners laughed along with Hilary Golstone when she prefaced her presentation of the final draft of the plank on human and civil rights by saying, "I want to correct any perception that I am some crazy, freaky, radical socialist."

Then they carefully proceeded to debate the plank that supports equal rights for the disabled, the elderly and American Indians; for youth, women, veterans and homosexuals, and for all ethnic, racial and social minorities.

The commissioners were obviously aware of the dangers in attempting to establish principles for the party without provoking ideological battles that might cost the party's Presidential nominee a victory in November.

"Democrats have to show they can be orderly," said Representative Yvonne Brathwaite Burke in an opening statement to the commission of which she is co-chairman. But she added, "We must not be afraid that, in an attempt to have order, we have to give up our position."

After noting that California Democrats have "a reputation of being far out, Mrs. Burke told her fellow commissioners that the "role of California" was to provide "a difference" and to "give accountability to the Democratic party."

"The platform of the Democratic Party is all we have in the way of issues to hold the Democratic Presidential candidate," she said, then added quickly, "but not to embarrass him."

Thus, while rhetoric was toned down in the 12 California platform planks, there remained a commitment to far-reaching change.

The public safety and law enforcement plank called for the banning of pistols through "a national policy on the prevention of the proliferation of handguns" despite the recognition, according to the Los Angeles City Attorney, Burt Pines, that this "could be a sensitive problem because it provokes such a voluble minority."

That plank also opposed the death penalty and called for increased prosecution of those involved in white-collar and organized crime; the reorientation of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration away from equipment purchases and toward crime-prevention programs, and a study of so-called victimless crimes and of laws against such crimes.

The economic plank called for full employment, price controls, "vigorous antitrust" action, support for small businesses and "a simple, fair and equitable Federal tax system based on ability to pay" that would lower tax rates by eliminating most exemptions, deductions and tax credits.

Senator Church, on Coast, Tests His Late Candidacy

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, March 21—Senator Frank Church of Idaho has been trying out his Presidential candidacy up and down California the last few days, and it is apparent that this is almost an experimental campaign, resting on more than the usual quota of propositions beginning with the word "if."

If, indeed, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona had scored a single solid victory in the primaries by now, Senator Church might well not have gone ahead with his "late late strategy."

And if one of the other Democratic candidates amasses a commanding lead—or even if Mr. Udall wins in the Wisconsin primary April 6 and does unexpectedly well in New York on the same day—Mr. Church will quite likely drop out or at least think very hard about it, according to sources close to him.

But if no one candidate emerges from the primaries and if Senator Church does well in the late contests he has entered, and if the national convention bogs down in fratricidal strife, his admittedly very long shot could succeed.

Here in California, his candidacy suffered a severe blow last week even before it was announced offically. He had said that he ought to be able to win here—if Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. did not get into the race.

But Governor Brown did, and Mr. church is now saying that he hopes California's primary June 8 will be viewed as a "bifurcated" race, with the field divided between Governor Brown as a favorite son and all the other candidates as serious national contenders.

Barbs for Governor

Mr. Church and Mr. Brown met briefly in Sacramento Friday; the Senator has challenged the 36-year-old Governor to "debate the issues," and Mr. Brown has said, in effect, that he will think about it. Meanwhile, the 51-year-old Mr. Church tosses off occasional barbs such as declaring his belief that the Presidency is "not a glorified governorship."

Governor Brown's entry was a setback. Mr. Church's supporters here tell of state figures both in and out of government who were leaning heavily toward him until the Governor announced, and who have since telephone quietly to express their regrets and explain that, of course, they must back the Governor.

government corruption and of multinational corporations. And he often does remind his questioners that "I am the only one" who has made such investigations.

Don Lee, Mr. Church's coordinator in the northern part of the state, admits that the campaign is only starting to find its shape. He said, "we're still lifting it off the ground."

In the crucial, population-heavy southern section of the state, the coordinator is Michael Novelli, a San Francisco-based professional political consultant, who is as frank as almost everyone else in the campaign about its riskiness.



United Press International
Senator Frank Church in Hollywood yesterday.

Senator Church made his candidacy official in Idaho, his home state, on Thursday and flew to California with a brief stop at Portland, Ore., for a small airport rally.

Since his campaign organization is just beginning to put itself together—Church headquarters opened in Los Angeles and San Francisco only this weekend—he has concentrated on television interviews and news conferences.

On Real Issues

In these, he is always asked why California's liberals should vote for him rather than another. His stock reply is that the real issues are not being talked about by any candidate but himself.

These issues, in his view, are, broadly, what he calls the corruption and arrogance of government at home and abroad and of big business, and he relates most other issues to these.

Asked about unemployment, for example, he talks about the necessity of finding a "long-term" solution thrugh revising the tax laws that make it more profitable for American-owned multinational corporations to invest abroad, which he says siphons off 150,000 more jobs each year.

If pressed, Mr. Church adheres to the conventional Democratic wisdom of full employment but favors "rejuvenating the private sector" rather than government programs. Thus far, he has proposed few specific remedies for national ailments.

His principal themes lend themselves to reminders that he has been prominent in Congressional investigations of

David S. Broder

Jimmy Carter: Setting the Pace

As that well-known 17th Century political writer, Will Shakespeare, noted, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

The tide is running strong these days for Jimmy Carter, who continues to set the pace—and force the race—for the remaining runners in the Democratic presidential field.

NBC analyst Richard Scammon has compared Carter's tactics to those of a sprinter in the mile run. While others carefully paced themselves, picking their primaries and hoarding their hard-won campaign cash, Carter started running flat-out, full-speed from the first caucus, never worrying about how he might sustain his drive if early victories came.

Thus far, that tactical decision looks nothing less than brilliant. Under the hammering of Carter's hard-nosed tactics, the field has been cut more than half in the first month's primaries.

"Carter started running flat-out, full-speed from the first caucus, never worrying about how he might sustain his drive if early victories came."

And the astonishing thing is that it could be sliced just as dramatically again, if Carter can sustain his pace for just another month.

In fact, if the former Georgia governor is able to add three more victories to his skein between now and April 27, he would be on the verge of locking up the nomination at an astonishingly early date.

Of his three remaining active opponents, George Wallace faces a moment of truth on Tuesday (March 23) in North Carolina; Morris K. Udall has the same sort of must-win situation in Wisconsin on April 6; and Henry M. Jackson is looking at a showdown in Pennsylvania on April 27.

In North Carolina, where neither Jackson nor Udall has made a major effort, Carter and Wallace face their third contest in as many weeks. In both Florida and Illinois, Carter finished first and the Alabama governor second. Wallace is on the record as saying he expects to win in North Carolina—and he carried the state in the 1972 primary. If he fails to beat Carter there, it would signal that the Alabamian has been reduced to a spoiler role in 1976.

For Udall who, like Wallace, is looking for his first primary victory, Wisconsin is the chosen state. It has a liberal reputation, a big university system, good newspapers and a House delegation most of whose Democrats support their colleague from Arizona.

If there is any state in the country where Udall should win, it is Wisconsin. But in Massachusetts, which shares many of the same characteristics, he wound up second to Jackson—because, he says, other liberal candidates drained off his votes. Now those other liberals are gone as active contenders, and Udall has only Carter and Jackson with full-scale organizations against him. He ought to win. If he fails, it will be not just "disappointment," as he says, but a defeat from which he could not recover.

Carter has no business being favored over Wallace in North Carolina or over Udall in Wisconsin. And yet there are knowledgeable observers in both states betting he will win. Should that prove true, it would leave him facing Jackson in Pennsylvania on April 27 in what would be virtually a two-man race.

Jackson has played his hand as shrewdly as Carter so far, but his is a strategy as cautious as Carter's has been bold.

He skipped New Hampshire entirely, scored a surprise success in Massachusetts, made a modest show of strength in Florida and now has committed his major resources to New York's April 6 contest, where he seems certain of victory over Carter and Udall.

But Jackson now knows he must face Carter again in Pennsylvania. The three-week campaign leading up to that April 27 contest could be the most dramatic yet in the Democratic race.

Again, the odds favor Carter's opponent, for Pennsylvania is the prime example of a state where the old-line labor union-city organization forces exercise immense sway in the Democratic party. And those forces will be on Jackson's side. Yet Pennsylvania Democrats have given their nominations to such maverick anti-organization figures as Gov. Milton Shapp and Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty in recent years. Carter cannot be counted out in the Keystone State.

Successive knockouts of Wallace, Udall and Jackson would not guarantee Carter the nomination. There would still be favorite-sons, uncommitted slates and draft efforts focused on Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey — all aimed at denying the Georgian a majority of the delegates.

But the fact remains that the Georgian is much closer to his prize today than almost anyone but he and his campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, thought possible three months ago. And their go-for-broke tactics have broken all but the last three opponents.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

ATLANTA, GA. 30302, MONDAY, MARCH 22, 1976

Carter Plans No Big Push For N.Y., Wisconsin Votes

From Press Dispatches

Jimmy Carter has planned no massive campaign efforts to win the important "twin" primaries of New York and Wisconsin, both April 6, but the former Georgia governor will apparently depend on his "national momentum" from earlier victories.

In Wisconsin, he has no organization to speak of, and hasn't even been in the state for almost a year.

But he may have gathered enough momentum and name recognition from victories in New Hampshire, Vermont, Florida and Illinois to do well — perhaps win — in Wisconsin and deliver what could be a knockout blow to Rep. Morris Udall.

Conservative candidates have fared poorly in Wisconsin in recent years. If that pattern holds, President Ford should be a clear favorite to defeat Ronald Reagan on the Republican side.

A Milwaukee Sentinel poll this month showed Ford with nearly a 2-1 edge.

The poll was taken before Carter's Florida victory, and results on the Democratic side surprised some political observers: Carter held a slight lead over Henry Jackson and George Wallace, who previously have run in Wisconsin. Udall finished fourth.

Carter led even though the poll indicated he has not given voters a clear picture of himself or his positions.

The Wisconsin test is crucial for Udall. He said so himself, declaring all hopes for a liberal administration would "probably be lost" if he did poorly.

He stopped short of saying he would quit if he did not win, but there is every sign the Arizonan is in a make-or-break situation here and in New York's primary the same day.

Udall had an organization with a healthy budget operating in the state for months. But he has not caught fire, despite support from much of the liberal community around Madison.

Because the state's method of choosing delegates to the national convention was in turmoil for months and New York's primary offered 274 delegates compared to 68 in Wisconsin, neither Carter, Jackson nor Wallace made much of an effort in Wisconsin.

Even so, Carter plans only one quick visit to New York before April 1, five days before the primary.

On Friday, he will dart in for a one-day upstate swing, then leave, not to return until late the following week.

"We'll only have him three or four days over-all," Bartle Bull, the New York manager for the former Georgia governor, said Sunday. "National momentum will help."

With Carter's team deliberately downplaying the importance of New York (on the apparent theory that anything he picks up here will be interpreted as more than he expected to), the state campaign now provides a confrontation between two varying campaign styles - the ideological liberal appeal of Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., and the traditionalist labor-based coalition of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.

The tentative schedules made public Sunday by the local headquarters of both candidates indicated their concentration on New York.

Jackson, who will arrive on the 8 a.m. shuttle from Washington Tuesday, plans to stay at least through the weekend and to be here most of the pre-election week. Udall plans to split his time evenly between New York and Wisconsin, both of which vote on April 6. He will shake hands with Long Island Railroad commuters at 8 a.m. Monday at Penn Station and, according to his local pokesman, James Vlasto, "he should be here for seven or eight of the remaining 16 days."

A ferocious spurt of candidate-capturing by the Udall team gave him delegates slates in 37 of the state's 39 districts. Through use of muscle, diplomacy and considerable energy, his people rounded up candidates who had intended to support Birch Bayh or Fred Harris or had been uncommitted, with the result that Udall will have coverage even broader than Jackson's. Voters will find Udall delegates on the ballot in every district except the ninth in Queens and the 31st around Utica, Vlasto said.

Reagan, Wallace Plan Last-Day N.C. Blitz

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

RALEIGH, N.C.—Candidates Ronald Reagan and Gov. George Wallace will make their final personal attempts Monday to boost their faltering presidential campaigns in North Carolina. Reagan said Sunday he would be happy with a second-place finish here, while Wallace aides insisted the Alabama governor was going all out for a win.

After church services at Grace Covenant Presbyterian Church at Asheville, Reagan called the Tuesday primary here "an uphill battle" and said "our strength lies somewhere down the road. I would like to win, but a close race here would be satisfactory to me."

Wallace, meanwhile, attended church with his wife Cornelia in Charlotte. They were invited by Northside Baptist pastor Jack Hudson, who presented Mrs. Wallace a white Bible and the governor a black one.

Afterward, Wallace told reporters, "I don't want to talk politics coming from church."

On Monday, Reagan will blitz through the state for a series of airport press conferences in major cities, then fly off to Wisconsin to begin campaigning there.

Wallace will appear at rallies at Winston-Salem and Fayetteville, then return to his home in Montgomery, Ala. for meetings with campaign aides.

Both Reagan and Wallace are fighting to keep their candidacies alive.

Both are acknowledged to be running behind their opponents in this state, where strong support had been expected for the Wallace and Reagan efforts.

Alabama Highway Director Ray Bass, on leave to direct the Wallace campaign here, said Sunday from his Raleigh office that he rejected published reports that Wallace had told aides he hopes he can finish a strong second to Jimmy Carter. Instead, according to Bass, Wallace hopes to beat Carter by four to six percentage points.

"The governor has never conceded publicly or privately that he would accept anything less than first place," Bass said. He added that a capital city poll showed that Wallace could beat Carter. "In the Raleigh area," said Bass, "it's neck-and-neck."

Wallace got bad news from his hometown newspaper Sunday, when the Montgomery Advertiser said in an editorial that Wallace is washed up in presidential politics.

"We do not believe that Wallace, in his heart of hearts, is a racist," said the newspaper, "but he has used the race issue all of his political life since 1962....Take the race issue, spoken or implied, away from George Wallace and there is nothing left."

The editorial added, "Except for a hardcore of followers, Wallace no longer appeals to any broad constituency of the disenchanted and angry.

"He has been around too many times and his 'message' now evokes yawns instead of foot-stomping. Wallace is through. Time has run out on him and no amount of image-changing can salvage his campaign."

At stake in the Tarheel state vote Tuesday are 61 Democratic delegates and 54 Republican ones. The delegates will be divided among the candidates according to the percentage of the vote that each candidate receives in Tuesday's primary.

That means, for example, that Reagan could get nearly half the state's Republican delegates even if President Gerald Ford wins 55 per cent of the popular vote.

A Republican candidate needs to obtain 1,130 delegates out the 2,259 total in order to win the GOP nomination.

At last count, Reagan had 53 delegates, Ford 167 and 51 were uncommitted.

A Democrat needs 1,505 of the 3,008 delegates to be nominated. Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, the frontrunner in the national race as well as in this week's North Carolina primary, had 123 delegates last week and gained eight more in Oklahoma this weekend, when Oklahoma Gov. David Boren shifted from uncommitted to supporting Carter.

Carter spent a beautiful Sunday in his home state, serving as grand marshal at the Atlanta 500 stock car race at Hampton.

Wallace at last count had 61 delegates, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson 55, Rep. Morris Udall 23, Sargent Shriver 11, Fred Harris 11 and 39 are uncommitted.

Not every state selects its delegates by primary voting. Some are choosing their delegates in party caucuses and both Reagan and Wallace claim to be doing better in the caucus states than their primary vote records reflect. Both Reagan and Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., charged last week that the press is deliberately overlooking Reagan's progress in caucus states.

Wallace aide Paul McCormick said that Wallace also is doing well in the caucus delegate count. Four years ago, Wallace workers failed to produce delegates in states such as Mississippi, where Wallace had strong support, because the Alabama governor's workers failed to master the intricacies of party caucus machinery.

This year, McCormick said, workers have overcome that problem only to find that Wallace voters aren't coming to the polls in primary states as they have in the past.

The governor, who filled halls in North Carolina to overflowing during his 1972 race (when he took 50.2 per cent of the primary vote here) has been speaking to half-empty auditoriums on his campaign rounds here this year.

He has cancelled several airport rallies, which he formerly used with great success, to substitute television interviews. Those cancellations apparently were due at least in part to poor crowds at the airports.

In response to all this and two losses by Wallace in Florida and Illinois, McCormick said, the Wallace organization has turned in North Carolina to an increased emphasis on getting out the voters.

"We'll have better-contacted people here than in any other state," he predicted in an interview. "Instead of leaving it all up to the boss (Wallace), we're going to try to give him a little help. We've found that in 1976 an organization is needed to pull voters out on election day."

Working toward other election days were Democrats Fred Harris and Frank Church, who appeared on national television.

Harris called for a $10 billion individual income tax cut financed by requiring the "super rich and giant corporations (to) start paying their share." Church said he would adopt nuclear arms limitation as a major goal.

Harris told newsmen on Face the Nation (CBS) that "Frankly, Mr. Carter frightens me. He's a kind of a condominium salesman who wants to make the sale without showing you the property first. He's sort of like a horse trader who will show you his teeth but not the horse's."

Jackson and Udall, meantime, campaigned during the weekend in New York.

Shriver said Sunday that he would announce his future plans at a news conference Monday. His campaign has been in limbo since last week's poor showing in Illinois.

Carter ended his campaigning here Friday after a two-day swing through the state in which he predicted victory over Wallace not only in North Carolina but throughout the South.

View From North Carolina

Carter Emerges as an Establishment Shaker

By CLAUDE SITTON
Editor of The Raleigh News and Observer

Two weeks spent observing Washington from a Virginia suburb suggest why much of the capital establishment views Jimmy Carter's candidacy with such hostility. Be they Republicans or Democrats, politicians or bureaucrats, foundation functionaries or media dilettantes, its members share a common trait. All value certainty about the political future even more than an invitation to dinner at the White House; their livelihoods, after all, depend upon it.



Nothing has so shaken the establishment's faith in that future as the former Cracker governor's emergence from a peanut patch to challenge Washington's finest at the polls. They know Carter is not one of their own. His early successes seem to them an ominous signal that America is approaching one of those political watersheds that bring on convoys of moving vans and a one-way trip back home to Dubuque or, perhaps, Grand Rapids.

This harbinger of change comes at a time when Washington is only beginning to recover from the battle fatigue of Watergate. Its anxiety neurosis has been prolonged by the weather. Spring slipped across the Virginia line a month early this year. Then winter hustled back to bury spring under five inches of snow, cherry blossoms and all. Given the double whammy of the New Hampshire and Florida primary returns on top of Carter caucus victories elsewhere, it is small wonder that so many Washingtonians feel they have been cast adrift on the Potomac without a paddle.

It is much too early to read the tea leaves of Democratic presidential politics. It certainly would be premature to forecast that any Democrat can defeat Gerald Ford, that Republican Mr. Malaprop who is stumbling his way toward popularity across gaffe and faux pas. But from the tizzy in the drawing rooms of Washington (and New York), one might conclude that Carter is another Andrew Jackson riding up the pike from Richmond with a Dixie rabble at his heels.

Parlor liberals ranging from lawyers and politicians to lobbyists and journalists make common cause over "the Carter problem," along the Georgetown-Chevy Chase cocktail circuit. The New York Times reports that Joseph L. Rauh Jr., the old guru of Americans for Democratic Action, and Alan Baron, press secretary to Sen. George L. McGovern of South Dakota, scheduled an anti-Carter strategy session but called it off temporarily after their plan became public. The Times also has passed along a report that lawyers and lobbyists who count on the status quo for grocery money are calling clients around the country, telling them that Carter must be stopped.

The antipathy for Carter shared by much of the Democratic and Republican left throughout the East is mirrored in The New Republic, Harper's and The Washington Post. Typical of this paper choler is a piece in the Outlook section of The Post of a week ago by George Lardner Jr. "Jimmy Carter's voice still warbles with singsong sincerity as he solemnly promises the voters never to betray their trust," writes Lardner, betraying his own bias.

Lardner goes on to tell his readers what "those back home in Georgia" think about Carter. One of the few of "those" identified is former Gov. Marvin Griffin. Had the reporter bothered to ask, any Willie Wiregrass would have told him that Griffin is a long and bitter foe of Carter and all other progressives. Also helpful to a full understanding of this source is the fact that Griffin's administration was noted chiefly for lying, cheating and stealing.

A good deal of the leftwing distemper is attributable to rank bias against Southerners, especially those with the brass to aspire to national office. Lyndon B. Johnson suffered his share of their bigotry. There is also the hometowner's reaction to the interloper, or anyone perceived as such. John F. Kennedy encountered a good bit of it before his style, if not his political acumen, overcame it. Finally, there is the growing realization among these dissidents that their chances for nominating one of their own are not at all promising this year.

The most certain factors in the political picture then are uncertainty and Jimmy Carter. Both can be counted on to cause some sleepless nights north of the Potomac for days to come.

Hal Gulliver

Folk Who Are Looking Carter Over



They're looking Jimmy Carter over these days, worrying about him, viewing him with dubious eyes in those good ole watering holes in Georgetown and New York.

He is the The Outsider, the foreign one, the fellow whose home telephone number is not generally known to those accustomed to dealing in national governmental and political matters. Yet he is moving along now towards the Democratic nomination; the field today is effectively down to Sen. Henry Jackson and Congressman Morris Udall and...remarkably, a former governor of Georgia. He worries The Insiders, this Carter man does. What is he about? Where is he going? Why is he getting so many more votes than some of Their Guys?

It is hard to measure, that part of it. But it is indisputable that Carter is doing very well. Some of the national news media types are more or less honest about how completely they discounted him early in the game. Richard Reeves has a good article in New York Magazine this month, not necessarily all pro-Carter but pretty positive nonetheless. In one revealing footnote, and to Reeves' credit he puts in such a footnote, he remarks that he once had breakfast with some other national reporters with Jimmy Carter quite early in the campaign. Can't remember a thing that was said, Reeves confesses, because at the time he did not take Carter's campaign seriously at all, thought even having breakfast with such a candidate was a waste of time.

That has changed. The labor union leaders and the rank and file people too who worked hard to help Jimmy Carter in Florida, only really to try to head off George Wallace, now are rubbing their eyes and saying, wait a minute, this man is really a serious national candidate, what do we do now? The "what" in this case means a consideration of how to support Carter —or not support him—in the immediate future. Should Udall be labor's man in Wisconsin? Should Jackson's alleged great labor ties be the deciding issue?

Carter in New York last week was moving around making contacts, in Washington too, in many cases just asking for help and all that but also just letting some powerful national Democrats take a look at him, to let them try to think for the first time that ole James Earl Carter of Plains just might be the Democratic nominee, maybe the next President of the United States.

"Most of Mr. Carter's meetings in the last several days," wrote Christopher Lydon in The New York Times, "have been officially private, but comments by participants suggested that the former governor of Georgia is brighter, more charming and more grittily assured of his prospects than any of his new acquaintances had expected."

Another quote from the same news article, this one from Clark Clifford, former Defense Secretary and for many years one of the most influential lawyers in Washington, who attended a dinner in Carter's honor: "I thought he handled himself gracefully. I was particularly interested in his conversation on foreign policy. I found him well informed in that regard and perceptive." It is too early, Clifford added, to speculate about a "Carter Presidency," but in this connection, "he handled himself with grace, maturity, and experience."

They're looking Jimmy Carter over these days, peering at him hard, not necessarily in friendly fashion. But the voters of Illinois last week established, giving Carter fully a third of the delegates in that important industrial state, that the political wheelers and dealers don't necessarily control voters, not this year.

It may even be an advantage, even in a state like New York, to have those political powers mostly against you.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

3/21 thru 3/29

Selected Comment, News And Opinion.

Also Enclosed See:
Esquire Magazine, April '76
New York Times Magazine, 3/28/76
Newsweek, 3/29/76



The New York Times/Tallis Bersmanis

Jimmy Carter thanks well-wishers at St. Simon's Parish House in Rochester

8A

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 29, 1976 —

SURGE BY CARTER ON NATIONAL BASIS INDICATED IN POLL

Survey Reports Victories Give the Georgian Broad and Diverse Support

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia appears to have translated his primary victories into an extraordinarily broad and diverse base of support by Democrats all over the country, according to a national poll completed last week by The New York Times and CBS News.

Further, the poll tends to undermine doubts—at least in terms of the constituency Mr. Carter attracts and how it perceives him—that he is not in the mainstream of the party and to dispute his rivals' contentions that he cannot be elected.

These were among the themes to emerge from a national survey, conducted by telephone from March 18 to 24, of 1,524 Democrats, Republicans and independents in all parts of the country. The poll was designed to monitor how the campaign had evolved since the last Times/CBS national survey in early February, before the state primaries began.

Carter Leads Field

Back in February, the Democratic field of declared candidates was bunched up, with Mr. Carter behind three others. After several well-publicized primaries, the new Times/CBS News survey shows, as do the Gallup Poll and other surveys, that Mr. Carter now heads the Democratic field. In the Times/CBS poll he leads his closest rival, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, by nearly two to one as the man they would prefer for the nomination among the active candidates. At the same time, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the new poll, has lost more than half the support he had six weeks ago.

Among other findings of the poll were the following:

¶While certain issues, according to previous surveys, seemed to have played a role in the primary votes, no major issues seem to be benefiting one candidate or the other nationally at this stage.

¶The collapse of support for Mr. Wallace can be traced both to his crippled condition and to the relative unimportance of racial matters as issues. The Governor's health seems to be the more important factor.

¶Behind the Democratic race looms the figure of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, a declared noncandidate. When Mr. Humphrey is added to the list of candidates, he outdraws Mr. Carter among

Continued on Page 24, Column 1

Poll Indicates Surge in Support For Carter on a National Basis

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

Democrats. However, among all those polled, Mr. Humphrey does not do so well as Mr. Carter in a hypothetical race against President Ford.

On the Republican side, President Ford seems to have overcome many of the weaknesses that were of such concern to his strategists earlier this year. Mr. Ford is favored by Republicans by 2-to-1 nationally and, despite the victory of former Fov. Ronald Reagan of California in last week's North Carolina primary, the numbers add up in Mr. Ford's favor.

The Carter surge is reflected well in the proportion of survey respondents who recognized and had an opinion of him—54 percent now as against only 24 percent six weeks ago. By contrast, his two closest rivals, Senator Jackson Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have achieved much less of this "visibility," 42 and 21 percent, respectively.

Further, the rise in Carter recognition is not confined to Democrats. He gained about equally among Republicans and independents as well as among liberals, moderates and conservatives.

More important perhaps is that the vast majority (74 percent) of all surveyed and 81 percent of Democrats who now recognize Mr. Carter said they had a favorable view of him. In contrast, between Februaryand March, Governor Wallace and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma lost substantially In favorability," while Mr. Udall declined slightly and Mr. Jackson remained about the same.

Further, the poll shows that even though Senator Humphrey has very strong support for the nomination, he brings out strong feelings on both sides among the voters. About half have a favorable view of him and half unfavorable.

Carter's New Image

The gains in Mr. Carter's favorability rating were impressive in that they occurred across the political spectrum, from left to right. They question is, as he becomes better known and comes under political attack, whether his image will become more mixed, like Senator Humphrey's.

In the early primaries candidates typically try to capture a particular wing of the party, especially when the field is so fragmented as it is this year. Mr. Udall has tried to stake out a claim among liberals. However, Mr. Carter pursued a different tactic, trying to forge a broad coalition from the outset.

Evidence from The Times/CBS survey suggests that the tactic has largely succeeded. He was selected as first choice by about 4 of every 10 Democrats, whether they were Roman Catholic or Protestant, well-off or poor, high school graduates or college graduates, Northerners or Southerners.

Indeed, there were some preliminary signs that Mr. Carter was recapturing segments of the Democratic Party that have defected in recent years. In the survey he was the choice of over half the Democrats who said they had voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972; he also was first choice of over half of those from his native South.

Gets Liberal Support

At the same time, for all the complaints about him from liberal opinion makers, Mr. Carter, does beter among liberals surveyed than among moderate and conservative Democrats.

Still, there were soft spots in the Carter drive. Although he had more blue-collar support in March than in February, his backing continued to come disproportionately from better educated and higher occupation groups.

Also, he did not do so well among Democrats over 65, who tended to favor Mr. Jackson. Perhaps more important for the Carter strategists, his support is relatively weaker in the West and Northeast, where many important primaries will be held i nthe coming weeks.

The support for the Democratic candidates did not seem to be strongly related to any of a number of issues that have been raised in the primary campaigns. For example, those who said it was important to have a balanced Federal budget were about as likely to favor Mr. Carter as those who disagreed. The same was true among those who chose Mr. Jackson, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Udall and Mr. Humphrey.

Support on Both Sides

The trend was similar on the issue of military spending. Even though Senator Jackson has campaigned against cuts in defense spending, he was about as likely to get support from those who would reduce such spending as from those who said it should be increased.

One of the most startling phenomena of the 1976 campaign has been the collapse of the once-powerful appeal of Governor Wallace. About 40 percent of Democratic voters in both the Florida and Illinois primaries told interviewers from The Times and CBS News that they thought Mr. Wallace's condition would affect his ability to function as President. Analysis showed that this was a deterrent to their voting for the Alabamian.

Nationally, about one-third in the survey also said Mr. Wallace's health would affect his ability to perform as President. These people were half as likely to choose Mr. Wallace as those who felt health was not an issue. However, the Wallace vote is known to be sensitive to racial feelings, and it may be that the cooler racial climate has caused his decline.

When those on both sides of the "health" issue are further broken down according to their views on race, Wallace support depends more on the health factor than on whether voters agree or disagree with him on race.

1,524 Queried by Phone Under Random Choice

The New York Times/CBS News poll is based on telephone interviews conducted from March 18 to March 24 with 1,524 adult men and women across the continental United States.

The phone numbers called were selected by a computer from a complete list of United States phone numbers. These members were chosen at random and in such a way as to guarantee that each region of the country is represented in proportion to its numbers in the population.

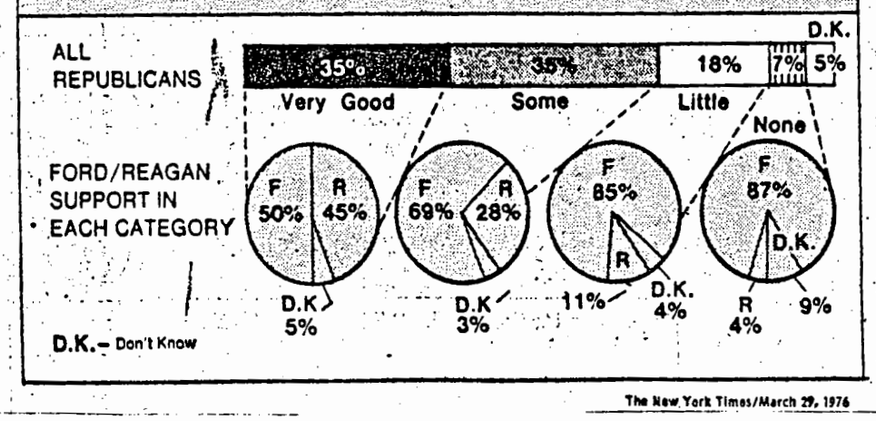
The method used also insured that each residential phone in the United States had an equal chance of being called.

The results shown have been weighted by household size, race, sex, region, age, and education. The weighting procedure is a further safeguard against the underrepresentation of certain groups in the population.

In terms of chance, one can say with 95 percent certainty that in a sample of this size the results err by no more than 3 percentage points in either direction.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 election coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of Harvard University.

If Ronald Reagan were the Republican nominee, what chance do you think he would have against the Democrats?



The New York Times/March 29, 1976

Candidates Support Campaign for Jews in Soviet

By IRVING SPIEGEL

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Democratic Presidential hopefuls, ate a breakfast of stale bread and sardine scraps yesterday at the New York Hilton Hotel.

The food called attention to the fare of Soviet Jews who have been imprisoned. The breakfast also started a campaign to enlist widespread support for "Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry" on May 2, which will be marked by a rally and parade here, sponsored by the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry.

In a message to the gathering, President Ford Said, On this occasion, I reaffirm our commitment to the principles contained in the Declaratin of Human Rights."

In appropriate international forums," the President said in his message read by the New York State Republican chairman, Richard Rosenbaum, and in our exchanges with other governments, I pledge to stress the implementation of that document, including the right to emigrate." Mr. Jackson, author of the amendment that links trade concession to the Soviet Union with increased emigration of Jews, said that the amendment must not be watered down."

Representative Udall said, All of us stand in solidarity with oppressed Soviet Jewry because the denial of the humanity of Jews in Russia is a denial of human dignity for us all."

Other messages were received from Vice President Rockefeller, Governor Carey, Liut. Gov. Mary Ann Krupsak, former Gov. Jimmy Carter, if Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. The last three our Democratic Presidential candidates.

Udall States He Would Accept Role as Carter's Running Mate

By CHARLES MOHR

Representative Morris K. Udall said yesterday that he would not refuse a request to run for Vice President with Jimmy Carter if the former Georgia Governor won the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Udall alsosaid that he was "dead serious" about his own campaign for the Presidential nomination, believed he could win and was not seeking the second spot. He added that many Vice Presidents had gone onto to become President.

The Arizona Congressman made his comments on the WNBC "Sunday Show" yesterday morning.

Mr. Udall had exprssed his willingness to take the Vice Presidency in some circumstances in previous interviews.

Mr. Udall also said that if he won the Presidential nomination he might consider asking an elder statesman such as Senator Mike Mansfield to run with him for Vice President as "a gray-haired co-pilot."

In an intervier later, Mr. Udall said he usually tried to avoid questions about the Vice Presidency because discussion of it led to unfounded speculation that he was not seriously seeking the top position.

"I'm dead serious," said the politician, "but as one who tries to be candid and intellectually honest, if somebody I respected, and the convention, my party, asked me to serve, I would serve. But I am not looking for that."

Mr. Carter himself said earlier in the campaign that he also would accept the Vice-Presidential nomination if he failed to win the Presidential nomination.

In his other remarks on the possibility of choosing an older running mate, Mr. Udall suggested a way to achieve harmony between the President nd Vice President "would be to pick an older person, a mature person, a unifying person."

"Just as an example," Mr. Udall said, "I have said Mike Mansfield. I say Mike sit behind me for four years—you are an old gray-haired co-pilot, know all about it, and have been through the storms. If I go down for any reason, you can land this ship and take it through."

Mr. Udall, who arrived in New York this morning from Wisconsin, where he has also been campaigning, said he had not discussed such an idea with Mr. Mansfield, who is retiring from the Senate and his post as Senate majority leader next year. He said he had picked the Montanan's name only for purposes of illustration.

Composition of Candidate Support (In Percent)

24

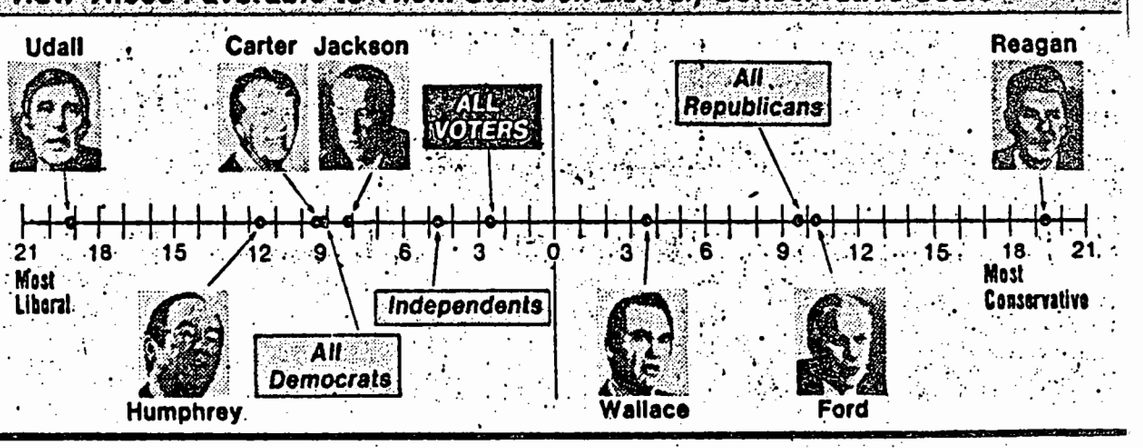
	All Democrats	Udall	Humphrey	Carter	Jackson	Wallace	All Republicans	Ford	Reagan
Ideology									
Liberal	29%	38%	33%	37%	27%	12%	13%	17%	7%
Moderate	41	50	42	36	47	42	32	34	28
Conservative	29	12	25	28	26	46	55	50	65
Occupation									
Professional and Managerial	22	35	20	35	22	11	33	32	35
Other White Collar	9	3	9	3	5	9	10	9	14
Blue Collar	45	34	43	34	49	46	31	31	33
Age									
18-29	25	29	22	27	16	29	27	27	29
30-44	23	21	21	28	13	27	25	24	26
45-64	34	26	37	33	37	37	29	28	34
65 and Over	19	24	20	13	34	7	20	22	11
Religion									
Protestant	55	52	50	57	56	56	74	73	75
Catholic	33	40	39	32	34	35	17	17	16
Jewish	3	8	3	3	6	0	1	1	1
Region									
North East	27	22	41	25	31	35	28	30	23
Midwest	20	33	21	19	16	17	30	30	28
South	36	5	31	42	31	36	23	23	24
West	17	40	17	14	22	13	20	17	25
Race									
White	81	95	81	79	86	90	94	93	98
Black	16	2	16	19	13	5	4	5	0

Based on a New York Times/CBS News Survey of 1,524 Adults.

The New York Times/March 29, 1976

Chart shows what percentage of supporters of these potential nominees comes from various demographic and political groupings. For example, 29 percent of all Democrats consider themselves liberal; 38 percent of Rep. Morris K. Udall's supporters and 33 percent of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's supporters consider themselves liberal.

The Candidates: How Those Favorable to Them Stand on Liberal/Conservative Scale



The New York Times/March 29, 197

The political leanings of persons favorable to one or more of seven candidates are based on their responses to nine issue questions in The New York Times/CBS News poll. If 60 percent of Democrats favorable to Gov. George C. Wallace, for example, took the conservative position on a balanced budget and 40 percen took the liberal position, that produced a difference reading of 20 on the conservative side of the scale. Th numbers shown above represent an average of thos differences within each party on the nine question

UDALL PROPOSES URBAN PROGRAMS

Outlines Plans to Curb Blight and Ease Financial Crisis—Urges Welfare Takeover

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

are far from generous." The disparity, he added, has led to a migration of poor people that had overtaxed the city's fiscal abilities.

Mr. Udall did not offer a price tag for his program. However, in response to questions, George Sternlieb, director of the Center for Urban Policy Research and professor of urban planning at Rutgers University, put the cost at $16 billion a year. Richard Nathan, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, described Mr. Udall's proposal as "a very expensive program" and estimated the annual cost at $17 billion to $20 billion.

Mr. Udall acknowledged that Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a rival candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, also had campaigned in Congress for Federal aid to New York City, as had all the Democratic Presidential candidates in Congress.

"Jackson's got a pretty good record on voting," Mr. Udall said. "My quarrel with Jackson is that you can't have it both ways. You cannot be for the Pentagon and be for the cities. We simply don't have the resources, and all the good intentions on earth won't help."

Carter Criticized

On the other hand, however, Mr. Udall noted that in November Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia and another Democratic rival, "said that he didn't want to see a precedent of bailouts for the nation's cities; he said it might be good for the city's financial management to be turned over to Federal courts for austere handling."

Mr. Udall, asked what the Federal response should be if New York City is unable to adhere to its three-year financial plan, said that he did not think the $2.3 billion in short-term Federal loans should be withheld if this failure were caused by external factors, such as the economy, unemployment or a shrinking tax base. Federal funds should be withheld, he indicated, if the failure was a result of such to internal factors as management.

Similarly, Mr. Udall urged Federal generosity in the event that the city's fiscal restraints deprived it of adequate funds for matching grants in Federal programs that required maintenance of effort.

"I wouldn't make a blanket commitment to exempting them from the matching funds, but I would be very generous while they're trying to work their way out of this difficulty," Mr. Udall said. "It makes you cry when you go up to the South Bronx and see buildings being abandoned, hospitals being closed and this sort of thing, solely because the city is strapped in their matching money."

Sympathy for Northeast

He expressed sympathy for the Northeast. "The Northeast has taken a beating at the hands of the Federal Government and the good old Sunbelt has profited," he said. "I think we ought to try to redress that balance."

"I would say the same thing in Arizona," he added, "though not as loudly or as often, perhaps."

Mr. Udall also proposed a national health insurance program, noting: "If we had it, you wouldn't be closing hospitals and a billion dollars or more would be provided for New York City's budget." He also urged a full employment act, saying: "So many of the city's problems are compounded by lower employment, less taxes, higher welfare and related causes."

Jackson Running at a 24 Hard Pace Here

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Senator Henry M. Jackson campaigned tirelessly from one side of the metropolitan area to the other yesterday, scattering promises of full employment and aid to the cities, declaring his liberalism and making frequent jabs at Jimmy Carter, one of his two main rivals in the state's Democratic Presidential primary election.

With the New York primary a week from tomorrow, the Washington Senator appeared to be stepping up sharply his already heavy schedule of appearances.

Starting early in the morning with a brief speech at a conference on Soviet Jews at the Hilton Hotel, he pushed on to Ossining to meet with leaders of the New York State United Teachers, swung over to White Plains to attend a fund-raising brunch, then returned to the city for a Jewish Teachers Association luncheon at the Americana and a reception by supporters at the Terrace in the Park in Flushing Meadow.

His motorade then rolled on to another reception in Lido Beach, L.I., before coming back to the city again for a Yeshiva of Flatbush reception at the Americana and the New York State Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee's mock convention at Madison Square Garden.

In between, he squeezed in a private luncheon in his suite at the Lombardy Hotel with Bess Myerson, the city's former Consumer Affairs Commissioner who is now a consumer advocate and consultant.

After the lunch of sirloin steak, green salad and ice cream, Miss Myerson said, "We discussed the problems that I think are important. I like what he had to say. I'll voting for him in the April 6 primary."

In all his appearances Mr. Jackson reiterated his pledge that a Jackson administration would immediately strive to move toward full employment by investing $20 billion in various public works programs so that millions of Americans would "draw paychecks and not handout checks."

Presses Attack on Carter

At almost every stop he repeated the direct and indirect attacks on Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, that have become increasingly frequent as the primary nears. Mr. Carter and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona are Senator Jackson's principal rivals in the attempt to win as many as possible of the 274 delegates New York will send to the party's national convention here next July.

In White Plains he criticized Mr. Carter's attacks on the value of experience in the nation's capital and declared that because of his own 35 years of experience in Congress he would not need "on-the-job" training in the White House.

Later, at the Jewish teachers luncheon honoring Norman Podhertz, the editor of Commentary magazine, and others, Mr. Jackson continued his recent efforts to re-establish his liberal credetials.

Asserts 'True Liberalism'

Declaring that he and Mr. Podhertz represented the true liberalism, he said:

"It is the new politics liberals who change, they who tarnish the liberal label and they who seek politicalrefuge these days by deleting certain words from their political vocabularies."

Declaring that he had seen a recent article in The New Yorktimes that said he was edging to the left, the Senator went on with a smile:

"I never thought that I had edged to the right. It is not conservative to stand for freedom as in the Jackson amendment. It is not conservative to stand for freedom and morality in the Middle East and [to say] that Israel must survive. It is not conservative to think that freedom is so important that it's worth defending."

The Jackson amendment tied trade with the Soviet Union to increased permission by the soviet authorities for Soviet Jews to emigrate.

Sea-Limit Pact Signed By India and Sri Lanka

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, March 27—India and Sri Lanka signed this week an agreement on their maritime boundaries, making them, according to officials here, the first nations in the world to accept the concept of an economic zone of 200 miles from the coastline.

The agreement was signed here Wednesday by the Foreign Secretaries of the two countries, Kewal Singh of Indian and W. T. Jayasinghe of Sri Lanka.

The agreement provides for a median line separating the jurisdictions of the two countries where the zones overlap. Under the accord, India foreswore offshore oil-exploration rights in areas closer to Sri Lanka and Sri Lanka yielded its right to fish on the high seas closer to the Indian coast.

M

Reagan Problem: New Ways to Persuade

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

News Analysis

Taken in the context of national and even Southern regional sentiment as it emerges from the second New York Times/CBS News national survey of the 1976 campaign, Ronald Reagan's upset victory over President Ford in the North Carolina primary last Tuesday appears to constitute an aberation. Mr. Ford was the Presidential choice of almost two-thirds of the 529 Republicans around the country whose views on the campaign were sought in the poll. Mr. Reagan ran behind the President by about the same margin in the South, indicating that North Carolina did not typify regional sentiment.

To a campaign strategist leafing through the pages of tabulations produced by the poll, the numbers might suggest several courses of action by the former California Governor as he struggles for survival in the Presidential contest.

First, the national television speech Mr. Reagan plans for this week, andpossibl y several more like it, are desperately needed by him. Despite years of publicity as a result of his acting career and his political activities, Mr. Reagan evokes a clear image in the minds of only 65 percent of Republican voters, as against the President's 94 percent.

Leadership Ability

Second, Mr. Reagan shuld probably attack Mr. Ford's leadership ability. Already almost half the Republicans in the poll consider the President lacking in that key attribute, and among that group Mr. Reagan leads Mr. Ford by 56 percent to 38. (Among those impressed with the President as a leader, Mr. Ford leds by the astonishing margin of 82 percent to 13).

Third, Mr. Reagan's determination to remain in the campaign until the Southwestern and Western primaries has some basis in fact. That region is his strongest. But he trails even there, 36 percent to 56, and even if he carried the area, it would not produce enough delegates to nominate him.

Fourth, he must find some way to erase the notion among many Republicans that his chances of election in November, if he is nominated, are not very promising. Among those in the poll who consider his chances "very good," he fights Mr. Ford almost to a standstill. But as one moves on to those who think he has "some," "little" or "no" chance of winning in November, the Californian's support shrinks very rapidly.

More Persuasion

Perhaps, like former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, he should begin sentences with, "When I am President—"Perhaps he should stop saying that he is running in part to push Mr. Ford to the right. Certainly, winning a few more primaries would help. By whatever means, Mr. Reagan must persuade more than the present 35 percent of his party that he would be a successful standard-bearer in the general election.

It will be no easy task. Mr. Reagan must fight the memory of the Goldwater debacle of 1964, in which he played a role as a leading conservative spokesman. He must fight the tendency to stick with an incumbent, especially one who is shown, in The Times/CBS and other polls, to be a good bet against any of the potential Democratic nominees this year.

The next month will be particularly difficult time for Mr. Reagan to build an image as a winner. He has all but conceded the Wisconsin primary on April 6 to Mr. Ford by canceling most of his campaign dates there, and he is entered neither in New York on April 6 nor in Pennsylvania on April 27.

All month, the headlines and the television broadcasters will be calling the President a winner, not Mr. Reagan.

In a larger sense, the Times/CBS poll suggests, his problem is that he is a candidate of protest who fails to rally those intent on protesting the status quo.

Mr. Reagan hymns the glories of the balanced budget, but among those who agree with him, 63 percent support President Ford. Mr. Reagan attacks the Administration's détente policies, butamong those who agree with him, 64 percent support President Ford. Mr. Reagan expresses profound dissatisfaction with the management of the economy, but among those who agree with him, 60 percent support President Ford. Mr. Reagan appeals for increased defense spending, but among those who agree with him, 68 percent support Mr. Ford.

And so it goes. THere seems to be an invisible wall at 40 percent for the actor turned conservative ideologue. No matter what the issue, he is unable to break thrugh that level even among Republicans who endorse his stands.

Polarized Voters

In North Carolina, according to a poll by NBC News on primary day, Mr. Reagan was able to win in large part because he polarized the electorvate on the questions of detente and military preparedness. But he evidently has not been able to do so elsewhere, perhaps because he has not had time yet to develop his vlews in depth elsewhere.

In future primaries, no doubt, Mr. Reagan's skills as a studio performer on television will be put to good use, as they were in North Carolina. Had they been well-used in earlier states, such as New Hampshire and Florida, the President's narrow pictories might have been prevented.

But as things now stand, the Californian simplp has not set himself apart.

One of his principal arguments, for example, has been that Mr. Ford's economic recovery is as ephemeral as that achieved by Richard M. Nixon shortly before the 1972 election. He hit that point again last night in a campaign speech in Richmond.

The poll shows some relationship between the degree of belief in economic recovery and the degree of support for the President. Those who think things are getting better go 74 percent for Mr. Ford; those who see little change give Mr. Ford 61 percent; those who think things are getting worse give him 53 percent.

It can only be disheartening for Mr. Reagan to realize that he cannot summon a majority even among those who accept his contention that Mr. Ford is attempting to sell an economic pig in a poke.

Equally discouraging from the Reagan point of view is the President's ability to draw strength from every sub group in the electorate—black and white, Protestant and Roman Catholic, white-collar and blue-collar, rich and poor, young and old, liberal and moderate and conservative.

The former Governor is able to attract the backing of a substantial minority, 35 to 40 percent, in only a few categories: white-collar workers, college graduates, Westerners, those between 45 and 64 years of age, conservatives.

There is no electoral magic in that coalition.

MORNING
STREET EDITION

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

MORNING
STREET EDITION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

VOL. 108, NO. 242 ★★★★★ P.O. BOX 4689 ATLANTA, GA. 30302, MONDAY, MARCH 29, 1976 44 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS

20¢ FIFTEEN CENTS
Price Higher Outside Retail Trading Zone

Poll Shows Carter Is Gaining Broad Support

By ROBERT REINHOLD

NEW YORK (NYT) — Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia appears to have translated his primary victories into an extraordinarily broad and diverse base of support from Democrats all over the country, according to a national poll completed last week by the New York Times and CBS News.

Further, the poll tends to undermine doubts — at least in terms of the constituency Carter attracts and how it perceives him — that he is not in the mainstream of the party and to dispute his rivals' contentions that he cannot be elected.

These were among the themes to emerge from a national survey, conducted by telephone from March 18 to 24, of 1,524 Democrats, Republicans and independents in all parts of the country. The poll was designed to monitor how the campaign had evolved since the last Times-CBS national survey in early February, before the state primaries began.

Back in February, the Democratic field of declared candidates was bunched up, with Carter behind three others. After several well-publicized primaries, the new Times-CBS News survey shows, as do the Gallup Poll and other surveys, that Carter now heads the Democratic field and leads his closest rival, Sen. Henry M. Jackson, by nearly 2 to 1. At the same time, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama has lost more than half the support he had six weeks ago.

Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz says Jimmy Carter has "grown fat from peanut subsidies" and declares, "I'm going to bust him." Page 11-A.

Among other findings of the poll were the following:

— While certain issues, according to previous surveys, seemed to have played a role in the primary votes, no major issues seem to be benefiting one candidate or the other nationally at this stage.

— The collapse of support for Wallace can be traced both to his crippled condition and to the relative unimportance of racial matters as issues. The governor's health seems to be the more important factor.

— Behind the Democratic race looms the figure of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, a declared noncandidate. When Humphrey is added to the list of candidates, he outdraws Carter among Democrats. However, among all those polled, Humphrey does not do so well as Carter in a hypothetical race against Ford.

— On the Republican side, President Ford seems to have overcome many of the weaknesses that were of such concern to his strategists earlier this year. Ford is favored by Republicans by two to one nationally, and despite the victory of former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in last week's North Carolina primary, the numbers add up in Ford's favor.

The Carter surge is reflected well in the proportion of survey respondents who recognized and had an opinion of him — 54 per cent now as against only 24 per cent six weeks ago. By contrast, his two closest rivals, Jackson and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, have achieved much less of this "visibility," 42 and 21 per cent respectively.

Further, the rise in Carter recognition is not confined to Democrats. He gained about equally among Republicans and independents as well as among

See CARTER, Page 8-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

liberals, moderates and conservatives.

More important perhaps is that the vast majority (74 per cent) of all surveyed, and 81 per cent of Democrats who now recognize Carter, said they had a favorable view of him. In contrast, between February and March, Wallace and former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma lost substantially in "favorability," while Udall declined slightly and Jackson remained about the same.

Further, the poll shows that even though Humphrey has very strong support for the nomination, he brings out strong feelings on both sides among the voters. About half have a favorable view of him and half unfavorable.

The gains in Carter's favorability rating were impressive in that they occurred across the political spectrum, from left to right. The question is, as he becomes better known and comes under political attack, whether his image will become more mixed, like Humphrey's.

In the early primaries candidates typically try to capture a particular wing of the party, especially when the field is so fragmented as it is this year. Udall has tried to stake out a claim among liberals. However, Carter pursued a different tactic, trying to forge a broad coalition from the outset.

Evidence from The Times-CBS survey suggests that the tactic has largely succeeded. He was selected as first choice by about four of every 10 Democrats, whether they were Catholic or Protestant, well-off or poor, high-school graduates or college graduates, northerners or southerners.

Indeed, there were some preliminary signs that Carter was recapturing segments of the Democratic party that have defected in recent years. In the survey he was the choice of over half the Democrats who said they had voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972; he also was first choice of over half of those from his native South.

At the same time, for all the complaints about him from liberal opinion makers, Carter does better among liberals surveyed than among moderate and conservative Democrats.

Still, there were soft spots in the Carter drive. Although he had more blue-collar support in March than in February, his backing continued to come disproportionately from better educated and higher occupation groups.

Also, he did not do so well among Democrats over 65, who tended to favor Jackson. Perhaps more important for the Carter strategists, his support is relatively weaker in the West and Northeast, where many important primaries will be held in the coming weeks.

The support for the Democratic candidates did not seem to be strongly related to any of a number of issues that have been raised in the primary campaign. For example, those who said it was important to have a balanced Federal budget were about as likely to favor Carter as those who disagreed.

The trend was similar on another prominent issue, military spending. Even though Jackson has campaigned against cuts in military spending, he was about as likely to get support from those who would reduce spending as from those who said it should be increased.

One of the most startling phenomena of the 1976 campaign has been the collapse of the once-powerful appeal of Wallace. About 40 per cent of Democratic voters in both the Florida and Illinois primaries told interviewers from The Times and CBS News that they thought Wallace's condition would affect his ability to function as President.

The Atlanta Journal ★ ★ ★ BLUE SKEAN
"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"
Latest Stock Quotations

Vol. 94, No. 30 ★ P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Monday Evening, March 29, 1976 54 Pages — 4 Sections ★★★★

Price 15 Cents
Price May Be Higher Outside Retail Trading Zone

Carter Not Fat Off Subsidies

By DICK PETTYS

PLAINS, Ga. (AP) — Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz is wrong when he says that Jimmy Carter "is growing fat off federal peanut subsidies," but Carter also is exaggerating when he denies having received any subsidies at all.

Otis Castleberry, a marketing specialist for the Tobacco and Peanut Division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture in Washington, said the record showed two payments to Carter farms between 1970 and 1975.

One was in 1971 for $1,280.19 and one was in 1973 for $1,448.66.

Castleberry also said the Carter warehouse is eligible for a 1975 payment for storing peanuts, but said no payment has been made because there has been no final disposition of the peanuts.

Butz said Sunday that Carter, a former Georgia governor who is seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, has participated in a cooperative program tied to federal subsidies.

"He simply lets his peanuts go to the cooperative ... He gets it indirectly like any other peanut farmer. It's very cleverly hidden. Everybody in the industry participates in this," Butz said.

Carter responded through a spokesman: "I don't receive any peanut subsidies as Mr. Butz should know."

Carter, 51, has not been actively involved in the family's farming and warehouse interests since he was elected governor in 1970, although he still derives an income from the family business. The warehouse is owned in partnership by Jimmy, his younger brother Billy, 38, and their mother, Lillian.

The candidate showed an income of $41,398.65 in calendar year 1974 from Carter's Warehouse.

Billy Carter runs the Carter's Warehouse operation, which serves as the middleman between 100 to 150 area farmers and the factories that buy peanuts for making peanut butter or candy. The warehouse also handles "seed" peanuts.

The $150 million-a-year peanut subsidy program, which Butz opposes, allows farmers who cannot sell their crops on the market to sell them to regional cooperatives, which pay them at the existing support level and dispose of the peanuts. Sometimes the crops purchased by coopera-

Turn to Page 10A, Column 8

CARTER

Continued From Page 1A

tives are stored in commercial warehouses.

Billy Carter said that of the 10,000 tons he purchased last year, only 53 tons were placed under the subsidy program and left for government-paid storage in his warehouse.

Those were peanuts graded by government inspectors at the warehouse as "segregation 2" peanuts, which, he said, are not eligible for the edible market but are useful for oil production or feed. They must be sold to the government under the law, he said.

Billy Carter also said that most of the peanuts he buys from farmers are presold to the final buyer before the harvest season. He said he sells about 65 to 70 per cent of the projected yield in advance, hedging his bets in case of a bad crop, and "then when we see the crop, we sell the rest."

About 98 per cent of the peanuts grown at the Carter farm are "seed" peanuts, which are sold to other farmers to restart the crop, he said, and the remaining 2 per cent go to the edible market.

"I didn't have any in the loan program this past year and I don't think I have had for the past two or three years," he said.

The 1971 support price level was $247 so the payment to the Carter farms represented a little more than five tons. The 1973 subsidy $328.50 a ton so the payment was for a little less than five tons.

11A

Carter Sought '72 Ticket Spot?

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

State Sen. Julian Bond, at Jimmy Carter's behest, urged Sen. George McGovern to pick Carter as his vice presidential running mate in 1972, both Bond and McGovern claim. Carter denies it.

Former Georgia Gov. Carter, who has pitched his 1976 presidential campaign on the promise never to tell a lie, directly contradicted McGovern, the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee, on the matter.

While it was generally known that Carter was interested in the vice presidency at the 1972 Democratic National Convention, it has not been previously reported that Bond allegedly intervened for Carter after McGovern dropped Sen. Thomas Eagleton as his running mate.

Carter was a leader of the "Anybody but McGovern" movement before the South Dakota senator got the nomination, and he did not support McGovern after Sargent Shriver replaced Eagleton on the ticket.

Asked about a report from a reliable source that Bond pleaded Carter's case before McGovern, Bond said he did so at a meeting in McGovern's Washington office with Gary, Ind., Mayor Richard Hatcher and other black leaders.

Carter asked him in advance of the meeting to submit his name for consideration, said Bond, who presently supports liberal Morris Udall for president.

"Even though I didn't particularly want him to be vice president, I thought he would be good for the ticket, especially after the Eagleton fiasco," Bond said. McGovern dropped Eagleton after treatment for severe mental depression was disclosed.

When he suggested Carter's candidacy, "McGovern said, '(Expletive deleted)'," Bond said.

After McGovern tapped Shriver, "Jimmy Carter began bad-mouthing George McGovern," Bond added.

Asked about Bond's account of the meeting, press secretary Jody Powell conferred with Carter and then stated, "That is not true. He (Bond) did not do it at Jimmy's behest."

McGovern's press secretary, Alan Baron, said he was unaware of the meeting cited by Bond, but said "there was no great love lost" between McGovern and Carter.

After checking with McGovern, Baron affirmed Bond's version of the meeting. "Julian said he was doing this at Carter's request," Baron quoted McGovern as saying.

"He (McGovern) denies saying '(Expletive deleted)'," said Baron, who has actively opposed Carter's candidacy this year.

Baron said Carter worked against McGovern at the 1972 governors' conference in Houston, "requiring McGovern to cancel the last one-and-a-half days of his California (primary) campaign," to attend the conference.

"McGovern was not interested in Carter (for a vice president). He was interested in (Florida Gov. Reubin) Askew," Baron said.

Mayor Hatcher could not be reached for comment about the 1972 meeting with McGovern.

In the May 4 Georgia presidential primary, Bond is running as a delegate pledged to Udall, and Baron has been identified as one of a group of leftist Democrats opposing Carter.

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 28, 1976 —

Jackson Says Carter Seeks To Excuse a Loss in State

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

BUFFALO, March 27—Senator Henry M. Jackson, in one of his strongest attacks on a rival for the Democratic Presidential nomination, accused Jimmy Carter today of "whining" and trying to find an excuse in advance for a potential loss in the April 6 New York State primary election.

At a news conference here early in a day-long upstate campaign swing that also took him to Rochester and Syracuse, the Washington Senator chided the former Governor of Georgia for his complaints in this area yesterday that the primary election process, in which a number of his delegate slates failed to qualify, was "stacked, undemocratic" and "disgraceful."

"I think that Coach Carter, frankly, is blaming the umpire before the game is oer," Mr. Jackson declared. "He is preparing himself for defeat in the nation's second-largest state on April 6."

Prospects in New York

Senator Jackson and his senior political adisers, although they expect to win a majority of New York's 274 Democratic delegates to next July's national convention, obviously have been somewhat concerned about the momentum Mr. Carter has built by successive victories in Florida, Illinois and North Carolina.

The Senator won in Massachuserts, finished a respectable third behind Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in Florida; an ddid not actively compete in Illinois or North Carolina.

So the Jackson forces are contending that Mr. Carter has yet to demonstrate that he can win against his toughest competition in a Northern industrial state.

Although Mr. Carter has delegate slates in only 26 of the state's 39 Congressional Districts, as against 35 slates for Senator Jackson, he is expected to run best upstate where he has concentrated his campaign.

There is no doubt that is Georgian the target of his attack today, virtually ignoring Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who is considered to have a better chance of picking up some delegates in the more liberal districts in and around New York City.

"Mr. Carter talks about everything but what's really bothering the people," Mr. Jackson said at the news conference here after he toured the Broadway Market, a sprawling arcade in a Polish neighborhood. "What's really botherin the people is jobs. Here in Buffalo over 14 percent of the people are out of work and he goes around talking about his election chances. I don't think that goes over very well with the people of Erie County."

Noting that he had to win a court decision this week to keep 41 of his delegates on the ballot, Mr. Jackson said that he was "not going to whine about that."

"The man who is out of work," he went on, "has far more to whine about than Jimmy Carter and he's whinning about the problems he has to face as a politician.

"He isn't whining about the election laws. He's whining because he's going to lose in New York."

Later, he repeated his criticism of the Georgian in Rochester and Syracuse, before returning to New York City for an evening rally at Manhattan Center in support of Soviet political prisoners.

PS2 NYT 3/28

Udall Defends Humphrey Against Carter

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

MADISON, Wis., March 27—Representative Morris K. Udall sought today to use against Jimmy Carter an attack by Mr. Carter on Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Mr. Udall, the Arizona Democrat who is seeking his party's Presidential nomination, called a statement by Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, a "lamentable lapse." He said it raised questions about Mr. Carter's behavior under pressure.

Humphrey Popularity

Mr. Carter, also a Presidential candidate was quoted in press accounts Thursday as having termed Senator Humphrey untruthful, too old and a man with a "loser's image." Mr. Carter also seemed to call Mr. Humphrey's honesty into question by raising such subjects as the conviction of a former Humphrey campaign manager for accepting illegal campaign contributions and allegations that Mr. Humphrey had received large sums of money from the reclusive industrialist Howard R. Hughes.

Mr. Carter's remarks had been touched off by an earlier statement by Senator Humphrey, a Minnesota Democrat, in which he said that those who campaign against Washington and Federal programs might be guilty of a form of concealed racism. Mr. Humphrey exempted Mr. Carter from his criticism.

Mr. Humphrey, who is an undeclared but available Presidential candidate, has a substantial degree of popularity in Wisconsin, which on April 6 holds a Presidential primary election that is vital to Mr. Udall. Udall supporters here hope that Mr. Carter's words will hurt him in Wisconsin.

A source in the Udall organization said that Senator Humphrey had authorized the Udall camp to use recordings made by Mr. Humphrey praising Mr. Udall's political positions and his character.

Mr. Udall is believed by many politicians to be trailing Mr. Carter in Wisconsin, but Udall partisans think that their candidate has begun to close the gap.

Frequent Theme

Mr. Udall's defense of Senator Humphrey and criticism of Mr. Carter fitted into a theme that Mr. Udall has used with increasing frequency in recent days.

As he told one labor audience sprinkled with Humphrey supporters, "If you are for Hubert Humphrey, then you better hope I win in Wisconsin because if I get knocked out of the race, one candidate is going to get momentum and there won't be any choice at the convention."

Mr. Udall also hopes to make political capital out of Mr. Carter's contention earlier this week that farm prices should be supported by the Federal Government at a level of only 80 percent of the parity formula.

Democrats' Delegate Races Could Shift Power in State

By MAURICE CARROLL

In the Bronx, two prominent Puerto Rican politicians are matched against each other in a race to be delegates to the Democratic National Convention. In Rochester, the Mayor heads one slate, the Vice Mayor a second, and a well-regarded Assemblyman a third. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the former United States representative to the United Nations, is on the Bronx ballot against his old friend, Representative Jonathan Bingham.

Such examples are but a sampling of the complexities of the New York State political scene.

The primary election April 6 in New York will help to shape the nation's Presidential politics. But below the surface of the four-way races involving Jimmy Carter, Senator Henry M. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall and "uncommitted" delegate slates, the vote also will have a subtle effect upon the state's political structure.

Besides providing some signals for the political futures of statewide figures such as Governor Carey and Patrick J. Cunningham, the state Democratic chairman, the vote in New York's 39 districts will also test the prestige of a number of politicians.

But there are a handful of districts in which the delegate vote will measure more than simple vote-drawing power. Those are the places where one politician of power or ambition is matched directly against another.

"If Herman Badillo wins, it's a Udall victory. If Ramon Velez wins, it's a Ramon Velez victory," chortled Ramon Velez, a City Councilman who builds his political base on a tightly structured antipoverty agency and rivals Representative Badillo for the leadership of the heavily Puerto Rican south Bronx.

A Victory and After

Mr. Velez, besides his cheerful assertion of a heads-I-win-tails-he-loses confrontation, seems to think he will win. And if he should, would he run against Mr. Badillo, or sponsor a candidate against Mr. Badillo, for the 22d District seat in Congress?

"This is just for the convention," Mr. Velez said expansively. "We are good personal friends. Congress is, of course, something else."

Mr. Badillo, who ran unsuccessfully for the Democratic nomination for Mayor in 1969 and 1973 and is thought to be developing similar twinges in anticipation of 1977, was more cautious in his Presidential prognostications.

"Velez? That's the Cunningham slate," he said. "Of course," he added, "the question is the turnout. A certain number of poverty workers will be coming out, no matter what."

Mr. Cunningham has encouraged uncommitted slates. Mr. Velez is heading an officially uncommitted one, but has personally endorsed Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who has not yet announced his candidacy.

In the 23d district next door to the Badillo-Velez confrontation, Mr. Moynihan has been substituted as head of the Jackson-for-President slate (Assemblyman Burton Hecht "walked the plank" to make way for him) to take advantage of the popularity among Jewish voters that he won with his anti-Arab speeches in the United Nations.

This pits him against Representative Bingham, head of the Udall ticket and an old friend of his, who reacted with rage to Mr. Moynihan's late arrival. But Mr. Bingham conceded that he felt Senator Jackson had more inherent strength in the area, observing, "We have a terrible problem from lack of money in getting Udall known, that his record on Israel, for instance, is wholly solid."

Moynihan Chances

A Moynihan victory would inevitably stir anew the speculation that he might have a chance to unseat Senator James L. Buckley, a Conservative-Republican, in November.

Mr. Bingham, one of a number of Congressmen who are putting their prestige on the line in the delegate races, is the only one to face an opponent of equal celebrity.

Also running as delegates are Representatives Otis Pike (uncommitted in the First District), Mario Biaggi (a Jackson delegate in the 10th), James H. Scheuera Jackson delegate in the 11th, merging with the forces of Meade Esposito, the Brooklyn leader, who originally fought Mr. Scheuera's invasion his district), John M. Murphy (a Jackson delegate in the 17th), Charles B. Rangel (a Udall delegate in the 19th), Bella S. Abzug (a Udall delegate in the 20th), Samuel S. Stratton (uncommitted but tacitly claimed by the Jackson backers in the 28th) James M. Hanley (uncommitted in the 32d), John J. LaFalce (uncommitted but favorable to Senator Humphrey in the 36th) and Henry J. Nowak (uncommitted in the 37th).

There are also interesting Democratic confrontations upstate.

In the 34th District, around Rochester, Mayor Thomas Ryan heads a Jackson slate, Vice Mayor Margaret Costanza heads a Carter slate and Assemblyman Thomas Frey heads a Udall slate.

In that race, while there are ideological elements (Mr. Frey is a liberal and Mayor Ryan tends towards conservatism) the major confrontation is personal. The mayor is elected by the City Council, and Vice Mayor Costanza thinks she should have gotten the job. She and Mayor Ryan do not like each other, and a victory for either slate would be looked upon as a piece of one-upsmanship over the other.

In the 33d District, around Syracuse, the Onandaga County leader, Thomas Lowery, has fashioned an "uncommitted" slate while the Mayor, Lee Alexander, heads a Jackson slate.

Syracuse politicians tend to downgrade the importance of that apparent conflict. "If Alexander wins, and Jackson wins, maybe Alexander goes to Washington," one knowledgeable Democrat suggested. "Alexander is an ambitious guy.

"And if Alexander loses," he added, "there'll be a little rhetoric the day after the election. But he'll still be the Mayor."

BB

Black Officials Here Show No Fervor for Candidates

PS2NT3/28

By CHARLAYNE HUNTER

"None of us are really emotionally involved with any of our candidates," Representative Charles B. Rangel asserted. "We're committed, but it's with a small 'c.'"

Essentially, Mr. Rangel's attitude was similar to that of many blacks—elected officials and others—many of whom are listed on either the Jimmy Carter or Morris K. Udall slates in the Presidential primary in New York State on April 6 but some of whom appear as candidates on the slate of Henry M. Jackson.

Many black officials said that this lack of enthusiastic support for Presidential candidates was unusual in recent black politics.

"I don't think that George McGovern ever reached black folks with the antiwar thing," said Basil Patterson, who is vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. "But four years ago we had Shirley Chisholm and the exuberance out of the black political convention at Gary. In 1968 we had a favorite, Humphrey against Nixon, and in '64 it was the monster we knew we had to defeat, Barry Goldwater."

This attitude, according to Mr. Rangel, the Manhattan Democrat, and others, "highlights the fact that none of the candidates are speaking to black issues." Or, if they are, many complained, they are "talking one way in black communities and another way in white communities."

Issues Often Stressed

Unemployment, the problems of urban areas and education were among the issues most frequently cited by these officials.

For example, Mr. Patterson said that the Boston ad in which Senator Jackson, of Washington, stated that among the Democratic candidates only he and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama were against busing had irritated blacks "all over the country." He added, "It had nothing to do with black support of the concept of busing, but it is the issue of busing as a code word."

Mr. Patterson, who like others identified unemployment as the critical issue for blacks, said:

"They are talking about unemployment at a level of more than 8 percent until the end of the decade, which means black folks being out of work, black folks whose unemployment rates are more than double that now being out of work forever. But none of them is truly addressing that issue."

Representative Shirley Chisholm, the black Brooklyn Democrat who ran for President four years ago, complained that the candidates were being heavily influenced by the "negativist-conservative mood in the country as a matter political expediency."

These blacks and those running on slates explained in interviews that their principal role would be in "influencing and improving" their candidate's positions on those among other issues.

Two Candidates Cited

Thus far, the attitude of the some black elected officials, coupled with the disenchantment among some former delegates who were bumped from slates is expected to be a factor in what many believe will be a low voter turnout.

"Some of the people who lost out are the ones who really go out and get the vote," one Harlem business official said. "And that's going to hurt."

Despite the negative unenthusiasm toward the current candidates, however, there is an overwhelming sentiment among many black elected officials like Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton and Mrs. Chisholm that their attitude would change if a draft situation developed at the convention that offered them other choices.

"There are two people that blacks are interested in and neither is a candidate," said Mr. Patterson. "One is Hubert Humphrey and the other is Edward Kennedy."

Mr. Rangel is running as a delegate pledged to Representative Udall, the Arizona Democrat. Mr. Rangel accused all of the candidates of "hypocrisy," including Mr. Jackson for "leaving Boston and saying on New York's East Side where he's doing political favors that he's the only one fighting bigotry as it relates to busing."

Mr. Rangel criticized Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia Governor who he said "describes Martin Luther King as his shining black knight in black communities and forgets his name in white communities."

Yet, while these positions contribute to the lack of emotional involvement with these candidates, Mr. Rangel said it also "puts us in the best possible situation we've ever been in.

"They are switching the name of the game in black and white communities," Mr. Rangel asserted, "but they're going to have to talk contract at the convention.

And Mr. Patterson said: "We represent the difference between winning and losing in a close election. And this one is going to be close."

Mrs. Chisholm is a supporter of Senator Humphrey, the Minnesotan, so too, is Borough President Sutton, who introduced Mr. Humphrey at a recent fund-raising dinner for Mrs. Chisholm. When Mr. Humphrey said in his speech that "neglect of cities was the new form of racism," many at the dinner applauded and said later that it was the strongest statement on the issue that they had heard from any national figure.

Support for Carter

There are other attitudes among the city's black political leaders.

City Councilman Samuel D. Wright is running a Carter slate in the 12th Congressional District and speaks with enthusiasm about the choice.

Mr. Wright said that he was impressed with Mr. Carter's "policy of inclusion," and with his "not using cold words." He said he was impressed when at a Queens rally Mr. Carter spoke with warmth and love—"strange rhetoric in our lexicon and it was getting across."

Hazel Dukes, vice chairman of the Nassau County Democratic Committee and a former official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is not bothered as other blacks are about Senator Jackson's busing id in Boston, in which she feels he was "caught up in a political situation."

The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
HE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Sunday, March 28, 1976 318 Pages, 19 Sections ★★★★★

Pg. 1

TERN ESTABLISHMENT EVALUATES

Relax, Carter's Just Southern



CARTER SHAKING HANDS IN ROCHESTER, N.Y., ON FRIDAY
He Is Spending Weekend at His Home as Is His Custom

LLY QUINN
shington Post

HINGTON — Relax.
Establishment.
Carter's OK. He's
zy. He's just South-

may not wow the
at the Georgetown
and he's not neces-
someone you'd
to hang out with. But
t weird, hypnotic or
al. He doesn't incite
like Hitler or Mus-
he's no Jesus Freak,
toller, Snake Handler
onie; he's not a die-
conservative nor is he
ning liberal. He's no
or phony or papier
who'll blow away at
ere suggestion of any-
substantial. He's not
not hip, not with it, not.
And he's not too good
true.
all right, he's a terri-
uare.
I him so and he bursts
aughing in delighted
ise. "To a person like
he says, "that's a com-
nt."

ien Jimmy Carter gets
e White House, and he
nvinced he will, he'll go
ck car races and have
dances (a more primi-
form of square dance.
He'll eat grits, Bruns-
stew and collard
ns. He'll go the local
ist Church on Sunday
nings and he'll read a
ter of the Bible each
t.

the same time, he'll
n to Tristan and Isolde
read Reinhold Niebuhr
Dylan Thomas. He'll
listen to his collection
llman Brothers and Bob
an records. He'll watch
W. C. Fields movies and
nk scotch, moderately.
may occasionally give
wife, Rosalynn, an
ectionate pat on the
riere in front of his
nds or have an occa-
nal disagreement with
just as openly. He'll be
hless with his opponents
d enemies: he'll exhibit
ormous discipline and lit-
patience with those who
n't.
It's only March, too early
r conclusive judgments,
but five days out on the Democratic primary trail with the "Guvenah," as his staffers call him, help explain the Carter phenomenon.

Jimmy Carter has been campaigning all day in North Carolina, shaking every hand there was to shake, kissing a lot of ladies, patting a lot of kids on the head, remembering a lot of names and looking directly, intensely into a lot of eyes. Only those who look closely can see that the warmth is more physical than emotional; that the toothy mandatory politician's smile which has become an object of ridicule in some quarters is not always natural.

Carter makes his way back toward the middle of the chartered campaign plane, the first one aboard. He sits down alone in a seat. Most of the press look pretty rumpled by now. Not Carter. His styled hair is perfectly in place, his understated dark suit uncreased, his tie knot neatly in place. He slumps down in his seat, puts one leg up in a totally relaxed position and begins to talk. One doesn't chat with Jimmy Carter. Almost at once the conversation becomes significant. Nothing about the weather. He wants to know what's going on, what the press thinks, what Washington is like. He enjoys hearing that political types are bewildered by him and don't know what to think. It amuses him, delights him that a Georgia peanut farmer whose campaign staff wear peanut T-shirts and peanut lapel buttons could have the Eastern Establishment baffled.

But Jimmy Carter is no dummy. The Southern accent sometimes confuses people from the North, gives them the impression that everyone from the South is slow. One thing Carter knows is that a big religion number just won't fly with some voters who will immediately suspect his piety. He is uncomfortable talking about religion to reporters, lapsing into embarrassed smiles, blushing, even looking away to avoid a cynical gaze. For one thing, he hasn't got his story straight yet. It's the one subject he hasn't got an answer for.

"I wish the subject had never come up," he says. "When one reporter wrote that I was spiritual I knew then that it was going to happen. And this time I haven't had a chance to talk to Rosalynn about it. I just hoped the news media would not pick it up. There is no way I cannot make a misleading statement, or give a false impression."

Carter is aware that there are those who will think the religious bit is hokey. "I have enough confidence that the truth will prevail," he says simply. He looks uncomfortable, almost squirms in his seat. "I don't like to explain something I haven't thought out."

What Jimmy Carter has thought out is that many people are turned off by the old politics, Watergate, stress, issues, and now they simply want to make it through the night.

He stands in front of them calmly, serenely, quietly, talks to them, doesn't feed off their fears or their prejudices. When he speaks, they listen quietly. When he finishes, many decide that what he has said was neither divisive nor hysterical. They quietly get up and quietly go off to vote for him. Ask almost anyone you find at a Jimmy Carter event and you'll hear something like, "I don't know why I like him. I just like him."

Carter staffers say that black musician Percy Sledge had the best description of Carter's appeal. They tell a story about an upper-middle class, all-white fundraiser last year in Atlanta where Sledge showed up. Many guests got up individually and told why they were for Carter. Finally Sledge got up reluctantly and stood a bit uncomfortably in front of the group. "I am for Jimmy Carter," he began, then mumbled a bit, "because, uh, because he's got his s . . . together."

People like Carter because he doesn't take advantage of their stress. He's telling them everything can be all right. Not in any prophetic way. Just makin' sense.

He will say that he personally doesn't believe in

Turn to Page 19A, Column 1

CC

He's Southerner

RELAX, FOLKS IT'S CARTER

Continued From Page 1A

abortion but he's against an amendment to the Constitution to outlaw abortion and he says he's not sure when abortion becomes murder. His audiences seem to like that. He tells them he wants to support Israel but he'll never send soldiers there. He says 90 per cent of the people on welfare can't work and deserve to be treated with compassion. The other 10 per cent should be given an opportunity to work and be taken off the welfare rolls. The people nod. That makes sense to them. He says he believes in equality for everybody. And he says preferential treatment for women and blacks is not equality. But he outlines plans to help women and blacks achieve.

There are those who feel these "positions" prove that he is being wishy-washy and that he comes down on both sides of issues to attract the most voters. But the crowds don't seem to think so. To them he's just makin' sense. And the Democratic primary returns are backing him up.

Carter has a highly developed sense of his own worth which is annoying to some people. There is an aura of confidence about him, a feeling that he knows exactly who he is and what he wants. He might even be described as imperious.

The South has a tradition of military men, and Jimmy Carter, an Annapolis graduate, is spawned from that tradition.

There is the military discipline and hardness combined with a politeness and gentleness, a sense of duty combined with manners and a deep religious faith indigenous to Southerners. He has the kind of dignity about him, too, that is special to Southerners — the God-and-woman, the officer-and-gentleman dignity.

"I have a reservoir of strength which comes to me with my relationship with my voters. There is an intensity of commitment of the people to me. For instance, when I speak, I don't want to be interrupted by applause. It disturbs me and disconcerts me. But I think that's just my way of reacting to people."

He has been accused of being a little too carried away by the idea that he has this commitment from the people, accused of being on an ego trip, being vain. "I think that's part of it," personal vanity," he says directly. "I don't necessarily care to watch programs on TV about me and I don't run down to the newsstand the minute I hear Time magazine has a cover story on me. But I can't deny that having my campaign described in the news doesn't have some significance to me."

Carter's wife, Rosalynn, usually campaigns separately to maximize effectiveness and she isn't along on this trip.

Carter is asked how an attractive and successful candidate deals with the inevitable groupies and women who haunt campaigns. He seems embarrassed, but concedes: "I've had that problem to some degree." Then solemnly: "I believe I'm impervious to it. I hope I will be."

He quickly brings up his wife. "She and I are very close. The most precious part of our lives are when we can be alone together. We've been married 30 years," he recites. "She's the only woman I've ever loved." He stops, looks up, realizes that's a part of a spiel for which he has been criticized. He smiles, shrugs and knocks it off.

"I saw you looking at me today and I know you were watching me kiss all those women," he says sheepishly. "But when husbands come up and say, 'will you kiss my wife on the cheek?' it kind of embarrasses me." He didn't exactly look as if he were suffering, but his kisses did seem much like a benediction.

Does he think he is sexy? "No." Does it bother him that women swoon more over other candidates such as Teddy Kennedy?

"No, I don't believe it would bother me." He thinks it's true that he's more a family man and he thinks he can live with it.

The conventional image of a sexy man is one who is hard on the outside and soft on the inside. Carter is just the opposite. He is not a sexy man, nor is he particularly charming. When he talks to both men and women he talks to a "person" — once he has dispensed with his instinctive Southern approach to a lady. There is a sense that he looks at people as people, rather than as man or woman or black or white.

The subject of sex outside marriage prompts a sort of schoolboy shyness. It is just a daring topic to flirt with. Prudish? Pause. "I don't think I am." Another pause. "I don't know."

He has said many times that he doesn't believe in premarital sex or extramarital sex and he is famous for not "cussin'."

"I don't feel critical towards people who are divorced or lead a looser structural life," he is quick to add.

"Rosy and I are both naturally shy," he says. "She's one of the most naturally shy people I've ever known. I don't know how to explain it, how we can be shy and campaign the way we do. It doesn't come easy. I guess it's that when I go through a factory line shaking hands, every person I meet knows I really care for him."

This is where the Carter skeptics get nervous, when he begins talking about how much he loves everybody. Can a real person, a real candidate really really care for every single person he shakes hands with? He says he wants badly to care about everybody. It sounds a bit much, but it seems to be working.

Carter feels that there is a problem in this country with people who have "a lack of security, a lack of permanence. People need to have something, at least one thing, that doesn't change around which to build. Either a husband, a job, a parent, or a deep religious faith. All of that used to be provided by a monolithic family structure. When I grew up my mama was always there; my daddy was always there. Nothing made me feel independent or grasping. Where I live, divorce is always a disgraceful thing. People don't get divorced — if only in order to avoid deep embarrassment."

It is interesting that
ple like Bob Dylan, a
porter of Carter's,
Gregg Allman, whose
styles are so different
said to be quite clos
him. "I really like
music and Bob Dylan
get along really well.
very, very shy. Painfull
I care for these people
respect them. They are
formers who lead str
lives as viewed from
eyes of a peanut farm
he says with a laugh. "
are strange kids and
they look on me with
There's a closeness I fe
these young people."

One of the things C
misses during the camp
is reading.

"The last few years
read mostly books on
tics, philosophy, hi
and biography plus spe
books on foreign aff
taxation and things
that. I like poetry a lot,
ticularly Dylan Thomas

He says every night
fore he goes to bed he
a chapter of the Bib
Spanish. "I started
January. I have a rudi
tary knowledge of Sp
and I thought that a
with reading the Bibl
refresh my mind."

His favorite pastti
walking in the woods
walk a lot. I like to go
my normal clothes,
jeans and brogans, and
arrow heads in the field

He says he never go
the movies. He say
never watches TV. S
how, instinctively,
understands this may n
a popular statement
looks apologetic and fi
he says, "sorry."

When the Carters a
home in Plains, Ga.,
share the cooking,
washing and bedma
duties equally, says Ca
"We divide the respon
ity. I'm a fairly good c
like Southern foods: co
the cob, collard greens
turnips, grits, fried chi
I like plain food." He
not like big parties u
he's campaigning and
close to him say his fav
evening is with a s
group of friends. But
then, they say, the co
sation will never be en
flip. Any evening
Jimmy Carter will en
with talking and deb
ideas and issues.

ad

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 27, 1976 —

CARTER IS CRITICAL OF STATE PRIMARY

Upstate, He Says the System Lets 'Bosses' Run Voting —Jackson Is Assailed

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

BUFFALO, March 26 — Breathing indignation over what he called a "stacked, undemocratic" and "disgraceful" primary-election process that he had said had hurt his candidacy in the state, Jimmy Carter brought his Presidential campaign today to upstate New York.

Upstate is where Mr. Carter's New York organization hopes to score biggest, and where it reportedly plans to spend most of its remaining advertising money, in what Mr. Carter described as an effort to "hold down the landslide" that Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington has predicted for himself in the April 6 primary.

The former Governor of Georgia said here that if he could win in a third of the 26 districts where he said he had delegate slates qualified, it would be "a very good showing," and "very acceptable" to him.

The other half of his April 6 hope is to defeat Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in the Wisconsin primary and thereby cause the race for the Democratic nomination to "boil down," as Mr. Carter a head-to-head confrontation between him and Senator Jackson. In pursuit of a respectable New York performance, Mr. Carter campaigned intensively in Rochester and Buffalo, starting at 7 A.M. and not quitting until after 7 P.M. He made 15 stops in all, most of them public appearances.

His special theme of the day was the New York primary-election process — one he charged in the strongest terms he had yet used, that had shut the people out of the picture, had made it easier for "bosses" to manipulate the vote, had been administered illegally in this election, and that had worked in Senator Jackson's favor.

His primary complaint is the requirement that candidates must petition for delegates committed to them and that all signatures must be certified by state election officials, who are in a position to rule in favor of one candidate's slate over another's.

Overshadowed in his attacks on the system was perhaps his strongest jab of the day at Senator Jackson himself. Told by a television reporter in Rochester that the Senator had said his first order of business would be "putting America back to work," Mr. Carter responded flatly that his opponent "hasn't done anything about unemployment in all his years in the Senate."

Job Plan Described

Mr. Carter listed a number of ways in which he would try to deal with unemployment, which he has also said is the country's top domestic priority. The most novel of the measures would be aimed at preventing layoffs of workers in "areas of extraordinarily high unemployment."

Under the proposal, industries would keep their workers on the job and work them for fewer hours a week, rather than lay off any of them. The Federal Government would help bear the cost to industry of doing so.

As Mr. Carter made his rounds upstate there was no scarcity of evidence of the feeling among some voters that apparently has propelled him to his string of victories in the early primaries.

"He's a cool dude, he's another J.F.K.," said Marty Bradshaw, a black woman in Rochester who said she had rearranged her work schedule so she could see Mr. Carter. Mr. Carter hopes to run strongly among black voters in New York, as he has elsewhere.

Aid Is Pleased

In downtown Rochester at midday, several hundred people mobbed the candidate, blocking the Main Street sidewalk and clogging the enclosed midtown plaza as Mr. Carter made his way along, shaking hands.

"This isn't even a rally, the rally's next week," cried Margaret Constanza, the Deputy Mayor of Rochester who is also the coordinator of the Carter campaign in New York.

But Mrs. Constanza said that for all practical purposes the campaign upstate did not begin until yesterday, because most of the campaign staff had been in Albany, trying to deal with the challenge posed by Senator Jackson to the Carter-delegate slate.

"In 13 or 14 districts," Mr. Carter said, "my name can't even be on the ballot, because of the deliberate contrivance of elected officials and others to keep it off. There would be no such problem in other states, he said, because all a candidate had to do to get on the ballot was to file for election.

Furthermore, he charged, election officials had not informed his campaign staff of the grounds on which his delegate slates were being challenged, so that a defense could be prepared. That, he said, was illegal. He said that if he were elected president he would use his influence to eliminate the New York requirements.

EE

Foreign Affairs Advisers: Familiar to Political Scene

Presidential Candidates Getting Counsel From Professors, Researchers and Ex-Government Officials

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26—Foreign policy advisers are a standard feature of Presidential campaigns. While the candidates change, the advisers stay just about the same.

For Jimmy Carter, his aides say that the principal man is Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia University. Mr. Brzezinski used to be closely associated with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

For Representative Morris K. Udall, a principal source of outside advice has come from Paul C. Warnke, Washington lawyer and a high Pentagon official in the Johnson Administration. Four years ago, Mr. Warnke was in the inner circle of Senator Edmund S. Muskie.

Former Governor Ronald Reagan leans heavily on former Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger, as does Senator Henry M. Jackson. "I'm prepared to respond to any inquiries about my views, as I indicated when I left the Administration," Mr. Schlesinger explained.

Benefits From Advisers

According to staff aides, the candidates do not expect that the public use of the names of these outside foreign policy advisers will bring them any votes. They do, however, bring them other things. In the case of Mr. Jackson, who is a national security expert in his own right, advisers such as Daniel P. Moynihan, the former representative to the United Nations, have helped to gain access to funds from Jewish and labor groups.

For Mr. Carter, who has no background in foreign affairs, the general sense is that they have provided a respectability. "Having Brzezinski working on his speeches gives Carter some Presidential stature," one of these advisers maintained.

Mr. Udall gets ideas on arms control from his outside advisers, said Jessica Tuchman, who is the issues person on the Udall staff and the 29-year-old daughter of Barbara Tuchman, the historian. Miss Tuchman, a former Olympic-class equestrian with a Ph.D. in biophysics and biochemistry, does a lot of the foreign policy work herself.

These advisers also constitute a pressure point on the candidates to get more involved with foreign policy issues. Mr. Carter, who had planned to give scant attention to world affairs in the primaries, now finds himself deluged with advice and plans to give a series of addresses on defense and economic issues.

Mr. Reagan, in a television speech set for next week, is reportedly aiming to make his attacks on détente, the "arms gap" between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the personal role of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, the centerpiece of his effort to take the Republican nomination away from President Ford.

Sometimes the candidates seek out th eoutside advisers: most often, the advisers come to the candidates, pressing their solutions to world problems and jockeying for positions in future administrations.

The staff aides who work with outside foreign policy advisers find them different from the outside advisers on domestic issues. The most frequently cited characteristic was the reluctance of the foreign policy advisers to let the candidates use their names.

"They do tend to want to keep a low profile," explained Peter D. Hannaford, the 42-year-old career public relations man who coordinates all issues and helps draft foreign policy speeches for Mr. Reagan. "Maybe it's because they don't like their complexities reduced to simple political conclusions," he suggested.

Keeping Options Open

Others familiar with this relatively small foreign policy community of 200 to 300 persons suggested that they practice what they preach, namely keeping their options open. A number of them advise more than one candidate; some are waiting for Senator Humphrey to announce and do not want to burn their bridges to him.

Objectives of these outsiders—former high officials, lawyers, professors, and think-tank researchers—are the dozen or so top jobs in the State Department, the Pentagon, and the National Security Council staff.

It is generally believed that Mr. Jackson needs them least. In addition to his own background, most of his work is done on his own staff by Dorothy Fosdick and Richard Perle. Known as Dick and Mother of Perle," they are considered national security experts and adroit political operators.

As explained by the Jackson staff, the Senator does not have formal meetings with the outsiders. He will get memorandums from them, read their articles, and occasionally speak to them on the telephone or personally, on an individual basis. Most of the contacts with the outsiders are made through the Jackson staff. This is the norm for most candidates.

Besides Mr. Schlesinger and Mr. Moynihan, the Jackson staff says the Senator has talked with Prof. Lucian W. Pye of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Paul Nitze, a former top Pentag official; George W. Ball, a f mer number two man at t State Department; and Pr Eugene V. Rostow of Yale U versity.

Most of these men are garded as conservatives in foreign policy debate a would have no difficulty ral ing around the Jackson ca paign theme that the Uni States is dangerously losi ground to the Soviet Unio They tend to favor higher fense budgets and prepari for tests of wills with Mosco

Most of the Jackson advis have not committed themselv to his candidcy, and this t is the norm.

Mr. Carter has attracted most foreign policy outside With larger numbers comes certain degree of organizati and a high level of competiti Steven Stark, the 24-year- Harvard philosophy major w serves as Mr. Carter's issu coordinator, spoke of a lit group that Mr. Brzezinski put together for the leadi Democratic contender.

Among its members are Pr Richard N. Gardner of Colu bia University, Henry Owen the Brooking Institutio Professors Milton Katz a Abraham Chayes of Harva and Bayless Manning, preside of the Council on Foreign Re tions.

Mr. Stark said that Mr. Cart also speaks directly to Cyr R. Vance, the number two m in the Pentagon in the Johns Administration and now a Ne York lawyer. Milton Gwirtzm and Theodore C. Sorense speechwriters for the Kenned in the 1960's, also help.

This group is generally co sidered as middle of the ro As Mr. Carter has done, th tend to stress the primacy American relations with We ern Europe and Japan and mo action on the problems of t developing world.

According to Miss Tuchma Mr. Udall relies mostly on colleagues in the House Representatives: Jonathan Bingham of New York a Donald M. Fraser of Minneso Some of the outsiders tapp by Mr. Udall besides Warnke are Herbert Scoville, arms control expert, a Morton H. Halperin, who serv on Mr. Kissinger's nation security staff in 1969.

Admirers of these peo think of them as pragmatis detractors see them as libera Like Mr. Udall so far, th take a more relaxed view Soviet military capability, stre American strength and the ne to use it for arms control agr ment and economic develo ment.

Mr. Hannaford's list of tho who have provided ideas Mr. Reagan include: Daniel Graham, a retired Army gene and former head of Penta intelligence; Martin Anders and Richard Starr of the Hoo er Institute, a research outfi and Mr. Schlesinger.

"I talk to Mr. Schlesing from time to time," Mr. Hann ford said in response to a que tion about the former Defen Secretary's involvement in Reagan's foreign poli speeches.

These men have been in t forefront of the public war ings that detente has result in a dangerous relaxation American military prepare ness.

Gov. George C. Wallace, t other major Democratic can date, is not known to ha any foreign policy adviser.

JACKSON STRESSES HIS ENERGY VIEWS

Rides the Subway to World Trade Center to Emphasize U.S. Independence Need

By DOUGLAS KNEELAND

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington took a subway ride to the World Trade Center yesterday to emphasize his demand for "a national commitment to energy independence."

As he walked from the Lombardy Hotel in East 56th Street, where he is staying, to the Lexington Avenue subway at 59th Street, no one in his entourage seemed to be able to explain how the mode of travel fitted into the theme, except that it was "the fastest way of getting there."

Of course, it provided an opportunity for taking pictures by the pack of television and still cameramen who pursued him.

At the Trade Center, Mr. Jackson issued a statement calling it "a monument to poor energy design and good energy management." An aide later said that the two 110-story towers used as much energy as Syracuse.

The Senator, who is campaigning for New York's 274 delegates to the Democratic National Convention here next summer in his bid for the Party's Presidential nomination in the state's April primary, said that the buildings had too many windows, and that their energy requirement were inefficient.

His Praise for Management

However, in his statement, he praised the center's management, saying that "a strong commitment to energy conservation, the short-term solution to our energy problems, combined with modern computer controls, have turned a bad example of energy use into a good example of energy conservation."

The Senator said that the center's electric use had decreased from 220 million kilowatt hours in 1973 to about 200 million in 1975 despite an increase in occupancy from 65 to 80 percent.

Nevertheless, he added, the center's electric bill had more than doubled in that period because of rate increases and "an incredible tripling" of oil prices the local utility must pay since the Arab oil embargo of late 1973 and early 1974.

Mr. Jackson said that such developments made it imperative for a "vastly stepped up" research and development program to find new and better ways to produce and deliver eneigy, including a "massive commitment to solar energy."

After emerging from the subway, the Senator spotted some hard hat laborers working on construction outside the Trade Center.

"Want a good short?" he asked, moving in on a laborer.

After the films were taken, the puzzled workers asked, "Who was that?"

Speaks at a Luncheon

Later, Mr. Jackson addressed a luncheon meeting of a Suffolk County solar energy conference at the New York Polytechnic Institute in Farmingdale, L.I.

Asked after the speech if he would "support solar energy research in this area," the Senator took a thrust at one of his rivals, Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, whom he has accused of saying different things in Massachusetts and Florida about those states' potentials as sites for a solar research facility.

"I'll give you the same answer I did in Massachusetts on Route 128," he said, "and the same answer I gave in Florida—not like another candidate who promised it in both places—that it [the award of a Federal contract] will be made on a basis of intensive studies."

Senator Jackson wound up his day's campaigning with visits to the Jewish Center in Plainview, L.I., and the suburban Temple in Wantagh, L.I. last night.

'76 Race and New Senate Chiefs

WASHINGTON, March 26—
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 24—While the behind-the-scenes jockeying is under way among Senate Democrats and Republicans to pick new party leaders next January, the outcome of the contests and the roles the new leaders will play may be shaped more by the Presidential election next November than by the dealing in the Senate cloakrooms.

News Analysis

Despite the internal Senate power that flows to the majority and minority leaders, their leadership inevitably reacts to the White House occupant.

Thus, if President Ford is elected, the Senate Democrats would presumably look to a leader who would be a strong and highly visible spokesman for the opposition party as it seeks to develop alternatives to the President's programs.

The Republicans might be more inclined to pick a leader who could work closely with the President in trying to get Administration proposals through the Senate.

Conversely, if a Democrat is elected President, the roles would be reversed, with the new Senate Democratic leadership working more as a team with the White House and the Republicans posing alternatives.

No Early Decision Seen

For these reasons, a number of senators, Democrats as well as Republicans, maintain that none of the active and potential contenders will be able to wrap up elections to the leadership posts with certainty until a clearer picture emerges as to the Presidential campaign and of the number and political leanings of the new senators who also will be elected in November.

With the retirement of Senators Mike Mansfield, the 73-year-old Montana Democrat who has been majority leader for 15 years, and Hugh Scott, the 75-year-old Pennsylvania Republican, who has been minority leader for seven, the new leaders will be elected by majority votes of the separate party caucuses just before the new Congress convenes in January.

It will be the first time since 1953 that both parties in the Senate will pick new leaders at the same time. The shakeup in Congressional leadership also could spread to the House if Carl Albert, a 67-year-old Oklahoma Democrat and Speaker since 1971, decides not to seek re-election.

There is no shortage of candidates to succeed the Senate leaders. On the Democratic side, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the majority whip, or assistant majority leader; Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, chairman of the Senate Budget Committee, and Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina are actively seeking Mr. Mansfield's job. A fourth candidate, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, could emerge if he does not end up on the party's Presidential ticket.

Griffin and Tower Active

Among the Republicans, Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, a close ally of Mr. Ford, and minority whip, and John G. Tower of Texas, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, are regarded as the front runners to succeed Mr. Scott.

If the conventional wisdom prevails, Mr. Byrd, who closely watches over the day-to-day Senate operations, might have the edge for majority leader if a Democratic President is elected, while a Humphrey or a Muskie or a Hollings might have a better chance if the Republicans retain the White House.

But with the recent influx of younger Democrats, there is speculation that the Senate majority might still want to establish at least an institutional independence and select a majority leader who might not be completely compatible with a Democratic President.

Mr. Byrd, who unseated Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts as the Democratic whip in 1971 and who is the apparent front-runner at this stage, says only that his campaign is proceeding "satisfactorily."

According to other senators, Mr. Byrd has been trying to line up enough advance commitments to lock up the majority leadership as soon as possible. But some liberal senators who regard Mr. Byrd as too conservative, insist that the entries of Mr. Hollings and Mr. Muskie into the field, plus the possibility of Mr. Humphrey, have blocked Mr. Byrd from getting enough commitments, at least for now.

Senators opposing Mr. Byrd estimate his present strength at slightly more than 20 votes. If there are 62 Democrats in the Senate next January, as there are now, 32 votes would be needed to elect a majority leader.

Byrd Has an Advantage

The quest for the majority leadership is not the usual political campaign. There are no speeches, no banners, only quiet conversations, one senator to another, in the privacy of their offices or on the telephone.

In this maneuvering, Mr. Byrd would seem to have an advantage. In his job of scheduling the daily activity on the Senate floor and working out time agreements to protect senators seeking to offer amendments to pending bills, he is in the position of dispensing favors almost daily.

Mr. Humphrey, while expressing interest in the majority leadership, cannot campaign openly, according to his friends, until he sees how the Presidential nomination contest develops.

Mr. Muskie, moving with surprising swiftness, began calling his Democratic colleagues immediately after Mr. Mansfield announced his retirement, to let them know he was seriously seeking the post. Mr. Hollings, who made friends among younger Democrats as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, also has been telephoning and visiting senators.

The Senate majority and minority leaders each receive $52,000 a year, $7,375 more than their colleagues; a limousine, a handsome office near the Senate chamber and frequent invitations to the White House.

But the internal power and influence of the jobs can go well beyond these perquisites, depending on how each leader operates the job.

The leaders can, for instance, determine which senators are assigned to which committees, which bills are to be called up for floor action and which are to languish, and which senators should get preferential treatment when party committees pass out funds to help with re-election.

Mansfield and Scott Unusual

As Senate leaders go, Mr. Mansfield and Mr. Scott have been unusual in that each seemed reluctant to use the full powers of office to keep the membership in line.

Mr. Mansfield, a taciturn former college professor, operated on the theory that all 100 senators were created equal and encouraged younger senators to seek out their own issues and committee slots. With Republican Presidents in recent years, he has sought to work out compromises on legislation with the White House.

Mr. Scott, whose tenure as minority leader has coincided with Republicans in the White House, has concentrated more on trying to push Administration views than in trying to develop independent legislation.

By contrast, Mr. Mansfield's predecessor, Lyndon B. Johnson, used more open arm-twisting and horse-trading methods to keep his Senate Democrats in line. Mr. Scott's predecessor, Everett McKinley Dirksen, tried with much success to keep his Republican minority united to make an imprint on bills pushed by the Democratic majority.

In a book, "The United States Congress Organization and Procedure" published in 1949, Floyd M. Riddick, who later became the Senate parliamentarian, said that a Congressional floor leader, once elected, had the task of trying to pass legislation sought by his side without making too many enemies. Mr. Riddick added:

"No two leaders approach the problem alike. Each must find his own way of handling men; he must gain supporters. The position is not that of an army general over a multitude of soldiers. It is true that some leaders try to build up a very strong machine on disciplinary basis, but unlike army officers, floor leaders must retain continued support and come up for re-election by the same persons they have been leading, 'bossing,' or directing."

An Appeals Court Upholds Jackson-Delegate Ruling

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, March 26—An appeals court today upheld the reinstatement of 33 Jackson-for-President delegates to the ballot in the state's April 6 Presidential primary.

In unanimous decision handed down without comment the Appellate Division of State Supreme Court here affirmed yesterday's decision by a State Supreme Court justice, Ellis J. Staley Jr., who said that the 33 could still be identified as supporters of the Senator from Washington State even though their "certificates of preference" had arrived from two to four days late at the office of the Secretary of State.

The appeal was brought by supporters of Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who maintained that by missing the deadline the 33 had forfeited their right to run as Jackson delegates and should be listed as uncommitted.

Permission to appeal to the Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, if granted, the appeal will be heard here next Monday. The Udall forces will seek

H. H.

Election Subsidy Bill Softened in House

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 26—Backers of Federal subsidies for Congressional as well as Presidential candidates have softened the proposal they will present on the House floor next week in an effort to attract more support.

Representative Phillip Burton of California, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus, has amended his original bill so that matching funds for Senate and House candidates would become available for the first time in the 1978 election, rather than this fall.

In addition, Mr. Burton has dropped a provision that would have authorized Federal payments to "official party committees," either direct or in the form of matching funds, with committee eligibility determined by the party caucuses in each house.

Some House members concluded this would have given an undue amount of power to Mr. Burton, as caucus chairman, and to his ally, Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio, who is chairman of the House Democratic Campaign Committee, an obvious potential beneficiary.

To Aid Poor Candidates

Campaign subsidies are designed to reduce the reliance of political candidates on contributions from the wealthy and special interest groups and to increase the possibility that poor candidates can compete in campaign finance.

As a result of the 1974 campaign law, the 1976 general election campaigns of the two major party nominees will be totally financed with Federal funds, at a cost of about $44 million, and eligible primary candidates can receive up to $5.5 million each to match private contributions.

No candidate could receive the new Congressional campaign subsidies unless he agreed to observe the overall spending limits in the 1974 law, which are $70,000 for House races and range from $150,000 to over $1 million for Senate contests, depending on the size of the state.

These spending limits were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court last January, but the Justices said they could be imposed as part of an agreement to receive campaign subsidies.

In $100 Amounts

To become eligible for subsidies, a Congressional candidate would have to raise 10 percent of his spending ceiling—$7,000 for a House candidate — in amounts of $100 or less. Matching funds would then be available for all private contributions of $100 and less, up to a limit of half the spending ceiling for the race.

Mr. Burton has estimated that the maximum possible cost of subsidies for the Congressional elections, under his plan, would be about $40 million. However, because some candidates have token opposition or none at all and some would choose unlimited private funding, he believes the actual cost would be about $20 million.

The matching money could be used only for political broadcasts, print and billboard advertising, direct mail, telephones, headquarters rent and buttons, brochures and signs. There is no provision for subsidies for the Congressional primaries.

Like the Presidential payments, the Congressional subsidies would be financed out of a Treasury fund that is fed by $1 checkoff on individual income tax returns.

Many House members oppose campaign subsidies on the ground that they would appear to the public to be using tax revenue to finance their own reelection campaigns. Others prefer private sources of financing.

The Burton proposal will take the form of an amendment to the campaign bill that reconstitutes the Federal Election Commission to meet objections of the Supreme Court.

The Senate approved such a subsidy plan as part of the campaign law of 1974, but it was stricken from the final compromise in recognition of House opposition. The version of the legislation passed by the Senate this week does not include any Congressional subsidy provision.

Udall, in Wisconsin, Criticizes Carter On Parity Views

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

MILWAUKEE, March 26 — Representative Morris K. Udall tried today to widen a possible crack in the political armor of Jimmy Carter, one of his rival candidates for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Udall said in Madison that he was "shocked" by reports in Wisconsin newspapers that Mr. Carter had said yesday in the same city that Federal support of farm prices should be pegged at a level of 80 percent of the parity formula.

"I can't understand," said the Arizona Congressman, "how a man who says he is a farmer himself could condemn other farmers to poverty, which in effect is what his suggestion would do."

Parity is a price, maintained by Government supports, to keep the farmer's purchasing power at the level of a designated base period.

On a trip to Wisconsin early last week Mr. Udall advocated that the price received by dairy farmers, who are an important element in the state's economy, be guaranteed at least 90 percent of parity.

Leaders of Mr. Udall's Wisconsin political organization were both pleased and surprised this morning when they learned of the report of Mr. Carter's remarks in local newspapers.

"Dairy farmers aren't going to like it a bit," one of them said, adding that it might affect the outcome of the April 6 Presidential primary here.

Mr. Udall will fly to New York for more campaigning on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday.

Syracuse Cigarette Ban

SYRACUSE (AP)—Beginning May 15, cigarette smokers here should be wary when they light up. A new law banning smoking in most public places was approved by the City Council. Fines ranging from $10 to $25 will be levied on violators.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

ATLANTA, GA., 30302, SATURDAY, M[illegible] 27, 1976 72 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS

'LIKELY NOMINEE'

Ford Campaigners Put Carter on Top

From Press Dispatches

Jimmy Carter's primary election success has made him the most likely Democratic presidential nominee in the eyes of President Ford's campaign leaders, a Ford campaign spokesman said Friday.

But Hubert Humphrey, still leading Carter in at least one poll, made clear Friday he may still get in the presidential nomination race if no clear-cut leader has emerged by convention time.

Speaking to reporters as the President flew to California for two days of campaigning in Ronald Reagan's home state, Ford campaign spokesman Peter Kaye said Carter's early primary victories make him major force in the Democratic party.

For more than a year, Ford has predicted that his Democratic opponent would be Sen. Humphrey.

Meanwhile in San Francisco, President Ford said that as long as he is President the United States will be the strongest military power on earth.

"We will not play Russian roulette with so basic an issue," he told a $500-a-plate fund-raising luncheon gathering.

The President, in a hard-hitting speech, was critical of the House Budget Committee for an effort to cut his defense budget and he indirectly criticized Ronald Reagan, his challenger for the Republican presidential nomination.

Presidential aides said the speech was a response to Reagan's victory in Tuesday's North Carolina primary. Some political analysts have said Reagan won in that conservative state by claiming the United States has fallen behind the Soviet Union in military strength.

Exceptionally heavy security precautions were laid on for the President's arrival in San Francisco, where he was the target of Sara Jane Moore's assassination attempt last September.

Ford's agenda focused on the fund raising lunch in San Francisco and an evening fund raiser in Los Angeles that were expected to bring his campaign more than $600,000. The other key stop was a session with state party leaders in Fresno Saturday.

Reagan was staying home, planning only a quick trip to Virginia Saturday, before his nationwide television address next week.

Ford campaign spokesman Peter Kaye told reporters aboard Air Force One, "We're beginning to look at Carter a lot more seriously — he is doing the best of all the Democrats in the primaries."

He said Ford has not changed his mind that Humphrey would be his likely opponent if Ford wins the GOP nomination. But Kaye said, "We're looking at Carter more than at Humphrey now."

Carter, who not only leads the race for Democratic convention delegates but

See CAMPAIGN, Page 11-A



Associated Press Photo

Nephew Jeff Carter, Wife Visit Ruth Stapleton (L)

Sister Ruth, Plus or Minus?

Carter Kin Devotes Herself to Her Faith

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — She describes herself as an evangelist.

She travels around the world leading "inner healing workshops" in which she uses a combination of religion and popular psychology to bring people face-to-face with repressed "inner hurts."

She ends those workshops with "healing services" in which, she says, "I have had experiences in which the blind from birth can see, in which deaf-and-dumb persons have been able to speak. I've seen a body that had one whole side withered completely restored."

Her name is Ruth Carter Stapleton. She is the sister of Jimmy Carter, who wants to be the next president of the United States.

Mrs. Stapelton, an attractive 46-year-old blond with Carter's blue eyes, was in Washington Friday to publicize her latest book, "The Gift of Inner Healing."

She was headed for Chicago, where she planned to lead a weekend session with a group of Catholic nuns. She tries to divide her time, she said, between appearances before Catholic groups, other church groups, nondenominational gatherings and secular meetings.

Lately she's been seeing nonreligious audiences rather more than usual, because she's been on the campaign trail on behalf of her brother.

In Iowa, New Hampshire and her home state of North Carolina she appeared at coffees and spoke to small groups about Carter's candidacy. In Massachusetts, Mrs. Stapleton said, she appeared on a panel with major presidential candidates.

"That's the only place I've done anything like that," she laughed. "I hope that's not why Jimmy lost in Massachusetts."

Her comment was not serious, but Carter's religion is becoming a larger issue in the campaign as he continues to talk openly about his beliefs as a "born-again Christian."

Mrs. Stapleton's active work in the campaign contributes to the focus on religion, and she acknowledged Friday

See SISTER, Page 11-A

KK

Sister

pg 11 3/2

From Page 1-A

that the emphasis on Christianity would cost the former Georgia governor some support.

"I think some people will respond positively and some will react negatively (to Carter's stand on religion)," she said. "Even in my own life, there are some people who dislike me before they ever meet me because they hear I'm an evangelist. Some people are bound to feel negatively about anyone who has a commitment like that, but I believe it is all a lack of understanding and not anything malicious."

She added that she knows "there are still many Christians who can't see where Christianity and politics can relate," but says she has a hard time conceiving a separation between the two.

"My work is not to make religious people more religious, but to help hurting people to become better, and then they can be better citizens," she said.

Her work, as outlined in her new book, deals mostly with people's emotional problems. The book describes incidents in which she counselled a woman whose marriage was failing, a mentally disturbed woman, and a homosexual man.

In each instance recounted in the book, she asked the troubled person to imagine himself or herself as a child and to relive some painful incident that is believed to be the root of current problems.

The woman with marriage problems, for example, was asked to recall an incident in which her father failed to give her love and approval. It was the lack of that fatherly love, Mrs. Stapleton had concluded, that was causing the woman years later to have problems in her relationship with her husband.

The woman, and others described in the book, were asked to imagine the childhood incident once and then go through it a second time thinking of Jesus as having been physically present, guiding the person through the traumatic event and giving support and love.

"The predominant hurts in people are repressed because most occurred before the child was five years old," Mrs. Stapleton said Friday. "Any way you can manifest love to that 'inner child' on the unconscious level can help. I have developed techniques to break through the protective barriers around those hurts."

"The Gift of Inner Healing" talks strictly about emotional problems, not about physical healing. Mrs. Stapleton said Friday she deals with emotional, spiritual and physical problems in her counselling, speaking and "inner healing workshops."

She said she begins with attempts to heal emotional problems because she often finds that illnesses are psychosomatic, and that releasing emotional tension leads to easing of physical symptoms.

She said she ends her "inner healing workshops," two-or-more-day sessions of intensive prayer and lecturing, with "healing services."

"It won't sound credible in print," she said, "but I've had experiences in which the blind can see, in which deaf and dumb persons have been able to speak. I've seen a body that had one whole side withered completely restored.

"I've also experienced more times when nothing happened," she said. "I have no explanation of why sometimes people are healed and sometimes they are not. I believe it's dependent on that person's faith and receptivity to the healing."

The first time she saw someone healed at one of her meetings occurred at a gathering on the West Coast, the first session she had addressed that drew participants from all around the country.

Mrs. Stapleton said a woman "who had been in a brace all her life" was healed during a prayer session. "When it was all over she was able to bend over and touch her toes for the first time in her life," she said.

Mrs. Stapleton described her reaction to that healing as "shock."

"I could hardly believe it, it was so surprising to me," she said.

"People keep asking me now 'What do you feel? What do you feel?' I feel like a normal person," she added. "I feel peace. Sometimes I feel restless."

Mrs. Stapleton, the wife of a North Carolina veterinarian and the mother of four children, said she got into her religious work after a brief try at being a teacher.

She trained in college to teach English, but after her first year on the job ran into trouble with the faculty of her school, who thought she was devoting more time to counselling the children than to teaching them English.

"It was all very pleasant, but they told me I'd have to make a choice between teaching and preaching," she said. "I was offered a renewal of my contract on the condition that I restrict my attention to teaching English."

Given that choice, she added, "I said I'd preach. I had a period of rea despondency, feeling that all my train ing had been for nothing. Because m husband said it was okay, I kind of re signed myself to doing nothing."

While she was "doing nothing" i her home of Fayetteville, N.C., Mr Stapleton said, she was approached by military chaplain from Fort Bragg wh asked her to take over a Bible class fo military wives.

"The first week I had that class, on of the wives' babies fell into a washin machine and drowned, and anothe woman's husband was killed in Viet nam," she said. "They came to se me . . . I could only give them word from the Scripture, but I saw them ex perience peace from those words."

She taught that class for five year and from it other classes, and fro those classes made contacts th brought her invitations to speak in oth cities, other states, and eventually oth countries.

Now, she says, "I can only tak about a tenth of the invitations I ge That was already true even befo Jimmy began to run for the presidency

She described her ministry as "break-even situation" financially, sa ing that some places that invite her speak pay her costs plus an honorariu but others pay nothing at all. Her boo just now reaching retail store shelves, already in its third printing.

She has received some criticis from fundamentalist churches for h freewheeling methods, which some vie as dabbling in psychology without ad quate training.

Mrs. Stapleton says she develope her ideas and her techniques as a resu of dealing with her own emotional pro lems. "I wouldn't call myself a psychol gist, though I have 30 hours of gradua training in psychology," she sai "Everything I know comes from exper ence."

She likens herself to a reform drug addict who turns to therapy f other addicts, or an alcoholic on t wagon who works for Alcoholics Anon mous. Learning to deal with her ow emotional problems, she says, h helped her learn to help others wi theirs.

"I've had many hurts in my life she said. "I've had to find an answe You can't go through life being hurt b every little blow of the wind."

Campaign

From Page 1-A

also is still ahead of Ford in one national poll, moved his campaign for votes April 6 from Wisconsin to upstate New York.

This week's Gallup poll of registered voters across the nation showed Carter still ahead of Ford, 48 to 46 per cent, but Ford narrowing the previous week's margin of 47 to 42. The poll also showed Democrats still favor Humphrey by a slight margin over Carter for their party's nomination.

Humphrey, still declaring "I am not a candidate," changed his tune slightly Friday saying if the Democratic convention "looks like it is kind of blocked, that there is no way anyone can proceed to tie it together, then I think it would be wise on my part, in light of the interest that has been shown in me, to go to the convention prepared to seek the nomination."

The Minnesota senator, interviewed on the CBS Morning News, said it is a "possibility" he might campaign among uncommitted delegates if a deadlock is apparent in the month between the end of the primaries June 8 and the start of the convention July 12.

Carter Friday blamed state officials and the forces supporting Henry Jackson for keeping him off the ballot in 13 of New York's 39 congressional districts.

"This is the only state in the nation that deliberately tried to prevent voters from having a clear choice of who they want for President," Carter charged at a news conference in Rochester.

Carter forces successfully ch lenged slates for other candidates some districts — a common move in t state's Byzantine primary system — b when asked about it, he said, "I did n establish the policy upstate. Had I be consulted I would not have advocat the challenges."

Carter left the Wisconsin campai grounds to Morris Udall and Geor Wallace, and went to New York, whe Jackson has been campaigning all wee

In Madison, Udall said the city m be the only major state capital n served by passenger railroad.

"The Madison situation is too ty cal of a bad national transportat policy," he said promising if elected open the Highway Trust Fund to m use.

Educators Table Motion to Endorse Carter

By ALEXIS SCOTT REEVES

After many educators expressed bitterness over Jimmy Carter's record on education when he was governor of Georgia, the 1,500-member representative assembly of the Georgia Asssociation of Educators Friday tabled a motion to endorse Carter's candidacy for president.

The tabling followed an hour of debate.

Most GAE officials said they were not surprised by the action of the group, which represents 48,000 state educators.

When the motion to endorse Carter was put before the group, it was preceded by a plea to forgive Carter for his education record while governor of the state.

"Despite all the disappointments, I have enough Christianity in my heart to forgive him," said Bill Breeding of Green County in support of his motion to endorse Carter. "And I hope this body will endorse a plain man from Plains, Ga."

As soon as the motion was made, an number of opponents clamored for a chance to recall all the bad things they could remember about Carter.

"I remember a governor's conference (on education) about three years ago when Carter said every teacher in Georgia has something to hide," said Alice Penland of Atlanta.

"It makes me wonder what kind of feeling he has for teachers now," she said. "Maybe he's changed, but I wonder."

"I don't think we should give Jimmy Carter anything. Maybe we could sell him something," said Reba Lacey of Houston County.

But there were Carter supporters in the assembly also.

"I'm asking for your support," said Nathaniel Ingram of Atlanta, "because it would mean a great deal to the state of Georgia."

And DoubFlowers of Daugherty County, who said he supported Carter for governor and wished he hadn't after Carter took office, said, "He really is head and shoulders above any of the other candidates now announced for president."

But Wallace Brown of Gwinnett County reminded the group of a statement Carter made at a GAE convention in Macon a few years ago.

"He told teachers in Macon, don't push and I'll take care of you," said Brown. "Well, he did, and we went straight downhill from there."

Carl Hodges, GAE executive secretary, told the group that the GAE leadership has been approached several times during the last year by Carter campaigners for an endorsement.

Hodges said that a year ago, "Carter knew many Georgia educators felt he had not been an education governor, so he did not seek our endorsement."

Later, when campaign leaders approached GAE leaders about an endorsement, Hodges said he told them that "the association would be badly divided."

Most recently, Hodges said, he told Carter people that "the teachers of Georgia had been unhappy with his four-year period as governor, but now many people were saying, 'Support a native son.'"

"Just because a native son has entered into competition for president of the United States is no reason to endorse him," responded Noreen Shorwood of Hall County. "Will he be more favorable to education in Washington?

"Can we believe what Carter says?" she asked. "I believe he would take the 'E' out of HEW (Department of Health, Education and Welfare) and put it in file 13."

While the motion to table the matter was defeated the first time it was made early in the debate, the second motion to table was overwhelmingly approved.

In other action, the assembly voted to approve a resolution supporting the Equal Rights Admendment, while it voted against a resolution to support the desegregation efforts of the Boston public schools in Massachusetts.

The group also passed many other resolutions and committee reports on such things as professional development, teacher retirement, competency-based teacher preparation and certification, statewide health insurance and political action for the group.

Rep. Ginn Supports Carter, Will Do All He Can to Help

U.S. Rep. Bo Ginn of Millen said Friday he will support the presidential candidacy of former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

"I haven't used the word endorsed," said Ginn, a Democrat who will be campaigning for reelection to a third term in Congress, "because I really don't know what that means. But I'll tell you who I'm going to vote for, and that's Jimmy Carter."

Ginn, a representative of the 19-county First District, which comprises the Georgia coastal counties, is the second of Georgia's 12 congressman to pledge full support to Carter, following the lead of Rep. Andrew Young of the more urban Fifth District.

Ginn said he had not discussed with Carter staffers what his actual role in the campaign would be, if any. He said he would do what he could to help Carter win the Democratic nomination in July and the presidency next November.

"I am frankly very proud of the job that Jimmy Carter has done," said Ginn in a telephone interview from his home in Millen, where he is spending the weekend. "He has handled himself very well. I have talked to many of my colleagues in Washington about him and have held a breakfast for him."

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1976 —

JACKSON IS EDGING TOWARD THE LEFT

During Appearances in City, Senator Emphasizes Aid to Unemployed, Poor and Ill

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

In the last few days of his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Senator Henry M. Jackson has been edging toward the left of the political spectrum.

During his recent appearances around New York City as he prepares for this state's April 6 primary election, he has repeatedly placed his heaviest emphasis on programs to provide jobs for the unemployed, save the cities from financial disaster and aid the poor, the elderly and the ill.

In Albany, meanwhile, the State Supreme Court ruled in Senator Jackson's favor, permitting 33 of his convention-delegate candidates to be identified on the primary ballot as his supporters. Such identification had been challenged on the ground that the potential delegates had missed the filing deadline for identifying themselves with a candidate. [Page 17.]

The Senator's shift to the left seemed apparent Wednesday night at a dinner sponsored by the Social Democrats, U.S.A., a descendant of the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Des and Norman Thomas. Mr. Jackson asked the 500 diners gathered in the ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel.

"Isn't it interesting that I'm

Continued on Page 17, Column 1

Jackson Is Edging Toward the Left

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

the only Presidential candidate that's willing to call himself a liberal?"

That, of course, was a dig at his principal rivals in the New York primary, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who, while generally considered a liberal, has taken to calling himself a "progressive," and Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, who usually shuns labels but seems to prefer being known as a moderate.

But there were at least some observers who saw it as more than that—an attempt to woo New York's liberal voters or an even longer-range plan to keep from being pictured as the candidate farthest to the right should the faltering campaign of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama collapse.

A New Deal-Fair Deal Democrat with what are usually acknowledged to be substantial liberal credentials on most domestic issues during his 35 years in Congress, the 63-year-old Senator Jackson has been characterized rather consistently in recent years as a conservative.

Mild Protests

His supporters and his critics agree that the conservative label has attached to Mr. Jackson mainly because of his long backing of the war in Vietnam, his generally hard line toward the Soviet Union, his steadfast insistence on a strong defense establishment and his opposition to school busing for integration.

In the last few years, the Senator has occasionally protested mildly against the image, but has not made too much of a fuss about it. In 1972, for example, in his ill-starred first attempt to win his party's nomination, he presented himself as at least a moderate-to-conservative alternative to Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

During the early stages of this year's campaign, he frequently scoffed at such political labels as "liberal" and "conservative," declaring that they had been "debased" by misuse over the years. When pressed, and sometimes when not, he would describe himself as a "progressive centrist" — one who was not an ideologue, but liberal on some issues and conservative on others.

Now, having gone through the primaries in Massachusetts and Florida, both states where defense spending is popular and busng is not, and with Governor Wallace apparently on the ropes, Senator Jackson seems to be trying to touch up the liberal side of his image.

Not that he has dropped his criticism of what he calls the "Nixon-Ford mismanagement of détente" with the Soviet Union. It's just that it has been a less dominant theme in his speeches in recent days.

"Isn't it interesting," he asked the Social Democrats at the Roosevelt, "that for the last few years some people have criticized me and the labor movement just because we believed in a strong America, just because we were against détente?"

Pausing, he added: "But I'm still a liberal, and I still believe, my friends, in a human détente."

Reminded later of his days as a "progressive centrist," the Senator smiled broadly and said: "A progressive centrist is a liberal."

Asked why he thought other candidates were declining to call themselves liberals, he replied, "Because they've somehow decided that there's a swing to the right, which is nonsense."

Pressed for his description of a liberal, the senator went on:

"A liberal stands for what defined in my remarks. A lib eral is one who stands for va ous state social programs, bu who has never compromised o individual liberty."

Varied Schedule

Reflecting his contention tha to win in November the Dem crats must rebuild the bro Rooseveltian coalition of wor ers and intellectuals, blacks an other minorities, white ethn groups and urban dwellers general. Senator Jackson schedule yesterday took him a bilingual school in Harlem, discontinued storm-sewer co struction site in Queens, luncheon with Queens Dem cratic leaders, a speech at S John's University, a conferenc with the editors of The Amste dam News and appearances the Little Italy Committee f Jackson, the new Era Club a a senior-citizens' reception Southbridge Towers on Fran fort Street.

In between, he found time t hold a news conference at th Waldorf Astoria to set for what he termed a "six-poi plan to save America's cities."

The plan included a Feder takeover of welfare costs, fu national health insurance und the Kennedy-Corman bill, an i crease in Federal aid to educ tion from 7 percent to 33 1 percent over three or four year a national housing progra aimed at building three millio units a year, Federal insuran of municipal bonds and full em ployment under the Humphre Hawkins bill.

Since he has advocated a these programs for months, h was asked why he had calle a news conference to announ the six-point plan.

"The difference is that we trying to put them togeth in one piece," he said. "I thi this is absolutely essential educating the public and ha ing them understand that th is not a bail-out bill."

PP

JACKSON BACKERS UPHELD BY COURT

33 Late-Filing Delegates in State Will Be on Ballot as Senator's Supporters

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, March 25 — The State Supreme Court ruled here today that 33 contested delegates in the state's April 6 primary election could still be identified on the ballot as supporters of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington even though they missed last Saturday's deadline for filing their "certificates of preference" with the Secretary of State.

The 33 had been challenged by Mario M. Cuomo, the Secretary of State, and by the campaign organization of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona on the ground that since they missed the deadline for identifying themselves with a candidate, they should be forced to run as uncommitted delegates.

Suit Is Dismissed

Justice Ellis J. Staley ruled that because the Legislature had been so late in rewriting the state's election law—setting the new deadline only six working days after passage of the bill — flexibility was required to "accomplish the true purpose and intent of the statue, which has a worthwhile objective" — letting voters know which Presidential candidate they are voting for.

The Udall forces announced that they would appeal the decision. Arguments will be heard in the Appellate Division here tomorrow afternoon.

The change in the state's election law, allowing the names of Democratic Presidential candidates to appear on the ballot, was widely hailed as a good-government reform. But its belated enactment has caused confusion, lawsuits and an administrative nightmare at the New York City Board of Elections.

In another legal test to arise from the new law, the State Court of Appeals dismissed today a suit brought by delegates running in support of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

The delegates had challenged a provision of the new law that requires them to run as "uncommitted" because Senator Humphrey, as an undeclared candidate, has refused to file the required statement authorizing them to run in his name.

Will Accept Certificate

In a unanimous decision, the state's highest court ruled that the delegates' quarrel should be not with the law, but with Senator Humphrey, and that no constitutional questions were involved in their claim.

"It is inaction on the part of their candidate, rather than the statutory provisions, which frustrates the accomplishment of their objective," the court said.

Last night, a previously uncommitted slate in the 39th Congressional District along the state's Southern Tier announced its support for Senator Humphrey. Slates in three Congressional districts in the Buffalo area had announced their support for him earlier.

Senator Jackson said that he was pleased by today's decision upholding his delegates. An opposite ruling, the Democratic Senator said, "would have denied people of the Empire State the opportunity to vote for delegates of their choice, whether they were mine or anybody else's."

Mr. Cuomo, the Secretary of State, said that in the light of the ruling he would accept certificates of preference filed up to four days late by delegates supporting other candidates, to save them "needless litigation and expense." Nineteen delegates are in this category, 17 supporting former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and two supporting Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia.

Despite the court decision, the number of Jackson delegates that will appear on the ballot is still lower than the number that will appear either as uncommitted delegates or as pledged to Mr. Udall.

The latest count this afternoon showed 207 uncommitted delegates scattered among 50 states; 37 Udall slates with 192 delegates; 35 Jackson slates with 181 delegates; 23 Carter slates with 139 delegates; 18 Harris slates with 91 delegates; 3 slates with 15 delegates for George C. Wallace, Governor of Alabama, and one slate with 5 delegates supporting Ellen McCormack, the antiabortionist.

Eight Filed on Time

Beyond protecting the 33 Jackson candidates, today's decision was important for Senator Jackson because the 68 at-large New York State delegates will be divided in proportion to the candidates' showing in the primary.

Originally, there were 42 Jackson delegates, led by Sandra L. Berg of Queens, who went to court to challenge the Secretary of State's de that they would have listed as uncommitted. most prominent in the was Daniel P. Moynihar former United States sentative at the United Na who is running at the a Jackson slate in the and whose "certificate c ference" arrived at the tary of State's office two after the deadline and w a postmark.

Upon re-examination, of the 42 were found to filed their certificates on One, an alternate in the Congressional District in B lyn, was found not to filed a certificate at all a will run as uncommitted.

In deciding that the 33 did in fact miss the de should be reinstated, J Staley cited an earlier court decision that said the election law "shoul be so interpreted as to the very object of its ment."

Twenty-two of those stated are delegates; th others are alternates. Mc them are from Long I Queens and Brooklyn.

The various last-m changes on the ballot, while, have wreaked hav the city's Board of Elec

A state law requires board to rotate candi positions on the ballot, candidate whose slate the bottom in one Cor sional District is guara the favored top-positic another.

But last night Bea Dole board's executive directo cided that the printing s ule for the ballots was al so complicated that she not obey the law, and pos in each Congressional Di were determined by lot.

FRI 26 March

From Page 1-A

would be that big a thing for me. I've supported him twice before . . ."

One observer stated it more succinctly:

"People are just taking stock," said state Sen. Pierre Howard. "They have woke up to the idea that a Georgian can be president and they are thinking about what it means to them personally."

"For me," added Howard, who has been stumping for Carter in New Hampshire, Florida and North Carolina, "and for Southern politicians like me, Carter is liberating us. For we who are taking a more moderate approach to things, he is improving the climate of politics. He is showing Georgia and other states like Georgia that the politics of Carter is succeeding and the politics of George Wallace is failing."

State Sen. Julian Bond also could feel some impact. He heads a delegation on the May 4 Georgia primary ballot that is pledged to vote at the national convention for Morris K. Udall, the Arizona congressman who is Carter's principal rival for liberal votes in the party.

Two or three weeks ago, there was talk in the Bond camp that liberal blacks were so enraged by U.S. Rep. Andrew Young's active support of Carter in New Hampshire and Florida that they would put up opposition to Young in the Aug. 10 general primary in Georgia, possibly even Bond's brother, James, an Atlanta city councilman, who also is a member of the Udall slate.

Now the talk is aimed at Bond.

"We think Julian is being very juvenile and is very wrong about this thing," said one black Carter supporter who asked not to be identified. "We are going to have to beat him for that delegate seat."

Bond is running for a post in Young's Fifth District against Carter delegate Herb Mabry, a white union official. Mabry ran an unsuccessful Senate race in a predominantly white district two years ago when Bond won his Senate seat.

Will Bond's name carry him May 4?

"No, we won't let it," said the Carter supporter. "People are not going to vote for Julian (on his name) because we are going to educate them."

Bond says the issue in the Carter campaign in Georgia is ideology—who is the more liberal of the Democratic candidates—and Bond has settled on Udall. State Rep. Douglas Dean of Atlanta, running as an uncommitted delegate against State Rep. Ben Brown, who is supporting Carter, says much the same thing.

"I am not sure any of the candidates running for president now are addressing those problems which are the major concern to blacks, women, poor people or minorities," Dean said.

Both Dean, who says he favors Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Bond want input into who becomes president. They are upset, say their detractors in the Carter campaign, because the former Georgia governor is proving that he can become president without them.

"This is not a serious split among blacks in Georgia," said Rep. David Scott of Atlanta. "It is just symptomatic of the problems blacks are having nationwide.

"It doesn't really matter who becomes president as far as blacks are concerned. You dance to the tune of the man who put you there. Lyndon Baines Johnson was an arch conservative, an evil, mean and cantankerous man. Yet blacks achieved their biggest gains under LBJ."

Scott suggested black leaders in Georgia stop bickering over who they support for president and begin "tailoring programs and demand whoever is elected implement them."

"Labor and business design their programs," Scott said. "Blacks must do the same."

Georgia Republicans too are beginning to feel a dramatic impact from the Carter campaign. Although publicly most GOP officials and candidates minimize the importance of the campaign on what they are trying to achievein Georgia, privately they say the possibility that Carter's name might appear on the Democratic side of the ballot in November worries them.

Although by law the Georgia ballot is split — you cannot vote a "straight party ticket" unless you pull at least two levers — one GOP lieutenant said: "If people vote for Carter in Georgia in November, they may just forget to pull our lever."

Mack Mattingly, the state GOP chairman, conceded that Carter's name at the head of the ticket could induce a lot of Georgians to vote for the Democratic presidential ticket at the expense of the Republican nominee.

"But as far as wiping out the party in Georgia, I don't think that will happen," he said. "You have to analyze it this way: instead of Carter's candidacy creating a good feeling for the Democratic party, it's just going to create a good feeling for Georgians. As far as destroying the party, it just doesn't happen that way."

Newt Gingrich is the Georgia Republican who stands to be hurt worse by a Carter-headed ticket, observers say.

In 1974, a year when the GOP suffered losses in the state in the wake of Watergate scandals, the Carrollton college professor came close to unseating incumbent Democratic U.S. Rep. John Flynt in the Sixth District race.

"Obviously, it would be easier for me to run if the Democratic presidential nominee was a George McGovern or a Sargent Shriver instead of a Jimmy Carter," said Gingrich. "And in a district where there are two relatively unknown candidates running party against party, I think the Democrat would win.

"And it is conceivable that some people in my district would be so inspired by Carter that they would want to send a Democrat to Congress to help him out. . . ." But I think here it will be a case of the candidate who works the hardest gets the people. I'm going to be doing this (campaigning hard) every day."

But Gingrich was careful to point out that he is running essentially the same kind of campaign as Carter — against the Washington establishment.

"Jimmy Carter's campaign," he said candidly, "is one of the best things that has ever happened to Georgia. It has gotten people interested in politics again. It is stirring up enthusiasm again for people who have been turned off by politicians. It's great."

Dr. Tim Ryles, director of Gov. George Busbee's consumer affairs office and a veteran political observer from his earlier vantage point as a university professor, says Carter's campaign disproves an old adage:

"Rolling stones do gather moss," said Ryles.

"Carter's picking up support and having a lot of impact is indicative of a couple of things. One, people now are beginning to see him as a viable candidate and, two, they see it as a great benefit to the state for him to have accomplished what he has accomplished."

Ryles says, too, that Carter probably was not as unpopular a governor as some of his critics said he was and, for a moment early in Carter's National Campaign the critics began believing their own propaganda.

At the beginning of Busbee's campaign in the final year of Carter's administraton, a year in which people like Speaker Murphy and State Sen. Eugene Holley of Augusta, now a Carter supporter, were saying Carter couldn't get elected dog catcher, Ryles took a poll for Busbee. He says the poll showed a majority of Georgians then rated Carter at that time as "good to excellent" on most issues.

Now that Carter is out in the national arena taking lumps both from liberals and from the conservative supporters of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, it is "striking a responsive chord" with even those Georgians who opposed him locally, said Ryles.

"He is being hit by outsiders and people here are saying 'we want to show those folks that Carter is just as good as their folks'," said Ryles. "It is part of the Southern culture to go on the defensive when somebody from outside the South attacks you."

There is evidence of that.

Carter has raised more than half of the money to run his presidential campaign in Georgia, more than $650,000 as of 10 days ago, said Jack Watson, the Atlanta attorney who is Carter's Georgia financial chairman. And the Carter campaign counts on raising another $500,000 here to carry the candidate through the mid-July convention.

"It is almost a 'politics aside' thing," said Watson. "It's like people are saying now, 'no matter that we were on opposite sides of the fence four years ago, this man (Carter) has done a favor for all of us'."

Then, too, political wounds just heal fast.

"It's like two lawyers in a bitter court battle," said former Gov. Carl Sanders, whom Carter beat in a nasty 1970 gubernatorial race that has become an issue in the national presidential campaign. "You don't hold a grudge. You just shake hands after it's over and go about your business. In politics you always know that there is another day another campaign."

Sanders says he will support the Democratic nominee but will not become active in presidential politics, devoting his time instead to work on the Democratic National Platform Committee in the next three and a half months.

But while it cannot be said that Sanders loyalists are not falling in line en masse behind Carter's campaign, it can be said that they are not behaving like Lester Maddox in New Hampshire —waving red flags in front of the Carter campaign.

Why? One Sanders loyalist who is often contacted by national news sources to get some "dirt" on the Carter campaign tactics used in 1970, says now that the campaign was just not all that dirty, "at least not outside the boundaries of what Georgia political campaigns will tolerate."

Says Sanders of that race, almost backdoor praise of Carter's Style:

"Unlike Gov. Reagan, and the Republican party, we did not have a '11th Commandment' in Georgia politics in 1970:

"Gov. Carter spoke of and against me often and did so vociferously. Most of it was bunk. But he said it like he believed it."

House Passes City Bankruptcy Bill

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A bill rushed through Congress to establish a new method for municipal bankruptcy proceedings as a result of New York City's brush with bankruptcy last year won final House approval Thursday by voice vote.

The measure, which needs final Senate clearance before it goes to the White House, was a compromise worked out between differing house and senate bills passed last December.

New York City didn't need the bill because Congress approved simultaneously a $2.3 billion loan to rescue it from impending defaults on financial obligations. The bankruptcy bill would have served as a stopgap in case the federal loans failed to save it from default.

RR

RNING
T EDITION

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

, NO. 210 **** P.O. BOX 4689 ATLANTA, GA. 30302, FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1976 88 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS

DOUBTERS ARE FEWER

Carter Success Felt In Georgia Politics

By DAVID MORRISON

Jimmy Carter's successes as a "viable" political candidate nationally may well be the most significant event in local politics since the abolition of the county unit system changed the face of the state legislature, some Georgia political observers are saying.

Already the Carter campaign in places like Winston-Salem, N.C., Orlando, Fla., Marion, Ill., and Manchester, N.H., is showing some interesting side effects in Georgia political circles:

— Georgia politicians who not two years ago were saying they would not support the former Georgia governor for head dog catcher of Sumpter County, now are climbing aboard Carter's presidential campaign bandwagon, in almost staggering numbers.

— The Republican Party of Georgia, which as recently as two months ago had in its nostrils the scent of major political successes in the November general election — possibly even gaining two congressional seats — now worries that with Carter on the ballot as the Democratic nominee they would have to dig in deep to keep what positions the GOP has in Georgia.

—Blacks, who heretofore have been among Carter's closest allies in Georgia political battles, are apparently ignoring Carter's massive popularity among blacks in other states' primaries and are split locally over supporting Carter in Georgia's May 4 primary balloting.

Although there are some in Georgia who still doubt whether Carter will have the political strength to survive until the Democratic National Convention in July and command enough delegates to assure the nomination, they now acknowledge that it is possible. Carter is clearly the frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination. He does have twice the delegates of any other candidates in the race and more than his top three rivals combined.

"I guess I will support him if he is the Democratic nominee," one of the most ardent critics of Carter's administration as governor — House Speaker Tom Murphy — said reluctantly in an off-the-cuff interview outside his Capitol office this week. "I don't suppose it

See POLITICS, Page 22-A

Times 25 March

Uphill Fight for Reagan, Carter Despite North Carolina Victories

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

RALEIGH, N.C., March 24 — Ronald Reagan's upset victory in North Carolina, which surprised even his closest advisers, leaves him with a steep uphill run toward the Republican Presidential nomination. By winning here after bowing to the President in the first five primaries, Mr. Reagan gave renewed hope to his supporters and improved his chances of raising the money needed to keep fighting. But the political arithmetic in some of the former California Governor's own strategic decisions put him at a profound disadvantage.

News Analysis

The Democratic victor in this state, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, also faces problems. Having swept nearly everything before him in the first 90 days of the year, he confronts an April calendar that seems to favor his opponents, particularly Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

On April 6, Mr. Carter is favored neither in Wisconsin, where Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona is trying for his first primary victory, nor in New York, where Mr. Jackson is regarded as the front-runner. By April 27, Mr. Carter must face Senator Jackson again, and Mr. Udall—if he survives Wisconsin—in the climactic Pennsylvania primary.

Key Accomplishments

Nonetheless, winning in North Carolina accomplished important goals for both Mr. Reagan, who has silenced the distracting calls for his withdrawal, and Mr. Carter, who appears to have destroyed the national political influence of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Mr. Wallace never really thought that he would be nominated by the Democratic for President this year, but he hoped to put together enough delegates to influence the choice. Having lost four primaries in a row, including two in the South, where he was once beyond challenge, the Governor finds himself without a broad base.

He promised last night and this morning in Montgomery, Ala., to press on, but the old combativeness was gone, replaced by a wistful tone. By abandoning his old-time rallies and relying on a news media campaign, he said he would do better in other primaries, but of course that remains to be seen, doesn't it?"

After 15 years on the national stage, much of it in the spotlight, Mr. Wallace's day seems to be drawing to a close. As one North Carolina politican said this morning, "The thing is that nobody's afraid of him any more."

Substantial Victory

Mr. Reagan's victory here was more substantial than any of the President's victories except that in Illinois last week. He won 52 percent of the vote to Mr. Ford's 46. He carried 10 of North Caroina's 11 Congressional districts, nine of the state's 10 largest counties and all of its the large cities. As expected, Mr. Reagan won in the deeply conservative east, and Mr. Ford won in the mountainous west, where the traditions of moderate Republicanism have persisted ever since the region fought against slavery in the 19th century.

The surprise was Mr. Reagan's sweep of the populous Piedmont, where Mr. Ford had been favored, particularly in Charlotte, Winston-Sale, Greensboro and Raleigh.

An NBC News poll of 600 Republicans after they cast ther ballots showed that one in five decided on a candidate in the last week, and that 70 percent of them decided on Mr. Reagan.

The poll also pointed to foreign affairs as the dominant issue—the first time this year that poll data have so indicated. Large numbers of voters expressed resentment at Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and detente, and three-fourths of those who did so chose Mr. Reagan.

Reagan's Advertising

In the final week, the Reagan campaign ran a 30-minute television commercial featuring the Californian, and five-minute spots using a speech by hin chief backer, Senator Jesse A. Helms. The Reagan camp also mailed 200,000 pieces of advertising. All strensed the theme that the United States had fallen into an inferior military posture.

"It has to be the advertising," said J. Brad Hays, one of Mr. Ford's main organizers here. "Our only real weakness was foreign policy, and they used that to sneak through the net. It wasn't organization, it was Sally Jones sitting at home, watching Ronald Reagan on television and deciding that she didn't want to give away the Panama Canal."

Thomas F. Ellis, Mr. Reagan's state coordinator, agreed. North Carolina, he said, was the first state in which the Californian "finally got his message across."

"In Florida," he added, "they came thrashing in four days before the voting and tried to make the point. You can't do that. The voters have to have it explained them, and that takes time and lots of repetition."

'The Carter Coalition'

Mr. Carter, in defeating Governor Wallace for the third week in a row, won 54 percent of the vote—the first majority this year for any Democrat. He assembled a broad coalition, which he called "the Carter coalition," spread across all regional, racial and economic groups.

His pollster, Patrick Caddell, said the Georgian had taken one-third of Mr. Wallace's 1972 voters from him in the state's top 25 counties. A study by The Raleigh Times showed severe Wallace slippage in white-collar, middle-class suburban and rural precincts in this area.

Perhaps Mr. Carter's most dramatic accomplishment came in sweeping all 11 Congressional districts, including those on the coast that have always backed Mr. Wallace.

The NBC News poll and an anaylses of leading Democrat suggested that Mr. Wallace had been hurt by three developments: the decision of most of those who had backed Mr. Jackson before he quit campaigning here to switch to Mr. Carter: Mr. Wallace's health, and, as one prominent Democrat put it, "the realization that we had a Southerner who might win."

Mr. Carter's campaign was further aided today with the release of a Gallup Poll indication that he would defeat President Ford, 48 percent to 46, while Mr. Jackson and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota would lose. Although Mr. Carter's margin over the President was smaller than the margin of error he will nonetheless be able to cite the survey as evidence of his electability.

In winning here, Mr. Carter gained 36 delegates to Mr. Wallace's 25 under the proportional representation system. The Georgian now has 167 delegates, compared with 55 for Senator Jackson, 23 for Mr. Udall, 98 for other candidates, including favorite sons, and 50 uncommitted. A total of 1,505 is needed to nominate.

On the Republican side, Mr. Reagan won only three more delegates than Mr. Ford, 28 to 25. The President leads nationally with 206 to Mr. Reagan's 81, with a total of 52 uncommitted. A total of 1,130 is needed.

Mr. Reagan's problem, as he looks ahead, is the delegate count. Until the Texas primary on May 1, he is in no position to pick up many votes. And even after that, Mr. Ford has the drop on him in most large states.

The Californian has decided to cancel most of his campaigning in Wisconsin. He bypassed the New York primary, and Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York said the other day that it was time for the uncommitted slate there to begin moving toward the President. In Pennsylvania, Mr. Ford is unchallenged for 103 delegates. In Ohio, which has 97 delegates, it is unsure whether Mr. Reagan will be able to assemble a full slate before the deadline tomorrow.

Even if Mr. Reagan can win in Texas and in his home state of California, which has 167 delegates in a winner-take-all system, that will not be enough to counter the President's expected victories in the other big states, including New Jersey and Michigan, Mr. Ford's base.

"Their strategy absolutely stumps me," said Mr. Ellis, the local Reagan man, referring to Mr. Reagan's campaign advisers. "We gave them a victory here, but tell me, where do they capitalize on it?"

State Gets U.S. Approval For Election-Law Change

The Federal Government has approved, as expected, the change in the New York election law that lists Presidential candidates' names along with those of the delegate candidates supporting them, George Zuckerman, the head of the State Attorney General's civil rights bureau, said yesterday.

The form letter of approval from J. Stanley Pottinger, chief of the Justice Department's civil rights division, reached him yesterday, Mr. Zuckerman said.

Because fewer than 50 percent of those of voting age voted in Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx, elections in those three boroughs come under Federal supervision.

T.T

DEBT COLLECTING AGENCY
THOMAS C. GRAY LTD.,
India Buildings, Victoria St
Edinburgh EH1 2JZ
Tel 031-225 5931
GLASGOW COLLECTION AGENCY
11 Bothwell Street,
Glasgow G2 6NB
Tel 041-248 6645

THE SCOTSMAN

1,421 TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1976 3 a.m. news

Lau
FINE OLD SCOT

MARK FRANKLAND : PLAINS (Georgia)

Gone with the wind of change

THERE IS no doubt who is the most controversial of the Democratic politicians who want to be next President of the United States: it is Jimmy Carter, the ex-Governor of Georgia, who two months ago was barely known even to addicts of American politics.

One of the troubles with Carter is that he seems too good to be true. He was not just once a farm boy: he worked on his father's farm here in South-west Georgia before electricity came to the countryside and farming was much the same as in George Washington's day.

He did not just make good by going to the US Naval Academy at Annapolis and becoming an officer: the famous Admiral Rickover picked him for the team that developed the first nuclear submarines.

He has been not just a peanut farmer — he left the Navy to run the family farm when his father died — he grows, or at least he says he grows, "the best seed peanuts in Georgia" and has also developed a very profitable seed peanut business. He was not just Governor of Georgia: he was, by all accounts, an original and effective administrator.

He is a Christian who has also taught Sunday School. He has a handsome and original mother who also spent two years in her late sixties working as a Peace Corps nurse in India. He has a pleasant, boyish face and also has a smile as big as a slice of watermelon.

It is obviously all too much for some of the other Democratic candidates who are not doing as well as he is, and they have taken to sniping at him in

But political rivalry aside there is something puzzling about Jimmy Carter. The puzzle is this: what combination of luck, ability and goodness knows what else has managed to make a serious candidate for the American Presidency of a man born on a farm in the race-conscious Deep South.

Plains, like many other communities in south Georgia and Mississipi, fought against desegregation and civil rights. It is slap in the middle of George Wallace country.

It does seem odd that a man like Carter should have been able to start a successful political career in a place like this and yet not end up disqualified — as many Americans would say George Wallace is — to be President.

Part of the answer seems to be that while Carter has always opposed racial segregation and inequality he does share many other of the conservative attitudes and instincts of the Southern countryside.

Another part is that the rural South is changing, and just in time us far as Carter is concerned. Twenty and perhaps even ten years ago a man like Carter would not have got far in the race for the Presidency.

The farmers of Plains are more prosperous today than they have ever been. The great change begun by rural electri-

the 1930s has been followed by mechanisation and consolidation.

The poor little farms are gone. Their owners now rent out their land and go to work in industry in nearby towns. Working farmers now cultivate around 400 acres, enough to make a decent living.

A family can run its own farm by its own labour. Cheap black labour is no longer necessary.

During the period of consolidation many people left Plains. Billy Carter, Jimmy Carter's younger brother, who now runs the family farm and business, remembers a time when he was the only man under 40 working a farm in Plains. But the result today is a neat-looking community, with houses under the pecan trees as trim as those in a well-off city suburb.

The growing prosperity and Carter's own success, first in Georgia politics, and now on the national scene, seem to be drawing the white people of Plains slowly away from the old prejudices. The best authority in Plains on this subject is probably Lillian Carter, Jimmy's mother.

Old Mrs Carter — she is now in her seventies — was born 20 miles away, the daughter of a postmaster, which is quite a respected job in rural America. She is one of those interesting characters who seems to have

She has never — unlike her late husband — shared the racial attitudes of the old White South, which were the attitudes of almost every white person in Plains. She horrified her friends when she decided to go to India as a Peace Corps volunteer.

India in the eyes of the ordinary southern Georgian is a black country. It is as simple as that.

Lillian Carter spoke to members of her local church before she left for India and all she got were questions like "Why are you going among all those blacks? Are you going to work with them? Are you going to have to sleep with them?"

Mrs Carter spends much of her time now at a handsome little house that her family built for her outside Plains by the edge of a small lake — her friends, she says, ask her what she would do if a black man came to her door. She replies: "I would ask him what he needed."

She fishes in the lake, reads a lot and is elegant in the nicest undaunting American way. She is also a born politician in the sense that she knows how to manoeuvre people to make them do the things she believes to be right.

Jimmy Carter obviously owes a lot to his mother. He also owes a lot to the fact that the



JIMMY CARTER

several steps behind him and Lillian Carter.

And Carter's success reconciles Plains to the way it is being dragged into a new way of life. "The local people came

says. "And it is even better now that he is running for President."

The greater the success of Carter and men like him the easier it will be for the Old South to give up the prejudices

The Smile

Many Voters See A 'Sincere' Carter

By FAY S. JOYCE

Someone once remarked that if Jimmy Carter would just lie down, you could play Mozart on his mouth.

Maybe it's cheeky to compare the great Carter grin to a grand piano keyboard, but he is producing music written in votes, not notes.

Warm, shy and friendly all at the same time, The Smile is one of the easiest things to like about Carter, and people helping to pick the Democratic presidential nominee do like it.

"He's sincere," often came the chorus from primary-bound voters who had seen The Smile.

And at the heart of The Smile, saving it from being The Feeble Toothless Grin, The George Washington Pained Expression or The Bland Look, are the teeth.

The teeth are neither movie-star bright nor braces straight, and too big to be pearly. They are the only part of Carter that have been called crooked. In short, they're only human.

But they're looked after. According to inside sources, they always have been.

"We got rewards for brushing our teeth from Miss Abrams," revealed Gloria Spann, the former Georgia governor's sister.

Gloria's reward for working over her mouth three times a day for a year was a permanent, her first. That lure obviously wouldn't work for her brother.

"Miss Abrams told him he had to brush his teeth if he wanted to be a movie star," she laughed.

Miss G. Abrams was a nurse and a close friend of Mrs. Lillian Carter, Jimmy's and Gloria's mother. She helped deliver Jimmy and now lives in Austell. At 75, she says she can't remember just what it was that clicked for the boy.

"I probably gave him money. I gave him a dollar here or a dollar there. Or it might have been tellin' him 'bout movie stars. I tried to think like a child," she explained.

"He probably just brushed his teeth because it was right," she added.

According to the former family dentist in Dawson, who asked not to be quoted by name, Carter was simply endowed with hardy teeth.



Jimmy Is Cartoonists' Delight

"They are unusually good," he said. "He was blessed. He's never had much dental treatment.

"He takes real good care of them," the dentist added. "He'd come in for a checkup every four to six months."

The Smile has delighted political cartoonists, who reported in a recent poll by The Wall Street Journal that they were grateful for the goods.

Looking like the incisors of a madcap beaver, the cartooned teeth lifted Carter from the early parade of bland masks hung on Sens. Henry Jackson, Birch Bayh and Lloyd Bentsen, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp and other what's-his-names who were scrambling for the nomination.

Of course there are cynics who distrust The Smile, but when a reporter asked Carter in Chicago if he would try to restrain his grin in the face of increasing criticism, Carter just smiled.

Cleveland AMERICAN

Volume LXVI Number 29
Thursday, March 11, 1976

Published each Thursday at the American Building, 210 S. Broadway, Cleveland, Oklahoma (Zip 74020) Second class postage paid.

THE AMERICAN CHIEF CO. Publishers

NORMAN C. BRIDWELL — Managing Editor
MARIANNE DENNY — Women's Editor
OWEN SUGG — Advertising
CAROL McSPADDEN — Composition
DEBBIE CASEY — Bookkeeper
LINDA TRAVIS — Typesetter
SUE LONG — Typesetter

PRIZE WINNING NEWSPAPER 1974

PRIZE WINNING NEWSPAPER 1973

Member Oklahoma Press Association

Subscription Rates, Including State Sales Tax

In Pawnee and Osage counties and other areas considered within Cleveland Trade Area	$5.20 per year
Elsewhere in Oklahoma	$6.12 per year
Outside of Oklahoma	$8.00 per year

FORMER VISITOR RUNNING AHEAD

It has been interesting to watch former Gerogia governor Jimmy Carter gain popularity among the Democrat voters across the nation as the various Presidential primaries take place.

It is interesting because it was just about 16 months ago that he was a Cleveland visitor and speaker at a Democrat gathering here which drew a much smaller crowd than had been expected or that should have turned out for such a meeting.

If he were to return today, no doubt many more area Democrats and even the Tulsa news media would be much more impressed and perhaps take time to possible meet and listen to this man who now is casting a much larger shadow on the national political scene.

If he hasn't changed since that day in October of 1974, it is easy to understand why he is capturing a large percentage of the vote in the various elections. He appeared to be a very intelligent man with a pleasing personality and much more in line with the Oklahoma way of thinking than many of the ultra-liberal leaders of both parties.

If he does attain the nation's number one position some day, I wonder if he will remember Cleveland, Oklahoma, and that night he spent here when he was just starting to hit the campaign trail?

XX

HENNY

Carter makes his mark but what's his line?

Jimmy Carter is now one of the leading Democratic contenders for the presidential nomination, after winning in the Florida primary last week; at least, he is for now. During the last month, without comprehensively defining himself or his political position, he has defied conventional wisdom and shown that a southern candidate can beat northerners in their north and George Wallace in the south, by efficient and exhaustive campaigning. Yet only a few months ago he was the man America knew as Jimmy Who?

Peter Pringle reports from New York

IN 1971, 20 portraits of the new governor of Georgia, James Earl Carter Jnr, were submitted by four artists for the May 31 cover of Time magazine. They were to go with a story on the "New South." All were rejected—on the grounds that they did not look enough like President Kennedy, who had been dead for seven years. The artist whose portrait was finally used says he was told to make the picture resemble Kennedy. Indeed, the finished product was more like the late president than the new governor, with its shock of hair and toothy, grin.

Just over a year later Jimmy Carter declared he would run for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination.

Carter does not readily connect the two events. He says he came to that decision after his job as governor had given him the chance to meet such lofty figures as Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew and a bunch of presidential hopefuls. He discovered they were not awesome, but just human beings with strengths and weaknesses like himself.

He had listed his own weaknesses: he was a southerner, a native of Plains, Georgia (pop. 600), he had no urban base and no national media support apart from that front cover of Time. In short, he was unknown. (President of what? his mother is said to have hooted when he decided to run). His final weakness was that other declared candidates were ahead on raising money.

His strengths? There was his overall personality—his manners, jokes and his pleasing appearance. He felt it possible that, by sharing plenty of his charm in as many places as possible and with a "small, effective staff and a large group of politically-attractive volunteers," he could win not only the nomination but also the election. After all, he and his wife Rosalynn had shaken the hands of 600,000 Georgians in his 1970 campaign to be governor and won; several America could put them in the White House.

So far the 1976 campaign, Carter set about marketing his most saleable commodity—himself.

Sample: 10.30 am, February 24, at an old folk's community centre in the Bronx, New York; Carter, just a few hours away from his first major victory, in the New Hampshire primary, steps into a packed room; grins like a Ted Heath cartoon—or a Kennedy portrait—and blows a kiss to the front row, mainly of women, who swell with pride and clap loudly.

First, a suitable introduction in a characteristically low key, sometimes creepy, voice (he spent hours talking into a tape recorder to cure a mumble): "My mother, Lillian Carter, capped a career of public service by joining the Peace Corps at the age of 68 and going to India for two years. . . . And, as I look at your own faces, I can see the contribution you have made to society and still have to make. . . ."

Then follows a potted Carter history: grew up in rural Georgia, no running water or electricity; got up at 4 am to pick peanuts; made it to the US naval academy and became a nuclear physicist; back to the farm, took up community affairs, became governor of Georgia.

"Now I want to be your president so I can give you a government that's honest and that's filled with love, competence and compassion.

"I know America has twice as many poor people among our senior citizens than other sections of the community. . . . And I know you're worried about public transportation and a possible means test. . . . But don't be. Three things have not changed: first, God hasn't done anything to our country to make it economically weak; second, we have the best system of government on earth; and third, the character of the US people is such that we still have the strength to work together."

Finally, Carter makes two references New York on April 8, only two Democratic candidates will have any chance of winning. Secondly, there will be no deadlock at the national Democratic convention in July; he will be nominated Democratic candidate on the first ballot. "And when I'm in the White House, not quite a year from now, I want you to feel as close to me then as you do today."

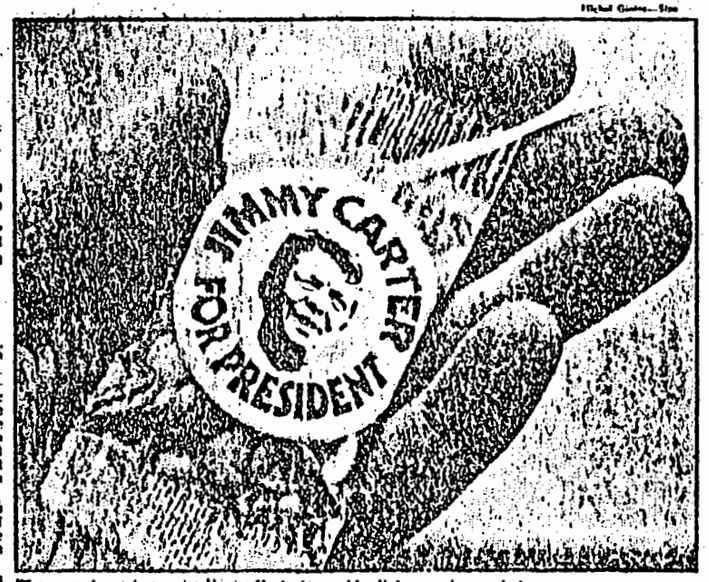
One questioner asks: "You look honest, Mr. Carter, but if all around you in the White House are crooked, how do you intend to go straight?"

Carter replies by delivering his campaign litany: "I've lived for 51 years and I've made mistakes, but if I ever lie to you . . . or if I ever mislead you . . . don't vote for me. And remember I'd rather die than betray a confidence."

In fact, the sketchy biography that Carter retails could be filled in a little. . . . He is not as he tells everyone a peanut farmer, but a wealthy agricultural businessman with a peanut warehousing concern.

He has been a businessman since the age of nine; he grossed a dollar a day selling boiled peanuts in Plains and saved enough to buy five bales of cotton. These he stored for a few years until the price went up. Selling them gave him enough capital to buy five houses; from these he collected $10.50 a month until he joined the navy, when the houses were sold to the tenants.

Recently, Carter has run into flak which cannot be easily dismissed. The charges are: running a racist campaign for the governorship of Georgia in 1970; inflating a decent record in office into a great one; being too close to segregationists like George Wallace and Lester Maddox; and fudging, waffling or shifting ground on a range of issues from the death penalty to abortion.



The peanut way to power: Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign packet

Was his campaign for governor racist? Carter ran as a George Wallace candidate. He pledged to invite Wallace to address the Georgia legislature as soon as he had taken the oath of office. "True to his word," notes Reg Murphy, a virulent foe who is former editor of the Atlanta Constitution and now editor of the San Francisco Examiner, "Carter offered to Wallace as soon as he could the hospitality of the Georgia house and senate, which is dominated by rednecks (conservative rural whites of the south). One gets the impression that Carter would not similarly pledge to invite Wallace to the White House soon after his election as president."

Still on the same charge, Carter's campaign was endorsed by the Augusta Courier, which uses the word "nigger" freely and is published by Roy Harris, a noted segregationist. Finally, Carter told a Georgia reporter on June 21, 1970, that if he received the democratic nomination for governor "I would run as a local Georgia conservative Democrat . . . I'm basically a Redneck."

Carter replied to the racist charge in Time magazine: "In 1970 I was the only candidate in the entire group of maybe 15 or 20 running for lieutenant governor and governor of Georgia who meticulously campaigned in both the black and white communities of very city and town.

"I said that the south, though conservative, is not racist, that there is no place for racism, and that we should recognise the changing times that are on us."

On his record as governor, Carter's official campaign brochure says: "Carter pushed through a hard-nosed reorganisation of the state's overgrown bureaucracy. He eliminated 278 of the 300 agencies and slashed administrative costs by 50 per cent. At the same time, he vastly increased state services to the poor, deprived and afflicted."

Carter has added that his reorganisation resulted in great savings, a claim which others dispute—the state's budget grew from $1.07 billion in 1971 to $1.69 billion in 1975.

Reg Murphy has his own explanation. In last month's New Republic he writes:

"He (Carter) took charge of a government that had almost 300 agencies, boards and bureaus; he reduced them to less than 30 manageable departments. The way he did it is interesting, and a subject he deems to be too complicated for discussion on the campaign trail. Too bad, he could have explained that his reorganisation of state government consisted basically of adding a superstructure of about 25 superheads of super-departments to supervise those who had been doing the work all along; the number rose from 49,000 to 69,000 during his tenure."

The Carter reform did, however, fight for tough consumer laws and banking regulations. It also opened the state government to blacks and women. It fostered new programmes in health care, education and prisons. And, for all his criticism, Reg Murphy admits: "Carter is the best and hardest campaigner anyone has ever seen."

So is Carter basically a redneck? Or is he a civil rights activist? Reg Murphy knows an old Georgia political phrase which he thinks fits the presidential hopeful: "He's anybody's dog that'll hunt with him." Many are wondering, given the vagueness of his promises so far, who his hunting partners might be if he won.

For all his successes, there is, however, the real Jimmy Carter is largely an unknown.

Next Tuesday's primary in Illinois provides him with a good opportunity, as the Washington Post pointed out, to define himself "in a way that will help others define him. A speech? A position paper? A Press conference? We know only that something is required of the former governor of Georgia to help people make choices—and that the time is coming when very important choices will be made."

RUSSIANS ATTACK "SCOOP": The Soviet government has singled out US presidential candidate Senator "Scoop" Jackson for a bitter personal attack, writes *Reuben Ainsztein*. In an assessment of Jackson's prospects ("not entirely brilliant"), the military magazine Red Star says that at the beginning of hi career Jackson decided to serve "the three Leviathans—the oil interests, the aircraft industry and Zionism—and the three have looked after him."

The paper's political commentator, B. Karpovich, claims: "Jackson's masters have one common political credo: anti-communism. The senator, who is distinguished by a truly pathological hatred of everything red, is doing his best to prove himself worthy of their trust."

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaig n

What The Press Had To Say.

3/24

North Carolina Vote Count

REPUBLICANS
99 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

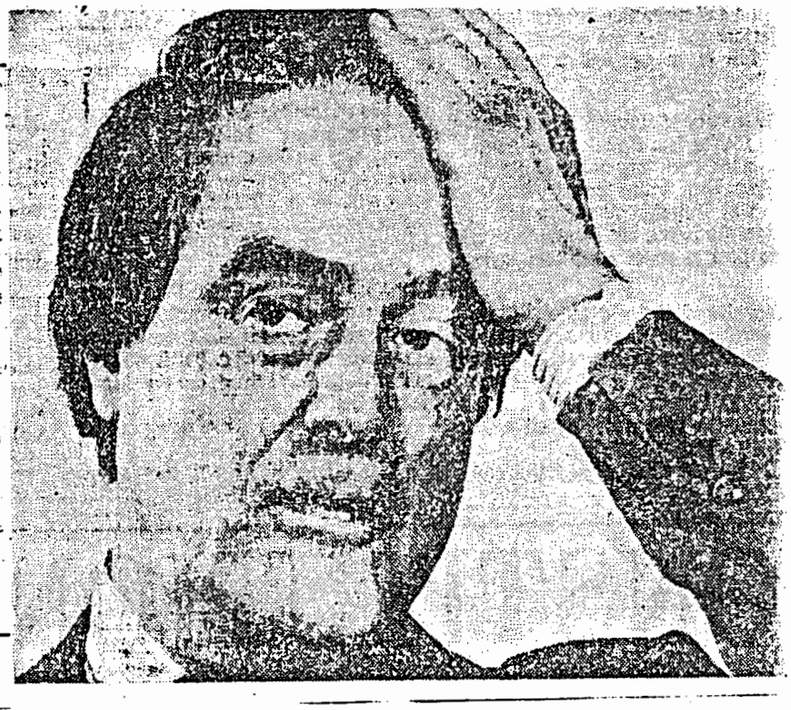
Ronald Reagan	101,015 (52%)
Gerald Ford	88,280 (46%)
No Preference	3,323 (2%)

DEMOCRATS
99 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	320,913 (54%)
George Wallace	209,674 (35%)
Henry Jackson	25,698 (4%)
No Preference	22,880 (4%)
Morris Udall	14,033 (2%)
Fred Harris	6,137 (1%)
Lloyd Bentsen	1,792 (0%)

Shriver Pulls Out

WASHINGTON—R. Sargent Shriver withdrew on Monday from the race for the Democratic presidential nomination, saying Jimmy Carter 'would be hard to catch' by any of the remaining candidates. Shriver said he would inaction for a week or 10 days and 'probably make a decision then' on whom to support for the nomination. (Associated Press Photo)



10A

B

News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Deployment of units for a military seizure of power in Argentina has begun and both army and marine units joined the police in fighting a guerrilla attack south of Buenos Aires in which 10 guerrillas were killed. Naval sources said warships are headed for positions off the capital. The armed forces have reportedly decided to replace President Isabel Martinéz de Perón to end left-wing subversion and anarchy, with the army commander, Lieut. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, as head of a military junta. [Page 1, Col. 1.]

Following a cabinet meeting in Salisbury, Prime Minister Ian D. Smith of Rhodesia rejected the British proposals for legalizing the country's independence on a basis of black majority rule in two years at most. He said the British plan disregarded realities and was as extreme as the African National Council's proposals. Four African Presidents will meet with Rhodesian nationalist leaders in Zambia today, reportedly for new plans to end white rule. [1:2-3.]

Moslem militiamen in Beirut continued their penetration of downtown sections traditionally held by Christian Phalangists. Syria was said to be seeking to persuade Kamal Jumblat, leader of Lebanon's leftists, to modify his opposition to its formula for a cease-fire. [1:2-3.]

At the world trade negotiations in Geneva, the United States delegation proposed a formula under which industrialized countries would cut their tariffs as much as 60 per cent. There was no immediate reaction from America's major trading partner. [1:2.]

National

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California clung to a narrow lead over President Ford as votes were being counted in the North Carolina Republican Presidential primary. In the Democratic balloting, former Gov. Jimmie Carter of Georgia defeated his Southern rival, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, for the third week in a row. He was pulling better than half the vote and running strongly even in coastal areas that Mr. Wallace swept when he won the 1972 primary. Both Mr. Reagan and Mr. Wallace campaigned to the last minute in the state. Their rivals wound up last week. [1:8.]

Representative Brock Adams, chairman of the House Budget Committee, proposed that the Federal Government spend $412.8 billion next year, $18.6 billion more than President Ford's recommendation. The Washington Democrat said the increase was needed to stop Mr. Ford's "drastic shift of priorities from human resources programs to defense" and to ensure that "restrictive budget policies do not arrest the beginning of economic recovery." [1:6-7.]

The Supreme Court ruled 5 to 3 that state and local officials, such as policemen, who defame a citizen may not be sued in Federal court for alleged civil rights violations if only the person's reputation suffers. [1:6-7.]

The Civil Aeronautics Board announced that Braniff Airways has agreed to a record civil penalty of $300,000 for failure to report an illegal $40,000 contribution to the 1972 re-election campaign of President Richard M. Nixon and for a $1 million scheme to hide ticket discounts. In another illegal campaign contribution case, the chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, Dr. Armand Hammer, was fined $3,000 in Los Angeles and placed on probation for one year. [1:8.]

The National Opinion Research Center released a survey of Catholic attitudes showing that overwhelming rejection of the 1968 papal ban on artificial birth control had led to drastic declines in religious devotion and the loss of nearly $1 billion in annual church income. But it showed that support for parochial schools remained strong despite the church's retreat from that field. [1:5-7.]

Metropolitan

Governor Carey said the cuts made last week by the Legislature in his budget requests for state departments and agencies were unworkable and counterproductive, and could make it impossible to run the state government. Some could lead to loss of accreditation for state facilities or loss of Federal funds for insufficiently staffed programs, he said. [1:4.]

The Board of Higher Education is ready to accept most of the Kibbee plan for consolidating and restructuring the City University, according to sources in the board. The principal exceptions would involve Richmond College, which the board would merge with Staten Island Community College rather than close it, and York College, which it would retain as a four-year institution. No formal vote is scheduled. [1:5.]

The Other News

International

Teng episode in China found revelatory. Page 2
Japanese seek motive in "kamikaze" crash. Page 2
Italian general now charged with extortion. Page 3
Argentine guerrillas succeed with workers. Page 4
Kissinger refuses to bar invasion of Cuba. Page 7
French Communists mount recruiting drive. Page 9
U.S. lawyers appeal in Yugoslav case. Page 9
Story of West German held as spy. Page 14

Government and Politics

Jackson stresses job issue to students. Page 20
35 Jackson delegates in trouble in state. Page 20
Senate acts to revive campaign panel. Page 20
Udall pledges billions in transit aid. Page 21
Early Udall backers angry over being dropped. Page 21
Appeals Court backs state loans to city. Page 22
Control Board "procrastinating" on budget. Page 22
Panel finds city pensions are properly funded. Page 23
Ford calls for curb on eavesdropping in U.S. Page 36
Ford signs credit rights legislation. Page 36

General

Pentagon cited by ensign on homosexuality. Page 8
Miami Beach may raze neighborhood of elderly. Page 16
No conspiracy found in Dr. King's death. Page 17
Two probation officers question Miss Hearst. Page 19
Paris gives Bicentennial a French flair. Page 28
New questions raised in Bronx market dispute. Page 36
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 43
Council unit votes to keep rent control. Page 43

Industry and Labor

Wage offer and fears said to end bus strike. Page 43

Education and Welfare

Students boycott in support of principal. Page 29

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from N except Long Island. Higher in air

REAGAN GETS LEAD AND CARTER WINS IN NORTH CAROLINA

Edge Over Ford Unexpected —Wallace Loses Again to Georgia Ex-Governor

SUFFERS BITTER BLOW

Defeat Is Third in Row for Alabamian—Jackson Runs Far Behind Southerners

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

RALEIGH, N. C., March 23—Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California clung to a narrow lead over President Ford early tonight in the North Carolina Republican primary.

In the Democratic balloting, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia defeated his Southern rival, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, for the third week in a row. Mr. Carter was winning more than half the vote and was running strongly even in the coastal areas that Mr. Wallace swept in winning the 1972 Presidential primary here.

It was a bitter blow for the Alabamian, who even before the votes were tallied had decided to restructure his campaign, de-emphasizing the colorful rallies that helped to build his fame.

Mr. Reagan's lead over Mr. Ford, to whom he had lost five straight primaries, was unexpected. Mr. Ford had said the race would be close, but Mr. Reagan had all but conceded last weekend that he would be beaten.

The Californian had been hoping for a victory to revive his flagging campaign.

Jackson Trailing

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, whose name was on the Democratic ballot but who did not actively campaign, was far behind Mr. Wallace.

With 37 percent of 2,343 precincts reporting, the tally was:

REPUBLICAN	
Reagan	38,846 (53%)
Ford	33,665 (46%)
DEMOCRATS	
Carter	127,513 (54%)
Wallace	80,621 (34%)
Jackson	10,394 (4%)

Senator Jackson, a major contender in the New York and Wisconsin primaries two weeks from today, cut back his North Carolina campaign earlier this month in an effort to avoid an embarrasing defeat.

Mr. Reagan was leading for 28 delegates to the Republican National Convention, with Mr. Ford leading for 25 and one uncommitted.

Among the Democrats, Mr. Carter led for 35, Mr. Wallace for 24 and Mr. Jackson for one. One was uncommitted.

The weather was bright and springlike as the voters turned

Continued on Page 20, Column 1

C

D

Reagan Takes Early Lead In North Carolina Voting

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

out for the year's sixth Presidential primary.

Mr. Wallace and Mr. Reagan, sensing that they were behind, had campaigned right down to the last minute in North Carolina, while Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford wound up their efforts here last week.

The President heard the returns at the White House. Mr. Reagan was campaigning in Wisconsin before his planned return to his home in California, and Mr. Carter was campaigning in St. Louis as the tabulation wore on. Governor Wallace was in his office in Montgomery, Ala., where he planned a strategy session tomorrow.

Three Democrats whose names were listed on the ballot never appeared in the state—Senator Lloyd M. Bensten Jr. of Texas, who has withdrawn from the race; former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Praise for Homemaking

Mr. Ford visited the state twice, last weekend and the preceeding one, making unusually low-keyed appeals for votes. Asked in Charlotte whether he hoped Mr. Reagan would withdraw after the balloting here, the President replied that he did not care.

Blandnessw as the dominant characteristic of Mr. Ford's public utterances, as exemplified by his comment to a group of young women in Charlotte: "I think homemaking is good for America."

Mr. Reagan, on the other hand, found himself constantly on the defensive. In Brookfield, Wis., this afternoon, he was still proclaiming, as he had all last week, that he was "in this race all the way until August."

He kept up the pressure on the President with criticism of the Administration's defense and foreign policies, but Mr. Reagan rejected the advice of his local managers, especially Senator Jesse A. Helms, to dwell on the problems of Mr. Ford's former campaign chairman, Howard M. Callaway.

Mr. Reagan also ordered his staff here to stop circulating hand bills injecting racial issues into the campaign.

There was something almost serene about Mr. Carter's style as he moved about the state, where his polls had showed him sell ahead and he did nothing to disturb that situation.

Religious Convictions

For the first time, the Georgian, who is a Baptist lay preacher, talked at some length about his religious convictions, telling one audience that he often prayed in the Statehouse in Atlanta. He spoke of "a deeply profound religious experience that changed my life dramatically" in 1967, but gave no details.

Mr. Wallace tried hard to cut Mr. Carter down to size, calling him a welsher who had backed Mr. Jackson in 1972 after promising to support Mr. Wallace. It was an uncharacteristically personal kind of attack for the Alabama Governor, and seemed to reflect a campaign in trouble.

"I've represented you for a long time," he said almost wistfully at Monroe on a final motocade yesterday. "I've stood up for you in Philadelphia and Buffalo when no one else would. Now I hope you'll stand up for me."

Pair of Withdrawals

The most important development here for Mr. Carter's point of view was a pair of withdrawals that enabled him to confront Mr. Wallace head on. In January, former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina ended his national campaign, and then on March 12, Mr. Jackson, who had hoped to pick up much of Mr. Sanford's following, announced efforts elsewhere.

The contest in North Carolina that he would concentrate his was not a particularly expensive campaign, especially in view of the dispersion of the population in many small cities, which makes television advertising more costly.

According to their aides, Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan spent about $250,000 each in the state. Mr. Carter spent some $40,000 on television, but Mr. Wallace tripled that, according to their local campaing managers.

Jackson Delegate Slate Facing Loss of 35

By MAURICE CARROLL

Some 35 Jackson-for-President delegates face removal from the New York State ballot or shunting aside into an "uncommitted" listing, Secretary of State Mario M. Cuomo said yesterday.

This could push the Washington Senator's total of identifiable delegates below the totals of Jimmy Carter and Morris K. Udall, the two other major candidates in state's primary election on April 6.

Donald Manes, state campaign manager for Senator Henry M. Jackson, attributed the problem to "an administrative goof"—late filing or faulty filing under the amended state election law, which was belatedly altered to let a Presidential candidate's name be listed with the delegates supporting him.

The most prominent of the problem delegates is Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former chief United States representative to the United Nations, who was supposed to be substituted onto the top of a Jackson slate in the Bronx.

Mr. Moynihan's substitution form arrived on Monday, two days after the deadline, at Mr. Cuomo's office in Albany. The return address on the envelope read "The White House." That was crossed out and "RD 2, Oneonta" was put in its place. Mr. Moynihan has a farm near that upstate community.

Hinges on Court Ruling

There was a stamp, but no postmark.

"If he produces an affidavit saying he filed on time, I'll take his word for it," Mr. Cuomo said. But he noted that the State Supreme Court, which is to make a ruling tomorrow, could overturn his decision. Efforts to reach Mr. Moynihan at Harvard University, where he is teaching, were not immediately successful.

The Udall-for-President team has intervened in the court case and is, a spokesman indicated, ready to press the same sort of technical objections that characterized the first round of court challenges, some of which are still to be completed, in which the validity of nominating petition signatures was questiond. Those first-round challenges were pressed by the Jackson team, which now finds itself on the defensive.

"It'll shake down to 10 or 12," Mr. Manes said yesterday. "Anyway," he added in a determinedly optimistic tone, "these people's names will be on the ballot. It means our troops will have to be working."

The near-simultaneous change in the New York law and the collapse of Senator Birch Bayh's campaign touched off a slate-shuffling scramble in which the three major remaining candidates tried to put up a full roster of 206 names in the state's 39 Congressional districts. The New York State delegation, second biggest at the party convention in July in Madison Square Garden, will number 274. The at-large delegates will be apportioned by party officials in the same ratio as the district winners.

Last Saturday was the final date to send in the series of forms needed to refashion slates. The Udall-for-President team, according to its delegate coordinator, Harold Ickes, wound up with 193 names on the ballot. The Carter team's total was thought to be 163.

Some Will Lose Out

But the Jackson team, which had started out months ago as every expert's favorite to win in New York, left the complicated paperwork to lower echelon workers and, according to Mr. Cuomo, postmarks showed that some of them filed late, while the evidence was ambiguous on others.

There were about 35 problem Jackson delegates, he said. He said he would accept affidavits in the ambiguous cases but that the late filers "are out—they're off the ballot." He had no breakdown of how many were in each category.

The Jackson team, in a suit brought on behalf of one of the problem delegates, Sandra Berg, who is from Mr. Manes's Stevenson Regular Democratic Club in Flushing, Queens, has sued in the State Supreme Court in Albany to have all the problem delegates listed. The Udall forces have intervened.

"The Jackson people used every available legal method to throw Wallace slates out," Mr. Ickes observed. "Now Udall and Carter have complied with the new rules." And, he indicated, the Jackson team had not.

Udall's Team Annoyed

Mr. Moynihan's case stirred particular interest. Popular with Jewish voters because of his anti-Arab oratory in the United Nations, he was asked to head the Jackson slate in the heavily Jewish 22d District in the Bronx. The former top man, Assemblyman Burton Hecht stepped aside to praise from Mr. Jackson for his "act of tremendous generosity and unselfishness."

But the Udall team in the district, headed by Mr. Moynihan's old friend, Representative Jonathan B. Bingham, reacted with anger and with research into Mr. Moynihan's place of residence. A delegate candidate need not live in the district where he runs but he does have to live in the state and, Mr. Bingham said, "In the last edition of 'Who's Who', his home address is listed as Cambridge, Mass."

After hearing about the representative's irritation, Mr. Moynihan telephoned him and said, "My God, they were supposed to clear it with you."

Is Mr. Moynihan's candidacy "objectionable" to Mr. Bingham?

"Sure it is," he said. "If he lives upstate let him run there."

He noted that, if he declines to file an affidavit with Mr. Cuomo, Mr. Moynihan could stay off the ballot.

Mr. Moynihan did not answer when repeated telephone calls were made to his Harvard office.

E

Early Udall Backers Angry Over Ouster as Delegates

By LUCINDA FRANKS

On a cold January night, when Morris K. Udall was just one of many Democratic Presidential hopefuls, a group of West Siders, talking of peace marches and protest days gone by, gathered to start a grassroots Udall-for- President organization.

Mostly ordinary political citizens, not seasoned in politics, they worked 16-hour days to put together Udall delegate slates in two Congressional districts in Manhattan and the all-consuming effort cost one of them his marriage and two others their jobs. Nevertheless, by early March, they had transformed the Arizona Congressman from a nobody on the West Side to a recognizable politician.

Then came Mr. Udall's strong showing in the March primary in Massachusetts. The big guns blazed into New York; Mr. Udall was heralded as the "sole surviving liberal" among the candidates, a man who could win. Powerful politicians, not only on the West Side but also in other areas of the state, took over the delegate slates and most of the original Udall delegates were bumped.

The bitterness and resentment this has caused have prompted many original Udall devotees to cease working for him. While some speculate that this will be compensated for by the efforts of the professionals who took over the slates, others think that the bad feelings could damage his candidacy.

Enthusiasm Is Gone

"He has lost his whole grassroots organization for a few beautiful faces," said Reed Walcott, a Democratic district leader who spearheaded the West Side campaign. "I know that I will not bother pull the vote in my area for him, and most everyone else has taken a passive stance."

Most of the Udall casualties resulted from a deal that the candidate was forced to make to win the support of delegate slates pledged to Birch Bayh, who dropped out of the race after the Massachusetts primary. In Nassau County, for instance, out of 31 Udall delegates on the primary ballot, only four of them are original Udall workers; most of the rest are former Bayh delegates. In other districts in the state, many Udall delegates also were dropped.

The political maneuvering that led to the wholesale dumping prompted Mr. Udall's state political director, Cliff Wilson, to stop working actively in the campaign.

But the worst toll was taken in the two districts that make up Manhattan's West Side. In the 20th, Representative Bella Abzug, who controlled a slate of uncommitted delegates of her own, threw her support to the Udall camp, which inturn gave her control of the Udall slate. The six original Udall people were replaced by four Abzug and two Bayh delegates. In the 19th district, a similar deal was made with Representative Charles B. Rangel, who also controlled a slate of uncommitted delegates: only one original Udall delegate has been Reed Walcott.

"And that was only because they were afraid I'd cause a stink if they didn't," said Miss Walcott, who is considering resigning her post as district leader because she says the Udall experience has sourd hr on politics.

Black Woman Dropped

"What makessme angriest," Miss Walcott said, "is that Rangel would not even keep Geraldine Jordan, the one black on the original slate, who worked so hard she lost her regular job. The Udall national headquarters saud that he did not run with nobodies."

Said Mrs. Jordan:

"My bakk feels like Swus cheese with all the knives that have beef put in it; we all felt Mo Udall had great integrity, that's why we worked so hard. I never thought he would sell the little people out for the big wigs with more so-called drawing power."

"I think it was rather high-handed of Rafgel and Abzug," said Cliff Wilson, "But in any kind of political race, you do have a problem with the hard workers and the biggies wh come in after the work's all done. This just could have beef handled better."

The Udall organization here expressed shock that feelings ran so seep.

"We have obviously upset some of our people and lost some of them," said Paul Tully, state campaign manager. "We had a very difficult job, to effect mergers with the Bayh people in 37 districts in only four days. We had to lose some of our own people in order to build a larger coalition and wire in our progressive competition."

Mr. Tully said that the situation had been particularly complicatedsin the 19th and 20th districts.

"We not only had to weave in Bayh, but Rangel and Abzug, who both hadsvery very strong slates," he said.

Several diSplaced Udall delegates expressedsan understanding of the problem the Udall organization had to face but were nonetheless embittered.

"Its the same old politics—whether your name is Bella Abzug or Mo Udall or Dick Daley," said one Udall worker. "No wone wonder the electorate has finally just plain copped out of it all."

Wallace and Carter Gain Places in Louisiana Contest

NEW ORLEANS, March 22 (AP)—Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, bucking pressure from Louisiana's political establishment, qualified full slates of candidates for spots on the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

The state Democratic Party chairman, Jesse Bankston, said yesterday that 222 candidates had qualified for the 32 posts to be chosen in voting May 1. Governor Wallace and Mr. Carter qualified 32 candidates each, Mr. Bankston said.

Former Sen. Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma qualified 14 and Ellen McCormack of Long Island, N.Y. qualified four.



The New York Times/Edward Hausner

Senator Henry M. Jackson trying the pinball machine in the student lounge at Kingsborough Community College as he toured the campus yesterday. He addressed an outdoor rally at the Brooklyn school.

Jackson Stresses Jobs to Students Here

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington brought his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination back to New York City yesterday with renewed insistence that "the overriding issue" facing the voters in the state's April 6 primary election is jobs.

Addressing 300 to 400 students bunched on the campus outside the bluish-gray prefabricated buildings of Kingsborough Community College in Brooklyn under a bright afternoon sun, Mr. Jackson declared to some cheers:

"It's not complicated. Jobs—J-O-B-S — putting Americans back to work again will be the No. 1 priority of a Jackson Administration."

Tailoring the emphisis of his familiar speech somewhat to his youthful listeners, he went on:

"In some areas more than 25 percent of our young people are out of work and we are not going to tolerate that in a Jackson Administration. I think people want payroll checks and not handout checks. We want jobs and we are going to get jobs for all of our people."

Bigger Wisconsin Effort

Senator Jackson returned here from Washington, D.C., shortly after noon to begin an intensive week of campaigning that is expected to keep him in the New York City areauntilhetak es an upstate swing next weekend.

On Sunday he made a brief trip to Wisconsin, which also has an April 6 primary, before returning to the capital Monday for a visit with his family and talks that led to a decision to setp up somewhat his activities in that state.

In Washington, the Senator and his senior political advisers met with labor leaders, according to Brian Corcoran, his press spokesman, and determined to increase the effort in Wisconsin.

For some time now, the Jackson camp has been toying with the idea of leaving the field in Wisconsin mainly to Representative Morris K. udall of Arizona, Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, and concentrating virtually all its energies on the New York primary, where the Senator generally is believed to be ahead.

Doing Well in Polls

Even now, the Jackson organization is apparently not planning an all-out attempt to win in Wisconsin. Mr. Corcoran said the new project still calls for only $25,000 to $30,000 to be spent on advetising there.

But, he added, the labor people who were consulted Monday were asked "to see if they can get some support out there." He also contended that 80 percent of organized labor in Wisconsin supported Mr. Jackson.

The most recent decision was taken, he explained, because some polls have shown the Senator doing reasonably well there and because "no one also seems to have really caught on."

"But we're not taking our eye off the ball," he insisted, "and the ball is still New York and Pennsylvania [which holds its primary April 27]."

Meanwhile, as voters went to the polls in North Carolina, a state whose primary Mr. Jackson abandoned 11 days ago to Mr. Carter and Governor Wallace, the Senator was receiving an attentive if not overwhelming welcome from the college students on the more hospitable soil of Manhattan Beach in Brooklyn.

Although his reception was fairly warm as he emphasized the public works and other programs a Jackson Administration would institute to provide full employment, there was a scattering of slightly hostile signs among the more kindly ones.

"Can we have $112 billion for defense and meet America's human needs?" one asked, alluding to the Senator's longstanding support for a strong Defense Department.

And a large banner, apparently protesting threatened cutbacks in the funding of the city colleges, declared: "We Will Not Be Political Pawns. People Before Profit."

Earlier, the Senator, during his speech, discovered a way to make a point of one of his favorite projects, the emigration of Soviet Jews.

"I'm very proud," he said, "there's a young man who's a student here whom I helped get out of Russia. Where is he?"

"Hey, boss," yelled curly-haired Boris Chertok, a 25-year-old who is studying music and English, with a grin and a wave.

Later, Mr. Chertok said he and his parents had moved here from Israel two years ago after having been allowed to leave the Soviet Union earlier.

How had Senator jackson helped him?

"He was the only Senator I heard in Moscow about," he explained, "so I was able to keep my cool when talking to the Russians."

Senator Jackson, who also had interviews with editors and a television apparance yesterday, wound up his campaigning last night at a delegate rally in the Bossert Hotel in Brooklyn.

G

H

Candidates Spend Little for TV Here

By JOSEPH LELYVELD

The campaign roadshow has arrived here, but so far it has meant little to the ordinary television viewer.

With two weeks to go to the April 6 primary, the three Democratic candidates for President who are actively running in New York have spent a total of $6,000 on television advertising here. That is the approximate cost of a single 30-second commercial in prime time on a local network affiliate.

The $6,000 went not for a spot, but a 30-minute program in cheaper fringe time that Jimmy Carter's campaign organization has purchased for Saturday evening on WNBC-TV. But as of yesterday, Mr. Carter's campaign aides were uncertain whether they would be able to buy any more time in the metropolitan area.

"We bought the 30 minutes because we just can't afford to buy spots," said Gerald Rafshoon, the head of the Atlanta advertising agency that handles the former Georgia Governor's account. "We really don't have any money for New York."

Must Pay in Advance

Political candidates have to pay for their television spots in advance with certified checks. That the candidates have still not committed themselves to specific schedules of spots is a reflection of their severe cash flow problems and also of the high cost of television time here.

John Tracosas of Lois Holland Callaway, the agency that has been preparing Senator Henry M. Jackson's advertising, estimated that a two-week media campaign in New York State at Saturation levels would cost $500,000. That is the kind of campaign that the Jackson forces promised when they first set their sights on New York.

Mr. Tracosas said that he presented a proposal last week to the Jackson headquarters here for a 10-day campaign, but that a decision to go ahead with it had repeatedly been postponed.

"They're downplaying the media campaign," he said. "We haven't been privy to exactly why."

Robert Keefe, the national campaign manager, said that the Jackson forces had to husband their resources. The campaign had only $270,000 in the bank at the start of the month and now has half that, he said. Since his rivals are not spending money on television here, Mr. Jackson's strategists believe that he should save what funds he can for the crucial Pennsylvania primary on April 27.

Saturation Planned

When the Jackson advertising finally does go on the air, Mr. Keefe said, it will be near saturation levels throughout New York state.

David Thorne, the finance chairman for Representative Morris K. Udall's campaign, predicted that it would be able to raise more than $400,000 for the New York and Wisconsin primaries together. Of that total, he said, $150,000 will go for New York. But Mr. Thorne was speaking of commitments, not the cash on hand that is needed to buy television time.



United Press International

Ronald Reagan waiting to speak at a breakfast in Racine, Wis., yesterday.

Over the weekend, Mr. Udall's media consultants were studying estimates for a one-week television campaign in the metropolitan area with a relatively modest level of audience ratings. The price was estimated at $51,000. The Udall campaign has bought full-page advertisements in the Sunday edition of The New York Times two consecutive weeks and spent $11,000 for a week of radio commercials on six local stations.

But the cost of a television spot in New York has to be weighed against the uses to which the same amount of money could be put in Wisconsin, a state that is of great importance to Mr. Udall.

"When you look at New York one minute and then look at Wausau, Wisc., the next, it's mind-boggling," said Harriet Yellin of John Marttila Associates, the Boston concern that handles the Udall campaign. "In Wausau, Wisc., you can buy the whole station for the cost of 30 seconds in New York."

Mr. Carter's advisers are making similar trade-offs. According to Mr. Rafshoon, $57,000 has been committed to a 10-day media campaign in Wisconsin. The plan is to concentrate $51,000 in four television markets in upstate New York where 14 of Mr. Carter's 24 New York delegate slates are running.

However, even that relatively modest expenditure is dependent on the fund-raising efforts of Carter supporters here, and so far those efforts have been disappointing.

Paradoxically, the only political commercial seen on television here on the last week was for a candidate who is not even on the ballot in New York, Senator Frank Church. The five-minute commercial ran nationally on the CBS network at half-time of a professional basketball game. Its purpose was to amplify Mr. Church's declaration of candidacy, and, as the producer, Mort Schwartz, expressed it, "break in the people into seeing the Senator."

Udall Pledges Billions in Transit Aid

By CHARLES MOHR

The other day, Representative Morris K. Udall tramped the streets of New York wearing a lapel button decorated with a big apple and the words "I love New York." Back again this week, he once again painted himself as a firm friend of a fiscally shaky city in crisis.

The Arizona Congressman, who is seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination, also continued yesterday what have now become persistent attacks on his two main opponents in the New York Presidential primary election to be held April 19: Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia.

Mr. Udall promised more Federal money for mass transit systems such as the New York subways.

In a step that may prove controversial, Mr. Udall suggested that a new "comprehensive transportation fund" be created, using monies from the Federal Highway Trust Fund and Airport Trust Fund. To these resources Mr. Udall said he would add a 5 percent "surcharge" on rail freight shipments to be paid by the shipper. Mr. Udall estimated that the surcharge on railroad shipments would bring in about $2 billion a year and, added to highway and aviation trust fund monies, this would provide nearly $10 billion a year for the comprehensive transportation fund.

Aid According to 'Need'

Mr. Udall said his proposal would allow Congress annually to allocate these funds among the various means of transportation by "need." States would also be able to divert to mass transit highway funds collected from gasoline taxes if they voluntarily chose to do so. These steps would aid "starved" mass transit systems, he said, and would end what he called overemphasis on the automobile and on highways.

In a visit to a Fire Department station in Brooklyn that the city has closed because of austerity budget cuts, the 6-foot 5-inch politician sympathized with neighborhood residents fighting to ave the firehouse reactivated and said that if he were Prsident he would "see that things like this didn't happen."

"We are murdering our cities," Mr. Udall remarked to a largely Polish-American crowd.

Before flying to Buffalo for evening campaign appearances, Mr. Udall told a friendly crowd of several hundred Columbia University students at Frank Altschul Auditorium that Mr. Carter was a candidate "who will not tell us where he stnds" and that Senator Jackson was the figure "who has apparently turned his back on the essons of the past," including the divisive and costly Vietnam war.

In one of the most pointed criticisms he has yet made of his rivals, Mr. Udall asked, "Are we confident that the premises and assumptions that led us to that war i nVietnam will not flourish again in the White House—perhaps under a President of the Democratic Party?"

With the voting only two weeks away in New York—and in Wisconsin, which Mr. Udall has made a major test of his candidacy—he is increasingly picturing Mr. Jackson as an unrepentant cold-warrior and a friend of high defense spending that would starve social and urban program of funds.

Mr. Udall began his day shaking hands with commuters emerging from Long Island Rail Road trains at Penn Station. Some seemed bewildered or astonished as Mr. Udall swept along with his train of journalists, television cameras and lights, but many were friendly.

Eugene Nickerson, a former Nassau County Executive who is a member of a Udall slate of national convention delegates, shepherded passersby to Mr. Udall, saying "Won't you stop to meet Mr. Udall, the next President?"

At one point Mr. NNickerson joked, "this is Mo, I'm Larry and that's Curly," a reference to a trio of film comedians known as the Three Stooges.

Mr. Udall later drove to the firehouse in the Northside area of Brooklyn at Eighth Street and Wythe Avenue.

The Northside Community Development Committee has protested the curtailment of city services by "occupying" the firehouse and holding the fire engine "hostage."

Alfred Mizgalski, a funeral director of 205 Briggs Avenue, told Mr. Udall that the loss of the firehouse could cause the "death" of the neighborhood.

Mr. Udall, introduced as the first Presidential candidate "to wander through this neighborhood," told the small crowd of mostly elderly people, "I'm behind you. If we let Northside down, we're all in trouble because the cancer of neglect can destroy all our cities."

Mr. Udall later met privately with members of the American Jewish Committee at the Engul Auditorium at 165 East 56th Street.

RIFLE GROUP LOSES LOWER MAIL RATE

N.R.A. Ruled a Lobbying, Not Educational, Organization

By ERNEST HOLSENDOLPH
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 23—The National Rifle Association, which in recent years has regularly prevailed in its struggle to prevent the passage of Federal gun control legislation, finally lost a fight today.

An administrative law judge of the United States Postal Service ruled in favor of canceling the N.R.A.'s reduced-rate mailing privileges.

The decision, if affirmed by the Postal Service, could have significant impact on the rogram of the 105-year-old organization, whose lobbying efforts, regarded by many veteran political observers here as the most effective in town, epend in large part on mailings.

A spokesman for the association said later today that the decision by William A. Duvall, chief administrative judge for the Postal Service, was "a disappointment to the National Rifle Association and its one million-plus members."

He said an appeal was being considered.

The association sends monthly magazines to its membership, and it acknowledged in papers filed with the service that last year it mailed appeals for support and lobbying help to more than 12 million people.

The association said today that loss of the preferential rates, which included the second-class postage rate for magazines and a third-class rate for letters, could cost the organization 4.6 cents additional a letter and 1.1 cents a magazine.

Judge Duvall found that the association was "not primarily an educational, scientific or philanthropic organization" as it contended, which might have qualified the organization for reduced rates.

Instead, the judge ruled, "a substantial part" of the association's activities "consist of attempting to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise contacting, or uging the public to contact, members of a legislative body for the purpose of proposing, supporting, or opposing legislation."

The judge also rejected the N.R.A.'s contention that it spent only $316,795 of its nearly $13 million annual budget last year on "action" programs to influence legislation. The real figure for action programs was closer to half the annual budget, he said.

A Wider Impact

Although 12 million letters were sent out asking for help, the impact was probably even wider, Judge Duvall said, because recipients of the letters were told to "pass them on."

In one letter that was made part of the record, which began, "I beg of you to act now," the recipient was asked to write to his Congressman and tell him "how you feel about your firearms rights."

The recipient was asked for a $10 contribution, and was told to pass the letter along to "friends and relatives."

J

Senate Leaders Map Plan To Revive Election Panel

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 23—Senate leaders of both parties reached agreement today on a compromise bill to resuscitate the Federal Election Commission, preserve much of its present independence and make other changes in the campaign law.

Despite support by the leadership, the new legislation still faces major hurdles: adoption by a previously divided Senate, concurrence by a hostile House and approval by President Ford, who has repeatedly threatened a veto.

If the bipartisan measure should become law, the election commission could resume authorizing campaign subsidies for Presidential candidates in two or three weeks. If the compromise fails, that layoff could run on for a month or longer.

The commission's authority to approve these matching payments expired yesterday under a supreme court ruling in January that it had been unconstitutionally constituted.

Even if the compromise wins universal acceptance, democratic candidates are unlikely to receive any more campaign subsidies until after the April 6 primaries in New York and Wisconsin, which are regarded as critically important to Senator Henry M. Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall.

Of the six major Presidential contenders still active in the two parties, only President Ford appears to be in strong enough financial condition to ride out an extended period without subsidies. In February, for example, he was the only one to collect as much in private contributions as he sent the others all had to rely on subsidy money.

Even Gov. George C. Wallace, long regarded as the best-financed candidate, raised only about $200,000 while spending $1.8 million in February, relying on $2.3 million in previously earned matching funds to balance his books.

All candidates will continue to build up eligibility for future matching payments with private funds they raise while the commission is in partial eclipse, but meanwhile they must finance their campaigns on a cash-and-carry basis.

In addition, it may become increasingly difficult for them to borrow against future retroactive subsidies, until it has become entirely clear that Congress will revive the commission and President Ford will go along.

The legislation agreed on today by Senate leaders remains about 65 pages long, full of complicated and controversial provisions, although some have been dropped. The President has maintained on several occasions that he would sign only a simple bill extending the commission.

Pressure on the Democratic and Republican Parties is likely to be less severe, as long as it is temporary. They both become eligible on April 1 for another $500,000 each to finance their national conventions, but a delay of a week or 10 days in payment is not likely to pose a serious problem.

Announcing the Senate compromise on the floor, Senator Howard W. Cannon of Nevada, chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, predicted that the Senate could now dispose of the issue in a day or two. But on the House side, more delay seemed inevitable.

Representative Wayne L. Hays, chairman of the House Administration Committee, formally asked the House Rules Committee to approve for floor debate a plan that was so complicated that the committee postponed any decision for a day or more, after all-day hearings.

Ordinarily, the committee approves ground-rules for floor debate immediately after a hearing of an hour or two.

The delay in this case virtually assured that the campaign bill would not reach the House floor until sometime next week, so that a Senate-House conference committee could not begin trying to reconcile different versions of the legislation until the first week in April.

Mr. Hays asked the committee to approve floor debate procedure that would prohibit amendments to the campaign bill but make 12 exceptions, including the possible incorporation of a Federal subsidy plan for Senate and House candidates this fall.

With the prospect of Congressional action to reconstitute the commission revived, it appeared unlikely that the lapsed campaign subsidies would be replaced by independent spending by the wealthy, an activity that the Supreme Court said could be carried on without any financial limits.

Under the Court's ruling a millionaire may spend as much as he wants for television, billboards or literature backing a candidate, but the effort must be totally independent, carried out without the cooperation or encouragement of the candidate.

The key element with the Senate compromise reached today involved solicitation by corporate and union political action committees of voluntary contributions to a fund that used to back favored candidates.

The new language would allow corporate committees to send two mailings a year to employees, with a system for anonymous response so that the possibility of coercion was eliminated. Republicans had insisted that employees could be contacted.

Union committees would have a similar right to mail appeals to corporation stockholders and executives. Both kinds of committees would retain the right to write or speak to members, for unions, and stockholders and executives for corporations, as often as they chose.

The Supreme Court took no action today on a request by the Democratic National Committee and seven Democratic candidates that the commission be kept alive for an additional three weeks, to give Congress more time to legislate.

Hearing in Callaway Case Set for April 7 by Senator

WASHINGTON, March 23 (AP)—Floyd K. Haskell, Democrat of Colorado, said today that his subcommittee investigating Howard H. Callaway's dealings with Government agencies would hold three days of public hearings beginning April 7.

Mr. Haskell originally had said he planned to hold hearings on April 6. His Interior subcommittee is attempting to determine whether Mr. Callaway used "improper influence" in attempting to gain United States Forest Service approval of a proposal to expand a Colorado ski resort owned primarily by the then Secretary of the Army.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

★★★ P.O. BOX 4689 ATLANTA, GA. 30302, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1976 48 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS

Reagan Upsets Ford, Carter Beats Wallace

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
and CHARLES OSOLIN
Constitution Washington Bureau

RALEIGH, N.C.—Republican challenger Ronald Reagan kept his presidential hopes alive with a surprising upset victory over President Ford in Tuesday's North Carolina primary, while Jimmy Carter all but crushed George Wallace's long-shot bid for the Democratic bid for the nomination.

Reagan, who had been under heavy pressure to withdraw from the race after five straight primary losses, finally stalled the Ford steamroller just as it threatened to end his candidacy by drying up his financial support.

Wallace, however, was not as fortunate. The Alabaman suffered through his third straight defeat at Carter's hands and appeared to have lost his Southern base of support to the smiling former Georgia governor.

With 99 per cent of the precincts reporting, Reagan led Ford by 52 per cent to 46 per cent, and was in line for 28 of the 54 delegates to the Republican nominating convention. Ford apparently will receive 25 delegates, and one will be uncommitted.

That divison of delegates apparently will give Ford 192 delegates and Reagan 81, with 52 uncommitted. It takes 1,130 delegates to win the nomination.

In the Democratic primary, Carter swept the state by an even larger margin than the 52 per cent that Wallace rolled up in the 1972 primary.

With 99 per cent of the precincts reporting, Carter had 54 per cent of the vote, and 35 delegates to 35 per cent and 24 delegates for Wallace.

Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson of Washington, who decided not to campaign in the state, finished a distant third with 4 per cent. Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona got 2 per cent, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris got 1 per cent and Sen. Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, who dropped out the presidential race too late to have his name dropped from the North Carolina ballot, got less than 1 per cent.

About 4 per cent of the Democrats voted no preference.

Carter's delegate total stands now at 166 and Wallace's at 85. A Democratic candidate needs 1,505 delegates to win the nomination.

In St. Louis, Carter said of his North Carolina showing, "I think it's another indication the people are going to make the choice this year and won't let the political big shots get involved in horsetrading." He predicted he would win nomination on the first ballot at the national convention.

Wallace told newsmen in Montgomery that he would continue his primary campaigns, "as it stands now."

On North Carolina, Wallace said, "I don't have any excuses. I just lost the race. I want to congratulate Jimmy Carter. It was certainly a fine victory for him."

See PRIMARY, Page 6-A

Primary

From Page 1-A

It was the first time that Wallace had hedged when asked if he would stay in the race until the end. Asked if he would remain in after the Wisconsin voting April 6, Wallace replied, "As it stands now, yes."

The Alabama governor explained his troubles this year by saying that other candidates have moved toward the positions that he took in 1972. He said he will restrict his campaign style to fewer public rallies "because they are more expensive," and will rely more heavily on media coverage, as he did in his campaigning here.

Reagan's victory, which appeared to surprise his own supporters as much as President Fords's, marked the first primary defeat for an incumbent president since President Lyndon Johnson lost the Wisconsin primary after announcing he would not seek reelection in 1968.

The victory came after Ford stunned Reagan with increasingly decisive victories in three contested races: New Hampshire, Florida and Illinois. Ford also carried Massachusetts and Vermont, which Reagan did not contest.

The Reagan victory here was conceded by North Carolina Gov. James Holshouser, Ford's Southern campaign coordinator, at about 10:40 p.m. The Ford loss is a personal blow to Holshouser, who has campaigned actively here for the President.

"It's time we conceded that Ronald Reagan has won his first primary in six tries," Holshouser said. He told reporters he is sure that Ford "will still be the President this time next year."

Both Holshouser and presidential press secretary Ron Nessen said it was too early to judge what went wrong with the Ford campaign here. Ford won in the mountainous western part of the state, where he had been expected to run strongly, and Reagan took the east where his strength was known to lie.

However, Reagan also won by a narrow margin in the cities of North Carolina, where most of the population is concentrated, and it was apparently that vote that made the difference for him.

Carter was expected to carry the state after favorite son candidate Terry Sanford dropped out, but his margin of victory was nearly as surprising as Reagan's win over Ford.

Carter carried all areas of the state, including all the major cities, and beat Wallace by 2-1 in conservative eastern areas.

NBC and CBS surveys of voters as they left the polls showed that Reagan benefited from a last minute advertising blitz and from high Republican voter turnout in sections of the state where he was particularly strong.

The NBC poll also showed that Reagan's attacks on Ford's foreign policy—begun near the end of the Florida campaign—seemed to be taking hold. NBC said that two-thirds of those Republicans who said they were unhappy with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his policy of detente with the Soviet Union voted for Reagan.

Charles Black, a member of Reagan's national campaign staff, attributed the North Carolina victory to a greater "public awareness" of the issues Reagan has been stressing since the Florida race.

"I think the issues he's been discussing—detente and our military posture—caught on and gained some momentum," Black said.

Even before the polls closed Tuesday, Reagan had cancelled his campaign schedule in Indiana and Wisconsin for next week and was preparing to make a major announcement on national television sometime during the next couple of weeks.

A Reagan aide said the North Carolina results would not change the decision to cancel next week's schedule.

Reagan had seemed to expect another defeat at Ford's hands during the last days of the North Carolina campaign. When he arrived in North Carolina, he said this state was the first in which he had a chance to win; as he left, he said he would be satisfied to finish a close second here.

Most observers felt that Reagan's campaign contributions would dry up if he kept losing, but a win here could put his campaign back in the black.

Wallace, however, seems to have no place to go following his crushing defeat by Carter. He has already outspent the other Democratic candidates by large margins, and his campaign was already in the process of retrenching before Tuesday's vote.

As he did in Florida, Carter ran ahead of Wallace here by cutting sharply into the Alabama governor's traditional support while running well among moderate and liberal voters.

The Smile

Many Voters See A 'Sincere' Carter

By FAY S. JOYCE

Someone once remarked that if Jimmy Carter would just lie down, you could play Mozart on his mouth.

Maybe it's cheeky to compare the great Carter grin to a grand piano keyboard, but he is producing music written in votes, not notes.

Warm, shy and friendly all at the same time, The Smile is one of the easiest things to like about Carter, and people helping to pick the Democratic presidential nominee do like it.

"He's sincere," often came the chorus from primary-bound voters who had seen The Smile.

And at the heart of The Smile, saving it from being The Feeble Toothless Grin, The George Washington Pained Expression or The Bland Look, are the teeth.

The teeth are neither movie-star bright nor braces straight, and too big to be pearly. They are the only part of Carter that have been called crooked. In short, they're only human.

But they're looked after. According to inside sources, they always have been.

"We got rewards for brushing our teeth from Miss Abrams," revealed Gloria Spann, the former Georgia governor's sister.

Gloria's reward for working over her mouth three times a day for a year was a permanent, her first. That lure obviously wouldn't work for her brother.

"Miss Abrams told him he had to brush his teeth if he wanted to be a movie star," she laughed.

Miss G. Abrams was a nurse and a close friend of Mrs. Lillian Carter, Jimmy's and Gloria's mother. She helped deliver Jimmy and now lives in Austell. At 75, she says she can't remember just what it was that clicked for the boy.

"I probably gave him money. I gave him a dollar here or a dollar there. Or it might have been tellin' him 'bout movie stars. I tried to think like a child," she explained.

"He probably just brushed his teeth because it was right," she added.

According to the former family dentist in Dawson, who asked not to be quoted by name, Carter was simply endowed with hardy teeth.



Jimmy Is Cartoonists' Delight

"They are unusually good," he said. "He was blessed. He's never had much dental treatment.

"He takes real good care of them," the dentist added. "He'd come in for a checkup every four to six months."

The Smile has delighted political cartoonists, who reported in a recent poll by The Wall Street Journal that they were grateful for the goods.

Looking like the incisors of a madcap beaver, the cartooned teeth lifted Carter from the early parade of bland masks hung on Sens. Henry Jackson, Birch Bayh and Lloyd Bentsen, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp and other what's-his-names who were scrambling for the nomination.

Of course there are cynics who distrust The Smile, but when a reporter asked Carter in Chicago if he would try to restrain his grin in the face of increasing criticism, Carter just smiled.



Associated Press Photo

Victorious Ronald Reagan and Wife Nancy Head for California

North Carolina Cities Carried Reagan to Win

RALEIGH, N.C. (AP) — For Republican Ronald Reagan, the margin of victory in Tuesday's North Carolina primary upset came in the urban centers of the state.

Reagan, as expected, easily carried the agricultural eastern third of the state. The Republicans inn those counties are mostly ex-Democrats who changed parties in the 1960s when they became disenchanted with national Democratic domestic policies. Thee look to Sen. Jesse Halms, RN.C., for leadership in GOP affairs, and Helms was Reagan's state chairman.

Ford carried the mountainous western third of the state, where many voters have been Republicans since their ancestors opposed secession in the 1860s.

He was expected to do so. That area is the stronghold of his state campaign chief, Gov. Jim Holshouser.

The Piedmont cities—Charlotte, Durham, Raleigh, Greensboro and Winston-Salem, held the swing votes. The GOP in the cities is an amalgam of rural voters come to town and suburbanites who spend a few years in North Carolina as they wend their way up the corporate ladder.

Holshouser carried them and won the 1972 gubernatorial primary. Ford visited them during the two weekends preceding the primary and expected to carry them as well. He did not.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter's victory was more complete. He cut into Alabama Gov. George Wallace's 1972 vote totals in every section of the state.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Wallace carried a plurality of the city votes in 1972, a year in which busing was a hot issue. Carter beat him decisively in each of the cities this year, bolstered by solid support from urban black communities.

But Carter also won or held his own in the rural counties which have been Wallace country since 1968. He ran even with Wallace in Johnston County, where Ku Klux Klan signs still adorn the highways.

Win Peps Up Reagan Campaign

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

NEWS ANALYSIS

Ronald Reagan got a dosage of a political miracle drug Tuesday by winning his first primary, but another ailing campaigner, George Wallace, took a turn for the worse.

The strong medicine of beating President Ford in North Carolina has pepped up Reagan into planning a major campaign speech on national television in the next couple of weeks.

But the Wallace campaign—with one-third of the primary season completed—has been reduced to hoping to scrape up a minority of delegates in the remaining Southern primaries and caucuses.

Both Republican Reagan, the former California governor, and Democrat Wallace, the Alabama governor, face a lean month in April as they do not again face Southern voters hospitable to their conservative stances until May.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, by beating Wallace Tuesday, now has won five of the six Democratic primaries so far, including two straight drubbings of Wallace in his former strongholds, Florida and North Carolina.

Reagan's upset of Ford apparently owed a lot to his staunch backer, North Carolina Sen. Jesse Helms, and to Reagan's six days of campaigning in the state as compared to Ford's two.

Also, Reagan's attacks on the foreign policy of Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger apparently made some headway—while Wallace's attacks on Carter apparently did him little good.

Wallace staffers, sensing that Wallace was not drawing the large emotional crowds he did in previous national campaigns, launched an eleventh-hour organizational effort to get their faithful out to the polls.

It was a new task for a Wallace campaign in four tries for the presidency. In previous campaigns, the candidate was able to rely on heavy personal and media appearances to get out the vote without much of a campaign organization.

The Wallace staff was able to get delegates to attend caucuses in Mississippi in January and South Carolina last month, but they were unable to muster large crowds into the polling booths.

Reagan's victory has won him surcease of persistent questions from reporters and worried supporters about whether he was planning to drop out of the race.

However, Reagan—like Wallace on the Democratic ticket—has a long hill to climb before hoping to claim the party nomination.

Unofficial returns showed Reagan getting 29 of North Carolina's delegates to the national convention, compared to Ford's 24.

But Ford so far has a total of 205 delegates to Reagan's 82. A total of 1,130 is needed for the nomination at the national convention in August.

Carter got 35 delegates in Tuesday's voting and Wallace 24. Carter now has a total of 166, Wallace 85, Sen. Henry Jackson 56, Rep. Morris Udall 23 and former Sen. Fred Harris 11. A total of 1,505 will be needed at the July national convention.

6

Bugged!

Wallace Aides Here Are Hopping Mad

By DAVID MORRISON
and FAY S. JOYCE

Two electronic eavesdropping devices were discovered Tuesday in the office of the state coordinator for George Wallace's Georgia campaign, prompting a charge that rival Jimmy Carter or his supporters planted the illegal "bugs." The FBI was asked to look into the matter.

"It's either Carter or a Carter supporter," said state coordinator Ned Young after the inexpensive devices were found resting on a fluorescent light fixture and in the mouthpiece of his telephone. "You come through three years of Watergate and you've got your own right here in Georgia," he fumed.

Young denied late Tuesday night that he specifically blamed the Carter forces.

Wallace, Carter and Arizona Congressman Morris Udall are major candidates in the May 4 Georgia primary.

Both national and state Carter campaign representatives denied Young's accusations, labeling them "ridiculous" and "the funniest thing I've ever heard."

Young said Wallace staffers moved into the Buckhead suite at 3110 Maple Drive NE almost three weeks ago, and held a "heavy" strategy session there Monday which pulled together campaign coordinators for nine congressional districts plus the strategist whose job it is to seek the state's black votes.

"Then we called Montgomery (national Wallace headquarters) and told them our strategy for the primary this morning, so they (the eavesdroppers) got it twice," he said as he stood before a poster proclaiming "Trust the People."

Young said a campaign aide, Joe Talley, apparently knocked the listening device above the light fixture loose Tuesday morning when he changed the fluorescent light tube.

Later in the day, a staffer spotted a wire dangling from the light. It turned out to be an antenna for a wireless radio transmitter powered by a nine-volt battery and capable of broadcasting conversation for a distance of a quarter-mile.

The coordinator called in former GBI agent Mike Gitter, an expert in electronic devices who is now a private detective and a friend of a Wallace supporter.

Gitter "swept" the office—checked for more devices—and located a "drop in" transmitter in the mouthpiece of Young's telephone.



Staff Photo—Bill Mahan

Ned Young With Bugging Devices

Gitter "clipped" the devices, Young said, to kill their power.

One FBI agent called to the scene said the devices had been handled by so many people that there was no use trying to identify the fingerprints on them.

The devices will be sent to Washington for examination, he said, while agents here try to determine who had access to the office and where the listener set up equipment to receive the clandestine broadcasts. There is a vacant office building next door.

Young charged that whoever planted the "bugs" must have broken into his office, since "this office is kept closed when I'm out."

But he admitted he had seen no signs that his door had been forced, and said he believed the building superintendent who had assured him the cleaning crew would not have let anyone in after hours.

See BUG, Page 6-A

Bug

From Page 1-A

He rejected the idea that one of his own staffers might have done the bugging. "These people are trusted. I didn't pick them up off the street," he said.

The Wallace staff includes publicist Bill Pope, who ironically has been accused of pulling campaign gimmicks when he worked for Jimmy Carter's successful 1970 drive for the governor's chair. (Pope has denied that charge.)

Young at first would only point out that Udall and Carter are fighting Wallace for delegates in the upcoming Georgia primary and added, "I know we didn't do it."

Richard Stout, press secretary for the Udall campaign, said in a telephone interview from Buffalo, N. Y. that the suggestion that Udall supporters engineered the bugging is "absolutely ridiculous.

"This is the last gasp of a failing candidate," he said, then tempered that comment to add, "I hope George Wallace himself has not sanctioned this charge. It's irresponsible."

Carter spokesman Rex Granum labeled the accusation that Carter workers were responsible "ridiculous."

"It's typical of the hysteria in the Wallace campaign recently that they have reached such a ludicrous conclusion with absolutely no evidence," Granum said.

Connie Plunkett, Carter's Georgia coordinator, called Young's charge "the funniest thing I've ever heard." She said, "We're too busy to be worrying about anything like that."

Young said he didn't know if campaign strategy had been pirated and used against Wallace but said he had become suspicious recently because several people who had promised to run as Wallace delegates in the primary here suddenly pulled out.

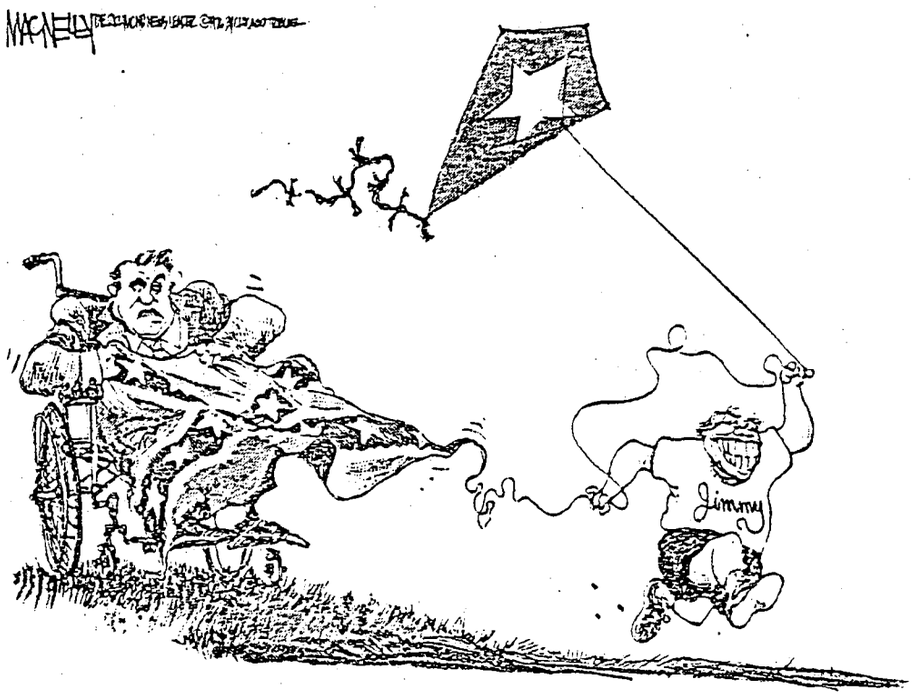
"They would commit to be a delegate and two days later they call back and say,'I don't want to do it.' You always have a few but why all of a sudden do you have a couple of dozen?"

Young said that because of the dropouts, Wallace was unable to enter a full slate of delegates in two of Georgia's 10 congressional districts by last Saturday's deadline.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

3/26



11 A

B

News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The United States last night vetoed a resolution in the Security Council of the United Nations deploring Israeli policies in Jerusalem and the occupied areas on the West Bank of the Jordan River. William W. Scranton, the new United States representative at the United Nations, said the resolution was "unbalanced." The 14-1 vote ended a debate that began Monday on anti-Israeli unrest in Jerusalem and West Bank towns. [Page 1, Column 4.]

The six-man contest to succeed Harold Wilson as Britain's Prime Minister turned unexpectedly and dramatically into a struggle involving only three—Michael Foot, James Callaghan and Denis Healey. The first round of balloting among Labor members of the House of Commons produced no candidate with the required majority. [1:2-3.]

The Ford Administration announced that contingency plans for possible moves against Cuba were being reviewed, but it seemed clear from the comments of several officials that there was no urgency about the review, which reportedly began several weeks ago. Several Administration officials said they believed that the recent warnings by President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger were related to Presidential primary politics. [1:1.]

South Africa announced that it would withdraw all its forces from southern Angola by Saturday. Defense Minister Pieter W. Botha said the withdrawal of 3,000 to 5,000 troops guarding the multimillion-dollar Cunene River hydroelectric and irrigation project was being done after Angolan guarantees to protect South Africa's border interests. The announcement was made on the eve of a debate in the United Nations in which South Africa probably would have been called an "aggressor" in southern Angola. [1:2.]

After his palace in Beirut was shelled by Moslem artillery it was abandoned by President Suleiman Franjieh, who took refuge at the Christian stronghold of Junieh, 13 miles north of the capital. His forced withdrawal under the Moslem offensive was said to be a harsh blow to the morale of Mr. Franjieh's Christian supporters and allies. Pierre Gemayel, another Christian leader, appealed "to all able-bodied Christian men and women" to join the nearest Christian militia post "s oyou may save our homeland before it is too late." [1:5-6.]

National

Senator Henry M. Jackson has been moving leftward as he campaigns for the Democratic Presidential nomination. During appearances in New York City recently as a contender in the April 6 primary, he has repeatedly placed his heaviest emphasis on social programs that would provide jobs, save the cities from financial disaster and aid the poor, the elderly and the ill. At a dinner sponsored by the Social Democrats, U.S.A., he remarked, "Isn't it interesting, that I'm the only Presidential candidate that's willing to call himself a liberal?" [1:7.]

Researchers appear to be close to identifying a substance that "throws the master switch" in embryonic development, initiating the events that lead to the formation of specialized organs and finally to a fully developed organism. Research so far, notably at Cambridge, England, and the University of Indiana in Bloomington, has concentrated on amphibians, such as frogs and axolotls (related to salamanders). [1:5-8.]

Metropolitan

Mayor Beame proposed $821 million in further budget reductions based on added service cuts, the end of 8,000 more municipal jobs and the controversial shifting of more than $250 million in education and court costs from the city to the state. He said the only alternative to the state's taking over of $127 million in court, probation and correction costs would be another large number of layoffs, including 1,300 police officers. [1:8.]

Peter A. Reilly, of Canaan, Conn., was granted a new trial by a Superior Court Judge in Litchfield who ruled that his conviction for his mother's murder two and a half years ago was "a grave injustice." Judge John A. Speziale, who presided at the 21-year-old Mr. Reilly's trial in 1974 and sentenced him to a six-to-16-year prison term, also predicted after reviewing what he called "the unusual, bizarre and complicated nature of the facts and circumstances of this case," that Mr. Reilly would never be convicted of the murder again. [1:6-7.]

Matthew Guinan, president of the Transport Workers Union, said that he might be willing to agree to a wage deferral in negotiations with the Transit Authority if his 34,000 members got some money now. Meanwhile, negotiations continued in an effort to head off a transit strike. [60:1-2.]

The Other News

International

Kissinger and Senators meet on C-130 issue. Page 2
Arab man dies after beating by Israelis. Page 3
On a Beirut street, death in the sunshine. Page 3
In Beirut, the gun shapes daily life. Page 3
Drive is on to save doomed Dominica resident. Page 7
U.S. and Tokyo police break smuggling ring. Page 8
Japan's book industry has big sales year. Page 10
U.S. protests bomb scare in Moscow. Page 12

Government and Politics

Value of aircraft carrier debated in Navy. Page 15
Udall pleased by Wisconsin crowds. Page 16
Environmental group names "dirty dozen." Page 17
Court backs Jackson's slate in New York. Page 17
Longer workweek backed in Connecticut. Page 18
Callaway activities calmly accepted in Georgia. Page 38
Panel ready to start inquiry into disclosures. Page 38
U.S. studies bias in city school layoffs. Page 39
Attrition to take care of most city job cuts. Page 39

General

Metropolitan Briefs. Page 37
School Board upheld on shortened school week Page 37
5,000 march to protest hospital closing. Page 37
Investigator says he located Mellon girls. Paeg 40
Economy held prime factor in subway ridership. Page 60
Delmarva worries about its rail service. Page 61

Industry and Labor

Transit workers willing to defer part of raise. Page 60

Education and Welfare

Plan to end language-major courses protested. Page 6
Compromise seen over suspended principal. Page 60

Health and Science

Puberty study contradicts earlier findings. Page 19

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York except Long Island. Higher in air delivery

JACKSON IS EDGING TOWARD THE LEFT

During Appearances in City, Senator Emphasizes Aid to Unemployed, Poor and Ill

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

In the last few days of his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Senator Henry M. Jackson has been edging toward the left of the political spectrum.

During his recent appearances around New York City as he prepares for this state's April 6 primary election, he has repeatedly placed his heaviest emphasis on programs to provide jobs for the unemployed, save the cities from financial disaster and aid the poor, the elderly and the ill.

In Albany, meanwhile, the State Supreme Court ruled in Senator Jackson's favor, permitting 33 of his convention-delegate candidates to be identified on the primary ballot as his supporters. Such identification had been challenged on the ground that the potential delegates had missed the filing deadline for identifying themselves with a candidate. [Page 17.]

The Senator's shift to the left seemed apparent Wednesday night at a dinner sponsored by the Social Democrats, U.S.A., a descendant of the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Des and Norman Thomas. Mr. Jackson asked the 500 diners gathered in the ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel.

"Isn't it interesting that I'm

Continued on Page 17, Column 1

Jackson Is Edging Toward the Left

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

the only Presidential candidate that's willing to call himself a liberal?"

That, of course, was a dig at his principal rivals in the New York primary, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who, while generally considered a liberal, has taken to calling himself a "progressive," and Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, who usually shuns labels but seems to prefer being known as a moderate.

But there were at least some observers who saw it as more than that—an attempt to woo New York's liberal voters or an even longer-range plan to keep from being pictured as the candidate farthest to the right should the faltering campaign of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama collapse.

A New Deal-Fair Deal Democrat with what are usually acknowledged to be substantial liberal credentials on most domestic issues during his 35 years in Congress, the 63-year-old Senator Jackson has been characterized rather consistently in recent years as a conservative.

Mild Protests

His supporters and his critics agree that the conservative label has attached to Mr. Jackson mainly because of his long backing of the war in Vietnam, his generally hard line toward the Soviet Union, his steadfast insistence on a strong defense establishment and his opposition to school busing for integration.

In the last few years, the Senator has occasionally protested mildly against the image, but has not made too much of a fuss about it. In 1972, for example, in his ill-starred first attempt to win his party's nomination, he presented himself as at least a moderate-to-conservative alternative to Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

During the early stages of this year's campaign, he frequently scoffed at such political labels as "liberal" and "conservative," declaring that they had been "debased" by misuse over the years. When pressed, and sometimes when not, he would describe himself as a "progressive centrist" — one who was not an ideologue, but liberal on some issues and conservative on others.

Now, having gone through the primaries in Massachusetts and Florida, both states where defense spending is popular and busng is not, and with Governor Wallace apparently on the ropes, Senator Jackson seems to be trying to touch up the liberal side of his image.

Not that he has dropped his criticism of what he calls the "Nixon-Ford mismanagement of détente" with the Soviet Union. It's just that it has been a less dominant theme in his speeches in recent days.

"Isn't it interesting," he asked the Social Democrats at the Roosevelt, "that for the last few years some people have criticized me and the labor movement just because we believed in a strong America, just because we were against détente?"

Pausing, he added: "But I'm still a liberal, and I still believe, my friends, in a human détente."

Reminded later of his days as a "progressive centrist," the Senator smiled broadly and said: "A progressive centrist is a liberal."

Asked why he thought other candidates were declining to call themselves liberals, he replied, "Because they've somehow decided that there's a swing to the right, which is nonsense."

Pressed for his description of a liberal, the senator went on:

"A liberal stands for what defined in my remarks. A lib eral is one who stands for var ous state social programs, bu who has never compromised o individual liberty."

Varied Schedule

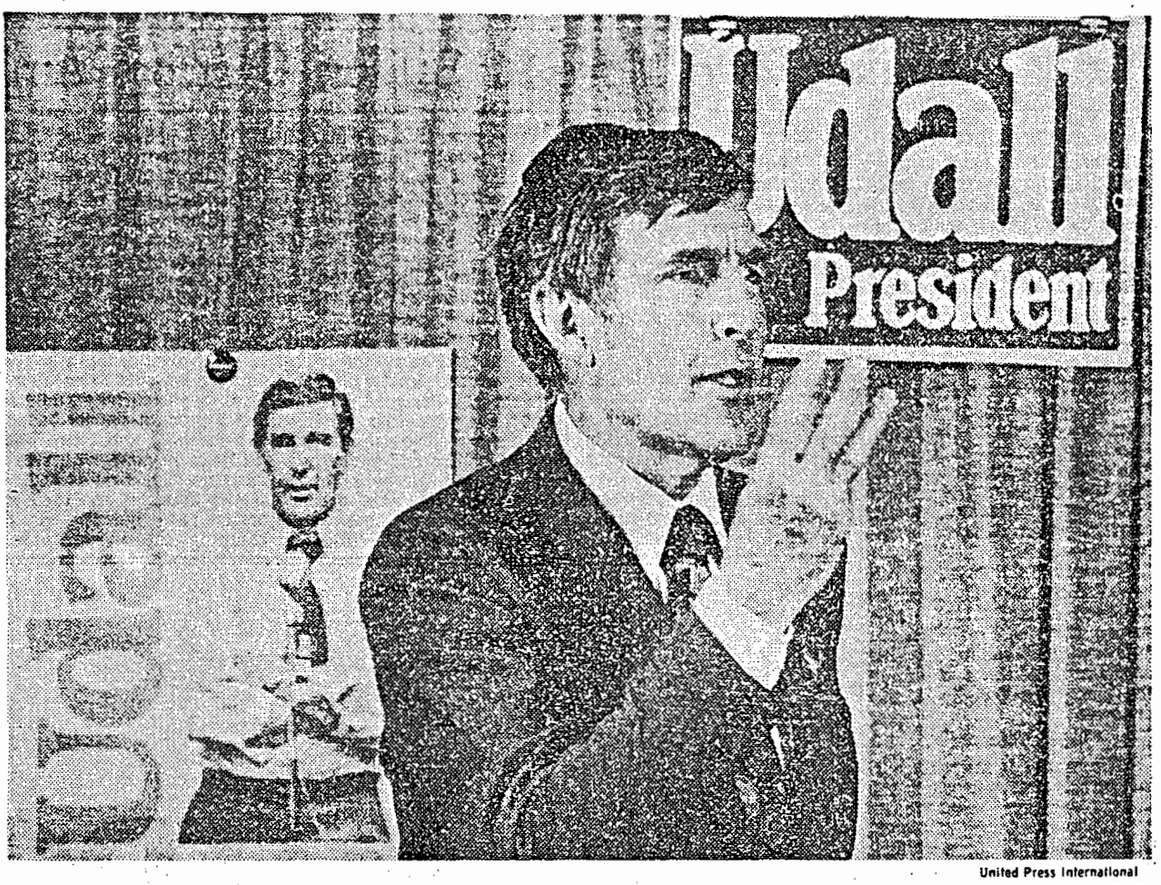
Reflecting his contention the to win in November the Dem crats must rebuild the broa Rooseveltian coalition of work ers and intellectuals, blacks an other minorities, white ethni groups and urban dwellers i general, Senator Jackson' schedule yesterday took him t a bilingual school in Harlem, discontinued storm-sewer co struction site in Queens, luncheon with Queens Dem cratic leaders, a speech at S John's University, a conferenc with the editors of The Amste dam News and appearances the Little Italy Committee f Jackson, the new Era Club an a senior-citizens' reception Southbridge Towers on Fran fort Street.

In between, he found time t hold a news conference at th Waldorf Astoria to set fort what he termed a "six-poin plan to save America's cities."

The plan included a Feder takeover of welfare costs, fu national health insurance unde the Kennedy-Corman bill, an in crease in Federal aid to educa tion from 7 percent to 33 1- percent over three or four year a national housing progra aimed at building three millio units a year, Federal insuran of municipal bonds and full em ployment under the Humphre Hawkins bill.

Since he has advocated a these programs for months, h was asked why he had calle a news conference to announc the six-point plan.

"The difference is that we' trying to put them togeth in one piece," he said. "I thin this is absolutely essential i educating the public and ha ing them understand that th is not a bail-out bill."



United Press International

Representative Morris K. Udall campaigning in Beloit, Wis., Wednesday. The Wisconsin primary will be on April 6.

Udall Enjoys Wisconsin Crowds but Problems Persist

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

NEENAH, Wis., March 25—Representative Morris K. Udall is not a particularly demonstrative man, but yesterday he began to show the exhilaration that candidates feel from the political adrenalin of bigger crowds and a growing volume of applause.

The Arizonan Democrat, who is seeking the Presidential nomination, drew overflow crowds that seemed to respond to his appeal that his banner was the only rallying place left for liberal Democrats.

But then, after a long day of crisscrossing the state in a wheezy old DC-3 plane, Mr. Udall returned to Milwaukee Sentinel went on sale. The newspaper carried an eight-column headline—and a four-column picture—on a routine news conference held that morning by one of his rivals for the nomination, Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia.

Near the bottom of the page was a modestly displayed article saying Mr. Udall had returned to Wisconsin "looking for a shot in the arm."

The episode illustrated one of Mr. Udall's several problems as he approaches what he calls a "crucial" test in the Wisconsin Presidential primary election on April 6 and the important New Z ork primary the same day.

He has not been an active candidate in a primary since Massachusetts on March 2—and the fact that he ran ahead of Mr. Carter there, and not far behind him in New Hampshire earlier, appears to have been almost forgotten.

As the tall Congressman remarked when he climbed on another plane this morning for another day of barnstorming, "I got 80 percent of the vote that Carter got in New Hampshire—and about 4 percent of the publicity."

Now things are more difficult for Mr. Udall because of the priceless national attention and unquestionable "momentum" that Mr. Carter has earned with three straight weeks of primary victories from Florida to Illinois to North Carolina. .

Even though Mr. Udall is investing at least 12 days of hard campaigning in the state to about three for Mr. Carter and a possibly four by Senator Henry M. Jackson, he is at this stage probably the least-known name and face.

Another factor bearing on Mr. Udall's campaign is the skepticism of many professional politicians and political activists in labor unions that he has much real chance personally to win the nomination in July or that the climate of the country is favorable to any liberal.

Some things are working on Mr. Udall's behalf. Although Mr. Carter is spending less time in Wisconsin, he is spending enough time and got enough publicity yesterday to make this a meaningful contest with what Mr. Udall called "a full cast of characters."

In addition, it now appears that Senator Jackson's once overflowing campaign treasury has been considerably depleted as has that of Mr. Carter. Mr. Udall may be able to spend on political advertising and on organixation amounts comparable to his rivals in New York and perhaps a good deal more in Wisconsin.

One thing that colors the atmosphere is that Mr. Udall does not have, or at least cannot project, the serene self-confidence that has increasingly become one of Mr. Carter:s trademarks.

Thus, Mr. Udall sometimes speaks of the possibility of his losing, and when he does he is usually pounced upon by a journalist or a voter and the result is a verbal fencing contest.

He also tends to begin speeches by saying that those with realistic chances to be nominated are "Carter, Jackson, or, maybe if we do things right, Mo Udall."

This may not be as damaging as some people think, but it is unorthodox.

However Mr. Udall is in many ways an unorthodox politician. His wit is an asset, and at times he can make promises of government spending, support and aid to disadvantaged voters at a rapid tempo.

But he also tends to take fearsome political chances by spending much of his time telling audiences things they might not like to hear. One example is his frequent warning that the day of rapid economic growth based on fast expansion of energy supply and consumption is almost over.

In Stevens Point, Wis., today he asked a large crowd of students: "Are we—all of us—willing to sacrifice some of our material conveniences to gain economic and social freedom? Are we willing to sacrifice the padded dashboard and the 9-mile-per-gallon new polluter for some smaller, plainer vehicle that will go slower and make our fading oil supplies go further? Are we willing to shift our national investment from the suburbs back to the cities and to small communities—to shift from safe isolation to painful involvement?"

"Are we willing," he asked, "to accept slower energy growth rates and make do with fewer luxuries to insure that there is enough capital for homes and jobs and a decent environment left for our children and theirs?"

"No one else," he said, "is talking about future hard choices, of fair shares."

To the extent that this is true, it is also te that few other politicans are giving the voters such a sombVruVicture to ponder.

Carter Avoids Watergate

MADISON, Wis., March 25 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter said today that he thought the American people were sick of Watergate and he did not intend to make it an issue in his campaign.

But he reiterated that he did intend to make the Government an issue.

Asked about Watergate during an interview with the editorial board of The Madison Capital Times, Mr. Carter said, "I doubt if I would ever raise it. The American people understand Watergate. I think they are sick of it. They are embarrassed by it. I don't ever intend to raise Watergate as an issue."

Speaking at a luncheon at a downtown restaurant, Mr. Carter said he would end relations between the executive branch and special interests.

"When I get to Washington, I'm going to change the Federal Government drastically," he said. "I'm going to reorganize the executive branch of government to make it efficient, economical, functional and manageable for a change.

JACKSON BACKERS UPHELD BY COURT

33 Late-Filing Delegates in State Will Be on Ballot as Senator's Supporters

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, March 25 — The State Supreme Court ruled here today that 33 contested delegates in the state's April 6 primary election could still be identified on the ballot as supporters of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington even though they missed last Saturday's deadline for filing their "certificates of preference" with the Secretary of State.

The 33 had been challenged by Mario M. Cuomo, the Secretary of State, and by the campaign organization of Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona on the ground that since they missed the deadline for identifying themselves with a candidate, they should be forced to run as uncommitted delegates.

Suit Is Dismissed

Justice Ellis J. Staley ruled that because the Legislature had been so late in rewriting the state's election law—setting the new deadline only six working days after passage of the bill — flexibility was required to "accomplish the true purpose and intent of the statue, which has a worthwhile objective"—letting voters know which Presidential candidate they are voting for.

The Udall forces announced that they would appeal the decision. Arguments will be heard in the Appellate Division here tomorrow afternoon.

The change in the state's election law, allowing the names of Democratic Presidential candidates to appear on the ballot, was widely hailed as a good-government reform. But its belated enactment has caused confusion, lawsuits and an administrative nightmare at the New York City Board of Elections.

In another legal test to arise from the new law, the State Court of Appeals dismissed today a suit brought by delegates running in support of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

The delegates had challenged a provision of the new law that requires them to run as "uncommitted" because Senator Humphrey, as an undeclared candidate, has refused to file the required statement authorizing them to run in his name.

Will Accept Certificate

In a unanimous decision, the state's highest court ruled that the delegates' quarrel should be not with the law, but with Senator Humphrey, and that no constitutional questions were involved in their claim.

"It is inaction on the part of their candidate, rather than the statutory provisions, which frustrates the accomplishment of their objective," the court said.

Last night, a previously uncommitted slate in the 39th Congressional District along the state's Southern Tier announced its support for Senator Humphrey. Slates in three Congressional districts in the Buffalo area had announced their support for him earlier.

Senator Jackson said that he was pleased by today's decision upholding his delegates. An opposite ruling, the Democratic Senator said, "would have denied people of the Empire State the opportunity to vote for delegates of their choice, whether they were mine or anybody else's."

Mr. Cuomo, the Secretary of State, said that in the light of the ruling he would accept certificates of preference filed up to four days late by delegates supporting other candidates, to save them "needless litigation and expense." Nineteen delegates are in this category, 17 supporting former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and two supporting Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia.

Despite the court decision, the number of Jackson delegates that will appear on the ballot is still lower than the number that will appear either as uncommitted delegates or as pledged to Mr. Udall.

The latest count this afternoon showed 207 uncommitted delegates scattered among 50 states; 37 Udall slates with 192 delegates; 35 Jackson slates with 181 delegates; 28 Carter slates with 139 delegates; 18 Harris slates with 91 delegates; 3 slates with 15 delegates for George C. Wallace, Governor of Alabama, and one slate with 5 delegates supporting Ellen McCormack, the antiabortionist.

Eight Filed on Time

Beyond protecting the 33 Jackson candidates, today's decision was important for Senator Jackson because the 68 at-large New York State delegates will be divided in proportion to the candidates' showing in the primary.

Originally, there were 42 Jackson delegates, led by Sandra L. Berg of Queens, who went to court to challenge the Secretary of State's decision that they would have to be listed as uncommitted. The most prominent in the group was Daniel P. Moynihan, the former United States representative at the United Nations, who is running at the top of a Jackson slate in the Bronx and whose "certificate of preference" arrived at the Secretary of State's office two days after the deadline and without a postmark.

Upon re-examination, eight of the 42 were found to have filed their certificates on time. One, an alternate in the 16th Congressional District in Brooklyn, was found not to have filed a certificate at all and so will run as uncommitted.

In deciding that the 33 who did in fact miss the deadline should be reinstated, Justice Staley cited an earlier state court decision that said that the election law "should not be so interpreted as to defeat the very object of its enactment."

Twenty-two of those reinstated are delegates; the 11 others are alternates. Most of them are from Long Island, Queens and Brooklyn.

The various last-minute changes on the ballot, meanwhile, have wreaked havoc on the city's Board of Elections.

A state law requires the board to rotate candidates' positions on the ballot, so a candidate whose slate is on the bottom in one Congressional District is guaranteed the favored top position in another.

But last night Bea Dolen, the board's executive director, decided that the printing schedule for the ballots was already so complicated that she could not obey the law, and positions in each Congressional District were determined by lot.

E

Despite Its Images, New York Is a Varied State

By FRANK LYNN

Sitting amid the clutter and noise at the Manhattan headquarters of Representative Morris K. Udall, John Marttila, a Udall campaign consultant, said that he hoped to have $300,000 available for the New York presidential primary April 6 and a similar amount for the Wisconsin primary the same day.

"That would allow us to run a full campaign in Wisconsin and a holding operation here," Mr. Marttila said.

The remark pointed up the vastness of New York, the second populous state in the union, whose 62 counties spread from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Erie and Canada.

Outsiders Think of Concrete

But mention New York to an out-of-stater and most will think of New York City, skyscrapers and concrete.

The city with its population of 7.5 million—42 percent of the state population — often does appear to be the tail wagging the dog. It is the business and financial center and the principal gateway not only to the state but to the nation.

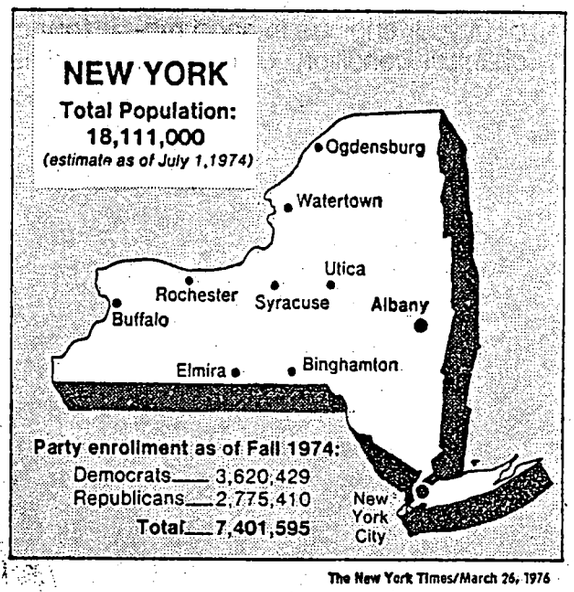
Large 'Bedroom' Counties

Yet, there is a great deal of New York State outside the city — 58 percent of the population and growing.

Just east of the city, two surburban "bedroom" counties on Long Island, Nassau and Suffolk, have a population of 2.6 million — just behind Los Angeles, the third most populated city in the country.

Two "bedroom" counties to the north of New York City — Westchester and Rockland — have a total population of 1.1 million. The two counties are the vanguard of an urban-surburban sprawl along the Hudson River to Albany, the state capital, 150 miles north of the city.

In fact, the population pattern of the state can be traced with a lopsided "Z" that begins on Long Island, moves westward to New York City, north along the Hudson River to Albany and again west along the Mohawk River and the New York State Barge Canal to the Utica-Rome area, Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo, the state's second largest city with a population of 425,000 and a metropolitan area of 1.4 million.



The New York Times/March 26, 1976

These upstate cities dating back to the American Revolution mirror New York City with their decaying inner cities and declining populations surrounded by belts of rapidly growing little Long Islands.

Maple Syrup Leader

Despite the growing urbanization of the state it is still far from paved over with asphalt and concrete. About 37 percent of the state's acreage is rolling farmland occupied by some 58,000 farms. New York is 23d on the roster of agricultural states. The list is based on dollar volume of agricultural production.

New York is the leading producer of maple syrup, second in grapes, ducklings, apples, cabbage, beets and cauliflower, third in dairy products and fourth in onions.

Vast stretches of the state's two mountain chains, the Catskills and the Adirondacks, are still wilderness. Almost half of the 2.3 million acres in the Adirondack Forest Preserve is wilderness—the largest wilderness tract east of the Mississippi. The six-million-acre Adirondack State Park is as large as Vermont.

If the state's green and wooded areas are not part of its imagery, its role as a melting pot for the nation is well established.

One of the state's largest ethnic groups is the Italian-American, 1.5 million of whom were born in Italy or are first-generation Italian-American. Three other major European ethnic groups from non-English-speaking countries are the German-, Polish- and Russian-Americans. Each of the three has about half the number of Italian-Americans. There are also about 750,000 Irish-Americans.

35% Catholic, 14% Jewish

Major ethnic voting blocs in the future are likely to come from the 2.3 million blacks who constitute about 13 percent of the state's population, and Puerto Ricans, just under 5 percent of the state population. Almost all the Puerto Ricans and about three-quarters of the blacks live in New York City.

The state's population is 35 percent Roman Catholic, and 14 percent are of Jewish faith or heritage. Both groups are almost always represented on the state tickets of both major parties.

The political influence of Jews is magnified by the major role they play in the Democratic Party. As much as a third of the vote in the Democratic Presidential primary is likely to be Jewish voters.

The population shift away from New York City is reflected in the politics of the state. Fewer than half of the state's legislators and congressmen represent New York City, and the city's delegations are shrinking in the face of the rapid population growth outside it.

Less Polarization

"The urbanization of the state has lessened the polarization" of antagonistic urban and rural interests, noted Dr. Alan K. Campbell, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University.

The declining polarization is evident in recent elections when such Republicans as Senator Jacob K. Javits and Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz captured New York City—once an unheard of feat for their party—while Democrats took the district attorney elections in traditionally Republican Nassau and Suffolk counties and won four of the six Congressional seats in those two counties.

With the exception of Senator James L. Buckley, Conservative-Republican, who won with a minority of the vote in a three-way race, most of the statewide officials have been liberal Republicans and Democrats.

This liberalism is also reflected in the state's role as a pioneer in social welfare programs. But New York is now pioneering in an unwelcome area — fiscal crises — after years of state and city spending in excess of income. The result has been budgetary cuts, laid off civil servants, pay freezes and moratoriums on new programs that sharply clash with the image of the big-spending Empire State.

The image, like the budgets, is almost certain to shrink.

Second Thoughts

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 25—Every time Governor Carter wins a primary election, which is quite often these days, the pressures mount on Hubert Humphrey to get into one or two of the last of the primaries.

He has said from the beginning that he would respond to a draft from a deadlocked convention but would not fight for the Presidential nomination in the state elections. As time goes on, however, he sits uncomfortably on the bench, and is now wondering to his friends about changing his mind.

He talks a good deal about New Jersey, where his ardent supporters have polls showing him running two to one ahead of both Senator Jackson and Governor Carter. But increasingly he talks about the future of American foreign policy, which is becoming a major issue in the campaign.

Ronald Reagan credits his primary victory in North Carolina to his attacks on the Ford Administration's foreign and defense policy. Messrs. Jackson and Carter are playing this same anti-Kissinger theme, and even President Ford has banished the word détente from his vocabulary and is running against "Washington" and the Federal bureaucracy that holds him up.

All this infuriates Senator Humphrey. In his long years of service in the Federal capital, he has come to believe that it was "Washington" and not the state capitals that rescued the nation from the economic and social crises of the thirties, that Washington led the nation out of isolation, faced the Nazi challenge, and restored Europe and Japan after the Second World War.

He concedes that there is a serious economic and political crisis in the non-Communist world, and the Communists are using the inflation, unemployment and divisions of the free nations to advance the Communist cause in Europe, Africa and even in this hemisphere.

But the answer to this, as he sees it, is not a return to the cold war or to a weaker Washington, but to a strong and experienced President, who can get the cooperation of a Democratic Congress.

Mr. Humphrey obviously has somebody in mind who could fill this role. He is very careful, even in the most private conversations, never to criticize Senator Jackson or Governor Carter; but the odd fact is that he is probably closer to Mr. Kissinger and more supportive of Kissinger's policies than any of the Presidential candidates, not excluding President Ford.

There is a pause now in the race, until the New York and Wisconsin primaries on April 6, and Humphrey will do nothing before then; but he has strong ties to the labor unions, who will be working for Jackson in New York, and most of whom will be trying to stop Carter.

But if Carter does well in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, or if Jackson seems to be forging ahead, Humphrey may very well challenge them in the late primaries before the nominating convention at Madison Square Garden.

He would do so reluctantly, for he has said repeatedly he would leave his party's decision to chance. But behind the scenes, he is working away on the key economic and foreign relations committees, and mustering his arguments against the anti-Washington, anti-Kissinger, anti-détente themes of the primaries.

He has been around long enough not to be overwhelmed by the results of the early primary elections. Governor Carter has done very well in the early state contests. In the last 40 years, only two candidates have

WASHINGTON

jumped to the fore in the Gallup Poll as fast as Carter—Henry Cabot Lodge in 1964, and Harold Stassen, who defeated Gen. Douglas MacArthur in the party poll in 1948.

Mr. Carter could defy the polls, as George McGovern did in 1972, but James R. Beninger of the University of California at Berkeley, who has been putting the primary record through his computers, reminds us that early primary winners in the spring tend to wilt before the nominating conventions in the summer.

"Despite the media value of Carter's apparent success," Mr. Beninger insists, "his rise does not put him in good company in the history books. Of the five early primary winners since 1936 that have risen fastest in the polls, only one—Richard Nixon in 1968—survived long enough to get even the nomination, let alone the Presidency. The others—Lodge, Stassen, Estes Kefauver, etc., all slowly faded from the race."

So Mr. Humphrey is waiting but not so patiently as before. He would not admit it, or even discuss it with the press, but he is worried about the comeback of President Ford, about the inexperience of Carter and about the cold-war instincts of Jackson in the field of foreign affairs. If Humphrey has to jump into the late primaries to make his point, despite his promises not to do so, he might just take the plunge.

G

IORNING
REET EDITION

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

L. 108, NO. 240 ★★★★ P.O. BOX 4689 ATLANTA, GA. 30302, FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1976 88 PAGES, 4 SECTIONS

DOUBTERS ARE FEWER

Carter Success Felt In Georgia Politics

By DAVID MORRISON

Jimmy Carter's successes as a "viable" political candidate nationally may well be the most significant event in local politics since the abolition of the county unit system changed the face of the state legislature, some Georgia political observers are saying.

Already the Carter campaign in places like Winston-Salem, N.C., Orlando, Fla., Marion, Ill., and Manchester, N.H., is showing some interesting side effects in Georgia political circles:

— Georgia politicians who not two years ago were saying they would not support the former Georgia governor for head dog catcher of Sumpter County, now are climbing aboard Carter's presidential campaign bandwagon, in almost staggering numbers.

— The Republican Party of Georgia, which as recently as two months ago had in its nostrils the scent of major political successes in the November general election — possibly even gaining two congressional seats — now worries that with Carter on the ballot as the Democratic nominee they would have to dig in deep to keep what positions the GOP has in Georgia.

—Blacks, who heretofore have been among Carter's closest allies in Georgia political battles, are apparently ignoring Carter's massive popularity among blacks in other states' primaries and are split locally over supporting Carter in Georgia's May 4 primary balloting.

Although there are some in Georgia who still doubt whether Carter will have the political strength to survive until the Democratic National Convention in July and command enough delegates to assure the nomination, they now acknowledge that it is possible. Carter is clearly the frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination. He does have twice the delegates of any other candidates in the race and more than his top three rivals combined.

"I guess I will support him if he is the Democratic nominee," one of the most ardent critics of Carter's administration as governor — House Speaker Tom Murphy — said reluctantly in an off-the-cuff interview outside his Capitol office this week. "I don't suppose it

See POLITICS, Page 22-A

From Page 1-A

would be that big a thing for me. I've supported him twice before . . ."

One observer stated it more succinctly:

"People are just taking stock," said state Sen. Pierre Howard. "They have woke up to the idea that a Georgian can be president and they are thinking about what it means to them personally."

"For me," added Howard, who has been stumping for Carter in New Hampshire, Florida and North Carolina, "and for Southern politicians like me, Carter is liberating us. For we who are taking a more moderate approach to things, he is improving the climate of politics. He is showing Georgia and other states like Georgia that the politics of Carter is succeeding and the politics of George Wallace is failing."

State Sen. Julian Bond also could feel some impact. He heads a delegation on the May 4 Georgia primary ballot that is pledged to vote at the national convention for Morris K. Udall, the Arizona congressman who is Carter's principal rival for liberal votes in the party.

Two or three weeks ago, there was talk in the Bond camp that liberal blacks were so enraged by U.S. Rep. Andrew Young's active support of Carter in New Hampshire and Florida that they would put up opposition to Young in the Aug. 10 general primary in Georgia, possibly even Bond's brother, James, an Atlanta city councilman, who also is a member of the Udall slate.

Now the talk is aimed at Bond.

"We think Julian is being very juvenile and is very wrong about this thing," said one black Carter supporter who asked not to be identified. "We are going to have to beat him for that delegate seat."

Bond is running for a post in Young's Fifth District against Carter delegate Herb Mabry, a white union official. Mabry ran an unsuccessful Senate race in a predominantly white district two years ago when Bond won his Senate seat.

Will Bond's name carry him May 4?

"No, we won't let it," said the Carter supporter. "People are not going to vote for Julian (on his name) because we are going to educate them."

Bond says the issue in the Carter campaign in Georgia is ideology—who is the more liberal of the Democratic candidates—and Bond has settled on Udall. State Rep. Douglas Dean of Atlanta, running as an uncommitted delegate against State Rep. Ben Brown, who is supporting Carter, says much the same thing.

"I am not sure any of the candidates running for president now are addressing those problems which are the major concern to blacks, women, poor people or minorities," Dean said.

Both Dean, who says he favors Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, and Bond want input into who becomes president. They are upset, say their detractors in the Carter campaign, because the former Georgia governor is proving that he can become president without them.

"This is not a serious split among blacks in Georgia," said Rep. David Scott of Atlanta. "It is just symptomatic of the problems blacks are having nationwide.

"It doesn't really matter who becomes president as far as blacks are concerned. You dance to the tune of the man who put you there. Lyndon Baines Johnson was an arch conservative, an evil, mean and cantankerous man. Yet blacks achieved their biggest gains under LBJ."

Scott suggested black leaders in Georgia stop bickering over who they support for president and begin "tailoring programs and demand whoever is elected implement them."

"Labor and business design their programs," Scott said. "Blacks must do the same."

Georgia Republicans too are beginning to feel a dramatic impact from the Carter campaign. Although publicly most GOP officials and candidates minimize the importance of the campaign on what they are trying to achievein Georgia, privately they say the possibility that Carter's name might appear on the Democratic side of the ballot in November worries them.

Although by law the Georgia ballot is split — you cannot vote a "straight party ticket" unless you pull at least two levers — one GOP lieutenant said: "If people vote for Carter in Georgia in November, they may just forget to pull our lever."

Mack Mattingly, the state GOP chairman, conceded that Carter's name at the head of the ticket could induce a lot of Georgians to vote for the Democratic presidential ticket at the expense of the Republican nominee.

"But as far as wiping out the party in Georgia, I don't think that will happen," he said. "You have to analyze it this way: instead of Carter's candidacy creating a good feeling for the Democratic party, it's just going to create a good feeling for Georgians. As far as destroying the party, it just doesn't happen that way."

Newt Gingrich is the Georgia Republican who stands to be hurt worse by a Carter-headed ticket, observers say.

In 1974, a year when the GOP suffered losses in the state in the wake of Watergate scandals, the Carrollton college professor came close to unseating incumbent Democratic U.S. Rep. John Flynt in the Sixth District race.

"Obviously, it would be easier for me to run if the Democratic presidential nominee was a George McGovern or a Sargent Shriver instead of a Jimmy Carter," said Gingrich. "And in a district where there are two relatively unknown candidates running party against party, I think the Democrat would win.

"And it is conceivable that some people in my district would be so inspired by Carter that they would want to send a Democrat to Congress to help him out. . . ." But I think here it will be a case of the candidate who works the hardest gets the people. I'm going to be doing this (campaigning hard) every day."

But Gingrich was careful to point out that he is running essentially the same kind of campaign as Carter — against the Washington establishment.

"Jimmy Carter's campaign," he said candidly, "is one of the best things that has ever happened to Georgia. It has gotten people interested in politics again. It is stirring up enthusiasm again for people who have been turned off by politicians. It's great."

Dr. Tim Ryles, director of Gov. George Busbee's consumer affairs office and a veteran political observer from his earlier vantage point as a university professor, says Carter's campaign disproves an old adage:

"Rolling stones do gather moss," said Ryles.

"Carter's picking up support and having a lot of impact is indicative of a couple of things. One, people now are beginning to see him as a viable candidate and, two, they see it as a great benefit to the state for him to have accomplished what he has accomplished."

Ryles says, too, that Carter probably was not as unpopular a governor as some of his critics said he was and, for a moment early in Carter's National Campaign the critics began believing their own propaganda.

At the beginning of Busbee's campaign in the final year of Carter's administraton, a year in which people like Speaker Murphy and State Sen. Eugene Holley of Augusta, now a Carter supporter, were saying Carter couldn't get elected dog catcher, Ryles took a poll for Busbee. He says the poll showed a majority of Georgians then rated Carter at that time as "good to excellent" on most issues.

Now that Carter is out in the national arena taking lumps both from liberals and from the conservative supporters of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, it is "striking a responsive chord" with even those Georgians who opposed him locally, said Ryles.

"He is being hit by outsiders and people here are saying 'we want to show those folks that Carter is just as good as their folks'," said Ryles. "It is part of the Southern culture to go on the defensive when somebody from outside the South attacks you."

There is evidence of that.

Carter has raised more than half of the money to run his presidential campaign in Georgia, more than $650,000 as of 10 days ago, said Jack Watson, the Atlanta attorney who is Carter's Georgia financial chairman. And the Carter campaign counts on raising another $500,000 here to carry the candidate through the mid-July convention.

"It is almost a 'politics aside' thing," said Watson. "It's like people are saying now, 'no matter that we were on opposite sides of the fence four years ago, this man (Carter) has done a favor for all of us'."

Then, too,political wounds just heal fast.

"It's like two lawyers in a bitter court battle," said former Gov. Carl Sanders, whom Carter beat in a nasty 1970 gubernatorial race that has become an issue in the national presidential campaign. "You don't hold a grudge. You just shake hands after it's over and go about your business. In politics you always know that there is another day, another campaign."

Sanders says he will support the Democratic nominee but will not become active in presidential politics, devoting his time instead to work on the Democratic National Platform Committee in the next three and a half months.

But while it cannot be said that Sanders loyalists are not falling in line en masse behind Carter's campaign, it can be said that they are not behaving like Lester Maddox in New Hampshire —waving red flags in front of the Carter campaign.

Why? One Sanders loyalist who is often contacted by national news sources to get some "dirt" on the Carter campaign tactics used in 1970, says now that the campaign was just not all that dirty, "at least not outside the boundaries of what Georgia political campaigns will tolerate."

Says Sanders of that race, almost a backdoor praise of Carter's Style:

"Unlike Gov. Reagan, and the Republican party, we did not have an '11th Commandment' in Georgia politics in 1970.

"Gov. Carter spoke of and against me often and did so vociferously. Most of it was bunk. But he said it like he believed it."

House Passes City Bankruptcy Bill

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A bill rushed through Congress to establish a new method for municipal bankruptcy proceedings as a result of New York City's brush with bankruptcy last year won final House approval Thursday by voice vote.

The measure, which needs final Senate clearance before it goes to the White House, was a compromise worked out between differing house and senate bills passed last December.

New York City didn't need the law because Congress approved simultaneously a $2.3 billion loan to rescue it from impending defaults on financial obligations. The bankruptcy bill would have served as a stopgap in case the federal loans failed to save it from default.



Associated Press Photo

Wife Rosalynn Carter Was Also Busy, Visiting New York City

Jackson Seeks N.Y. Votes; Carter Hits Ford Ag Policy

The Associated Press

Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington sought urban backing in New York with a plan to save America's cities, while former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter looked for farm support in Wisconsin with criticism of President Ford's agricultural policy.

The locations and issues were different, but the two candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination had the same goal: votes in April 6 primaries.

On the Republican side, Ford's campaign strategists were still weighing the effect of Ronald Reagan's victory in North Carolina — his first of the campaign season.

And the former California governor was working at home while his aides negotiated for television time for a nationwide address next week.

Of the six Democratic primaries so far, Carter has won five and Jackson one. Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, U.S. Rep. Morris Udall, DAriz., and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace are still looking for victory.

The other two active major candidates in the Democratic field, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, have not yet tested the primary waters.

In New York City, Jackson urged increased federal aid for urban areas. "It may be fashionable for politicians to run against Washington and to argue for a reduced federal role, but anybody who knows anything about it, knows the cities cannot survive without substantially increased federal aid," Jackson said in an apparent reference to Carter, who has been sharply critical of the Washington power structure.

Carter defended his attacks on the federal government, denying that they are attacks on programs for the poor and the cities. "It is time for a fresh approach to be brought to Washington to phase out those things that are unmanageable," he said in Wisconsin. "It need not be a cause of fear in Washington to see bold changes made."

Jackson said he would try to cut the unemployment rate, now at 7.6 per cent, to 3 per cent. The Washington senator did not say how much the programs would cost or where the money would come from. He said generally that tax revenues generated by a recovering economy would finance his program and that no tax increase would be needed.

Jackson also called for federal funding of welfare, passage of a national health insurance program, increased federal aid to education and establishment of a public works program like the Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps to creat jobs for young people.

Jackson wasn't the only one campaigning in New York City. Carter's wife, Rosalynn, also made several appearances in the city. In an interview on the WNEW-TV "Midday Live" program, she spoke about abortion, marijuana and the problems of a presidential campaign.

As for abortion, Mrs. Carter said, "I don't like it personally, but I'm not for changing the constitution." On marijuana, she said, "I'm not for legalizing it, but for decriminalizing it." And on political campaigning, she said she's learned "to grow a thick skin."

Her husband, meanwhile, was in Madison, Wis., where he was asked about Jackson's proposal to use American grain as a bargaining tool in dealing with the Soviet Union.

"I would not single out food as a weapon," Carter said. "I do not intend to single out food as the bargaining weapon."

Carter said U.S. farmers were hurt when Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Ford "did single out wheat."

He apparently referred to last year's temporary embargo on grain sales to Russia. The embargo was imposed after some consumer and labor union leaders said sales to the Soviet Union would drive up prices at home. It was lifted after a longterm agreement was reached to stabilize the size of the U.S.-Soviet grain trade.

Carter said in a statement that he was dissatisfied with Ford's agricultural policies and would fire Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz if elected president.

—The Fair Campaign Practices Committee formally opened its biennial campaign to clean up elections, with chairmen of the four congressional campaign committees signing the pledge in a Capitol ceremony. The committee's code pledges candidates to refrain from slander, whispering campaigns, falsehoods, appeals to prejudice and to reject support from anybody who does these things.

—Florida Democratic leaders met to decide whether to press their dispute with Jackson and Carter over their rejection of some individuals who hope to go to the national convention as delegates. Carter and Jackson have angered state party leaders by rejecting 390 persons who have qualified to run as convention-delegate candidates in caucuses around the state Saturday.

Rules of the national party give presidential candidates the right to disapprove delegate candidates, but state party chairman Ann Cramer said the Carter-Jackson action was "not in keeping with the spirit or intent" of Florida's delegate-selection plan.

Ex-Sen. Clark Backs Carter

Special to the Constitution

PHILADELPHIA—Former Pennsylvania Sen. Joseph S. Clark, for many years a leading spokesman of the liberal community in America, endorsed Jimmy Carter for president Thursday night.

Clark urged Pennsylvanians to vote for Carter in the state's April 27 presidential primary because "in my opinion Jimmy Carter has the best chance of any Democrat in the race to become the next president of the United States."

Clark, who is running as an uncommitted delegate to the convention, announced his support for Carter at a meeting of the Central Philadelphia Reformed Democrats here.

Clark, who served in the U.S. Senate from 1956 to 1968, said, "Carter is talking unity, not further polarization. And perhaps most important of all, he is a staunch advocate of international peace."

Clark is also a former mayor of Philadelphia.

Carter's strongest opposition in the Pennsylvania primary is expected to be Washington Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson and Arizona Rep. Morris Udall.

Carter May Get GAE Nod

By ALEXIS SCOTT REEVES

In addition to electing its own officers, the Georgia Association of Educators is likely to face a decision Friday on whether to endorse Jimmy Carter for president.

A motion to do just that was ruled out of order Thursday during the convention of the GAE, a 48,000-member association of classroom teachers.

But it's likely that the motion will be made again Friday afternoon when 1,500 GAE members meeting in Atlanta convene again.

GAE Associate Executive Secretary Horace Tate got in a little campaigning on Carter's behalf Thursday when he told the Georgia educators how Carter's North Carolina primary victory on Tuesday had been aided by North Carolina educators.

The North Carolina educators, Tate said, had contributed money to Carter's campaign there. "Even though this may not be the time, I would urge you to think kindly of giving your support when the time comes," Tate said.

The GAE has a political action arm called the Political Action Committee for Education (PACE) designed to make just that sort of political contribution.

But the PACE campaign war chest is running low, according to Dr. Nevin Jones, PACE coordinator.

The committee had hoped to raise about $100,000 from GAE members this year but the bank balance to date is only $11,695.86, Jones said. He added, "I am embarrassed to make this report."

PACE, a voluntary committee separate from other GAE activities, contributed $132,000 to political campaigns in 1974.

Last year, PACE met its $50,000 goal.

"I hope this does not say this is what this year is going to be like," Jones said of the low total so far this year. He reminded GAE members that legislation had been introduced in the just-concluded session of the General Assembly which would have prohibited an organization such as PACE.

"This is telling me that somebody up there doesn't want us to be politically active," Jones said.

In the educators' own domestic politics, Friday is the day of decision for a new president-elect.

Members must choose between Eleanor Lee, a curriculum coordinator from Waycross, and Bill Scott, a high school counselor in Atlanta.

Mrs. Lee, a GAE member for 33 years, distributed red, white and blue campaign literature and emphasized "positive action."

Scott, an active leader in the recent school strike in the Atlanta school system, said, "I am not content with the accomplishments" of GAE.

YOUR TURN

Who Bugged Wallace's Atlanta Campaign Office?

Someone electronically "bugged" Gov. George Wallace's campaign headquarters in Atlanta. Atlantans were asked where they would place the blame for the incident. Here are their answers.

Pete Gebel, bartender: I believe it was planted by some Wallace conspirators. The Wallace people are doing anything they can to get the limelight or some type of sympathy. None of the other candidates would be interested in such a caper.

Bob Daszuta, musician: Probably someone in the Carter organization did it. The whole situation could be laughable. Don't get me wrong: I'm a Carter man, but who else would benefit?

Charles Bridwell, industrial retreader: I believe the Wallace people did it themselves to get national publicity. I can't see why the Carter organization or any other candidate would want to do it.


Gebel


Daszuta


Bridwell


Lovett

William Lovett, household goods mover: I believe the Wallace people had it done for the publicity and to gain support from some southerners.

Ed Branan, banker: I have no idea who did it, but it is right amusing. Who would want to? Gov. Wallace hit it on the head when he said that probably all anyone would hear would be some strong language.


Branan


Wilson


Walker


Holton

Mrs. Edna Wilson, homemaker: Jimmy Carter's people didn't do it. It was probably someone in Wallace's own camp who did it hoping he could destroy Carter.

R. G. Walker, trucker: I believe the FBI did it, trying to find out some of that dirt that's going on. Wallace shouldn't hold any sort of public office.

Mrs. Barbara Holton, waitress: I don't know who did it, but you can believe there was something crooked going on. I'm sort of for Wallace, but I haven't seen anyone I'd want to vote for in this campaign.

Hal Gulliver

The New South Rises Yet Again

The North Carolina primary vote this week may not entirely prove that The South Will Rise do one thing beyond question: it makes Jimmy Carter the first Southerner in modern times to have a quite serious chance for the Democratic presidential nomination.



Carter is the frontrunner in any case because of his strong showing in the first caucus and primary states.

But his candidacy was viewed by many, even in the South, as part of a Stop George Wallace reargdard action. Democrats in both Florida and North Carolina, for instance, resented Wallace's decisive victories in those two states in the 1972 primaries. The Alabama governor is quite right that to some extent, as he says, he "slipped up on 'em" in the primaries four years ago. He is also right that a number of varied coalitions rallied behind Carter as more of a Stop Wallace move than anything else.

But the fact, all that notwithstanding, is that the South has in 1976 produced a serious national candidate for President and his name is James Earl Carter of Plains, Georgia.

It is easy to stay with a winner, too. Some of Carter's early money and support came from California liberals and major labor unions and black elected officials who saw him, initially, as simply the main opponent to Wallace in Florida. Some of these people suddenly opened their eyes wide after the New Hampshire and Florida primaries and said to themselves, now, let's wait a minute, we wanted to block Wallace but does that mean we really want Jimmy Carter in the White House? Some few of those early supporters indeed have chosen to back, say, Congressman Morris Udall; most have decided seemingly that they like the idea of supporting a candidate who is rolling on to victory after victory in these early balloting tests.

North Carolina was in a sense the capstone of all that. Carter might have won fairly big in Florida in a two-man race. Sen. Henry Jackson's late effort there was aimed deliberately at undercutting Carter to prevent a Carter win over Wallace. Carter won nonetheless, and the momentum going into North Carolina was so great that Jackson gave up campaigning there, probably to avoid humiliation (he received roughly four per cent of the vote, his name still being on the ballot). Carter's margin over Wallace was close to 20 per cent.

Gov. Wallace's campaign will continue certainly. He will continue to win delegates in other states, in the North as well as the South. But after Florida and North Carolina it is hard to see another state in which the Alabama governor can defeat Carter, other than in Alabama itself.

Let's go back a few years. Carter was one of the New South governors elected in 1970 (Yes, Virginia, there is yet another New South). He was elected as the new political face to be on Time magazine's cover, a fairly sensible selection considering how far Carter has come since as a national political candidate. But Time could just as well have chosen Dale Bumpers in Arkansas or Rubin Askew in Florida. Indeed, it is arguable that Askew might have been a better choice at the time.

The incredible thing about Carter though, in comparison to other New South faces, was that he decided several years ago that the nation was really ready to consider a Southerner for President, that he had as good or better chance as anyone else, and that he would in fact go all out to plan and run a national campaign. His greatest achievement to date in this arena is that in Southern states like North Carolina and Florida Carter has managed to win black votes, white moderate to liberal votes, and yet also many votes of people who earlier voted for and supported George Wallace. It is remarkable. Carter's next test is whether or not he can put together similarly broad coalition support in large industrial states such as New York and Pennysylvania.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say

Selected News, Polls, And Opinion.

3/9 thru 3/14



The New York Times/George Tames

B

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 14, 1976 —

Carter's Backers Are Reassessing Him

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, March 13—Having proved himself a giant killer, Jimmy Carter is having to prove himself a giant. Specifically, people who backed Mr. Carter to beat Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the Florida primary last Tuesday are taking another look at him now as a suddenly plausible contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination. And they are not sure yet just what they really think of him.

"Now what?" Max Palevsky asked himself last night. "I don't know—punt, I guess."

A liberal multimillionaire who gave lavishly to Senator George McGovern's campaign four years ago, Mr. Palevsky raised thousands of dollars for Mr. Carter last summer because he was "very interested in stopping George Wallace, especially in the South."

Could Use Hall

But with that mission accomplished in Florida, Mr. Palevsky is perplexed. The Carter campaign raised about $25,000 at a $1,000-a-couple dinner in Mr. Palevsky's Malibu mansion last night, but Mr. Palevsky wanted it known that he was not involved in soliciting the new contributions.

"I said they could use the hall, and that was it," he remarked offhandedly as the dinner party began.

"It's not 'all the way' for Carter in the sense I worked for George McGovern," he explained. "The issues are much less clear than they were during the Vietnam War. There is nothing about Jimmy Carter that makes it easy to support him, as there was about George McGovern."

Mr. Palevsky's highest praise for Mr. Carter was that "of all the people in the race I like him best"—which means that he prefers the former Georgia Governor to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and to Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. But he wants most of all to support Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, and he could still accept another noncandidate for the nomination, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

Reassessments

Mr. Carter's slender public record and his blurry issue positions may count against him in the approaching semi-finals of the primary season, Mr. Palevsky believes. On the other hand, he mused in Mr. Carter's favor, "We're in pretty bad shape in this country. Maybe we have to take a chance."

Liberal labor unions and some of the black political leaders who gave Mr. Carter short-term anti-Wallace support in Florida were also reassessing this week, with mixed results.

Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, whose endorsement of Mr. Carter to black voters was explicitly restricted to the Florida primary, renewed his support this week, while Julian Bond, a black state Senator in the Georgia Legislature, was bailing out of the Carter campaign to endorse Mr. Udall from now on.

"It was the right thing to do," Mr. Bond said of his mild Florida support for Mr. Carter, "in that a vote for Carter would be an important vote to drive the nail into Wallace's political coffin."

He added, however: "Governor Carter is just a little too far to the right for me. It's disturbing to see in Florida he could get 70 percent of the black vote and 50 percent of the antiblack vote."

A curious aspect of the Carter campaign this weekend was that while early supporters were reconsidering, a number of new supporters were enlisting with clearly ulterior motives.

Funds for Air Quality

OKLAHOMA CITY (UPI)—Industry has spent or committed $191 million, and the state nearly $4 million, for air quality control in Oklahoma during the last six years, John W. Gallion, chief of the State Health Department's air quality service said.

Two of Them Will Be on the Ballot This Week in Illinois

Democrats Re-Invent The Favorite Son Ploy

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

CHICAGO—The favorite-son candidacy, a 19th-century invention that had fallen into disuse in recent times, has regained its popularity this year.

With the proliferation of primary elections and the adoption of reform rules to encourage popular participation in the selection of Presidential nominees, favorite-son candidacies played little role in 1968 and 1972. But now they are back, in many guises and variations, as a device to give prominent local politicians a key role in Presidential politics.

The activity is centered in the Democratic campaign, although Vice President Rockefeller's agents in New York are running a kind of covert favorite-son campaign in his behalf. They are putting up a slate of uncommitted delegates who would be free to back Mr. Rockefeller if an opening developed.

In three of the most populous states—California, New York, and Illinois, with 723 delegates among them—governors are trying to assemble blocs of delegates loyal to themselves.

In Illinois, which votes on Tuesday, Gov. Daniel Walker is fielding a slate of delegates as part of his continuing battle with Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago for primacy in the state. The Mayor, in turn, has worked out a complicated arrangement with Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d. Mr. Stevenson publicly proclaimed his unwillingness to run but made no protest when Mr. Daley lined up slates of delegates pledged to Mr. Stevenson across the state. Those slates include both old-line Democrats and pro-Stevenson reform elements. Even though slates pledged to former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, among others, are also running, the Stevenson-Daley slates are favored.

Governor Carey of New York is backing "an empire slate for the Empire State" in New York's April 6 primary. It consists of uncommitted delegate candidates in most of the state's Congressional districts. In about a third of the districts, the local organizations are backing Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, which limits Mr. Carey's potential. But the legal difficulties of Patrick Cunningham, the State Democratic Chairman, one of the slate's chief backers, is a threat to its success, as are the active New York candidacies of such national aspirants as Mr. Carter and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. These candidates will probably profit most from the new law permitting the identification of delegate candidates with their Presidential choice on the ballot.

California's governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., announced on Friday that he would place his name on the ballot there as a favorite son. State polls show Mr. Brown to be more popular in California than the national Presidential contenders. Some politicians in the state expect him to win as many as 200 of the state's 280 delegates.

Nurturing Hopes and Favors

All three Governors are politicians and they nurture small hopes that their party might turn to them in the event of a deadlock at the Democratic National Convention, as the Republicans turned in 1920 to a favorite son from Ohio named Warren G. Harding. More realistically, they hope to deliver their delegates to another candidate at a crucial moment in return for some political consideration, perhaps even the vice presidential nomination. John Nance Garner of Texas did that at the 1932 Democratic National Convention.

There were reports last week of similar moves in two other big states. The potential favorite sons are Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr. of New Jersey, who won national attention during the Nixon impeachment hearings by the House Judiciary Committee, which he heads, and Senator John H. Glenn of Ohio, a former astronaut.

Then there are the quasi-favorite sons, the more-or-less active Presidential candidates whose campaigns seem to have real prospects of success only in their home states. They too hope to win a seat at the bargaining table if the nomination is to be brokered. Among those in that category are:

Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. of Texas. Mr. Bentsen began with the intention of running a national campaign, then retrenched to a regional effort and then, when he fared poorly in the Mississippi and Oklahoma caucuses, announced that he would concentrate on the Texas primary. He will have opposition, but is considered a favorite on his home ground.

Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia. He announced a national candidacy earlier this year, but he has made no move to campaign outside his home state, whose primary he has persuaded most of the other candidates to skip.

Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania removed himself from the list last week following the failure of his trial runs in the Massachusetts and Florida primaries, where he finished seventh and fourth, respectively.

Finally, in a number of caucus states, governors and others are campaigning for uncommitted delegates in an effort to assemble blocs with which to bargain. Govs. Cliff Finch of Mississippi and David L. Boren of Oklahoma and former Gov. Robert E. McNair of South Carolina have already done so successfully.

Few of the favorite sons are assured of success. In sharp contrast to the past pattern, the active candidates are challenging most of them, and it may be difficult for the local figures to compete with the national contenders and the exposure in newspapers and on television that they benefit from.

But to the degree they succeed, the favorite sons will deny early delegate strength to th active candidates, thereby increasing the chances that the convention will deadlock and, perhaps, turn to someone like Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

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

State Expects Quick Approval Of New Primary Ballot by U.S.

By RONALD SMOTHERS
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Mar. 12—George Zuckerman, head of the State Attorney General's civil rights division, said today that he had submitted the state's new primary ballot law to the United States Department of Justice and was confident of quick approval by the Federal Government.

The new state law requires approval by the Justice Department's civil rights division because of provisions in the Federal Voting Right Act of 1970, which puts special sanctions against any changes in election laws affecting three New York City boroughs, Manhattan, Brooklyn and the Bronx.

Quick Action Requested

The act placed under Federal scrutiny any state, city or county in which less than half of the population of voting age was registered or voted in 196 under a presumption that such a situation indicated possible racial discrimination. The thrte New York counties, which had less than 50 percent voter registration, fell under this provision, the only ones in the North so affected.

Zuckerman said that copies of the new state law were mailed to Washington today with a request that the Federal civil rights division "expedite action on it."

He said that although Federal law allows the Government up to 60 days to approve or disapprove leection law changes in a covered jurisdiction, it has sometimes acted more quickly when necessary.

Beatrice Dolen, chairman of the city's Board of Elections, anticipate some practical problems from the new law. She said that the law would extend to March 20 the period in which convention delegate candidates could move from one slate to another and seek the authorization of Presidential candiates.

As a result, she said, printing of ballots and outfitting of voting booths will be delayed until a scant three weeks before the April 6 primary. Mrs. Dolen estimated that the additional cost in overtime and and additional personnel would be approximately $250,000.

The law eliminates the practice of listing convention delegate candidates on the ballot without the name of the candidate they support. Now, if party rules allow pledged slates of delegates, the ballot will carry the delegate's name and the candidate he or she supports. Because only the Democratic Party rules allow such pledged slates, only the Democratic primary ballot will change as a result of the law.

E

F.

Jackson to Forgo North Carolina Race

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 12—Senator Henry M. Jackson today abandoned plans to contest the North Carolina Presidential primary election March 23 to devote his "full attention to the New York and Pennsylvania primaries."

The Washington Senator had been expected to run third in North Carolina behind former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

More Meaningful Test Seen

His decision to bypass North Carolina followed two and one-half days of consultations here with his staff and advisers. It seemed to be motivated partly by the withdrawals of Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania from the Presidential race and partly by a law enacted yesterday that would end the confusing "blind" primary ballot in New York State and permit the names of Democratic Presidential candidates to be listed along with those of national convention delegate candidates who support a specific candidate.

Mr. Jackson is considered the favorite in the New York primary April 6, which will elect 274 convention delegates. He might, however, have been even stronger under the old system in which the names of Presidential candidates were not listed. His strong financial and organizational base would have given him an advantage over Mr. Carter, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

On the other hand, the New York contest has unquestionably become a more meaningful—and politically glamorous—test, and a clear victory by Mr. Jackson would probably have more impact.

The Senator's campaign director, Robert Keefe, said that "the results in New York will not be a lot different—we still expect to do very well." The new law will require "a different kind of campaign," he added, with less emphasis on organizational education of voters on what slates to support and more emphasis on television and press exposure of th candidates.

Mr. Jackson has already been entered in the Pennsylvania primary, which will select 178 delegates April 27, but the Shapp withdrawal [illegible] appeared to the Senator, and others, to offer a better chance for a clear-cut and convincing decision in that state.

Jackson Organization Strong

"The decision of Governor Shapp to withdraw will make the April 27 Pennsylvania primary an even more important battleground for Democratic contenders," Senator Jackson said.

His press secretary," Brian Corcoran, said that the Jackson organization in Pennsylvania was already formidable, embracing a number of important past supporters of and past fund-raisers for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. But he added that Mr. Shapp's decision "opens up more organizational opportunities, particularly with state party figures who were hamstrung until the withdrawal."

Daley Views the Primary As Crucial to His Power

By WILLIAM E. FARRELL
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 12 — Mayor Richard J. Daley and his powerful Cook County Democratic machine have important goals in Tuesday's Illinois primary that are far more complicated than the state's nonbinding preferential primary among six Presidential candidates.

The entrants in the primary, who will test voter appeal in the race, are President Ford and Ronald Reagan on the Republican side and Jimmy Carter, George C. Wallace, Fred R. Harris and Sargent Shriver on the Democratic side.

But their aspirations are subordinate to the concerns of the 73-year-old Mr. Daley, the doyen of big city politicians, who for 12 years has presided over City Hall as the classic big-city machine boss.

The Mayor and consequently his political lieutenants and huge cadre of ward committeemen and precinct captains, is more intent on gaining control of as many of Illinois's 169 Democratic convention delegates as possible to give him a broker's role long after the memory of Tuesday's "beauty contest" has faded from voter minds.

Continued on Page 10, Column 7

Daley Views Primary As Key to His Power

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

And he also has a number of scores to settle in important city and state races.

Among the Daley machine's specific goals in the primary are the following:

¶To provide the Mayor with as many of Illinois's 169 delegate seats to the Democratic National Convention in New York in July as possible. To achieve this end, the Daley forces are fielding about 150 delegate candidates on Tuesday ballot pledged to Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d, who is not a Presidential candidate.

¶To rout the state's incumbent Democratic Governor, Daniel Walker, a maverick whom Mr. Daley dislikes intensely. The machine candidate for Governor is Secretary of State Michael J. Howlett.

Convention Role Eyed

¶To quash the incumbent Democrat from the First Congressional District, Representative Ralph H. Metcalfe. Mr. Metcalfe, a black who broke with the machine a few years ago over incidents involving the clubbing of two black dentists by Chicago policemen, is running against a machine-backed candidate, Erwin A. France, a black who formerly headed the Chicago Model Cities program.

¶To comb the city's wards in this overwhelmingly Democratic city and get the voters out and insure the victory of the many machine candidates running for judgeships, statewide offices and local positions that are integral to the Democratic machine's vitality.

Mr. Daley wants to go to the Democratic convention with a sizable bloc of votes and negotiate once again from strength. He has enjoyed the kingmaker's role in the past and he is said to be anxious to blot out the last trace of the ignominy he and his followers suffered in 1972 when they were ejected from their party's convention.

A Daley associate was asked the other day why the machine was not backing Mr. Shriver in the preference primary if only as a sop to a man with connections to the Kennedy family, a family the Mayor admires, as well as one who had lived in Chicago for a number of years.

Some Problems Overcome

"That takes an effort," the associate said, "and it might detract from the main things. There are too many other machine concerns to clutter the situation up with the preference primary."

For years the machine has confounded experts, has drawn barbs from liberal professionals and has kept the unstinting support of the city's working class.

Mr. Daley has had more "last hurrah" stories written about him than perhaps any other politician in America. They have all become "last ha ha" stories and he is riding as high today as e was two decades ago.

Among other things he overcame the exposure of a burglary ring in the Chicago Police Department years ago. He has weathered the aftermath of his famous "shoot-to kill" order to the police during the ghetto riots that followed the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968.

He survived the debacle of the 1968 Democratic National Convention that was labeled a "police riot" and that ripped the city wide open. He has overcome his ouster from the 1972 Democratic convention.

In 1974 he was incapacitated for several months by a stroke, prompting reports that his political career was at an end.

The impact on his power of many instances of chicanery, corruption and thievery on the part of a sizable number of his associates and aides has been nil.

Last year, despite hopes by some that the corruption within the machine would force its disintegration in the post-Watergate era, Mr. Daley trounced three primary opponents and annihilated the token Republican running against him in the general election to win an unprecedented sixth four-year term with about 78 percent of the vote.

The Old-Time Politics

The anonymous, working class stalwarts who keep the machine alive still respond to the personal touch of the old-time politics and the precinct captains. They are notably immune to the toothy smiles and slickly produced voter importunings of television campaigning.

Many of them are like the woman described by the Rev. Eugene Kennedy, a Maryknoll priest, who spent St. Patrick's Day with the Mayor last year and wrote about it.

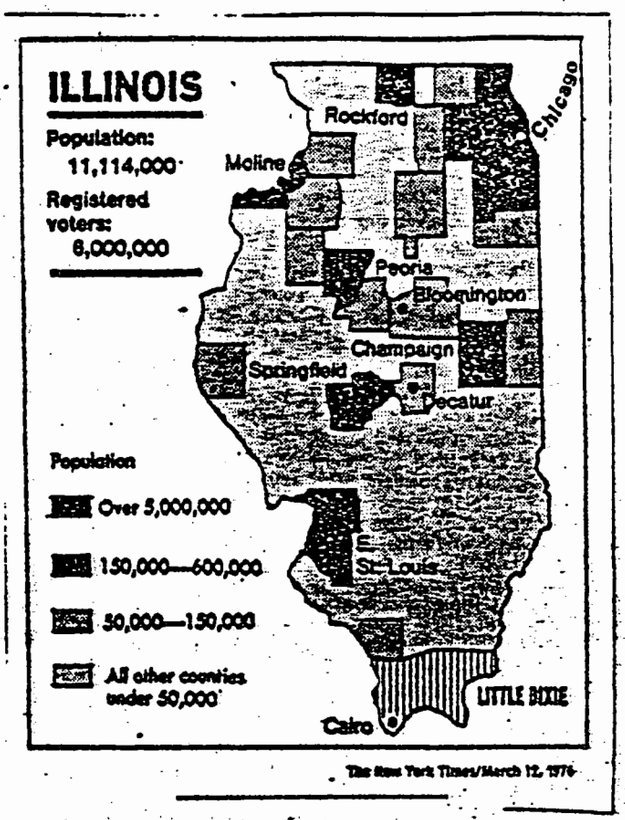
In his book titled, "St. Patrick's Day With Mayor Daley and Other Things Too Good to Miss," Father Kennedy wrote about the wake of the mother of a policeman. The woman had been a friend of the Mayor's.

"She is laid out in a fine new dress," he wrote. "Her worn rosary is twined in her prayerful hands and she seems at peace. On her dress, glinting in the soft light, is pinned a large badge, printed in green with the legend, 'Daley In '75.'"

Go Fly a Record

ANGERS, France (AP)—Jean Goineau says he has set a new kite flying record—358 kites aloft a single line going up 990 feet. He said the old record, 353 kites on a single line, was held by a Japanese. The Guinness Book of World Records lists no such category.

H



The New York Times/March 12, 1976

Illinois Electorate Offers Wide Variety

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 11 — Looking at a population map of Illinois, you could easily imagine that someone had picked up this arrowhead-shaped state by its southwestern corner and rolled all the people into its northeastern corner.

During the last decade, more than two-thirds of Illinois's 11 million citizens have clustered into Chicago or the five counties that surround it.

Most of the remaining third live in the belt of smaller cities (30,000 to 140,000) that angle across the state's prosperous middle.

All of which makes it easier for the six politicians now rushing around the state for next Tuesday's Presidential primary to show themselves to most of Illinois's nearly six million voters by concentrating in these two areas.

But there the homogeneity ends. The crescent around Chicago includes some of the nation's heaviest industry, its largest steel-making complex, some of the country's wealthiest financiers, some of its most luxurious suburbs, many of its poorest people, two of the worst slums in the country, and almost every ethnic group known in America.

And across the conservative middle belt are some of the world's richest corn and soybean lands, one of the largest of state universities (the University of Illinois, with 35,000 students) and, in Rock Island-Moline and Peoria, the country's largest farm implement and industrial tractor makers.

Regional attitudes are just as contrasting, varying from the Great Lakes frigidity of the Chicago megalopolis to wedge of Illinois that borders the rugged backlands of Little Dixie, the southern on Kentucky and is more southern than northern in speech and outlook.

Despite this rainbow spectrum, Illinois has been a bellwether political state, voting with the winner in every Presidential election since it went for Warren G. Harding in 1920.

The state's other shining light of political consistency has been Chicago's Mayor Richard J. Daley, who, since 1955, has ruled the city's Democrats and, except for a couple of short intervals, has dominated the state's Democratic organization.

Until two years ago, the statewide division of the political fruits between Republican and Democrat was almost dead even.

But in the Watergate election year of 1974, the balance tilted in favor of the Democrats, who now hold the Governor's office as well as one of the two United States Senate posts, 13 of the 24 House seats, and both houses of the legislature.

The one qualifying element in this lineup is the Governor's office, from which the maverick Democrat Daniel Walker continues his bitter feud with Chicago's 73-year-old Mayor. Mr. Walker's victory in the 1972 primary over the Daley candidate was one of the few setbacks the Mayor has suffered and his energies are now pointed largely toward pushing Governor Walker out of the Statehouse in Tuesday's primary.

And Mr. Daley, with an embarrassing exclusion from the 1972 Democratic convention now behind him and now apparently recovered from his dangerous illness of two years ago, seems in full sway again, headed for another king-making role at his party's national convention in July.

This year Illinois offers those Presidential candidates bold enough to test its uncertain political winds no real issues with which to grapple.

With the state's industry so diversified and its farmers still so prosperous, the recession has been felt only slightly and its effects are not easily seen.

Unemployment, which for months was below the national average, has recently moved above it. While the number of unemployed in Illinois declined slightly in February, the state's rate of 9.3 percent was still higher than the nation's 7.6 percent.

But with the familiar exception of young black males in Chicago and East St. Louis, the jobless have not been concentrated in one area or in one industry, which makes the prospects for recovery brighter.

According to issue polls conducted recently by The Chicago Sun-Times, the state is almost equally divided on whether abortion should continue to be legal.

And with the crime rate in Chicago and East St. Louis still at disturbingly high levels, city and suburban residents have been joined by many downstate dwellers in demanding a ban on pistols.

The only other matter currently disturbing some Illinois residents is the question of free markets for American grain.

And that point is largely confined to small-town and rural Republicans, barely 20 percent of the population.

President Ford will have to answer to this group for imposing an embargo last August on sales to the Russians. This is an action he can explain to city consumers as an attempt to hold down food prices.

But that won't work with the farmers, who are convinced that the embargo held down grain prices and cost them thousands of dollars.

More than a third of Chicago's population is now black and the city's schools are among the most tightly segregated in the nation. The State Superintendent of Education has warned Mayor Daley and the mayors of several other Illinois communities that they are not meeting state or Federal integration standards and they had better get ready to do so.

But this is only a threat, and, at the moment, there are no inflammatory busing disputes on which the Presidential candidates can argue.

With at least 80 percent of Illinois's residents now statistically classified as urban-dwelling, next week's primary battles and next fall's general election will be decided in the Chicago crescent and across the generally prosperous, often Republican farm-oriented middle.

In the recent past, the weight of the Daley organization Democrats has been countered by the middle-state Republicans, with the suburbs deciding the winner. This pattern could be repeated Tuesday in the preference primary voting and may well be seen in the general election in the fall.

There is no permanent party registration and voters are free to take either a Republican or a Democrat ballot in Tuesday's election.

This situation led to considerable mischief-making in the 1972 primary, when the Presidential aspect was of minimal interest and many Republicans crossed over to embarrass Mayor Daley by voting for Daniel Walker.

The chances of this happening again this year seem remote, as the struggle between President Ford and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California is crucial and Republicans won't dare switch from it.

And Mayor Daley is determined not only to chase Governor Walker out of Springfield but also, in the contests for delegates to the national convention, to elect a majority of them pledged to Adlai E. Stevenson 3d, his favorite-son candidate, and in this way once again lead an Illinois delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

Campaign: Funds Dictate Tactic

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

CHICAGO, March 11—Money is beginning to dictate major strategic decisions in the Presidential campaigns as the electoral schedule moves toward primaries in big, expensive states, straining the capacities of the candidates to raise the needed funds. Within the last 10 days, there have been the following signs of stress:

News Analysis

¶Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, heavily in debt, was forced to abandon his campaign after only two primaries, even though he had laid the base for a strong campaign in New York, a state basically better suited to his appeal.

¶Former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, who had vowed to fight on despite poor finishes in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, took a look at the economic realities and decided to let his campaign lie fallow for two months, hoping that he could raise enough money to return to active competition in the Pennsylvania primary April 27.

¶Former Gov. Jimmy Carter, pressed for time as well as money, concluded that he would not be able to mount extensive campaigns in New York and Wisconsin, both of which vote April 6. In a search for financing, the Georgian will break off his Illinois campaign tomorrow to fly to California.

He said yesterday that "compared to my two main opponents here, I am hurting financially."

¶A key adviser to former Gov. Ronald Reagan said after his defeat in Florida, "no matter how determined the Governor is to press on and to put his message across, the fact is that if we don't win a primary soon, we won't be able to raise the money."

The Main Culprit

The prohibition on contributions in excess of $5,000 this year has been the main culprit, depriving the candidates of traditional sources of big money. The availability of Federal matching funds has only partly alleviated the difficulty, especially in the case of those who were unable to make strong early showings.

A February financial statement filed by Mr. Harris today with the Federal Election Commission tells the story.

In that month, Mr. Harris was able to take in only $51,000 in new contributions, and he quickly ran through the $249,000 in matching funds that he received on the basis of earlier contributions.

For the most part, the funds were used to run his New Hampshire and Massachusetts campaigns, relatively austere operations in which some workers were eating three meals a day for less than $3.

By the end of the month, he had only $24,000 in cash on hand, with debts in excess of $165,000 including $91,000 owed to a direct-mail advertising company.

Clearly, there was no way to campaign in Illinois, Wisconsin and New York, where Mr. Harris had invested considerable time in laying the organizational groundwork.

Mr. Carter is in better shape, having raised $377,000 last month, by far his best month yet, according to Robert Lipscutz, his treasurer. But he had only $52,000 in cash on hand pending the arrival of $160,000 in matching funds due him.

Small Economies

Like most campaigns, Mr. Carter's has been attempting small economies, such as asking rpoertrs accompanying the candidate for advanced payment for airfares.

Even Senator Henry M. Jakkson of Washington, who began the campaign with millions of dollars in the treasury and who has often said, "Hard cash is what it's all about," faces some real problems.

"A lot of his energy," said Ben Watteerg, one of the Senator's confidantes, "will have to be spent these next few weeks on trying to raise a million bucks for New York."

Partly to husband his money, Mr. Jackson has stayed out of some primaries but his report today showed that his cash on hand declined from $1.5 million on Feb. 1 to only $260,000 on Feb. 28, and that he had raised less than $100,000 in February—one of his poorest months so far.

At the same time, the Jakkson campaign was pouring money into Massakhusetts, Florida and New York. In those three states, Mr. Jackson has spent more than $750,000 since the first of the year.

The cash crunch will inevitably hasten the shrinkage of the field, which has already proceeded unusually quickly this year. The first major withdrawal of 1972, former Mayor John V. Lindsay of New York City, pulled out after the Wisconsin primary. With Wisconsin's 1976 balloting still a month away, three Democrats have already dropped out.

Sargent Shriver who has closed his Washington office in order to run an underfinanced last-gasp race in the Illinois primary next Tuesday, said today that it was "absurd" that the contest was narrowing so rapidly:

"The people of the United States are in danger of having one Republican and two Democrats left," he commented. "If you were picking a President of Marshall Field's, you'd have more people to choose from that little bunch."

Despite such complaints, it seems highly unlikely that there will be more than one Republican (President Ford) and four Democrats (Mr. Carter, Mr. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama) with major campaigns functioning in May.

It appears inevitable, furthermore, that they will have to pick and choose among the 22 primaries that will remain on the calendar following the voting in Pennsylvania on April 27.

No one who tries to make a major effort in all will have the cash needed for what the politicians are calling "Super Bowl Tuesday"—June 8, when California, Ohio and New Jersey, three of the nation's 10 largest states, all hold primaries on the same day.

Carter Maps New Strategy After Florida

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

MIAMI, March 10 — Despite Jimmy Carter's impressive victory in Florida yesterday, his strategists concluded today that the former Georgia Governor will be unable to mount a major campaign in the primaries on April 6 in New York and Wisconsin.

Their evaluation was the first sign that Mr. Carter's plan to contest every primary, which has brought him from obscurity to the head of the Democratic pack, was overtaxing his campaign. Hamilton Jordan, Mr. Carter's national campaign manager, said that "we are in danger of being out-resourced in every area — candidate's time, money and staff depth."

After a strategy session this morning in Orlando, Mr. Jordan said Mr. Carter hoped to keep his momentum by defeating Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the Illinois preferential voting next Tuesday and in the North Carolina primary on March 23, giving the Georgian three straight victories over Mr. Wallace, and to score in the precinct caucuses in Virginia and Kansas on April 3.

Showdown in Pennsylvania

That would set up a showdown in Pennsylvania between Mr. Carter and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington on April 27. The weak showing here and in Massachusetts by Pennsylvania's Governor, Milton J. Shapp, reduces the prospect that he will be able to dominate the Pennsylvania vote.

Mr. Carter and other Democrats are ready to concede a first-place finish in New York to Mr. Jackson, although Mr. Jordan said Mr. Carter would wage an active campaign in 12 to 15 Congressional districts in the New York City suburbs and upstate New York.

Robert J. Keefe, Mr. Jackson's campaign director, said the other Democrats' decision meant that "we have to work hard for a state where we will get no psychological lift."

After pondering overnight Mr. Jackson's third-place finish in Florida, the candidate and his staff will go back to Washington, where they will try to decide where to seek a "lift" in the next month. They will consider an attempt to revive their lagging North Carolina campaign or an effort to head off Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in Wisconsin.

Mr. Carter flew to Illinois this morning, where he joined Mr. Wallace and Sargent Shriver in seeking votes in the primary there.

A poll taken by Patrick Caddell about 10 days ago for the former Governor showed him with more than a third of the vote in Illinois, well ahead of Mr. Wallace. Mr. Shriver and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, who has abandoned active campaigning in that state's so-called "beauty contest."

But the poll showed that Mr. Carter's delegate candidates were lagging behind slates pledged to Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois and to Gov. Daniel Walker.

While Mr. Carter is working in Illinois and North Carolina, where he is also favored, his aides will start a campaign to break down animosity among key Northern liberals. Patricia Derian, the Democratic National Committeewoman from Mississippi, is moving to Washington to spearhead the effort. A Carter supporter, she has excellent liberal credentials and connections among women's activists.

The campaign is shifting, to a degree, from a search for image and credibility to a search for delegates, which is one reason the New York primary, while it may lose its drama, will not lose its importance. New York will send 274 delegates to the Democratic National Convention next July.

Including the results in the Hawaii caucuses yesterday, where most delegates chosen were uncommitted, and the Florida primary, Mr. Carter holds the lead among the Democrats in total delegates with 70. Mr. Wallace has 58, Mr. Jackson 56 and Mr. Udall 24, with the remainder widely scattered.

Among the Republicans, President Ford has 96, compared with 41 for his challenger, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, who has now been beaten by Mr. Ford four straight times.

Mr. Reagan was also in Illinois, promising to keep fighting while conceding that he would probably lose there as well. He will meet Mr. Ford, who will be in Illinois this weekend, for a sixth time in the North Carolina primary on March 23.

Mr. Reagan insisted that he would be able to accumulate enough delegates, because of proportional representation, to stay in the race. But Republican professionals were dubious, noting that he has already decided to skip contests in New York and Pennsylvania.

Mr. Ford's managers are laying plans this week for full-scale operations in Wisconsin, Texas, which votes on May 1; Oregon, which votes on May 25, and California, which votes on June 8. But they do not expect the race to last that long, and predict that it may end after North Carolina.

'Has to Win Sometime'

L. E. Thomas, Mr. Reagan's Florida manager, who once predicted a 2-to-1 victory here for his man, said today that Mr. Reagan might have won if he had begun attacking the President sooner. But he conceded that Mr. Reagan "has to win sometime soon, that's for sure."

William Thomas, the state Republican chairman, commented that Mr. Reagan had been reduced to "two chances of winning—poor and none."

Mr. Ford's victory appeared to have turned on two issues, the improvement in the general economy and the integrity of the Social Security system, both of which helped him among the older voters who dominate the Republican Party in Florida.

Although he was beaten in Florida's two most populous counties, Dade (Miami) and Broward (Fort Lauderdale), the President's majorities in such cities as St. Petersburg, Daytona Beach and Sarasota were enough to pull him through.

Over all, Mr. Ford won eight Congressional districts to seven for Mr. Reagan, with the Californian taking those along the Alabama and Georgia borders in the north, and the four in South Florida.

The geographical breakdown among the Democrats was strikingly similar.

Mr. Wallace took four districts—the three in the north (including the district embracing Jacksonville, which he won by only 579 votes) and one in central Florida. Mr. Jackson won the four in South Florida and Mr. Carter took the other seven, sweeping all of rapidly growing central Florida.

A study by The Miami Herald showed that Mr. Wallace held only 72 percent of his 1972 vote, with 16 percent of it going to Mr. Carter and 12 percent to other candidates. That accounted for the Governor's 11-point slippage.

Final Voting Totals In Florida Primary

By The Associated Press

Following are the final vote totals in Tuesday's Presidential preference primary in Florida, the number of convention delegates awarded as a result of that primary and the total number of delegate preference votes so far:

Florida Primary

REPUBLICANS

Ford	318,844	(53%)
Reagan	282,618	(47%)

DEMOCRATS

Carter	439,870	(34%)
Wallace	392,105	(31%)
Jackson	306,120	(24%)
Shapp	31,024	(2%)
Udall	26,257	(2%)
Bayh	8,552	(1%)
Blessitt	8,171	(1%)
McCormack	7,481	(1%)
Shriver	6,871	(1%)
Byrd	5,910	*
Harris	5,666	*
Church	5,456	*
No preference	37,348	(3%)

*Less than 1%

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

	Florida	Total
Ford	43	96
Reagan	23	41
Uncommitted	0	38

Needed to nominate: 1,130

DEMOCRATS

	Florida	Total
Carter	34	70
Wallace	26	58
Jackson	21	56
Udall	0	24
Shriver	0	11
Harris	0	6
Shapp	0	1
Bayh	0	1
McCormack	1	1
Uncommitted	0	21

Needed to nominate: 1,505



Lillian Carter Watches the Returns in Plains: 'I Can't Believe It...Can You?'

My Son, Jimmy

Carter's Mother Marvels at Florida Win

By FAY S. JOYCE
Courtesy Staff Writer

PLAINS—Mrs. Lillian Carter was watching the evening news in her tiny poolside cottage when the camera cut to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

"Don't you know he's scared to death that Jimmy's going to fire him?" the former governor's sturdy, staunchly political 77-year-old mother observed.

Barely more than an hour later, her words took on new weight as early returns from the important Florida presidential primary propelled Jimmy Carter into a dizzying lead over the man he absolutely had to beat in the South—Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

"What? God almighty!" Mrs. Carter exclaimed when an early radio report proclaimed her son the winner by a commanding margin over Wallace and a more recent threat, Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson of Washington.

Rushing from her kitchen to her bedroom, she turned her radio up. She grabbed her face and then hugged her body as the voice coolly read off percentages.

Just then the phone rang, and while the chicken she was frying sizzled away, a worker from the family peanut warehouse excitedly told Mrs. Carter the news again.

"I can't believe it. Can you?" she marveled as the hung up, then called her daughter who lives nearby. "I was praying, but I didn't expect him to beat Wallace," she said. "This finishes Wallace, that stinker." Mrs. Carter laughed, leaning back on an orange ottoman and waving her drink in the air.

"He's out of politics forever," she said of Wallace.

Saying over and over, "I cannot believe it," Mrs. Carter explained, "Jimmy's worked so hard for this for a year. Florida was the most important state. Massachusetts didn't matter a damn."

Carter finished a disappointing fourth behind Wallace and Jackson in the Bay State primary last Tuesday.

The Carter family was particularly stung by Jackson's attacks in the last week. Mrs. Carter said, because Carter had nominated Jackson for president in 1972 and considered him a friend.

As the calls continued to come in from friends and family, including daughter-in-law Rosalynn in Orlando, Mrs. Carter reflected, "I prayed and prayed. Don't you think that proves something?"

An indomitable former nurse who joined the Peace Corps 16 years ago to work in poverty-stricken India, Mrs. Carter said she was looking forward to having her 8-year-old granddaughter Amy back in Plains.

"Amy keeps me young," she said of Carter's youngest child, whom she keeps during the arduous campaign. "Amy is my greatest pleasure. She needs love more than anybody because her mother's gone so much."

All over this quiet farming community Tuesday people talked of fertilizer, the cool March breeze and the bold race of Jimmy Carter.

"It's absolutely the greatest thing that ever happened to Plains," crowed Jan Williams, a 36-year-old schoolteacher who married into the peanut-shelling family that has been the Carter family's rival here for 68 years.

"We're somebody now, instead of just being a little old peanut town," she exclaimed. "We raise peanuts, but we raised the next President too."

Mrs. Williams said the town's leading citizen "knows what he wants. He really and truly believe he'll make it."

Like others here, Mrs. Williams is quick to talk about Carter's faith in God. "He goes to my church and when he prays, it comes from the heart. It's never the same thing over and over," she said.

While there seems to be a genuine respect and affection for the Carter family, with which many local farmers do business, there naturally are a few people here and there who lean toward other candidates, like Ronald Reagan.

But it's the kind of small town where petty and harsh judgments are few, and the no-Carterites don't want their names or even their words known. ("In a town this small, everybody can figure out where something came from.")

There are those who don't plan to vote because they don't think it much matters who the President is. But they won't talk either.

Only Dolores Williams, a schoolteacher, ventured, "Humphrey would be our man, but he's not running."

"We're telling people to watch what they say," Jan Williams admitted. "Of course not everybody's for Jimmy, but everybody's not always for the same thing."

The exuberant young woman teaches fourth grade at the school where Amy Carter is a third-grader, and she's making plans for next year. "It's great to have a chance to be close to somebody who's so important," she smiled. "Maybe they'll want me to go to Washington to be a tutor for Amy."

Carter has helped the 500 children in the school get interested in reading, she added. "They're reading the papers and can associate with him when they see him on TV. He's helping in our teaching."

According to Westside Elementary School Principal Claude A. Frazer, a lanky Georgia Southern graduate, Black probably all the help Plains can expect from "President Carter."

"If he becomes President, the people in Plains will stand in line just like the people in New York, Florida and Oregon to get their share of whatever there is. He's not the kind of fellow to show favoritism."

At Turner's Hardware and Department Store, one of about half a dozen businesses that make up tiny downtown Plains, trade is picking up thanks to candidate Carter.

Since the word got out about the Secret Service agents buying their overalls from the store, people from as far away as California have been calling and ordering the bib denims.

"I sent one pair to a man in Amarillo, Tex.," soft-spoken Jane Turner said. "How'd I want." She held up a sample pair that would have covered her twice.

"When that man tells that horse to whoa, that horse whoas," she commented.

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1976 —

VOTING REFLECTS SHIFT IN FLORIDA

Study of Primary Shows Altered Economic and Social Patterns

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Jimmy Carter's plurality in the Florida primary Tuesday was a reflection of the more moderate brand of politics emerging in the "new South" and of the massive influx of newcomers that is changing the social and economic complexion of the state, analyses of The New York Times/CBS News primary poll and of actual voting patterns indicate.

These analyses show that the former Georgia Governor was more in step than his major rivals with the better-educated, racially moderate and business-oriented voters who—along with blacks—constitute a potent political force in the fast-growing South.

Dramatizing the shift was the fate of George C. Wallace. Four years ago, in the 1972 primary, the Alabama Governor won Florida with 42 percent of the vote by appealing to the emotional racial issue. This time with race a muted issue, he gathered only 31 percent of the vote, leading only in the conservative and rural panhandle area in northern Florida —"crackerland" in local terms.

Similarly, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who ran third, found a constituency only at the other end of the Florida political spectrum—the transplanted New Yorkers. His "grand coalition" of the Roosevelt type turned out to be mostly retired Jews in the Miami area who were won over by Mr. Jackson's strident stand against détente with the Soviet Union.

The rest of the state belonged to Mr. Carter. He carried the dense areas along the Atlantic and Gulf shores, as well as the booming Orlando-Tampa region in central Florida, a Disney World of new shopping centers, motels, condominiums and housing tracts.

While the recession has slowed the growth a bit, it is these areas that have ab-

Continued on Page 33, Column 1

Voting Illustrates Change in Florida

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

...soched the bulk of the staggering expansion experienced by Florida in recent years. According to census estimates, the state's population has swelled by nearly 25 percent since 1970, from 6.7 million to 8.3 million, making it the second-fastest-growing state after Arizona in the so-called Sunbelt.

"Many of these newcomers, of course, were retired people from the North and Middle West. But a very large number were younger people lured by Florida's sunny good life and the opportunities of growth—lawyers, real estate people, doctors, merchants, insurance agents. They are people more concerned about economic stability than about blacks, more moderate politically than liberal or conservative.

"This was a change from New Hampshire, where The Times/CBS survey showed that Mr. Carter was the favorite of Democrats who described themselves as conservatives. He did progressively less well among moderates and liberals. Moreover, across a wide range of issues, New Hampshire Democratic voters with conservative views consistently gave more support to Mr. Carter than Democratic candidates with liberal views.

"The seeming change in constituency from New Hampshire to Florida apparently was due to the fact that in New Hampshire, Mr. Carter was a Southerner competing against a field of liberals and was the only candidate with appeal to more conservative Democrats. He had no competition on the right. In Florida, his appeal may have been broader because he was seen as a moderate Southerner competing against an old-line Southern conservative, Mr. Wallace, and a New Deal Democrat, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. Carter's success in putting together this "new South" coalition is reflected in the New York Times/CBS News survey. It showed that he did well among voters of all ideological stripes. He did better than both Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson among those who called themselves moderate, and who are the bulk of Florida Democrats. He split the liberal vote with Senator Jackson and even had enough "good ol' boy" Southern appeal to attract a sizable number of conservatives.

Typically, according to the poll, Mr. Carter's constituency was centrist in its political outlook, while Mr. Wallace's was more conservative and Mr. Jackson's was somewhat more liberal.

For example, 70 percent of Wallace voters said that the Government paid too much attention to the problems of blacks and other minorities. On the other end of the spectrum, 50 percent of the Jackson supporters felt otherwise. Carter voters split right down the middle, with 46 percent on each side of the question.

People in the survey were interviewed as they left their voting places after casting their ballots.

Mr. Carter did exceptionally well among the voters—9 percent of the sample—who said they had migrated to Florida from other parts of the South, winning more than half of these newcomers. At the same time, he and Governor Wallace ran about even among native Floridians, getting about 38 percent each, with Senator Jackson taking only 18 percent.

The Jackson vote was concentrated among voters who said they had moved to Florida from outside the South, presumably mostly Jews from the North. He won 47 percent of this vote.

Mr. Carter did better than his rivals among white-collar, better-educated and younger voters. For example, Mr. Carter got 42 percent of the under-30 vote, while Mr. Jackson received only 16 percent. Conversely, 44 percent of those over 65 voted for Senator Jackson; only 20 percent of the older voters cast their vote for Mr. Carter.

As he did in Massachusetts, Mr. Carter demonstrated his considerable support among black voters. The poll showed he received nearly three of every four black votes. As Governor of Georgia he compiled a moderately liberal record on racial issues, making many gestures to the state's substantial black minority.

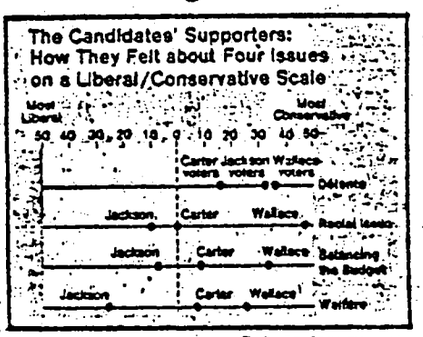
Detente with the Soviet Union, one issue stressed heavily on both Democratic and Republican sides in Florida, seemed to have counted for little in the end. Although Mr. Jackson and Mr. Wallace gained somewhat from their stands on the issue, it was far less important than other factors in explaining the vote.

Similarly, on the Republican side, detente played a small role. President Ford, who has been identified with easing relations with the Soviet Union, received 61 percent of the votes of those Republicans who agreed with that policy. But former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, who has attacked the President's policy, was unable to capitalize on the issue because those who agreed with him were just as likely to vote for Mr. Ford as for Mr. Reagan.

The one issue that clearly did divide the Republican voters, and perhaps played a significant role in the outcome, was the economy. Voters were asked whether they thought the worst economic times were ahead of us or behind us.

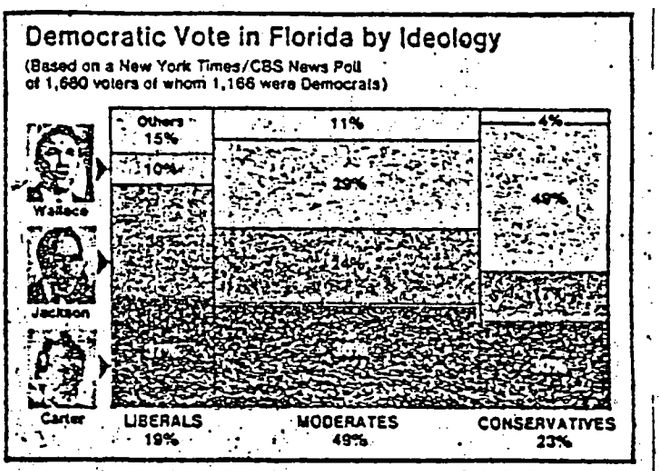
Those Republicans who were pessimistic about the economy voted by a 2 to 1 margin for Mr. Reagan. Those optimistic on the question favored Mr. Ford by 2 to 1. However, the balance was in the President's favor because Republicans overwhelmingly thought that the bad economic times were behind us.

Prof. Gary R. Orren of the government department at Harvard University has assisted The Times in interpreting the survey results.



The New York Times/March 15, 1976

The political leanings of persons who voted for Carter, Wallace, and Jackson are based on each of four issues in The New York Times/CBS News poll. If 60 percent of those who voted for Gov. George C. Wallace, for example, took the conservative position on whether to balance the budget by cutting social services and 40 percent took the liberal position, that produced a "difference-reading" of 20 on the conservative side of scale.



The New York Times/March 15, 1976

Democratic voters were asked in the poll how they consider themselves on most political matters. Nineteen percent said liberal, 49 percent said moderate, 23 percent said conservative and nine percent gave no preference. Of those who consider themselves liberal, for example, 37 percent voted for Jimmy Carter, 38 percent voted for Senator Henry M. Jackson, 10 percent voted for Gov. George C. Wallace and 15 percent voted for other candidates.

Primaries Put Humphrey in New Democratic Focus

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 10—Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, the ever-buoyant noncandidate for the Presidency, looked to many studious leaders of the Democratic Party today like the passive centerpiece of a "stop everybody" movement. More than ever, he looked very much afloat as a compromise candidate himself.

"All his people are very happy today—and they should be," said a ranking Democratic official, reflecting on the Florida primary returns that seemed to leave four active competitors in the next phase of the primary season but no front-running claimant to the broad middle of the party.

Publicly resolved to stay out of the primaries, the 64-year-old Minnesotan hsa taken less direct action on his own behalf than some observers suspect, and less than many of his supporters have urged. Mr. Humphrey's refusal to step forward as the substitute captain of Senator Birch Bayh's delegate slates in New York and his rejection of invitations to make a late entry into the Michigan primary have convinced a variety of skeptics that he will play Waiting game until June.

AlSaewVawing Trend

Yet The see-sawing trends of the early primaries, combined with the budding of favorite-son and "uncommitted" movements in big states like California, Illinois, Ohio and New Jersey, seem to many delegate-counting Democrats to work together toward a deadlocked convention and a Humphrey nomination.

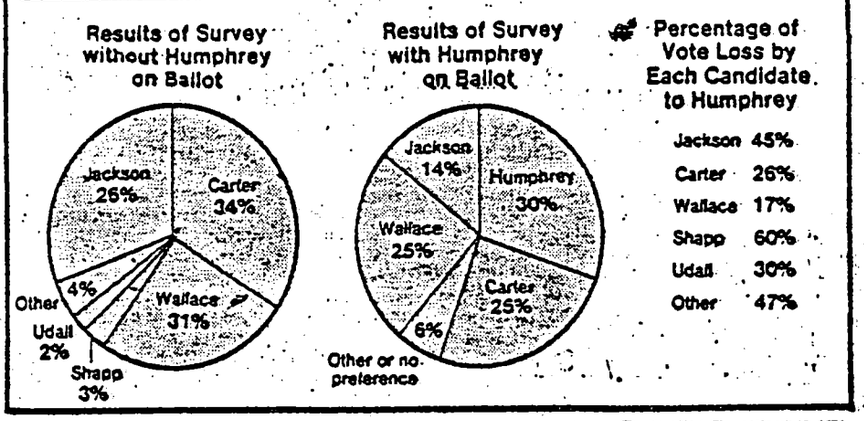
And for those who look beneath the early primary scores and see the Democratic Party in a lurching search for its real center of gravity in 1976, the persistent interest in Mr. Humphrey is neRfher an accident nor the fruit of a conscious conspiracy.

In numerous surveys Mr. Humphrey remains a popular favorite among the Democratic rank-and-file. A New York Times!CBS news sampling of Florida primary voters as they left the polls yesterday suggested that if Mr. Kumphrey's name had been on the ballot, he would have led the field with a comfortable plurality. Similar election-day polling of prfary-vors n Nw Hmpsire and Massachusetts indicated that he would have run strong, and probably first, in those contests, too.

In the last national poll of Democrats by the Gallup organization, completed on March I before the Massachusetts and Florida primaries, Mr. Humphrey ran well ahead of all the active candidates, the choice of 27 percent of his party—ahead of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, in second place with 19 percent; former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georzia, with 16 percent; and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washingto Washington with 6 percent.

Vote Shift if Humphrey Were on Florida Ballot

(Based on a New York Times/CBS News Poll of 1,680 voters of whom 1,166 were Democrats)



The New York Times/March 11, 1976

Jackson's emergence in the Massachusetts rimary, and from the same factions' reading that Mr. Udall does not have sufficent working-class appeal to stop the Senator from Washington.

"Udall looks terribly weak," commented Frederick G. Dutton, a lawyer here long associated with Kennedy family campaigns. "I'm not exactly a Humphrey fan, but compared to Jackson he looks better every day."

Richard N. Goodwin, the liberal strategist and writer, saw Democratic liberals today busily but happily erasing their memories of Mr. Humphrey as a onetime champion of the war in Vietnam and the leader of the more conservative party forces that tried to block Senator George McGovern's nomination in 1972.

'Reconstructing Hubert'

"They're reconstructing Hubert as the liberal leader of the 1950's," Mr. Goodwin observed. "If the Jackson bandwagon starts to roll, Humphrey will be forced into the race. He's the safest nominee: Nobody in the party has to be afraid of him, and he may be the only one who could be reasonably sure of winning the election in November."

"I don't think the party has begun to imaging the polarization ahead on the Humphrey question," said Anne Wexler Duffey, another veteran of liberal Democratic politics. "I think you're going to see a lot of people of my stripe looking at Jimmy Carter," she remarked in an interview, "and if Jackson does well in New York and Pennsylvania, you're going to hear people yelling, 'Humphrey, Humphrey, no matter what Humphrey does."

To Prevent Bandwagon

"What most people haven't realized," an avowedly neutral Democratic official said today, "is that the so-called front-runner, Jackson, is not nominatable. The left is not dead, but it will take Humphrey."

Among adherents of the Humphrey strategy, the problem is to keep any active candidate from gathering the roughly 900 votes needed to create bandwagon momentum toward the 1505 convention votes needed for the nomination.

There are ways to keep any front-runner from emerging: a division of labor endorsements between Mr. Jackson and Mr. Carter in the Michigan primary, for example, would keep them battling for minority blocks of delegates; a favorite-son race by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in California would probably prevent anyone else from winning a dominant share of the largest delegation at the convention.

Mr. Humphrey, who probably understands the process better than he admits, observed with satisfaction this morning that several good candidates were showing strength in the first cluster of primaries. Discussing further divisions with a smile, he told a reporter he expected Mr. Udall to win the Wisconsin primary on April 6.

Humphrey Consensus Choice

Mr. Humphrey, morever, still appears to be the consensus choice of severa grupstha fom te cntrl ladeshi ofthe Demcraic arty. Increasingly, it appears in dozens of interviews this week, that establishment is ambivalent about Mr. Carter, divided over Mr. Jackson, unconvinced by the early returns on Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and broadly opposed to Mr. Wallace.

Concretely, the latest view of Mr. Humphrey arises from the anxiety in the center and left of the party about Senator

Poll Finds Members Of Unions Divided In Democratic Race

Support by labor union members for a Democratic Presidential nominee is widely divided, according to the latest Gallup Poll.

The survey indicated that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, whose candidacy has been opposed by some labor leaders, had the support of 16 percent of the nation's union families. The survey also indicated that Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who has received strong support from many labor leaders, had the support of only 6 percent of union members.

The poll, taken from Feb. 27 to March 1 and involving 375 union households, found that Senatore Hubert H. Humphery of Minnesota, who is not acitvely campaigning for the Democratic Nomination. had the support of 23 percent of those interviewed.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabma, who has long held strong support from union members, had 22 percent of the labor vote, the survey indicated.

Some labor union leaders have opposed Mr. Carter's candidacy because, as Governor of Georgia, he did not support the repeal of a so-called "right-to-work" law in the state.

This was the question asked in the survey: "Here is a list of people who have been mentioned as possible Presidential candidates for the Democratic Party in 1976. Which one would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1976?"

Following are the names of persons who have been listed as Presidential candidates or possible candidates, with their percentage of support from labor union families in the survey:

Humphrey	23
Wallace	22
Carter	16
Jackson	6
Edmund Muskie	5
George McGovern	5
Sargent Shriver	3
Morris Udall	3
Birch Bayh	2
Robert Byrd	1
Frank Church	1
Fred Harris	1
Milton Shapp	1
Undecided	11

Close Contest For Democrats

By KEITH SPORE

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter drew broad support from almost every category of voter — rich, poor, liberal and conservative — in a recent survey by The Milwaukee Sentinel.

Ten percent of all likely voters interviewed named Carter as the man they would vote for in the Wisconsin presidential primary. That was 2% more than the support for the next

Continued from page 1

most favored Democrat, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Carter's margin over Jackson and the other Democrats was even greater among likely voters who said they would vote on the Democratic side of Wisconsin's primary ballot.

About 22% of respondents who said they would vote Democratic picked Carter. Jackson had 13%; Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, 11%; Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, 10%; Sargent Shriver, 7%; Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana, 5%; former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, 3%, and Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, three-tenths of 1%.

Carter may have been helped by the fact that the survey began Feb. 25, the day after his attention getting victory in the New Hampshire primary.

The bulk of Jackson's support came from less educated and less affluent respondents, but even in those categories of likely voters he trailed Carter by a narrow margin.

Also receiving substantial support from the less educated and less affluent was Wallace who was picked by 7% of all likely voters surveyed.

The leader among candidates from the liberal wing of the Democratic Party was Udall with 5% of all likely voters interviewed.

Though Udall was the favorite among likely voters who characterized themselves as liberals, he showed only slim margins over Carter and President Ford in this category.

About 18% of liberals said they would vote for Udall. But Carter and Ford each tapped 17% of those voters who regarded themselves as liberals.

Despite Carter's broad support from all types of likely voters, comments from persons who said they would vote for him indicated that few respondents had a well defined image of his candidacy.

Several respondents said they "really didn't know" why they preferred Carter to other candidates.

A few, however, said they liked Carter because he seems candid and doesn't owe any political debts in Washington, D.C.

Wallace's supporters evidenced in their comments to interviewers much stronger reasons for giving him their votes.

"I like his views .... He gets down to the common working people," said a truck driver who resides in Brown County.

"Wallace has got some very good ideas.... He's not afraid to speak his mind," a Racine County factory worker said.

A La Crosse County teacher characterized Wallace as a candidate "with enough guts to stand behind what he believes."

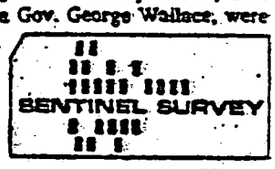
The Sentinel's survey uncovered evidence that Wallace would receive some crossover votes in the primary, with 3% of likely Republican voters saying they intended to vote for the Alabama governor. No other Democratic candidate received more than 2% from Republicans.

Wallace and Jackson made good showings among likely voters who said they belonged to labor unions, with each getting 10% of the union member preference.

Here again, however, they trailed Carter, who was picked by nearly 13% of union members interviewed.

Ford and Carter Lead in State Poll

President Ford led Ronald Reagan by a sizable margin, and three Democrats, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Alabama Gov. George Wallace, were bunched together as preferred presidential primary candidates in a recent statewide survey by The Milwaukee Sentinel.



Ford was the choice of 31% of the likely voters interviewed, compared with 17% for former California Gov. Reagan, the other top Republican candidate.

Carter was favored by 10% of those surveyed, with 27% of the likely voters dividing their preference among seven other Democratic contenders who will be on the Wisconsin primary ballot April 6. The breakdown for Democratic candidates among likely voters was:

Carter, 10%; Jackson, 8%; Wallace, 7%; Rep. Morris Udall, 5%; Sargent Shriver, 3%; Sen. Birch Bayh, 3%; former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, 1%; and Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, one-tenth of 1%.

The survey, conducted from Feb. 25 to March 4, also showed that 9% of likely voters didn't know who would be their choice in the primary election—a big enough percentage of undecided voters to make it impossible to forecast winners in the race. About 5% of likely voters either said they wouldn't vote for any of the candidates or refused to disclose their choices.

Nearly 1,700 persons were surveyed. Five screening questions were used to identify 789 likely voters who constituted about 47% of the total sample.

HOW SURVEY WAS HANDLED

The Milwaukee Sentinel's statewide telephone survey on voter preferences involved a scientifically drawn random sample of 1,833 households.

Interviews were conducted from Feb. 25 to March 4, starting the day after the New Hampshire presidential primary and concluding two days after the Massachusetts presidential primary.

Each interviewer was given a set of telephone numbers randomly generated by a computer. The system assured that each telephone in the state had an equal chance of being included in the survey and that phones with unlisted or nonpublished numbers could be reached.

Computer processing of interviews was handled by the Social Science Research Facility of the College of Letters and Science at the University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee.

William Schneider, associate professor of government at Harvard University, and Ronald D. Hedlund, associate professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin — Milwaukee, served as consultants to The Sentinel in the preparation of the questionnaire. Hedlund also assisted in interpretation of the data.

The survey was conducted, under the supervision of John Bicknell, by The Sentinel's Research Department.

Breakdown Shows Respondents' Picks

The following tables show how various categories of likely voters expressed their preferences for the candidates in Wisconsin's presidential primary.

1. If the April 6 Wisconsin presidential primary were held right now, in which one of the two major party primaries do you think you would vote, the Republican or the Democratic?

	Voters in Republican Primary %	Voters in Democratic Primary %
Ford	51	4
Reagan	26	9
Carter	1	22
Jackson	2	12
Wallace	2	11
Udall	1	10
Shriver	0	7
Bayh	1	5
Harris	0	3
Shapp	0	1
Don't know, or refused	6	15

2. In general, how would you describe your political views . . . are they conservative, liberal or moderate?

	Conservative %	Moderate %	Liberal %
Ford	19	10	17
Reagan	17	17	13
Carter	7	12	17
Jackson	7	8	8
Wallace	9	7	7
Udall	2	5	18
Shriver	3	4	4
Bayh	2	3	2
Harris	1	2	2
Shapp	0	2	0
Don't know, or refused	13	12	12

3. What is the highest level of school you completed?

	Grade School	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College	College Graduate
Ford	25	27	26	32	34
Reagan	18	19	16	14	15
Carter	13	9	10	7	4
Jackson	12	9	7	8	9
Wallace	7	11	2	3	2
Udall	3	3	3	2	3
Shriver	6	3	4	4	2
Bayh	4	2	2	2	3
Harris	1	1	2	2	2
Shapp	0	0	0	0	1
Don't know, or refused	11	16	12	12	9

4. In which of these general categories would your yearly family income before taxes fall?

	Under $10,000	$10,000 to 14,999	$15,000 to 19,999	Over 20,000
Ford	26	29	33	34
Reagan	17	13	17	21
Carter	13	8	12	10
Jackson	10	8	7	6
Wallace	9	8	7	7
Udall	7	8	3	4
Shriver	3	6	3	1
Bayh	2	5	1	2
Harris	0	2	3	1
Shapp	0	0	0	1
Don't know, or refused	13	13	14	12

R

WIDE LEAD OVER GOP

Public Is Confident in Democrats

By LOUIS HARRIS

HARRIS POLL

Although party loyalties have faded in recent years, the Democrats hold a wide lead over the Republicans on the question of which party can better handle the issues facing the country over the next four years.

Out of 21 key issues tested by the Harris Survey among a national cross section of 1,394 adults recently, the Republicans did not finish ahead of the Democrats on a single one.

However, on 13 of the 21 issues, a plurality either could not choose between the two parties or saw no difference between them.

On eight key issues the Democrats hold a clear advantage and will be in a strong position to invoke some old-time appeals on a straight-out party basis:

—A 56-12 per cent majority prefers the Democrats on their ability to handle relations with Congress, with 32 per cent who see no difference or cannot make a choice. This is an issue not often talked about by Democrats, but it may be a sleeper in this election. President Ford has scored some points in his vetoes of spending measures passed by the Democratic Congress. But the risk he is taking is that one day the voters could become fed up with the lack of decision in the federal government and decide to let the Democrats rule both the executive and legislative branches.

—A 53-11 per cent majority believes that the Democrats, rather than the Republicans, really care about the unemployed, although 36 per cent choose neither party on this issue. There is no doubt that among 50 per cent of the country concerned about the unemployment issue, the Democrats hold a sizable lead.

—A 52-14 per cent majority believes the Democrats are better at representing "middle-income people." This is a windfall for the Democrats, since traditionally they have been identified as caring more about the poor. George Wallace is the candidate who most often talks about the "forgotten middle class," but this is a stance that nearly any Democrat could take with a fair certainty of gaining a partisan advantage over a Republican.

on this issue may come as a surprise to some, for they have been widely viewed as too sympathetic toward welfare recipients. The Republicans, on the other hand, are seen as the party that would institute a tougher welfare program. The result of the Harris Survey suggests that the GOP is vulnerable on the welfare issue because it did not do much about it in almost eight years in office.

—A 48-16 per cent plurality feels the Democrats are more able to bring the country out of the recession than the Republicans are, although 36 per cent make no choice on a party basis. These results, along with those concerning the unemployment issue, are a very strong plus for the Democrats this year.

—A 46-11 per cent plurality believes the Democrats are more likely to provide the country with adequate medical insurance, with 43 per cent unable to make a choice on a party basis. This issue has been deferred in this session of Congress, but a Democratic candidate for president could make effective use of it during the campaign.

—On the question of handling labor unions, the Democrats emerge with a strong, 45-17 per cent advantage over the Republicans. This could be an important issue as the year wears on. President Ford burned his bridges with organized labor when he vetoed the common site picketing bill for the construction trades, and important labor negotiations in 1976 could threaten to cause a precipitous rise in inflation again. The Democrats could make the claim that they could extract a pledge of restraint from big labor. The Republicans could not.

—A 45-19 per cent plurality prefers the Democrats on the issue of handling welfare, with 36 per cent unable to choose between either party. The lead for the Democrats on 14 other issues, the Democrats also have a lead, but not convincing enough to make it an issue working for them on a party basis.

These include moderate advantages on the issues of confidence in government, handling inflation, protecting individual rights, running an open government and handling corruption in government, and handling defense spending.

Narrowing Field

Only four states have held Presidential primaries, but less than three weeks after the primary season opened in New Hampshire the field of Democratic candidates has already been drastically reduced. Senator Lloyd Bentsen and former Governor Terry Sanford withdrew early because of their discouragement over the response in the early caucus states. A third-place finish in New Hampshire and a seventh-place finish in Massachusetts doomed Senator Birch Bayh's candidacy. Last week, a feeble response in the Florida primary prompted Governor Milton Shapp to drop out, while a comparatively weak showing in the same state made it more probable than ever that Gov. George C. Wallace cannot establish himself this year as a credible national candidate.

Only three Democrats—Senator Henry M. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall, and former Governor Jimmy Carter—now appear to be viable candidates likely to carry their campaigns through to the convention in July. Sargent Shriver and former Senator Fred Harris remain nominally active, but it would require a startling upset in some forthcoming primary for either of them to gain national attention.

It may seem that as some candidates retire, others such as Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. and Senator Frank Church are entering to take their place, and the field is expanding again. But this is more apparent than real. Neither Governor Brown nor Senator Church can hope to win more than a small number of delegates.

Such support might make them figures of influence at the convention. It would also enhance the chance of there being a deadlocked convention which would eventually turn—not to Mr. Brown or Mr. Church—but to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who is well positioned to be a compromise choice.

But timing is the imponderable. Senator Humphrey, having decided to forego the intraparty strife of the primaries, has to play a waiting game. Only if no one of the three active, viable candidates can develop a winning momentum will Mr. Humphrey be able to step forward.

On the Republican side, President Ford has slogged his way to two close, hard-fought victories over Ronald Reagan in New Hampshire and Florida. If the same pattern holds in Illinois on Tuesday and in North Carolina a week later, the G.O.P. field may suddenly be narrowed to one. Mr. Reagan has never before experienced political defeat. Although his candidacy has a strong ideological base, he is not by temperament a lonely crusader for a lost cause.

Argument For Change

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 13—The more this capital fusses and agonizes over the election, the more it seems to long for fundamental change. It would never admit as much in public, but the truth comes out in private: From the top of the Administration and the Congress to the critical levels of the Civil Service, it is almost yearning for new faces and new beginnings.

This may not be logical or even rational, for all the devilishly complicated problems will remain after the election, but there it is—an intuitive feeling that something is deeply wrong here and probably won't be corrected by the old cast of characters or the old ideological arguments of either party.

There are a number of explanations for this mood, beginning with physical and mental exhaustion. This town is bone-weary, literally suffocating in papers, and documents that never quite get read, and in complex controversies that a divided government never quite resolves.

The Ford Administration is an odd combination of old beat-up boys, who know too much about why things can't be done, and new boys who haven't been around long enough to know what they want to do. And the election campaign seems to have convinced many of them that nothing much can be done anyway until the voting is over.

This is not a partisan but a general feeling that Washington is not at the beginning of something but at the end of something. Ford is offering more of the same, and the Democrats are suggesting something different, nobody quite knows what; but in any choice between going on as before or going somewhere else, even without a map, the overwhelming vote here would be for something, almost anything, different.

WASHINGTON

Next to exhaustion, pessimism, its natural ally, is a major factor in explaining the present malaise. The town is flooded with gloomy books, not only about the villainies of Vietnam and Watergate and the decline of morality and leadership, but about "The Crisis of Democracy," "The Twilight of the Presidency," and even "The Coming Dark Age."

Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, one of our most thoughtful military advisers of the Kennedy-Johnson years, is adding another book, "Precarious Security," to this catalogue of woe. He is complaining about the "progressive decline in power of the United States and its allies, the economic ills of the industrial world, the continued malevolence of the Soviet Union . . . , the disruption of the power-balance in the Mediterranean-Middle East, and the growing unrest and discontent in the underdeveloped world."

All this, plus other warnings about the decline of national unity, the rise of factionalism, the decline of prestige and authority, and what General Taylor calls "the self-destructive and decadent traits in our society," have won just enough converts here to depress the capital and give it an air of resignation.

The sound of the political loudspeaker truck and the moving van is loud in the town. Henry Kissinger's two principal aides at State are leaving the Government service, and he is almost envious of them, but not quite. Senators Mansfield and Scott have announced their retirements from the Senate leadership, and the casualty list elsewhere in the Congress is longer than usual. Some have simply worn out, but more than usual are simply giving up.

This is scarcely surprising and probably no cause for weeping. The last ten years have knocked the brains out of the best and the sawdust out of the rest in this town, and it is a tribute to Washington's common sense that men like Mike Mansfield, Hugh Scott and Henry Kissinger are beginning to think of heading for home. The tragedy, after all these turbulent years and battles, is that most of them no longer remember where home is.

It is popular these days to criticize Washington for being "out of touch" with the rest of the nation, but paradoxically, the people who know the capital best may be even more eager for a clean sweep here than any other group of voters in any other city of the nation.

Not the President, of course. He once longed for Grand Rapids, too; however, he is now exhilarated by his early primary victories, and wants to carry on. But if you could take a secret ballot in the Congress, the Civil Service, the press, and even the judiciary of Washington on what was best for the country, probably a large majority would agree on the general proposition that it was once again "time for a change," though of course, they would disagree on what the change should be.

This yearning for something different, common in the nation and in the capital, probably helps Jimmy Carter, and hurts old-timers like Gerald Ford, Hubert Humphrey, Henry Jackson, and Ronald Reagan. But especially here, it helps the Democrats as a party; for making the Federal Government work, with a Republican President and a Democratic majority in Congress, is getting increasingly difficult.

Carter Vs. Jackson?

By Anthony Lewis

MIAMI—Jimmy Carter's campaign in this part of Florida was handled by two young men who got into politics here as opponents of the Vietnam war and supporters of George McGovern. Michael Abrams, 28, and Sergio Bendixen, 26, stayed active in the Democratic Party after 1972. Abrams was elected Dade County chairman, Bendixen, a national committeeman.

Like so many Floridians, they come from elsewhere. Mike Abrams grew up in Flushing, N.Y., went to college here and stayed. Bendixen came from Peru as a boy. But both speak with a consciousness of Southern politics.

"For us in the South," Mr. Abrams said, "Jimmy Carter is a way to get back into the mainstream of the Democratic Party. He gets support here from young people, blacks, the liberal unions, middle-class suburbs."

"Miami is not 'the South,'" Mr. Bendixen said. "But we're beginning to feel like the South, the way liberals in the North are treating Carter. They don't understand what it takes to be progressive and effective in the Democratic Party in the South. They say Jimmy Carter doesn't meet their standards. What they're really saying is that there's no room for Southern progressives in their party."

Listening to the two of them, one realizes how sharply political perceptions still differ in the North and South of this country. But their views have more than regional import—especially after the Florida primary and the emergence of Jimmy Carter and Henry Jackson, at least for now, as the leading Democratic contenders.

One point made by many in the South—it was said to me recently in Sewanee, Tenn., as well as Florida—is that Northerners utterly underestimate the importance of beating George Wallace. For years now he has fanned resentments without giving people any realistic hope of change. He has distorted the politics not only of the South but of Northern industrial states.

Some Northern political people these days brush Wallace aside as of no significance because "in the end he can't be nominated." Southerners who have been fighting uphill for years against racism and reaction regard that attitude as foolish, indeed dangerous. I think they are right. It makes a great difference, to the South and the country, that Carter beat Wallace in Florida. Maybe the myth will now crumble, as it did so suddenly in the case of Joe McCarthy.

A second point of resentment for liberals here has been that Jackson benefited from Northern liberal attacks on Carter. They do not think Jackson is entitled to any liberal palms.

"I originally chose Carter for pragmatic reasons," Mike Abrams said, "to beat Wallace. Then I got to know him and found him compassionate and basically decent, so he's my choice for the long run, not just as a vehicle to beat Wallace. What Jackson says on foreign policy is scary. And the people he's associated with here are the old pols, the conservative Democrats.

"Our Northern liberal friends forgot all about Jackson. They sat around and said Jimmy Carter was 'another Nixon.' But at the convention in July they'll come to us and ask: 'What did we do wrong? How did Jackson get here?'"

It is still a very long way, politically, until July. Lots could happen before the convention. Morris Udall could recover from his pale early performance, win the Wisconsin primary and go on strong to California. Frank Church could come in next week and catch fire. Hubert Humphrey could abandon reluctance.

But right now none of those possibilities look very likely. What is near certain is that Senator Jackson, with his appeal to Jewish voters and his strong organization there, will top the field in the New York primary April 6. And Carter may in the meantime have done well in the Illinois beauty contest, in which Jackson is not entered, and in the North Carolina primary. If so, it will still look like a Jackson-Carter contest in April.

Scoop Jackson would have many advantages in a competition with Jimmy Carter. He has a long record as a most effective Senator, compared with Carter's one term as Governor of Georgia. Jackson has good connections with the labor union movement. He has voted right on most traditional liberal issues. He has raised a lot of money—and he said recently, "cash on the line is the name of the game."

On the other hand, Jackson is vulnerable among many Democrats on foreign policy issues. His unremitting support for the Vietnam war, his call for aggressive tactics against the Soviet Union, his closeness to the national security hierarchy—all these will worry some liberals. But the question they will ask, and are already asking, is whether Carter really differs from Jackson on issues of war and peace.

If Carter is going to convince Northern as well as Southern liberals, he will have to smile less from now on and define his position on issues more. He will have to persuade people that in foreign policy, compared with Jackson, he is the candidate of peace and moderation. The South may fairly complain if Northern liberals scoff at Jimmy Carter for his accent or his first name. But if they have to choose between him and Henry Jackson, they are entitled to partic[illegible]rs.

ABROAD AT HOME

4

Running Everywhere

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON, March 11—Jimmy Carter of Georgia has been saying from the beginning of his campaign for the Presidency that he planned to run in every state for the Democratic nomination. That decision has Mr. Carter spread as thinly over the map as a coat of ink, but if anything carries him through the next four months to victory at the convention, it will be his high-risk strategy of "running everywhere."

It is that strategy, too, that probably gives the Democrats three alternatives—either the nomination of Mr. Carter or of Senator Henry Jackson on an early ballot, or a brokered convention that would pick someone else. Mr. Carter and his tight group of personal aides are confident they'll enter the convention with enough delegates to maneuver him into nomination on the second or third ballot—and since their plans so far, including victory over George Wallace in the Florida primary, have worked out nicely, their plans for the future have to be respected.

They face two major obstacles. One is the tendency of Democratic liberals to lump Mr. Carter with Mr. Jackson as "unacceptable conservatives"; the other, and more immediate problem, is the presumed power of Mr. Jackson, with his strong labor and Jewish backing, in four big industrial states—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan—that the Democrats will have to carry next fall. Between them, those four states have 737 delegates.

But on the other hand, there are 678 delegates available in the 13 Southern states, including Texas. Jimmy Carter is the only Democratic candidate with a shot at winning most of them. Only he, for example, is on the ballot in all 31 Congressional districts of Texas to challenge Senator Lloyd Bentsen, a favorite-son candidate, for that state's 130 delegates (George Wallace will run in a few districts, too; Mr. Jackson is not on the Texas ballot at all, and neither is Representative Morris Udall of Arizona).

Not only will the South—if Gerald Ford is the Republican candidate—also be important to the Democrats next fall; but the Texas example is only one instance of the potential impact of Mr. Carter's "run everywhere" strategy. On April 6, for example, New York and Wisconsin will hold primaries; Mr. Udall will concentrate on Wisconsin, Mr. Jackson on New York, and Mr. Carter will be in both.

Between now and then, moreover, Mr. Carter will be making strong efforts in the Illinois and North Carolina primaries, and the Wyoming, Kansas and Virginia caucuses. Only he is contesting all five of those, which offer 333 delegates. If, as he expects, the five yield him 125 or more delegates, with the rest scattered, he will reach April 6 in a position to cope with good showings that day by Mr. Udall in Wisconsin and Mr. Jackson in New York.

Those two states have 340 delegates. Mr. Jackson, who has not yet decided even to run in Wisconsin, probably cannot take as many as 200 of that total, given all the other candidacies in both states, including Gov. Hugh Carey's uncommitted slates in New York. Mr. Carter, moreover, will be striking hard for a big share of Missouri's 71, New Mexico's 18, and Vermont's 12 in the following two weeks, with a good chance in each. He even has some hopes for the withdrawal of Mr. Udall by then, and a share of Arizona's 25.

All this "nickel and diming" might be useless if Mr. Jackson could count on *all* those delegates from the big industrial states. But he can't. He is not, moreover, contesting in Texas, Illinois or most of the other Southern states (he is on the North Carolina ballot), with a total of 847 delegates. Take those from the total of 3,008 and Mr. Jackson will have to get something like 70 percent of the rest to be nominated.

From the Pennsylvania primary on April 27 to the last primary day, June 8, Mr. Jackson can run in only one major industrial state, Michigan on May 18, where he may well be hurt by whatever will remain of the George Wallace campaign. In that six-week stretch, Mr. Carter will be competing not only in Michigan but all over the map and mostly in his kind of state—Indiana, for example, Arkansas, Montana, Kentucky, just to name a few.

Then, on June 8, a block-buster day, there will be primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio—with 540 delegates at stake, and the issue probably confused by the enigmatic Gov. Jerry Brown of California, who is now expected to be a candidate in that state (whether as a favorite son or otherwise is not clear). Mr. Carter will run there anyway.

By then, Jimmy Carter's non-stop "run everywhere" campaign will either have built great momentum and a large delegate total, or long since have run out of gas. He has, at the moment, no money for operations beyond April 6, and far too little for Wisconsin and New York that day. But his Florida victory and probably another in the "beauty contest" part of the Illinois primary next week could start the dollars flowing again and give him the means to go on "picking up a little bit everywhere."

No More Muscle Flexing

By Lee Dinsmore

For years now the United States has tried only one approach to living in the same world with the Soviet Union. The approach—based on the old saw that the Russians respect power and nothing else—has brought us an arms spiral that won't stop and a military Establishment that eats up 26 percent of our national budget.

Meanwhile, we, the people, are told there is no alternative to the constant matching and surpassing contest in arms, particularly at times when "defense" research produces the prototype of a new weapon. We are told our salvation lies in being "second to none" and this complex so pervades our international relations that it renders impossible any real limitations on the military sector in America.

Well, I for one, would like to call a halt here and now. If the United States stopped today its whole weapons development activity, bridled the runaway military machine that now dominates our thinking in foreign relations, and turned our productive capacities to domestic needs, the resulting worldwide awareness of what we were doing for our economy and the people in our country would shake the Kremlin to its foundations and force internal change there as well.

We have nothing to lose and a world to gain. Years ago, the number of nuclear weapons possessed by the two superpowers was equal to 15 tons of TNT for every person on earth, and all human and possibly all other life on earth could be eliminated by weapons already stockpiled.

Lee Dinsmore is a former foreign service officer. This is reprinted from the Foreign Affairs Newsletter, published by the Institute for International Policy, Washington.

Drugstore Liberal

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, March 10—Every Tuesday is another election day, which is a warning to pundits not to interpret Florida's primary vote as the certain springtime of Jimmy Carter or the unbreakable fall of Ronald Reagan.

The "real" winner in Florida, some smart money is saying, is Hubert Humphrey, ultimate inheritor of the Jackson delegates and safe haven for floundering Democratic liberals. The admirable old pro himself put out word this week that "it would only be prudent and sensible for a man of my position" to consider seeking support from still-breathing bodies on the battlefield after the primary wars end in California on June 8.

The Humphrey assets—durability, consistency, good humor, experience, heart—are well known. It is time to survey the kind of charges he will be hit with—wholly apart from foreign and domestic issues—when he becomes a candidate.

1. *He took $100,000 in 1968 from Howard Hughes.* This charge has been made by Robert Maheu, former Hughes aide, who has sworn he handed over half the money in $100 bills in an attaché case during a limousine ride with Humphrey to Los Angeles airport. Mr. Humphrey said on March 19, 1974, that he recalled being with Mr. Maheu in the limousine, but denied he had been given the money "personally." He added: "He may have given the money to a campaign committee supporting me." (Dick Tuck's great pun "What about the Hugh Sloan?" comes to mind here.)

2. *His former press secretary copped a plea for aiding and abetting illegal corporate donations to his campaign in 1972.* In a criminal information filed by the Watergate special prosecutor, the Humphrey aide—Norman Sherman—was charged with participating in a scheme to use $82,000 in corporate money to buy computer lists. Mr. Sherman pleaded guilty.

3. *Humphrey's closest aide sought improper F.B.I. help in the 1968 Democratic convention.* Mr. Humphrey knew that Lyndon Johnson had used a special team of F.B.I. agents equipped with wiretaps and bugs to spy on troublemakers at the 1964 convention. According to a memo by J. Edgar Hoover dated Aug. 15, 1968: "William Connell, executive assistant to the Vice President [Humphrey] . . . had talked to the Vice President about the team I sent into the convention area in 1964 that was so helpful. He stated he was hoping perhaps I might be able to do the same thing for the Vice President out in Chicago."

Mr. Humphrey did not get "the same thing" because Attorney General Ramsey Clark, who had been willing to approve the infamous Doar Plan to spy on dissidents, was not a Humphrey man and did not authorize the requested F.B.I. convention tapping.

4. *He tried to keep valuable state gifts that lawfully belong to the Government.* In 1974, when gift-keeping became controversial, Senator Humphrey turned over to the State Department an 8-carat diamond received six years before from the President of Zaire. (Ten leopard skins from Somalia had already been sold for $7,500 and the money given to charity.) Senator Humphrey said lamely that the diamond and skins had been given to his wife, and he had not realized that the law against keeping state gifts applied to members of his family.

5. *He nearly succeeded in obtaining a $200,000 tax deduction by giving his Vice-Presidential papers to the Minnesota Historical Society.* After the furor over the Nixon deduction, the Internal Revenue Service took another look at the long-approved Humphrey deduction and discovered a "future interest" which caused them to disallow the $199,153 deduction. A Humphrey aide gamely called this "a difference in the way reasonable men interpret the law."

6. *His former campaign manager is on the way to jail.* Jack Chestnut, who managed the 1970 campaign that returned Hubert Humphrey to the Senate, wisely took the Fifth Amendment when asked to testify before the Senate Watergate Committee. Twenty pages of the committee report were devoted to the milk industry's relationship with Mr. Humphrey. The Senator jokes about this—"When I started out in this hard-drinking field of politics, I never thought I'd get in trouble over milk"—but Mr. Chestnut is not laughing; his appeal has just been denied, and he is to serve a four-month sentence for accepting an illegal corporate contribution.

These charges are rehashed here to suggest that Democrats who think they can solve all problems by turning to Mr. Humphrey must accept a few vulnerabilities. The Senator may be well advised to deal with these and similar charges in a few primaries rather than face them in the fall.

Some of the problems that caused one President's downfall may well be overlooked in the making of another. If a courageous comeback politician like Hubert Humphrey—aides convicted, deductions disallowed, garlanded with illegal contributions and bedecked with belated admissions of lapses of judgment—can be nominated and elected, then the American people will have tacitly ratified the pardon of Richard Nixon.

Hal Gulliver

Carter Credits Georgia Campaigners

ORLANDO—Jimmy Carter's campaign staff discovered long ago that their candidate can get up early and work late and do it effectively, and they are not big on scheduling things like meals or quiet periods and the candidate seems to enjoy that pace and so naturally on the day of the critical Florida primary he was off campaigning in North Carolina, where he meets George Wallace and Henry Jackson again two weeks after Florida, and the weather was a little rocky flying back down to Orlando and the candidate's plane was late and he had to do a few minor things shortly after settling in at room 1006 in the Carlton House Resort Hotel, like talking to Walter Cronkite for a brief live interview as the votes came in, and so it was getting on towards 9 p.m. when the candidate finally got something to eat, namely a sandwich and french fries and a chocolate milk shake.



"That a cheeseburger, governor,?" asks Jim Wooten of The New York Times.

"Sure is," Carter says, taking a bite and glancing back over his shoulder, watching Wooten type. "Did you put in there that you were wrong?"

"I did not and I do not intend to. I had to predict Milton Shapp, governor, you know my loyalties," says Wooten, and this makes Carter laugh.

Wooten of course did not predict that Shapp would win the Florida primary but he did suggest in an article that Carter would not, that Wallace was still the likely winner, Carter keeps up with such things.

Wooten and Stan Cloud of Time magazine are in the room with Carter and family and close friends on a "pool" basis; they represent the traveling media people with the candidate and will hammer out, each, a page or so summary of what has happened as the Georgia governor watches his winning vote totals in Florida add up.

It is interesting. Just three months ago, when Carter was hopscotching over Iowa in a small plane, the national journalists covering Carter could have all fitted comfortably into the back seat of one car. Indeed, there were times in that period when the only journalists interested, local from Iowa or from wherever, could easily arrange to ride along with Carter in his car and interview him between stops.

That period in the Georgian's campaign is over.

Jack Germond of The Washington Star wrote it several months ago and it seemed to me perceptive enough to remember. He still had a hard time quite believing that an ex-governor from Georgia could be a serious presidential candidate, Germond said, but at the same time he kept remembering that Carter's campaign seemed to be almost exactly where Carter had told him it would a full year before.

That is worth noting in the wake of Carter's huge success in Florida. The Georgian started out with a strategy that would focus on the early caucus and primary states; specifically, these considered the most important, Iowa and New Hampshire and Florida. Iowa was the first caucus state; New Hampshire the first primary state; and Florida the first important primary in a Southern state where Wallace had run exceedingly well in 1972 and where Carter hoped to prove that a moderate Southerner could defeat Wallace on what was considered the Alabama governor's home turf.

Carter won in Iowa. He won in New Hampshire. Now he has won in Florida. What's the secret? How did he do it? There are probably several answers, but the one Carter gives most immediately when asked is this: "I could not have done what we did in Florida or in New Hampshire without the help of the Georgia people who went to these states and campaigned. No other candidate had this. It's like part of my family when these people from Georgia go into another state and say, I know Jimmy Carter and you ought to vote for him."

Coping With Congress A Presidential Test

By DAVID S. BRODER
MANCHESTER, N.H.

A novel and encouraging element has appeared in the voters' scrutiny of the 1976 presidential candidates. For the first time that this reporter can remember, a strong consciousness seems to have developed that coping with Congress is an important ingredient of presidential leadership.

The cult of personality that has enveloped the modern presidency has tended to focus attention on that office as if it were an isolated part of our political system, instead of an integral part of a governmental structure with both a legislative and executive branch. One did not hear candidates for the White House in the 1960s, or in 1972, asked probing questions about their ability to push their programs through Congress.

But that question is being raised frequently with both Democratic and Republican aspirants in 1976, and that shows a perceptiveness on the part of the public that is as welcome as it is overdue.

The questions go with particular force to Republican rivals Ronald Reagan and Gerald Ford, for the voters assume — correctly — that if either of them is President in 1977, his first challenge will be to deal with a Democratic Congress.

It is no exaggeration, I think, to say that if Mr. Ford had mastered Congress in the confrontations of the past 18 months, his path to renomination would be clear. The perception that hurts him most — that he waffles, changes positions and ultimately accepts what he professes to oppose — stems largely from his efforts to cope with Congress.

As a pro-Reagan salesman's wife in Bow, N.H., said the other day of Mr. Ford, "He's all right, but he seems to be hogtied by Congress."

That view is not without foundation. Congressional Quarterly, in its annual voting study, found Mr. Ford's position had been sustained on fewer roll calls in 1976 than any President since Dwight Eisenhower in 1959 and the Watergate-weakened Richard Nixon in 1973-74.

Mr. Ford's answer to the question of coping with Congress is two-fold and contradictory. On one hand, he assails the lawmakers for irresponsibility in exceeding his budget or refusing his Angolan aid requests, and, on the other, he asserts that he can work better with them than a "stranger" to Washington like Reagan.

The voter interviewing in this state suggests that Mr. Ford is not particularly persuasive on either point

Reagan also has a two-ply answer, and it comes through more plausibly to the Republican voters. First, he says that if he is the Republican nominee, he will campaign as "a team player" for the election of more Republicans to Congress. But, acknowledging that the Democrats will control the House and Senate, he says he will use the same tactic he employed in dealing with a Democratic-controlled California legislature for seven of his eight years as governor: He will "go over the heads of the politicians to the people." Whether this is an adequate response is questionable. The Congressional Quarterly studies show an increasing pattern of partisan voting in Congress — a higher proportion of roll calls on which the parties took opposing stands and a greater cohesion within each party on those issues. Given Reagan's plans for radical restructuring of domestic programs, a pitched battle with Congress would seem inevitable.

Nevertheless, his account of his struggle with the California legislature on state welfare and tax reform persuades many Republicans that — given his ability as a television performer — he could fulfill his promise to be "the first President since Franklin Delano Roosevelt" to focus public opinion on Congress and, as he says, "make them feel the heat, even if they don't see the light."

What is hopeful about this discussion is the recognition on the part of Republican voters that electing a President of their party is only the start of the battle; that the game of budget-balancing and governmental reorganization will be won or lost in the halls of Congress.

But Democratic voters, too, appear to be looking more carefully at their candidates' ability to work with — or around — Congress. Sen. Henry M. Jackson ran into sharp questioning at a candidates' forum in Action, Mass., about the failure of the present Congress to pass many of the programs the Democratic candidates are espousing. Jackson responded — a bit testily — with a broadside against the questioner's failure to take account of the political difficulties of overriding presidential vetoes.

But the legislative issue is there, facing all of the Democratic presidential candidates from Congress, since George Wallace and Jimmy Carter will not let them forget that the tax loopholes and the excessive bureaucracy they all decry are the by-products of 40 years of Democratic dominance of the Congress in which they serve.

Birch Bayh, Morris Udall and Jackson all have their own cases to make — based on what they claim as demonstrations of their ability to enlist support in Congress for their policy goals.

The voters will, in time, evaluate their arguments. But it is good news that this question is being raised. For too many years, the neglect of Congress as a power factor has flawed the presidential selection system.

TERHORST

By J. F. TERHORST

Lessons of the Primary

Washington — The paramount message of the New Hampshire presidential primary is that liberal Democrats and the progressive wing of the Republican Party are in trouble. The reasons, however, are not identical.

Jimmy Carter's clear victory over four rivals illustrates the point for the Democrats. As long as the liberals continue to field a bevy of candidates like Morris Udall, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris and Sargent Shriver, the party's natural liberal majority will continue to be divided and thus can be conquered by a more moderate Democrat like Georgia's former governor.



Jimmy Carter
He's the main target, now.

For moderate to liberal Republicans, the situation is almost the reverse. President Ford squeaked by in New Hampshire, but just barely. Conservatvie Ronald Reagan was the official loser, but he and his supporters can legitimately claim " a moral victory" of sorts and move on strongly into Florida and Illinois, the next big Reagan-Ford battlegrounds.

To progressive Republicans, the meaning is obvious. Reagan remains a threat. So long as he does, they have no choice but to stick with Ford. And as long as the President continues to top Reagan, however narrowly, he is not likely to alter his strategy of courting the conservatives and ignoring the moderate-to-liberal wing of the GOP.

Reagan has demonstrated that Ford is vulnerable and by no means a sure winner of all the primaries. Conservatives reason, not without merit, that he must keep wooing the Republican right to stay ahead. And if Reagan can't take the nomination away from, Ford, he still may wind up on the ticket as the Ford running mate. That irks progessive Republican as much as anything.

Democratic liberals, however, have more of a chance to improve their position than the Republican left-of-center voters.

In New Hampshire, Carter had center field all to himself. In Massachusetts, Florida and other upcoming primaries he will face serious competition from George Wallace and Henry Jackson who also lay claim to the Democratic center and right.

Thus we will have what Richard Scammon, the election analyst, terms a "subprimary." Indeed, we will have two of them in the coming weeks. One will test Carter against Jackson, Wallace and, in sone instances, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp. The second subprimary will be the shake-out among the liberals—Udall, Bayh, Shriver and Harris.

Carter Made Superior Effort

My guess is that these subprimaries on the Democratic side will keep four candidates in the running—Carter, Jackson, Udall and Bayh—with Wallace remaining as a thorn in the party's side right up to the July convention in Madison Square Garden.

That Jimmy Carter should be in it at all is perhaps the biggest surprise of the 1976 season.

His success in New Hampshire cannot be attributed solely to disarray on the liberal side. Carter's personal charm, stamina, and superior campaign organization were clearly evident in New Hampshire. After earlier strong showings in Iowa and Maine, Carter has amply demonstrated that a Southerner and a person without any previous national exposure can pull votes north of the Mason-Dixon line.

But Carter is also vulnerable. The combined votes of his liberal rivals would have beaten him in New Hampshire. That will increasingly become a threat to Carter as the liberal field narrows down. Moreover, the worried factions within the Democratic party — liberal labor organizations and the party's intelligentsia — will now join together in a major stop-Carter movement.

His record in Georgia and campaign statements will be combed for flaws and inconsistencies. Carter smiled through his first bout with such chicken-scratching in New Hampshire, but it will get more savage now.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

3/10

Final Results

100%

Carter 34%
Wallace 31%
Jackson 24%

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1976 —

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Wednesday Evening, March 10, 1976

Carter Wins Florida Stunner Over Wallace; Ford Victorious

5A

News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Rhodesia announced yesterday that black nationalist guerrilla forces had broadened their area of conflict to the full length of the 800-mile border with Mozambique. A deputy minister, Edward Sutton-Pryce, said the Government saw no end to the fighting "whether we reach a political settlement or not." Although figures are not officially revealed, official sources said that regular and paramilitary Government forces totaled 12,000, with 25,000 in the organized reserves. [Page 1, Column 1.]

United States and British analysts said that Soviet arms shipments to Mozambique had been increasing and they believe that the weapons will be given to the guerrilla forces fighting in Rhodesia. [4:3-8.]

Ford Administration officials said that France and Britain, as well as the United States, had given covert aid to the Angolan factions that were defeated in Angola's civil war. The officials said that French aid was substantial, but less than the $30 million supplied by Washington, and that Britain's aid was modest. [3:5-8.]

Forty-two people were reported killed when a cable car crowded with skiers plunged 200 feet to the ground near the northern Italian city of Trento. Officials said there was only one survivor and that he had been seriously hurt. [1:5-6.]

National

President Ford defeated former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in Florida's Republican Presidential primary. Jimmy Carter the former Governor of Georgia won the Democratic Presidential race. He was strongly challenged by Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. [1:8.]

Speaking in the House, Representative Otis G. Pike accused the Central Intelligence Agency of seeking to discredit him and Congress in an effort to gloss over findings of the House Select Committee on Intelligence, which he heads. The Suffolk County Democrat related previously undisclosed incidents in his dealings with the agency. One was a telephone conversation in which he quoted Mitchell Rogovin, the agency's special counsel, as having said: "Pike will pay for this—we'll destroy him for this." [1:2-3.]

In the continuing Washington dispute over "leaks," the State Department said that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and his top aide, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, were personally conducting an inquiry into disclosure of top-secret details of talks with Middle East leaders. [10:1-4.]

A former intelligence official said that the Federal Bureau of Investigation may have been "penetrated" by hostile foreign intelligence at least three times since the end of World War II. The evidence, which involved F.B.I. agents in New York City, Washington and an undisclosed American city, was entirely circumstantial, the former official said, and no criminal charges were brought against the three agents believed to have been subverted by foreign governments. [1:2-3.]

Metropolitan

A special state commission recommended that all public employees hired since 1973 be brought under a unified pension system to save state and local governments a total of about $200 million a year by combining required employee contributions and lower initial benefits. Under a proposed clause that would raise benefits by 3 percent a year to compensate for inflation, employees after age 73 who had retired at age 65 would begin to get higher benefits than in current plans. [1:4.]

Republican and Democratic leaders in the Legislature have agreed informally to seek the restoration of $110 million in funds for school aid in Governor Carey's proposed budget and to make deeper cuts than he had sought in state programs. [47:6-8.]

A mayoral task force has found "incompetence" and "an atmosphere of mistrust" at the highest levels of management of New York City's $128 million day-care program. In releasing the report, First Deputy Mayor John E. Zuccotti said that up to 16,000 of the 36,200 children enrolled in 410 centers financed by the city, state and Federal governments might be ineligible. [1:6-7.]

The Museum of Modern Art has acquired a huge "cutout" work by Henri Matisse, and will exchange objects from its collection equal to the purchase price, which was said to be about $1 million. The many-paneled work, measuring nearly 54 feet long and 7½ feet high, once covered the four dining room walls of the home of the modern French master. [1:1-4.]

FORD DEFEATS REAGAN IN FLORIDA; CARTER IS WINNER OVER WALLACE IN DEMOCRATIC VOTE, JACKSON 3D



Residents of Miami Beach leaving a polling place after casting ballots in Florida primary

UDALL IS FOURTH

Loss Seen as Blow to Alabama Governor and Californian

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 9—President Ford defeated Ronald Reagan in Florida's Republican Presidential primary election today, gaining his fourth victory in as many primaries.

Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, won the Democratic primary over Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington was third.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who did not campaign in Florida, was leading Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, who made a number of appearances here, for fourth place.

Others in Rear

Seven other Democratic candidates brought up the rear.

The candidate standings were based on early returns and projections from a poll by The New York Times and CBS News of 1,680 persons questioned after the voting.

The projections from the polling data represented a broader view of the state's vote than the early totals from the state's precincts.

REPUBLICANS

With 1,152, or 34 percent, of 3,421 precincts reporting:

Ford	116,894 (55%)
Reagan	97,293 (45%)

DEMOCRATS

With 1,116 precincts:

Carter	140,728 (37%)
Wallace	122,277 (32%)
Jackson	75,868 (20%)
Udall	7,654 (2%)
Shapp	7,463 (2%)

The President's victory seriously damaged the candidacy of the former California Governor as a challenger for the Republican nomination. However, Mr. Reagan said that he intends to continue campaigning until the Republican National Convention next August in Kansas City., Mo.

In Washington, Roger C. B. Morton, the White House political counsel, said: "People are not just accepting him. They're falling in love with him as their President."

Continued on Page 18, Column 1

Impact of Florida Vote

Reagan's Prospects Seem Dimmed; Carter Did What He Said He Had to Do

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

MIAMI, March 9—President Ford's victory over former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in Florida's primary today does not guarantee his nomination, but it drastically reduces Mr. Reagan's prospects. If the Californian, even with fierce attacks on the President's policies and leadership, can still go down to defeat in a state once so favorably disposed toward him, it is difficult to think of major states where he can win. He has already downgraded his chances in Illinois, his native state, which holds its primary next Tuesday.

News Analysis

He must win somewhere—despite his assertion this week that he would press on to the Republican national convention come what may—if he is to remain in the race. With only two contestants, a consistent loser soon finds himself without the funds and the campaign workers to keep him fighting.

On the Democratic side, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia did what he had said for more than a year that he had to do to establish credibility for the long struggle forward the nomination. He cut Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama down to size in the state that sent the Alabamian on his way four years ago.

Mr. Wallace ran far behind his 1972 total of 42 percent in Florida. Together with his failure to win in Massachusetts, even with the busing issue at full flame, the Governor's slippage here suggests that his role at the Democratic National

Continued on Page 18, Column 4

Ford Defeats Wallace; Carter Is Victor

Standing Enhanced

Mr. Carter's showing would seem to re-establish his position as the front-runner of the Democratic party's center. It helped to counter the one defeat of his campaign, his fourth-place finish in the Massachusetts primary last week.

Mr. Wallace's failure to match his 1972 showing in this semi-Southern state, which adjoins his native Alabama, would be a serious blow to his candidacy in this, his third try for the Presidency.

He won the 1972 Florida primary with 42 percent of the vote. Until Mr. Carter's well-organized campaign began to take effect recently, Mr. Wallace had been expected to lead the field again, although perhaps with a smaller percentage of the vote.

The Times-CBS News poll showed that Mr. Carter repeated his Massachusetts performance among black voters, although the number here was relatively small? He won them solidly, thus confounding further those liberals of the party who have begun to portray him as unacceptably conservative.

The poll showed that Senator Jackson swept the Jewish vote along the east coast of South Florida, as had been expected. There had been speculation that Mr? Shapp, who is Jewish, might cut into the Jackson support there.

8 Other Candidates

Eight other Democratic candidates appeared on the Florida ballot, but only Mr. Carter, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Shapp campaigned here.

Those who ignored Florida included Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, now considered the liberal leader in the Democratic race.

The others on the ballot were former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma; Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who is expected to announce his candidacy later this month; Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate from Long Island who, along with Governor Wallace, advocates a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion except to save a mother's life; Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, who has suspended his campaign; Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia; Sargent Shriver, the Democratic Vice-Presidential candidate in 1972, and Arthur O. Blessitt, a Florida evangelist.

Blustery Weather

As the voters went to the polls, a succession of sunny days gave way to blustery weather, and many had to risk getting wet to cast their ballots.

Two tornadoes were spotted in northern Florida near Jacksonville. But in Miami area, the sun came out about non.

Two candidates, Mr. Reagan and Governor Wallace, deserted the state today and went on to Illinois, where the next primary will be held next Tuesday.

Mr. Carter campaigned in North Carolina, preparing for the primary there on March 23. He appeared in Asheville, Hickory and Morganton, the last being the home of former Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr., who has endorsed Senator Jackson.

Sixty-six Republican delegates and 81 Democratic delegates to the national conventions were at stake in the Florida primary.

Jackson's Campaign

Senator Jackson's first aim in Florida was to win as many delegates as possible. He did not expect to win much of the popular vote. After his plurality victory in Massachusetts last week, however, he began an intensive news media campaign and tried to cut into Mr. Carter's acknowledged lead.

Many political experts felt that both the Democratic and Republican races had gotten closer in the last days of the campaigning.

Mr. Reagan, responding to what he and others regarded as an erosion of his lead, began a series of sharp attacks on the President's policies in the last week of the campaign.

The Administration's policy of detente with the Soviet Union came under attack from Mr. Reagan and Mr. Jackson. Mr. Reagan also criticized Mr. Ford's approach to Cuba, contending that the President had been movin closer to an accommodation with the Castro regime until politics intervened in recent days.

Castro Denounced

Mr. Ford came to Miami during the last stages of the campaign and severely criticized Prime Minister Fidel Castro, describing him as an "international outlaw." The attack was regarded here as an attempt to cu into Mr. Reagan's strength in the Latin community.

Court-ordered busing to achieve racial intergration of public school a hot issue in the 1072 Florida primary, was ignored this year by all th candidates except Mr. Wallace. He has denounced it, along with welfare cheaters and Federal bureaucrats, at almost every stop recently.

Busing, like Prime Minister Castro, has had no defenders. Mr. Carter has criticized Senator Jackson, however, for having used the busing issue which Mr. Carter regards as "emotionals," in the Massachusetts campaign.

Cne of Mr. Jackson's main issues in Florida has been unemployment, which is more than 11 percent here. He has advocated government help in creating more jobs.

This week, Governor Shapp seized ona secret meeting in Panama City between a representative of Saudi Arabia and about 50 representatives of Exxon, Mobil, Standard Oil of California and Standard of Texas, who are negotiating to sell the American companies' interest in the Arab-American oil company to the Saudi Government.

tion of the major American should call for the nationaliza- oil companies if the agreement

Mr. Shapp said the President at Panama City was not satisfactory.

For the first time, theb allots in Dade County (Miami) were printed in Spanish, as well as English. Hispanics make up about 15 percent of the registered voters of the county. Most are Cuban refugees.

Impact of Florida: Reagan Seems Hurt; Carter Helped

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Convention may be smaller than some expected.

A New York Times/CBS News poll on Florida voters, who were interviewed as they left their polling places, indicated that Mr. Wallace's paralysis had affected the vote for him. More than 40 percent of all Democratic voters said the Governor's health had an effect on their voting decisions.

On the basis of his Florida showing, Mr. Carter took back some of the edge he had lost to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in Massachusetts, although Mr. Jackson also made a respectable showing here, particularly in view of his limited campaign organization.

According to the Times/CBS poll, Mr. Ford swept almost every demographic group in Florida—young and old, rich and poor, conservatives, moderates and liberals. The only group that turned against him were the Latins, who were apparently impressed by Mr. Reagan's tougher line against Fidel Castro, Cuba's Prime Minister.

Détente Attacks Unavailing

The Californian's attacks on the Administration's policy of Détente appeared to avail him little. Among those who oppose détente, Mr. Reagan did better than among those who favored it. But Mr. Ford ran first even among the opponents, by a margin of about 55 percent to 45 percent.

The President also appeared to benefit greatly from the fact that most Republicans now believe that the worst economic times in the country's recent history are now past.

Those who saw things that way—a large majority—went heavily for Mr. Ford. Those who disagreed went for Mr. Reagan by 2 to 1, but they were too small a group to give Mr. Reagan the victory that he campaigned for so strenuously.

The Ford organization hopes to build on the President's showing here by persuading party officials backing Mr. Reagan, leaning toward him or maintaining a neutral position to swing behind Mr. Ford. The President's political operatives, including Rogers C. B. Morton, the White House political adviser, plans to begin making several hundred telephone calls to such officials tomorrow morning, according to sources within the Ford campaign.

Mr. Reagan's advisers have suggested that he could lose as many as four or five early primaries and still survive by winning in caucus states and then sweeping California. But only about a third of the convention delegates come from caucus states, and California is unlikely to behave differently from all other primary states.

Supporters of Mr. Reagan in North Carolina, which votes on March 23, said that they had not been in close communication with Reagan headquarters in Washington for about 10 days, but expected Mr. Reagan to continue at least through their primary. However, the Reagan television commercials were abruptly canceled today, and it was not clear whether new commercials would be produced for use in North Carolina.

The Democratic contest looks more muddled than ever following the Florida balloting, with no clear sign as to the likely nominee. Mr. Carter and Mr. Jackson have both demonstrated strength in the first four primaries, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, has shown popularity among the liberals who nominated Senator George McGovern in 1972.

Many prominent Democrats continue to believe that a non-candidate will emerge from a convention deadlock, most likely Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. The Times/CBS poll showed that almost one-third of Florida Democrats would have voted for Mr. Humphrey today had he been on the ballot, and the strong no-preference vote suggested dissatisfaction with the roster of active candidates for the Presidency.

Mr. Carter's constituency in Florida—unlike that which he attracted in New Hampshire, where he was the choice of conservatives—was basically moderate, with relatively few liberals and conservatives. He was especially strong among Democrats who moved here from other parts of the South, and he tied Mr. Wallace among native-born Floridians.

Mr. Jackson's greatest strength lay with northern migrants, with Jews (among whom he drew two-thirds of the vote) and with liberals. That represented a substantial switch from 1972, when the Washington Senator's Florida strength lay principally among conservatives. His strength among Jews, liberal on most issues but hawkish like Mr. Jackson on Israel, appeared the main reason for the change.

Mr. Carter swept the black vote — substantially smaller than four years ago, largely because of Mr. Wallace's and Mr. Jackson's strong stands against busing.

Florida's large professional and managerial class was one of the keys to Mr. Carter's success; he won almost 40 percent of their votes. Mr. Wallace was the favorite of blue-collar voters, a smaller group here than in the big northern industrial states.

TIMES POLL QUERIED 1,500 IN FLORIDA

The New York Times/CBS News poll is based on interviews with a random sampling of Florida voters as they left the polls yesterday. Fifteen voting precincts throughout the state were selected and, within each precinct, each voter had as equal chance of selection.

In all, approximately 1,500 voters were interviewed, including 1,050 Democratic voters and 450 Republican voters.

One possible source of error in a survey such as this is sampling error. One can say with 95 percent certainty that results based upon the entire sample differ by no more than 2.5 points, in either direction, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Florida voters. Results based on Democrats alone are unlikely to err by more than 3 percent, and on Republicans alone by more than 5 percent.

However, as in any survey of public opinion, this margin of error is undoubtedly somewhat larger because of unavoidable imperfections in the way the survey was constructed, and because some voters refused to be interviewed.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 election survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the government department at Harvard University.

Carter Even With Wallace In South Carolina Delegates

COLUMBIA, S. C., March 9 (UPI)—As more delegates broke from their uncommitted posture early today, Jimmy Carter pulled almost even with George C. Wallace in returns from South Carolina Democratic county conventions.

With all of the state's 46 counties reporting, 43.1 per cent of the delegates elected to the March 31 state convention were uncommitted. Mr. Wallace, the Alabama Governor, had 28 per cent of the delegates while Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor, had 27.2 per cent.

Senators Birch Bayh, Democrat of Indiana, and Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, and Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, all had less than 1 per cent.

The state's 31 delegates to the national convention will be chosen at the state convention.

BAYH DELEGATES SEEK STATE SHIFT

Aide Reports Sentiment for Humphrey and Udall in Primary on April 6

By MAURICE CARROLL

The New York delegate slates that were cast adrift when Senator Birch Bayh suspended his Presidential campaign could shift either to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota or Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, a spokesman said yesterday.

There is "considerable sentiment," said Ethan Geto, who was director of the Bayh campaign in New York, both for Mr. Humphrey, who is not a declared candidate, and Mr. Udall, who has described himself as the leading liberal left on the New York ballot.

"Out top priority is stopping Henry Jackson and Jimmy Carter," said Mr. Geto.

He said that the Bronx borough president, Robert Abrams, who was chairman of the Bayh campaign in New York, was trying to move its remnants as a bloc. Persistent soundings, he said, turned up support for both Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Udall.

And so, he said, Mr. Abrams has been "in constant communication with Bayh slates and coordinators to make a move toward one candidate or the other."

Those pushing for Mr. Udall were hampered, according to some persons involved in the talks, by doubts about the strength of his commitment to the New York race, while those pushing for Mr. Humphrey were hampered by fears that he might repudiate their efforts and that, since he is not a declared candidate, there would be no ready source of campaign money.

Support for Humphrey

Eugene Foley, an investment banker who ran Mr. Humphrey's Presidential campaign in New York in 1968, said yesterday that his telephone lines were "burning" over this latest bubbling up of the considerable latent support here for Senator Humphrey.

And he says he answers all the questioners as follows:

"If somebody wants to start a draft or run as Humphrey delegates, they're welcome to do so. But they'll get no encouragement from the Humphrey office."

Already, there are three unauthorized Humphrey-for-President slates on the ballot for the New York primary on April 6, in the 14th District in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn, in the 23d District, straddling the Bronx-Westchester line and in the 26th District in Orange, Rockland and Ulster Counties.

There is also a lone Humphrey supporter running in the 34th District around Rochester.

And according to Joseph Crangle, who heads the strong Democratic organization in Erie County, "you find among a lot of uncommitted delegates a lot of sympathy for Humphrey." Mr. Crangle's own two slates are runnfng uncommitted. He declines to suggest where their eventual commitment might be.

"Everybody likes Kubert Humphrey," he said judiciously, "but to translate that into delegates is something else."

To keep qualifying for Federal matching funds, Mr. Bayh has not officially abandoned his Presid ential aspratıons. So, the New York party's law chairman, Melvin Schweitzer, said yesterday, those who had filed as Bayh delegates would continue to be counted as Bayh delegates—both in listing on party literature and in apportionmen of at-large delegates after the primary.

But the New York ballot does not list the Presidential candidate the would-be delegate supports, just the delegate candidate's own name. And the party had no intention, he said, of challenging any one-time Bayh supporter who wanted publicize himself as favoring anyone else.

The chance of a sizable shift by the now-homeless Bayh supporters in New York represents both a recognition of below-the-surface Humphrey sentiment and an effort by the Bayh people to scramble back into the state Presidential picture.

Harris to Fight Like Fox

By CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 9—Fred R. Harris has concluded it might be better to fight like a fox and not "like a mad dog." As a result, there will be less of a liberal challenge to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in the New York Presidential primary election.

The former Oklahoma Senator, who is seeking the Democratic nomination, is not withdrawing from the Presidential race. In fact, the 45-year-old Mr. Harris finnaly agreed to take Secret Service protection for the first time this week—a step that may slightly chill the warm informality of his campaign.

However, he has elected to scale down his efforts and the expectations of his devoted following for the next few weeks to save both itme and money for a major new effort in the Pennsylvania primary election on April 27.

As a result Mr. Harris will run, "but not make major efforts," in the Illinois primary election next Tuesday and in the New York and Wisconsin races on April 6. He hopes to raise $200,000 and invest the bulk of h istime in overcoming his persistent name recognition pr problems so as to run a serious contest in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Harris, whose "populist" campaign is keyed to attacks on privilege and concentrated wealth, ran fourth with 11 percent of the vote in the New Hampshire primary, and with good-natured zest vowed to fight on "like a mad dog." In the more crowded Massachusetts primary, he ran fifth with 8 percent of the vote total.

Anything less than an all-out effort is somewhat out of character for the folk-singing, revivalist atmosphere that had developed in the Harris campaign.

But Mr. Harris said in an interview that—after a week of intensive consultation with his national staff and with his organizations in key states—he had decided it would be necessary to "rethink, regroup and save some money" during the immediate future.

However Mr. Harris added that a major effort inNew York would require at least $150,000—which would still be less than Senator Jackson can be expected to invest—and that the depleted Harris treasury could not make such an investment and still run seriously in later primaries.

Spring in Washington

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 9—The first signs of spring in Washington are the yellow-green willows along the Potomac, the tulip trees in the park behind the Interior Department, and the lovely star magnolia at the northwest gate of the White House. And every time this miracle happens in the spring, reminding us of the renewing rhythms of life, we get a wintry blast from the north. So it has been this week in Washington: The snow drifted over the Blue Ridge and buried the daffodils.

This is precisely the way it has been in the political world as well. New boys like Jimmy Carter have bloomed in New Hampshire and withered in Massachusetts. Old boys like, Scoop Jackson, Mo Udall, and George Wallace have blossomed in Boston and wilted elsewhere, but later in the big states of Illinois, New York and California, nature will sort them out.

So, after the Florida primary, there is a pause. The tests of the peripheral states of the Eastern Seaboard are over, and there is time to think about what the candidates have been saying.

If you have been listening, you might well think, from what some of them have been saying, that the foreign policy of the United States is a disaster—almost as irrational as our crazy system of picking national party leaders—but the political weather is even more unpredictable than the natural weather, so herewith a minority report.

Despite all the complicated and dangerous problems of arms control—in a world now spending over $300 billion a year on weapons—plus all the other international issues of Middle East strategy, trade, money, energy, etc., it is hard to believe that this election's foreign policy problems are more alarming than they were in the other postwar elections, or that Scoop Jackson or Ronald Reagan have the answers to our dilemmas.

Does it mean nothing that in this election, unlike most elections since Roosevelt's in 1932, the United States is not at war somewhere in the world? There are obviously grave problems all along the Mediterranean littoral, but is it meaningless that there is at least a truce in the Sinai and in Cyprus, and more liberal governments in Portugal and Spain?

Europe is wracked by inflation and unemployment, but the European Community expands, ever so slowly; China is now part of the international community rather than part of the Communist bloc; the two Germanys have compromised their differences over Berlin, once the flash-point of the world; the United States and the Soviet Union are at least talking about strategic arms control and expanding their trade, admittedly not always to Washington's advantage but this is scarcely a catalogue of disaster.

What is true is that the foreign policy problems of the last of the 70's are infinitely more complex and subtle, far less obvious than the military and ideological confrontations of the cold war days. They may be equally dangerous, for the conflict of national interests and philosophies about individual freedom and the state are as savage now as ever before, but Messrs. Jackson, Reagan and the other critics of the nation's foreign policy are not really dealing with all these diverse questions.

They are merely giving us slogans, like the jumping kids at the basketball play-offs. They are shouting about who's "No. 1," insisting that détente should be a "two-way street," which is fair enough but no policy. In short, they are concentrating their attacks on Henry Kissinger, but Kissinger is not really relevant to the future. Regardless of who wins, he will be finished at the end of the election, if not before.

It is odd that Mr. Jackson has been so superficial. He is a serious and experienced man who has been around here for more than a generation, studying and worrying about the problems of foreign and military affairs. He has a good foreign policy staff, headed by Dorothy Fosdick, a wise and sensitive woman who went through all these postwar foreign policy problems as an adviser to Adlai Stevenson, but unlike Stevenson, who understood the weaknesses and psychological problems of the 50's, Jackson is playing the old-fashioned big-city cold war ethnic politics of the past.

Mr. Reagan is less of a worry. The more ground he has lost with his silly comments about Social Security and shuffling off $90 billion to the states, the more he has stumbled into foreign affairs and attacked Mr. Kissinger, who at Richard Nixon's urging, has been instructing him on foreign policy for years. Unlike Jackson, he is really ignorant about foreign affairs, and has one other disadvantage, which is that he is amiably lazy. President Ford works and struggles and listens, but Mr. Reagan thinks he knows the answers, has a terrible temper, and when the big issues are being discussed, he is "out to lunch."

So maybe, during half-time after the Florida primary, we should think about these characters, or more important, about America's position in the world. Jackson and Reagan are right to raise the foreign policy question, for there are serious and dangerous problems to be solved, but they are not coming up with any answers or even suggestions. They are merely playing party games, and leaving us, like the snows in Washington, to wonder what comes next.

G

Really on the Way

IT ISN'T quite the same as being hailed as frontrunner for one week after New Hampshire and then allegedly being in serious trouble the next week because of Massachusetts. Jimmy Carter's victory in Florida truly is significant and means that this time he is really on the way to a possible presidential nomination.

The Florida primary showed that Carter could run ahead of George Wallace in a southern state even while Henry Jackson was offering a strong alternative for middle-of-the-road Democrats. After losing, Wallace spoke of Florida as being "cosmopolitan," which presumably means not really southern, but the fact remains that Wallace's 32 per cent of the vote this year is less than his 42 per cent in 1972, so his support is weaker, whatever the nature of the state.

Carter ran ahead of strong center and right opposition in Florida just as he ran ahead of opposition on the left in New Hampshire. The New Hampshire result might have meant only that the party is tending toward the center, but coupled with the Florida outcome it means it is tending toward Carter as the best choice in the center.

As for the Republican outcome, Gerald Ford now seems to have turned back the Ronald Reagan challenge. Reagan needed quick, conclusive victories early in the race and he didn't get them. By drawing some of the ultraconservative vote into the Democratic primary Wallace probably indirectly hurt Reagan and vice versa.

Be it noted in addition that the liberals did not make any showing at all in Florida, and the message from the Sunshine State adds up to the point that neither the extreme right nor the extreme left represent the mood of the moment. In the long run, that's good news for the nation.

DEFEAT IN FLORIDA WALLACE 'DISASTER'

By ARNOLD SAWISLAK

WASHINGTON (UPI) — In 1964, George Wallace got a quarter of a million votes in the Wisconsin presidential primary.

In 1968, he got nearly 10 million votes as a third party presidential candidate.

In 1972, he had more primary votes than any other Democrat when he was shot.

Tuesday, he got beat in "Wallace country."

Jimmy Carter's defeat of the Alabama governor in Florida just about ends speculation Wallace may have become a real contender for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976.

Complain as he might, Wallace now will be relegated again to the role of "spoiler" and spokesman for an angry, but limited, minority within the electorate.

It perhaps is not fair that two losses should do this to Wallace, but it is very much according to the rules he himself has played by. In all of his upsets in the past, Wallace capitalized on his image as a fringe candidate who could do no more than hurt more serious contenders.

When he would do well, Wallace would proclaim the establishment had been "sent a message" and was out of step with the people.

This year, he declared himself one of those serious candidates. That meant he had to win where he should be strong and had to show well in places where he was against odds. He ran third in liberal Massachusetts and that was seen as a respectable, even impressive, showing.

But he had wiped up the Florida primary in 1972 and he had to be the favorite in the state neighboring his own Alabama this year. Losing there was nothing less than a disaster for him.

Wallace still may win some primaries and certainly will have a bloc of delegates pledged to him when the Democratic national convention opens July 12 in New York.

But the Democratic establishment, which he scared stiff in the late 60's and early 70's, now sees an alternative to Wallace, both for the votes of the South and of the alienated ethnics and hardhats of the industrial North.

Carter may not be able to capture the Wallace vote whole, but it looks as if he can at least skim the cream.

Where does that leave Wallace?

After 1972, he was given a strong voice in national Democratic affairs — including a representative on the party's ruling executive committee. He probably will retain some of that influence, but the alwayspresent threat that he will take his people out of the party once again will not be nearly as frightening to his political peers.

FLORIDA TOTALS AT A GLANCE

Democrats

(Final Totals)

Carter	439,870	(34 Pct.)
Wallace	392,105	(31 Pct.)
Jackson	306,120	(24 Pct.)
Shapp	31,024	(2 Pct.)
Udall	26,257	(2 Pct.)
Others	48,107	(4 Pct.)
No Preference	37,348	(3 Pct.)

Republicans

(Final Totals)

Ford	318,844	(53 Pct.)
Reagan	282,618	(47 Pct.)

H

Meet Me in New York

Jackson Challenges Florida Winner Carter To Face Him in Northern Industrial State



FLORIDA WIN GIVES CARTER REASON TO SMILE
'I Don't See Anybody Else Who Is Ahead of Me'

By DAVID SCHULTZ
Journal Washington Bureau

MIAMI — Jimmy Carter has regained his momentum as a leading Democratic presidential candidate at the expense of Southern rival George Wallace, but Sen. Henry Jackson was something of a winner in his own fashion.

Carter was the biggest winner, polling 34 per cent of the Florida vote to defeat Wallace, who slipped to 31 per cent from his winning 42 per cent margin in the same primary four years earlier. In beating Wallace — a feat once thought virtually impossible — Carter demonstrated an ability to garner votes from a wide spectrum of Democrats, something he hadn't proven in previous elcectoral tests.

But Jackson, who entered the race primarily as a Carter spoiler, emerged with new strength even though he was unable to achieve his main goal of depriving Carter of a victory over Wallace. Jackson polled 24 per cent of the votes — a respectable showing by any political standards considering his late entry — and picked up 21 of Florida's 81 convention delegates.

Jimmy Carter feels his victory in Florida shows that people are no longer willing to waste their votes on protest candidates who have little chance of winning. *Page 10A*

Despite his victory, Carter won only 34 delegates, while Wallace picked up 26.

Jackson immediately posed a challenge to Carter — to meet him head-on in a Northern industrial state. Jackson suggested New York, where he already has a commanding lead built up.

"You tell me what industrial state Gov. Carter is going to carry," said Jackson. "That's his big problem."

Carter, who was governor of Georgia, responded by naming Illinois, where he is entered in a "beauty contest" primary against Wallace, Sargent Shriver and Fred Harris next Tuesday and is favored to win. Jackson passed up Illinois but is on the North Carolina ballot along with Carter and Wallace a week later.

So it's likely that a head-to-head northern confrontation between Carter and Jackson — regarded as the two strongest candidates appealing mainly to the center of the Democratic party — will be delayed for several weeks. It may come in Pennsylvania April 27 or perhaps in Indiana May 4.

Asked whether he thought he was the frontrunner again after having dropped back into the pack with a fourth-place finish in Massachusetts behind Jackson, Morris Udall and Wallace, Carter said: "I don't see anybody else who is ahead of me, but we still have a long way to go."

Florida's primary at least put him in the right direction. It was his first victory in a large state (he had won in New Hampshire and Vermont) and his support was so broad-based that he now has credentials to back up his claim that he can win votes across the Democratic spectrum.

Statistical analyses by both NBC and

Turn to Page 10A, Column 6



WALLACE SAYS HE'LL CONTINUE RACE
Analyses Show Health Cost Him Votes

Many Carter Voters Agree With Wallace

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

ORLANDO, Fla.—Jimmy Carter scored his Florida primary victory by winning the support of large numbers of voters who say they agree with George Wallace of Alabama but didn't vote for him. Carter also got the strongest support across the board from voters who had supported other candidates in the 1972 Florida race, a post-election analysis showed.

The survey, conducted by Carter strategists and the national television networks, also showed that the Georgian scored most consistently with the cross-section of urban and rural voters.

But Carter's biggest gains were in the suburbs. Wallace scored highest only in rural areas, where the projection estimates he got 59 per cent of the vote.

On a regional basis in Florida, Carter's strongest areas turned out to be central Florida, where he won about

A News ANALYSIS

47 per cent of the vote in the Democratic field, although the Georgian surprisingly carried populous Broward County just north of Miami and Duval (Jacksonville) in the far north.

The win in the heavily industrial northern county was interpreted as evidence that Carter cut heavily into Wallace's support among blue-collar workers.

But the heaviest weight was laid to the crossover position of Wallace voters.

Fifty-four per cent of the voters interviewed in the survey said they agreed with the views expressed by Wallace, but only three out of five of those said they voted for him.

In a breakdown of votes according to residence, Carter carried 39 per cent in the cities, 47 per cent in the suburbs, 23 per cent in the rural areas and 30 per cent in the small towns.

He far outdistanced the third challenger, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, in all these areas and lost to Wallace only in the rural areas.

The analysis also shows that Carter scored extremely well among voters under the age of 35.

Carter apparently also received the highest percentage of support from the poorer segments of the population and voters still disaffected from government by the Watergate scandals. Wallace and Jackson received large votes from anti-abortion and anti-school busing voters.

Carter carried eight of Florida's 15 congressional districts.



United Press International

BETTY FORD THINKS NEWS IS GRAND
In Los Angeles for Testimonial

Meet Me in New York, Jackson Says to Carter

Continued from Page 1A

CBS television indicated Carter drew well from liberals, moderates and conservatives and also received the majority of the black vote. Jackson's basic strength was with the Jewish voters in south Florida, and they helped bim carry the three congressional districts in the Miami area.

Despite the Jackson challenge, Carter was able to accomplish his goal of consolidating enough of the anti-Wallace note to defeat the Alabama governor in the state that had given Wallace his greatest early victory in 1972 when he whipped a field of nearly a dozen canidates who hopelessly split the moderate and liberal votes.

The NBC poll of voters as they left their voting precincts showed that Carter got fully two-thirds of the votes of persons who considered themselves anti-Wallace.

But Carter also apparently took away a significant number of voters who supported Wallace four years ago. Ironically, in view of Carter's strong black support, the NBC poll showed that Carter shared with Wallace and Jackson a sizable share of the voters who were hostile toward blacks.

Both new networks' polls showed a significant number of voters took Wallace's health into consideration in deciding how to vote. NBC said 40 per cent of the non-Wallace voters cited his health.

Wallace also was hurt by a less complex factor. There was low voter turnout in much of North Florida, due in part to stormy weather and tornado warnings during the morning. Duval County (Jacksonville), a Wallace stronghold in the past, had a 46 per cent voter turnout compared to 54 per cent statewide in the Democratic primary. Carter ran almost even with Wallace among the Jacksonville voters who did cast ballots.

The Florida vote probably ended any lingering hopes of Wallace supporters that their candidate might actually have a chance to win the Democratic nomination. Wallace shrugged off the defeat and said he would continue, but his loss was interpreted to mean his impact at the convention would be less than many Democrats had feared.

Carter declared Florida provided a "severe defeat for Gov. Wallace, but I don't think it will take him out of the race."

Wallace, campaigning in Illinois, said Florida was a "cosmopolitan state" rather than a traditional southern state and "I feel good about the fine vote." Wallace repeatedly had predicted victory in Florida although he had said his percentage probably would drop from that of 1972.

Carter's Cure

Victory in Florida Adds Weight to Belief That Voters See Georgian as a Winner

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

ORLANDO — Jimmy Carter of Georgia had suffered through the final days of the Florida Democratic campaign from a severe cold which at times threatened to take away his voice and consistently made him appear a little less exuberant than usual.

About 9 p.m. Tuesday, he emerged from the hotel room where he had watched the election returns with members of his family and campaign staff and reported with a broad grin that his cold had been miraculously cured.

Carter was unabashedly delighted at the results of 13 months of high-pressure campaigning in Florida.

He candidly acknowledged that he was "surprised" at his lead over George Wallace of Alabama.

He declined throughout a series of interviews with reporters to speculate on the effect his win will have on Wallace's national political future.

"It was obviously a severe defeat for Wallace," Carter said. "But I don't know what his future will be. It will be whatever he decided it might be."

But Carter speculated that Wallace would continue his campaigns in the Illinois and North Carolina primaries — which will take place in the next two weeks — and said those contests will furnish a much clearer test of Carter's and Wallace's candidacies.

Carter, however, seemed almost unconcerned in the afterglow of his Florida victory about the plans of his Alabama neighbor.

He continued to insist that Wallace never will have a chance to be the Democratic nominee, with the implied assumption that almost everyone agrees with him.

From the stage of the Carlton House Inn ballroom here, Carter told a wildly cheering crowd of more than 1,000 that his victory heralded the arrival of "a new South and a new America."

Carter said the Florida results showed that people are no longer willing to waste their votes on protest candidates who have little chance of winning — an obvious reference to Wallace.

Surrounded by members of his family — his wife Rosalynn, sons Jeff and Chip and their wives, Carter held his index fingers aloft to chants of "We're number one."

He made a brief speech in which he insisted that his presidential candidacy was on the way to proving that people are no longer satisfied with the political status quo and noted, "I have a final confession to make. I can't win without you."

Earlier Carter had told reporters that his defeat of Wallace will enhance Carter's chances in primaries in Illinois next week and in North Carolina March 23.

But he said it is vitally important for him to beat Wallace in a major industrial northern state and that Illinois will furnish a good test.

The Georgian was noticeably silent on the subject of Sen. Henry Jackson, whose 23 per cent of the vote Tuesday was slightly higher than Carter's campaign had anticipated. But he suggested that Jackson had failed to pick up support from the 1972 supporters of Sens. George McGovern and Edmund Muskie. Early analysis indicated that Carter had inherited much of that support.

Carter said in response to a question that he feels his toughest competitors in future primaries will be Jackson and Arizona Congressman Morris Udall; but he declined to indicate which of the two he regards as his chief challenger.

He said that no single issue was responsible for the outcome in Florida and suggested that "Florida people just decided I'd be a good president."

Carter spent only about an hour and a half in his Orlando hotel room, where he ate dinner while watching the returns, before making his victory appearance.

As the results came in on the television screen he remained largely impassive. His calmness, however, did not extend to his campaign workers in the room with him, and at several points there was much whooping and yelling.

One of Carter's few expressions of glee followed a report from North Florida.

"Hey, Rosie," he said. "We carried Leon County by 53 per cent."

"It's unbelievable," responded Mrs. Carter.

But if the candidate was restrained his national campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, made up for it when he stepped outside the hotel room to speak to a gaggle of reporters.

Asked to explain the victory, Jordan said, "We've got the most goddamned incredible organization in a state that doesn't lend itself easily to organizing."

DELEGATE TOTALS

WASHINGTON (AP) — Here are delegate votes by candidate based on binding requirements or stated preferences of delegates selected so far for the national party nominating conventions.

Republican:	
Ford	96
Reagan	41
Uncommitted	38
Total chosen to date	175
Needed to nominate	1,130
Democratic:	
Carter	70
Wallace	58
Jackson	55
Udall	23
Shriver	11
Harris	6
Shapp	1
Bayh	1
McCormack	1
Uncommitted	6
Total chosen to date	232
Needed to nominate	1,505



The Associated Press

JIMMY CARTER, WIFE ROSALYNN, WATCH RETURNS COME IN ON TELEVISION
Ex-Georgia Governor Feels Victory 'Obviously a Severe Defeat for Wallace'

WALLACE FOLLOWERS GLUM

Carter Camp Jubilant At Florida Victory

By GARY HENDRICKS
and SHARON BAILEY

Jimmy Carter's Florida upset of George Wallace was cause both for jubilation and disappointment on Peachtree Street Tuesday night.

Carter supporters who had crowded into the former Georgia governor's national campaign headquarters at 1795 Peachtree fired off a deafening cheer as Carter was declared the winner in the Florida presidential primary.

And as the initial elation subsided, they began plotting for primary battles in New York April 6 and California June 8. Carter officials said Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey will be the man to beat in those delegate-rich states.

Meanwhile, up the street in Buckhead, a handful of Alabama Gov. Wallace's supporters gathered glumly at the the candidate's just-opened Georgia headquarters and discounted the importance of the crushing Florida vote. "It's win, lose or draw a week at a time until we get to New York City (site of the Democratic National Convention)," said Ned Young, Wallace's Georgia campaign coordinator.

At Carter headquarters, his supporters showed their disagreement. Their victory cheer, as if by some unseen signal, turned spontaneously into a chant of "Yes, Yes, Yes!"

"I cannot believe it," said campaign Finance Director Morris Dees as early returns showed Carter to be the clear winner. "I'm just delighted."

He said Carter now must gear up his effort to face Humphrey, and immediately directed his workers to begin a massive telephone campaign for contributions.

Dees instructed his band of fund raisers to begin at 11 p.m. Tuesday night calling some 2,500 Georgians who already have contributed $100 or more to the campaign to ask them for more.

He said he hopes the effort will raise $500,000 in Georgia in the next 60 days.

The finance director declared Wallace destroyed and said he did not expect Sen. Henry Jackson to be the main contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Carter workers made no secret that their campaign finances were at a low ebb before Tuesday night and that they needed Florida to turn the corner—to make people believe that a southerner could be a national winner.

Carter needs to keep about $75,000 to $100,000 in ready cash, and that would have been hard to do without a victory, said Press Director Rex Granum.

In the Wallace headquarters, Young looked to the May 4 Georgia primary where, he theorized, Wallace faces an uphill battle on Carter's home turf. But Young said a strong Wallace showing would "leave a cloud of doubt in the minds of American voters that Jimmy Carter is a viable candidate."

Fewer than 10 men and women were on hand in Wallace headquarters to catch televised returns, but the office opened only a week ago. As late as Tuesday afternoon, information operators did not have a telephone number for the headquarters.



Staff Photo—Bill Moore

Lillian Carter Watches the Returns in Plains: 'I Can't Believe It...Can You?'

My Son, Jimmy

Carter's Mother Marvels at Florida Win

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PLAINS—Mrs. Lillian Carter was watching the evening news in her airy pondside cottage when the camera cut to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

"Don't you know he's scared to death that Jimmy's going to fire him?" the former governor's sturdy, staunchly political 77-year-old mother observed.

Barely more than an hour later, her words took on new weight as early returns from the important Florida presidential primary propelled Jimmy Carter into a dizzying lead over the man he absolutely had to beat in the South—Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

"What? God almighty!" Mrs. Carter exclaimed when an early radio report proclaimed her son the winner by a commanding margin over Wallace and a more recent threat, Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson of Washington.

Rushing from her kitchen to her bedroom, she turned her radio up. She grabbed her face and then hugged her body as the voice coolly read off percentages.

Just then the phone rang, and while the chicken she was frying sizzled away, a worker from the family peanut warehouse excitedly told Mrs. Carter the news again.

"I can't believe it. Can you!" she marveled as she hung up, then called her daughter who lives nearby. "I was praying, but I didn't expect him to beat Wallace," she said. "This finishes Wallace, that stinker," Mrs. Carter laughed, leaning back on an orange ottoman and waving her drink in the air.

"He's out of politics forever," she said of Wallace.

Saying over and over, "I cannot believe it," Mrs. Carter explained, "Jimmy's worked so hard for this for a year. Florida was the most important state. Massachusetts didn't matter a damn."

Carter finished a disappointing fourth behind Wallace and Jackson in the Bay State primary last Tuesday.

The Carter family was particularly stung by Jackson's attacks in the last week, Mrs. Carter said, because Carter had nominated Jackson for president in 1972 and considered him a friend.

As the calls continued to come in from friends and family, including daughter-in-law Rosalynn in Orlando, Mrs. Carter reflected, "I prayed and prayed. Don't you think that proves something?"

An indomitable former nurse who joined the Peace Corps 10 years ago to work in poverty-stricken India, Mrs. Carter said she was looking forward to having her 8-year-old granddaughter Amy back in Plains.

"Amy keeps me young," she said of Carter's youngest child, whom she keeps during the arduous campaign. "Amy is my greatest pleasure. She needs love more than anybody because her mother's gone so much."

All over this quiet farming community Tuesday people talked of fertilizer, the cool March breeze and the bold race of Jimmy Carter.

"It's absolutely the greatest thing that ever happened to Plains," exulted Jan Williams, a 28-year-old schoolteacher who married into the peanut-shelling family that has been the Carter family's rival here for 60 years.

"We're somebody now, instead of just being a little old peanut town," she exclaimed. "We raise peanuts, but we raised the next President too."

Mrs. Williams said the town's leading citizen "knows what he wants. We really and truly believe he'll make it."

Like others here, Mrs. Williams is quick to talk about Carter's faith in God. "He goes to my church and when he prays, it comes from the heart. It's never the same thing over and over," she said.

While there seems to be a genuine respect and affection for the Carter family, with which many local farmers do business, there naturally are a few people here and there who lean toward other candidates, like Ronald Reagan.

But it's the kind of small town where petty and harsh judgments are few, and the un-Carterites don't want their names or even their words known. ("In a town this small, everybody can figure out where something came from.")

There are those who don't plan to vote because they don't think it much matters who the President is. But they won't talk either.

Only Delores Williams, a schoolteacher, ventured, "Humphrey would be our man, but he's not running."

"We're telling people to watch what they say," Jan Williams admitted. "Of course not everybody's for Jimmy, but everybody's not always for the same thing."

The exuberant young woman teaches fourth grade at the school where Amy Carter is a third-grader, and she's making plans for next year. "It's great to have a chance to be close to somebody who's so important," she smiled. "Maybe they'll want me to go to Washington to be a tutor for Amy."

Carter has helped the 500 children in the school get interested in reading, she added. "They're reading the papers and can associate with him when they see him on TV. He's helping us in our teaching."

According to Westside Elementary School Principal Claude A. Frazier, a lanky Georgia Southern graduate, that's probably all the Bein Plains can expect from "President Carter."

"If he becomes President, the people in Plains will stand in line just like the people in New York, Florida and Oregon to get their share of whatever there is. He's not the kind of fellow to show favoritism."

At Turner's Hardware and Department Store, one of about half a dozen businesses that make up tiny downtown Plains, trade is picking up thanks to candidate Carter.

Since the word got out about the Secret Service agents buying their overalls from the store, people from as far away as California have been calling and ordering the bib denims.

"I sent out two to a man in Amarillo, Tex.," soft-spoken June Turner said. "Size 52 waist." She held up a sample pair that would have covered her twice.

"When that man tells that horse to whoa, that horse whoas," she commented.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.
3/6,3/7,3/8,3/9

Selected News And Opinion.



United Press International

In Tallahassee, Fla., Jimmy Carter stands on a work bench as he thanks his supporters for a rose he was given.



The New York Times/George Tames

In Miami, Senator Henry M. Jackson jogged for the cameras before watching the start of March of Dimes Walkathon.

News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

President Ford was told by leaders of American Jewish organizations yesterday that they were "most strenuously opposed" to the Administration's plan to lift the military embargo against Egypt, beginning with the sale of six military transport planes. Several Jewish leaders said that a major effort would be made by pro-Israeli supporters in coming weeks to halt the sale of the planes, or at least to insure that nothing more militarily important would be sold to Egypt. Max Fisher, a Republican fund-raiser from Michigan who has been an unofficial liaison between Jewish groups and the White House, will meet with Mr. Ford today to express his concern that the sale of the planes may hurt Mr. Ford's election chances. [Page 1, Columns 6-7.]

National

As a result of nearly 18 months of Congressional investigations, Congressional and Administration sources said, Attorney General Edward H. Levi will impose guidelines on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's handling of domestic security, White House employment and civil disorder inquiries. Mr. Levi, it was said, temporarily abandoned a proposal that would permit the F.B.I. to take "preventive action" against plans of violence. [1:8.]

Congressional sources said that two former senior Internal Revenue Service officials and an assistant Southeast regional commissioner told members of a House investigation committee that they were unfairly pressured to retire because their politics did not suit Donald Alexander, the I.R.S. Commissioner. A. J. O'Donnell, one of the two former senior officials, suggested that the enforced retirements might have been connected with knowledge that Mr. Alexander's former law firm had come up in a major I.R.S. inquiry into Bahamian tax-fraud schemes. [1:1-3.]

A Government expert witness at Patricia Hearst's trial—a physician who described himself as a specialist in social and health problems—said that it was his opinion that Miss Hearst voluntarily joined her revolutionary captors within four weeks of her kidnapping by the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army and then took part willingly in the bank robbery for which she is on trial. Dr. Joel Fort was the first expert witness called by the Government to counter expert opinion given by three psychiatrists who testified for the defense. [1:1-3.]

Metropolitan

Governor Carey appointed Stephen Berger, the State Commissioner of Social Services, as chief administrator of the Emergency Financial Control Board, the state panel that oversees the city's fiscal reform. Mr. Berger, a former political consultant with a reputation as an aggressive administrator, replaces Herbert Elish, who will return to his $65,000-a-year job as executive director of the Municipal Assistance Corporation. [1:5.]

The Legislature passed the first part, but only a small one, of Governor Carey's intricate $2.6 billion rescue package for the state construction agencies. Disagreement over controversial aspects of both the agencies' bailout and the Governor's budget prevented further action on aid for the agencies. The legislation must be approved by next Monday, when $370 million of the agencies' notes become due. [1:5.]

Scores of speakers at a public hearing of the Board of Higher Education attacked a plan that would restructure the City University. They called it morally bankrupt, short-sighted and a surrender to budget-conscious bureaucrats. While they addressed officials in the auditorium of the City University Graduate Center at 33 West 43d Street, thousands of demonstrators shouted similar protests outside. [1:1-3.]

Governor Byrne said there was no feasible way for the state to prevent a strike at 12:01 A.M. today by employees of Transport of New Jersey, the state's largest bus company, which serves 450,000 riders daily. He said that the state was virtually powerless to prevent the strike. Meanwhile, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union voted on the company's latest offer. [1:4.]

The city's construction unions, hoping to get work started on the long-delayed Battery Park City development on the lower West Side, promised labor peace to the builders. Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council, said the agreement with the Battery Park City Authority was just short of a no-strike pledge. He said that the union members would attempt to settle any disputes on the job. [1:1.]

9

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1976 —

Split With Gov. Askew Seen as Hurting Carter

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

PENSACOLA, Fla., March 8—When asked for his opinion of the recent New Hampshire primary, Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida said it was a case of Jimmy Carter "shaking 50,000 ands to get 25,000 votes."

It was a small piece of sarcasm, but it clearly reflected the growing rift between the two men, a tension that could have a significant impact on this state's Democratic primary tomorrow and Mr. Carter's future as a Presidential candidate.

According to several Florida politicians, Mr. Askew's refusal to endorse and support Mr. Carter will probably mean the difference between decisively defeating Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and trailing him narrowly.

A victory for Mr. Carter would provide the sort of momentum he will require over the coming weeks, the politicians said. Conversely, if Mr. Wallace does finish first, even though his 1972 margins are reduced, Mr. Carter's campaign will probably not be helped a great deal.

The deterioration of the relationship between Governor Askew and Mr. Carter apparently began six years ago after both were inaugurated governors of their respective states. Mr. Carter, standing on the steps of the Georgia capitol in Atlanta, issued a ringing proclamation that discrimination was finished in that state, and Mr. Askew made similar declarations in Florida.

Magazine Article Cited

Time Magazine, according to two members of its staff, had intended to run cover stories not only on Mr. Carter and Governor Askew but also on Gov. John West of South Carolina and Dale Bumpers, then the newly elected Governor of Arkansas and now a United States Senator.

"But Times Magazine never got past Jody Powell," one of the magazine's staff members said today, referring to Mr. Carter's press secretary. At any rate, the cover story was on Mr. Carter alone. Mr. Askew and the other two men received much less notice in the story.

If that was the beginning of the end of their cordiality, the 1973 Southern Governors Conference probably also contributed in a major way to its further deterioration. At that meeting, Mr. Carter declined to support Mr. Askew in his bid to become chairman of the conference. That sparked a great deal of friction between the two Governors' staffs, according to knwledgable sources.

Now Mr. Carter is running for President and doing fairly well. There are those in Florida who believe that Mr. Askew, once frequently mentioned as a possible Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate, now regrets that he did not enter the contest. He has steadfastly denied that he is interested in either of the offices. He insists that he does not want to be tied down with that sort of responsibility because of his family obligations.

Race Important to Carter

Mr. Carter views the Florida race as so important that if he should be narrowly defeated or thoroughly beaten by Mr. Wallace, the distance between Mr. Carter and Governor Askew might grow substantially. By himself, Mr. Wallace is regarded as formidable in Florida, but with the presence of Senator Henry M. Jackson in the race as well, Mr. Wallace's strength becomes even more substantial.

Some Florida politicians, including some working in the Carter campaign, believe that if Governor Askew had endorsed and supported Mr. Carter, Senator Jackson would probably not have campaigned vigorously in the state and, therefore, would have freed that many more votes for Mr. Carter.

Ironically, both Governor Askew and Mr. Carter have striking similarities. They are both Sunday School teachers, both non-smokers, both deeply religious, and both driven by a rather steely determination.

But Mr. Carter's fires apparently burn deeper.

8 of Sihanouk's Kin Seek Exile in U.S. or France

BANGKOK, Thailand, March 8 (AP)—At least eight relatives of Cambodia's nominal head of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, are seeking exile in the United States or France, one of them said here.

Princess Ek Nath said that the group, which fled Cambodia in the face of the Communist takeover last spring, would go wherever it was accepted first but preferred the United States.

The princess, who acts as a representative for the group, is the mother of Prince Sihanouk's first wife, Sisowath Pong Samani.

Wallace Pushing Hard For Wide Florida Vote

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.
Special to The New York Times

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., March 8—Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama toured the length of the Florida peninsula by plane today in a last-minute push for every possible vote in tomorrow's Democratic Presidential primary.

He predicted victory at almost every stop and, in what appeared to be a calculated effort to insure it, fell back on the visceral issues that have seen him through so many other elections — busing, welfare and law and order.

At an airport rally in Key West, Mr. Wallace demanded that the nation "quit all this social experimentation with little children" and instead, worry more about stabilizing the economy.

In a speech at a community center in Hialeah, near Miami, he railed against welfare payments for "those who won't work when there is work."

At a County Fair at Stuart, north of Palm Beach, he called for putting lawbreakers in prison "until their hair turns white or they go to the electric chair."

Mr. Wallace, a long-time segregationist who now says he is seeking the votes of blacks, began his 1976 campaign by declaring that the major issue was "the survival of the greta American middle class." But here in Florida for the last several days, as in Massachusetts just before the primary there, he has talked more than anything else about issues to which he often lent racial overtimes when he mentioned in the past.

He has attributed soaring crime and the decline of the strength of the Navy to preoccupation with busing. He has ascribed inflation to welfare expenditures. In Melbourne the other night, he brought up busing eight times in 40 minutes. At Stuart today, welfare came up four times in 15 minutes.

Asked in Orlando over the weekend why he was suddenly hitting so hard at the issues that were his stock-in-trade in the more controversial years of his long political career, he said, "It's a matter of statism."

Florida was the scene of one of Mr. Wallace's signal victories in the 1972 campaign. He won the primary here that year with 42 percent of the vote. In the process, he carried every county and knocked several other contenders out of the race.

In his fourth quest for the Presidency in the last 12 years, Mr. Wallace again finds Florida crucial to his political career. Should he falter here in the face of strong challenges by former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, he might find it all but impossible to play a significant role at the Democratic Convention in New York this summer.

What would he consider a victory in Florida in 1976, given the massive plurality he piled up in 1972? "I'm not going to get into any percentage-guessing game," he said late this afternoon at a Jacksonville rally. "If you win, you do well enough."

Mr. Wallace has poured more than $200,000 into his Florida campaign, about two-thirds of it going for television advertising. He has spent almost three weeks touring the state, holding evening rallies and daytime press conferences from Pensacola to Key West, from Jacksonville to Fort Myer.

It's Almost Over in Florida, So Candidates' Strategists Look Ahead

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

MIAMI, March 8—Today was the day before the day that counts in Florida, and while the candidates made their final appeals for votes in tomorrow:s Presidentinl primary, their strategists' thoughts turned to the future.

"I'm hopeful," said Hamilton Jordan, the national campaign manager for former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia. "We have given it our best shot, in terms of the candidate:s time, in terms of organization and in terms of advertising. Now we have to start thinking about what comes next."

Most of the plotting was taking place among the Democratic contenders, whose pursuit of the nomination has entered an ill-defined stage. For the Republican hopefuls, President Ford and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, the issues seemed more clear-cut.

Although Mr. Reagan vowed in Miami this morning that he would remain in the race until "the final fight on the convention floor," regardless of the outcome here, a victory by the President would be taken by most Republican professionals as a sure sign that he was going to be nominated.

Ford Considered Favorite

Mr. Ford is considered a slight favorite, but it is difficult to measure the impact of the Californian's suddenly biting attacks on the Administration's domestic and foreign policies in the final week of campaigning in Florida.

Three of the leading Democratic candidates—Mr. Carter, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington—have been active here. So has Governor Milton J. Shapp of Pennsyvlania, who is considered likely to finish fourth.

In addition, the following eight other names are listed on the Democratic side of the ballot:

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona; Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who is to announce his candidacy later this month; former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma; Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate from Long Island; Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, who has suspended his campaign; Senator Robert E. Byrd of West Virginia, who has campaigned only in his home state; Sargent Shriver, who has said that he is considering withdrawing, and Arthur O. Blessitt, a Florida evangelist who also ran in New Hampshire.

Carter to Fight for Lead

Mr. Shapp and the inactive candidates are generally expected to pull a total of 10 to 15 percent of the vote, Mr. Jackson between 20 and 25 percent. That leaves Mr. Wallace, who won the 1972 Florida primary with 42 percent of the vote, and Mr. Carter to fight it out for the remaining 60 to 70 percent.

Senator Jackson's victory in Massachusetts last week has appeared to throw Mr. Carter off stride in the state where he must do well. If Mr. Carter is "wiped out" by finishing any worse than a strong second, Mr. Jordan conceded in an interview, "our whole campaign would be in trouble, because we more or less invented this as a Carter-Wallace test."

Attempting to change the focus of the contest as defined by the Carter camp, Mr. Jackson said in Miami today: "I not only stopped George Wallace [in Massachusetts], I whipped Jimmy Carter. Floridians don't have to go to the polls just to stop George Wallace. They need to cast a positive vote for the Presidency."

After Florida, the candidates face four tests in four weeks: in Illinois next Tuesday, North Carolina on March 23, and New York and Wisconsin on the same day, April 6.

Mr. Wallace, his aides said, will run hard in all four, although his is probably least well placed in New York, where only the names of delegate nominees, not those of candidates, are on the ballot.

Udal Aim on Wisconsin

Mr. Udall, not entered in Illinois or North Carolina, has decided to concentrate on Wisconsin. In New York, Jane Watkins, his deputy national campaign manager, said, "We can't compete with that $2 million howitzer Jackson has up there."

Mr. Carter hopes to win the preferential primary in Illinois and to beat Mr. Wallace in North Carolina, where Mr. Jackson's campaign has withered because of his comments critical of right-to-work laws. But Mr. Carter must decide Wednesday whether to concentrate on New York or Wisconsin or both. He has no organization to speak of in either state.

Mr. Jackson, who is skipping Illinois and who may have New York almost to himself, if Mr. Carter de-emphasizes it, has decided to attempt a last-minute blitz in Wisconsin.

In any event, politicians here were saying today, the Pennsylvania primary on April 27 suddenly looks like a critical test, despite the complication of Governor Shapp's favorite-son candidacy.

Cloudy Skies Forecast

Voting in Florida's 3,405 precincts will end at 7 P.M. tomorrow, Eastern Standard Time. The weather forecast called for partly cloudy skies and warm weather across most of the state.

Republicans will allocate 66 delegates to their national convention according to the results of the balloting, using the following formula: the winner in each of the 15 Congressional Districts will receive three delegates; the statewide winner will receiv 16, and fiv bonus delegates will be awarded—one to the winner of each three districts.

Democrats will use the following formula to distribute their 81 delegates, to be awarded proportionally to those candidates who win 15 percent or more of the district's votes, for a total of 61; 20 delegates will be allocated, again on a proportional basis, to those who reach the 15 percent threshold statewide.

Florida Blacks Find Candidates Aloof

By PAUL DELANEY
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 8—One radio station WMBM, the heavy beat of soul music was occasionally followed by a political commercial from Senator Henry M. Jackson.

In his message, the Washington Democrat talked about the problems facing the elderly and how inflation was driving up the cost of nursing home care, an issue that so far has not been a major topic of discussion in this city's large black community.

But the commercial served as evidence, to some blacks, of how the candidates have failed to address adequately the problems of blacks.

"Black turnout in Florida is always exceptionally low, but I expect it to be terrible tomorrow because there has been no aggressive attention paid to us by any of the candidates, Democrat or Republican," commented Talmadge Fair, executive director of the Urban League of Greater Miami.

"We are 17 percent of the registered voters in Miami, but our turnout in the last election was only 2 percent. Latino registration is 8 percent, but their turnout was about 5 percent So Dollarwise, the politicians look to the Latinos, as well as to the elderly and Jewish communities."

Few Signs of Campaign

In Dade County, where the bulk of the black vote is located, there were few signs that an important primary campaign was in progress.

Many blacks attributed this to the influence of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. They feel that Mr. Wallace has pulled some of the candidates to the right on social and urban issues.

On the Republican side, neither President Ford nor Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California, has aimed his campaign to attract black voters.

On the Democratic side, in addition to Senator Jackson's radio commercials, there has been some additional effort to court the black community.

Mr. Jackson's state-wide ccoordinator here, Yancey Martin, is black. The Senator and Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia, ran full-page advertisements in the current edition of The Miami Times, a black weekly newspaper that endorsed Mr. Jackson in the same edition. Topping them both, Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania, bought the double-page center spread of the paper.

Further, the name of Mr. Shapp was displayed on several billboards in black neighborhoods. And Mr. Carter has a headquarters in the office of a black housing project. The office was closed most of the day.

But such efforts have been denounced by some blacks. "It's been tokenism, keeping a finger in the black community just in case," Mr. Fair remarked. "In the past, the candidates have chosen a few local blacks to give money to help seek support. It is no different today, except that the amount of money spent by the candidates in the black community is less."

"Carter and Jackson are favored to get the black vote because they have been the most visible," he continued." Governor Shapp has the best record as far as blacks are concerned, but he has little media exposure compared to the others."

Senator Jackson made an appearance at a black church yesterday, while Mr. Carter spoke at a small black community college this morning. Both were given polite but unenthusiastic receptions.

Some of the candidates' attempts to identify with blacks have been criticized. For example, Mr. Carter has frequently listed the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s name among great Americans that he says contributed to this country's greatness. Ending Mr. Carter's list were "Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Martin Luther King." However, when Mr. Carter appeared before all-white audiences, he would stop the list at the name of President Roosevelt.

Wallace Aide Quoted

The Miami Herald reported today that after a television interview yesterday, anaiie to Governor Wallace complained to a reporter who had asked why blacks should support Mr. Wallace.

"Why, we just had a busload of people come down from Mobile to help with this campaign and half of them were niggers," the Wallace aide was quoted as saying.

Blacks also reacted to a reference to blacks as "bucks" made on one occasion by Mr. Reagan, who dropped the reference.

In the black community here, the name and reputation of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, keeps creeping up. State Representative Joseph L. Kershaw said blacks looked to Mr. Humphrey as the moral standard bearer for Democratic actions toward minority problems. He said the candidates in the Florida primary had set standards lower than Mr. Humphrey's in the 1972 Presidential primary.

"It's quite confusing for blacks," he said. "Some like Carter. Others like Jackson—but not his stand on busing."

E

Candidates Find That Economic Worry Is Now Dominant in a Changed Florida

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 8—The candidates scouring Florida for votes in tomorrow's primary election have found a state that has changed since the last Presidential primary in 1972. The leaders here are looking in a new direction.

The population is still growing rapidly, and although people are prospering in many places, the bloom is off.

The recession has hit Florida hard. Eleven of every 100 workers are out of a job. The construction industry, which had virtually turned south Florida into pool-to-pool condominiums, is in a depression because of over-building.

The state's political and business leaders are now talking of building a more balanced and stable economy. They are apparently convinced that tourism, the backbone of the economy and a growing source of income, is no longer enough. Florida is beginning to seek industry with the same resourcefulness that other Southern states have long demonstrated.

Policy Is Re-evaluated

Gov. Reubin Askew, a popular Democrat and long a champion of environmental causes, is trying to change the state's image of being less-than-friendly to business. Just last month, he made a trip to New York to advertise the attractions of Florida as a home of industry and business.

Mr. Askew and others are trying to dispel the notion that Florida does not want to grow. They evidently re-evaluated the state's policy when the recession eroded state revenues and undermined the relative narrowness of the tax base here.

In 1972, the candidates found anger in Florida. Court-ordered busing for school desegregation had aroused tempers across the state, and a referendum was on the ballot to help to vent those feelings. The issue helped to propel Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama to a 42 percent plurality.

This year, the anger is gone. What the candidates find instead is worry.

Workers are worried about their jobs, and those out of work are worried about keeping food on the table. Businessmen are worried about declining profits.

Retired people are worried about inflation. A state were one out of six persons is 65 years old or older can produce a lot of worry power.

Least Southern State

The worries have been coming at a dizzying pace. The state's population grew 1.6 million, to 8.3 million from 6.7 million, in the first five years of the 1970's.

From 1972 to 1976, voter registration climbed to 3.5 million from 2.9 million, with the Democrats moving up to 2.3 million from 2.1 million, and the Republicans to 1 million from 773,000.

Paul M. Cohen, president of The Florida Poll, says that 95 percent of Florida's Republicans and 40 percent of its Democrats come from other states. The state gets a steady stream of retired people from the Northeast and the Middle West.

The candidates must tailor their campaigns to an electorate so diverse and containing so many Northerners that it makes this the least Southern state in the South.

The state has 600,000 Roman Catholics, many of them Cubans and other Latins. In Miami, Spanish is heard almost as often as English in the downtown businesses and hotels. The Cubans tend to be conservative, especially in foreign policy and anything pertaining to Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba.

There are 300,000 Jews in south Florida, most of them Democrats.

The Tampa Bay area has many retired people from Ohio and other Middle Western states, people who are greatly concerned with Social Security and inflation. The newspapers there write matter-of-factly about "gray power."

Bustling central Florida, of which Orlado is the main inland city, is the home of space shots, orange groves and Disneyworld.

Northern Florida, from fast-growing Jacksonville to the panhandle and Pensaco, is distinctively Southern, populated by migrant south Georgians, military personnel and swamp dwellers. It is here that passions run highest over integration and stock car racing.

Blacks make up 11 percent of the state's registered voters. Almost all are Democrats. Black leaders have complained that the candidates are all but ignoring black voters this year.

Pro, Con and Ho Hum

By Russell Baker

For the benefit of those who came in late, here is what has already happened:

Gerald Ford, who is running against New York, has been challenged by Ronald Reagan, who is running against Washington. Jimmy Carter, who grows peanuts, is also running against Washington, but Carter is in favor of kindness and love, which distinguishes him from Reagan, who is in favor of getting tougher with the Russians.

Senator Jackson is also in favor of getting tougher with the Russians. Unlike Reagan, however, Jackson is not running against Washington, but against the Arabs.

Although not running against the Arabs specifically, Reagan is running against Henry Kissinger, who gets along well with Egyptians. Jackson is running against Kissinger, too. Gerald Ford is running in favor of Kissinger, but he has sworn never to use the word "détente" again.

Everybody is running in favor of Israel, including Morris Udall, who looks like Abraham Lincoln.

Nobody is running against crime in the streets, but Ford, Jackson and George Wallace are running against school busing.

Like Reagan and Carter, Wallace is also running against Washington. Ford —who is running in favor of Washington, remember—has attempted to counter the Reagan-Carter-Wallace run against Washington by running against Fidel Castro.

Udall is running against the oil cartel. Fred Harris is also running against the oil cartel, but unlike Udall, who looks like Lincoln, Harris looks like Smiley Burnett.

Milton Shapp is running in favor of high employment and Sargent Shriver is running in favor of the American family, but both are running far behind, doubtless because they still haven't found anything, anybody or anyplace to run against.

Almost everybody ran in New Hampshire and the majority of voters there devided not to vote. From this evidence of massive indifference, Ford and Carter were proclaimed the winners.

After that, Massachusetts held an election during a blizzard and almost nobody showed up, so Jackson, who received one-fourth of the minority, was declared the winner. Wallace, who finished third, said he was the winner, too, because he hadn't finished last despite the fact that Massachusetts was hostile territory. Udall, who finished second, said he was also the winner, because he had finished ahead of all the other "liberal" candidates.

This made Carter nervous and he went to Florida and started running against Jackson. Jackson said Carter was running against the middle-class's favorite tax loophole—the right to deduct interest payments on house mortgages.

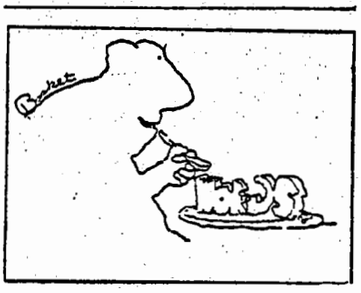
Carter said he was not running against anything except Washington, but added that he would have to ease the intensity with which he was running in favor of love and kindness, unless Jackson stopped misrepresenting him.

Meanwhile, Reagan had also gone to Florida and held strategy conferences. As a result, Reagan decided to take off the gloves. Since then, Reagan has been running against gloves, which gives Florida's Republican voters a clear choice between Reagan and Ford, who, in his attacks on Castro, is running against beards.

The obvious winner in Florida will be Udall, who is not running there and, hence, like Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy, who are also not running, cannot be eliminated by the ning, cannot be eliminated.

Humphrey, who looks like Jackson without tranquilizers, is running in

OBSERVER



favor of Democratic party harmony and against running in primary elections. If Jackson wins in Florida, however, Humphrey will have to start running against Jackson. This is because Jackson has recently started running in favor of the New Deal (1933-1941) and in favor of the cold war (1946-1962), which have hitherto been Humphrey's favorite causes, too.

If Jackson threatens to take the big nostalgia vote from Humphrey, Humphrey will have to stop running against running in primaries and start running against a wide variety of irrelevant people, places and things of the sort primary voters like to see candidates run against.

It will not be so easy for Humphrey to head off Jackson, for Jackson has now added Daniel Patrick Moynihan to his campaign entourage. Moynihan speaks even more brilliantly than Humphrey, which may keep people from crashing into the slumberous dazes that Jackson customarily arouses long enough to get to the polls.

Meanwhile, Carter is running both for and against legal abortion, while Udall toys with the idea of running in favor of shawls and stovepipe hats.

Arab Boycott 'Act of War,' Carter Says

ASHEVILLE, N.C. (AP) — Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, campaigning here on the eve of the Florida primary, pledged support Monday for Israel and said he would consider another Arab oil boycott as "an economic act of war."

"It's very important for us as human beings to honor the committment of humanity that was based on the community of nations declaration back in the late 1940s which established, almost an act of Biblical prophecy, a nation of Jews," Carter said.

Speaking before several hundred persons at the University of North Carolina-Asheville, Carter said he hoped "we can have peace in the Middle East."

But he added, "I hope to never yield again to oil blackmail as we did in '73."

Carter said he would shut off trade with any Arab nations who particpated in such a boycott.

He added that he was prepared to recognize "the legitimate interests of the Palestinians" but not until Palestinian leaders were willing to recognize the state of Israel.

Carter, who faces Alabama Gov. George Wallace, Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., and Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania in the Florida race, arrived here by plane from Pensacola, Fla.

On Tuesday, he will breakfast with western North Carolina supporters before motoring to Morganton and Hickory. He plans to return to Florida Tuesday afternoon to await election returns.

Carter, who is making his second campaign swing thourgh the state, is on North Carolina's March 23 Democratic ballot along with Wallace, Jackson, Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and Sen Lloyd Bentsen, D-Tex., who has ceased active campaigning.

The North Carolina race is believed to be primarily a contest between Wallace, Carter and Jackson.

Despite a large crowd, only few hands were raised when a member of the Nashville All-Stars, a country band working for Carter, asked how many were Carter supporters.

After a brief speech, in which he praised the "innate competence" of the American people, Carter fielded questions from the audience.

In answer to questions, Carter re-stated his support of a national mandatory health insurance program, called for the break-up of the "sweetheart relationship" between regulatory agencies and private industry and for the removal of the attorney general from politics.

Although he said the number one domestic priority should be getting people back to work, he said he did not support a massive program of federal public works employment.

He said federal money should be poured into projects such as solar energy development to generate new jobs.

Hal Gulliver

Liberals Moving to Gut Jimmy Carter

This Florida primary today is important for all of the major candidates involved, including former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.



But what maybe is of interest in a more general way is the curious fashion in which the left-of-center, the liberal movers and shakers of the national Democratic party have tried to undercut Carter since his win in New Hampshire, the nation's first primary. They have been out to get him, friends, and they succeeded at least to an extent by hurting Carter in the Massachusetts primary.

Several national columnists have taken note of this Gut Carter phenomenon. A sampling:

Anthony Lewis: "In the week between New Hampshire and Massachusetts, much liberal effort was devoted to attacking Jimmy Carter. Many of the votes taken from him must have gone to Jackson. Given what many liberals think of Jackson, they may now be having second thoughts about their tactics."

Robert Novak, Rowland Evans: "One political operative from organized labor's left wing encountered Alan Baron, liberal activist who has been busy undermining Jimmy Carter's campaign."

Garry Wills: "But now some liberal candidates fear Carter more than Wallace. Wallace can make trouble, but will never be elected President of the United States. Carter just might be. So they are ready to throw votes anywhere but to him."

Tom Wicker: "But a Carter victory over Mr. Wallace would be far more menacing to the other major contenders—Mr. Jackson and Rep. Udall—and that is why even some liberal Udall supporters might see a Wallace vote as a 'Stop Carter' vote, although Mr. Udall himself is not campaigning here (in Florida)."

Well, it is interesting.

To an extent, Alabama Gov. George Wallace was right when he declared weeks ago that other Democratic candidates were leaving the field to Carter in Florida in hopes that a Southern moderate might have a chance to defeat Wallace. It is not likely that the other Democrats were really trying to do Carter much of a favor. It gave them a chance to dodge Wallace in a state where the Alabama governor won 42 per cent of the vote in 1972. And, there seemed no harm in hoping the former Georgia governor would clip Wallace's wings, if, that is, you did not take Carter's campaign really too seriously.

New Hampshire changed all that. Some liberals had been sniping at Carter anyway. Some of course have supported Carter, even as he has tended to draw broader support than most other candidates, from liberal and moderate and conservative wings. But for the most part Democratic party liberals saw a Birch Bayh or a Morris Udall, or even conceivably a Fred Harris or Sargent Shriver, emerging as the liberal candidate and rallying point.

That is still true; Udall is the one. Carter however has shown strength that dismayed the liberals. All of a sudden that chance for a moderate Southerner to beat Wallace in the Sunshine State had to be viewed in a different fashion. Why, if after New Hampshire and a good showing in Massachusetts Carter should also win in Florida . . . why, the Georgian might not only be a serious candidate, he might be impossible to stop.

So, that is why a good many Democratic liberals have had the long knife out for Carter in the last two weeks. They hurt him some in Massachusetts without question. They have tried to hurt him too in Florida. We will know whether they have succeeded sometime this evening.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

ATLANTA, GA. 30302, TUESDAY, MARCH 9, 1976

Candidates Make Final Florida Pitch

By DAVID SCHULTZ
Constitution Washington Bureau

MIAMI—Five candidates made last-ditch appeals for support in Florida's presidential primary Monday before leaving their fates in the hands of an electorate which has given strong indications it isn't really very interested.

State elections officials, notoriously optimistic, have estimated a 50 per cent turnout in the elections which could have a major impact on the selection of both the Republican and Democratic nominees, but some say privately the turnout could be even less—especially on the Democratic side.

In contrast, nearly 60 per cent of the registered voters turned out four years ago, when interest was enhanced—some say inflamed—by a straw ballot on court-ordered school busing.

The busing issue still lives in Florida—at least in the opinions of Democratic candidates George Wallace and Henry Jackson, both of whom used it with sharply varying degrees of success here in 1972—but even they have spent most of their time talking about other issues.

Jackson used it in reverse in his final campaign speech to a political luncheon club here Monday. Denying he rode the busing issue to his surprising victory in Massachusetts last week, as charged by rival candidate Jimmy Carter, Jackson told his largely liberal audience that "I took on the bigots" in Charlestown and didn't appeal to extremists who ultimately voted for Wallace.

Jackson mentioned only in passing that he, like Wallace, is a busing opponent.

Ronald Reagan, the only Republican candidate still in Florida, was holding a series of airport press conferences to renew his attacks on the Ford administration's handling of foreign policy and contending that "artificial stimulants" were the cause of declines in the rates of inflation and unemployment reported this month.

Before departing for more campaigning in Illinois, Reagan admitted that a Florida loss Tuesday would hurt in that contest next week. Polls in Illinois have indicated that the former California governor trails the President there.

"I never thought that Illinois was a strong state for me," Reagan conceded Monday—an admission in sharp contrast to his previous optimistic statements about his native state.

Some of Reagan's aides reportedly now are convinced that he will be defeated in Florida, and Reagan said Monday that he now believes that he and Ford will go to the August Republican convention deadlocked.

President Ford, Reagan's only opponent, passed up the chance to do some last-minute campaigning in the Sunshine State, apparently confident he has the election sewed up. For the record, Ford is saying he expects to win a close race, while Reagan is predicting a "close horse race" which either man could win.

Reagan told reporters he won't get out of the race unless Ford wraps up a majority of delegates to the GOP convention—even if he loses in Florida, which once was considered his strongest state. An aide, David Keene, said Reagan is prepared to wage a "long war" for the nomination if he loses in Florida.

"If we can get by the early primaries and be competitive, we would have a chance in California (June 8) with a good head of steam," Keene said.

In Washington, Ford press aide Ron Nessen said the President made pep talks via telephone to campaign workers in Delray Beach, Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach, Clearwater and St. Petersburg.

Nessen quoted Ford as saying the primary was "crucial and critical" and urging his supporters not to let down. "It's going to be a close ball game but I think we're going to win," Ford was quoted.

See PRIMARY, Page 10-A

Songs Same, Beats Differ In Primary

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Two Southern candidates for President, Jimmy Carter and George Wallace, both have strained for the finish line in Tuesday's Florida primary by practicing the politics of flattery and regionalism.

Former Georgia Gov. Carter, in low key, and Alabama Gov. Wallace, in high key, tell the folks that they are better

NEWS ANALYSIS

than their government and that the time has come for the South to elect one of its own as President.

The two candidates crisscrossed the state in the past two weeks and ended their Florida campaigns Monday as they had begun—opposite in technique but similar in theme.

Each has altered his stride somewhat under the pressure of running for the biggest prize of all, the White House.

Carter, who never raises his voice, who seldom stops smiling, who promises never to attack his rivals personally, has begun to strike out at his opponents after his poor showing in the Massachusetts primary last week.

Wallace has stepped up his campaign appearances in response to the Carter threat, his attacks on busing in response to what apparently moves the crowds, and his defense of his Alabama administration in response to hostile questions.

Wallace's crowds are more emotional than Carter's, and Carter's delivery is more soft-spoken and sophisticated than Wallace's, but their appeals to the voters often overlap.

One candidate in Tampa Sunday called himself "a country boy that everybody in Washington is trying to stop." Wallace?

No, Carter.

The income tax is "the most unfair,

See FLORIDA, Page 10-A

Florida

From Page 1-A

regressive tax on the face of the earth." Carter?

No, Wallace.

Carter calls the tax system "a disgrace to the human race."

Each rips the national bureaucracy and touts the wisdom of the people.

"I am sure that a lot of people in this room are as well or better qualified to be President than I am," says Carter.

"I'm a person who puts my faith not in powerful political big shots but in people like yourself," he adds.

Wallace tells farmers and workers, "You have as much ability and knowledge and intelligence...as the editors of The New York Times."

"I don't want anybody here to vote for me if I ever tell you a lie or mislead you." That line unmistakably belongs to Carter.

Carter said of his never-tell-a-lie pledge, "This was taken to be an extraordinary statement. I never thought it was extraordinary." A rabbi in Miami Beach Friday introduced Carter as "a Sunday school teacher on leave of absence."

Carter excells Wallace in flattering his audiences, repeating that the government must be made "as full of love and compassion and honesty and decency and competence as the American people are."

Carter suggests that his 13 months of non-stop campaigning nationally has given him a better feel for the desires of the American people than any other candidate.

Apparently, he has concluded that the people are sick and tired of ideology, labels like "liberal" and "conservative," and political bickering.

He has pitched a resolutely non-ideological campaign, stressing love, fairness and general governmental reorganization.

By contrast, Wallace has ridden his old warhorses against busing and the press through rural towns like Marianna and Lakeland.

Carter believes the people are quietly hurt and long for consolation. Wallace believes the people are angry and want to be stirred up to storm the castles in Washington.

Whichever candidate is right likely will win this key primary Tuesday.

The way the two candidates aim at the same voter frustrations with different techniques was shown here.

Wallace held a rally here Monday night, throwing out familiar, fist-clenching denunciations of bureaucrats and liberals.

The crowd was warmed up with a country music show, hats were passed for money and the crowd chanted, "Here we go Wallace," roughly to the tune of "Here Comes Santa Claus."

Carter spoke here Friday at a dignified luncheon of a political club. He smiled often and spoke of his love of country, family and the Navy.

Carter half-apologized for criticizing Sen. Henry Jackson, another candidate. He seemed rather hurt that his old friend Scoop had said nasty things about him.

Carter and Wallace both drew large crowds here, though Carter's was populated with professionals who could take a long lunch hour, and Wallace attracted the working class to an evening rally.

Huge rallies are not Carter's style. He works best in relatively small groups, although he drew several thousand to a fish fry in Tampa Sunday.

Though the Wallace camp will not admit it, they are clearly worried by Carter's strength.

Wallace had scheduled three campaign stops Monday. Instead, he squeezed in six, from Key West to Tallahassee. That pace has dampened the Wallace health issue. Wallace is partly paralyzed by 1972 gunshot wounds, but no sick man could tolerate his campaign schedule.

One reason Wallace may be driving himself so hard is that his gloating over his strong showing in Massachusetts has set him up for a big fall if he fares poorly here.

His strength in the "citadel of liberalism," as Wallace says, is an irresistible political confection for him.

"I carried the city of Boston," he tells his crowds. "Can you believe that?"

The Wallace campaign was riding so high after Massachusetts that a Carter victory in Florida could knock Wallace out of the saddle.

Of course, Wallace is careful not to predict a voting breakdown here. In 1972, he led a 12-man field with 42 per cent of the vote.

Wallace never attacks Carter by name, claiming to run on issues, not personalities. When pressed by reporters, Wallace said, "Frankly, I am not sure which way he (Carter) stands on many things."

And Carter does not attack Wallace directly. He says it is time "to send a President and not just a message to Washington," a reference to the 1972 Wallace slogan, "Send them a message."

Both candidates oppose busing and favor capital punishment. Both positions seem to be popular in Florida. However, it is a sign of their different strategies that busing and capital punishment are elements in Wallace's stock speech. But Carter brings up those issues only in response to questions.

Primary

From Page 1-A

The Democratic candidates — Wallace, Jackson, Carter and Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania — all were in the populous Miami area, although some of them also fanned out over the state.

Carter's appearances included a rally at the predominately black Florida Memorial College in which he declared that Wallace should not be allowed to repeat as the winner of Florida's primary. Wallace won 41.6 per cent of the 1972 vote to swamp a large field of candidates, including Jackson, who got only 13.5 per cent.

"Florida is known as Wallace country," said Carter. "In 1972, Wallace took every county in this state. I don't want to see that in 1976."

Wallace, who has predicted victory although not by the same margin, said in Hialeah that his strong third in Massachusetts is evidence that his message is catching on.

"When the citizens of Hialeah and the citizens of Boston begin to vote together, we're going to have some changes in this country," Wallace said.

Jackson proclaimed himself — not Carter — the real "stop Wallace" candidate. He said Carter had failed to beat Wallace in Massachusetts and in party caucuses in Mississippi and South Carolina.

"Do you know who stopped George Wallace and Jimmy Carter," Jackson asked. "I did, in Massachusetts. I not only beat George Wallace, I whipped Jimmy Carter."

Shapp, regarded as a long shot candidate who hopes only to pick up some Florida convention delegates, concentrated in Dade County and emphasized his plan for establishing a national Education Trust Fund to take over the burden of paying for education. Instead of being financed by property taxes, education under Shapp's plan would be financed from surcharge payments on the federal income taxes of former students who benefit from the education system.

Shapp said he believed the U.S. should keep open the lines of communication with Cuba. Saying he didn't know if Fidel Castro wanted to communicate with this nation, Shapp said, "we should never have a shut-off clause with anybody."

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1976 —

Floridians Not Impressed By the Voting to Date

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

ORLANDO, Fla., March 6—Jim Cinnamon, an assistant principal at Edgewater High School here, was impressed by the results of the New Hampshire primary but discounted Massachusetts. The reaction of Linda Romigh, an English teacher, was the reverse.

When Mr. Cinnamon was first interviewed here a week before the New Hampshire balloting, he expressed an inclination to support Jimmy Carter. When he was re-interviewed after the two primaries he said that New Hampshire proved to him that Mr. Carter's Southern origins were no liability in the North.

Massachusetts, where the former Georgia Governor finished fourth only showed how dependent Senator Henry M. Jackson was on organized labor to turn out a big vote, Mr. Cinnamon said.

Miss Romish was originally unsure if she would vote at all but indicated that if she did she would cast an unenthusiastic ballot for Senator Jackson in the Florida Presidential primary on Tuesday. Now, because of his Massachusetts victory, she will vote for him cheerfully. New Hampshire, she is convinced, is too small a state to prove anything about the strength of the candidates.

Aside from finding reasons for what they were probably going to do anyway, none of the residents of a white, middle-class neighborhood called College Park who were reinterviewed here this week appeared to have been significantly influenced by the early primary results. Indeed, several could not recall what the results had been.

The Memory Problems

"Isn't that terrible?" asked Charlotte Gladfelter, a telephone operator, after a moment's unsuccessful struggle to summon back last week's headlines.

"Now that you mention it, it puts it back in my head," said Pat Caromartie, a secretary, who would recall, at first, only that the candidates all claimed some sort of victory no matter how poorly they finished. Carolyn Allen, a student nurse, knew that President Ford and Mr. Carter had been winners somewhere but could not remember the state.

Shelley Rebello, who runs a shop where she sells hanging plants, attributed the decline in her enthusiasm for Mr. Carter to repeated viewing of his television commercials. TV, it seemed, had given her a sense of personal connection with the candidate but had failed to sustain it.

At first, she had been favorably impressed by an ad showing Mr. Carter in the fields of his peanut farm. Now the ad itself induces doubts.

Campaign Enters Dream

"I'm just getting sick of seeing it," she said. "It's like they're trying to make him a Bobby Kennedy in an open-neck shirt. I'm just wondering if he has a peanut farm, how many peanuts does he really handle. I'm just wondering if he really works in the fields at all. I think they're trying to convey an image that I don't think is really fair."

Miss Rebello now thinks of herself as an undecided voter and her indecision nags at her mind. After she watched the wives of some of the candidates on the ABC talk show "Good Morning America," Senator Jackson's wife appeared in one of Miss Rebello's dreams. She said that over the weekend she planned to study the current issue of Time magazine, which has a cover story on Mr. Carter, in hopes that it would provide a catalyst for her decision.

Other voters who were still undecided said they would be more attentive to their newspapers and TV over the weekend. Richard Rupp, a machinist, said he always waits till the final week of the campaign to make up his mind. What happens before then is "a great big smoke screen," he believes.

The major contenders were all stepping up their advertising efforts for the home stretch.

Among the Democrats, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama was clearly the big spender with a TV budget for the state approaching $225,000, most of it spent on expensive prime time. In a final effort, Mr. Wallace planned to run two newspaper ads throughout the state in addition to $30,000 worth of radio advertising.

Carter Sees 2-Way Race

Mr. Carter, who is having difficulty raising funds for his advertising in Illinois, will have spent about $150,000 on TV here plus $15,000 on a small radio splurge in the last few days. His aides decided he could not afford newspaper ads but they hastily videotaped two nwe TV spots for the final days, both designed to head off any swing to Mr. Jackson. In one of them, Mr. Carter says the race has "narrowed down to two people, Gov. George Wallace and me."

Senator Jackson, whose organization effort in Florida has been spotty to nonexistent, ran mainly a media campaign with particular emphasis in his TV advertising on the Miami area. His situation here was similar to Mr. Carter's last week in Massachusetts, in that he was hoping to be the beneficiary of "momentum" from another state. Mr. Jackson, whose Florida advertising budget was estimated at $180,000, has spent more on newspaper ads and less on TV than either of his rivals.

The only strong reaction heard here this week to the results of the New England primaries verged on resentment. Steve Demopolous, an insurance man who follows politics closely and astutely, said he felt cheated by the early elimination of Senator Birch Bayh, a candidate who had strongly impressed him.

"Why should I care what someone in New Hampshire thinks?" he asked. "What they have done is taken away a man who I felt had something to offer. We lost Bayh before we had a chance to see the full scope of the man. The entire system has gotten twisted."

Udall Gives Wisconsin Priority for Campaign

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 7—Representative Morris K. Udall's first move as the self-styled leader of the "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party in the Presidential race was a tactical retreat this weekend from the New York primary on April 6 and a redoubled commitment to the Wisconsin primary on the same day.

Campaign Notes

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, the Massachusetts primary winner last week, was eager to picture New York as a showdown between his "lunch-pail" Democrats and the "wine-and-cheese" liberals who rallied to Mr. Udall in Massachusetts. But the Udall camp, regrouping here yesterday, decided that trying to rally the disappointed backers of Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana for a major battle in New York would only dramatize the inevitable Jackson victory.

"I don't think anyone can beat Scoop Jackson in New York," Mr. Udall said in a television interview today. "We've got to win Wisconsin or our campaign will be in trouble."

Only hours aftr the Massachusetts voting last week, Steven Schlossberg, who is Washington counsel to the United Auto Workers and was a key strategist in the Bayh campaign, signed up on a Udall slate in his home district in suburban Maryland.

Most of the other Bayh partisans were still glumly immobile this weekend. James Friedman of Cleveland, who had only eight weeks to manage the Bayh campaign before the Massachusetts disaster, was typically stunned that the season was over so soon.

"I expect to continue to be involved," he said after turning down Stewart L. Udall's invitation to join his brother's campaign, "but with whom I'm not sure."

●

If Mr. Udall does survive Wisconsin, his strategists will then try to devalue the Pennsylvania primary on April 27 (as they are devaluing New York) and picture the Michigan primary on May 18 as the definitive test against Mr. Jackson.

The reluctance of Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams to convert the Bayh organization in New York into a Udall machine was an important sign of the lack of confidence in the Arizonan among ethnic liberals and the more left-wing labor unions who had put their hopes in Mr. Bayh.

"There was no movement in either direction," Mr. Abrams said after meeting with Mr. Udall on Friday. Another leader of the stalled Bayh slate in New York explained, "There are a lot of us in the labor coalition who don't want to get off one sinking ship and onto another."

Sinking or surging, the national Udall campaign will have a new helmsman tomorrow: Thomas Kiley, the nuts-and-bolts manager of the Boston consulting firm of Marttila, Kiley and Payne, which did Mr. Udall's advertising in Massachusetts. Mark Shields of Washington turned the campaign manager's job down after consulting with the candidate on Friday.

"After my unsuccessful efforts on behalf of Senator [Edmund S.] Muskie and Senator [George] McGovern in 1972," Mr. Shields explained, "I told Mr. Udall that I owe it to him and the party to stay uninvolved in 1976 if the Democrats are going to win."

As time runs out for California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s decision to run as a favorite-son candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, significant new encouragement is coming from a one-time adversary, John Henning, the crusty President of the California arm of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Mr. Henning observed in a telephone interview yesterday that "we've realized more progressive legislation affecting working people under Jerry Brown than under any predecessor." In California's June 8 Presidential primary, Mr. Henning went on, Mr. Brown "would have great labor support as a favorite son, and he would win a commanding plurality" of both popular votes and convention delegates.

To Dick Tuck, the California-wise prankster-turned-pundit (who is still predicting that a deadlocked Democratic convention will end up nominating Governer Carey of New York), Mr. Henning's remarks mean that "Hubert Humphrey's politics of joy and Jerry Brown's politics of coy are going to embrace each other."

Mr. Henning does not deny that Mr. Brown's bloc of delegates might look favorably on Mr. Humphrey, the non-candidate Senator from Minnesota, on a second ballot at the convention. "Yes, that's possible," Mr. Henning said, "but this action for Brown in California is separate from anything anyone else is doing."

●

On the other hand, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill, the House majority leader who used to predict that a brokered convention would turn either to Mr. Humphrey or to Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, has changed his tune. After returning here from Massachusetts, where he stumped and voted for Mr. Udall, Mr. O'Neill told The Boston Globe: "There are only three candidates in the race now. Scoop Jackson, Jimmy Carter and Mo Udall. I don't see Hubert Humphrey fitting into the picture at all. I think that the Humphrey talk is dead around here."

A Significant but Eccentric Race

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 7—In Orlando the other night, the host of a radio talk show cleared his throat, took his cue, leaned into his microphone and introduced his guest.

"With us is the former Gvernor of Georgia, Jimmy Walker," he announced.

"Uh, that's Jimmy Carter," said Jimmy Carter.

"You're right," the host agreed.

So, another milestone had passed in the unquestionably significant but occasionally eccentric Florida primary campaign, a two-party, six-candidate road show that has thus far produced a President of the United States repeatedly flubbing the name of a world figure who is not around to correct him, a Norwegian Protestant Senator and a Southern Baptist peanut-farmer wearing yarmulkas, a versifying Jewish governor gulping down gentile sausages, and a former fire-breathing segregationist blandly allowing for the possibility of a black running mate.

Now, I'm not saying I would pick one, you understand," Gov. George C. Wallace said here last week, "but I'm not saying I wouldn't, either."

Such candor is contagious down here. Mr. Walker—uh, Mr. Carter—for instance, answered a woman's question about the highly controversial Forida barge canal by saying quite bluntly that he opposed its completion.

"Unless, of course, I change my mind," he explained.

He smiled. She smiled. Almost everyone smiled. There is a great deal of smiling on the Carter campaign.

In contrast, there was very little smiling last weekend when President Ford came to this city and before a large audience of Cuban-Americans spoke of the man from nearby Havana as "Fydle" (rhymes with vital) Castro.

"Even Wallace knows better than that," one irate Latin snorted. So, for that matter, does Mr. Carter, who roused sleepy reporters into semi-consciousness at a recent early morning news conference by responding in Spanish to a question put in Spanish.

That the Latin influence does have its political impediments, however, was evidenced by the fact that the former Georgia Governor's volunteers in the Cuban community are sometimes called "Carteristas." Idiomatically, that means "purse-snatchers."

●

No one was calling Secret Service agents that name on Monday night but the purses of the several hundred women who attended the League of Women Voters Presidential forum did pose a bit of a problem.

After standing at the door for four hours, handling and searching every pocketbook that entered, one weary agent headed for a hotel bar complaining that his arms were so tired he probably could not even lift a beer. He underestimated his strength.

The Secret Service, incidentally, would probably not win an election in Miami. On the eve of the President's visit here last week, the trailer-stage on which a band was to play was sequestered by agents.

Unfortunately, the same trailer was scheduled for use that night at an outdoor concert for the elderly citizens of Dade County, an event that has been advertised for several weeks. More than 1,000 people were expected, but without the trailer, the concert had to be canceled.

Miami had its revenge on Tuesday, however, when the motorcade of another candidate was stopped by a policeman who objected to the long caravan of cars driving through stop lights, ignoring speed limits and generally disrupting the flow of traffic in downtown Miami.

"I'm surprised the candidate didn't get out and shake hands with the cops," said one campaign aide. Later in the week, the same candidate reached through a crowd to shake the hand of a reporter who had been covering him for several weeks. "Bad mistake," Jimmy Carter said later.

Governor Wallace, who once shook more hands than anyone, no longer does much of that because of his paralysis. But he has not really changed all that much since he won the Florida primary in 1972.

"Governor, what's your stand on the lettuce boycott?" he was asked in Fort Pierce this week.

"I don't think we've taken a stand on that," he said. He paused for a moment. "But lettuce is very important," he said finally, "and carrots [pause] and radishes [pause] and squash[pause] and rutabagas.

"But I do have a stand on ketchup," he added, mentioning his all-time favorite condiment.

"But Governor, that's red," someone said.

"I don't care," the Governor insisted, "I like it."

●

Senator Henry M. Jackson is putting to use his lessons in oratory from a Hollywood talent trainer. "The Soviets are talking about more and bigger ARMS," he shouted at a recent speech and on the last word he shot his arms into a rigid horizontal position.

"MY chief vice," Senator Jackson said the other day, "is that I work too much. I'm too righteous to be interesting."

Gov. Milton J. Shapp, on the other hand, insists that his wife, Muriel ("She'd be another Betty Ford if I were elected," he predicted), actually does find him to be a man with charisma.

Somehow, though, all of it seems appropriate to a state where one-fifth of the people are worried about Social Security, one-fourth about condominiums, one-tenth about getting a flight back home and all the rest about suntans, spring training, fishing conditions and "Fydle" Castro.



Associated Press

Jimmy Carter, a leading Democratic candidate, thanking the cook at a fish fry during a rally for the former Governor of Georgia in Tampa, Fla., yesterday.

Jackson Scores Planned Sales to Egypt

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI BEACH, March 7—Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington sharply denounced today recent Ford Administration proposals that military materiel be sold to Egypt.

At a news conference at Temple Emanu-el, where he addressed about 2,500 members of the congregation in the latest in a series of forums presenting candidates in Tuesday's Democratic Presidential primary election, Senator Jackson, wearing a yarmulke, declared:

"I'm against supplying weapons to Egypt. The Kissinger policy of launching a military supply relationship with Egypt, in my view, is cynical and indeed dangerous. It can only increase the chance of war in the Middle East and the severity of a new conflict there."

Last week Secretary of State henry A. Kissinger told a Congressional committee that the Administration would like to sell Egypt six milltary transport planes. Other officials were reported to have said that the sale would be the first of several that would include military supplies, but not weapons.

Faces 2 Major Rivals

In the last days before Tuesday's voting here, Senator Jackson has been conducting an almost leisurely campaign in the warm Florida sunshine, depending mainly on his victory in the snow last week in Massachusetts and an increase in television, radio and newspaper advertising for whatever inroads he may make against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, his principal rivals here, who are believed to be leading the field.

anwhile, Governor Wallace, appearing on the CBS "Face the Nation" program, called for a 10 percent cut in the Federal bureaucracy.

"In my judgment," he said, "that would be a great step in the direction of getting the bureaucracy down to size."

Governor Wallace, who won the 1972 primary here with 42 percent of the vote, said he would win again Tuesday, but declined to predict the size of his margin.

Mr. Carter, at a free fish fry attended by 3,000 in a Tempa park, attacked both his principal opponents.

Governor Wallace, he said, "can't get elected President."

"I'm not running an anti-Wallace campaign," he went on. "I think everybody who even supports Governor Wallace knows that he's not going to be on the ticket. He can't be elected President. He's still going to send a message to Washington. It's time for us to send a president to Washington."

Of Senator Jackson, who defeated both Mr. Carter and Governor Wallace in Massachusetts, the Georgian said:

"He knows he can't get elected in Florida. He's been in Congress 35 years. A lot of things go wrong with our country because we've had too many insiders in Washington who don't care about people, who just care about getting elected over and over and over again for 35 long years."

Also campaigning here today for the Democratic nomination was Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania, who finished far down among the also-rans in Massachusetts. Mr. Shapp spent most of the day as he did yesterday visiting the condominiums in the Miami area, seeking to cut into the Jewish vote, most of which is expected to go to Senator Jackson, a longtime supporter of Israel.

In his news conference at the temple before he and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the recently resighed Chief United States delegate to the United Nations who has been stumping the state for him this weekend, spoke to the congregation, Senator Jackson asked:

"Why should we be arming the Egyptians? This will only Israel's security and indeed upset the military balance that is in America's own interest."

He said he was making the statement today "because there is a tendency to assume that this is a small supply of arms done only in rhw context of Egypt."

"But it can only be analyzed in the context of the Middle East" he went on. "I refer specifically to Syria, where they received in less than a year from the Soviets more arms than have been received by the Egyptians over a long period of time."

Later Mr. Jackson spoke at a nearby black Baptist Church, prmising that "the overriding task of the Jackson administration is to put everybody to work—jobs for everybody." He then went on a walking tour of the South Maimi Beach shopping area before attending a fund-raising dinner in Miami tonight.

Senator Jackson and his political advisers have all been conceding in recent days that their organization in Florida was generally weak.

"What organization? one aide of the Snator asked sarcastically early this morning. "This is mainly a media campaign.

"We threw everything we had into Massachusetts," another said the other day.

That has been apparent to observers, especially in the last few days. A half-dozen junior campagn staff members were rushed here from Massachusetts right after the primary there and have been handling a good part of the work here since then.

But since Senator Jackson won in Massachusetts, most observers feel he will not be damaged much by any showing that surpasses the slightly mor than 13 percent he received when he finished third behind Governor Wallace and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota in 1972.

His next real target is the April 6 New York primary, where he is generally conceded to be well ahead. But with the "suspension" of the campaign of Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, Senator Jackson is already resuming his efforts for the May 4 campaign in that state. William Ezekiel, who was a political coordinator of the successful Massachusetts campaign, has been dispatched there.

The Senator said today he would also put together slates of delegates for te April 6 Wisconsin primary since the Democratic Party decided Friday to make the election binding on the selection of the state's 68 delegates to the national convention, despite the fact that under state law independents or members of either party may vote in the primary of their choice.

The Atlanta Journal

"COVERS DIXIE LIKE THE DEW"

Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Monday Evening, March 8, 1976

Florida Race Critical Test

By CHARLES OSOLIN
Journal Washington Bureau

MIAMI — Florida's unpredictable voters could decide the political futures of two of the country's most conservative politicians when they go to the polls for Tuesday's presidential primary.

Most observers believe that both Gov. George Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California must win here to stay in the running for the Democratic and Republican presidential nominations.

And although Florida is generally regarded as a conservative state, it has handed more than one politician a nasty surprise on election day: witness the 1970 victories of two moderate Democrats, Gov. Reubin Askew and Sen. Lawton Chiles, over two conservative Republicans former Gov. Claude Kirk and former Rep. William Cromer.

Judging from the pace of their eleventh-hour campaigning here, neither Reagan nor Wallace is taking the sometimes perverse Florida voter for granted.

Reagan, who has slipped from heavy favorite to slight underdog in his two-man race with President Gerald Ford, seemed especially concerned over the weekend about his prospects in Florida. Conceding that a heavy turnout of previously undecided Republican voters could swing the election to Ford. Reagan continued to lash out at the President's foreign policy while opening up a new line of attack against the administration's claims of economic progress.

> *'If there's apathy, it would probably work to our advantage. . . If there had been apathy in New Hampshire, we would have won that race.'*
>
> *—Reagan's Chairman*

Wallace, while still the favorite in the Democratic primary, seemed to sense former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia breathing down his neck. He added several stops to his Sunday campaign schedule to whip up enthusiasm among his hard-core supporters, and he acknowledged that he may not do as well this year in Florida as he did in 1972, when he won more than 40 per cent of the vote.

Reagan, in an interview on NBC's "Meet the Press," called the Florida primary a "close horse race" and claimed that he would be satisfied if he could do as well against Ford here as he did in New Hampshire, where he lost by less than 2,000 votes.

Reagan has insisted that he will stay in the Republican presidential sweepstakes regardless of the outcome in Florida. His national campaign chairman, Sen. Paul Laxalt, R-Nev., said in West Palm Beach Saturday that the Republican primary race has been "mispostured" by the press and some Reagan supporters to make it appear that the early

Turn to Page 12A, Column 1

Continued from Page 1A

primaries in New Hampshire, Florida and Illinois were "critical to the Reagan effort."

A loss in Florida would be "harmful to some extent, but not critical, and certainly not fatal," Laxalt said. "If we turn up with 49 per cent as we did in New Hampshire, we're pretty alive and well."

But Sen. Howard Baker, R-Tenn., who attended a series of Ford fund-raisers in Florida over the weekend, said in Miami Sunday that he saw no way the Reagan campaign could "get back on the track" if Reagan loses in Florida and next week in Illinois.

Baker, who has said he would "absolutely" accept a vice-presidential bid from Ford if it's offered, predicted that Ford will carry Florida with 55 per cent of the vote—the same figure predicted for Reagan by the challenger's Florida campaign manager, L. E. "Tommy" Thomas of Panama City.

The outcome of the Republican contest could depend on the weather. Heavy rain and a light turnout would benefit Reagan, since his supporters are seen as more devoted and more likely to vote than Ford's.

"If there's apathy, it would probably work to our advantage," Laxalt said. "If there had been apathy in New Hampshire, we would have won that race."

Reagan and Wallace supporters also had reason for concern over the results of a poll published Sunday in the St. Petersburg Times showing Ford and Carter running well ahead in populous Pinellas County.

Ford has been counting on heavy support from the Gulf Coast retirees in and around St. Petersburg — most of whom came to Florida from the Midwest — to offset Reagan's strength in North Florida and along the East Coast.

The newspaper poll indicated that the President's strategy of wooing elderly Republican voters is paying off. Ford lead Reagan with 62 per cent of the Pinellas County vote to 20 per cent, with 19 per cent undecided.

In the Democratic race, the Times had Carter in the lead with 33 per cent, followed by Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) with 22, Wallace with 12, and 25 per cent undecided. Wallace has never run well in the county in the past.

In his "Meet the Press" interview, Reagan suggested that the recent economic upturn has been the result of "emergency economic measures" designed to improve Ford's political stock.

"Nothing has been done yet to fight the real cause of this, which is inflation," Reagan charged. He warned that the economy could collapse after the election, just as it did after the temporary recovery engineered by former President Richard Nixon before his 1972 election.

In addition to stepping up his attacks on Ford, Reagan scheduled a series of airport press conferences Monday in hopes of gaining some last-minute news coverage. The visits were scheduled for Miami, St. Petersburg, West Palm Beach and Jacksonville.

Wallace also took advantage of a nationally-televised interview on CBS' "Face the nation" to attack one of his favorite targets, the Washington bureaucracy.

Pledging that he would ask Congress to cut the work force of every federal agency by 10 per cent, Wallace said the government is wasting "hundreds of millions and billions of dollars that ought to be in the housing industry instead of putting people on the payroll in Washington as bureaucrats."

Carter, Jackson and Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp also campaigned in Florida Sunday, but Ford, apparently confident of victory, spent the day in the White House. He continued to take advantage of his incumbency, however, by inviting about two dozen reporters from Florida radio stations to interview him for broadcast Sunday.

Carter refused to predict the outcome of the Florida primary, but he told supporters in Stuart Sunday night that it would be his fault if his campaign falters here. "I've had a long-time goal of defeating all other candidates and keeping Wallace below his 1973 total," Carter said.

Jackson spent the day in Jewish sections of South Florida, where he hopes to win votes because of his strong pro-Israel stance. Campaigning with former U.N. ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynahan, Jackson denounced the Ford administration for proposing the sale of military supplies to Egypt.

END OF WALLACE?

Numbers Game Gives Carter Edge in Florida

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

WEST PALM BEACH, Fla. —The three-man race in the Florida Democratic Primary by Monday had settled into a sophisticated numbers game which left open the very real, if little-recognized, possibility that Jimmy Carter of Georgia will win and effectively put an end to the national political career of George Wallace.

The unknown factor in what otherwise would be a more predictable formula on the eve of the election was the relative strength of late-surging U.S. Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington.

Jackson's status in the candidate field remained a mystery just hours before the election, with even his closest advisors pleading ignorance. But it was generally agreed Monday that any gains he will score over the 14 per cent of the vote he received in 1972 in Florida will come directly off the top of Carter's vote.

But it seemed unlikely that the Washington senator will chalk up more than 20 per cent of the vote Tuesday.

If this proves to be the case, Carter and Wallace will divide up as much as 70 per cent of the Democratic ballot, with the Georgian standing a good chance of getting more than half of that and thereby overturning predictions shared by most political analysts here that he will run second behind Wallace.

The key figure in the formula is the 42 per cent that Wallace received in Florida in 1972, a year when the state was near the point of explosion over the school busing issue, an issue which both Wallace and Jackson worked to the fullest four years ago.

But in 1976, there is no busing issue in Florida, and this would seem to make it impossible for Wallace to hold to his level of four years ago.

The lack of a clear issue for Wallace will take away a definite percentage of his 1972 vote and automatically narrow the gap that might ordinarily exist between his and Carter's strength.

Assuming that Jackson will draw 20 per cent and that a field of candidates on the ballot but who have not worked here will draw another 10 per cent total, 70 per cent is left for Carter and Wallace.

Turn to Page 9A, Column 4

Continued from Page 1A

In the unlikely event that Wallace could hold his 1972 margin of 42 per cent, one could logically assume that Carter will begin with 28 per cent automatic vote.

Working backwards from Wallace's 42 per cent, every vote the Alabaman loses could logically be added to Carter's total.

This theory gives Wallace only about a seven-point margin to play with, assuming that he would hold to his vote of 1972. But that seems highly unlikely.

In addition, there was strong evidence that Carter will cut substantially into Wallace's traditional northern Florida support, where the Georgian has been drawing huge crowds and where many southerners identify with his Georgia background.

Local spokesmen at stops all through north Florida through the past week have said they felt Carter will do well there. Exactly how much remained an unknown factor, along with the effect Jackson's campaign blitz will have.

But if one assumes Wallace will automatically lose from two to four points simply because there is no identifiable issue he can latch on to this year, this would leave him only a three to five point lead over Carter, if the fact that Carter is a southerner and has been well received in north Florida is ignored.

The bottom line of all this arithmetic is that Carter may well surprise the prognosticators and beat Wallace by something like 36 per cent to 34 per cent or better.

If this happens, it is assumed that Carter will be a tremendous figure to contend with in the race for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. For Wallace it would spell the end of nearly two decades of prominence as a national political figure.

Carter's Florida campaign aides say they will be satifsfied if they can merely hold Wallace below his 1972 standing, an almost foregone conclusion. However, the new fear is that Jackson, who had barely campaigned in Florida until last week, will come on strongly enough to embarrass Carter.

The Georgian must keep his vote above 30 per cent here Tuesday if he is to be considered a viable candidate in the big state primaries that follow in almost rapid-fire succession in coming months.

In addition, Carter has a massive campaign organization in Florida, which has been at work almost full time the past 13 months. It is the best campaign organization of any candidate here.

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

ATLANTA, GA. 30302, MONDAY, MARCH 8, 1976

Florida Primary Crowded By 'Frontrunner' Candidates

By DAVID SCHULTZ
Constitution Washington Bureau

MIAMI — Ronald Reagan said Sunday that he will consider himself a winner in Tuesday's Florida primary even if President Ford beats him by a few votes.

Also Sunday, Democratic front-runner George Wallace said flatly "I am not going to lose Florida;" Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson said a large oil contribution to his 1972 campaign was handled properly and Jimmy Carter told 3,000 people at a fish fry that neither Wallace nor Jackson can win.

"I don't think that in a close horse race it could be a loser for a challenger," Reagan said when asked if he expected to lose in the state which once had been considered one of his strongest.

Reagan said in a televised interview, NBC's Meet the Press, that "I hope very much to win" the Florida GOP primary, but he said he made it a practice never to predict election victory.

Reagan's statement was seen by some to be setting a fallback position in case he narrowly loses to Ford, as he did in New Hampshire.

Sen. Jackson said he had been initially unaware of the source of $225,000 in once-secret contributions to his 1972 Democratic presidential campaign by a major oil executive. The oilman's contributions, channeled through an accountant, were belatedly injected into the campaign by two of Carter's Florida supporters over the weekend.

Jackson, meanwhile, told a press conference that he wouldn't be hurt by a third-place Florida finish because "Florida could well be an inconclusive primary." He said he has concentrated his attacks on Carter because "I think the Wallace vote is pretty well fixed."

Asked afterward if it were true he had received $225,000 from Amerada Hess Corp. chairman Leon Hess prior to the April 7, 1972, effective date of the new federal campaign contribution reporting law, Jackson replied:

"No, that's not true. There are contributions that were made by various individuals that Mr. Hess, we found out later, had given to them. All of that was turned over to the Ervin Committee."

The reference was to the Senate Watergate Committee, headed by since-retired Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina. The committee released the previously secret contributors list in 1974, but the Hess contributions drew little attention because they were published in the immediate wake of President Nixon's resignation.

The two Carter supporters, former Florida state legislators Richard Pettigrew and Marshall Harris of Miami, told reporters Saturday that the size of the Hess contribution, coupled with Jackson's acknowledgement of having taken a $10,000 contribution from Gulf Oil Co. for the same campaign, raised the questions about Jackson's independence from the "big oil" interests which he has publicly fought.

Jackson didn't respond directly to a question of when he learned that Hess was the source of so much money, saying "We did not learn about it until quite some time ago. We turned it all over to the Ervin Committee in 1973 and that information is public, it's there, and we have had no questions or problems about it.

The Washington senator added that "Sen. Sam Ervin has endorsed my candidacy, he knows all about these matters and that's all I have to comment on it. It's all very clear."

Asked why he didn't voluntarily disclose the secret contributions during the 1972 campaign, Jackson replied: "Well, I complied with the law completely." Contributions prior to April 7 of that year didn't have to be disclosed under the law.

The legislators, who said they were speaking for themselves rather than for Carter, also charged that Jackson never has revealed the sources of the remainder of a $1.1 million campaign war chest he amassed prior to April 7, but Pettigrew later acknowledged he was in error on that point when he learned the information had gone to the Ervin committee and been made public.

Pettigrew said the retracted allegation resulted from an erroneous report published in 1975 by Americans for Democratic Action and a misunderstanding of a Washington Post news account published in 1974 which he thought confirmed the ADA report.

The only candidate missing from Florida on the final Sunday before Tuesday's primary was President Ford, who appeared confident he would win without further campaigning here. A surrogate, Sen. Howard Baker of Tennessee, appeared at a Ford fund-raising reception and predicted the President would carry Florida with 55 per cent — the same victory margin that Reagan's campaign manager is predicting for Reagan.

Wallace stepped up the pace of his campaign, adding several stops to his previous schedule. Some observers viewed the Alabama governor's movements as evidence of concern that Carter may be overtaking him.

The St. Petersburg Times published a poll showing Carter and Ford well ahead of their opponents in Pinellas County, heavily populated with retirees. Ford has been counting on Pinellas for much of his support and the county never has been a Wallace stronghold in past elections.

The poll said Ford led Reagan by 62 to 20 per cent, with 19 per cent undecided. It said Carter had 33 per cent, Jackson 22, Wallace only 12, with 25 per cent undecided.

Carter had a light campaign schedule, with a fish fry in Tampa and an appearance in Stuart, north of West Palm Beach.

At the free fish fry in a Tampa park, Carter told an enthusiastic crowd, "I don't intend to lose. I intend to be the next President. There's no way to stop me.

"I am not running an anti-Wallace campaign," Carter said. "I think everybody who even supports Gov. Wallace knows that he's not going to be on the ticket. He can't be elected President.

"He's still going to send a message to Washington. It's time for us to send a President to Washington."

Carter added, "I've got another man (Jackson) in Florida running against me . . . He knows he can't get elected in Florida.

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Wallace Campaigns For Platform Power

"In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod on this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny: and I say segregation now—segregation tomorrow—segregation forever!"—George C. Wallace, January, 1963.

"I never considered that a racist speech. I was raised under a system—like I was raised on the Bible—and I believed in it. But that system is gone. . . You couldn't go back to it now and no one wants to."—George C. Wallace, January, 1976.

What is the Wallace appeal now that everyone is saying segregation then—segregation yesterday—segregation never more? Wallace won't take more than a half-step in front of his people and if he knows the South can never return to legalized bigotry, then his people know it too.

The triumph of human rights in the South has not left Wallace sinking, sputtering and cursing in the political quicksand. Indeed, he may win the Florida primary Tuesday. One must consider that Wallace is, among other things, exactly what he says he is—a prophet.

Wallace chortles in saying things like, "I get a kick out of Rockefeller coming down here and making a speech like it was written in Clio, Ala." He tells his faithful, "Every single candidate is saying almost identically what you and I said in 1972."

Discounting the normal Wallace demagoguery, that statement is largely true.

Everybody in Florida is running against the old Wallace villains: bureaucracy, high taxes and big government.

Every other candidate tries to reassure himself that the day of Wallace is past. The anti-Wallace crowd points out rather gleefully that his urban rallies draw many skeptical curiosity seekers, not the old die-hards.

Yet it is precisely the curious who may be persuaded to vote for him. He will get the die-hard vote anyway.

Of course, as the national press never tires of reminding us, you can find people at Wallace rallies who have not excreted racism from their souls. But on the whole, Wallace crowds are people who feel that have been pushed around, people who are befuddled and exasperated by a society that lurches off in directions they cannot predict or understand.

As Wallace has been saying for lo these many years, sooner or later there would be a huge fed-up vote to pick up. Alluding to the limousine-liberals in Georgetown, Park Avenue and Brattle Square, he tells his crowd, "There are more of us than there are of them in the long run." That is certainly true.

What does Wallace want then out of this, his last campaign, one he cannot win? A popular view is that Wallace is a campaign junkie—he drives only for the crowds, the cheering, the news magazines, the networks.

But the Alabama governor wants more than that. He wants to write the Democratic platform.

Wallace will arrive at the New York convention in July with at least 500 delegates. Assuming there is a brokerage convention, he will demand a price for those delegates.

Wallace has been dropping brick-sized hints that his price will be an anti-busing plank. If the nominee is Scoop Jackson, Wallace won't have to worry —Scoop will write the plank by himself.

If that is the case, then Wallace's price may be keeping his Southern rival Jimmy Carter off the national ticket.

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 7, 1976 —

FLORIDA PRIMARY TUESDAY TO TEST FATE OF LEADERS

Contests Viewed as Close, With the President and Carter in Front

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

MIAMI, March 6—The Florida Presidential primary elections to be held Tuesday have become tests of survival and momentum for Ronald Reagan, the Republican challenger, and Jimmy Carter, one of the leading Democratic candidates.

Mr. Carter seems more likely to succeed here than Mr. Reagan. With President Ford gaining in recent weeks, Mr. Reagan has become the underdog in a state that he considered a prime source of strength a few weeks ago.

Of the four Democrats and two Republicans who have been active in Florida, all but Mr. Ford planned to work hard in the state this weekend. Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, rested today at his home in Plains, Ga., but is to return before the weekend is over.

President in Illinois

Mr. Ford is apparently so confident of victory that he passed up the last campaign trip here and concentrated instead on Illinois, which he visited yesterday and today.

Both primaries are too close to call. The guessing among political observers is that Mr. Ford will defeat Mr. Reagan by a small margin and that Mr. Carter will run close to, if not surpass, his fellow Southerner, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington is expected to

Continued on Page 40, Column 6

Florida Primary Will Test Leaders' Fate

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

pick up votes because of his plurality in the Massachusetts primary last week, but not enough to pull him out of third place. Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania is thought to be running a poor fourth.

As the stakes have grown gun to attack each other for the first time.

Today in Port Charlotte, a retirement community, Mr. Reagan strongly attacked the Ford Administration's foreign policy, especially for what he described as a weakening of the United States relationship with China.

"In place of the determined and confident America the Chinese bargained with four years ago," the former Governor of California said, "they see in Washington today a timid, vacillating and divided leadership, attempting to sweet talk the Russians out of their belligerent behavior."

In Miami today, Mr. Reagan got help in his attack from Senator Jesse A. Helms, the conservative Republican of North Carolina. Mr. Helms accused Mr. Ford of using appointive job as a stepping stone for personal ambitions.

"Jerry Ford has unfairly used the prestige of his appointive office as a forum to divide the Republican party," he said. Then he attacked the President's policies on détente and Cuba, accusing him of doing one thing and saying another.

Conflict Among Democrats

Senator Jackson accused Mr. Carter of advocating a weakened defense posture. Mr. Carter accused Mr. Jackson of "deliberately and consistently" falsifying his position.

Mr. Wallace, hitting hard on busing for school desegregation, told his audiences that Senator Jackson had "helped bring on busing and now he's against it."

He went on: "Well, I'm the only candidate that has been consistently against busing."

Mr. Wallace has increased his antibusing rhetoric in recent days, causing speculation that the issue might have more life left in it in Florida than others had supposed.

The races in both primaries have tightened in recent weeks. The Florida vote is now considered make-or-break for Mr. Reagan. If he trails Mr. Ford here as he did in New Hampshire, he would seem close to elimination as a Presidential contender this year. He has said, however, that he would go to the end even if he lost Florida.

On the other hand, if Mr. Reagan should win here his triumph would take on an added dimension because his losses in Massachusetts and New Hampshire had made him appear the underdog.

The Ford campaign was in trouble in Florida until a few weeks ago. After tightening his organization and making personal appearances in the state, the President is now believed to have gained substantially.

Mr. Reagan's state campaign manager, L. E. Thomas, has scaled down his predictions of victory for Mr. Reagan from 2 to 1 to 55 percent. Most observers doubt that Mr. Reagan still has that much.

The Democratic primary was seen earlier as a "stop Wallace" campaign. It is now seen in some quarters as a "stop Carter" situation.

Mr. Carter has won primaries or caucuses for delegates in Iowa, Oklahoma, Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire. He came close to Mr. Wallace in delegate caucuses in South Carolina. But he came in fourth in Massachusetts, and that has put him somewhat on the defensive in the Florida primary.

Mr. Jackson, the winner of the Massachusetts primary, now sees a chance of squeezing votes from Mr. Carter here and damaging his drive. Mr. Carter needs to demonstrate that he can defeat or come close to the Alabama juggernaut, Mr. Wallace, in an important Southern primary if he is to gain credibility as a potential unifier of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Carter's announced goal in Florida is to stop Mr. Wallace, but it is evident that he must also defeat Mr. Jackson soundly if he is to broaden his claim to the party's middle of the road.

Jackson Slows Carter

Campaign officials for Mr. Carter concede that Mr. Jacoson has slowed Mr. Carter's progress in populous south Florida since his victory in Massachusetts. Mr. Jackson is busily driving the wedge deeper this weekend, campaigning among the retired Jews from the ortheast who have shown a warm attachment to him.

However, the Carter organization is formidable in other parts of the state. Workers are knocking on doors in anti-Wallace, heavily Democratic precincts in all of the seven largest counties.

Hazel Evans of Tampa, a Democratic National Committee member said recently that Mr. Carter was more thoroughly organized even than any gubernatorial candidate she had ever seen in Florida. She told of a section of St. Petersburg where there had never before been evidence of any Democratic campaigning. The Carter organization had 40 persons there canvassing door to door. Mrs Evans is uncommitted but leaning toward Mr. Carter.

The Georgian's tousled hair and wide grin have become a familiar sight in Florida. He has visited the state 34 times in the last 15 months.

Polls have shown him gaining steadily here. In a telephone canvass this week, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees found anti-Wallace undecided voters leaning toward Mr. Carter by margins of three to one in the Jacksonville area and two to one in the Miami area. That was after Mr. Carter's fourth-place finish in Massachusetts and after Mr. Jackson had emerged as his clear rival for the leadership of the party's center.

The Jackson organiiation is poor in Florida compared with the organization the candidate had in Massachusetts. In a way, Mr. Jackson is trying to do in Florida what Mr. Carter tried unsuccessfully to do in Massachusetts—use the momentum of the just-preceding primary victor to coast through on a news media campaign without solid organizational underpinning.

The Wallace organization, on the other hand, is smooth and professional here. In 1972, when Mr. Wallace won Florida with 42 percen he had practically no organization. What he had was an inflammatory issue—busing. The issue was much in the news in the state that year and a referendum was on the ballot giving the voters a chance to express their unhappiness with it.

There is no such referendum this year but Mr. Wallace has done a much more careful job of organizing. He has offices in several cities. He has made many more trips to the state.

And he is hammering at the busing issue harder than ever—as if he knows something that the other candidates do not.

While Mr. Wallace campaigned today across central Florida, Mr. Jackson went to a labor rally at Fort Lauderdale—that of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association.

The Senator got another lift—when Daniel P. Moynihan, the former Ambassador to the United Nations, arrived in Florida to campaign for him.

New Tremors In Guatemala

GUATEMALA, March 6 (AP)—Five tremors shook this earthquake-devastated capital within four hours today, causing panic in the streets. There were no immediate reports of damages.

Again, Signs in the Air

That the Democrats Plan a Bloc Party

By Herbert S. Parmet

The early Democratic primaries have demonstrated once again the emphasis on building blocs of voters, or, as Henry Jackson exulted after the Massachusetts primary, putting together the "grand coalition." Accommodations rather than programs become the objectives.

So, as party chairman Robert S. Strauss undoubtedly desires, the concern will be for the party's ability to maintain an expansive umbrella that can shelter and camouflage its diversity. However, as in the past this may also vitiate leadership otherwise capable of enunciating vital needs for a nation that has become cynical, confused and despairing of politicians and their promises.

Few argue against the value of the party's ability to house varied factions. After all, success at the polls brings the rewards of political victory, of offices, boodle and patronage to a party entrenched on Capitol Hill and in numerous state houses. Hence, the wisdom of "putting it all together."

Jimmy Carter is also trying hard to do just that. Undoubtedly, it has given him a big boost after an obscure start; and, if he falls short, the new favorite will be one equally adept at applying the mortar for party unity.

In contrast with the 1972 experience, this year's nominee will be praised for his ability to reconcile the North and the South; the liberals and the conservatives; the blacks, the Jews, the Roman Catholics, the Slavs the Greeks, the Croatians, the Chicanos, etc. He will threaten neither the "right-to-lifers" nor the instant-abortioners.

Finally, and most of all, he will be a Democrat capable of defeating President Ford or Ronald Reagan, principally because his positions have alienated fewer groups than has either potential Republican candidate.

So what? A glance at the recent past offers little encouragement that the rewards would extend much beyond the realm of the politicians. After all, the Democrats have held primary positions of power for most of the postwar era.

Except for the 80th and 83d Congress, they have ruled over Capitol Hill, at least numerically. Except for the Eisenhower and Nixon-Ford Presidencies, they have occupied the Oval Office. And all along they have triumphed with the aid of numerous promises, most of them suggesting enticing, long-overdue advances.

Virtually all Democrats have hinted at the need to close the growing gap between the nation's ability to respond and the needs of the rapidly deteriorating quality of American life—the urban disasters, the scandalous lack of basic medical protection for all, the indifference to even the pretense of economic equity. Clearly, the party has done little to assist those whose votes it has taken.

The sad fact is that victory through conciliation has, for the general public, been a bad bargain. Only during 1964 and 1965, when the commitments were clear, were there substantive advances. But even much of that was eradicated by compromise and ultimately dissipated by the fear of potential foes.

Harry S. Truman's upset victory in 1948 came on the backs of forces so diverse that the heart of his Fair Deal program was compromised away before it was introduced.

Adlai E. Stevenson's two campaigns, enthusiastically supported by liberals, also attempted to conciliate diverse groups. His second effort was a pitiful example of coalition-building, one constructed upon a carefully cultivated Southern base that attempted appeasement of every group in sight. His speeches simultaneously promoted increased militarization, suggesting Republican laxity in countering the international Communist menace, while also calling for ending the draft and suspending atomic-bomb tests unilaterally.

The Democrats' reluctance to use their majorities to formulate substantive alternatives to Dwight D. Eisenhower's so-called Modern Republicanism even led to the formation of an extra-party institution, the Democratic Advisory Council. That also sacrificed leadership for party harmony and compromised itself into impotence.

John F. Kennedy trod so carefully after his thin victory over Richard M. Nixon that his leadership was inconsequential until the bolder domestic and international commitments of his final year.

The time has come to question the intrinsic value of majorities. Perhaps the public is waiting for voices to attract support by demonstrating vital ideas and convictions, with the backing of a party that is more than a mere paper designation.

Convincing Americans that the product is worthy because it is superior may in the long run cement alliances more effectively than ignoring realities. It may be the only way a democratic society can survive.



Herbert S. Parmet, professor of history at Queensborough Community College, is author of "Eisenhower and the American Crusades" and the forthcoming "The Democrats: The Years After F.D.R."

Florida's Rapidly Growing Electorate Is a Major Import

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

ORLANDO, Fla.—The extraordinary thing about Florida and the dominant political fact in the state that holds the third major Presidential primary of 1976 on Tuesday, is growth. In 1950, Florida had 2.5 million people; last year, there were eight million. By 1980 it will probably be the nation's seventh largest state. Its population has increased by more people than live in the whole of Nebraska.

As Jack Bass and Walter DeVries put it in "The Transformation of Southern Politics," their forthcoming book: "The rapid influx of population makes Florida different from the rest of the South. The sense of place, kinship, tradition and ties to the land are lacking . . ."

Since the last Presidential primary in 1972, more than a half million new voters have been added to the registration roles, evenly divided between the Republicans and the Democrats. Because many of the new arrivals are retirees, they have further increased the average age of the Florida electorate, already the nation's oldest.

Barely one third of the state's people were born here,



and the migrants tend to behave politically in terms of their origins. The Republican Party in particular has been colored by a heavy proportion of supporters who brought their Republicanism with them. In Republican primaries, Florida often votes like a Midwestern state.

It is not a state of big cities; only Jacksonville exceeds 500,000. It is, instead, a large suburbia, with mile after mile of trailer parks, bungalows, subdivisions and condominiums. As in most newer suburbs, the politics are fluid and amorphous, with poorly developed parties. Florida is particularly receptive to new political faces, a fact that must have encouraged former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia to invest so much time here. Former Senator Edward Gurney and former Governor Claude Kirk, both Republicans, and Senators Lawton Chiles and Richard Stone and Governor Reubin Askew, all Democrats, were all relatively unknown when they were elected.

There are almost as many Floridians as there are perceptions of them. To the Northerner, Florida most often means the Gold Coast, stretching from Miami to Palm Beach through Fort Lauderdale and dozens of other resort communities, three counties that face the Atlantic Ocean with an almost continuous wall of hotels and apartments.

Miami's Dade County is the state's largest, with a big Jewish population, a big Latin population, relatively strong labor unions and a taste for liberals. Prof. Manning J. Dauer of the University of Florida calls it "a piece of Manhattan Island that floated off 1,000 miles to the south and is warmed by the waters of the Gulf Stream."

In the north is Jacksonville, less tropical in climate, more Southern in political behavior, base of the state's insurance and paper industries and of the arch conservative Edward W. Ball, in whose hands has been concentrated for decades the political and economic power of the du Pont holdings (banks, land, paper and railroads).

Inland lies booming Orlando, home of the latest Florida fantasy, Disney World. On the Gulf Coast are the twin Tampa Bay cities, burly, industrial Tampa and genteel St. Petersburg, with its colony of retirees (30 percent of its citizens are over 65).

Almost two-thirds of the state's population is concentrated in the seven counties these four clusters represent. They are so diverse that no one issue or series of issues animates all of them. It is not surprising, therefore, that moderates, skillful at picking their way through the contradictions, have largely dominated Florida politics in recent years.

Most prominent among them is Governor Askew, probably Florida's most outstanding modern governor and certainly its most popular. In a state with a reputation for corruption (three state Supreme Court justices and three elected state cabinet members have resigned as a result of scandals in the last two years), Mr. Askew, a teetotaling, non-smoking Sunday school teacher, has a reputation for unshakable integrity. Polls in the state regularly give him one of the highest approval ratings of any American politician. His issues are typical of those that appeal to the electorate: the "sunshine laws," for example, that guarantee Florida total public access to government proceedings; and modest environmental controls on growth. Although only 15 percent of the population is black, some aspects of racial politics remain, particularly in the northern part of the state. But busing, an explosive issue at the time of the 1972 Presidential primary here, is less a topic of debate now.

In Presidential politics, Florida has been solidly Republican since 1952, with the exception of 1964, when Senator Barry Goldwater's notions about Social Security narrowly cost him the state. At the local level, the party's growth may be dated from the election in 1954 of William C. Cramer to the House of Representatives. His success spurred widespread organizational efforts.

After a period of rapid acceleration, the growth of Republicanism began to slow in the late 1960's. For the last decade the Democrats have held an edge in registration of 1.4 million and in the Legislature, of 2 to 1 on the average. They currently hold 10 House seats out of 15.

If Florida is not typically Southern, it is not a thoroughly two-party state, either. Nor is it as conservative as some would suggest. As a test for the Presidential hopefuls, it is as idiosyncratic, in its way, as much-maligned New Hampshire.

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

U

Geographically Southern, Politically Diverse



Alex Webb

The Atlanta Journal
★ AND ★
E ATLANTA CONSTITUTIO

Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Sunday, March 7, 1976

Wallace Ahead?

Survey of Florida Democratic Leaders Sees Carter Trailing in Tuesday Primary by 4 Pct.

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

TALLAHASSEE—Despite his leap from obscurity into the political major leagues, Jimmy Carter still trails George Wallace slightly in the campaign for the pivotal Florida primary Tuesday, an Atlanta Journal-Constitution survey of 81 state Democratic leaders indicates.

Although most of the party leaders said they personally support Carter, the average of the survey responses indicates that traditional Southern powerhouse Wallace will get 38 per cent of the statewide vote and Carter 34 per cent.

However, a strong second-place showing for former Georgia Gov. Carter—just a few percentage points behind Wallace— would enable him to claim a moral victory.

Carter has staked his presidential campaign on the claim that a moderate southerner can match or beat Wallace on Dixie soil and—unlike Wallace—go on to win the Democratic nomination.

The Journal-Constitution asked the party chairman and state committee members in each county to predict the voting breakdown between Carter and Wallace in their counties and the state.

Forty-three party wheelhorses predicted that Wallace will outpoll Carter statewide, 29 predicted the opposite and nine rated the race a toss-up.

Forty-five said they personally support Carter, 13 backed Wallace, six backed Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson and 17 are uncommitted or favor other candidates.

"The race between (Carter) and Wallace is developing into a real horse race," said Jim Fleming, chairman of Polk County (Lakeland) in the central citrus and cattle belt. "If the present trend continues, Carter may very well top Wallace in Florida, which was considered highly unlikely only a few months ago."

Hoping to thwart that trend, Wallace held a major rally in Lakeland Saturday night.

Wallace ran strongest in the citrus belt and the northern panhandle and weakest in the southeast Florida "Gold

Turn to Page 5A, Column 1

Continued from Page 1A

Coast" in the 1972 primary, although he won a plurality in all 67 counties and took 42 per cent of the statewide vote in an 11-man race.

A previous Constitution postcard survey in November indicated that Carter would edge Wallace in the primary. Apparently Wallace's campaign stumping and high-gear ad campaign in the final weeks have recouped his standing against Carter's year-old, finely tuned state organization.

For example, Duval County (Jacksonville) state Committeewoman Shirley M. King, a strong Carter supporter, predicted in November that Carter would grab as much as 70 per cent of the state vote. She forecast more cautiously recently that Carter would get 38 per cent and Wallace 35.

With more than 7 million people, of whom 18 per cent are nonwhite, Florida is the ninth-largest state and has a unique proportion of elderly residents: 20 per cent are over 65. The state has 2.4 million registered Democrats and will have 81 delegate votes at the national convention in July.

Carter is especially tightly organized in the 20 urban counties where 80 per cent of the Democrats live. Five counties polled more than half of the total population—Dade (Miami), Duval, Broward, Hillsborough, and Pinellas.

The wealthy south Atlantic strip known as the Gold Coast from Florida City to West Palm Beach includes Palm Beach, Broward and Dade counties. The breakdown among Carter, Wallace and Jackson probably will turn on the large Jewish and Cuban votes, especially in Dade.

All three candidates actively seek votes in condominiums where hundreds of elderly voters, who have the leisure to be politically active, are conveniently gathered. All three promise to crack down on alleged abuses of residents' rights by developers.

Significantly in seeking the Jewish and Latin American votes, Jackson has the aid of the Miami mayor, Maurice Ferre, and Miami Beach Mayor Harold Rosen. Jackson also can point to his staunch pro-Israel stands in Congress.

A dark-horse candidate, Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, a Jew, is expected to garner some votes here.

Sergio Bendixen, a Democratic national committeeman from Dade who supports Carter, predicts that Jackson will carry the county but Carter will nose out Wallace statewide by the narrowest of margins—30 per cent to 29 per cent.

The "Sun Coast" on the Gulf of Mexico side of the state has high proportions of union labor—considered favorable to Jackson—in Tampa and of retired voters in St. Petersburg.

Hillsborough County (Tampa) and Pinellas County (St. Petersburg) are both expected to give Carter narrow victories, according to the local party leaders.

"If I were Jimmy the Greek giving odds, he (Carter) is the next president of the United States," said Democratic national committeewoman Hazel Evans of St. Petersburg, a Jackson supporter in 1972.

The race is viewed as a toss-up in Orange County (Orlando), the heart of the citrus-cattle belt, where Carter has his state headquarters.

Otherwise, the north-central peninsula and panhandle are still generally counted as Wallace country.

One party leader in the 8th Congressiomal District in the central penineula said, "Although Gov. Carter has a lot of supporters, the old-time political pros, even though they are paying lip service to Gov. Carter's organization, admit it will be Wallace."

Carter Candidacy On Line in Florida

By DAVID SCHULTZ
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

MIAMI — Florida's Democratic presidential primary, which once shaped up as a test of Southern supremacy between George Wallace and Jimmy Carter, now looms as a test of whether Carter can remain a major candidate.

Wallace, the Alabama governor who swept the field here in 1972, ranks as the clear favorite because of the emergence of Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson of Washington

President Ford campaigns in Illinois — Page 2A. The issues, as seen by Jimmy Carter, a capsule review — Page 19A. Journal Political Editor David Nordan assesses the Florida race — Page 21A.

as a threat to the moderate and liberal support on which Carter has been counting heavily.

Of the three major candidates in the field, only Jackson has little to lose. There is much for him to gain.

But Florida could mean political life or death for Wallace and Carter. A defeat here for Wallace — or even a significant drop in support from the 41.6 per cent he polled here four years ago — would be taken as a clear demonstration that his time on the national political scene had passed in this, his fourth presidential campaign.

But Florida could mean political life or death for Wallace and Carter. A defeat here for Wallace — or even a significant drop in support from the 41.6 per cent he polled here four years ago — would be taken as a clear demonstration that his time on the national political scene had passed in this, his fourth presidential campaign.

The stakes are just as high for Carter. The former Georgia governor doesn't have to finish first in Florida, but he simply can't afford a weak showing in a state where he has campaigned extensively for more than a year.

In a sense, the Florida primary has become a test of strength between Carter and Jackson for dominance in the party's moderate center, with Wallace the happy beneficiary.

Turn to Page 20A, Column 1

Continued from Page 1A

Carter, from the beginning, has been pointing toward a two-man race between him and Wallace. The rest of the candidates obliged Carter by staying away, happy to have a reason to avoid an expensive Florida campaign and the near-certainty of being part of a field being routed by Wallace.

But Jackson's strategy was different. He was less alarmed by the possibility of another Wallace victory in Florida than by Carter's string of early successes in caucus states and in the New Hampshire primary.

Jackson, who never quit running for president after his flop in the 1972 primaries, decided last November he would play the spoiler in Carter's grand strategy, apparently fearful that a Carter defeat of Wallace in Florida might propel the Georgian far out ahead of the Democratic field before the primary season was well under way.

The Jackson strategy was enhanced by the results of last Tuesday's Massachusetts primary, in which he finished a surprising first with 23 per cent, while Carter ran a somewhat disappointing fourth with 14 per cent behind Rep. Morris Udall and Wallace. Jackson proclaimed a great victory, while Carter blamed foul weather for keeping many of his supporters from outside Boston from going to the polls.

Whatever the reasons, the result was a setback for the Carter campaign and a boost for Jackson, who hadn't won a primary in 1972 and had skipped New Hampshire.

Jackson comes to Florida in much the same shape that Carter went into Massachusetts, fresh from a primary victory and confident that a relatively weak showing would be quickly atoned for in a subsequent primary.

For Carter, the subsequent primary is Florida's, which he has called "the most significant one of the whole year, perhaps." He must do well here — or else.

For Jackson, the subsequent primary is in New York, on April 6. He already has predicted victory there by an absolute majority, so he still has some breathing time.

But unlike Carter in Massachusetts, Jackson has set lower goals for success in Florida. He hopes only to poll 15 per cent or more in the state's 15 congressional districts to earn some of the 60 national convention delegates elected by district and to finish with better than 20 per cent statewide to get a share of the 21 at-large delegates.

Yancey Martin, Jackson's state coordinator, says this strategy would result in Jackson getting from 18 to 23 of the 81 delegates and would be regarded as a "major victory" in view of Jackson's late entry.

Martin claims Carter's support is "soft" and capable of being siphoned off by Jackson. He concedes Wallace between 30 and 35 per cent of the vote, thinks the other names on the ballot will take up to 10 per cent and contends that Carter and Jackson will be fighting it out for the remainder, with Jackson having at least a shot at finishing ahead of Carter statewide — a result which probably would finish Carter as a candidate.

The Carter camp still regards Wallace as its major opponent and contends that Jackson's Florida campaign was weak prior to Massachusetts and hasn't gained significantly since.

"By and large, it (the Carter support) doesn't seem to have shifted," says Phil Wise, Carter's state coordinator. "Our canvassing shows that some support went over to us heavier."

Miami attorney Richard Pettigrew, a Carter campaigner and a former Florida House speaker, says Jackson's late surge may motivate Carter's liberal backers to redouble their efforts.

"A Jackson victory scares hell out of the liberal community," Pettigrew says, noting that liberals have been wary of Jackson because of his anti-busing campaigning, his long support of the Vietnam war and his backing of large military spending.

"I don't think most liberals are any more comfortable with Jackson than they were with Wallace," Pettigrew contends. "He's one of those old, ancient cold warriors."

Without question, Carter is the best organized of the three major candidates. His campaign has included extensive telephone and door-to-door canvassing in target precincts for months.

Wallace also is better organized than in past campaigns, but most observers doubt that he is capable of expanding his base of support. This year's Wallace organization is essentially aimed at making sure his supporters get to the polls on Tuesday.

Wallace's state manager, Daytona Beach Speedway czar Bill France Sr., acknowledges a general lack of interest by the voters this year, but says Wallace will win anyhow.

"A lot of people that thought they were going to be turned on by Carter were turned off by him," says France. He contends that Wallace doesn't need to match his 1972 percentage to be successful.

"If the governor's the top man, I'd be tickled to death," France says. "But however he comes out, it will give us some delegates."

Although Wallace has pointedly ignored Carter, France isn't hesitant to criticize Carter as a man who is "talking out of both sides."

"Carter's not a conservative," says France. "He's actually a liberal. He may be the very least of the liberals."

Jackson, because of his late start and limited objectives, is pinning his hopes on a strong showing in the Jewish community where he has strong ties, a media advertising blitz and building on the nucleus of his 1972 organization. He polled 13.5 per cent in 1972, a dismal showing at the time but very close to all he needs to win delegates this year.

Delegates also are the objective of Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, the only other candidate doing any serious campaigning in Florida.

"We're going to get delegates," says Louise Taylor, who is coordinating Shapp's Florida efforts. "We're going to do better than anybody anticipated we're going to do."

Shapp, who polled only 3 per cent in Massachusetts, is running an expensive media advertising campaign, concentrated in south Florida, and any votes he gets are likely to come from Jackson's support base.

There are eight other names on the Democratic ballot, including Udall and others who chose to pass up Florida. There is also a "no preference" slot, but there has been little effort to encourage the election of an uncommitted delegation.

A critical factor for Carter is whether a significant number of liberal voters will choose to pass him by and vote for Udall or some of the other liberals on the ballot. A keystone of his campaign has been consolidation of the anti-Wallace vote behind him.

Carter says he has seen a poll which shows he would beat Wallace by 20 points in a two-man race.

The otherwise lackluster campaign suddenly heated in the closing days, with Jackson and Carter swapping charges of misleading the voters.

Carter finally abandoned his strategy of ignoring Jackson's attacks after hearing Jackson radio and television ads which charged Carter with advocating raising homeowners' income taxes by repealing the deduction for mortgage interest. Carter originally mentioned the mortgage interest deduction in response to a question, and only as part of an over-all reform of the federal tax code which would have the ultimate goal of reducing the tax burden of average citizens.

Charging that Jackson had "departed from his normal truthfulness," Carter said he couldn't "sit back and let one of my opponents deliberately and consistently make false statements."

Carter aides acknowledged that the Jackson advertising campaign was having some negative effects on the voters.

Jackson, who has been continuously charging that Carter is taking different stands on issues to please his audiences, also has been critical of Carter's proposal to cut military spending by $15 billion. Jackson contended such cuts would have a depressing effect on the U. S. economy, although Carter says the proposal involves only overseas spending.

Wallace has campaigned in his usual style, holding mass rallies and appearing at small airports. His campaign themes of stopping forced school busing and cutting down big government are carried over from previous campaigns, but he has tailored his talks to include matters of local concern, including reform of condominium sales practices.

A major goal of the Wallace campaign is to portray an image of good health despite his partial paralysis resulting from a 1972 assassination attempt. Some of Wallace's previous supporters may be concerned enough about Wallace's health to look elsewhere for a candidate, although Wallace has contended consistently that he is fit to handle the presidential burdens.

Florida, one of the nation's most diversified states, remains an enigma in its voting patterns. Despite Wallace's runaway victory in 1972, Florida Democrats normally tend to vote for statewide candidates they perceive as moderate.

The current governor, Reubin Askew, has a national image of a liberal, although Florida liberals regard him as a centrist. Askew has avoided participating in the primary and has said he will vote "no preference," apparently to remain above the battle during the primaries so he can have maximum influence at the convention.

Although Florida sometimes is described as a microcosm of the nation because so many of its voters come from other states, the Democratic side is distorted by the fact that thousands of persons who regularly vote Republican are registered as Democrats so they can participate in the Democratic primaries.

These voters contributed heavily to Wallace's showing in 1972, as evidenced by surveys which showed that many Wallace voters fully intended to vote Republican in the general election.

A light turnout of voters is expected because of the lack of divisive issues. There is nothing comparable to the 1972 straw votes on busing and prayer in public schools on this year's ballot. Nearly 60 per cent of the registered Democrats voted in 1972, but elections officials think that less than 50 per cent of the 2.4 million eligible Democratic voters will vote Tuesday.

Carter is trying to lay claim to the black vote, which accounts for 14 per cent of the Democratic registration. Although Carter opposes mandatory busing, he criticized Jackson's reliance on an antibusing stand in Massachusetts by saying the issue had "connotations of racism."

Florida's Elderly Raise Hopes of Ford and Jackson

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla., March 5—If President Ford defeats Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary in Florida next Tuesday, it will be largely because the President seems to have a lock on the elderly vote, according to politicians, pollsters and other political analysts.

Likewise, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington is banking on solid support from voters 65 and older to keep him from finishing a weak third in the Democratic race.

All of the candidates are making special appeals to the older residents, who make up more than a quarter of the registered voters in the Sunshine State, but President Ford and Senator Jackson appear to have done so with the most success.

There are two distinct blocs of elderly voters in the state.

Breakdown of G.O.P.

Here on the West Coast, they tend to be Republican, Protestant and from the Midwest. On the East Coast, from Palm Beach south to Miami, the voters 65 and older are heavily Democratic, Jewish and from the Northeast.

In the Democratic primary, the elderly vote is important. In the Republican one, it is critical.

The average age of Republicans in the state is 56. More than 37 percent of the Republicans are 65 or older, and the Ford campaign has calculated that 70 percent of the registered Republicans are over 50.

"Their vote is extremely important, absolutely critical, to any Republican campaign in Florida," said William Roberts, the California political specialist who was called into Florida to direct the Ford campaign.

By all measures, Mr. Ford is doing splendidly with the elderly voters. A statewide poll taken in January by Paul Cohen of Florida Opinion Research Inc. found Mr. Ford well ahead of Mr. Reagan among the older voters. Here in Pinellas County, a Republican stronghold and an area where more than half of the registered Republicans are past retirement age, a St. Petersburg Times study showed Mr. Ford the favorite among the elderly by a margin of nearly 3 to 1 over Mr. Reagan, the former Governor of California.

In Massachusetts last Tuesday, Mr. Ford beat Mr. Reagan by 81 percent to 15 percent among voters 65 and older, according to The New York Times/CBS News survey of primary voters who had just cast their ballots. The President took only 62 percent of the total vote.

Exactly why Mr. Ford scores so well with the elderly is something of a mystery to the experts.

Virtually all surveys taken in recent years show the elderly in Florida, as elsewhere, to be more conservative than the norm. The New York Times/CSB News surveys in New Hampshire and Massachusetts found older voters less favorable toward Government job guarantees than are those younger, more opposed to détente with the Soviet Union, more against legalized abortion and more likely to believe that the Government was giving too much aid to blacks.

Reagan Views Supported

In other words, on the campaign issues, the elderly tend to side with Mr. Reagan.

Moreover, Mr. Cohen's poll showed that 80 percent of the elderly Republican voters in Florida believed that Mr. Reagan had "the personality a President ought to have," while only 59 percent believed that Mr. Ford did. Mr. Cohen also found that 37 percent of Republicans 65 and older believed that Mr. Reagan could "end the nation's economic difficulties," while only 25 percent thought Mr. Ford could.

L. E. Thomas, Mr. Reagan's Florida campaign chairman, acknowledged in a telephone interview that Mr. Ford was ahead among the older Republicans. Mr. Thomas attributed the President's lead to Mr. Ford's "distortion of what Governor Reagan has said about Social Security."

Mr. Ford has contended that Mr. Reagan has proposed steps that would jeopardize Social Security benefits, a contention that Mr. Reagan denies.

Other experienced analysts say, however, that the most plausible explanation for Mr. Ford's success in wooing the elderly is the tendency of older persons to feel more comfortable with the status quo than with change.

Late Start for Jackson

As for the Democrats, Senator Jackson's apparent success in rallying support among older voters seems to be due primarily to his organizational strength. Mr. Jackson began his campaign in Florida late, well behind Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, and the Senator has concentrated his efforts in Florida almost exclusively on the high-rise condominiums that line the East Coast.

There are more than 750 such condominiums. In them live more than 200,000 people, virtually all of them retired and most of them Democrats. Some of the buildings are so large that they form voting precincts all by themselves.

Senator Jackson has the endorsement of the Dade County Council for Senior Citizens, which has provided him with lists of potential voters and helped him set up telephone banks and organization captains. Mr. Jackson visited three condominiums yesterday and has scheduled several others for the weekend.

Mayor Maurice Ferré of Miami, Senator Jackson's Florida campaign chairman, said that the Senator was counting on winning twice as many votes as any other Democratic candidate among the elderly voters. Even if he does that well, it might not be enough to move Mr. Jackson past Mr. Wallace and Mr. Carter, but it would give him a strong third-place finish.

Senator Jackson also concentrated on winning the elderly vote in the Massachusetts primary, and, according to The New York Times/CBS News survey, he was enormously successful. He won 42 percent of the elderly vote in Massachusetts, the survey showed, better than three times that of any other Democrat, and 15 percent of his total vote came from persons 65 and older.

DEMOCRATS ALTER WISCONSIN VOTE

It Will Be Binding Primary Same Day as New York's

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 5—The Democratic Party stretched its own rules today to make the Wisconsin Presidential primary election on April 6 a binding test that will select 68 national convention delegates as well as serving as a popularity contest for Presidential candidates.

The move could help Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, a leading liberal candidate, by giving him a chance to win a meaningful primary on the same day that New York State holds a primary election in which Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington is believed to have a strong position.

But one disturbed Democrat called the Wisconsin decision an example of "selective enforcement" of party rules and said it could prove to be a "Pearl Harbor" for the entire liberal wing of the party if Mr. Udall's strength in Wisconsin has been overestimated.

The Democratic Compliance Review Commission voted 18 to 5—against the advice of its own staff and legal advisers—to reverse an earlier ruling that the Wisconsin primary would be a so-called "beauty contest." The earlier ruling was based on the state Legislature's refusal to pass a law bringing the primary into compliance with Democratic Party rules.

Crossover Voting Stays

The Wisconsin Assembly voted 60 to 36 today to comply partly with Democratic Party rules by allotting national convention delegates proportionally to candidates on the basis of their popular vote rather than letting the winner take all delegates as in the past. The State Senate is expected to act on the bill next week.

But the Assembly did not vote to end the traditional Wisconsin practice of crossover voting in which a Republican can vote in the Democratic primary and vice versa.

Today's decision could have a direct, perhaps major, impact on the contest for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

In the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries Mr. Udall emerged as the apparent leader among liberal contenders. Senator Jackson, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace are strong among the moderate and conservative voters.

Liberals on the rules compliance body voted to make the Wisconsin primary binding—but were joined by supporters of Governor Wallace and Mr. Carter.

"It is very difficult to justify what we did today," said one Democratic source. "Udall needed a primary he could win and there is no question that some liberals voted the way they did today in the hope of getting a headline in Wisconsin on April 6 to mitigate a Jackson victory in New York the same day."

The liberal expectation could backfire, however. A Milwaukee Journal poll published Wednesday showed Mr. Wallace ahead with 25 percent of those polled, Mr. Jackson second with 18 percent, and Mr. Udall fourth with only 9 percent.

Udall Camp Hopeful

The same poll indicated that total conservative and liberal sentiment was about equally divided at the time the polling was done in early February.

A spokesman for Mr. Udall said, "Our organization in Wisconsin is the best we have any place in the nation" and expressed the hope that Wisconsin could serve again as a liberal springboard as it did in 1972 for George McGovern.

Mr. Udall said in a statement that "progressive Democrats across the nation should be heartened" by today's decision and that without it a "bastion of Democratic Party progressivism would have lost much of its significance."

However, some other analysts thought Governor Wallace, who got 22 percent of the vote in 1972, might win Wisconsin and that it was not impossible that Mr. Jackson could do so. If the latter happened, it would virtually kill liberal hopes to select a nominee this year, one Democrat said.

Gov. Patrick J. Lucey, who came to Washington to argue for the move, said that Mr. Udall "has a lot of work to do" to win Wisconsin.

Until today's vote the plan had been for the primary to be a beauty contest only with the state's 68 delegates to be selected in county and Congressional district caucuses. Mr. Udall might have won many more delegates in caucuses than he could win in a binding primary, but a victory now would have greater psychological impact.

Carter Charges Jackson With Lies and Distortions

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

TAMPA, Fla., March 5—After his canvassers found recent erosion among his supporters, Jimmy Carter dramatically altered the tone of his Florida campaign today by accusing Senator Henry M. Jackson of using lies, distortions and scare tactics to enhance his own Presidential pursuit.

"He wants to be President so much, he is departing from his usual truthfulness," the former Georgia Governor said, responding to allegations by the Senator that he advocated a weakened national defense and espoused tax laws that would bankrupt large numbers of Americans.

The charges and countercharges not only highlighted the Democratic campaign here today but also reflected the increased pressures on the candidates' campaigns and the heightened importance of Florida to their respective dreams.

Until they both won surprising victories in primary elections a week apart—Mr. Carter in New Hampshire, Senator Jackson in Massachusetts—neither had paid much attention to the other.

Much of their campaign fire here was at first directed at Gov. George Wallace, of Alabama the only other Democratic candidate who is actively campaigning in Florida.

Now, however, the stakes for Mr. Carter and Senator Jackson are much higher and each speech, each advertisement, each handshake has increased in importance. Thus, Mr. Carter's voice rose proportionately today before a political club in Tallahassee.

"He [Senator Jackson] is deliberatlsely falsiying what I have said . . . just to scare people," he told an audience of about 300 members and guests of the Tiger Bay Club. "Our voters have enough sense to make decisions without being misled."

With fire in his eyes and anger in his drawl, the usually soft-spoken Mr. Carter surprised many who had grown accustomed to his restrained, almost pastoral rhetoric of love and compassion over the last few weeks.

An aide said after the speech, "He's tired and he's tired of being attacked by Jackson." But Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, and Hamilton Jordan, his national campaign manager, offered another explanation.

"We found some slippage in our canvasses among people who were already favorable to Jimmy," Mr. Powell said.

"And most of it was related to the defense and tax things," Mr. Jordan explained.

Senator Jackson, in Tallahassee recently, described Mr. Carter's views on national defense as not in the country's best interest. "He would weaken rather than strengthen us," the Senator said.

Mr. Carter has proposed cuts in military spending that amount to about 5 percent of the present defense budget, while urging increased military competence and efficiency.

Today, he bristled noticeably as he recounted his military service—11 years in the Navy—and spoke of his willingness "to die for my country." Senator Jackson's charges, he said were "ridiculous, bordering on the absurd."

Recently, new radio commercials for Senator Jackson have begun to describe Mr. Carter's position on tax reform as a real threat to the solvency of middle-and lower-class home owners.

Today, Mr. Carter said that his consideration of an elimination of the mortgage-interest deductions on Federal income tax was but one facet of a "sweeping tax reform" that would result in a progressive but lower tax rate and would shift the tax burden of the country to those "who can best afford it."

"I don't want to see anybody distort my position on it [tax reform] just to frighten people," he said. "I can't sit back quietly and allow that to happen."

So, today, Mr. Carter did not sit back quietly.

Jackson Broadens Attack

Special to The New York Times

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., March 5—Senator Jackson of Washington broadened his attacks on Mr. Carter, today, accusing him of favoring a "weak defense."

Addressing a luncheon meeting, in this Navy-oriented city, of the Bull Snort Forum, a local nonpartisan political discussion group, Mr. Jackson declared that Mr. Carter had said in Miami that he favored cutting the defense budget by at least $15 billion.

"And then he comes to Jacksonville and says he's for a strong Navy," the Senator went on. "He says he'd only close bases overseas. Who's he kidding?"

Today as he stumped through Palm Beach, Jacksonville, Boca Raton and Tampa, the Senator also reiterated his criticism of Mr. Carter's plan on taxes on private homes.

Carter Is Praised by Auto Workers Chief

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

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla., March 5—"I like a man who has the courage to discuss the simple verities," said Leonard Woodcock. "I like a man who can say with simple grace, 'God bless you.' We need a man with vision to pull this country together."

Sitting beside Mr. Woodcock, the president of the politically powerful United Automobile Workers union, was the man to whom he referred: former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia.

Although the labor leader made it clear that he implied no endorsement by his praise, his appearance with Mr. Carter before more than 500 Pinellas County Democrats here last night was nonetheless a highly significant moment in the former Governor's Presidential drive.

Support for Others

Mr. Carter has been taking some heavy criticism recently from the liberal establishment within the Democratic Party, and there is no one with better credentials in such quarters than Mr. Woodcock. In addition, Mr. Woodcock left open the possibility of a later endorsement, which could prove important in such states as Ohio and Michigan.

The auto workers provided crucially needed manpower and organizational guidance to Mr. Carter in Iowa, where he won a major victory in the Jan. 19 precinct caucuses. In this state, the union endorsed him months ago.

"That was a made-in-Florida endorsement," Mr. Woodcock commented, "not in made-in-Detroit endorsement."

A number of auto workers officials, including Steven Schlossberg, the general counsel, had backed Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana. When Mr. Bayh abandoned the race yesterday, many of the union officials switched to Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. A few officials, notably Ken Bannon, are supporting Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, but he is believed less palatable to Mr. Woodcock because of his hawkishness on Vietnam and other issues.

In an interview, Mr. Woodcock said he had spoken by telephone yesterday with Mr. Udall. He also conferred at a local motel with Mr. Carter for more than an hour—the first time he had met the Georgian. In neither case, he said, did he offer the union's support.

Asked his reaction to Mr. Carter, Mr. Woodcock heistated for a moment, then answered: "I was impressed."

The attention paid the auto workers' chief is part of a low-key struggle going on behind the scenes as public attention focuses on Tuesday's Florida primary. Mr. Udall is attempting to establish himself as the sole candidate of liberals, and Mr. Carter is trying to demonstrate that he has support in all segments of the Democratic Party.

One of the Georgian's problems with organized labor is his stand on right-to-work laws, which guarantee that no worker will be required to join a labor union. He has said again and again that he would sign a repeal of such laws, but would not mount a "crusade" for repeal.

"I'm not worried about that," Mr. Woodcock commented. "It's hardly the most crucial issue facing us."

No Magic With Muskie

In 1960 and 1964, the auto workers stayed out of pre-convention politics, but four years ago Mr. Woodcock backed Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine. His lack of success in that venture, Mr. Woodcock conceded, "makes me wonder whether my endorsement has any magic."

This year, the U.A.W. has banded together with other unions, including the Communications Workers of America and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, in a liberal labor caucus. Their goal has been the election of delegates to the Democratic National Convention, not the promotion of any one candidate.

Mr. Jackson has been fighting a rear-guard action to keep auto workers' backing from his rivals. He sent word to Mr. Woodcock a few weeks ago objecting to Mr. Woodcock's plans to appear with Mr. Carter last night. Some other officials of the union also opposed it.

But an important strategic consideration lay behind the joint appearance. Mr. Woodcock was mortified in 1972 when Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama won the primary in Michigan, the state where the auto workers have worked for decades to liberalize the political climate.

He is entered there again this year, and a loss to Mr. Carter in Florida might, according to some reckonings, make him easier to handle in Michigan on May 18.

The Cold Warrior

By Anthony Lewis

MIAMI BEACH, March 7—There were 2,500 people jammed into Temple Emanu-El, and they cheered for Senator Henry Jackson. He talked, as he often does, about how he would strengthen American power and use it in the world.

"Why shouldn't we use food power?" he asked. "The United States is the most powerful nation on the face of the earth in terms of food. . . .

"Food power is more important than petroleum power, and we shouldn't hesitate to use it as a bargaining weapon. We should tell the Russians: 'We'll help you, but first show your good faith.'"

He had sounded the same theme at a labor union rally in Ft. Lauderdale. American grain, he said, should be used as leverage to get Soviet agreement on such things as limited nuclear arms and stopping wars of national liberation.

"The Russians would starve to death if it weren't for the United States," he said. The line got loud applause.

Senator Jackson is drawing enthusiastic crowds in South Florida. He is helped by the magnetic presence of Daniel Patrick Moynihan. He is himself a more confident figure these days, and a much-improved speaker, though his gestures are still wooden. Some of those traveling with him now believe he can cut hard enough into Jimmy Carter's vote in the Florida primary Tuesday to drop Carter substantially behind George Wallace—maybe even behind Jackson.

The seeming Jackson surge makes it important, and fascinating, to note what he actually tells his audiences. Along with traditional liberal Democratic positions on economic issues, especially jobs, he takes a strong line—nationalistic, anti-Soviet—on foreign policy. That is not news about Scoop Jackson, but the words are more extreme than you expect.

The idea of using food as a weapon, for example, is regarded by many experts as impractical. The Russians are not that totally dependent on American grain. U.S. farmers have shown that they will use effective pressure against any embargo on sales. And in the end, would the United States really gain influence in the world if it forced millions into starvation because their government would not give way to some American demand?

Even Ronald Reagan rejected the food weapon idea on NBC's "Meet the Press" today. "Selling gives us the advantage," he said. "We can't just stubbornly say, 'We won't sell.'"

On Israel, Senator Jackson also takes a much harder line than just about anyone who has had American responsibility for a Middle East policy. No one doubts the sincerity of his longstanding commitment to Israel. The question is whether rigidity is the best policy.

In Temple Emanu-El, Jackson called for "direct negotiations" between Israel and the Arabs. He said, "We can't go on with a Mickey Mouse operation" of the two sides talking through a third party, the United States.

Ever since 1948 the Israelis have wanted direct negotiations, and most Americans sympathize with that aim. But what progress there has been has all come through third-party assistance: the original 1948 armistice, and the interim agreements on the Sinai and Golan Heights. There is no realistic alternative to that technique now.

Again, Jackson indicated that the Arabs should change their basic attitude before Israel is asked to return any more of the land occupied in 1967. "There must be a change of heart," he said. "A change of boundary lines means nothing without a change of heart."

But is intransigence really wise policy for Israel? Is time on her side? The events since 1967 hardly suggest that Israel has gained relative strength—or friends in the world—by refusing to return occupied territory. More Israelis now think she must seek an overall settlement in return for withdrawing from 1967 territory. Is it sensible to stir American pressure for intransigence?

Condemning the Palestine Liberation Organization, Jackson said it had intervened in Lebanon and "committed genocide" against Jews and Christians. However much the P.L.O. is to be condemned, the origins of the civil strife in Lebanon are not so clear. Is it responsible to use such a word as "genocide"?

There are two ways to interpret some of the extreme things that Senator Jackson has to say about foreign policy. The first is that they are demagoguery—bold words that he knows do not and cannot fit the real problems. The second possibility, more worrying, is that as President he would in fact try to use American power in such dangerous ways.

When the North Koreans captured the Pueblo in 1968, Jackson was reported by The Seattle Post-Intelligencer to have said, "I'm afraid we'll have to get into the use of nuclear weapons." It has always been puzzling that a man so sensitive to many human rights issues should be so truculent in his foreign policy views. But for the moment audiences seem to love his nationalism:

"We've had enough of being kicked around. . . . We've been a soft touch for too long."

BB

Bill Shipp

The Pathetic Lie of Scoop Jackson

On one of those summery afternoons last week, an old watcher of politicians worked up a sweat in his yard, then settled back with a cold beer to watch the evening news. Lo and behold, Sen. Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, candidate for president, popped on the screen in 21-inch living color. The old pol watcher suddenly knew what was wrong with Scoop.



The Senator from Washington was lying — not the little white fibs of say Jimmy Carter or Mo Udall. But he was smiling and telling a whopper of Hitleresque proportion. He was describing the political alliance between Jimmy Carter and Lester Maddox. He was saying how close they had been and how they had worked and plotted together.

* * *

In his first month as governor in 1971, Jimmy Carter summoned Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox to his office. It was the first of only two times the men would meet privately in the governor's office during the next four years.

As Maddox recalls, he walked into the office, shook hands with Carter and pledged to help the new governor if he could. After all, Maddox himself had vacated the office only a few days earlier and he might be able to show the new man around.

But Carter was in a stern mood and declared (again according to Maddox): "I didn't call you here to find out whether you plan to support me or not. I called you to tell you that if you ever oppose me on any issue I will fight you with the full resources at my command."

"I was shocked," says Maddox who is hardly ever shocked. "Why, my daddy never talked to me like that.... And I told him, if you do (fight me), I will fight back. And, of course, I did."

They fought and fought and fought for four long years. And they're still fighting.

The following year, Maddox recalled, Carter again summoned him to his office. "We had a bowl of soup and he asked for my help with his reorganization plan. I told him I would help him, if I thought it was legal."

Maddox apparently didn't think it was legal. He tried his best to blow the whole plan out of the Capitol.

"Well, you know how he finally got his reorganization through," said Maddox the other day. "He traded it out for the salary increases (for the legislature, the governor and the lieutenant governor who happened to be Maddox at the time.) And George Busbee introduced the bill for the raises."

Jackson suggested in his televised perfidy that Maddox went to New Hampshire at the behest of Carter to attack the Georgian and thus drum up support among liberals.

Says Maddox: "I tried to hold a press conference in New Hampshire. And Jody Powell (Carter's press aide) and a bunch came in and tried to disrupt it. I told them if they didn't have proper media credentials to get out."

Maddox also recalled the time during the 1970 election campaign when he stood on the platform with Carter and listened to Carter's compliments.

"He tried to use me publicly just like he used George Wallace. If he hadn't fooled the people of Georgia, he never would have been governor. And if he hadn't been elected governor, he couldn't run for President. Now he's trying to fool the people everywhere," declared Old Pickrick.

* * *

We could let Maddox spout off much more about the alleged duplicity of Jimmy Carter. We could let him call him, as he did many times, a "liar" and "hypocrite." But that is beside the point. The real point is that a major candidate for president, Henry M. Jackson, is describing in detail to liberal south Florida voters a fictious alliance, a non-existent friendship between Jimmy Carter and Lester Maddox.

Carter and Maddox dislike each other personally and despise most of what each other stands for.

Any candidate who says otherwise is a liar. We have had enough of those in the White House already.

HAL GULLIVER

An Intriguing Parallel

Miami

THE BRIGHT warm sunshine expected over much of this state on primary day Tuesday is a far cry from the cold rain over much of Massachusetts last Tuesday, and the politics of this sunshine state and Massachusetts are as light years apart as the probable weather on voting day.

Or are they?

Are Florida and Massachusetts that far apart in this year of 1976?

It intrigues. The Massachusetts primary last week was labeled a testing ground for the "liberal" Democratic hopefuls, those out to win the left of center for the party, each determined to run well in the single state carried by George McGovern in 1972.

So, what happened? Two ol' southern boys, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and Alabama Gov. George Wallace ran in the top four. The other major candidate generally labeled "conservative", Sen. Henry Jackson, actually scored a win in Massachusetts, the first such win Jackson has ever had in two bids for the White House. The self-defined "progressive" candidates, a term tossed in to avoid offending those who think liberals are dumb, mostly bombed out. Congressman Morris Udall alone of the liberals received enough votes in Massachusetts to feel any sense of momentum at all.

Hal Gulliver's column appears daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

So then, Tuesday pits Wallace and Carter and Jackson against each other again, and Florida is unquestionably one of the most critical states in the 1976 presidential election year.

Wallace is the touchstone factor in Florida. Perhaps no one, other than the absolute Wallace faithful, seriously believes he can be nominated for President on the Democratic ticket. Yet anyone who doubts his voter appeal or still believes that his health will keep him from campaigning probably takes the Village Voice political reporting seriously.

Wallace's strength in Florida will be measured to a great extent by comparison with his near 42 per cent showing in the 1972 primary.

Florida is vitally important for Georgian Jimmy Carter. Even as Wallace's relative showing in an earlier performance helps measure his strength, Carter's claim to being the Democratic frontrunner is very much on the line in the Florida primary. He needs at least to run a strong second to the Alabama governor; it would give his campaign great momentum if he should actually defeat Wallace.

Until only a few weeks ago, it appeared that Carter and Wallace would face each other in Florida in what amounted to virtually a two-man race. Jackson belatedly decided to make an active campaign in Florida. His surprising win in Massachusetts is bound to help him. If he actually ran second in Florida, edging out Carter, it would be considered a surprise showing of strength.

What all this means at one level is just that Florida has the potential of substantially helping or hurting each of the three moderate to conservative major Democratic candidates.

Wallace would be severely hurt with a Carter win, especially if it came by a margin of some several percentage points. Jackson wo will be badly bruised if he runs a poor third in Florida, losing that Massachusetts momentum which he needs for the upcoming critical New York State primary. Carter, too has the potential of picking up new momentum or of being seriously undercut in a state where he has chosen to challenge Wallace strongly head on.

Florida will mean different things to the three major candidates involved. If the Massachusetts returns had significance, however, these three candidates (yes, including George Wallace) come closer to representing the mainstream mood of American voters right now than any of the gaggle of liberal candidates in the left of center in the Democratic party.

Winners and Losers . . .

As intense believers in the value of individual competition, Americans try to identify winners and losers in almost every human activity. Transposed into Presidential politics, this characteristic national attitude converts every primary election, however insignificant, into a crucial showdown. The winner, no matter how small his proportion of the total vote or how thin his plurality, becomes this week's front-runner.

New Hampshire is one of the smallest states in the union. Fewer than one-third of its voting-age population participated in this year's primary. Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia polled less than one-third of the Democratic votes. Yet that showing—based on no more votes than would be cast in a few Assembly districts in Brooklyn—was appraised with the utmost gravity and sufficed to get Mr. Carter on the cover of both national newsmagazines.

On the Republican side, President Ford squeezed through ahead of former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. A shift of fewer than a thousand votes would have caused winner and loser to exchange roles. Yet the closeness of the result is already half-forgotten. Florida, the first sizable state in which Mr. Reagan has made a major effort, is being described as "crucial" for him merely because he lost by a whisker in New Hampshire.

Last week, the same inflated spectacle took place in Massachusetts. Again, fewer than one-third of the registered voters participated. With the names of twelve candidates on the ballot plus "no preference," Senator Henry M. Jackson finished first and was immediately hailed as a big winner. In fact, he polled only 22 per cent of the Democratic vote. His winning total of 162,000 votes compares to 1,332,000 votes that Senator George McGovern polled in carrying Massachusetts in the general election four years ago.

There is no doubt that Governor Carter and Senator Jackson "won" but it is highly doubtful that their modest victories can sustain the heavy weight of significance that they have been made to bear. Neither man, after all, came anywhere near winning a majority of those Democrats who made the effort to vote.

Rather than seeing New Hampshire and Massachusetts as enormous battle flags, it would be more realistic to think of them as tiny signal flags sending a tentative and ambiguous message. All that these two New England states are really saying is that there are several Democrats, each of whom is eliciting some support and is worthy of further consideration.

. . . a Better Way

Ideally, the choice of Presidential candidates should be made by their respective national conventions, after deliberative processes designed to insure that the nominee represents a party consensus. Unless such a consensus exists, the prospects for victory in the general election are poor.

In developing that party consensus, primaries should perform an advisory function, important but not decisive. That had been their traditional role until they suddenly proliferated from a dozen—of which only a half-dozen were significant—to 23 in 1972 and to 31 this year. The logic of the new arrangement would suggest a national primary.

But how happy would most Democrats or the country be if, for example, Governor Wallace won such a primary in a crowded field with, say, 25 percent of the vote? Even if a runoff were provided for the two top contenders, there would still be no opportunity for intraparty conciliation and compromise, a process that can best take place in a convention.

It is too late to reform this wildly overgrown primary system this year. But before 1980 Congress should consider legislation pruning the number of primaries back to a few conducted on a regional basis. The current arrangement is physically and financially exhausting for the candidates. It kills off candidates prematurely when it ought to nourish them; it exacerbates personal rivalries and factional divisions when it ought to diminish them. While the weekly search for winners goes on, the parties themselves are the losers.

EE

Primaries

The primary election in Florida tomorrow, as everyone knows, could be a make-or-break contest for Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan or the others.

Just about all that can be said *has* been said about the Florida primary, and now we all may sit back and wait and see.

Meanwhile, a few random thoughts about primaries in general. They are late-comers in our national history, the first taking place in Wisconsin in 1905. The original purpose was reform, but now the primary system is itself criticized as in dire need of reform. Besides, they don't necessarily mean much. Estes Kefauver in 1952 entered nearly all the primaries and won most of the delegates, but Adlai Stevenson was nominated by the Democratic convention that year. Stevenson hadn't entered any. Could HHH be remembering that situation today? Maybe.

The main effect of primaries is a sort of political Darwinism. Those who survive the ordeal are deemed the fittest, or at least the best bets. Those, like Birch Bayh, who fail to attract voter support fall by the wayside.

Those who believe primaries a good thing argue that they prevent bosses from dominating conventions, build popular interest in the national election and enlarge democratic influence. Those opposed say primaries are rarely decisive, that they prolong the election process to inhuman lengths and that pledged delegates make it more difficult to resolve differences at conventions.

Anyway, where we go again. And may the best man win—eventually.

Ernest Furgurson

Messages And Time

MIAMI—The heavy thunderheads loom up out of the Everglades, the sailboats laze around Biscayne Bay, the jets whine in from Port-au-Prince and Panama, the most common language along most streets is staccato Cuban Spanish, and the living looks easy.



In this city, at first glance the performer and the play are all out of place.

In a banquet room overlooking the bay, George Wallace of Clio, Ala., is needling Jimmy Carter of Plains, Ga. As usual, he is knocking welfare cheats. For local favor, he throws in a tribute to our Judaeo-Christian heritage (which he makes "Christian-Judish"), which prompts us to take care of the genuinely needy. Also for the occasion he joins the procession of politicians who are categorizing Fidel Castro this week as an outlaw.

But despite the special Florida inserts, the accents remain those of Clio, Ala., about 1936, totally incongruous in a lush and cosmopolitan erstwhile paradise. Yet the businessmen, many of them Jewish, applaud him. And what he tells them about what happened yesterday up north makes the scene real indeed.

He has just come from a bigger and more cosmopolitan city, one even further removed in politics and heritage from rural Alabama, and he has arrived exulting.

"Can you believe this?" he asks them. "When they call the roll in New York the man is going to stand up and say, 'Massachusetts casts 20 votes for George Wallace!' I can't hardly believe it myself!"

When he has chortled about some chickens coming home to roost up there in Boston, he reminds the group of how he won the Michigan primary four years ago, in another state where George Wallace seemed a long way from home. By now the accents of Clio, Ala., are familiar in living rooms in the most unlikely neighborhoods, as is the name on the voting ballot. Still, this time it is different.

It is neither 1936 nor 1972.

In 1976, Wallace says he is happy about finishing third in Massachusetts, yes, and getting those 20 convention delegates. But what he dwells on repeatedly, with the greatest satisfaction, boils down to "I told you so."

So Henry Jackson won in Massachusetts; "He's against busing now, but he voted for it in '71 and '72." So the main challengers to another Wallace win in Florida are Jackson and Jimmy Carter; at least that means "this party is certainly not going to be controlled by that exotic far-left crowd."

And of course he is right, as it stands this week.

That may be why some of those following Wallace think he has lost his former fire, and that his fans come out mostly for old times' sake. It was that way at the country-music rally where 4,500 cheered him at the Miami Beach convention center the other night. They know he is not going to be President, but they know he was with them back when no other national figure was. He himself sounds a little wistful and already fulfilled when he says now, "One of my missions in this campaign was to be a bona fide candidate."

Well, the Florida results will reaffirm that, whether he can be President or not. For one of the tests of genuineness in a politician is whether he leads or follows the others. This spring, if you could hear just the words without the accent, you could not be sure whether the speaker was Jackson or Carter or either of those running in the other party, or the man who sent them the message.



Bay State Blues Plague Carter

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

BROOKVILLE, Fla. — While Jimmy Carter was addressing a highly receptive crowd across the street in front of this rural north Florida town's old red brick courthouse Thursday, an elderly gentleman sporting a white goatee and Bermuda shorts issued his estimation of the Georgian's chances.

"I like Carter," the old man said, "I think he's the best one of the lot, but I question whether he's sophisticated enough to carry a place like New York."

The weathered pundit never got around to speaking it, but the "missing" word must have been there in the back of his mind, prodding his doubts as it was slightly shaking the confidence of many of Carter's backers here this week.

The word was Massachusetts. Massachusetts, where Carter suffered his only setback in more than a year of campaigning for president — Massachusetts where for the first time things didn't go pretty much as planned. Massachusetts where his well-oiled organization had at last failed to anticipate the outcome, and where it must have finally come to wonder about its assumed invulnerability.

There can be no question that Carter's confidence was shaken by his fourth-place showing in the New England state, a showing the Georgian repeatedly and weakly tried to attribute to a poor voter turnout and victor Henry "Scoop" Jackson's exploitation of the school busing issue.

The candidate and most of his advisers had sincerely believed he would come in no lower than third in Massachusetts. Some had even held to the hope that he would win. But third was enough, they thought, to give him what he needed for the more important challenge to George Wallace in Florida the following week.

So Carter showed up for a press conference after the voting looking very much like a man who had had no sleep the night before, despite an aide's report that the candidate retired around midnight.

Carter's face was slack and his eyes red-rimmed. There was a noticeable slump as he stood behind the speaker's podium.

He allowed an aggressive reporter to draw him into an argument over a minor point of semantics.

He was clearly a little bit unglued and at least one reporter questioned in his mind whether the seemingly indefatigable Jimmy Carter and the collective will of his campaign could stand up to defeat.

Carter has spent months, ever since the Democratic delegate selection process got under way in the states, reacting to victory. This was the first time he had been called upon to explain a poorer-than-expected showing.

But as the day wore on Carter, who had immediately put his pollsters to work in key Florida precincts trying to find out what the impact of the Massachusetts vote would be, appeared to find his old vigor and determination.

By evening, he was gracefully analyzing the developments of the night before and admitting that he took a shellacking at the hands of Jackson.

By Thursday morning he had received the results of the spot-polling and appeared completely restored.

"Massachusetts appears not to have had any real impact on my chances in Florida," he confided. "In fact, our favorable response was higher than it had been before."

He was back on his feet, and he spent the day bouncing and grinning among friendly crowds as if there had been no such thing as a Massachusetts primary two days before.

But Massachusetts scared the campaign buttons off Carter and his men, not because they particularly cared that much about the New England state but because they feared it would cast a wet blanket on a year-and-a-half of back-breaking work and the expenditure of more than $1 million.

The only thing they had in mind was the effect on this Tuesday's Democratic primary in Florida, the event Carter has been aiming for with almost singular determination since he announced his candidacy in December 1975.

It's all going to come down here Tuesday. On the day following, Jimmy Carter will be either just another doubtful runner in the presidential pack or a man with a promising political future.

Carter has to run within a few percentage points of George Wallace of Alabama, and he certainly has to come in second ahead of Jackson.

Otherwise, he's had it for sure.

The magic figure is 35 per cent. Everything revolves around that. That's about the most Wallace can get if Carter wants to stay in the ball game.

If Wallace comes in under 35 per cent, Carter stands to pull over 30. That would be a respectable showing for the Georgian with a vindication which would allow him to move into the big state primaries where the 1976 Democratic nomination will really be decided.

Anything under 30 per cent spells trouble for James Earl Carter. That's why Carter has made 34 campaign trips to this state and spent upwards of half his total budget here.

But for Wallace the stakes are even higher. If he loses, or even barely edges Carter, he is done as a national politician.

New South Battling Old South

So it stacks up as the Southern political battle of the century. It is the New South vs. the Old South, with urbane Jimmy Carter of Georgia staring across the ring at George Corley Wallace, the symbol of an era that is said to be on its way out.

There will be more than votes counted here Tuesday night. A measure will be taken of the political maturity of the South, and much will hang or fall on the outcome. Never mind George Wallace. Never mind Jimmy Carter.

Our off-the-wall suggestion is that Carter has a fine chance of defeating Wallace in the Florida primary.

A Carter victory, however slight, would be the collective voice of a certain breed of Southern voter saying something like:

"George is still my man. I've backed him four times for president. I still like what he says better than what the rest are saying — but this fellow Carter, even though he might be a little too liberal to suit my tastes, has a chance to win.

"George has had his day. Now, it's over."

Who Gets Top Billing?

Four barbers in a small shop in New Port Richey talked about Carter for 30 minutes while he strolled the streets, then spoke to a crowd four times as big as one he had drawn in the identical spot two months ago.

Not one of the barbers had anything but kind things to say about the candidate from Georgia. They said they liked his openness, his simple way of putting things, and the fact that he always seems to be smiling.

On the table next to the wall was a large stack of George Wallace literature and buttons.

"How about a Wallace-Carter ticket?" the chief barber suggested — seriously if unrealisticly.

"How about a Carter-Wallace ticket?" one of his colleagues countered.

"That'd be alright with me," the boss conceded.

The whole exercise was, of course, nonsensical.

But anybody who missed its implications for the historic election here Tuesday couldn't have been paying very close attention.

GG

Hal Gulliver

How Mud, Snow and Busing Hurt

'A lot of mud was thrown in Massachusets, but it was the snow that hurt us.

—James Earl Carter, sometime peanut farmer

NEW PORT RICHEY, Fla.—Jimmy Carter has been riding the press bus for half an hour or so, talking in animated fashion with journalists who usually get at the candidate only in news conferences, and the talk in part is about Sen. Henry Jackson and "busing," yes Lord, that issue yet again.



The busing issue in Boston and in Massachusetts, says Carter, was devisive and emotional and had racist connotations. Jackson exploited the issue deliberately, Carter had said earlier, right after the Massachusetts primary results were in, and the journalists have been pushing him on the issue ever since.

Doesn't what he said mean that Jackson is a racist? No, says Carter, he does not believe that. Jackson exploited an emotional issue, one that he, Carter, chose not to exploit. That is as far as the candidate will go.

Carter views personally what he considered a relatively disappointing showing in Massachusetts as stemming from two or three reasons.

One, says Carter, he believed his New Hampshire victory the week before would influence Massachusetts voters more than it did. Two, the cold snow and rain on voting day hurt him in that he had not been able to campaign personally and to organize in Massachusetts as he had done in some states.

That meant a certain amount of "soft" support, Carter believes, which simply did not turn out in bad weather.

Third, however, was the busing issue, an issue Carter feels he underestimated and believes made the strong finishes of Jackson and Alabama Gov. George Wallace possible.

Jackson's ads in newspapers in the closing days ran huge block letters declaring, "I Am Against Forced Busing."

Yet Carter is consistent in saying at least that the Massachusetts balloting has not affected his basic campaign strategy. The Washington Star's Jack Germond wrote two months ago that perhaps Carter was a dark horse, yet the Carter campaign seemed to be almost exactly where, Germond reported, the candidate had told him it would be fully one year before.

That basic strategy from the beginning focused on the early caucus states, specifically Iowa's balloting on Jan. 19, the first highly publicized primary in New Hampshire, and then the Florida primary, where Carter anticipated beating Wallace in head-on battle.

The Massachusetts primary date was changed rather late, so that it fell earlier than anticipated. Carter felt hopeful there, but was not willing to divert campaign time and resources from either New Hampshire or Florida.

The Florida primary tomorrow is thus a key part in Carter's basic strategy from the beginning. "I don't have any excuses if I don't do well in Florida," Carter said this last week, even knowing that Jackson's surprising showing in Massachusetts undoubtedly helps the Washington senator in the Sunshine State.

The bus reaches the shopping center where Carter is scheduled to campaign and shake hands. He moves about rapidly, popping into an ice cream shop and buying a peanut-butter-and-jelly ice cream cone, if you can believe that. But the people in the shop enjoy it all. That person-to-person campaign has been a big part of the Florida effort during his 34 campaign swings in the state.

An hour later, Carter is meeting in private session in Room 185 of the Holiday Inn in St. Petersburg with UAW head Leonard Woodcock, one of the nation's most influential labor leaders. Labor backing here is a significant part of the campaign, too.

What's in a Name?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 6—This Presidential campaign may not be distinguished for its brains, but it is a vintage year for names. We have a Jimmy Carter, a Mo Udall, a Scoop Jackson, a Sarge Shriver, and of course, a Jerry Ford, all of whom think there are votes in these affectionate nicknames.

Particularly "Wee Jimmy." He is serious about his political frivolities. He is not listed on the official Presidential primary ballots in Florida or Illinois as James Earl Carter Jr., which has the upstairs sniffish ring of an English barrister, but insists on plain Jimmy Carter, without quotation marks.

This irritates many people, who detest the grinning informality of modern politics and cannot imagine Presidents named Tommy Jefferson or Woody Wilson; but it is natural to Carter, common usage in the South, and it conveys precisely the aw-shucks, down-home, jes'-me, peanut-farmer impression he wants.

■

Politicians live by trademarks. "How can a man called Adlai beat a soldier named Ike?" Governor Stevenson asked during the 1952 Presidential campaign. And when Chairman Fulbright of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was defeated for re-election by Dale Bumpers, a plain and unforgettable name, one of his friends said, "Fulbright was too formal. If he had been known in Arkansas as Jim Billy, instead of J. William Fulbright the Rhodes Scholar, he might have had a chance."

"Harry" wasn't President Truman's given name, but it sounded like a flag flying in the breeze, and somehow fitted his feisty personality. You can't imagine Franklin Roosevelt being called "Frankie," but "Teddy" Roosevelt, the old "Rough Rider," was just right for the man, and "Jack" didn't hurt President Kennedy, though "Bobby" and "Teddy" didn't help his brothers.

The nicknames of the present cast of Presidential characters, however, may have some marginal significance. For one thing, they fit in newspaper headlines, which, next to television performances, interest candidates more than almost anything else.

For example, you can imagine a President Udall in an inevitable fight with Congress, vetoing the things he supported in the campaign. The headline writes itself: "Mo Says No," and on the basis of this alone, The New York Daily News would almost have to overlook his liberal tendencies, and support him.

Senator Jackson's monicker may be his best hope, outside his lovely wife. He is the most solemn yearner in the pack, mad at everybody except George Meany, and the Pentagon, sore at the Russians, Kissinger, and his old buddies in the press, but somehow that name "Scoop" humanizes his anger and reminds people that he battled for the New Deal as well as for the old Cold War.

Governor Reagan obviously has a problem in the Republican race. To be a "Ronald," older than Ford, a former Democrat, an actor—no matter how good on television—running against the President of his own minority party, named Jerry, is more of a burden than any mortal man is likely to overcome. And if Ford could get a Vice-Presidential running-mate named "Tom," and put together a "Tom and Jerry" ticket, Reagan, even if you called him "Ronnie," would probably be finished.

■

Carter is the most interesting figure in this campaign, maybe because he is the newest and freshest and youngest character at the top of the race. But maybe more important, though he probably won't make it except as a Vice-Presidential candidate, because he is sort of a throwback to the past, a symbol of the simpler world we have lost.

The sophisticated world of our noisy materialistic society is uneasy with Carter's quiet, smiling, Chautauqua rhetoric, but it would be easy to underestimate his modest small-town "Jimmy" approach to the distractions and blunders of the big world. Even Leonard Woodcock, the powerful head of the United Auto Workers, who will have great influence at the Democratic nominating convention in Madison Square Garden, praised Carter's moral approach to the campaign in Florida the other day. Carter is a longshot, but he has come a long way because he is, for more people than the political pros realize, a symbol of our regret—for the values we regret we forgot.

This Presidential campaign is quite different after Vietnam, Watergate, the New Deal, and the Fair Deal. The programs of the extreme right and left do not seem to be persuading the voters in the primary elections. They are looking for moderation, a pause in the violent controversies of the last generation, and for something steady, for character and somebody they can believe in, even if he doesn't know all the answers.

As Meg Greenfield observed the other day in Newsweek, almost everybody called the Secretary of State "Henry" not so long ago, almost in an affectionate way, because they believed in him, but now almost everybody, this reporter excluded, calls him "Kissinger," as if he had lost his way and let the Republic down. What's in a name? The political answer to Shakespeare's question seems to be: Quite a lot—in the election probably a lot of votes.

Why Voters Feel Adrift



ROBERT AKERMAN

JIMMY CARTER is talking about issues in his presidential campaign but he is putting his main emphasis on selling himself as a personality.

In a generally favorable column on the Carter campaign, Newsweek's George Will summed this up as the idea that the public no longer wants to make decisions about complicated issues so much as it wants to decide what kind of leader makes the decisions.

Maybe that is especially true in the wake of Watergate, as Carter has said. But the trend has been developing for a long time. For example, wasn't it involved in the popularity of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952? As Paul Hutchinson, editor of Christian Century, wrote at the time: "The world had become too complex and threatening for millions of Americans to know how to relate their votes to matters of high policy." So they simply voted for a man they thought they could trust.

The increasing impact of television also accentuates the matter of personal style, as in the era of John Kennedy. Of course there can still be exceptions; in 1968 neither Richard Nixon nor Hubert Humphrey was that appealing in style or character for millions of people, and the issues of Vietnam and law and order broke through to dominance.

But on the whole the emphasis on issues does seem to be declining in presidential campaigns, and I think a major factor that we are overlooking as a cause of the trend is one that could eventually make democracy meaningless. The truth is not that the issues are that much more complex than they used to be, nor that people don't want to make choices about them—it's that the issues have become intermingled and people can't make effective choices. At the present moment, for example, I find no candidate I agree with on all the issues I consider major. I might be conservative about some things and liberal about others—but people who are independent-minded don't have that much choice.

Doesn't this come back to the point that the issues are more complex? No, not really. What it comes to is the point that we have to decide on too many issues when we pick a president, if we pay any attention at all to issues. And this is because the federal government makes so many more of the decisions today than it once did.

When the time comes that the federal government is prescribing how industrial plants shall be safely operated, how physical education classes shall be conducted in every college, and how day care centers shall be staffed, we have to ignore plenty of issues if we want to make a presidential choice based on a candidate's foreign policy views. Today we have too little choice because we have to make too much of a choice.

It would not be so if more domestic decisions were made at the state and local levels. Centralization of government in Washington and in the executive branch is dangerous not only because of the power it puts in the hands of a few but because it means a narrowing of the range of effective decisions citizens can make in elections.

No wonder people are feeling politically impotent, or that government seems steadily more remote and out of control. All we can do is vote for a "good man" for president and hope he will do right.

This is not to argue for a return to the old days when such slogans as "state rights" and "home rule" often served as masks for injustice or selfish privilege. But it is to suggest that unless true decision-making is revived at government levels below the federal, democracy may gradually disappear. And that means true decision-making about what programs to have, not just gimmicks like revenue sharing which let state and local officials play with money they don't have responsibility for raising.

By the way, both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan have criticized revenue sharing and the present setup in federal-state relations. If I agree with them on that question but disagree on a lot of others, what can I do about it? Nothing, and that is precisely my point.

Scoop's New Weapon



ROWLAND EVANS
and ROBERT NOVAK

Washington

FRESH FROM his Massachusetts triumph, Sen. Henry M. Jackson has been campaigning in the Florida primary windup armed with a powerful new weapon to attract the large and largely uncommitted black vote: a remarkable, ringing endorsement on tape of his civil rights record by none other than Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

Approval by Humphrey of Jackson's use of the tribute, a tape recording of Humphrey's effusive introduction of Jackson at a political dinner last May 13, came before the Massachusetts primary at a time Jimmy Carter seemed to be building irresistible momentum.

Thus, the question arises whether Humphrey would have been so quick to approve Jackson's use of his encomium if he could have foreseen Jackson's Massachusetts victory, its damaging impact on Carter and its transformation of Jackson himself from primary loser into a major contender for the nomination.

A noncandidate, Humphrey is nevertheless first choice among Democratic possibilities for his party's nomination, and might emerge as standard-bearer from a deadlocked convention.

Some leading party operatives, however, contend Humphrey has given and continues to give Jackson a helping hand quite apart from a desire to stop Carter and contrive a deadlock at Madison Square Garden. Whatever the motive, what he had to say about old friend Scoop Jackson last May, now being beamed from black radio stations all over Florida, may give Jackson a thick slice of the black primary vote — roughly 15 per cent of the total — despite his controversial campaign against forced racial busing.

"Scoop Jackson was standing in the front ranks of those who were fighting for even the most limited" civil rights victories in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Humphrey said; "fighting to abolish the polltax, fighting to abolish segregated hospitals built with federal funds, to create a civil rights division of the Department of Justice."

"This good man," Humphrey said, fought for civil rights "when the going was hard, when it was not popular."

With no liberals competing in the Florida Democratic primary, the black vote has been somnolent and generally disinterested. Carter, aided by Rep. Mary Singleton, a black state legisalator from Duval County, has attracted some support, but no real enthusiasm. Thus, the endorsement by Humphrey, the most popular national Democrat among black voters everywhere, might accomplish two things: make it impossible for Carter to beat George Wallace, his real objective in Florida, and give Jackson, whose half-baked, pre-Massachusetts Florida campaign guaranteed his coming in a low third, a more respectable showing, possibly over 20 per cent of the vote.

A footnote: Humphrey's approval of Jackson's use of the fulsome Humphrey praise in a Democratic primary campaign followed by six weeks Carter's gracious public reference to Humphrey's "reputation as a loser." Humphrey was not amused.

BANDWAGONITIS: A series of intimate White House soirees arranged without any publicity by Rogers Morton, President Ford's top political aide, is raising questions among Republicans backing Ronald Reagan whether Mr. Ford will seek retribution after — and if — he wins the Republican presidential nomination.

Invitations to Morton's carefully staged soirees with the President in the Blue Room are limited to pro-Ford and fence-sitting Republicans. No Reaganites wanted, thank you.

The first tea-and-cocktail tete-a-tete came last Tuesday evening. Pro-Ford Sens. William Brock and Howard Baker of Tennessee, Charles Mathias and J. Glen Beall of Maryland and about a dozen pro-Ford members of the House from those states and Florida, North Carolina and Virginia sat in the elegant splendor of the Blue Room talking presidential politics with Mr. Ford and Morton.

Not present were Pro-Reagan Sens. Jesse Helms of North Carolina and William Scott of Virginia. But Florida Rep. Richard Kelly, a fence-sitter until he announced for Mr. Ford a couple of days after the session in the Blue Room, was present.

Invited but regretting was Rep. Majorie Holt of Maryland, a Reagan-leaning fence-sitter who explained to the White House she could not attend because the House was staying in session late that evening.

The consensus of pro-Reagan and uncommitted Republicans: Morton is applying not-so-subtle pressure on them to join the Ford campaign while the joining is still good for a little political credit.

A footnote: The second Ford-Morton session is set for the coming week with Illinois (site of the next big Ford-Reagan primary on March 16) and other midwestern Republicans to be invited. — (c1976.)

KK

Whose Primary?

The New York Democratic primary has almost nothing to do with democracy and almost everything to do with the retention of power by the party's political bosses in this state—because of the most complicated, undemocratic and expensive primary rules imaginable.

None of the names of the actual Presidential candidates will appear on the ballot for the April 6 primary because, in the absence of any legal requirement that the names be listed, the Board of Elections has decided that it cannot list them.

Thus, in lieu of Presidential candidates' names, voters in each of the state's 39 Congressional districts will be presented with slates, some of which will be committed to certain candidates and some of which will be uncommitted. But not every candidate will be represented by a slate in every Congressional district because (a) 1,250 valid signatures of registered Democrats are required in each district to have a slate listed in that district; (b) that is an extraordinarily expensive effort (the Udall campaign, for example, estimates that it spent $20,000 to get slates listed in just 23 districts), and (c) signatures are highly vulnerable to technical challenge.

Consider the problems of mounting midwinter petition drives manned principally by amateurs to collect the requisite signatures. Carelessly collected signatures are valueless. If, for example, a person has signed her name on the registration book "Jane A. Roe," but has signed the petition "Jane Roe" or has signed more than one petition, even in good faith, her signature may be stricken. Thus, a candidate who files with less than double the number of required signatures in a district is likely to find his slate off the ballot if an all-out challenge contest breaks out.

But that is just the tactic which state leaders of the Jackson campaign are using in a highly organized attack on the petitions of other candidates. Under the twisted logic of the New York Election Law, their effort is perfectly legal and a great temptation.

This system makes even less sense than the foolish waste involved in having two primaries for the state. Taken as a whole, it is a system that is indefensible. Unless, of course, you are one of the clubhouse bosses and want the smallest turnout and the greatest confusion in order to retain power. Then it is made to order. But it is still not democratic.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

3/15 thru 3/21

Selected Comment, News and Opinion.

Also Find Enclosed:

New York Magazine Article.

Text of Foreign Policy Statement.



Associated Press

Jimmy Carter, left rear, was a face in a crowded elevator on his way to a meeting in Washington yesterday

6A

B

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1976 — $1.00 beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island, higher in air delivery cities.

REAGAN, WALLACE FACING KEY TESTS IN NORTH CAROLINA

Damaged in Earlier Races, Both Hope to Recover in Primary Tuesday

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

CHARLOTTE, N. C., March 20—North Carolina, one of the nation's dozen largest states, has seldom exercised national political clout, but it may determine on Tuesday the fate of two conservative Presidential hopefuls.

Ronald Reagan, Republican, the former Governor of California, and George C. Wallace, Democrat, the present Governor of Alabama, have run as independent-minded outsiders in this year of presumed public impatience with the status quo in Washington.

Both have been damaged, however, in the early primaries; in three major tests, each has lost three times. Next week, on what each considers favorable ground, each will try to recoup, with the knowledge that another loss could be fatal.

Wallace Attacks Carter

Public-opinion polls indicate that Mr. Reagan is likely to lose to President Ford and Mr. Wallace to former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia in the North Carolina primary. If the polls are borne out, senior advisers to both candidates said privately this week, they will have to restudy their campaigns.

Mr. Reagan has accused Mr. Ford of misquoting him despite the fact that the speeches were taped.

Large blocs of delegates—61 to the Democratic convention and 54 to the Republican convention—are also at stake in the North Carolina balloting.

Confronted by a generally apathetic electorate, which is unaccustomed to political campaigns in this season of blossoming dogwoods and redbuds, the two conservatives have

Continued on Page 43, Column 3

Reagan and Wallace Face Tests in North Carolina

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

gone to the attack in desperate efforts to win.

Mr. Wallace has called Mr. Carter "a liar" and "a warmed-over McGovern," attempting to link him to Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, the 1972 Democratic Presidential nominee, a decidedly unpopular figure in the South.

Speaking to crowds often much smaller than those he drew here in 1968 and 1972, the Alabamian said that "smiling and grinning a lot" would not bring about the needed changes in Washington. He canceled news conferences and rallies in several cities to record television interviews in a seemingly frantic effort to prove that his paralysis would not impair his ability to serve as President.

Mr. Reagan, dogged at every stop by questions about his ability to stay in the race, and confronted yesterday by a public suggestion from a number of Republican governors that he pull out, suggested in frustration that Mr. Ford should withdraw. For the second time in the campaign, he gibed at the President about Watergate, commenting that there must be an "18-minute gap" in some of the tape recordings of Mr. Reagan's public speeches made by a Ford campaign aide.

Although the former Governor disavowed any attempt to raise racial issues, his campaign workers have circulated material pointedly remding voters that Mr. Ford said he would consider Edward W. Brooke of Massachuseets, the only black Senator, as a Vice-Presidential running mate.

Today, in Hickory, Mr. Reagan ordered his organization to stop circulating the material.

And the overseer of the Reagan campaign in the state, Thomas F. Ellis, said in an interview that the problems of Howard H. Callaway, the former Ford campaign chairman, gave the Administration "its own little Watergate." Mr. Reagan refused Mr. Ellis's advice eo zero in on the Callaway case.

Mr. Wallace polled 31 percent of the vote here in 1968, running as a third-party candidate, and 50 percent in the 1972 Presidential primary, easily defeating former Gov. Terry Sanford on his home ground. His backers contend that there has been no erosion in his strength.

The C arter camp believes otherwise. Daniel L. Short, one of the Georgian's local managers, said that Mr. Cater had cut into Wallace support everywhere in the state except the most conservative coastal counties.

Most politicians in North Carolina think Mr. Wallace has been hurt not only by the health issue but also by the reacial climate in the state, which has clamed considerably since 1972, when the massive busing plan in the Charlotte area was much in the news.

Two Man Contest

"What worries me," Mr. Short said, "is turnout. A tornado would hit every polling place, and the Goeorge Wallace loyalists would still be there. We have to make sure that out people are, too."

Unlike Florida, North Carolina provides a neat, two-man test between Mr. Wallace and Mr. Carter. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, after an early burst of activity that produced, among other things, an endorsement from former Senator Sam. J. Ervin Jr. of Morganton, wthdrew from the contest in the belief tht he would fare poorly.

Other candidates are listed on the ballot but have not campaigned here.

Mr. Reagan's chief sponsor in North Carolina is Senator Jesse A. Helms, a conservative former television broadcaster who is appearing for him in commercials that contrast his stands on key issues with Mr. Ford's. A similar approach was taken in 200,000 pieces of Reagan direct mail, and in newspaper ads, inserted by the American Conservative Union, bearing the headline, "There Is A Difference."

However, Mr. Ellis said that the President had "snuggled up so close to Reagan" on key issues that he feared many people would see no difference and choose the incumbent.

Governor Backs Ford

Mr. Ford has the backing of Gov. James E. Holshouser Jr., which appears to give him a significant advantage: whereas many of Mr. Helm's backers are registered Democrats who are ineligible to vote in the primary, Mr. Holshouer is popular among traditional Republicans.

The President's string of victories so far has helped him considerably in the view of J. Brad Hays, one of his key operatives in North Carolina. The Ford strategy, Mr. Hays said, is to capitalize on his momentum through a telephone campaign that has reached 130,000 households.

"Two weeks ago I would have been happy with 51 percent," Mr. Hays said. "Now I expect to hit 56 or 57."

Mr. Reagan's drive, on the other hand, appears to have been handicapped by his lack of success so far. The bad news from other primaries was intensified by the absence of television advertising from the state for two crucial weeks.

The Washington Post

© 1976, The Washington Post Co. SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1976 Phone (202) 223-6000 Classified 223-6200 Circulation 223-6100

Jimmy Carter's 'Inner-Healing' Sister

Devout 'Minister'

By Myra MacPherson
Washington Post Staff Writer

FAYETTEVILLE, N.C. — The looks are strikingly the same — streaked blond hair, crinkle-eyed smile. Then comes the same soft monotone, the repeated phrases, the unhurried Southern drawl. But Jimmy Carter's faith-healing sister, Ruth Carter Stapleton, is not talking politics.

Across the country—with crowds of thousands, or with individuals—Stapleton calls upon Jesus to heal the emotional wounds of the "inner child" of each one's long-ago past. As she asks them to close their eyes and relax, Stapleton invites Jesus to enter their imaginary world, punctuating her sentences with the fervent, almost hypnotically repititious, "And we thank you, Jesus . . ."

Stapleton, 46, is as much a source of interest in some religious circles as her brother, the current Democratic presidential front-runner, is in politics. Her "inner healing" ministry combines principles of psychology and spiritualism—a hybrid that confuses and disturbs many in both worlds, not to men-

See STAPLETON, A12, Col. 1



By Ken Cook for The Washington Post

RUTH CARTER STAPLETON
. . . putting "politickin' first"

'Profound' Event

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

RALEIGH, N.C.—Jimmy Carter says "a deeply profound religious experience that changed my life dramatically" in 1967 has given him "an inner peace" that guides him in politics.

In a talk to wealthy contributors on the patio at a sumptuous Winston-Salem home Thursday night, Carter said that as a result of the experience, "I recognized for the first time that I had lacked something very precious—a complete commitment to Christ, a presence of the Holy Spirit in my life in a more profound and personal way. And since then I've had an inner peace and inner conviction and assurance that transformed my life for the better."

Carter did not specify precisely what the "deeply profound religious experience" was, except to say that "I don't think I'm ordained by God to be President" and that the "only prayer that I've ever had concerning the election is that I do the right thing. And if I win or lose, my religious faith won't be shaken."

In a press conference here Friday

See CARTER, A6, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST
A 6 Sunday, March 21, 1976

1967 Event Gave Carter 'Inner Peace'

CARTER, From A1

Carter was asked to elaborate on Thursday night's remarks. He said he had always been an active member of his Baptist church, "but in 1967, I realized that my own relationship with God, with Christ, was very superficial. And because of some experiences I had that I won't describe involving personal witnessing in states outside of Georgia among people who were very unfortunate and who did not speak English, and otherwise, I came to realize that my Christian life, which I had always professed to be pre-eminent, had really been a secondary interest in my life.

And I formed a very close, intimate personal relationship with God, through Christ, that has given me a great deal of peace, equanimity and the ability to accept difficulty without unnecessarily being disturbed, and also an inclination on a continuing basis to ask God's guidance in my life.

"It was not a profound stroke of miracle. It wasn't a voice of God from heaven. It was not anything of that kind. It wasn't mysterious. It might have been the same kind of experience as millions of people have who do become Christians in a deeply personal way."

Carter said that "I don't think God is going to make me be President by any means. But whatever I have as a responsibility for the rest of my life, it will be with that intimate personal continuing relationship . . ."

In the Winston-Salem talk, Carter said he has always been impressed "very vividly" by the late Reinhold Niebuhr's saying. "The purpose of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world."

Carter said he had "spent more time on my knees the four years I was governor in the seclusion of a little private room off the governor's office than I did in all the rest of my life put together because I felt so heavily on my shoulders that the decisions I made might very well affect many, many people."

In a separate interview with the former Georgia governor in Winston-Salem Thursday night, Carter told of a conversation he had with his sister, Ruth Stapleton, an evangelist, around 1966 in a pine orchard on the family farm in Georgia in which he expressed a desire, even at the cost of never being governor or President, to have the same inner peace his sister had.



Carter embraces friend, Atlanta businessman Jesse Hill Jr., at meeting.

She counseled him to get more involved in the religious life, he said, and as a result he began to do what he called "pioneer mission" work with families in Northern states, including Pennsylvania, Michigan and Massachusetts, who were without religious beliefs.

Contrary to reports that such service was a mixture of politics and religious work, Carter said, "There wasn't anything political about it. I was in a town in Pennsylvania where I never dreamed of going back to, and I've never been back there. And very few people knew who I was, and nobody knew I was a candidate for governor, even the folks that were working with me. I had been defeated in '66 and I went up there as a farmer, as just a Christian layman."

Carter said it would not be accurate to draw from this that he broke from political life for a time and devoted himself exclusively to missionary work. He said he went north from time to time working with some of 100 families identified as non-Christian by his church through long-distance telephone calls.

In one Pennsylvania community, he said, "We witnessed to them about our Christian faith and when we left, we had organized a new church."

He continued his second and ultimately successful quest for the governorship at the time, he said.

"I was really getting to be well-known in Georgia," he said, "and it was more convenient for me to go to do this kind of Christian work where I was not well-known and nobody would recognize me."

As for going off to pray, Carter said: "I don't think that ought to be said in a mystical way. It's just a standard part of my life. When I have intense pressure on me or difficult decisions to make, I habitually go off by myself. When I'm at home in Plains [Ga.] I go up and take a walk in the woods or in the field."

In praying in the room off his governor's office, he said, "There was no wave of revelation that came over me, no blind flashing of light or voices of God or anything. I just had a quiet feeling that was reassuring. But I wouldn't want it to be connoted as a mystical set of events. It's a typical experience among Christians."

Carter's Sister: Healing the Wounds of the 'Inner Child'

STAPLETON, From A1

tion the nonbelievers who scoff at either, or both, disciplines.

She has been denounced as an "anti-scripture witch disguised as the angel of light" by some fundamentalist ministers. She has been embraced by many other religious groups, such as the Charismatic Catholics who speak in tongues. And when she does not use her "inner healing" method, which would not be well received, she is popular as an evangelist with Baptist and Methodist groups.

Some psychiatrists have scoffed, others seek to learn her principles, which, to some nonbelievers, sound amazingly simplistic as she insists the healing of emotional problems is all done by the Holy Spirit.

Stapleton, who has had 30 hours of graduate study in psychology, insists she is not a "psychotherapist practicing without a license" as her religious detractors claim. Psychiatrists can "bring a degree of healing by probing the past," but the difference, she feels, is that "only the Holy Spirit can move back into these areas and remove the scars. By inviting His presence, you're switching all responsibility from you to Him."

After leading a meditation at Hollywood's Presbyterian Church in California today, Stapleton will put her own work aside "until Jimmy gets in the White House. We are extremely close," says Stapleton, who has been campaigning part-time for her brother but has now decided to "put politickin' first."

Stapleton is a handsome woman. Unlike the stereotype that some hold of the devout, she is decidedly chic — eye shadow and mascara accent her blue-grey eyes. She wears gold loop pierced earrings and turtleneck sweaters. Her slim hands are manicured, her nails palely lacquered. She drinks wine at dinner. She looks like a suburban mother of four — the role she played to the hilt until a devastatingly "dark period" in her own life, when she was so miserable she wanted to die, led her to her "inner healing" ministry.

Today, she serenely and unabashedly talks of "miracles" and how God came to her on several occasions.

Asked if people in the compaign were fearful that her work might be considered politically harmful, Stapleton replies, "Of course!" She adds, "Since Jimmy's not concerned about it, I'm not"—although she frequently he has no idea of what I really do. He thinks I'm a Billy Graham evangelist." She feels certain, however, that he would be "pleasantly surprised."

In addition to those seeking marital or child rearing help, Stapleton counsels the outcasts from society and most churches — homosexuals, drug addicts, alcoholics, prostitutes and sexual perverts.

There are five root causes of adult emotional suffering and negative behavior, she feels, "causes that are basically there because of inadequate love." She croons breathlessly to her subjects, "None of us ever had enough perfect, unconditional love." The word "love" is almost whispered.

Her five basic causes—fixed primarily in the first five years of life—are fear, frustration, guilt, inferiority and loneliness or rejection. She feels she has the "divine gift of wisdom" to help people. She conducts her subjects on a "faith imagination" trip. While they imagine a point in their childhood, Stapleton asks them to recall a room, to sit on a couch as that little child, then brings Jesus into that picture. Step by step she asks them to recall their parents, their feelings.

Her cases vary dramatically. Some are just working out problems in their marriage or parents handling rebellious teen-agers.

Other cases are far more grim. A woman who screams hysterically at her no-longer-repressed memories of being raped by her father. A homosexual who weeps because he never knew his father. The sobs of an exhibitionist, four times imprisoned, who recalls the traumatic reason he is unable to have normal sex.

Stapleton leans forward as she recalls that case. "I had him imagine the home he lived in when he was 12 and I asked him to walk through it, with Jesus. It took a long time. Finally, he said he'd been through all the rooms. 'Except one' . . . and then I knew. I asked him what room. He said 'the second-floor bathroom.' I said 'Let's go in that room with Jesus.' He was shivering and crying and begging not to go in. I said, "Well, let's let Jesus go in alone. His Light, His love, removes every negative thing. Therefore that roomis pure and clean." Finally, he was in the room and oh, the tears were just running down his face, and he sobbed how a member of his family had caught him masturbating. He was called terrible names and beaten until the blood ran down his legs."

Having the man recall his trauma was only the first step. "Jesus now had to heal those memories. I started with Jesus blessing his head, his eyes, his lips, repeating always that every part of him was whole and clean . . . so that he would no longer be filled with shame and terror."

Today, she says, that man is happily married. There are countless other "testimonials" she says, explaining that she only works with the willing. After the initial breakthrough, there are often repeated meditations until the "unconditional love of Jesus" can alter people's lives.

Although she has conducted meditations for her children — Lynn, 25; Scotty, 24; Patti, 21; and Michael, 17— and many of her friends, Stapleton says she has not worked with her brother. "If I had ever been able to detect any emotional trouble, I would have forced myself on him to work with him."

Jimmy and Ruth Carter were close as they grew up with another brother and sister on their father's peanut farm in Plains, Ga., a town so small that it takes less than two minutes to drive the length of the main street. Jimmy married Rosalynn Smith, Ruth's best friend.

Through the years, Jimmy, 5 years older, and Ruth remained "spiritually close," although they are "total opposites" in many ways. Calling herself a disorganized, philosophical thinker, Stapleton adds, "Jimmy's got a mind I wouldn't even get into or relate to — it's all logic, order, reason — a steel trap." When Carter campaigns, "If he goes into a drugstore, he asks if there is a janitor in the back he can say hello to. He doesn't miss a thing."

His sister says he is dually propelled—by God's will and his will.

"The other day, we were campaigning and I was so exhausted and I told Jimmy I did not see how he did it. He said, 'Honey, I can will myself to sleep until 10:30 a.m. and get my ass beat, or I can will myself to get up at 6 a.m. and become President.' "

"He has a deeply spiritual side and I am the only one allowed in," says his sister. (In fact, there are those advisers who would just as soon play down Carter's most Godly passage in his speeches including his mother, "Miss Lillian," now 78. "I told him to quit that stuff about never telling a lie and being a Christian and how he loves his wife more than the day he met her," she has said.)

His sister recalls a day when, she says Carter made a "total commitment" to religion. After Carter lost to Lester Maddox for governor in 1966, he walked with Ruth in the wods and asked, "You and I are both Baptists, but what is that you have that I haven't got?"

"I said, 'Jimmy, through my hurt and pain I finally got so had off I had to forget everything I was. What it amounts to in religious terms is total commitment. I belong to Jesus, everything I am." He said, 'Ruth, that's what I want.' So we went through everything he would be willing to give up. Money was no problem, nor friends, nor family. Then, I asked, 'What about all political ambitions.' He said, 'Ruth! You know I want to be governor.' I would use it for the people.' I said, 'No, Jimmy.'

"But he really meant it and became connected with part-time religious work. So he went to Pennsylvania and New York (on a Baptist missionary tour fro less than a year). Jimmy's a Baptist and to commit your life, Baptists think you have to go off and be a missionary somewhere." According to his sister, she got Jimmy back on the political track. "The fact that he was willing to give up his god (politics) was commitment enough."

(Carter, compaigning in North Carolina, said his sister's story was "basically accurate." But he said it was incorrect to say that he considered breaking away from politics to go into a religious life. "Ruth may have had an impression, but that's actually not right.")

Stapleton says Carter has never had the personal conflicts she has had. It wasn't until she was 29 years old that she in fact knew she had any problems "I thought I had the perfect life, the perfect childhood. My feelings were so deely repressed that it took me months before the inner healing could work.

"We've always been such a secret family. Not only did I not let anyone know I had a problem, I didn't let myself know. There is an awful lot of pride in our family. Father always told us there is no one in the world better than you, and you're no better than anyone else. It was brainwashed into us."

Ruth and Jimmy were treated much differently by their father. "With the boys, Dad was a strict disciplinarian," she said. "He believed the boys should be raised to work for a living. From the time he was six, when the bell rang on the farm Jimmy went to work with everyone else." When he got into trouble, he was whipped with a twig. Carter still vividly recalls being whipped for taking a penny out of a collection plate. On the other hand, their mother gave "unconditional love," Stapleton said.

"Jimmy got the perfect combination of the strong male image and the warm compassionate love of mother. If she hadn't been there, Jimmy could have been probably a tyrant."

But Ruth was spoiled by her father. "I had a double problem. My father overindulged me which conditioned me to think I was the best, and then my mother didn't overindulge me. That made me feel rejected, even though I now realize she was just treating me normally. But if you can imagine that every person I met in my whole life who didn't overindulge me therefore didn't love me! . . . Well, I lived in a world of rejection. You can stand it as long as you blame it on others and so I had bad neighbors, a bad husband, bad children, a bad minister, bad friends."

For years, Stapleton realized none of this. She went from high school May Queen, a flirtatious, spoiled Southern belle ("girls were not supposed to make decisions") into a marriage at 19 with a teen-age beau from Americus, Ga. She and Bob Stapleton, a veterinarian who everyone calls Bobby, moved to Fayetteville to save the marriage because "everytime I had a problem I would run nine miles to home."

Ruth Carter Stapleton was never prepared for the responsibilities of mothering the children she had so quickly. "I became an overcontrolling mother out of my insecurities. That scarred the children, particularly Lynn, the oldest — but we are now working things through."

Stapleton's life was constantly changing. She went from Southern belle to a religious "goody goody" who wore drab clothes and no make-up. "I must have been very repulsive to people who were real people. All the answers were simple — just pray. And yet I could no more forgive."

Finally, all of her problems she had so long hidden came to the fore, almost inexplicably, when she needed help one day and realized that prayers didn't work. "I hated myself and subconsciously wanted to die. People lit candles, prayed for me. A psychiatrist said, 'You're suffering too much — there's no way to help you. You needed medication.' After I exhausted every resource, I had to come to grips with the fact that the problem was inside me."

It took years of working at it, evolving her "inner healing" ministry, before she made it out of her problems.

She said she has had a couple of religious "experiences," her most recent two years ago.

"I woke up in my sleep and there was this light, this glow in my room. Something inside me said I was moving into a place of 'unconditional love.' My total healing took place when I fully realized God was a God of love, not one who punished."

Stapleton feels that because she has overcome her problems, "although I'm still not completely there yet," she can "do what I'm doing for others. I can relate. Even in an airport, I have the greatest ministry. I can pick up hurt."

Stapleton's private world has been engulfed by her ministry and her travels. Her pleasant Rambler shows the worn signs of a busy family. She sighs that they are going to have to find the time to get it repainted.

Her relationship with her children seems warm—she squeals with delight when Scotty, a biochemistry college major, and his girlfriend stop by on a Sunday afternoon. Her daughter, Patti, who is getting married in May, is her secretary.

Her husband takes a back seat manager's role, seemingly cheerfully, and puts golf balls on the den shag rug as she gives interviews. She says frankly that there were 17 "noncommunicating" years and an "awful lot of problems" but that the last four years have been "wonderful."

She and her husband have formed her ministry into a nonprofit organization called "Behold, Inc." She gets no salary and contributions go into travel and speaking expenses.

For years, Ruth Carter Stapleton kept her religious and political life separate, even as she worked in her brother's campaigns for governor.

It was partly to keep her separate identity. "But also, so many who are religious look at politics as ugly and dirty and so many in politics look at deep religion as something weird. I would like to bridge that gap."

Anonymity is now fading, but she doesn't seem to mind, and is fascinated by the trappings of national campaigning. She has turned the press section of Carter's plane into a confessional at times, talking to reporters about their problems.

Looking serene, she says, "I am now so happy in my work. You know how Jimmy believes he is going to be President? Well, I am the same. I am so sound in my theology, in my psychological presentation."

Ruth Carter Stapleton flashes the pearly white Carter smile. "Nothin' can shake me."

JIMMY CARTER

The Candidate on the Issues: An Interview

Jimmy Carter, the former governor of Georgia, has won four of the first five Democratic presidential primaries. As he rose to prominence, critics have charged that he has avoided taking clear positions on issues. Last Tuesday, the day of the Illinois primary, Carter met with editors and reporters of The Washington Post who questioned him on a wide range of topics. These are excerpts from the edited transcript of that meeting, followed by portions of a separate interview with Carter conducted by Post staff writer Jules Witcover.

Governor, you have a reputation for being an extremely quick study. Yet the other day you were quoted out of Illinois as saying that you would need more time in order to articulate some of your position papers. Why should the American people, who are looking for their candidate, have to wait on that?

Well, there's no possible way that a candidate could express in clear terms what the ultimate structure of the federal government itself would be after the government is reorganized. I think this is an unreasonable demand on the part of the news media, which I might say doesn't concern the voters at all. I'm not a historian, but I don't think that in the past in a presidential election year we've ever demanded this sort of specificity from candidates this early in the campaign.

Why do you think people voted for you in the primaries? What has been the nature of your appeal to the country, coming from relative obscurity to being a front-runner in the campaign?

That's a hard question for me to answer. I have a genuine affinity for or intimacy with a wide range of voters. I feel completely at home with black groups, environmental groups, farmers, young people, very conservative business executives and so forth. And I think they know it, they feel it. And I derive from them very strong, very fervent, very dedicated support.

You're describing a charisma or personality appeal that you have rather than any issue or any matter of substance. You would put that first, your personal appeal?

I think there are two issues of substance that are generic in nature. They seem obvious to me. The people in this country are intensely patriotic, they love their government so much it almost hurts. They feel that they've been betrayed. They don't understand why something is going on in our nation's government that's a matter of embarrassment and shame. The competence of government is not an accepted characteristic anymore. No matter what a person hopes to do, ultimately in life, no matter what their top hope or aspiration might be, generally they feel that Washington is an obstacle to the realization of that hope rather than an asset to be tapped in the future in the consummation of that hope.

What is your premise about Soviet intentions?

Well, I think the Soviet intentions were expressed very clearly by Brezhnev at the 25th party congress that through peaceful means they would continue to pursue their ultimate goal to communism which is to prevail throughout the world and to probe for possibilities for the expansion of their system, which I think is a legitimate purpose for them. I think we ought to recognize it and be prepared for it.

What if they do it by something other than peaceful means, as in Angola. What would you have done?

If I was faced with the—

Well, with the first decision that Kissinger had to make, about whether to go in with covert CIA help.

I would not have gone in.

Because you think we can afford to write off the Angolas of the world?

No. You've put me in a position of not having anything to do with foreign policy until after a crisis has evolved and we're on the wrong side. I think we have not had the intimate relationship with the developing nations of the world which are in a state of change because we haven't paid any attention to them. We supported the Portuguese as long as we could. We tried to see which one of the factions was most beneficial to us without trying to assess what was best for the Angolan people, or which faction in Angola of the tribal groups was most compatible with the needs of Angola. We watched for many years as Russia and Cuba got firmly entrenched with the Angolan people, and then there's a last-minute thing in secret, or Kissinger and Ford and the CIA decided that we would give them military aid, knowing that neither the American people nor the Congress would support that policy.

Governor, do you share any of Sen. Jackson's alarm that the administration is letting the military balance between us and the Soviets get turned around?

See CARTER, Page B5

CARTER, From Page B 1

I don't think he's correct at all. The only trend that I can see that concerns me is in the naval strength. I don't think I see it because I was in the Navy for 11 years, but that might be a part of it. I think we still have a superiority over Russia in the multiplicity of delivery systems for atomic weapons and our ability to defend ourselves compared to Russia. We're not vulnerable to attack from the Soviets except through atomic weapon deliveries. I think the cumulative strength of our own military forces, plus those of NATO and others, are still superior to the Soviet Union. I think that our vast economic capabilities in agricultural production, electronics, and so forth, gives us a decided edge and will for the next 15 years.

I think that we're still superior to Russia even in the Navy, although in the last eight years our number of ships has decreased 50 per cent, and theirs has doubled. I think the trends are in the wrong direction. The Navy is one entity that has a profound impact on our ability to consummate a foreign policy in peacetime and I think that ability to control the seas in a benevolent way is very important. I think we're getting on shaky grounds now. We have not reassessed our naval strategy since 1950. We're still predicating our plans that the next war is going to be in the Far East. I think that's a mistake in basic premise.

What does your overall defense budget, as you see it now, look like? Do you think we have to spend more than the Ford administration is asking for defense, or less, or about the same?

Well, I would say about the same, maybe 5 per cent less. I think we've had some wrong emphases. I would like to see our Defense Department changed into a much more effective fighting force within the present budgetary limits. We're wasting enormous quantities of money. We've got too many military bases overseas: about 2,000. We've got too many support troops per combat troop—about twice as many as the Soviet Union. We've got too top-heavy a layer of personnel assignments. We've got more admirals and generals than we had at the end of the Second World War.

I think that there are a lot of things that we could phase out. Now the Corps of Engineers, for all practical purposes, ought to be gotten out of the damn building business. We don't need a Selective Service still intact five years after we've eliminated the draft. And there are a lot of things that we could change. I would remove all atomic weapons from Korea. We've got 700 atomic weapons in Korea. I see no reason for a single one. But there are a lot of things that we could do to make the military much more effective in the ability to defend us. And I think this would result in some moderate reduction in overall military needs. But I would not ever let our country be vulnerable. I believe in a strong defense. But I'm talking about maybe 5 per cent reductions in efficiency.

Governor, when you were asked about Korea you made two remarks: one, that you would withdraw the nuclear weapons; the other, I believe you said, troop withdrawal—

Over a four or five-year period. I would not be peremptory about that.

Don't you think that doing both of those things would encourage the North Koreans there, or—

I cannot see any circumstances imaginable under which we need or would use atomic weapons in the Korean area. I have thought about it a lot. And I've talked to a lot of people about it who know more about it, more than I do. I see no reason to keep them there.

What concerns me about that area is that the Japanese, unfortunately, because of their growing distrust of this country, and their belief that we've not gotten an adequate consultative relationship with them, equate our concern with them to our concern with maintenance of strength in Korea. And I don't think that ought to be a part of the Japanese consciousness. My commitment to Japan would be total. I think this is something that has been ratified by our Congress and the President and, I think, the people believe that we ought to maintain our forces in Japan. There are only about 25,000, plus about 35,000 in Korea and Okinawa.

But I would not be rash about the withdrawal of troops from South Korea. I'd be very careful about that. I'd make sure the Japanese knew what we were doing. I would make sure they understood that our commitment to them is total. I would make sure that they understood my motivations in withdrawing atomic weapons. Then I would make sure that in the four or five years when we get our troops in Korea substantially removed that Korea would still be able to defend itself against North Korea.

Governor, if you should get the Democratic nomination, I would like to know how you feel about the selection for a vice president—not the name, but what sort of process.

My present intention would be not to announce in advance, and to make a recommendation to the convention after my nomination comes. And to be prepared to recommend a good person. The criteria that I would use are very logical. The first one, and by far the most important politically and otherwise, is who would be the best person to lead this country if something should happen to me. Secondly, I would choose someone who was politically compatible with me on my basic philosophy and on the major issues—not completely subservient, of course. Because if I serve out my term, I would want my vice president to be naturally in kind of support of my position, and not reluctant. And secondly, again, if I should not fill out my term, I would want my successor to carry out the promises that I will have made to the American people. And the third reason would be quite the remotest in importance, some sort of geographical or other balancing. If I have a defect or lack of experience in a certain area, then that would be a factor to try to supplement my weakness in that area with the choice of a running mate. But I don't see any reason for revealing ahead of time the identity of the vice president. The people of this country are not going to be in the dark, from July until November. They'll have a chance to look at the ticket and they can assess very clearly the qualities of a vice president.

I don't know that it's fair to pin you down too closely. But it seems to me that there are a lot of very specific problems which haven't really been successfully contended with. Everybody admits that for the last 30 years the Democrats have thought they could solve housing, unemployment, welfare and health and education by spending more on them, and they now have seen that they've spent a lot on them and they haven't solved anything. In what direction would you move towards solving these problems?

One thing you haven't mentioned is long-range planning. When I was elected governor of Georgia we wrote down exactly what we wanted to accomplish in mental health, physical health, education, alcoholism, drug control, prison reform, tax reform, transportation and so forth at the end of a year, two years, five years, 20 years. We put estimated cost figures on it the first five years. This is the kind of approach I would bring into the White House. I'd say, this is what our nation hopes to achieve at the end of these periods of time.

Secondly, I think we need to address the problem, say, of the programs that you've described that haven't worked. We've got about 12 million people on welfare, permanently. We've got 2 million welfare workers. That's a worker for every six recipients. Good people. But they don't spend their time alleviating affliction or dealing with the aged or helping people get a job that are out of work. They spend their time in offices bogged down in red tape, shuffling papers, trying to administer about 100 different welfare programs.

Here you've seen an almost unanimous assessment on the part of Moynihan, Nixon and, more recently, David Mathews and others about what ought to be done. All my advisers agree: you need to simplify the whole system. Remove from the welfare system those people who can work full time. That's about 1.3 million. Put them under the responsibility of the Labor Department, the Education Department, treat them as temporarily unemployed people. The other 90 per cent can't work full time; they ought to stay under the welfare system.

There ought to be one nationwide payment to meet the basic necessities of life—varying in amount only to accommodate the cost of living. This varies from one community to another. There ought to be a work incentive aspect built in, which is absent. All these things are absent. So that if a mother has two little kids and her husband is dead and she can leave these kids with a grandmother for 16 hours a week, she ought to be encouraged to get a part-time job and not have her welfare payments confiscated, but remove the elements of the welfare law that encourage or force a father to leave the home. And cut down the number of programs to no more than one or two. That would eliminate the food stamp program. Just one basic payment would mean a great deal.

Under education, I would strengthen this immediately by giving all revenue sharing to local governments, removing the prohibitions in the revenue sharing against being used for things like day care centers, education, preventive health. I think we are going to see inevitably a rapid growth in the percentage of payments to education coming from the federal government because I think that the re-

G

gressive taxes, sales tax and property taxes from which local revenues are derived, are overburdened. I think the natural growth in income in the future is inevitably in the federal tax structure. I would favor a heavy orientation of the federal portion of the education toward children who are deprived in some way—I won't go into details, either—because of a lack of tax base in their community or because of some other deprivation.

And urban problems: I would not favor the federal government ever injecting itself between a state and a local government. In the New York City problem, which is illustrative, I did not favor guaranteeing New York City's bonds. I would have favored keeping New York City and the state bound together with a mutual responsibility and requiring only two things—that the budget be balanced some time in the future as assessed and monitored, and that the bonds that have already been sold or to be sold be settled. Under those circumstances I would have guaranteed New York State's bonds from the federal government under which circumstances they would not have been taxed any further.

You went by balancing New York City's budget rather fast.

Well, I don't know how long it would take. I'll say this. As soon as I'm President, if I'm elected, I would ask Mayor Beame and Gov. Carey to come to the White House, and I would say, look, I'm willing to join you as an equal partner to work out New York City's problems. And I would try to discern a time schedule during which that could be consummated. It would probably take, I would just guess, eight years.

You said on "Face the Nation" Sunday as governor you didn't favor repeal of right-to-work laws as a federal matter, and you would take the same position as President.

There are two different right-to-work laws. One is a state law, one is a federal law. [Section] 14-B [of the Taft-Hartley Act] gives the state the option whether there will be right-to-work or not. When I was governor of Georgia I said if it [repeal] passed the state legislature I'd be prepared to sign it. Now as a candidate for President, I've said the same thing at the federal level. If 14-B is repealed by the Congress, I'll be prepared to sign it into law.

If you're against repeal, then why agree to sign the legislation if it comes to you?

I'm not against repeal. If I was against repeal, then I would veto the bill when it got to my desk's President. I would be very glad to sign it. I've told the labor leaders, and as far as I know they're completely satisfied with this. I'm not going to take on repeal of 14-B as a crusade for myself as President or candidate. But I have no objection to its repeal, and I'll be glad to sign the bill repealing 14-B as President.

Governor, what is your objection to taking it on as a crusade? You don't think it's that important?

That's right.

Governor, you say you don't favor mandatory busing, but you're opposed to a constitutional amendment to bar it. Why, if you're against busing, don't you favor a constitutional amendment?

Well, in the first place, I don't think we ought to amend the Constitution every time we have a transient problem, and that's what I consider the busing problem—transient. Secondly, in most instances where busing orders have been put forth, the communities have eventualy accommodated themselves to a workable procedure. That was the case in Atlanta, with which I am familiar. Third, I would hate to reopen the entire divisive question of busing for all the state legislatures in the nation to re-debate. It would unnecessarily create disharmony, racial and otherwise, if this question was thrust on the nation to decide. In some instances, mandatory busing has worked relatively well, with small numbers of students involved in the busing plan. I've always made it clear I don't favor mandatory busing simply to achieve racial balance, that my preference is the Atlanta plan, and that as President if the courts ruled differently I would support the courts.

How about the question of a constitutional amendment for barring abortion? Do you have the same feeling that a constitutional amendment should not be used to cure every evil?

That's part of it. I don't think we need to try to change the present ruling of the Supreme Court, although I would prefer a stricter ruling.

Governor, you've said you favor a pardon over amnesty for those who fled the country rather than serve in Vietnam. And you've defined pardon as "whether what you did was right or wrong, you are forgiven." But isn't a pardon really given after a finding of guilt? Isn't that the common definition of a pardon?

I don't remember Richard Nixon having been found guilty.

You've said in position papers you found it extremely difficult in arriving at that position. Can you explain why that was so difficult for you?

In the area of the country where I live, defecting from military service is almost unheard of. Most of the young people in my section of Georgia are quite poor. They didn't know where Sweden was, they didn't know how to get to Canada, they didn't have enough money to hide in college. They thought the war was wrong. They preferred to stay at home, but still they went to Vietnam. A substantial portion of them, a substantial disproportion of them were black. They've never been recognized for their service to the country. They've often been despised, characterized as criminals, they were never heroes, and I feel a very great appreciation to them. They were extraordinarily heroic, serving their country in great danger even if they didn't have the appreciation of their fellow citizens and even if they thought the war was wrong. It's very difficult for me to equate what they did with what the young people did who left the country.

So for a long time it was hard for me to address the question in objective fashion, but I think it's time to get the Vietnamese war over with. I don't have any desire to punish anyone. I'd just like to tell the young folks who did defect to come back home, with no requirement that you be punished or that you serve in some humanitarian capacity or anything. Just come back home, the whole thing's over.

Why do you call it pardon rather than amnesty?

To draw a subtle distinction between the two. When I issue the pardon if I'm elected President, my first week in office, I don't intend to criticize the young people who left the country. I'd just issue a blanket pardon without comment.

In February, 1971, you said of American troop involvement in Vietnam: "It is time to admit we made a mistake and come home." Yet four years later, just before the fall of Saigon, you told a group of reporters here you would favor continued American aid to the Saigon regime for another year, and that you expected that regime would survive for another year. Why did you want to continue aid to Saigon at that late time?

I don't remember having said for a year. I did say I was in favor of adequate aid to the Saigon government to get our troops out safely, but I never had any inclination to continue support beyond that point.

Governor, I'd like to talk to you for just a minute about the whole question of your credibility and the seeming inability of the press to accept at face value your statements that you will not lie to the American people or mislead them. Would you acknowledge that in saying that you set for yourself a higher standard than is usually applied to politicians, whether it's right or wrong?

When I first said it I didn't anticipate any particular notice of it, because this is the way I deeply felt. I did feel that it was inappropriate for a candidate or a President to tell a lie. I've had the feeling in the past that Presidents have not lied. I don't think Truman ever lied, I don't think Eisenhower ever lied. Lately, there's been a common and accepted practice, stated openly, for some of the Presidents to say it's necessary to lie. I think there's lack of trust among the people in what their leaders say. I try to express clearly my position on every question that's asked me, but I don't set for myself any higher standard for myself than any candidate ought to set. I can see in retrospect, and I don't regret it, it was like throwing down a gauntlet, because a lot of the reporters scurried around trying to find some instance where I may have made a misleading statement.

Is it your feeling, sir, that throughout your campaign you have never lied or misled the voters?

That's right, there may have been some times when I said something that is always misinterpreted, but certainly not lately.

Governor, all these questions about what you say and don't say, whether you do or don't mislead, what impact does it have on you? Are you concerned about it, are you afraid it takes people's minds off the issues?

It doesn't help things, but it hasn't hurt me. It's a preoccupation with some journalists, voters I think disregard it.

Knowing now that you were throwing down a gauntlet when you made your statement about not lying, would you do it again if you were starting all over?

Yes.

The Washington Star

Copyright © 1976 The Evening Star Newspaper Co. ★★★★S WASHINGTON, D.C., SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1976 Phone (202) 484-5000 CIRCU CLAS

CARTER: QUESTION OF STYLE, SUBSTANCE

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter has been winning the battles. The next few weeks will tell whether he can win the war.

The 51-year-old Georgian sprang from obscurity in the last few weeks to win four of the first five Democratic presidential primaries — New Hampshire, Vermont, Florida and Illinois. Tuesday he's expected to win a fifth, against George Wallace in North Carolina.

But for many Democrats of all ideological colorings, he is still a figure slightly out of focus. Inevitably this will change as he moves toward critical confrontations with Henry Jackson and Morris Udall in New York and Wisconsin April 6 and Pennsylvania April 27.

And the critical question can be summarized this way: Is Jimmy Carter nothing more than an expedient, opportunistic politician who has beguiled the nation for a moment? Or does he indeed offer a fresh approach to problems, both political and governmental, that can earn the trust of the electorate?

Political notebook on Page A-3. Other political stories on Pages A-5 and A-6.

IN LESS THAN three months on center stage — the Iowa caucuses were held only two months ago — Carter already has survived two waves of attack on his credibility and credentials.

The first was a furious temper tantrum in the liberal press that suggested he was, after all, a closet racist for all his reputation as a leading voice of "The New South." His solid black support in primary after primary has dispelled that notion.

The second was the suggestion that his performance as governor in Georgia was a sham of public relations. But repeated examinations of that record suggest he has been guilty of nothing more serious than political exaggeration of his performance.

In the next stage, however, Carter will be judged on what he is doing and saying as a national candidate, and the standards will be increasingly stringent as the field narrows to three or four Democrats with any realistic possibility of winning the presidential nomination in July.

THE PROBLEM has been compounded for Carter by two factors. The most obvious is that he is a political alien with no long history of common association with any element of the Democratic party — not organized labor or the academic community or the anti-war movement or the big city machines, or Congress.

See CARTER, A-6

CARTER

Continued from Page 1

More important is the fact that Carter defies easy categorization. He seems to be "liberal" on gun control and marijuana and the Equal Rights Amendment but "conservative" on abortion and amnesty and busing.

Thus, as his performance is examined in detail, the pivotal question can be refined this way:

Is Carter, as some editorialists suggest, a candidate giving complicated answers to complicated questions? Or is Jimmy Carter giving ambiguous answers for raw political advantage?

If it is the former, then Carter is faced with the task of persuading fellow Democrats that such unorthodox behavior can be winning politics. If it is the latter, then he must persuade them that there is substance and purpose behind the tactical twists and turns.

CARTER'S EFFORT to prove his viability for the long haul is necessarily aimed first at the liberals because they are the ones in the party who have been quickest to suspect him. But the questions about him have been raised across the board. A taxi driver from suburban Prince Georges County put it this way the other day, "I've switched over from Wallace to Carter but I've read some things that make me a little leery of him."

Carter has trouble on matters of both style and substance. On the one hand he advertises himself as the candidate who will "never tell a lie . . . never knowingly mislead you . . . never betray your trust." But reporters traveling with him in the Florida campaign caught him dropping the name of Martin Luther King Jr., from his list of political heroes when speaking to white audiences.

And, after his loss in Massachusetts, he made a point of accusing Henry Jackson of winning there on the busing issue, and, by implication, racism, although the figures clearly did not support that analysis.

It is just this kind of political trickery — a word that makes Carter managers shudder — that led to the accusation he was a secret racist in the 1970 gubernatorial campaign against liberal Carl Sanders.

With the dust settled, it is apparent that Carter played "hardball" and deliberately positioned himself to capture the conservative vote of Wallaceites on the theory it was the only constituency available to him. When Sanders said he would never invite Wallace to speak to the state legislature, Carter said he would do so. He described himself as a "redneck" — and no one familiar with his political skill believes he could do such things accidentally. Shortly before the election he showed up at a private white academy set up to avoid desegregation in Georgia.

BUT WHEN THE record is scoured, there is no suggestion of racism in Carter's campaign, only of hard-eyed skill at exploiting an opportunity. And Atlanta's black politicians, a sophisticated lot, have given him a clean bill of health for his performance in office.

Carter himself makes no apology for the 1970 campaign. "It was," he says, "a typical Southern governor's campaign."

The question now is whether Carter, as a national candidate, is able to operate above the level of the Southern version of clubhouse politics and thus earn the support and energies of the liberal activists who prefer their candidates as pure as possible.

Their concern right now focuses on several issues where Carter's positions are relatively complex, including a number that are red flags for various elements of the party.

On women's issues, for example, Carter gets good marks on most specifics, but on abortion he seems to want it both ways. He is personally and philosophically opposed to both abortion and to a constitutional amendment that would deprive women of the right to make their own decisions on the matter.

That is a common enough posture among Democrats these days but, a few days before the Iowa caucuses, Carter complicated it by suggesting to a Roman Catholic newspaper that he might accept "a national statute" to restrict abortion. Carter and his advisers picture this as no change in his posture but rather as essentially some musing allowed about the issue. On the other hand, his critics are persuaded the timing was too fortuitous to be accidental.

ON AMNESTY Carter also fails to satisfy either extreme. He is against "blanket amnesty," but he favors "blanket pardons." The former, he says, implies that the offenders were right while the latter says only that they are forgiven, right or wrong.

Still another case is the repeal of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to ban union shops with right-to-work laws. Carter says he would not push for repeal himself but would sign such legislation if organized labor succeeded in getting it passed.

But in 1971, in a letter to the National Right to Work Committee, Carter said he was "not in favor of doing away with" that law in Georgia, which is not quite the same thing.

Busing is another example. Carter is against mandatory busing but also against a constitutional amendment to prohibit it. The answer, he suggests, is a version of the so-called "Atlanta Plan" that combines voluntary busing with what amounted to freedom of choice for blacks. What Carter does not deal with is the recognition that there are many situations today in which the Atlanta Plan would be totally impractical.

Carter is impatient with the quibbling over these questions. He is convinced the voters won't elect the next president on matters outside presidential purview and lacking any real meaning for most Americans.

BUT WHAT IS significant for Carter in his new role as the frontrunner is the fact that Democrats may make their choice on how a candidate deals with such issues, whatever their own positions on them.

Whichever judgment is correct, Carter has been raising political doubt by taking very adult positions on more basic questions in the national debate. Two examples are tax reform and government reorganization.

On the first, Carter has offered a program for equity and reform, but has not spelled out all the detail. Thus, he got into political hot water in Boston by suggesting that the deduction for home mortgage interest payments might be one of the preferences eliminated in a comprehesive plan he had not yet prepared.

Carter says it is simply impossible at this point to write the fine print of a tax reform proposal, which seems rational enough and good politics, as well. As George McGovern learned with his $1,000 "Demogrant" plan in 1972, that can be risky. But where McGovern failed to be convincing was in his inability to put a price tag on the program — who would get how much — and Carter may have the same problem unless he can persuade the electorate his good intentions are enough.

ON GOVERNMENT reorganization he has said he would reduce the existing 1,900 federal agencies to 200, but he concedes the figures are round and arbitrary. Nor can he say which 1,700, if there are 1,900 now, he would eliminate. Thus, he is saying, in effect, this must be possible and I would do it but you will have to wait until it is feasible for me to deal with these specifics.

And that may be asking a lot of a literal-minded press and electorate.

There is another group of issues on which his position is a compromise of liberal and conservative orthodoxy.

He favors a national health insurance plan, but one in which private carriers will be involved. He would cut defense spending $5 billion to $7 billion but without making any substantive weakening of our weapons posture. He would use government as the employer of last resort but would rely most heavily on jobs in the private sector. He favors revenue-sharing but says the federal payments should go through the cities rather than the states.

None of these positions has caused him any serious political problems yet. But, for example, if labor leaders are willing to look away on a symbolic issue such as 14B, they are surely going to demand satisfactory answers on health insurance and jobs.

Nor does Carter's record as governor resolve the ambiguities.

HIS PROUDEST boast in Georgia was that he reduced the number of state agencies from 300 to 22 in his single four-year term. Unsurprisingly this involved some elimination of meaningless agencies, some consolidation, some changing of names on office doors. Nonetheless, by most estimates in Georgia, it was a substantial achievement.

The implication, however, is that reorganization achieved substantial economies, and here the answer is elusive. In Carter's four years as governor the state budget rose 58.5 percent and the number of state employes, 24 percent. This was less than in the previous four years but there is no way to factor in the impact of rising costs, population growth and the level of services so as to make any meaningful comparisons.

Similarly, the per capita state tax burden rose from $207 to $311 or 51 percent in Georgia while it rose nationally from $239 to $352 or 47 percent. But it was still lower than the national average, and how did the level of services compare?

Carter gets generally good ratings on many areas of his performance as governor. Environmentalists praise him for blocking a plan by the Army Corps of Engineers to build a controversial dam. He increased the penalities for violation of the state's water and air quality laws. He initiated a program for bringing scenic and historic areas under state control.

By all estimates, Carter was innovative on prison reform, court reform, programs for the mentally retarded and mentally ill and a plan under which the state money deposited in banks yielded substantial revenue.

IN AN EDITORIAL the other day, the Atlanta Constitution, a newspaper seldom overwhelmed by Carter, reviewed his record and concluded: "He was an honest, competent, innovative chief executive of a large state and he filled those responsibilities with distinction."

None of these facts or judgments, however, have much relevance for Carter in the next few weeks. What matters is whether he can convince Democrats he has presidential stature as their focus on him sharpens.

Some liberals are likely to turn away from him because they are put off by his personal qualities. They suspect his religious commitment as a Baptist who has been "twice born." They are uneasy about his massive self-assurance. They are skeptical about his earnest devotion to the truth.

But what is clear is that Carter is an exceedingly complex man — at once a politician who could survive in the tricky currents of the Bronx while promising government "as decent, as honest, as fair, as compassionate and as filled with love as our own people are."

Is that a workable combination?

North Carolina: The 'Nice Guys' Finishing First

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

RALEIGH, N.C. — The early presidential primary season ends with the North Carolina election Tuesday in which two moderate, centrist candidates with nice guy images are favored to win here in each party.

President Ford is favored in the Republican contest over Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter is the favorite over Gov. George C. Wallace. Assuming he wins Tuesday, Ford will be the odds-on favorite to win the Republican nomination. Carter has come out of a Southern limbo to establish himself as the Democratic frontrunner and a formidable one at that.

Election predictions are chancey, of course. North Carolina, although it has elected many moderates and liberals, has been a Wallace stronghold. He won 50 percent of the vote over former governor Terry Sanford, a liberal, in a multi-candidate primary in 1972. In the 1968 general election he finished second with 31 percent of the vote compared to Richard Nixon's 40 percent and ahead of Hubert Humphrey who had 29 percent.

Reagan contends that North Carolina is the first primary state so far that he has a reasonable expectation of winning. He has lost five straight primaries to Ford but he argues that only one, Florida, has been where he's strongest, in the South and Southwest.

ASSUMING FORD wins Tuesday, the only suspense in the GOP race is whether Reagan will stay on to run in the Texas primary May 1 in the hope it will give his moribund candidacy a second life. Campaigning here he has repeated his determination to stay in the race until the GOP convention in August. "Why doesn't he quit?" he asks, referring to Ford.

The road promises to get tougher for Carter, however, as the Democratic drama continues to unfold in the middle primaries beginning with Wisconsin and New York April 6.

Assuming he wins Tuesday he will all but have knocked Wallace out of the serious mischief-making business and will have to cope with the more formidable liberal wing of the Democratic party. Rep. Morris K. Udall and Sen. Henry M. Jackson will be playing to their strength in the Wisconsin, New York and Pennsylvania primaries in April and the problem of money may become acute after that.

DESPITE THE uncertainties ahead, the early primaries were an extraordinary shakedown and compared to the past, remarkably free of rancor.

Terry Sanford, Milton Shapp and Sargent Shriver were knocked out as expected and Fred Harris can't be far behind. Sen. Frank Church and Gov. Edmund G. Brown dropped in to no one's great surprise.

The only surprises were the suddenness of Sen. Birch Bayh's demise and the rapidity with which Reagan's challenge collapsed after his narrow loss in New Hampshire.

Compared to the last 10 years of Lyndon B. Johnson, Vietnam, assassinations, Richard M. Nixon and his Watergate crew, the early primaries were a comparatively civilized period.

That will probably change as the Democratic race wears on, but the early primary results demonstrated that the electorate is looking for a moderate president who can put a sorely tried nation back on the track again.

GEORGE WALLACE apparently has run his course as the spokesman of the alienated middle and lower-middle classes who were outraged by busing and the student demonstrations of the 1960s.

His advisers are worried that he is going to lose his third straight primary, after Florida and Illinois, to Carter here and have begun squabbling among themselves and blaming the press.

His health obviously is a factor, but he's probably been to the well too many times. As the politics of confrontation recedes, his appeal apparently diminishes with it and some observers in North Carolina believe he is having difficulty in firing them up and turning them out to vote.

He and Carter have exchanged personal attacks. Wallace has accused Carter of being devious and two-faced on the issues and of lying about soliciting Wallace's support when he ran for governor of Georgia back in 1970.

CARTER IS AS tough and shrewd and relentless as a banker about to foreclose on the Widow Jones. In North Carolina his message is that it is time the South quit fooling around with a feckless boyfriend like Wallace and settle down and marry a nice boy like Jimmy Carter who could decently provide for her.

People like Jimmy Carter better represent the New South and he predicted he will go on to beat Wallace everywhere in the South except Alabama and Mississippi.

He masks this determination and toughness with his message of the politics of love and restoring American idealism which he voices at a soft honeysuckle Southern accent and the cadences of a genteel revival preacher.

He is plucking a responsive chord, however. Many Americans are concerned about the divisions and disillusionments in the country and are responsive to a new message. Carter has proved to be a politician with sure political instincts, but it remains to be seen if his brand of new politics — which is also practiced by Brown in California — can hold up in fighting the bread-and-butter issues on the home turf of the traditional liberals in the North.

FORD'S HONEST, nice-guy style is one of his major assets in the current political atmosphere. Reagan, somewhat like Wallace, suffers as a challenger who is playing the politics of confrontation at a time when people appear to be sick of it.

The failure of Reagan's challenge, once again, puts the lie to the fond conservative dream that there is a silent conservative majority out there ready to dismantle the New Deal and return to the days of Calvin Coolidge.

Reagan has accomplished a considerable achievement of making Ford appear a Republican moderate. Ford has always been a classic Midwest Republican conservative, particularly when compared to true party liberals such as Jacob Javits and Mark Hatfield. Ford has a broad pragmatic streak, however, that surfaced with a vengeance in Florida.

BEHIND THE IMAGE of Mr. Honest Nice Guy, Ford blandly showers government largesse and promises on his primary states. On Friday the front pages in North Carolina carried the news that he intends to offer Gov. James Holshouser a post in his next administration and that he anticipates no changes in the present tobacco programs or increased cigarette taxes.

The Department of Interior recently decided to use federal power to protect North Carolina's New River from power dams, which is now popular in the state. As in Florida, Ford also had 39 North Carolina newspaper editors in for a friendly talk in the Oval Office last Thursday and that netted him a lot of favorable publicity.

Ford is such a nice and decent and honest man, but pork barrel partisan politics comes natural to him. He has shrewdly used the presidential powers but he has demonstrated the emotional hold the office has on the American people.

This makes Reagan's challenge difficult if not impossible. One of Reagan's top advisers realized this months ago when the California governor's prospects seemed much brighter. He knew that Reagan had to win in the early primaries and he quoted the ancient adage that if you would strike the king, the first blow must be fatal.

The Strong Appeal of That Man With the Grin

"If Jimmy Carter becomes president it will be the first time that we will have government by grin," said a prominent Republican the other night. He was admitting the grin seems to be working. Political pundits say they don't know where Carter stands on the

Betty Beale

issues but maybe that's not necessary to win if you've got a grin.

Or is it Jimmy's Huckleberry Finn, All-American boy look? Even former ambassador George McGhee, a strong supporter of Hubert Humphrey was impressed when he met the Georgian at the Clayton Fritcheys' dinner last Monday. Said George, "I thought he was a very appealing and attractive person. He reminded me of Jack Kennedy when he was just starting. I remember people saying then, 'I have met a man who's going to be president,' and people have been saying the same thing about Carter."

THE FRITCHEY dinner was the one to which the men invited were told "no wives were expected, only ladies of importance," said Cele McGhee with an amused disgusted look. "But young Frank Wisner's fiancee and Polly (Wisner Fritchey) managed to be there. I have had stag parties for George that I didn't feel I had to attend."

It was at the Danish Embassy that this conversation took place and where Deeda Blair wore a mauve chiffon gown cut to the waist in front with a wide decolletage more daring than any seen on the models in last week's show of New York designers.

New Danish Ambassador Otto Borch (pronounced Bork) and his wife Astrid were giving a dinner in honor of Queen Margrethe's Lord Chamberlain Count Kield Knuth-Winterfeldt, the very popular former ambassador to Washington. Master of Ceremonies Ulf Gabel-Jorgensen was also there along with the consuls general from Chicago, New York and Los Angeles, and Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs Anders Georg, who was Danish correspondent here for years.



Jimmy Carter

All were brought here to map out in minute detail the May 10-25 visit to the U.S. of Margrethe and her French husband, Henri now Henrik, prince of Denmark. Said Gabel-Jorgenson, when no invitation for a state visit was proffered the unofficial visit was planned so it could be announced at the same time the queen's official visit to Moscow was made known and the NATO country thought it advisable for Her Majesty to remain here longer than in the U.S.S.R. where the Soviets really put on an impressive show for her. As usual the Russians were so secretive "we didn't know the schedule until the morning the visit began," said the M. C.

Like Queen Elizabeth, Queen Margrethe's yacht will come with her, in fact the Dannebrog and its escort will sail up the Potomac from Norfolk to bring the queen to Washington in royal style. President and Mrs. Ford will give a luncheon for her but the most brilliant evening will be on May 11 when the pretty, 36-year-old queen attends the opening night of the Royal Danish Ballet at the Kennedy Center. She hopes that President and Mrs. Ford will be in the box with her.

After that the queen will do everything from inaugurating a reconstructed Danish immigrant's farmhouse in Illinois to receiving membership in Harvard's Cultural Survival Society as an active archaeologist. The M.C. said that nowhere across the U.S.A. will she have to watch the kind of costumed folkdances of the old country visiting heads of state are apt to be subjected to. After the tour is over, the royal couple's two small sons will join her on the yacht in the Caribbean for a private vacation.



George McGhee

* * * *

THE IMPOSING parade of purple to this capital promises to surpass all past records. Newest edition, King Hussein, will arrive March 30 for his annual state visit, this time with Queen Alya who has just changed the spelling of her name to avoid being confused with her stepdaughter Princess Alia for whom the Jordanian Airlines was named. There will be a dinner at the White House that evening, a luncheon at the embassy for the queen the next day and the Jordanian pair will give a black-tie reception that night. President and Mrs. Ford will attend. The news was heard at a dinner party Ambassador and Mrs. Salah gave for the chief of the Jordanian army.

Saudi Arabian Ambassador Ali Alireza was asked at that party about the much heard of custom in his country of cutting off the left hand of a robber.

"It is very rare," said Alireza. "In my lifetime I have heard of only three or four cases. It is a sentence that is only imposed by the supreme court of the province. It is only done in certain circumstances such as breaking into a safe and even then it isn't done if it can be proved the robber was hungry. It's also the rule that the culprit's sanity be attested to by a psychiatrist."

Has the severe penalty helped? "How do you think Saudi Arabia got the reputation for being the safest place in the world?" he asked. "The robber thinks not twice but 10 times before robbing. Most people don't even lock their doors at night."

WHEN MARY EDSON was single and a real estate broker in New York she didn't dream she would one day be the chatelaine of an American embassy abroad. But back in May 1969 she was sitting with friends at the Maidstone Club in East Hampton when David Shiverick Smith spied her from across the way, went up to the table and asked a friend there, "who is that beautiful girl on the other side of the table?" The lawyer, whose first marriage of 22 years to June Noble had ended the year before began dating the tall, blonde Mary but they weren't married until 1972. Smith, who has just been appointed ambassador to Sweden was the youngest assistant secretary of the Air Force ever when he served at age 34 under Eisenhower. After leaving here, he became a partner in the international law firm of Baker and McKenzie and also a dean of the graduate school of international affairs at Columbia University where he taught for 15 years. A year ago he came here to join Guy Martin's firm and Mary had barely put the finishing touches to her superb decorating job in the small Georgetown house they bought when she learned she would soon be running the American residence in Stockholm.

A graduate of Spence and Barnard College, Mary studied at Lausanne University and speaks French and Italian. She waited a long time for someone like David to come along. She is blissfully happy and so is the ambassador-designate to Sweden who says of his wife "she's pure gold."

A Delay in Renewing the FEC Could Leave Candidates Short of Funds

By Walter Taylor
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Federal Election Commission goes out of the check-writing business at midnight tomorrow, and a number of presidential candidates could run short of campaign funds if Congress and President Ford fail to get the agency back into full operation soon.

The FEC plans a meeting tomorrow to certify another $1 million for 12 of the 14 present or former presidential candidates who have qualified for federal primary matching funds. After that action, the money spigot will be turned off until Congress passes — and Ford signs — legislation reconstituting the commission.

If it takes more than two weeks or so to come to agreement on such a measure — and another veto fight appears possible — a number of the Democratic candidates still in the race may have to revise their campaign strategies for some of the important "middle" primary races.

"IT'S NOT going to be a serious problem if it (reconstitution of the commission) comes in two weeks or so, but if it's much longer than that, or never, it certainly would have a significant impact on us," said Richard A. Kline, finance director for the campaign of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, D-Wash.

Robert Lipshutz, national treasurer for former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, said his man could survive without another infusion of federal dollars for "two or three weeks, even a month," but after that time would have to alter plans for media campaigns in some of the 12 primaries scheduled in May.

Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., could begin feeling a serious financial pinch as early as the Pennsylvania primary on April 27, according to his campaign organization's comptroller, Edward Coyle — as could former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, who reportedly is hoping to finance a big Keystone State campaign with proceeds from a series of Arlo Guthrie concerts matched by federal funds.

Gov. George Wallace of Alabama and the two Republican challengers, President Ford and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, are considered to be in reasonably solid financial shape for the time being, but they too could be hurt by a prolonged interruption of federal matching money.

The expiration of the FEC's authority to award matching funds (the checks actually are issued by the U.S. Treasury) results from the Supreme Court's Jan. 30 ruling that the commission was unconstitutionally constituted. The court stayed its order that the commission cease operations for 30 days to give Congress time to reconstitute the panel.

WHEN CONGRESS failed to act within that month, the court granted a second, 20-day extension, which ends after tomorrow.

Congress has failed to act to reconstitute the commission because it became bogged down in efforts to change other provisions in the 1974 campaign reform law that created the FEC and for the first time authorized federal funds for presidential candidates.

Legislation to reconstitute the FEC and making other changes has been under debate in the Senate for more than a week. The House begins consideration of its own measure Wednesday.

Many of the changes that have been proposed would alter the impact that corporations, labor unions and other special interest groups could have on presidential elections. Other proposals are designed to close loopholes in the current law while still others would appear to open new ones.

President Ford has vigorously opposed any other changes in the law and has said on several occasions that he would veto any legislation that went, beyond a simple reconstitution of the FEC. On Friday, Ford charged that "massive changes" in the law in the midst of a campaign year "would create greater chaos and uncertainty" about the election law, and warned that "in good conscience" he could not accept such a bill.

THE KEY ISSUE in the dispute between Congress and the White House is a provision in both the House and Senate bills that would prevent corporations that create political action committees from soliciting their employes for contributions, limiting such solicitations to stockholders and management officials. At the same time, the bill permits labor unions to have contributions to political actions committees they set up automatically deducted from the paychecks of their members.

Organized labor has lobbied fiercely for these provisions and apparently has won support from a majority of congressional Democrats. Supporters claim the measure would prevent companies from pressuring employes to contribute to corporate warchests and would limit the financial influence of so-called big business.

Republicans for the most part have joined the President in opposition, claiming that the provisions discriminate in favor of unions, which traditionally have favored Democratic candidates.

In a sharply worded statement yesterday, House Democratic Leader Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., D-Mass., accused Ford of defending the interests of "big business" at the threat of killing the election reform law.

"While I understand candidate Ford's opposition to the campaign financing reform amendments," said O'Neill, "I cannot sympathize with him and neither can anyone else who is interested in eliminating the potentially corrupting influence special interest groups with large payrolls can have on the American political system.

"Candidate Ford's opposition is understandable because without these amendments big business has a virtual blank check to contribute as much funds to his campaign as the law allows him to spend."

IN A REFERENCE to the Watergate scandals that prompted enactment of the original campaign law, O'Neill added: "Now that he (the President) seems to have effectively eliminated the challenge to his party's nomination of him he is assured of the same kind of outpouring of money from the business and corporate community that fattened the coffers of his predecessor, although I am sure President Ford will not engage in the blatant illegalities of the past."

O'Neill said Ford's opposition to the pending election law amendments "will not deter" the House from approving them this week.

While Congress and the White House continue the dispute, which now appears likely to end in a veto and an override attempt, the FEC and its staff will continue to receive campaign contribution and expenditure reports from candidates for President and for Congress, according to a commission spokesman, David Fiske

Church: Late and Maybe Too Little

By Jack W. Germond and James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writers

Democratic professionals of all stripes are extremely skeptical about the potential of Sen. Frank Church's "late, late strategy" for winning the Democratic presidential nomination. They believe Morris K. Udall's showing so far demonstrates there may not be enough of a liberal constituency to sustain one candidate on the left, let alone two.

Party strategists agree Church has a record that should be politically attractive by conventional measures, but they suspect that many of the achievements upon which the Idaho Democrat is relying are issues that have far more meaning in Washington than with the 1976 electorate at large. In this category are his chairmanship of the Senate Intelligence Committee, which did wonders for his recognition factor with the voters, and of the subcommittee on multinational corporations. Church's identity as one of the earliest of those to oppose the Vietnam war is relevant for many on the far left, but the issue generally has little meaning this year.

Political Notebook

The rough consensus among the party's most knowledgable politicians is that the Church candidacy is largely a question of his positioning himself under a tall tree and waiting for a thunderstorm if Udall falls by the wayside in the Wisconsin and New York primaries April 6. And if the Arizona liberal flourishes in those tests, there will be new pressure on Church to give him a clear field among liberals in the later primaries he now plans to enter.

How Happy's Husband Became Bashful

Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller's ebullient, elbow-squeezing politics caused an embarrassing moment in Chicago last Wednesday. James Thompson, who had just won the Republican nomination for governor in the Illinois primary, called on Rockefeller for the usual picture-taking session. Then he followed the vice president out of his Palmer House suite, where Rockefeller spotted some voters in the corridor. Tugging Thompson along, Rockefeller marched up to a middle-aged woman and gushed: "Shake hands with your next governor." There was, he reported later, "a dead silence." It seems the woman was Mrs. Michael J. Howlett, wife of the Democrat who had just been nominated in that same primary to run against Thompson.

Two Views of California 'Favorite Son'

California Gov. Jerry Brown, who announced his "favorite son" candidacy in the California Democratic presidential primary, said that his campaign would be "national" rather than merely confined to California and this is apparently true. Brown representatives have been contacting Democrats in Michigan, whose primary is in May, and in North Carolina. Rep. Wade Smith says he got a call at about 1:30 a.m. last week from Brown, the day before he announced his candidacy who wanted to know what the political situation was in North Carolina and how well-known he was. Smith said that Brown was making a number of calls around the country to sound out his standing.

However seriously it may be taken nationally, Brown's candidacy clearly is not being taken lightly by those who should know him best in California. He had no sooner allowed he might like to run than Paul Priolo, the Republican minority leader of the state assembly, sent Washington political reporters a dossier on Brown's record. "It is my view," Priolo wrote, "that image and rhetoric, in the governor's case, may be blanketing a general record of poor leadership and failure to perform in office."

Marginalia . . .

George C. Wallace has accused Jimmy Carter of being a "warmed-over McGovern" and as evidence has cited the presence of several former McGovernites in the Carter campaign, particularly Pat Caddell and fund-raiser Morris L. Dees, an attorney and member of the Joan Little defense team . . . Ellen McCormack's success in qualifying for federal matching funds by using a putative "presidential campaign" as the vehicle for a campaign against abortion may encourage others with "causes" to do the same. The Wall Street Journal reported last week that Reed Larson, who runs the National Right to Work Committee, may use the same device to publicize opposition to the union shop . . . Secret Service agents are conspicuously well-barbered and natty. On a commercial flight last week carrying Jimmy Carter's detail, a woman passenger asked a reporter if there was some special group aboard. He explained it was a candidate and his security agents, to which she replied: "Oh, I thought they might be going to a male hairdresssers' convention."

The New York Times

— NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 19, 1976 —

Oklahoma Governor Endorses Carter

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

HIGH POINT, N.C., March 18—Jimmy Carter had just finished telling a college audience here that "there are no big shot politicians endorsing me" when Gov. David Boren of Oklahoma declared his support by telephone for reporters following the Carter campaign.

Three weeks ago Mr. Boren told fellow Democratic governors in Washington that Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, an undeclared candidate for the Presidential nominatin, was the first choice of the "uncommitted" movement in the Oklahoma caucuses last month.

On his own, Mr. Carter won encugh caucus support to assure him seven Oklahoma delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Today Mr. Boren would go no further than predict that Mr. Carter would have a maiority of Oklahoma's 37 convention votes. But Mr. Carter, who repeatedly has run ahead of all predictions, including his own, was pleased by the Oklahoma gains.

"To be reasonably modest," Mr. Carter told Mr. Boren in thanking him for the endorsement." you as governor are representing what the people of Oklahoma feel."

Mr. Boren, the first governor to endorse the former Governor of Georgia, called Mr. Carter th "best oualified" among Democrats with a chance of being nominated.

Indirect Humphrey Slap

"He comes not from Washington but from state government, close to the creative abilities and aspirations of our people," Mr. Boren said. Ke added, in reference to Mr. Humphrey's passive strategy for the nomination, "I believe that our nominee should be chosen through the primary and caucus system and not brokered in a back room by political bosses or a select few."

Mr. Boren, the youngest of the 50 state governors, has been a persistent advocate of deregulating the price of natural gas, one of Oklahoma's most luable natural resources.

The precise extent to which Mr. Carter agreed with Mr. Boren on deregulation was something of a puzzle today. Mr. Boren said that Mr. Carter had endorsed the "temporary suspension of regulation on natural gas."

Mr. Carter said that he was only supporting a position that 30 Democratic governors had already approved.

Yet Bess Abell, a spokesman for the Democratic governors in Washington, said this afternoon," They haven't taken anything that I could call the governors' position on natural gas."

Other sources in Washington noted that the National Governors' Conference, including Republicans and Democrats, had rejected a resolution that Governor Boren had proposed last month in favor of deregulating natural gas.

Senator Church Joins Presidential Race

By LINDA CHARLTON

Special to The New York Times

IDAHO CITY, March 18 — Senator Frank Church of Idaho officially declared himself a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination today, telling a crowd of about 2,500 people standing in the muddy streets of this gold-rush town, "It's never too late—nor are the odds too great—to try."

The 51-year-old Senator's Presidential yearnings have been no secret, but he has delayed his announcement, and the start of his campaign, because of the Senate investigation of intelligence activities.

He has been the leading figure in that investigation, which has in turn given him a sort of national prominence that he might not otherwise have enjoyed as a Senator from this sparsely populated Northwestern state best known for its potatoes.

Mr. Church joins a field of Democratic candidates that has been reduced, in effect, to four —former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Representative Morris K. Udall of Washington and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Former Senator Fred R. Har-

Continued on Page 18, Column 3



The New York Times/George Tames

Senator Frank Church of Idaho with his wife, Bethune, working on announcement during bus ride from Boise to Idaho City. Behind them are his mother, Mrs. Frank Church, right, and mother-in-law, Mrs. Chase A. Clark.

Senator Church Officially Joins Democratic Race for Presidency

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

rts plans to reactivate his campaign for the Pennsylvania primary on April 27. Sargent Shriver will contest only two more primaries and several others have "suspended" or abandoned their efforts.

In his speech, delivered with fervor from the steps of the Boise County Courthouse, Mr. Church assailed what he called "a leadership of weakness and fear" in Washington. He said he was entering the campaign "at this late date" because of his conviction that "the most important issues are being ignored."

These he outlined as being "the restoration of the Federal Government to legitimacy in the eyes of the people," and "better, not bigger, government" by "turning the decision-making homeward again." He pledged to "give free enterprise some breathing room" by seeking controls on huge, multinational corporations and by abolishing "regulations that stifle competition," especially in small businesses.

He stressed that his years of experience in the Senate qualified him for the White House. He emphasized that every foreign policy decision — and he believes this is his specialty — "sends ripples or waves back across America."

Mr. Church chose this tiny city (population 200 plus seasonal tourists) to make his announcement because his grandfather settled here in the 1860's, when the gold rush was at its height and Idaho City had 45 saloons and a population of about 10,000. His motorcade of three buses left Boise in the early morning for the 40-mile drive along spring-swollen rivers beneath brown hills dotted with sagebrush and snow-topped peaks.

From here, he flew to Portland, Ore., for an airport news conference. He will campaign in California for the next three days.

Oregon's primary on May 25 is one of seven primaries that Mr. Church plans to enter. The first will be in Nebraska May 11, followed by Idaho, Nevada and Kentucky, all on May 25. Rhode Island on June 1 and California on June 4. Still under consideration are the primaries in Ohio and New Jersey, on June 9, and such caucus states as Connecticut and Colorado.

Mr. Church laughingly refers to his as the "late, late strategy," but he seems to feel that his chances are good enough to be worth this try. Others, politicians and political observers, are less sanguine, pointing out that he has three nearly insurmountable problems.

The first is that of "turf," or a political base. Outside Idaho, where he won 68 percent of the caucus-chosen delegates to the state convention yesterday and is expected to do at least as well in the May primary, he has no area to look for support.

'Don Quixote' of '76

Also, campaign funding is likely to be a particularly acute problem for him, since he neither started fund-raising months ago nor has any primary victories that would stimulate donations now.

Last, and probably the most serious factor, is that he is yet another liberal in a year where thus far, voters have shown a decided partiality toward "moderate" candidates. To many, the field of "liberals" or "progressives" seems overcrowded already.

Senator Church is not unaware that his entry into an already crowded field of Democrats may be regarded by others, if not by himself or his supporters, as folly. "Meet the Don Quixote of this campaign," he said at the start of a recent interview in his Senate office.

He is slimmer, less cherubic-looking and less moralistic in demeanor in a personal interview that he often appears in the floodlights of a committee hearing.

Senator Church defines himself as an alternative. "This is neither meant to be a frivolous candidacy nor do I mean to play the role of a spoiler," he said. But he regards the Democratic contest as becoming a duel between Mr. Carter and Senator Jackson, adding that "many Democrats are looking for an alternative."

Mr. Church conceded that Representative Udall was trying to be that man, but pointed out that Mr. Udall "as yet has not won a race in any state." Of course, Senator Church has not yet won a Presidential primary, either, but he has soon yet made an attempt.

Not Blocking Udall

The Senator insisted in the interview that he was not blocking Mr. Udall because Mr. Church's first primary will be Nebraska on May 11. By then, he said, "Mo Udall must demonstrate that he can win. Unless he can he won't be considered a clear winner." If withdrew from Massachusetts and stayed out of Wisconsin.

The Senator's strategy is based on the premise that no "clear winner" will emerge from the primaries. "If I am successful in winning the late primaries," Mr. Church said, "I would then come to the convention not with sufficient votes to win in early ballots, but with momentum and a good possibility of becoming the alternate candidate."

In another sense, his strategy is based on an unspoken belief that the Congressional investigations — into multinational corporations and the nation's intelligence community — have transformed him from a Senator from a sparsely populated state into an at least vaguely recognized face and name.

The Senator never referred to them, but there are precedents for the successful use of Congressional hearings as springboards to national office. At least three members of Congress in the last 32 years have done so — Harry S. Truman in 1944, Richard M. Nixon in 1952, and Estes Kefauver in 1956.

Before the recent round of investigations into intelligence activities, it was Senator Church's early opposition to the Vietnam War that made his name known nationally. He came to the Senate in 1957. He was then only 32 years old, one of the youngest men ever elected to the Senate. Three years later, he enjoyed a moment of celebrity when he delivered a florid keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles.

Frank Forrester Church — he has dropped the middle name — was born in Boise on July 25, 1924. He was graduated from Boise High School and from Stanford University. Then he went off to the Harvard Law School, transferring back to Stanford after one year with the hope that the milder California weather might ease his back pains.

But the back pains turned out to be cancer, and he was initially given six months to live. A combination of surgery and radiation were entirely successful, and there has been no recurrence of the disease. In World War II, he served in the Army, in military intelligence, and won the Bronze Star.

From Republican Family

He began practicing law in Boise in 1950, the year he got his law degree. Although he was born into a Republican family, he married into a prominent Democratic one. His wife's father, Chase A. Clark, was a former Idaho Governor.

Mr. Church quickly became active in local politics, was chairman of the state's Young Democrats in 1952, and was elected to the Senate in 1956. He is the only Democratic Senator from Idaho ever to have been elected for more than one term.

He comes from a state generally described as conservative in its politics, but he says, "The people of Idaho have given me much latitude to be my own man."

There was a brief attempt in 1967 to put together a recall petition on the basis of his antiwar leadership, but it died quickly and quietly, and the people of Idaho, the rest of whose Congressional delegation is Republican, have returned him to the Senate decisively in his 20th year there.

'Consolation Prize'

If he remains in the Senate, Mr. Church is likely to become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee — a position that was once "the fulfillment of my ambition," he said, "and which I would gladly accept as a consolation prize should this Presidential effort fail."

But, in the end, he said, as senator, no matter what his seniority and influence, is "only one vote in 535, and I suppose the reason that prompts me into this race is that the office of the Presidency is the only one where there is a chance to change the trend of events for the country. . . . he has some opportunity to reverse trends that I think gravely imperil" the United States.

Then the Senator went into the theme that may be the leitmotiv of his campaign: "I've looked in that pit, you know, having conducted the major investigations. I know how far the corruption has spread, the lawlessness, the arrogant contempt for the rights of ordinary citizens. Only a determined President can reverse these trends and bring government back within the fairness of the law."

Years of 'Preparation'

Since many of Mr. Church's positions are close if not identical to those of other liberal candidates, he is stressing his years of "preparation for the Presidency" as the factor that sets him apart. A five-minute "biography" scheduled to be shown on network television this week winds up with this appeal: "In this era of the accidental President, isn't it about time we had a President prepared for the Presidency?"

Since public morality, especially in foreign policy, has been the Senator's specialty, it is natural that he should see this issue or continuation of issues as his strong suit in bidding for the nomination. His years in the Senate, Mr. Church said, "have given me an intimate knowledge of what the processes are in Washington."

Senator Church, who often speaks in complete and complex sentences rich with polysyllabic words, sees foreign policy error — his own field of expertise — as the root cause of many of the current domestic problems. "Massive investments in foreign lands" by American multinational corporations, for instance, are losing this country about 150,000 jobs a year, he says.

Like most of his fellow Democrats, he favors changes in tax laws to help small business and control the "problem of gigantism in our economy." In addition, he goes along with the current liberal demands to break up of the giant oil companies. His particular emphasis in domestic policy is on moving the decision-making process concerning Federal grants-in-aid out of Washington and into the states in an effort to "refresh the well-springs of the democratic process."

On three issues that matter a great deal to certain voters Senator Church defines is position this way:

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. He was one of its original co-sponsors, and adds that he was one of the first senators to have a woman administrative assistant, Verda Barnes, now retired but working in his campaign.

ABORTION. "I recognize the [Supreme Court abortion] decision as the supreme law of the land," and as President would not "take sides" in any debate about it. He is also the author of the "conscience amendment" allowing medical personnel and religiously based hospitals not to perform or take part in abortions.

GUN CONTROL. Here Mr. Church, like Mr. Udall, voted his constituency; he is opposed to any form of Federal gun control.

On busing, the Senator said "We should strive very hard to achieve quality education and do everything that can be done short of forcing busing, but in those cases when forced busing is ordered, then the constitutional right must be upheld."

'Two Big Enigmas'

Mr. Church said he saw "two big enigmas" shadowing the course he is plotting. The first is money, and although he was not a formally announced candidate until today, he has been appearing at fund-raisers in New York and Washington for months. He qualified for Federal matching funds in six weeks, has received $209,000 so far, and has, he said last week, about $350,000 in the bank.

His national campaign director, Carl Burke, a Boise lawyer, describes the campaign as "lean." Another said it was a "no-cheap" endeavor. Henry M. Kimmelman, the businessman who performed the same chore for Senator George McGovern in 1972, is the chief fund-raiser.

The second crucial question is "whether or not another alternative candidate pre-empts the field, and that would be, I think, Mo Udall." The entrance last week of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California into that state's primary — which Mr. Church has said it "must win" and others say he must do well in — "complicates the situation" there, the Senator acknowledged earlier this week.

The 'Third Senator'

Aside from Mr. Burke, who has run all of his campaigns — and perhaps even more than Mr. Burke, many say — it is Bethine Church, his wife, who is his most influential adviser. She has been called the state's "third Senator." She will be campaigning herself full time.

After Nebraska, the plan is for Mr. Church to enter primaries in Idaho, Oregon, Nevada and Kentucky on May 25, then Rhode Island on June 1 and California on June 4. Still being considered as possible actions are the primaries in New Jersey, Ohio and Connecticut and such caucus states as Colorado.

Peter Curtin, a 34-year-old native of New Jersey who is administrative assistant to Governor Byrne and special assistant to Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark, is running the campaign from the Senator's second-floor headquarters in Southeast Washington.

One feature he said he regarded as particularly important was what he called a "think and convert" operation — aiming after the uncommitted [delegates], those committed to "listening" candidates, those who might be amenable to the suggestion that Mr. Church would be a good second choice.

If it goes according to plan, the Senator said, "then it will be said, 'Well, Frank Church was the only one who figured it out this year, against the conventional wisdom of entering early primaries. If it doesn't, then I'll be able to say back, as everybody figured, it was too late."

The New York Times

© 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1976 — 25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities.

Poll Finds Carter Support Doubtful Despite Plurality

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Although a survey of voters in the Illinois primary Tuesday shows that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia won a remarkably solid victory among almost all types of voters, the findings left some doubt about how well he would have fared had he faced sterner competition.

The Carter plurality of 48 percent in the preferential, or "beauty contest," portion of the vote seemed all the more impressive from the nature of the vote, as determined by interviews with 1,060 voters taken by The New York Times and CBS News as they left the polls.

At the same time that Mr. Carter carried about half of the black vote, he won nearly half of those who told the interviewers that the Government paid too much attention to the needs of blacks and other minorities. He won about the same share of the white-collar vote as his rivals combined, yet still won a plurality of voters from labor-union households. He won both the Chicago area and downstate Illinois, two areas that are as different politically as New York City is from upstate New York.

But the question remains whether Mr. Carter can attract

Continued on Page 34, Column 5

NEWS INDEX

	Page		Page
Books	39	Music	50-52
Bridge	38	Notes on People	49
Business	58-74	Obituaries	40
Chess	38	Op-Ed	43
Crossword	39	Sports	53-57
Editorials	42	Theaters	50-52
Family/Style	48	Transportation	70
Financial	58-74	TV and Radio	79
Going Out Guide	50	U.N. Proceedings	4
Movies	50-52	Weather	78

News Summary and Index, Page 61

Survey Finds Carter's Support Doubtful Despite His Plurality

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

such a broad-based constituency when he faces tougher competition in the New York and Pennsylvania primaries nextm noth. In Illinois, his only strong rival was Gov. George C. Wallace of Albama. In New York and Pennsylvania, he will compete against Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Soft Support

There are reasons to wonder how firm the Carter vote is. His strategists, planning for the Florida primary last week, were concerned that his vote was soft. Mr. Carter's own surveys showed that backers of Senator Jackson and Governor Wallace were more committed to their candidates than were the Carter supporters.

In the absence of two of Mr. Carter's strongest remaining rivals, Senator Jackson and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the Georgian ma have attracted those who felt they had no other candidate for whom to vote. The Times!CBS News survey was able to test this by asking, "Whom would you have boted for today if Jackson and Udall were on the ballot?"

The results showed that Mr. Carter picked up half of those who said they would have preferred Senator Jackson, and a plurality (30 percent) of those favoring Mr. dall. Even so, Mr. Carter would probably have won the election, although with a reduced plurality.

By redistributing the preferences with Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall hypothetically added, this is how the Illinois contest probably would have shaped up:

Jimmy Carter	29%
Henry Jackson	23
George Wallace	20
Morris Udall	16
Sargent Shriver	8
Fred Harris	3
Others	1

One apparent source of strength for Mr. Carter in the Illinois primary may turn out to be a serious liability as the campaign progresses and sharpens.

In Step With Mood

Some observers have called Mr. Carter's stand on the issues fuzzy and ill-defined. If so, he was in step with the mood in Illinois, where the Presidential primary campaign was notably dull, with voter attention focused on a bitter race for the Democratic, gubernatorial nomination.

In The Times/CBS News survey, voters were asked to cite the candidate qualities that influenced their choices. Mr. Carter did particularly well among those especially concerned about honesty, competence, leadership and electing a new face. Moreover, of those who made their choice because they thought their candidate had the best chance of winning—often mentioned by Illinois voters—he got two-thirds of the vote.

However, Mr. Carter scored lowest — 37 percent — among those who said the candidate's position on the issues was paramount. The survey results suggest that Mr. Carter was not perceived as being squarely on one side of the issue or the other. He got almost the same level of support from those who said they were on the conservative side of nearly every major issue as he did from those who said they were on the liberal side.

Jobs and Arms Cuts

For example, of those voters who said they agreed that the Government should guarantee a job for everyone who wants to work, Mr. Carter got 49 percent of the vote; at the same time, 50 percent of those who disagreed voted for him. Similarly, 47 percent of those who said military spending should be cut voted for Mr. Carter, while 48 percent who disagreed also voted for the Georgian.

All of htis suggests that the prognosis for the Carter campaign may depend heavily on whether the remaining primaries turn mostly on issues, as they did in 1972. If the Democratic electorate this year is less concerned with issues and more attuned to nominating a trustworthy likeable and electable candidate, then Mr. Carter may have devised a winning strategy.

Assisting The Times in its survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the department of government at Harvard University.

Ending a 'Country' Phase, Carter, in City, Courts Po

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Jimmy Carter, no longer the unassuming country campaigner, toured New York bases of political and communications power yesterday as his drive for the Democratic Presidential nomination moved swiftly from the handshaking phase to the serious cultivation of far-reaching institutional support.

Mr. Carter's day included a New York primary endorsement from the Westchester County Executive, Alfred B. DelBello, the opening of a Queens headquarters and an amiably jostled, in-and-out march in the St. Patrick's Day parade.

One of his first steps as President, Mr. Carter said, would be to form a "three-way partnership" with Mayor Beame and Governor Carey "to see what we can do to spell out New York's financial problems." The city treasury must ultimately be relieved of its welfare burden, he said. But true to form, Mr. Carter was not making concrete campaign promises. "We won't solve the problems of New York City in two or three years," he said.

Courtship of Power

But the main business here yesterday, as in Washington earlier this week, was the courtship of strategic power. Many of the holders of such power had never met Mr. Carter before, but all of them dealt respectfully with him as a man with a suddenly serious chance to become President of the United States.

Monday evening he dined in Georgetwon with a score of the real and symbolic leaders of the Washington Establishment, including Clark Clifford, the former Defense Secretary; John W. Gardner, the chairman of Common Cause, the self-styled citizens' lobby; Sol M. Linowitz, the retired diplomat who was once president of the Xerox Corporation; Joseph Alsop, the retired columnist, and George C. McGhee, a former under secretary of state.

On Tuesday he had lunch aat the home of Katharine Graham, publisher of The Washington Post, with the paper's senior editors and political writers. He also met Tuesday with Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees, and conferred by phone with Glenn E. Watts, president of the Communications Workers of America.

A New Process

In New York yesterday, the candidate continued his rather informal touching of influential bases—a new process for him as he his campaign outgrew its grassroots base in the Florida and Illinois primaries.

He spent an hour in the morning with Arthur O. Sulzberger, the publisher of The New York Times, and a dozen of the paper's editors and columnists. Last night he dined in Manhattan with Dorothy Schiff, publisher of The New York Post. He also met with Vernon Jordan, president of the National Urban League. "We're old friends—home boys from Georgia," Mr. Jordan said.

Mr. Carter also won a tactically significant endorsement in Brooklyn from City Councilman Samuel D. Wright, a rival for local power of Representative Shirley Chisholm, who has said she prefers Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota or Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona for the Presidential nomination.

Mr. Carter also won a tactically significant endorsement in Brooklyn from City Councilman Samuel D. Wright, a rival for local power with Representative Shirley Chisholm, who has endorsed Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota for the Presidential nomination.

Most of Mr. Carter's meetings in the last several days have been officially private, but comments by participants suggested that the former Governor of Georgia is brighter, better prepared, more charming and more grittily assured of his prospects than any of his new acquaintances had expected.

And if his larger objective were not so much to win outright support as to reassure strangers and defuse "stop Carter" movements among established powers in the Democratic Party, he appeared to be making significant progress.

At the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, there were reports of anxiety approaching panic at the thought that Mr. Carter's string of popular and psychological victories in the early primaries might have given him uncontrollable momentum.

Democrats had expected Mr. Carter to win the Illinois "beauty contest" primary yesttrday, but they were shocked at his capture of more than 50 convention delegates in a machine-dominated state. "Fifty delegates ain't no jokt," a party official commented.

Labor's Uncertainty

An apparently typical example of the Carter momentum at work was the sudden uncertainty within the activist coalition of liberal labor unions and their political directors in Washington. The coalition had helped Mr. Carter in the Florida primary against Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. It had all but decided, however, to give its endorsement Friday to give its endorsement Friday to Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in the Wisconsin primary April 6.

When Mr. Carter met yesterday with Mr. Wurf, a leader of the coalition, his soft-spoken message was: "I appreciate what you did in Florida. I want to work with you. I want to deal with any questions you have in mind, and I need you in wisconsin."

He noted, almost in passing, a recent Milwaukee Sentinel poll that showed him running first in Wisconsin's largest city —ahead of Mr. Wallace, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington amd Mr. Udall, who would be in fourth place, according to the poll.

"I know of no other candidate who plays it so incredibly low-key," said William Welsh, Mr. Wurf's chief political adviser in the union. "He's disarming. He's beating us over the head with all that disarming stuff."

Auto Workers Reconsider

In Detroit today, officials of the United Auto Workers, which is part of the liberal coalition, were rethinking their Nisconsin strategy and Mr. Carter.

Mr. Watts, another leader of the same coalition, commented in a telephone interview from Washington that at least some of the Communications Workers' organizers in Wisconsin would end up with Mr. Carter.

"We're urging all our people to get active and to get themselves elected delegates to the national convention," he said. The clear implication was that Mr. Carter now offers the most promising route to Madison Square Garden in July.

Mr. Clifford, the influential Washington lawyer, who has been in and out of Government for 30 years, took careful measure of Mr. Carter in an interview yesterday. "He gave an attractive little talk," the lawyer said of Mr. Carter's after-dinner remarks Monday evening at the home of Clayton Fritchey, the newspaper columnist.

"I thought he handled himself gracefully. I was particularly interested in his conversation on foreign policy. I found him well informed in that regard, and perceptive." It is "too early" to imagine a Carter presidency, Mr. Clifford said, "but he handled himself with grace, maturity and experience."

Civil Service Association Bars Merger With Union

Delegates attending the Civil Service Employees Associa- Kiamesha Lake, N.Y., voted overwhelmingly Tuesday to reject discussions of a merger wit hthe American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, A.F.L.-C.I.O.

S

Foundations of Victory

Ford-Aided by Pre-Emption of Issues, Carter by Absence of His Main Rivals

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

CHICAGO, March 16—President Ford's victory over Ronald Reagan in Illinois today was built on three main foundations: his success in pre-empting issues, the belief among Republicans that he is both honest and electable and indications of an improving economy. The scope of Mr. Ford's triumph, based on a New York Times/CBS News poll of 1,060 voters who had cast their ballots, was far more impressive than in his narrow New Hampshire and Florida victories. He has now taken five straight.

News Analysis

If Mr. Reagan stays in the race, which most Republicans considered pointless in view of the results in Illinois and elsewhere, he will probably do better in North Carolina next week, although he trails there.

If the Californian had hoped that conflict-of-interest charges leveled last week against the President's campaign chairman, Howard H. Callaway, would help him here, he was disappointed.

The Times/CBS poll indicated that the Callaway issue had made no difference to voters of this populous state, often called an American microcosm. Only 5 percent said that the Callaway episode influenced their votes, while 60 percent said that it had not mattered.

Jimmy Carter won his long-sought victory in a Northern industrial state. But he won it under circumstances that foretold little about his prospects in those other industrial states, such as New York, Pennsylvania and Michigan, where he will be tested by his main rivals, Henry M. Jackson and Morris K. Udall.

Neither Mr. Jackson, a Senator from Washington, nor Mr. Udall, a Representative from Arizona, was entered in the preferential "beauty contest" in Illinois. Mr. Carter's dominance in the preferential contest, moreover, failed to translate itself into dominance of the delegate contests.

Tabulation of delegate returns was slow, but it seemed likely that many of Illinois' 169 votes at the Democratic National Convention would be controlled by Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d. Neither is pro-Carter, Mr. Daley preferring Mr. Jackson and Mr.

Continued on Page 24, Column 3



Jimmy Carter, left rear, was a face in a crowded elevator on his way to a meeting in Washington yesterday

Foundations of Ford and Carter Victories

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

Stevenson; Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine.

Still, Mr. Carter, a former Governor of Georgia, approached a majority of the preferential vote; no mean accomplishment. He also defeated Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama for the second straight week, demonstrating in the process Mr. Wallace's inability, in competition with Mr. Carter, to attract more than a hard core of supporters.

As in Florida a week ago, a New York Times/CBS News survey of voters leaving their polling places showed that Mr. Wallace's paralysis worried four of 10 Democrats.

Carter Aided on Grain

Mr. Carter merely held his own in Cook Cunty, which includes Chicago and most of its suburbs. He built his victory downstate, where he apparently benefited from his own farm background. In addition, he was helped, according to the poll, by his stand favoring grain sales to the Soviet Union.

In the four-man field in Illinois, former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma and Sargent Shriver were the other competitors. Mr. Carter stood in the center. He was so perceived by the voters, drawing equally from liberals and conservatives and from people on both sides of most issues.

New Hampshire Contrast

By contrast, Mr. Carter drew more heavily from conservatives in New Hampshire, where he stood to the right of other candidates, and more heavily from liberals in Florida, where he stood to the left of his principal adversaries.

His main points of appeal, according to The Times/CBs poll, were his perceived electability and his availability as an alternative to those who felt they could not vote for Mr. Wallace because they were unsure of his health.

About 40 percent of those who voted for all the Democratic candidates except Mr. Wallace said they would have voted for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota had his name been listed on the preferential ballot. Had he campaigned here, that figure might have been even larger.

Such findings, combined with the entry of substantial numbers of favorite-son candidates in holding operations, are sure to keep alive speculation about a possible convention deadlock and a resultant draft of Senator Humphrey.

Mr. Carter, trying for a first-ballot or second-ballot nomination, inevitably suffers from Mr. Humphrey's continuing shadow candidacy.

There was a further indication that the Georgian's support in Illinois was soft. Fully a third of those who voed for him said they would have preferred if possible to cast their ballots for his centrist rival, Mr. Jackson.

A Surprising Rapport

Once again, Mr. Carter scored strongly among blacks, with whom he had achieved a rapport surprising to some white Northerners. Many politicians here think the Georgian's most successful appearance of the Illinois campaign was at a black church on Chicago's South Side, where he seemed to fit naturally into the gospel - singing - evangelical mood.

The Times/CBS poll showed Mr. Carter pulling roughly half the black vote, more than doubling the performance of Mr. Shriver, who had strong credentials among black voters because of his work in the Federal antipoverty program. Blacks accounted for more than a fifth of the Democratic vote here.

For Mr. Reagan, there was nothing to cheer about in Illinois. In a state typical of those that generates the big blocs of delegates to the Republican convention, a state where he was born, a state where such Republican conservatives as the late Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen flourished, he was unable even to poll enough votes to claim a "psychological" edge.

Mr. Ford's efforts to portray himself as something other than a soft touch in negotiations with foreign governments —for example, his substitution of the slogan "peace through strength" for the word "détente"—have obviously worked in Illinois, according to the Times/CBS survey.

The President won a majority vote among those on both sides of the détente issue and the issue of grain sales.

While the Republican voters saw little difference between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan on leadership or competence, more than four in 10 mentioned honesty and intergrity as crucial questions, and 80 percent of those chose Mr. Ford.

Clearly, the economy was the issue that cut most deeply. About half the Republicans thought the economy was getting better; no fewer than three-quarters of those who thought so chose the President. Only about one Republican in six thought it was getting worse, and though Mr. Reagan carried those with that view, they were too few to help.

Reagan's Big 'If'

Had the Californian succeeded in his recent efforts to convince Republicans that the rcent signs of recovery are illusory, he might have stood a better chane.

As it is, the Ford organization plans to bring the maximum possible pressure on Mr. Reagan to pull out in the next week, citing the need for party unity—and hoping tha a Ford victory in North Carolina will settle the matter.

There are few politicians who believe that Mr. Reagan, evn though h cam tantalizingly clos to the President in New Hampshire and Florida, can survive into April.

4

Senate Bars, 47-46, G.O.P. Plan To Restore Election Commission

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 16—The Senate defeated by a single vote today a Republican bill that would have restored the Federal Election Commission to constitutional authority without making any other changes in the campaign law.

The 47-to-46 vote appeared to be an open invitation to President Ford to veto any campaign bill sent him by Congress that goes beyond reconstituting the commission to meet objections raised by a Supreme Court ruling last January.

The President, backed strongly by Republican Congressional leaders, has urged approval of a measure that would keep the commission in business after a March 22 court-imposed deadline but postpone any other revision of the election law until next year.

Committees in both houses have approved, however, similar versions of a 50-odd-page measure that curbs the independence of the election commission, limits political spending by corporations and gives organized labor some new campaign advantages.

How the Voting Went

Twelve Southern Democrats joined 34 Republicans in support of the President's prpoposal for limited election reform. Two Republicans, Senators Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts and Charles McC. Mathias of Maryland, ted with the other Democrats to keep alive the more ambitioVvoVill.

The close vote made it clear that any effort to override a prospective Ford veto would face serious difficulty in the Senate. The House is scheduled to take up the committee bill next week.

Republican leaders in both houses have said they would urge Mr. Ford to disapprove any election commission legislation that goes substantially beyond rescuing the commission and maintaining its power to continue authorizing Federal campaign subsidies for presidential candidates and national conventions.

That power will lapse on Monday if Congress and the White House have not reached agreement on a bill, but it will be revived retroactively when legislation is finally enacted, so no party or candidate is lie likely to lose money.

President Ford will have his primary matching funds held up if Congress does not meet the deadline, as seems virtually certain, but his campaign currently appears to be in stronger financial condition than that of any other candidate with the possible exception of Gov. George C. Wallace.

Study on Nominations

The Senate also approved by voice vote an amendment creating a 20-member commission to study the Presidential nominating process. The commission is to report early in 1977 recommendations for revising the present patchwork system of primaries and party caucuses and conventions that produce the nominees.

The measure was sponsored by Senator Walter F. Mondale, the Minnesota Democrat who dropped out o fthe Presidential competition long before the pimaries because he found the effort too demanding physically and professionally.

Defeat of the Republican election commission proposal followed less than two hours of desultory debate during which there rarely were more than three or four senators on the floor.

The campaign bill that Senate Democrats now expect to pass later this week attempts to define more closely the independent expenditures that ewealthy sponsors may make for or against candidates. The Supreme Court wiped out any ceiling on such spending as violative of free speech.

At the same time, the legislation makes virtually all rulings by the election commission, rather than just their formal regulations, subject to Congressional review and disapproval by a vote in one of the two houses.

Political action committees set up by corporations would be able to solicit funds from salaried employes with policy-making or supervisory responsibility but not from the rest of their wage-earning workers. Union political action committees would be able to collect voluntary contributions from members through a check-system if corporations were given that right.

Joining Republican supporters of the President's limited campaign bill were these Democrats: James B. Allen of Alabama, James O. Eastland of Mississippi, Wendall h. Ford of Kentucky, J. Bennett Johnson Jr. of Louisiana, Russell B. Long of Louisiana, John L. McClellan of Arkansas, Robert Morgan of North Carolina, Sam Nunn of Georgia, John C. Stennis of Mississippi, Richard Stone of Florida and Herman E. Talmadge of Georgia, plus one Democrat-independent, Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

1,150 ILLINOIS VOTERS INTERVIEWED IN POLL

The New York Times/CBS News poll is based on interviews with a random sampling of Illinois voters as they left the polls yesterday. Twenty voting precincts throughout the state were selected and, within each precinct, each voter had an equal chance of selection.

In all, about 1,150 voters were interviewed, including about 800 Democratic voters and about 350 Republican voters.

One possible source of error in a survey such as this is sampling error. One can say with 95 percent certainty that results based upon the entire sample differ by no more than 3 points, in either direction, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Illinois voters. Results based on Democrats alone are unlikely to err by more than 4 percent, and on Republicans alone by more than 5 percent.

However, as in any survey of public opinion, this margin of error is undoubtedly somewhat larger because of unavoidable imperfections in the way the survey was constructed, and because some voters refused to be interviewed.

Assisting The Times in its 1976 election survey coverage is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the government department at Harvard University.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

★★★★ P.O. BOX 4689 ATLANTA, GA. 30302, THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1976 118 PAGES, 8 SECTIONS 2(

Illinois Win May Have Given Carter the Necessary Shove

By DAVID SCHULTZ
Constitution Washington Bureau

CHICAGO—Jimmy Carter's big win in Illinois' Democratic presidential primary may have put the former Georgia governor on a one-way street to the nomination, a high-ranking national party official said Wednesday.

The official, who is neutral, said privately that Carter, with his string of almost-weekly successes, seems to be building a bandwagon mentality which other candidates—specifically Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona—will find difficult to stop.

Carter routed George Wallace, Sargent Shriver and Fred Harris—knocking Shriver out of the race in the process—while President Ford administered his third straight defeat in a contested primary to Republican challenger Ronald Reagan.

With 98 per cent of the precincts reporting, the Democratic results were:

—Carter, 614,309, 48 per cent.
—Wallace, 351,811, 28 per cent.
—Shriver, 206,933, 16 per cent.
—Harris, 96,560, 8 per cent.

With the same percentage of precincts reporting, the Republican results were:

—Ford, 443,667, 59 per cent.
—Reagan, 302,578, 40 per cent.

Carter did better than expected in accumulating delegates, picking up at least 62 of the 169 to be allocated. Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, running as a favorite son in cooperation with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, apparently won more than 90 delegates who will be available for delivery to a candidate to be determined at the national convention in New York in July.

Ford won most of the 101 Republican delegates, picking up 64 to only 13 for Reagan, with 16 uncommitted and the rest still to be determined. It seemed likely that Ford could count on the support of many of the uncommitted delegates.

Despite the Democratic official's cheery estimate of Carter's prospects, it is still far too early to award the nomination to him or anyone else. The former Georgia governor still must defeat Alabama Gov. Wallace in North Carolina next Tuesday—which he is favored to do—and then take on Udall in Wisconsin April 6.

The Wisconsin primary suddenly has taken on major status after previously being almost ignored by the candidates because it was a nonbinding popularity contest.

That changed with a Democratic National Committee decision to tie the voting directly to delegate selection, and Udall has staked out Wisconsin as a liberally inclined state he must win to keep his candidacy alive.

Carter intends to give Udall a strong run for his money in the Badger State—hoping at minimum for a respectable showing and at maximum for a knockout blow to Udall.

A Udall defeat by Carter there would give the Georgian a strong claim to the liberal wing of the party and make it a two-way primary race between him and Jackson.

Jackson, meanwhile, is counting on a big win in New York April 6 to regain the psychological edge he had after winning the Massachusetts primary March 2. He has competed only in Florida since then, finishing third behind Carter and Wallace.

Carter will be in the New York primary, although his chances of beating Jackson there seem nonexistent in view of Jackson's head start and massive investment in time and money.

In the longer view, the April 27 Pennsylvania primary is shaping up as a major test of strength for the surviving Democratic candidates. Pennsylvania is Carter's choice as the "northern industrial state" which Jackson has challenged the Georgian to try and beat him in.

Illinois also fits the northern-industrial-state description—as Carter has been pointing out frequently—but Jackson and Udall both passed it up because of doubts that even a good showing in the "beauty contest" vote would net them many delegates.

Carter surprised nearly everyone by more than doubling the 20 to 25 delegates he had expected to win here.

Mayor Daley seems a cinch to chair the Illinois delegation because Carter assured him before the election that his delegates would support Daley. Whether this courtesy to the nation's most renowned political boss will be reciprocated at convention time is a matter for speculation.

Daley paid little attention to the presidential primary, concentrating the gubernatorial race to nominate one of his supporters, Michael Howlett, over incumbent Gov. Daniel Walker. Howlett and the rest of the Daley slate won, although a one-time Daley supporter, Congressman Ralph Metcalfe, easily survived a Daley attempt to purge him for disloyalty.

Young Cites Carter Ties With Blacks

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Because of his ties to Atlanta, former Gov. Jimmy Carter has "much better access" to the black community around the country than do other presideial candidates, Fifth District Rep. Andrew Young said Tuesday.

Young, who has been campaigning for Carter, predicted that the support the former governor has been able to generate among blacks may be the key to Carter's winning the support of liberal voters too.

"I've contended all along that the black community kind of establishes the agenda for the liberal community," he said. "When the black community doesn't, we tend to flounder as we did in 1968.

"Gov. Carter has been very lucky in that black leadership all over the country was educated in Atlanta," Young said. "He can go to almost any community and people like (Georgia state Rep.) Ben Brown who are working for him have classmates everywhere they go."

Young said he has helped win Carter support among black preachers around the country. The Georgia congressman is himself a minister, and was a top aide to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. until the civil rights leader was assassinated in 1968.

He said Tuesday that "Daddy" King, the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr., will be going to New York City to campaign for Carter next weekend.

Young made his remarks following a meeting here between Carter and the congressional Black Caucus. The meeting, which was closed to the press, is part of a series of appearances before the caucus by presidential contenders.

Carter said after the session that the meeting was "very successful." He said that an analysis of votes in the early primaries, "shows that if I've got a solid base of support, it's among blacks."

He said he does not expect the endorsement of the caucus, adding that he does not expect the group to throw its support to any single candidate.

"I wanted to make sure they (the caucus members) get to know me and to understand that I have a special interest in black people and in other minority groups," Carter said after the meeting.

Young said he thought the meeting between Carter and the caucus went "exceptionally well." He said that candidates Birch Bayh, Sargent Shriver and Morris Udall had "gotten defensive" when they appeared before the group, and that Carter had not.

Rep. Yvonne Burke, D-Calif., the chairwoman of the caucus, was not quite as enthusiastic about Carter as Young. She said Carter is "a new ingredient, a new person, not someone we've worked with personally before."

LATE CAMPAIGNING

6/3/17 cons

Cook County Black Vote Helps Carter in Illinois

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

NEWS ANALYSIS

CHICAGO—Jimmy Carter collected another pearl in his necklace of primary victories Tuesday, partly on the strength of an 11th-hour sprint last weekend to make himself known in the Cook County black community.

By winning the Illinois presidential preference primary, Carter also drove another nail in the political coffin of George Wallace.

And just as he derailed the campaigns of Lloyd Bentsen in Oklahoma, Birch Bayh in New Hampshire and Milton Shapp in Florida, Carter's success in Illinois has ended the presidential hopes of Sargent Shriver.

In the Blackstone Hotel here, the celebrating among Carter's supporters started early as one TV network projected a victory for the former Georgia governor only minutes after the polls closed.

Two Catholic priests from DuPage County, one of the so-called "collar" counties around Chicago, led the group in an impromptu campaign song to the tune of "Mame."

"You never served in Washington, candid reappraisal is your style, you may be from Atlanta, but Yankees find assurance in your smile," they sang to the accompaniment of guitar and tamborine.

They also sang "The Times They Are A-Changin'," the anthem by Bob Dylan, one of Carter's favorite song writers.

Early returns showed Shriver, former "war on poverty" chief and a onetime political power in Chicago, failed to get the minority votes he hoped for in Cook County.

"We took a poll that showed that Jimmy was not very well known in the black community. He said, 'I don't like that,'" recalled Jim Wall, Carter's state campaign chairman.

So last weekend, a rushed courtship of the black vote was organized.

First, radio tapes of a potent endorsement from the Rev. Martin Luther King Sr. were flown up from Atlanta.

An extra $6,000 was added to the previous $45,000 Illinois advertising budget to air the King tapes on Chicago soul music stations.

Also, two of Atlanta's most powerful blacks—state Rep. Ben Brown and former Butler Street YMCA Director John Cox—flew up for talks with the Cook County black leadership.

Brown, coincidentally, is a former classmate of Roland Burris, a black candidate for Illinois state comptroller.

Brown and Cox both are friends of black U.S. Rep. Ralph Metcalfe.

Angie Rae, a full-time Carter staffer, organized Chicago's black South Side.

Finally, Marie Brookter, a top black staffer in the 1972 McGovern campaign, enlisted in the Carter cause last week.

The early returns showed that Carter was taking a majority of the Chicago black vote.

"That is very important to us," said Wall, "because Jimmy Carter's appeal to black voters as a Southern governor symbolizes his capacity to appeal to a broad spectrum of voters."

Ford Scores Big Gains In Stature Over Reagan

By LOUIS HARRIS

HARRIS POLL

Among Republican and independent voters across the nation, President Ford has scored impressive gains in his contest with former California Gov. Ronald Reagan for the GOP presidential nomination.

Mr. Ford leads Reagan by 53-36 per cent, up sharply from the narrow 46-44 per cent edge he held in January. The Ford lead is so substantial that it is hard to see how Reagan can stay in the race for many more primaries.

The Ford gains over Reagan have been registered among a number of key, politically sensitive groups in this survey of 1,268 Republicans and independents:

—Among conservatives, who are 46 per cent of all those who consider themselves Republicans in the country, the President now is ahead of Reagan by a margin of 49-41 per cent, a complete turnaround from the substantial 54-41 per cent lead the former California governor enjoyed before the primary voting began.

—Among professional people, President Ford has increased his narrow 48-44 per cent edge in January to a massive 63-31 per cent lead.

—Among rural Republicans and independents, Mr. Ford trailed former Gov. Reagan by 49-43 per cent two months ago, but now has forged into a substantial 50-39 per cent lead.

—In the South, a former Reagan lead of 50-44 per cent has now been transformed into a 47-39 per cent Ford margin.

—In the West, the President has moved from being behind by 47-45 per cent to being ahead by 48-42 per cent.

On the issues, there has been just as decisive a turnaround in public support:

—In January, 48-32 per cent believed that Reagan would be better able to handle federal spending. Yet, in late February, Mr. Ford moved into the lead on the spending issue by 43-38 per cent.

—The really decisive Ford advantage, however, is in foreign policy. On working for peace, Mr. Ford is preferred to Gov. Reagan by a lopsided 51-26 per cent. On handling relations with Russia, the Ford lead is 49-27 per cent, and on handling relations with China, the President leads Reagan by 51-26 per cent.

Plus, as a number of Harris Surveys clearly have shown, the American people now feel that ways must be found to live in peace with the communist superpowers. Peace is a highly popular issue, as Richard Nixon found out in 1972 when he ran chiefly on the breakthroughs he had made with Peking and Moscow. Moreover, the American people do not believe the Russians are dominant in military and diplomatic matters. And Reagan is clearly making a mistake in criticizing Kissinger, whose standing with the public continues to be a high 58 per cent positive.

Recently, the Harris Survey asked:

"As you know, Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan are running for the Republican nomination for president. If you had to choose right now, would you prefer Ford or Reagan as the Republican nominee for president?"

FORD VS. REAGAN
Republicans and independents

	Ford	Reagan	Not Sure
Feb./Mar. 1976	53%	36%	11%
Jan. 1976.....	46%	44%	10%
Nov.-Dec. 1975	46%	40%	14%
Aug.-Sept. 1975..	54%	34%	12

Journal 3/16

THE GALLUP POLL

Carter, HHH Tied for Lead

By GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N.J. — Democratic contender Jimmy Carter has registered dramatic gains and is now in a virtual tie with Sen. Hubert Humphrey as the top choice of Democratic voters for the 1976 nomination.

The same survey, which represents the first national assessment of the impact of all the primaries to date, including the one held in Florida on March 9, also shows Carter to be the first of the Democratic hopefuls to defeat President Ford in test election contests.

Carter leads Ford 47 to 42 per cent among registered voters nationwide, while Humphrey trails the President by the margin of 43 to 48 per cent. Jackson trails Ford by a still wider margin, 39 to 49 per cent.

All persons in the survey who classify themselves as Democrats and independents were first asked this question:

"Here is a list of people who have been mentioned as possible presidential candidates for the Democratic party in 1976. Which one would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate in 1976? And who would be your second choice?"

Carter and Humphrey emerged in a virtual tie among Democrats surveyed, with Humphrey winning 27 per cent and Carter 26 per cent. Next are Jackson and Gov. George Wallace, each the choice of 15 per cent of Democrats nationwide. Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona follows, with 5 per cent.

The following table shows the standings, with Humphrey included:

DEMOCRATIC STANDINGS
(Vote of Democratic Voters)

Sen. Hubert Humphrey	27 pct
Jimmy Carter	26 pct.
Sen. Henry Jackson	15 pct.
Gov. George Wallace	15 pct.
Rep. Morris Udall	5 pct.
Sargent Shriver	3 pct.
Fred Harris	3 pct.
Gov. Milton Shapp	1 pct.
Undecided	5 pct.

Shapp withdrew from race after the start of interviewing.

The current standings represent a dramatic gain in support for Carter, who won only 5 per cent of the vote of Democrats in a late January pre-New Hampshire survey, received 16 per cent in a post-New Hampshire survey, as compared to 26 per cent in the current survey.

Jackson's support has also increased sharply since the late January survey, when he was the choice of only 6 per cent of Democrats.

Carter Leads Field When Humphrey Out

When Humphrey — who is not officially a candidate — is removed from the list, Carter becomes the chief beneficiary of Humphrey supporters (as determined on the basis of the second choices). Carter then dominates the field, winning the vote of 36 per cent of Democrats to 21 per cent for Wallace and 19 per cent for Jackson.

The following table shows the standings when Humphrey's name is not included:

Carter	36 pct.
Wallace	21 pct.
Jackson	19 pct.
Udall	6 pct.
Shriver	4 pct.
Harris	3 pct.
Shapp	2 pct.
Undecided	9 pct.

Carter Has Strong Supra-Party Appeal

Evidence that Carter has strong appeal outside the ranks of his own party is seen from the nomination choices of persons who classify themselves as independents. Carter wins the support of 28 per cent of independents, compared to 22 per cent for Wallace and 15 per cent each for Humphrey and Jackson.

Carter's supra-party appeal is also evident in the test election results, which are based on the choices of all voters — Republicans as well as independents and Democrats.

Carter also generates great support among younger voters in the electorate, possibly because of a youthful, nonpolitical image. Carter wins over Ford among the 18-29 age group by the margin of more than 2-to-1, while Humphrey and Jackson split their vote with Ford among this segment of voters.

Following is the wording for the test elections:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Jimmy Carter were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win? As of today, do you lean more to Ford, the Republican, or to Carter, the Democrat?"

(The same questions were asked for Humphrey and Jackson.)

Here are the results, based on the choices of registered voters:

Carter vs. Ford	
Carter	47 pct.
Ford	42 pct.
Undecided	11 pct.
Humphrey vs. Ford	
Humphrey	43 pct.
Ford	48 pct.
Undecided	9 pct.
Jackson vs. Ford	
Jackson	39 pct.
Ford	49 pct.
Undecided	12 pct.

The findings reported today are based on interviews with 1,213 adults, 18 and older, interviewed during the period March 10-13. The survey was based on a telephone survey of households which were previously included in a Gallup Poll in which respondents were interviewed in person. The sample included 446 Democrats and 868 registered voters. c 1976, Field Enterprise.

AA

BB

Poll Finds Members Of Unions Divided In Democratic Race

Support by labor union members for a Democratic Presidential nominee is widely divided, according to the latest Gallup Poll.

The survey indicated that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, whose candidacy has been opposed by some labor leaders, had the support of 16 percent of the nation's union families. The survey also indicated that Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who has received strong support from many labor leaders, had the support of only 6 percent of union members.

The poll, taken from Feb. 27 to March 1 and involving 375 union households, found that Senatore Hubert H. Humphery of Minnesota, who is not acitvely campaigning for the Democratic Nomination, had the support of 23 percent of those interviewed.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabma, who has long held strong support from union members, had 22 percent of the labor vote, the survey indicated.

Some labor union leaders have opposed Mr. Carter's candidacy because, as Governor of Georgia, he did not support the repeal of a so-called "right-to-work" law in the state.

This was the question asked in the survey: "Here is a list of people who have been mentioned as possible Presidential candidates for the Democratic Party in 1976. Which one would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate for President in 1976?"

Following are the names of persons who have been listed as Presidential candidates or possible candidates, with their percentage of support from labor union families in the survey:

Humphrey	23
Wallace	22
Carter	16
Jackson	6
Edmund Muskie	5
George McGovern	5
Sargent Shriver	3
Morris Udall	3
Birch Bayh	2
Robert Byrd	1
Frank Church	1
Fred Harris	1
Milton Shapp	1
Undecided	11

Joseph Kraft

Is This Country Ready for Jimmy Carter?

WASHINGTON — Is America ready for a Christian President from the South? That is the question posed by the strong and weak points of Jimmy Carter's candidacy for the Democratic nomination.



Mr. Carter's Baptist funamentalism has carried him far already and — as the results of the Illinios primary demonstrate — is still working for him. But the religious approach also heightens qualities apt to cloud Carter's prospects as the primary parade move into more hotly contested industrial states.

To be sure, Carter has many strong points — beginning with brains. I have repeatedly found him able to follow with a sure grasp the component parts, and how they fit together, of complicated arguments about defense and economics. Though a new boy on the national scene, he has yet to make — and I doubt that he will make — the kind of blunder which has spoiled so many fresh faces.

Equally he has a keen political strategy. Over a year ago, together with Andy Glass of the Cox newspapers I heard Carter lay out the precise details of his campaign — intense personal efforts to make his name known in the early primaries, a win over George Wallace in Florida to make him a giant-killer, and then a swelling momentum in the polls and primaries that would carry him over the top.

The third Carter asset is a competent and relaxed staff, heading up in campaign manager Hamilton Jordan and press secretary Jody Powell. They have ready access to the boss and can come away with quick and crisp decisions — the real test of a staff operation. They won Florida for Mr. Carter by a tremendous organizational effort.

But the crowning asset is Mr. Carter's glowing personal faith, his unblushing and repeatedly articulated belief in God and family and trust and love and charity. That religious quality is what sets Carter apart from all other Democratic candidates.

The other side of the religious approach is that Carter tends, as Gore Vidal said to me the other day, to take his initials seriously. He is overconfident and stakes out claims — such and reforming the federal government — which he can't back up.

He takes opposition so badly that if he doesn't make it, a new record book will have to be written on sore losers. At one point he seemed, in Nixonesque fashion, to equate an attack on him with an attack on the country.

Most importantly, he vaunts trust in his own person over specific issues. He not only fudges on such questions as abortion, right to work, busing and detente. He assumes that some special personal grace gives him the right not to come clean.

Next month these qualities are going to be tested in areas where Baptist rhetoric runs way behind bread and ideology. In New York and in Pennsylvania, Carter will be running against two strong candidates — Sen. Jackson and Congressman Morris Udall of Arizona — who command powerful support from establishment political organizations with backing from labor and liberal activists.

Carter has no organization in either state. He does not have the kind of record in national issues which even gives him a handle on the big voting blocs. It is symbolic that, even as he celebrated his big win in Florida, he called New York a "horrible conglomerate of bossism."

My impression is that Carter is not going to do well enough in New York and Pennsylvania to go all the way. But I think he will come into the convention with nearly 800 delegates. That would make him a prime candidate for Vice President on a ticket headed by either Sen. Jackson or Hubert Humphrey.

cc

When Jimmy Pretends

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 18—Jimmy Carter is discovering what Ed Muskie and George McGovern learned to their sorrow in the last Democratic Presidential campaign: that the role of the front-runner is much tougher than the role of the challenger.

For once out front, the leading candidate is not only the visible target of all other competing forces, who want to shoot him down, but is regarded as "potential President" whose every move, action and speech are expected to be "Presidential."

Thus George Romney of Michigan lost his lead by admitting publicly that he had been "brain-washed" by the generals on Vietnam; Ted Kennedy lost the White House at Chappaquiddick; Ed Muskie lost his lead by losing his temper in the '72 New Hampshire primary, and George McGovern almost killed his chances by poor staff work on picking a running mate and defining his welfare policy at the start of the '72 campaign.

In his struggle to the front of the Democratic pack this year, Mr. Carter has scarcely missed a step, but his first major foreign policy speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations was less successful, and it illustrates one of his major problems in the last half of the primary campaign.

He offered it to a well-informed audience as an explanation of how he would approach the problems of foreign policy if he were elected President; how he saw the international situation today; what our role in the world should be; what kind of policies and policy-makers we shall need in the last year of the seventies.

His Chicago speech was a very bold but disappointing exercise, for essentially it was a litany of the sins of the

WASHINGTON

past, a critical and often unfair estimate of the present, and an idealistic almost dreamy view of how to conduct foreign affairs in a world of conflicting nations and ideologies.

He proclaimed that "our foreign policy today is in greater disarray than at any time in recent history." Considering where we were with Presidents Johnson and Nixon in Vietnam, considering that the Republic is not now at war for the first time in 15 years, and that President Sadat has just kicked the Russians out of Cairo, this was at least a debatable, and maybe even a silly conclusion.

Mr. Carter was more generous to other countries than he was to our own. He was savagely critical of Henry Kissinger's "secrecy," a popular view these days, though Mr. Kissinger has made more speeches defining American policy, testified before Congress more often, and held more press conferences with more reporters than any other Secretary of State or national security official since the end of the last war.

Mr. Carter's compassion for the rest of the world was admirable but greater than his understanding of the problems that face the Washington he wants to preside over as President. "The people of other nations," he said, "have learned in recent years that they can neither trust what our Government says nor predict what it will do. They have been hurt and disappointed so many times that they no longer know what to believe about the United States. They want to respect us. They like our people. But our people do not seem to be running our Government."

There is some truth in all this, but considering the practical world Mr. Carter wants us to deal with, not much. In Chicago, he really thought he was making a "Presidential" speech, but actually he made a campaign speech, as if he were behind rather than ahead.

It was not, of course, "his" speech. He had a problem. Having got out in front in the Presidential race, he was being asked to get beyond his personality and spirit, which have got him where he is, and define his foreign policy.

So between the 18-hour days, flying between Florida, New York, Washington, visiting the newspaper offices, shuttling down to North Carolina, he got somebody else to help him present his approach to world problems.

He was the speaker, but Zbigniew Brzezinski was the principal writer. Carter picked a scholar. "Zbig" is, like Henry Kissinger, one of the wisest and most articulate men who have come to the United States from Europe, a teacher at Columbia University, director of the Trilateral Commission, which is doing really creative work in getting the United States, Europe and Japan together on their common problems.

Long before Jimmy Carter became a front-runner in the Presidential campaign, he went to the Trilateral meeting in Tokyo and elsewhere, but it would probably be wrong to assume that he is an expert on foreign affairs.

In the struggle of his campaign, Mr. Carter is merely going back to this experience to find answers to those who wonder whether, as President, he could grapple with the problems of the world. His Chicago speech didn't answer the question. In fact, nobody even printed the text, which from his point of view was probably lucky. He has made great progress to the fore by being dead honest, but in Chicago he was pretending, and if he pretends, he may lose everything.

Southerner Can Win



DAVID BRODER

Chicago

WHEN JIMMY CARTER announced his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination back on Dec. 12, 1974, the news was greeted with thundering silence from the other politicians in his state. His successor as governor of Georgia, George Busbee, the state's two U.S. senators, Herman Talmadge and Sam Nunn, and most of the others in the party hierarchy were successful in containing their excitement at a native son bidding for the White House. Iron bars would not pry a comment from their clinched lips.

The only Georgian politician of note who delivered an immediate endorsement of Carter's candidacy was Rep. Andrew Young, D-Ga. He is a one-time deputy to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and now represents Atlanta in the House. The anomaly of Carter's support coming from the only black in the state's delegation was so striking that this reporter called Young that afternoon for an explanation.

The reward was a small lecture on real-world politics. It demonstrated why Young has so quickly won a reputation as one of the ablest of the emerging generation of political leaders. "What you don't realize," he said, "is that down in south Georgia, where Jimmy Carter is from, there are a lot of fellows who make good money farming who don't have a whole lot to do in January and February of the year.

When he ran for governor, they just kind of spread out around the state and set up organizations for him. "And they'll do the same thing in Florida — just kind of drift across the border into those panhandle counties where Wallace has had it all to himself and set things up for Jimmy. "If we can get anything going for Carter in the cities," Young concluded in that talk 15 months ago, "that's our best chance at stopping George Wallace."

And that was, of course, exactly the picture that developed in Florida last Tuesday: Carter beat Wallace in the first southern primary of 1976, thanks to heavy majorities of the urban black vote and sharp inroads on Wallace's "redneck" support in the Panhandle.

The win put Carter's campaign back on track after a fourth-place finish the previous week in Massachusetts. It also indicated he can withstand the roundhouse attacks of Sen. Henry M. Jackson, who slipped from first in Massachusetts to third in Florida.

The Democratic race still has a long way to go. But Carter's win over Wallace, though narrow, is a truly significant one. Although the Wallace "threat" to the Democratic party is not ended, it certainly has been diminished. The smaller the portion of delegates in Madison Square Garden controlled by the Alabaman, the greater the prospects for successful compromise and conciliation and the better bet the Democrats will get out of convention hall in conditions to compete in the election — which they failed to do the last two times.

It has been my view for about two years that the Democrats' best bet for for victory in 1976 was to nominate a Southerner. It also has been my belief that any southern Democrat who could beat Wallace in Florida, where the Alabaman scored his first big victiry in 1972, would, by that one act, virtualored his first big victory in 1972, would, by that one act, virtually guarantee himself at least second place on the ticket and, as of that moment, have as good a chance for the presidential nomination as anyone in the party.

The next test will be whether he can demonstrate the capacity to win in the northern industrial state primaries, as well — something he has yet to do. But the burden is now on his opponents to prove the superiority of their claim to the nomination.

As for the Republicans, President Ford's problem is changing. Before New Hampshire, it was not clear whether he could beat Ronald Reagan. New Hampshire settled that, and made it virtually certain that Reagan would not win the nomination. Everything that has happened since in Massachusetts, Vermont and Florida has confirmed that conclusion. But Florida raised the question whether Mr. Ford can dispose of Reagan or must spend all spring fighting these costly battles.

The 53-47 per cent Ford margin in Florida was less than impressive. All the early bragging from the Reagan camp about a two-to-one victory, and all the evidence of early disarray in the Florida Ford organization, created a climate of expectation for Reagan that was unrealistic. Mr. Ford's own polls showed that he was always in better shape in Florida than in New Hampshire, largely because his incumbency was more esteemed by the elderly Republicans of Florida than by those New Hampshire voters who had been subjected to months of derisive comment in the Manchester Union-Leader about "Jerry the Jerk."

Given that set of attitudes and given the extraordinary lengths to which the White House went to demonstrate the power of an incumbent to build roads, provide defense jobs, appoint judges and confer other favors, that 53 per cent margin was not impressive. It seems to have hardened Reagan's determination to continue his attack on the Ford-Kissinger defense and diplomatic policies in hopes of sustaining his faltering campaign until the late-spring contests that begin in Texas on May 1 and conclude in California on June 8.

Long ago, Stuart Spencer, organizer of the Ford campaign, warned that a protracted battle with Reagan, fought in all the major states from Florida to Texas to California, would leave the minuscule GOP so broken that the value of its nomination would be severely diminished.

So far, Reagan has not been persuaded that his continued candidacy is a potential party-wrecker. But the challenger faces a grim future: another likely defeat Tuesday in Illinois and uphill races in North Carolina and Wisconsin, then a long gap before the more inviting prospect of Texas. Meantime, he is forced into even more labored explanations of failure, claiming that second-place is better than first.

As a campaign bus song put it this week, parodying Reagan's movie role as the Gipper who responded to the Notre Dame Victory March:

Whether the state be great or small,
Reagan's the one who'll lose overall.
Ford is stuck with victory,
But Ron hits the old stone wall.—
(c1976.)

EE

Journal 3/16

Carter's Tour de Force



ROWLAND EVANS
and ROBERT NOVAK

Chicago

AS JIMMY Carter hurried through Chicago in a 15-hour campaign day prior to the March 16 Illinois Democratic primary, constantly at his side was a left-wing politician and reformer named James Wall — a fact central to Carter's intricately wrought plan to become president.

Wall, a Methodist clergyman and editor of the superliberal Christian Century, was Illinois state chairman for Sen. George McGovern in 1972 and plays the same role for Carter in 1976. He is not alone. Erstwhile McGovernites dominate Carter's organization in Illinois and elsewhere (especially Florida, scene of his most impressive victory).

Yet, Carter still straddles issues with devout ideological agnosticism. He is, therefore, attempting a tour de force in keeping a McGovernite cadre while avoiding the pure left positions fatal to McGovern with the electorate four years ago.

This feat could well nominate the smiling little peanut farmer from Georgia. While nationally prominent liberals distrust Carter and demand more clearly enunciated positions, former state-level McGovernite activists are on the ground floor of his campaign and, therefore, willing to shed an ideological scruple to enter the halls of power. That means significant Carter sentiment on the party left not only against Sen. Henry M. Jackson but even Sen. Hubert Humphrey as a brokered candidate.

Accordingly, when Carter arrived here after his Florida triumph, he made no slight change in his ideologically nondescript posture. Carefully reciting his memorized formulations balancing himself on all issues, Carter told us he would not tailor his rhetoric to woo the left. He was willing to endure a little booing at college campuses in Chicago and Champaign last week when he favored "blanket pardon" and opposed "blanket amnesty" for Vietnam draft dodgers; better angry students than an angry Middle America.

While avoiding McGovern's follies, Carter was seeking McGovern's blessing. McGovern has privately confided he so distrusts Carter that he might prefer even hawk Scoop Jackson in a Hobson's Choice. So, Carter recently telephoned McGovern with this plea: Call me on the campaign trail if you are ever displeased with me or have any suggestions. Friends now believe McGovern would end up with Carter in a Carter-Jackson showdown.

One reason he might is the presence of so many McGovernite foot troops under the Carter tent as a result of long, quiet proselytizing. It began in Chicago last May when prominent McGovernites were invited to lunch with Carter at Maxim's. One immediate recruit: millionaire Chicago lawyer Louis Manilow, past contributor to McGovern and other liberal candidates and now Carter's chief Illinois fund-raiser.

But Carter's base goes well beyond McGovern's. Cohost with Manilow at a $250-a-ticket cocktail party for Carter at the posh Metropolitan Club last week was ex-Atlanta Braves owner Bill Bartholomay, a rich Chicago businessman with vaguely Republican antecedents. Thus, the party mixed McGovernite veterans and Republican neophytes. One Republican lawyer, who never before had supported a Democrat for president or contributed to any political candidate, told us he expected a President Carter to "cut hell out of the bureaucracy" in Washington.

Nor does Carter pursue the old liberal baiting of Mayor Richard J. Daley's organization. Although Carter is widely supported by anti-Daley reformers, he has pledged to Daley that any Carter delegates elected in Illinois will vote for the mayor to head the state's convention delegation.

Hearing erroneous reports that Daley was supporting ex-Chicagoan Sargent Shriver in the four-man presidential primary here (in fact, the mayor is neural), a Carter campaign underling placed a complaining telephone call to Daley's office. Wishing no trouble at City Hall, Wall quickly placed a second call reassuring the Daley camp the complaint was totally unauthorized. That satisfied the Daley aide, who never realized this was the same Jim Wall who had long been Daley's hairshirt in suburban Dupage County.

Among sophisticated liberals who have not succumbed to Carter's southern charm, there is apprehension over his nonpositions on abortion, busing, defense, health and energy. When Carter straddled the amnesty issue last week, some McGovernites here said they wanted out. Nor were reformers overjoyed by newspaper pictures of Carter breakfasting with Lt. Gov. Neil Hartigan, a young lion of the Daley organization detested by Carter's liberal supporters.

But fund-raiser Lou Manilow typifies new flexibility on the left which permits Carter to seek "moderate middle courses to unite the country." Manilow accepts "blanket pardon" instead of "blanket amnesty" which would be unacceptable to most voters.

In wooing the left, Carter has characteristically worked quietly in the hinterlands while ignoring liberal doyens based in Washington and New York. Although those national figures may insist on Carter removing the ideological mush from his mouth, provincial foot-soldiers of the left seem content with being in charge of his campaign no matter what Jimmy says.—(c1976.)

Without Watergate, the Campaign Is Part Illusion

By JOHN HERBERS

For the better part of two years, ending in 1974, the United States was preoccupied by a trauma, the Watergate scandals that brought down a President and most of his Cabinet. Yet in 1976, except for an occasional, jarring reminder by Ronald Reagan, the Presidential campaign so far has played before the American people almost as if Watergate never happened.

That is, on the surface; the absence of overt debate on the subject can be explained by the fact that the candidates are participating in the primaries only against members of their own party. Beneath the surface, in the opinion of many political analysts and participants, Watergate is what the campaign is much about. It could decide the election.

While the traditional, issue-oriented Democratic candidates have been faltering or meeting with limited success, a one-term governor of Georgia who was little known outside the South three months ago, has emerged as the front-runner by stressing his personal credibility while remaining vague on important questions of foreign and domestic policy. "I will never lie to you," is the essence of Jimmy Carter's campaign.

A national poll conducted by the New York Times and CBS News in early February, just as campaigning in the New Hampshire primary was getting under way, showed that a clear majority of the people held the Federal Government in distrust. While the alienation factor, as it is known, has been growing for some years and has many roots, there is agreement that the Watergate scandals were responsible for a large share of it. Thus, with a big segment of the population, especially the young and minority groups, tuned out of political participation, the campaign also has become a test of whether government will rest on a majority or a minority mandate. Each candidate, in a different way, has sought to show that he can restore trust in politics.

President Ford's Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, blurted out in Marion, Ill., on March 9 what the Democrats had refrained from saying: "I don't think we want to go into battle against the Democrats in November having to defend a part of the past which Republicans would like to be left to history." It was a reference to Mr. Ford's appointment by President Nixon and his pardoning of Mr. Nixon in the face of wide public opposition. Last Thursday, campaigning in North Carolina, Reagan again referred to Watergate.

The Reagan attack was widely viewed as a desperation tactic, as his campaign faltered, employed by a man who as governor of California had defended Nixon in the weeks before he was forced to resign.

The President and his campaign aides have displayed great sensitivity to the Watergate issue. When Mr. Nixon went to China two days before the New Hampshire primary, several of Mr. Ford's assistants were distressed, not because of what the trip might do to foreign policy but because of what a Nixon reemergence in public would remind voters of: the pardon. A few days ago, after the first allegation that Howard H. Callaway may have brought pressure on Government officials to permit expansion of a Colorado ski resort which he partly owned, Mr. Callaway's offer to step aside as the Ford campaign manager was quickly accepted. Any other President at any other time might have ridden out such a controversy at least for a few days.

How much of a liability Watergate will be for the Republican Party and how far the Democrats will go in pressing the issue later in the year are matters of conjecture.

Some respected political experts, such as Richard M. Scammon, the election analyst, believe Watergate is fading from the political scene. "We are an instant people," he said, who tend to forget past traumas when assessing candidates.

Implant in the National Psyche

Nevertheless, Watergate, like the Great Depression of the 1930's and the Vietnam War, became implanted in the national psyche, as a unique event that raised basic questions about the American government and the nature of democratic guarantees. William Schneider, assistant professor of government at Harvard, who has conducted studies on the effects of the Watergate issue believes that it is a substantial part of the antipathy toward Washington that the candidates and the pollsters are finding.

A poll conducted in New England by NBC News during the primaries there found about one-third of those questioned believe that the next President should be someone outside Washington. Although this feeling has not enabled Mr. Reagan to overcome Mr. Ford—the Californian is widely viewed within his own party as unable to win the Presidency if nominated—but it has been of substantial help to Mr. Carter, who has never served in the national government.

Anti-Washington sentiment works against Democrats, too, who are frequently seen as a part of overall government failures. In that sense, at least some of Watergate has rubbed off on them.

President Ford's supporters maintain that he has long since put the Nixon pardon and the part he played in the Nixon Administration behind him, and indeed the polls show that many voters give him high marks for integrity. But his real test on the issue will not come in the primary, but in the race against the Democratic nominee, should he win the Republican nomination, as expected. The Times/CBS poll in February showed that among those persons who found government to be untrustworthy and unresponsive, there were strong negative feelings toward the President. It would be unrealistic to expect the Democrats to let those feelings go unexploited.

John Herbers is an assistant national editor of The New York Times.

GG

HH

Mr. Ford and the Scarlet 'S'

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

DURHAM, N. C., March 19—A slow-paced but real improvement in economic conditions undoubtedly has helped Gerald Ford defeat Ronald Reagan in five consecutive primaries, and should help Mr. Ford win a sixth in this state on Tuesday. Mr. Ford has not been reluctant to point with pride to the rising economic indicators that show, he says, his skill in leading the nation out of recession without reviving inflation.

This dubious bill of goods has not only thwarted Mr. Reagan; it seems also to have mesmerized the Democratic candidates, some one of whom is going to pay a high price next fall for leaving the economic issue to Mr. Ford in the spring. Granted that the Democrats must first of all choose their own nominee, the fact remains that Mr. Ford is being allowed to persuade the nation that he is its economic savior, that his policies are producing "sound and steady recovery" and that everyone else is a wild-eyed spender who would set off rampant inflation with huge Government programs.

Beneath Mr. Ford's flimflam about the direction of the economy, however, lies the reality of its level: about nine million people unemployed and no prospect that unemployment will drop below 7 percent this year, or below 6 percent in this decade; total output running somewhere around $150 billion a year less than in a high employment economy, and a capacity utilization rate in manufacturing that will still be at about 80 percent at the end of 1976.

No wonder Walter Heller, the former Democratic chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, told the Joint Economic Committee in February that these are "recession-like" levels. He pointed out that in the four previous recessions since 1950, the unemployment rate in the worst quarter averaged only 6.2 percent, against the 7.5 percent average expected for all of 1976; and the rate of capacity utilization in manufacturing averaged 77 percent, hardly any worse than the rate Mr. Ford's policies will generate by the end of this year. This is a recovery? This is "sound and steady" growth?

The Democrats' Congressional budget committees have just pointed out that even such recovery as there has been —unemployment down from 9.2 percent at one point in 1975—probably will slow to a virtual standstill after the election and in 1977. Mr. Ford's "sound and steady" policies actually point toward renewed restraint on the economy, not sensible expansion; and just this week his relentless Treasury Secretary, William Simon, said their goal was to cut the rate of inflation, now at about 6 percent, to 2 percent. That could hardly be done in an expanding or high employment economy — not with any policies Mr. Simon would tolerate.

Mr. Heller estimated, in fact, that the net effect of Mr. Ford's budget and tax proposals, if enacted mostly unchanged, would be a $30-billion restrictive swing in Government impact on the economy between now and the summer of 1977. "A restrictive swing of that magnitude," Mr. Heller said, "took a terrible toll in jobs and output in 1959-60 and again in 1973-74." As for Government itself, Mr. Ford wants to hold spending levels for fiscal 1977 to $394 billion, when the best estimate is that a budget of at least $414 billion is needed just to maintain services and commitments at fiscal 1976 levels.

The President is being allowed to persuade the nation that he is its economic savior.

It is true that Congress is unlikely to support all Mr. Ford's proposals. What sense does it make to raise the regressive Social Security payroll tax, for example, thus increasing business costs and lowering take-home pay, when economic recovery is still embryonic and there is ample time to deal with the fiscal needs of the Social Security trust fund?

It is also true that the Hawkins-Humphrey full employment bill has been revised and improved by the Democrats, and has impressive support, including organized labor. Presumably, this bill if passed would be vetoed by Mr. Ford, with Mr. Simon beaming in the background. That would nicely draw the employment issue for the fall campaign.

The trouble is that in the absence of an agreed-upon Democratic candidate, Mr. Ford can use his White House pulpit virtually unchallenged to paint his rosy pictures of recovery and his cartoons of the Democrats as wild-eyed spenders. And the sponsors of the Hawkins-Humphrey bill tended to play into his hands by refusing to include any mechanism to control wages and prices, despite the inflationary risks—which Mr. Ford and Mr. Simon will surely exaggerate — in trying to bring unemployment down to 3 percent in four years.

No Democratic program, moreover, now contemplates the amount of public employment that is really needed, the taxes to pay for it, or the necessary combining of public sector needs with public employment programs. And no Democratic candidate much wants to talk about such things, much less wage-and-price controls, for fear that Gerald Ford will brand a scarlet "S" for "spender" on his forehead.

Why Ford and Carter Are in the Lead

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 20—The success of Gerald Ford and former Governor Carter in the Presidential race so far cannot be explained adequately by computerized analysis of voting districts or by the prestige of the Presidency or the tireless energy and administrative skill of Mr. Carter.

There is apparently another factor in their progress, which is harder to define and impossible to prove. They are quite different in many ways, but they are both touching some longing in the American mind and spirit for something we have lost.

Maybe the voters in the early primary elections are trying to tell us something. They have not responded to the appealing personality or theatrical, conservative ideology of Ronald Reagan. Or to the angry domestic complaints of George Wallace or the anti-Soviet, anti-Kissinger tirades of Senator Jackson, or to the liberal or populist appeals of Mo Udall and Fred Harris.

The voters in the primaries have been very cautious and moderate. As Eric Hoffer says in his new book, "In Our Time," they don't quite know what is happening to them. They are "separated" from the past, "a different people in a different country," but somehow he thinks they still believe in believing and yearn for the values of the past.

It is easy and even popular to sneer at these philosophic imponderables, and try to calculate the outcome of the election in terms of power blocs, big-city bosses like Mayor Daley in Chicago, Big Labor leaders like George Meany, and Big Business lobbies like the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, but Jimmy Carter is leading in the Democratic race not because he has the Democratic establishment with him but because it is against him, and because he believes he can appeal to a different and more powerful constituency among the increasingly disenchanted and independent voters of the country.

The chances are that he won't make it all the way to the top, and will have to settle for the Vice-Presidency. He starts from scratch and Mr. Ford starts from an accidental Presidency, which is quite a difference, but even so, Carter might just be closer to the longings of the people for new younger leaders and ideas than anybody else, and take the Democratic Party over, against its will, as Jack Kennedy, with different values and fewer ideals, did in 1960.

Mr. Carter is not talking about "confrontation" with our adversaries, like Senator Jackson, or about ideology, like Governor Reagan on the right and Fred Harris on the left, but about cooperation, reconciliation and even about "love." He is very romantic about all this, and it infuriates his opponents, but it still touches some longing among the American people.

"We are not enemies but friends," Mr. Lincoln said in his First Inaugural Address. "We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. . . ." Mr. Lincoln did not argue the particular issues that divided the American people, but avoided these divisions and appealed to their common ideals.

In a totally different and more complicated situation, President Ford and Governor Carter are succeeding by making this same cooperative appeal. They are minimizing the differences and controversies within a nation that has been battered by contention for a generation. They are putting an optimistic and smiling face before the voters, avoiding extremes, arguing for moderation and common sense, and in the process, getting a popular response.

If the voters are saying anything, they are apparently asking for simpler, more honest and more moderate men.

This may not be as important in the convention struggles as the power moves by labor and business in this election, but as party loyalty and economic ideology decline, the character and personal philosophy of the candidates become more important.

The tragedy of the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon Administrations has been the decline of decency. All three of them may have been more intelligent and more cunning than Ford and Carter, but if the voters are saying anything in the primaries this year, they are apparently asking for simpler, more honest and more moderate men and policies.

It seems a strange comparison, but Charles de Gaulle held France together in its critical postwar years not by telling people what they wanted to hear but by setting a moral example. During that crisis in the life of a nation, when you ask why the men and women of France always supported de Gaulle on the great issues put to a vote of the people, they gave a plain and human answer. Particularly the women.

"We don't quite know whether he is right or wrong, but we trust him," they said. "He is our regret—the symbol of values we regret we have lost. So we support him. We would like to believe in his values, even if we don't live by them."

I think there is something of this same yearning in the success of Ford and Carter in our own election. Whatever else they are, they are the opposite of the fancy articulate ways of Kennedy, the cunning techniques of Johnson, and the illegal, unspeakable outrages of Nixon.

The American voters seem to be responding to these plain and undramatic campaigns of Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, and this could in the end be important, or even decisive. The other politicians, the universities and the press may not like it, but maybe the majority of the American people do.

WASHINGTON

JJ

David S. Broder

Jimmy Carter: Setting the Pace

As that well-known 17th Century political writer, Will Shakespeare, noted, "There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

The tide is running strong these days for Jimmy Carter, who continues to set the pace—and force the race—for the remaining runners in the Democratic presidential field.

NBC analyst Richard Scammon has compared Carter's tactics to those of a sprinter in the mile run. While others carefully paced themselves, picking their primaries and hoarding their hard-won campaign cash, Carter started running flat-out, full-speed from the first caucus, never worrying about how he might sustain his drive if early victories came.

Thus far, that tactical decision looks nothing less than brilliant. Under the hammering of Carter's hard-nosed tactics, the field has been cut more than half in the first month's primaries.

"Carter started running flat-out, full-speed from the first caucus, never worrying about how he might sustain his drive if early victories came."

And the astonishing thing is that it could be sliced just as dramatically again, if Carter can sustain his pace for just another month.

In fact, if the former Georgia governor is able to add three more victories to his skein between now and April 27, he would be on the verge of locking up the nomination at an astonishingly early date.

Of his three remaining active opponents, George Wallace faces a moment of truth on Tuesday (March 23) in North Carolina; Morris K. Udall has the same sort of must-win situation in Wisconsin on April 6; and Henry M. Jackson is looking at a showdown in Pennsylvania on April 27.

In North Carolina, where neither Jackson nor Udall has made a major effort, Carter and Wallace face their third contest in as many weeks. In both Florida and Illinois, Carter finished first and the Alabama governor second. Wallace is on the record as saying he expects to win in North Carolina—and he carried the state in the 1972 primary. If he fails to beat Carter there, it would signal that the Alabamian has been reduced to a spoiler role in 1976.

For Udall who, like Wallace, is looking for his first primary victory, Wisconsin is the chosen state. It has a liberal reputation, a big university system, good newspapers and a House delegation most of whose Democrats support their colleague from Arizona.

If there is any state in the country where Udall should win, it is Wisconsin. But in Massachusetts, which shares many of the same characteristics, he wound up second to Jackson—because, he says, other liberal candidates drained off his votes. Now those other liberals are gone as active contenders, and Udall has only Carter and Jackson with full-scale organizations against him. He ought to win. If he fails, it will be not just "disappointment," as he says, but a defeat from which he could not recover.

Carter has no business being favored over Wallace in North Carolina or over Udall in Wisconsin. And yet there are knowledgeable observers in both states betting he will win. Should that prove true, it would leave him facing Jackson in Pennsylvania on April 27 in what would be virtually a two-man race.

Jackson has played his hand as shrewdly as Carter so far, but his is a strategy as cautious as Carter's has been bold.

He skipped New Hampshire entirely, scored a surprise success in Massachusetts, made a modest show of strength in Florida and now has committed his major resources to New York's April 6 contest, where he seems certain of victory over Carter and Udall.

But Jackson now knows he must face Carter again in Pennsylvania. The three-week campaign leading up to that April 27 contest could be the most dramatic yet in the Democratic race.

Again, the odds favor Carter's opponent, for Pennsylvania is the prime example of a state where the old-line labor union-city organization forces exercise immense sway in the Democratic party. And those forces will be on Jackson's side. Yet Pennsylvania Democrats have given their nominations to such maverick anti-organization figures as Gov. Milton Shapp and Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty in recent years. Carter cannot be counted out in the Keystone State.

Successive knockouts of Wallace, Udall and Jackson would not guarantee Carter the nomination. There would still be favorite-sons, uncommitted slates and draft efforts focused on Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey — all aimed at denying the Georgian a majority of the delegates.

But the fact remains that the Georgian is much closer to his prize today than almost anyone but he and his campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, thought possible three months ago. And their go-for-broke tactics have broken all but the last three opponents.

SPECIAL REPORT

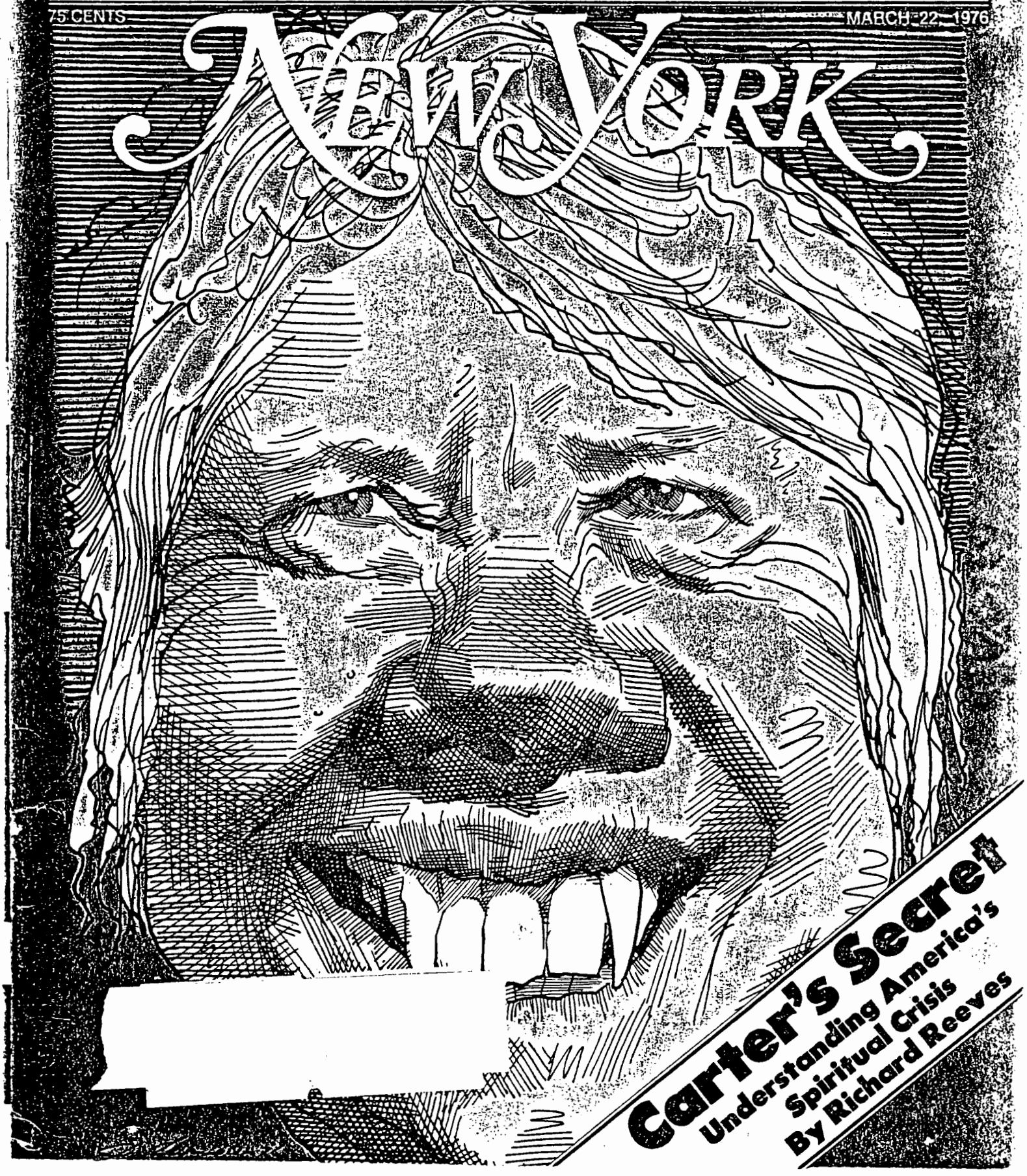
An Agenda to Save Our City

By Ken Auletta

75 CENTS

MARCH 22, 1976

NEW YORK



Carter's Secret

Understanding America's Spiritual Crisis

By Richard Reeves

KK

NEW YORK

Carter's Secret

By Richard Reeves

"...The barefoot boy with cheek is mixing politics and religion... and he may be capable of doing it with devastating effect..."

What makes us great? "Love of God, love of land, love of our children," said Jimmy Carter as he moved through Florida on an incredible pilgrimage he believes will take him from Plains, Georgia, to the White House. "There is no reason I should feel different about you," he told 200 black students at Florida Memorial College, "than I feel about my little eight-year-old daughter when I walk in the door at home. . . . God bless you all."

Newsweek had a lovely line about Jimmy Carter: "It is said around Plains that you love him in fifteen minutes, hate him in six months and understand him in ten years." I've known him more than fifteen minutes and less than six months. The word *love* does not come to me as easily as to him, but I am very impressed. My first impression is that he is head and shoulders above most of the politicians I've seen in recent years—a brilliant politician who may have a feel for a kind of post-ideological leadership of a media nation.*

On one level, campaigning, Carter's political brilliance seems beyond debate. A man does not come from where he did to within reaching distance of the presidency without establishing, prima facie, that he is one sharp country politician. There is a qualitative difference between Carter's rise and the Eastern Establishment's projection of Wendell Willkie, the nation's hero worship of Dwight Eisenhower, or the antiwar movement's adoption of George McGovern. Carter started in the suburbs of nowhere: he was from the wrong part of the country and was fairly unpopular there. After one controversial term as a governor, he had no constituency, no identification with the political movement, and not much money—peanuts, in fact.

On deeper levels, Carter, it seems to me, has figured out a couple of very important things: that what national leaders and other candidates perceive as a political crisis is actually a spiritual crisis, and that more symbolic communication is the best way to reach Americans drifting in an atmosphere saturated with instant communications. The barefoot boy with cheek is mixing politics and religion, and, like Jerry Brown in California, William Jennings Bryan, or, more significantly, Gandhi, he may be capable of doing it with devastating effect.

Carter's autobiography, a fascinating book, was published by Broadman Press of Nashville, a religious publisher whose other titles include *Politics and Religion Can Mix!* These lines are from Carter's book:

> "I have come to realize that in every person there is something fine and pure and noble, along with a desire for self-fulfillment. Political and religious leaders must attempt to provide a society within which these human attributes can be nurtured and enhanced. . . . I would hasten to point out that nowhere in the Constitution of the United States, or the Declaration of Independence, or the Bill of Rights, or the Emancipation Proclamation, or the Old Testament or the New Testament do you find the words 'economy' or 'efficiency.' Not that these two words are unimportant. But you discover other words like honesty, integrity, fairness, liberty, justice, courage, patriotism, compassion, love . . . words which describe what a government of human beings ought to be."

In *The New Republic*, "TRB," following Carter in New Hampshire, reported: "My impression is that audiences yearn to believe Jimmy Carter. They're looking for something. It is his manner and tone." Also, it is his words. Without embarrassment (to himself or his audience) Carter is able softly to preach love, invoke the name of the Lord, say that he has found Jesus, that he is washed in the blood of the Lamb, that "I am twice born." Also, the yearning crowds seem to go away believing, including a surprisingly high proportion of the working press. We want to believe, too.

It is clear that Carter perceives and understands the yearning. Loss of faith in government is one thing, but, to many people, loss of faith in *anything* is everything. The breakdown of religion, the loss of a comprehensible moral framework—of rules—may be the United States' overriding crisis. What is right and wrong today in America? Are our great political issues actually moral: Race? Vietnam? Watergate? The CIA? Corporate bribes?

Was it the old religious framework that held families together? No doubt those rules, graven in stone, were part of it. No doubt Jimmy Carter knows what he is doing when he refers constantly and reverently to "my daddy" and "my mamma."

Carter is onto something, and he comes by it honestly. He is a real down-home Baptist whose life has revolved around the church, including years of missionary trips and teaching Sunday school before, while, and after he was governor of Georgia. His sister, Ruth Stapleton, is an evangelist and faith healer of some reputation, described by her brother as a woman "expressing in the most refreshing way her deep faith and personal relationship with Christ." (Mrs. Stapleton, whose home base is Fayetteville, North Carolina, is also an effective political organizer, according to Carter's staff, which has used

I first met Carter, actually, more than a year ago when, in the process of courting the press, he invited me to breakfast. But I don't count that, because I didn't pay any attention. I thought he was wasting his time (and mine) and I can't remember a word he said.

PHOTOGRAPHS—CARTER: BLACK STAR; SHARP: UPI; UDALL: CAMERA 5; HARRIS: UPI; JACKSON: PICTORIAL PARADE; WALLACE: UPI; HUMPHREY: PICTORIAL PARADE; SHRIVER: PICTORIAL PARADE



her religious contacts to recruit campaign workers and caucus delegates in places like rural Iowa.)

In 1962, when Carter was considering his first political race, for the Georgia Senate, he talked with an evangelist friend. "If you want to be of service to other people," the preacher said, "why don't you go into the ministry or into some honorable social service work?" Carter remembers answering, "How would you like to be pastor of a church with 80,000 members?"

Now, instead of a State Senate constituency of 80,000, Carter is being looked over by a membership of 215-million. How do you reach that many people, media-bombarded people with their senses dulled by instant, constant information? Perhaps the answer is that you reach them the same way you reach millions of people without any information network—Gandhi solved that 50 years ago in India by communicating through the most basic symbolism. Perhaps the most complex and most primitive societies are both receptive to religious-political communication simply rooted in their own traditions. Fasting as a means of protest. Marching to the sea to raise a fistful of free salt to condemn a British colonial salt tax. Mahatma Gandhi slept on a mat; ex-seminarian Jerry Brown sleeps on a mattress on the floor. Their constituencies perceive them in the same way, as somehow at a level above politics.

Carter draws on the symbolism of Christianity and the land—"I'm a fahmuh, my daddy's people been fah-min' the same piece of land for 210 years"—and that symbolism touches deep roots in many Americans, no matter how irreligious or urban their lives may be now. A man who understands that also understands that politics and leadership can be a little more creative than just constructing an inoffensive record.

Calculated inoffensiveness—rhetoric that no longer has meaning—is one of the high goals and hallmarks of the United States Congress and Washington itself. Congress and Washington, of course, consider the presidency their prerogative and property. Who is this Jimmy Carter—"Wee Jimmy," as James Reston disdainfully calls him—a *former* governor without the dignity to call himself by his rightful name, James Earl Carter Jr.?

Washington is in a small panic over "Wee Jimmy." The titans of old Washington, led by Reston, Averell Harriman, and Hubert Humphrey, seem ready to take to the streets of Georgetown. Why? Mark Shields, the Dr. Johnson of Duke Zeibert's, summed it up: "The problem is that no one in Washington owns a piece of Jimmy Carter."

Guests at Harriman's house, which

MM

NN

"...Washington is in a small panic over 'Wee Jimmy.' The titans, led by Reston and Harriman, seem ready to take to the streets..."

is down the street from Henry Kissinger's, which is near Rowland Evans's, not far from Katharine Graham's, report that "Get Carter" is no longer just the title of an old Michael Caine movie. In a column arranged for strings, Reston concluded that poor Carter—and poor Ronald Reagan and poor George Wallace—are sadly misguided in their anti-Washington campaigns:

> "Washington is agitated and irritated by all these campaign maneuvers....[Washington] is holding the country together during the political turmoil . . . the leaders of both parties here are cooperating in the national interest, and concentrating on the things that unite them and have to be done in 1976, rather than on the divisive debates of the candidates, who are vilifying the city they want to take over."

One of those leaders holding the country together, Senator Humphrey, has made a deal with Senator Henry Jackson, if you believe *Time* magazine —and I do, this time. Hubert will do a little for Scoop—in Florida, he let Jackson use a tape of a laudatory old Humphrey speech in radio commercials —if Scoop will support Hubert if his candidacy collapses. That arrangement made for some interesting doings in Florida, where Carter was going to clobber Wallace, perhaps finishing him off for good, until Jackson suddenly decided to go all out to try to cut Carter's vote. So, given a choice, old liberals Humphrey and Jackson preferred the survival of Wallace, who threatens the country more than he threatens them, to the survival of Carter, who threatens them more than he threatens the country.

Younger liberals, not so protective of the perfection of the nation's capital, have another gripe with Carter: he's a "phony liberal," or, some think, just a plain phony. I'll leave the first argument for the New York primary—my own estimate is that every time a New York politician says that Carter is not a "real liberal," the Georgian will gain 50,000 votes somewhere west of the Hudson River.

Is he a phony? Of course he is. He's a politician, an actor, a salesman. What I like is that the product he's peddling is one of the most interesting I've seen in a long time. He's a Southern populist free of the race anchor, something of a 1976 Huey Long outgrowing his origins and repackaging the salable points of his life and public record. And he is an absolute master at using the same facts to give different impressions to different audiences. When he appeared before the Young Lawyers Section of the Dade County Bar Association in Miami, he was asked about his repeated assertions that he is not a lawyer and the attached implication that lawyers are part of the American problem. "I had to turn what seemed to be a disadvantage into an advantage," he answered. "Had I been a lawyer, I'd be bragging about it."

In almost every speech, he recites a little litany of American heroes—"George Washington, Thomas Jefferson . . ."—and you can always gauge his calculation of a crowd by whether or not he includes Martin Luther King Jr. Usually in Florida he did not; usually in New Hampshire he did.

Is he a liar—this candidate who says, "I don't intend ever to tell you a lie"? He certainly is not lying now. There are 50 reporters trailing him, each waiting to catch a fib. A New York *Times* reporter tried to check out whether Carter was telling the truth when he said he didn't know whether or not his ancestors owned slaves. Sometimes after a question-and-answer session, reporters cluster to give his answers a purity test. His words pass, sometimes just because he uses language well.

Was he a liar? Selby McCash, the statehouse reporter for the Macon, Georgia, newspapers, says, "I doubt if he ever lied directly in his life, but he is willing by omission of information to let certain impressions get picked up. We all do that to some extent, of course, but it may be that Carter is just a little more clever at it."

Jimmy Carter is clever at a lot of things, bringing both intelligence and cunning to his work. He stood fifty-ninth in his class of 820 at the U.S. Naval Academy before working as a nuclear engineer (he exaggerates that, calling himself a "nuclear physicist") under Admiral Hyman Rickover, then going back to Plains, a town with one street, to make a half-million dollars or so growing and warehousing peanuts. He also speaks workable Spanish and says he has read four books a week during his noncampaigning life. I was struck by how many national reporters believed he was the smartest politician they had ever covered. That perception was enormously helped, I think, by the performance of Southerners like Senators Ervin and Baker during the Senate Watergate hearings, which made a lot of Northern provincials realize that a cotton-mouthing accent can be connected to a first-rate mind.

And work? Behind that Huckleberry Finn grin there is a perfectionist campaigning machine that shuts down only 6 hours of every 24. After losing a race for governor in 1966, Carter and his wife, Rosalynn, began four years of traveling Georgia alone, shaking hands and recruiting volunteers—they estimate that together they shook 600,000 hands in four years. Then Carter decided to try the same thing nationally. His right hand was bleeding from scratches the other day as he worked a crowd for a half hour near Tampa.

What made him think he was the one among many? I liked his answer: "I have always looked on the presidency of the United States with reverence and awe, and I still do. . . . During 1971 and 1972 I met Richard Nixon . . . George McGovern . . . Hubert Humphrey . . . Nelson Rockefeller, and other presidential hopefuls, and I lost my feeling of awe about presidents."

If they could do it, so could he. But he had to figure out how it worked. He volunteered for an honorary job—chairman of the 1974 Democratic National Campaign Committee—and used it to explore and chart political America. Under the guidance of Robert Keefe of the Democratic National Committee, the helpful Georgia governor methodically organized panels of experts to prepare issue papers for congressional candidates and traveled the country to observe campaigns and make friends. What he did—as Keefe, who now manages Scoop Jackson's campaign, later realized—was use the DNC to initiate and finance his own national education and begin setting up a Carter-for-President organization.

"When I am president," he says now, where even the most egocentric candidates have always said "if." His sense of destiny is scary. In New Hampshire, when a group of editors pressed him about his sketchy views on foreign policy, he answered, "I'll deal with that in my inaugural."

Maybe he knows something the rest of us don't. His relationship with Christ is obviously a topic of some discussion among the reporters covering him—uninformed, uncomprehending musings by many Northerners who have trouble dealing with the idea of a highly sophisticated 51-year-old man sounding like the thinking man's Billy Sunday. Perhaps we shall understand when we've known Jimmy Carter for ten years.



Jimmy Carter
Presidential Campaign
For America's third century, why not our best?

For Immediate Release: 12:15 PM CST
March 15, 1976

For Additional Information: Betty Rainwater
Rex Granum
404-897-7100

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR JIMMY CARTER

TO THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

I am pleased to speak to you today. This council is the oldest, the largest, and the most active organization of its kind in the country. For over fifty years you have helped make this city and this region better informed about a world which the St. Lawrence Seaway now brings to your doorstep. Men like Adlai Stevenson, Paul Douglas, and Frank Knox studied the world through this council and went on to make history.

I want to take this opportunity to explain how I shall approach the problems of foreign policy if I am elected President:

How I see our international situation today;

What our role in the world should be;

How we should approach our relationships with different kinds of international neighbors;

PP

What kinds of policies, and what kind of policy-makers we shall need so that our international relations can be true expressions of the goals and the character of the people of our country.

Our recent foreign policy, I am afraid, has been predicated on a belief that our national and international strength is inevitably deteriorating. I do not accept this premise.

The prime responsibility of any president is to guarantee the security of our nation, with a tough, muscular, well-organized and effective fighting force. We must have the ability to avoid the threat of successful attack or blackmail and we must always be strong enough to carry out our legitimate foreign policy. This is a prerequisite to peace.

Our foreign policy today is in greater disarray than at any time in recent history.

Our Secretary of State simply does not trust the judgment of the American people, but constantly conducts foreign policy exclusively, personally and in secret. This creates in our country the very divisions which he has lately deplored. Longstanding traditions of a bi-partisan policy and close consultation between the president and Congress have been seriously damaged.

We are losing a tremendous opportunity to reassert our leadership in working with other nations in the cause of peace and progress. The good will our country once enjoyed, based on what we stood for and the willingness of others to follow our example, has been dissipated.

Negotiations with the Soviets on strategic arms are at dead center, while the costly and dangerous buildup of nuclear weapons continues.

The policy of detente, which holds real possibilities for peace, has been conducted in a way that has eroded the public confidence it must have.

The moral heart of our international appeal--as a country which stands for self-determination and free choice--has been weakened. It is obviously un-American to interfere in the free political processes of another nation. It is also un-American to engage in assassinations in time of peace in any country.

The people of other nations have learned, in recent years, that they can sometimes neither trust what our government says nor predict what it will do. They have been hurt and disappointed so many times that they no longer know what to believe about the United States. They want to respect us. They like our people. But our people do not seem to be running our government.

Every time we have made a serious mistake in recent years in our dealings with other nations, the American people have been excluded from the process of evolving and consummating our foreign policy. Unnecessary secrecy surrounds the inner workings of our own government, and we have sometimes been deliberately mislead by our leaders.

For many nations, we have two policies: one announced in public, another pursued in secret. In the case of China, we even seem to have two Presidents.

No longer do our leaders talk to the people of the world with the vision, compassion and practical idealism of men like Woodrow Wilson and John Kennedy and Adlai Stevenson.

QQ

RR

Our foreign policy is being evolved in secret, and in its full details and nuances, it is probably known to one man only. That man is skilled at negotiation with leaders of other countries but far less concerned with consulting the American people or their representatives in Congress, and far less skilled in marshalling the support of a nation behind an effective foreign policy. Because we have let our foreign policy be made for us, we have lost something crucial in the way we talk and the way we act toward other peoples of the world.

When our President and Secretary of State speak to the world without the understanding or support of the American people, they speak with an obviously hollow voice.

All of this is a cause of sorrow and pain to Americans, as well as to those who wish us well and look to us for leadership. We ought to be leading the way toward economic progress and social justice and a stronger, more stable international order. They are the principles on which this nation was founded two hundred years ago, by men who believed with Thomas Paine that the "cause of America is the cause of all mankind."

Every successful foreign policy we have had--whether it was the Good Neighbor Policy of President Franklin Roosevelt, The Point Four of President Truman or the Peace Corps and Trade Reform of President Kennedy--was successful because it reflected the best that was in us.

And in every foreign venture that has failed--whether it was Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Angola or in the excesses of the CIA--

our Government forged ahead without consulting the American people, and did things that were contrary to our basic character.

The lesson we draw from recent history is that public understanding and support are now as vital to a successful foreign policy as they are to any domestic program. No one can make our foreign policy for us as well as we can make it ourselves.

The role of the United States in the world is changing. For years, we were the only free nation with the military capacity to keep the peace and the resources to insure world economic stability. Japan and Western Europe would never have been able to achieve their economic miracles without our help. Nor could world exports have risen to their present level of three-quarters of a trillion dollars, had not international trade and investment been backed for so long by the American dollar.

These were historic and generous accomplishments, of which we can be justly proud. But we also had the power to make or break regimes with adroit injections of money or arms, and we sometimes used this power in ways that are less commendable.

The world is different now. The old postwar monopolies of economic resource and industrial power have been swept aside and replaced by new structures. The Common Market countries and others like Japan, Mexico, Brazil, and Iran are strong and self-sufficient.

We have learned that we cannot and should not try to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of other countries unless our own nation is endangered.

Over 100 new nations have come into being in the past 30 years. A few have wealth, but most exist in bitter poverty. In many, independence has set loose long-suppressed emotions and antagonisms.

SS

In Uganda and Angola, Bangladesh and Lebanon--and recently in the United Nations-- we have seen what can happen when nationalist and racial passions, or tribal or religious hatreds, are left to run their course.

We cannot isolate ourselves from the forces loose in the world. The question is not whether we take an interest in foreign affairs, but how we do it and why we do it.

In the last few years, I have travelled in foreign lands, and met with many of their leaders. I have served on international bodies, such as the Trilateral Commission, which makes recommendations on some of these problems. I have given thought to the structure of what our foreign policy should be.

There are certain basic principles I believe should guide whatever is done in foreign lands in the name of the United States of American.

First, our policies should be as open and honest and decent and compassionate as the American people themselves are. Our policies should be shaped with the participation of Congress, from the outset, on a bi-partisan basis. And they should emerge from broad and well-informed public debate and participation.

Second, our policies should treat the people of other nations as individuals, with the same dignity and respect as we demand for ourselves. No matter where they live, no matter who they are, the people of other lands are just as concerned with the struggles of daily life as you and I. They work hard, they have families whom they love, they have hopes and dreams and a great deal of pride. And they want to live in peace. Their basic personal motives are the same as ours.

Third, it must be the responsibility of the President to restore the moral authority of this country in its conduct of foreign policy. We should work for peace and the control of arms in everything we do. We should support the humanitarian aspirations of the world's people. Policies that strengthen dictators or create refugees, policies that prolong suffering or postpone racial justice weaken that authority. Policies that encourage economic progress and social justice promote it. In an age when almost all of the world's people are tied together by instant communication, the image of a country, as seen through its policies, has a great deal to do with what it can accomplish through the traditional channels of diplomacy.

Fourth, our policies should be aimed at building a just and peaceful world order, in which every nation can have a constructive role. For too long, our foreign policy has consisted almost entirely of maneuver and manipulation, based on the assumption that the world is a jungle of competing national antagonisms, where military supremacy and economic muscle are the only things that work and where rival powers are balanced against each other to keep the peace.

Exclusive reliance on this strategy is not in keeping with the character of the American people, or with the world as it is today. Balance of power politics may have worked in 1815, or even 1945, but it has a much less significant role in today's world. Of course, there are rivalries--racial, religious, national, some of them bitter. But the need for cooperation, even between rivals, goes deeper than all of them.

Every nation has a stake in stopping the pollution of the seas and the air. Every nation wants to be free from the threat of blackmail by international terrorists and hijackers. Every nation, including those of OPEC, sits on limited resources of energy that are running out. The vast majority of countries, including the Soviet Union, do not grow enough food to feed their own people. Every nation's economy benefits from expanding two-way trade. And everyone -- except perhaps the speculator -- has a stake in a fair and reliable international monetary system.

Our diplomatic agenda must also include preventing the spread of nuclear weapons and controlling the flow of narcotics.

In the future, we must turn our attention increasingly towards these common problems of food, energy, environment, and trade. A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation or when there are no established arrangements to deal with population growth or environmental quality. The intensity of these interrelated problems is rapidly increasing and better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that affect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized.

While the American people have had their fill of military adventurism and covert manipulation, we have not retreated into isolationism. We realize that increased anarchy will not only reverse the progress toward peace and stability that we have made, but also strengthen the hand of our adversaries.

That is why we must replace balance of power politics with world order politics. The new challenge to American foreign policy is to

take the lead in joining the other nations of the world to build a just and stable international order.

We need to reorder our diplomatic priorities. In recent years, we have paid far more attention to our adversaries than to our friends, and we have been especially neglectful of our neighbors in Latin America.

It is important to continue to seek agreements with the Russians and the Chinese, especially in the control of weapons. Success there could mean life instead of death for millions of people. But the divisions between us are deep. The differences of history and ideology will not go away. It is too much to expect that we can do much more in these relationships than reduce the areas of irritation and conflict and lessen the danger of war.

Our nation should coordinate its policy with our friends -- countries like the democratic states of Europe, North America and Japan -- those countries who share with us common goals and aspirations. We should work in concert with them. Ours are the fortunate countries of the world. But our continued prosperity and welfare depend upon increased coordination of our policies. If we can work together on goals which reflect the common needs and shared values of our people, we can make our societies the strong and stable inner core around which world cooperation, prosperity and peace can develop.

If we believe in the importance of this effort, we should make some changes. We must both lead and collaborate at the same time. We must consult with others more about our plans. The days of "Nixon Shocks" and "Kissinger Surprises" must end. Our goal should be to act in

WW

concert with these countries whenever we can.

And we must have faith in their commitment to democracy. We do not need to preach to the western Europeans about the dangers of communism as the Secretary of State did last week. Their traditions and political good sense are not inferior to ours.

Our policies toward the developing countries also need revision. For years, we have either ignored them or treated them as pawns in the big power chess game. Both approaches were deeply offensive to their people. The oil embargo taught us that even the lease developed nation will eventually have control over its own natural resources and that those contries which, alone or together, can control necessary commodities are a force that can neither be ignored or manipulated.

An attitude of neglect and disrespect toward the developing nations of the world is predicated in part on a sense of superiority toward others -- a form of racism. This is incompatible with the character of American people.

We need to enlist the cooperation of the developing nations, for when we speak of the tasks of a stable world order, we include preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, policing the world's environment, controlling the flow of narcotics and establishing international protection against acts of terror. If three-quarters of the people of the world do not join in these arrangements, they will not succeed.

Our policies toward the developing world must be tough-minded in the pursuit of our legitimate interests. At the same time, these policies must be patient in the recognition of their legitimate interests which have too often been cast aside.

The developing world has, of course, a few leaders who are

implacably hostile to anything the United States does. But the majority of its leaders are moderate men and women who are prepared to work with us. When we ignore the Third World, as we have for so long, the extremists will usually have their way. But if we offer programs based on common interests, we can make common cause with most of their leadership.

Our program of international aid to developing nations should be redirected so that it meets the minimum human needs of the greatest number of people. This means an emphasis on food, jobs, education, and public health -- including access to family planning. The emphasis in aid should be on those countries with a proven ability to help themselves, instead of those that continue to allow enormous discrepancies in living standards among their people. The time has come to stop taxing poor people in rich countries for the benefit of rich people in poor countries.

In our trade relations with these nations we should join commodity agreements in such items as tin, coffee and sugar which will assure adequate supplies to consumers, protect our people from inflation, and at the same time stop the fluctuation in prices that can cause such hardship and uncertainty in single-commodity countries.

The burden of economic development is going to be a heavy one. There are many countries which ought to share it, not only in Europe and Asis but in the Mideast. Today, a greater proportion of royalties from oil can be channelled to the Third World by international institutions. Tomorrow, they can receive a part of the profits from the mining of the seas. The purpose of such development is not to

level the economic lot of every person on earth. It is to inject the wealth-creating process into countries that are now stagnant: it is to help developing countries to act in what is their own best interest as well as ours -- produce more food, limit population growth, and expand markets, supplies and materials. It is simply to give every country a sufficient stake in the international order so that it feels no need to act as an outlaw. It is to advance the cause of human dignity.

We must also work with the countries of the Communist World. The policy of East-West detente is under attack today because of the way it has been exploited by the Soviet Union. The American people were told it would mean a "generation of peace," at no risk to the nation's vital interests. And yet, in places like Syria or Angola, in activities like offensive missile development, the Soviets seem to be taking advantage of the new relationship to expand their power and influence, and increase the risk of conflict.

I support the objectives of detente but I cannot go along with the way it has been handled by Presidents Nixon and Ford. The Secretary of State has tied its success too closely to his personal reputation. As a result, he is giving up too much and asking for too little. He is trumpeting achievements on paper while failing to insist on them in practice.

The relationship of detente is one of both cooperation and competition, of new kinds of contacts in some areas along with continued hostility in others. In the troubled history of our relationships with the Soviet Union, this is where we have arrived. The benefits of

detente must accrue to both sides, or they are worthless. Their mutual advantage must be apparent, or the American people will not support the policy.

To the Soviets, detente is an opportunity to continue the process of world revolution without running the threat of nuclear war. They have said so quite openly, as recently as a month ago at their 25th party congress. To the Soviet Union, with our acquiescence, detente is surface tranquility in Europe within boundaries redefined to their benefit, together with support for wars of national liberation elsewhere. It is having the benefits of the Helsinki Accords without the requirement of living up to the human rights provisions which form an integral part of it. This is not the road to peace but the bitter deception of the American people.

But while detente must become more reciprocal, I reject the strident and bellicose voices of those who would have this country return to the days of the cold war with the Soviet Union. I believe the American people want to look to the future. They have seen the tragedy of American involvement in Vietnam and drawn appropriate lessons for tomorrow. They seek new vistas, not a repetition of old rhetoric and old mistakes.

It is in our interest to try to make detente broader and more reciprocal. Detente can be an instrument for long-term peaceful change within the Communist system, as well as in the rest of the world. We should make it clear that detente requires that the Soviets, as well as the United States, refrain from irresponsible intervention in other countries. The Russians have no more business in Angola than we have.

The core of detente is the reduction in arms. We should negotiate to reduce the present SALT ceilings on offensive weapons before both

AAA

BBB

sides start a new arms race to reach the current maximums, and before new missile systems are tested or committed for production.

I am not afraid of hard bargaining with the Soviet Union. Hard bargaining will strengthen support for the agreements that can be reached, and will show that we, as well as they, can gain from detente. We can increase the possibility that the fear of war and the burden of arms may be lifted from the shoulders of humanity by the nations that have done the most to place it there.

Our vision must be of a more pluralistic world and not of a communist monolith. We must pay more attention to China and to Eastern Europe. It is in our interest and in the interests of world peace to promote a more pluralistic communist world.

We should remember that Eastern Europe is not an area of stability and it will not become such until the Eastern European countries regain their independence and become part of a larger cooperative European framework. I am concerned over the long-range prospects for Rumanian and Yugoslavian independence, and I deplore the recent infliction upon Poland of a constitution that ratifies its status as a Soviet Satellite. We must reiterate to the Soviets that an enduring American-Soviet detente cannot ignore the legitimate aspirations of other nations. We must likewise insist that the Soviet Union and other countries recognize the human rights of all citizens who live within their boundaries, whether they be blacks in Rhodesia, Asians in Uganda, or Jews in the Soviet Union.

Our relations with China are important to world peace and they directly affect the world balance. The United States has a great

stake in a nationally independent, secure, and friendly China. The present turmoil in Chinese domestic politics could be exploited by the Soviets to promote a Sino-Soviet reconciliation which might be inimical to international stability and to American interests. I believe that we should explore more actively the possibility of widening American-Chinese trade relations and of further consolidating our political relationships.

The Middle East is a key testing area for our capacity to construct a more cooperative international system. I believe deeply that a Middle East peace settlement is essential to American interests, to Israel's long-range survival and to international cooperation. Without a settlement, the region will become increasingly open to Soviet influence and more susceptible to radical violence. I believe that the United States should insure Israel's security while at the same time encourage both sides to address themselves to the substance of a genuine settlement.

There is no question that both Africa and Latin America have been ignored since the presidencies of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. These areas should become, and indeed will become, increasingly important in the next decade. Our relationships with these must abandon traditional paternalism. The United States-Brazilian agreement, signed recently by Secretary of State Kissinger on his trip to Latin America, is a good example of our present policy at its worst. Kissinger's remarks during his visit that "there are no two people whose concern for human dignities and for the basic values of man is more profound in day-to-day life than Brazil and the United States" can only be taken as a gratuitous slap in the face of all those Americans who want a foreign

CCC

DDD

policy that embodies our ideals, not subverts them.

If our aim is to construct an international order, we must also work through the international bodies that now exist. On many of these issues, they are the only places where nations regularly come together. We have all been deeply disturbed by the drift of the United Nations and the other international organizations, and by the acrimony and cliquishness that seems to have taken hold. But it would be a mistake to give up on the United Nations.

In the future, we should make multilateral diplomacy a major part of our efforts so that other countries know in advance the importance the United States attaches to their behavior in the United Nations and other international organizations. We should make a major effort at reforming and restructuring the U. N. systems.

We should undertake a systematic political and economic cost-benefit analysis of existing international institutions in the United Nations systems and outside, with a view to determining the appropriate level of United States support. We should end the current diplomatic isolation of the United States in international forums by working more closely with our allies and with moderate elements in the developing world on a basis of mutual understanding consistent with our respective national interests.

A stable world order cannot become a reality when people of many nations of the world suffer mass starvation, when the countries with capital and technology belligerently confront other nations for the control of raw materials and energy sources, when open and non-discriminatory trade has become the exception rather than the rule; when there are no established arrangements for supplying the world's food and energy, nor for governing control and development of the seas,

and when there are no effective efforts to deal with population explosions or environmental quality. The intensity to these inter-related problems is rapidly increasing and better mechanisms for consultation on these problems that affect everyone on this planet must be established and utilized.

For it is likely that in the future, the issues of war and peace will be more a function of economic and social problems than of the military security problems which have dominated international relations since 1945.

Finally, I said I would touch on the kind of people we need to administer our foreign policy. I believe that the foreign policy spokesman of our country should be the President, and not the Secretary of State. The conduct of foreign policy should be a sustained process of decision and action, and not a series of television spectaculars. Under the current administration, the agencies which are supposed to conduct our foreign affairs have been largely wasted and demoralized. They must be revitalized and if necessary reorganized -- to upgrade their performance, their quality, and the morale of their personnel.

In our search for peace we must call upon the best talent we can find in the universities, the business world, labor, the professions, and the scientific community. Appointments to our U. N. delegation, to other diplomatic posts, and to international conferences should be made exclusively on a merit basis, in contrast to the political patronage that has characterized appointments under this administration.

EEE

FFF

The world needs a strong America and a confident America. We cannot and should not avoid a role of world leadership. But our leadership should not be based just on military might or economic power or political pressure, but also on truth, justice, equality, and a true representation of the moral character of our people.

From this leadership the world can derive mutual peace and progress.

##################