News Summaries 5/76

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/4

Also Enclosed See;

Time Magazine, May 10th '76



United Press International

Sen. Bayh, right, joins Carter in greeting workers at the Western Electric plant in Indianapolis.

33A

B

News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, MAY 4, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Following the collapse of Prime Minister Aldo Moro's Cabinet last week, the Italian Government set June 20 and 21 as the dates for national elections that could give the Communist Party a share of power. The Christian Democrats, the dominant party, also decided to hold regional elections in Sicily and local elections in various cities, including Rome and Genoa. The local voting is expected to result in a city administration in Rome run by the Communists, who already control the major cities north of Rome. The Communist Party's objective is the "historical compromise," a share of seats in a Cabinet of Christian Democrats and other non-Communists. [Page 7, Column 1.]

National

Leaders of the Democratic Party's establishment have begun to rally around Jimmy Carter, whom they had scorned until recently, believing now that his nomination for President is virtually assured. Expressions of willingness to work for party unity behind Mr. Carter were exchanged in hundreds of telephone calls last weekend among labor leaders, governors, mayors, members of Congress and local and state party officials. Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, said: "I am now convinced that we will have our most united effort since 1964 this November. Carter will not cause the kinds of antagonisms that George McGovern did in 1972." Mr. Carter meanwhile campaigned for the Indiana primary. [1:8.]

Ronald Reagan's top aides said that his Presidential campaign would face a financial crisis unless Federal matching campaign funds were freed. His campaign is said to be nearly $1 million in debt. While Mr. Reagan was campaigning for the Indiana primary today, his staff was preoccupied with developing new sources of campaign funds. Mr. Reagan has avoided public allegations that the White House has deliberately helped to delay the allocation of Federal matching funds, but his aides were complaining that President Ford's campaign strategists have created a situation that contributed to the campaign debt. [1:6-7.]

President Ford campaigned energetically to try to prevent his loss in the Texas primary last Saturday from spreading to the three states conducting primaries today. He conceded that he was unlikely to win the majority of the 37 Alabama delegates or the 48 Georgia delegates, but he said in Indianapolis that the battle for the 54 Indiana delegates was "crucial" to his prospects, and that he thought his chances in Indiana were "very good." [1:5.]

The Pulitzer prize for fiction was awarded to Saul Bellow, who lost it once, for his latest novel, "Humboldt's Gift." "A Chorus Line" won the prize for drama. Pulitzer journalism awards were given to two staff members of The New York Times—Sydney H. Schanberg for his coverage of the Communist takeover of Cambodia and the uprooting of its people, and Walter W. (Red) Smith for his sports column. In addition to 11 journalism awards there were seven other prizes in letters, drama and music and a special award to Scott Joplin, "the king of ragtime," who died 59 years ago. [1:1-2.]

A Government spokesman said that the Spruce Goose, the World War II seaplane built of wood and bequeathed to the city of Long Beach, Calif., in a will attributed to Howard R. Hughes, was owned by the General Services Administration when the will was purportedly written. Richard Q. Vawter, a public information officer for the G.S.A., said he found it odd that a will dated March 19, 1968, would attempt to give the plane away when Mr. Hughes would presumably have known that it belonged to the Government. [1:8.]

Metropolitan

Apartment-building service employees, seeking higher pay and improved benefits, went on strike in New York City, surprising many building owners and tenants. The strike initially affected buildings in Manhattan, but Local 32B of the Service Employees International Union, representing 20,000 maintenance people, warned that the strike would be expanded in the next day or so until it affected 4,000 buildings in Manhattan, Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island. Among the things the union members want is a $50-a-week raise. [1:1-2.]

Governor Carey proposed merging most of the state's courts into a single statewide trial court, with judges to be appointed by the Governor after recommendation by bipartisan nominating panels. These proposals were among the most far-reaching of those contained in an amendment to the State Constitution that Mr. Carey sent to the Legislature. [1:3.]

The Other News

International

Sorbonne president blends élan and egalité. Page 2
Eritreans free two Americans and a Briton. Page 3
London magazine of political satire faces threat. Page 4
Beirut fighting continues despite truce. Page 5
Israelis thwart a march by Arabs. Page 6
Albania in turmoil over Chinese connectio. Page 9
Normally lush Brtiain gripped by water shortage. Page 9

Government and Politics

Study finds decline in Soviet shipbuilding. Page 12
Two high court rulings aid prosecution. Page 17
Indiana town could back Reagan. Page 28
House votes to restore election panel. Page 30

General

Moynihan denies democracy is on the decline. Page 15
Influx of tourists is clogging the Capitol. Page 22
Carey and Beame join League of Women Voters. Page 27
Bribery charged in West Point cheating. Page 34
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 39
Conventions here at second-highest level. Page 39
Brooklyn residents protest street name change. Page 39

Industry and Labor

Dual purpose reactor is idled by strike. Page 19
Building strike has minimal effect on tenants. Page 42

Education and Welfare

Students have positive view of U.S. heritage. Page 1

Health and Science

U.S. maps plans on solar energy. Page 25
Nursing homes assail plan to limit profits. Page 34

Amusements and the Arts

Peter Benchley's "The Deep" is reviewed. Page 41
Lester Horton dance is reconstructed. Page 43
Kazuko Hayami, Japanese pianist, in debut. Page 43
Boston Symphony Chamber Players are heard. Page 43

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Reagan Nears Fund Crisis Over Lack of Federal Aid

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

SOUTH BEND, Ind., May 3—Ronald Reagan's campaign is nearing a financial crisis unless Federal matching funds are freed for his Presidential effort, top Reagan aides said today.

The Republican challenger's cash flow is reaching a point of desperation, the aides reported.

The former Governor of California campaigned through Indiana today on the eve of Republican primaries in this state, Georgia and Alabama in which he hopes he can continue the momentum generated by his landslide victory in Texas on Saturday.

But even as he campaigned in Fort Wayne and South Bend before leaving for appearances in West Virginia, his staff was preoccupied with the problems of developing new sources of income for a campaign that is nearly $1 million in debt.

While in South Bend for a rally at the University of Notre Dame, the candidate also issued a terse report on taxes he had paid in 1975 on an adjusted gross income of $252,405. The report stated that the millionaire former screen actor had paid a combined total of $106,507 for the year. The breakdown was: $65,756 in Federal income taxes; $16,371 in state income taxes; $21,492 in local property taxes, and $2,888 in combined miscellaneous taxes.

There was no mention of the candidate's total income in 1975, which includes income from certain types of investments that have the effect of reducing rather than increasing adjusted gross income.

Last year, Mr. Reagan earned

Continued on Page 28, Column 5

DEMOCRATS BEGIN TO CLOSE RANKS FOR CARTER DRIVE

Chiefs, Feeling Georgian's Nomination Is Assured, Offer Aid for Unity

G.O.P. IN CONTEST TODAY

Ford Is Narrowly Favored in Indiana, but Reagan May Have Cut Lead

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

WASHINGTON, May 3—Leaders of the Democratic Party establishment have begun to rally around Jimmy Carter, a candidate whom they scorned until recently, in the belief that the Georgian's nomination for President is virtually assured.

On the eve of primaries in his state and three others, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, whose own Presidential campaign collapsed early in March, endorsed and campaigned with Mr. Carter today. The Hoosier was the first of Mr. Carter's erstwhile rivals to back him.

Offers to Work

More important than announcements of support, however, were the expressions of willingness to work for party unity behind Mr. Carter that were exchanged in hundreds of telephone calls this weekend among labor leaders, governors, mayors, members of Congress and local and state party officials.

"I am now convinced that we will have our most united effort since 1964 this November," said Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman. "Carter will not cause the kinds of antagonisms that George McGovern did in 1972."

But the bright light of public attention will fall tomorrow on the Republicans rather than the Democrats as primaries take place in Georgia, Alabama, Indiana and the District of Columbia. For President Ford, especially, it will be a momentus day; he badly needs a victory in Indiana to avenge his crushing defeat by former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in the Texas primary on Saturday.

Ford Narrowly Favored

Mr. Ford is narrowly favored in Indiana, his lead having been trimmed, in the view of local politicians, by Mr. Reagan's success in re-establishing the credibility of his challenge. Mr. Ford is unopposed in the District of Columbia but is a decided underdog, by the admission of his campaign staff, in Georgia and Alabama.

Former Governor Carter seems to be threatened only in

Continued on Page 28, Column 4

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DEMOCRATS RALLY TO CARTER BANNER

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

Alabama, where he must face a local hero, Gov. George C. Wallace. Elsewhere, as the Georgian's Texas manager, Bob Armstrong, said yesterday. "we're on a big, fast horse, and all you have to do is hold on tight and wave your hat."

Mr. Carter's only serious opponent in Indiana, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, closed his headquarters there last week. The endorsement by Mr. Bayh, who described Mr. Carter as "the one candidate who has the opportunity to . . . avaid the division and bitterness which results from a brokered convention," should guarantee him a sweeping victory in the state.

Although Mr. Carter's schedule is more or less set through the Michigan and Maryland primaries on May 18, he said yesterday that he intended to begin devoting more time to winning the support of party leaders and less to primary campaigning.

"The one thing we have to be careful of," said Hamilton Jordan, his national campaign manager, "is to walk the tightrope between seeming presumptuous by ignoring the remaining primaries, on the one hand, and failing to respond to the perceptions that it's time for us to make our peace with all the elements in the party, on the other."

Memories of 1972, as well as a sense of the seeming inevitability of Mr. Carter's nomination, Democratic leaders said, have contributed to the widespread willingness to rally behind him at an early date, despite his attack on Washington insiders.

"This time we have no excuse," said Dr. Mark Siegel, the party's executive director. "There's no need for patching a platform together or choosing a Vice-Presidential candidate at the last minute. We have a long time to plan our national campaign."

Mr. Carter's effort to mend his fences on Capitol Hill, it was learned, will begin in earnest on May 11 when he attends a Democratic Congressional dinner in Washington. He agreed to do so this weekend.

If all goes well, according to sources close to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Minnesotan, who was once regarded as Mr. Carter's most formidable rival, is prepared to endorse him some time between the final primaries on June 8 and the convention.

The former Georgia Governor also hopes to confer with leaders of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations on May 11.

He is likely to find an open-minded if not a warm reception. One senior official of the federation, pressed by Mr. Strauss in a weekend telephone conversation to accept Mr. Carter, replied: "You don't need to sell me. I'm prepared to find virtues in him that even his mother wouldn't recognize."

Perhaps Mr. Carter's most serious problems lie with the governors, his former colleagues, among whom he has never been popular. But one key figure, Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida, told friends this weekend that while he still had "difficulties" with Mr. Carter, he was ready, once releaved from his commitment to Mr. Jackson, to "help put it together for Jimmy."

Dizzy Dean Won 30 in '34

Dizzy Dean compiled a 30-7 won-lost record for the 1934 St. Louis Cardinals.

Reagan Drive Nearing a Fund Crisis

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

large sums of money for personal speaking engagements before becoming a candidate in November, and also from syndicated radio broadcasts and newspaper columns.

In February, Mr. Reagan released a financial statement that placed his net worth at $1,455,571 and in which he estimated his 1975 income at $282,253. This income figure was for the period after he left the governor's office in January through his official entry into the Presidential race last Nov. 20.

John P. Sears 3d, the candidate's national campaign manager, described the campaign's financial condition as "a serious problem that will worsen in coming weeks" unless the matching funds are forthcoming.

"It is a problem that may be resolved within a week if Congress approves the new bill and it is signed by the President," Mr. Sears said this afternoon, "but if it isn't we're in for very tough sledding."

Although the candidate has avoided allegations in public that the White House has deliberately helped delay the allocation of matching Federal campaign funds, his aides complain that President Ford's campaign strategists have engineered a situation that has helped to put the Californian nearly $1 million in debt.

At the same time, Reagan aides who have studied Ford campaign reports available in Washington marvel at how the President has managed to outspend Mr. Reagan in the primaries and yet remain solvent.

One answer, they have suggested, is that the Ford campaign has drawn heavily on the resources of the White House, from the use of Air Force I to the deployment of Federal employees in campaign activities.

One highly placed campaign aide said that an examination of these reports indicated that the airlines had extended credit for 60 to 90 days to the Ford campaign committee, but have demanded payment in advance from the Reagan forces—and from the Democratic candidates as well.

In addition, the Reagan aides asserted that the records showed President Ford's use of Air Force I had originally been charged to the Republican National Committee, ostensibly for purposes in his role as leader of the party, only to have the trip described later "political" and the bill charged to the President Ford Committee for payment.

This maneuver, they said, enabled the President to delay payments of his campaign trips, which the challenger cannot do.

While Mr. Reagan has had to pay, in advance, about $600,000 to charter campaign jets, the records indicated that the President's campaign treasury had so far paid out only a small fraction of this figure for campaign travel, according to the Reagan aides.

Mr. Reagan, the aides said, was owed an estimated $2 million in matching Federal funds, but his campaign is being "crippled" by an inability to borrow against this sum. The contender raised an estimated $1.1 million alone last month from a nationally televised appeal, they said.

"If the President, in good faith, would announce he would sign an appropriate law, I could pick up the phone and get a half-million bucks in credit from the bankers today," one top Reagan staff member said. "As it is we are pressed against the wall to come up with day-to-day expenses."

Consequently, this aide said, he was spending most of his time on the phone attempting to get from private sources the $167,000 needed today to meet creditors' demands. He said that the staff, which is much smaller than the President's, as well as the candidate himself, had to divert attention from campaigning and planning to raise funds.

"We don't have any evidence of intent on the President's part to deliberately deprive us of the matching funds," he went on, "but the result has been devastating to us."

FORD SAYS CARTER DOES A 'FLIP-FLOP'

Sees Changes on Issues—President Denies He Lets Reagan Push Him Around

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 3—President Ford, suddenly confronting the shadow of a Democrat on the Republican primaries, charged today that Jimmy Carter "backtracks" and does a "flip-flop" on issues in his pursuit of the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The President complained of what he called Mr. Carter's "flexibility" as he began to feel the impact of the front-running Democrat on his contest with Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination.

In Indianapolis this morning, Mr. Ford defended himself against a charge by Mr. Carter that he was a wek President who allowed himself to be "pushed around" by Mr. Reagan.

"People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones," the President retorted at a news conference.

Asked to Rebut Claim

In Brimingham this afternoon, he was repeatedly asked to rebut Mr. Reagan's claim to be the Republican capable of carrying the South in November if Mr. Carter, a former Georgia Governor, heads the Democratic ticket.

A nominee "who is going to be President of all the people must get support from all regions of the country", Mr. Ford said, dismissing Mr. Reagan as a sectional candidate. The President added that he had "a good many friends in the South," and that he had "an excellent chance of winning against any Democratic candidate."

But Mr. Carter's emergence as the leading Democratic contender clearly complicates the Ford-Reagan contest at a time when the President is cam-

Continued on Page 30, Column 2

Ford Charges Carter Does 'Flip-Flop'

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

paigning energetically to prevent his loss Saturday in Texas from eroding his support in three states conducting Republican primaries tomorrow.

Mr. Ford conceded that he was unlikely to wis a majority of the 37 Alabama delegates or the 48 Georgia delegates to be selected on the basis of primary voting tomorrow.

But he said in Indianapolis that the battle for 54 Indiana delegates was "crucial" to his prospects, and that he thought his chances were "very good" there.

The White House was stunned when Mr. Reagan swept all 96 contested delegates in Texas, substantially narrowing the President's delegate lead.

"So we think the situation is crucial," Mr. Ford said this morning, "and we are making a maximum effort here in Indiana."

Some political analysts, including several Ford aides, attributed the magnitude of Mr. Reagan's Texas victory to crossover votes of conservative Democrats who, spurred by Mr. Carter's success, abandoned the increasingly forlorn candidacy of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

More Critical Appraisal

Voters in several remaining states—notably Indiana, Alabama and Georgia—are free to choose a primary ballot of either party, as they were in Texas. The prospect evidently forced a more critical appraisal of Mr. Carter by the President.

Until today, Mr. Ford had generally fended off press and public inquiries about Mr. Carter by saying that the Georgian's positions were undefined, but that Mr. Ford would make sure they crystallized when he met Mr. Carter in the fall.

Asked this morning, however, about Mr. Carter's statements that the President had "weak knees" and was tailoring positions to meet Mr. Reagan's criticism, Mr. Ford responded vigorously.

"That is a very inaccurate charge," he said, adding that it was Mr. Carter who "has really been pushed around" on issues.

He said that Mr. Carter had done a "flip-flop" after being criticized for a statement last month about preserving the "ethnic purity" of neighborhoods. He said that the Georgian had also suddenly endorsed legislation, toward which he had initially been cool, that would provide public jobs for the unemployed.

"I think his flexibility in this campaign is pretty well recognized," Mr. Ford said of Mr. Carter. "The minute any of his Democratic opponents hits him on something, he backtracks and takes another position.

n "I know of no position I have taken, from the very beginning to now, where I have changed by basic policy or program, based on any campaign rhetoric of Governor Reagan."

Mr. Ford sought, early in the day, to refocus the Republican contest on his White House record. Reviving a technique that he had not used since the Florida primary in March, he conducted a "briefing" in Indianapolis on the Federal revenue sharing program.

Reagan Termed Confused

"My opponent for the Republican nomination is confused about revenue sharing," Mr. Ford told 500 bipartisan officials and civic leaders. He said that Mr. Reagan had proposed jttisoning the program, which is popular with state and local officials, as part of Mr. Reagan's "$90 billion blooper."

But Mr. Ford's approach was frustrated, at the news conference and at public forums in Indiana and Alabama, by constant questions about Mr. Reagan's criticisms of his defense policies.

At one point, a newsman even asked the President if he would be willing to serve as the Vice-Presidential nominee on a Reagan ticket.

"Oh, of course not," he answered after a pause. Not until the reporter pursued the question a second time did the President say, "I anticipate wininig" at the Republican nominating convntion.

Delegates Tally

Following is the latest tally for delegates to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, including primaries and caucuses over the weekend:

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

Ford	288
Reagan	233
Uncommitted	327

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

Carter	449
Jackson	197
Udall	173
Wallace	115
*Stevenson	86
Humphrey	63
Shapp	18
Harris	17
#Bentsen	6
Church	3
McCormack	2
Walker	2
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	226
Undecided	7

*Favorite son in Illinois.
#Favorite son in Texas.

Republican totals are based on completed delegate selection in Arizona, Florida, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Wisconsin, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, and partial delegate selection in Illinois, Minnesota and Texas.

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in Alaska, Arizona, Florida, Hawaii, Illinois, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Canal Zone and Virgin Islands, and partial delegate selection in Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, Texas and Puerto Rico.

House Votes to Restore Election Panel

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 3—The House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly today to reconstitute the Federal Election Commission.

Meanwhile, Thomas B. Curtis, chairman of the beleaguered agency, submitted his resignation to President Ford.

Mr. Curtis, a center of controversy during his year as chairman, reportedly wrote the President that the legislation before Congrss would cripple the agency by reducing its independence and that he no longer regarded the commission as an opportunity for public service.

The House voted 291 to 81 in favor of a compromise bill that would revive the commission's power to authorize primary subsidies for Presidential candidates, which have been frozen since March 23, but efforts to win final passage in the Senate bogged down in a mini-filbuster.

No Successor in Mind

Mr. Curtis's resignation could further delay efforts to revive the commission. The White House, which had expected to reappoint all six current commissioners, was said to have no successor in mind.

If the Senate clears the campaign bill and Mr. Ford signs it, he must nominate or renominate six commissioners, who must then be confirmed by the Senate and sword in before the agency officially regains its powers.

Until the Curtis resignation, it appeared likely that a reconstituted commission might be in a position to approve about $2.3 million in accumulated subsidies by this Thursday or Friday. Now, with the makeup of the new commission uncertain, there may be further delay.

In his letter to the President, Mr. Curtis did not mention the fact that the campaign bill requires all commission members to give up outside business or professional activity. This provision was aimed at Mr. Curtis, who has continued to pursue business interests in St. Louis.

The proportions of the House vote made it likely that a Presidential veto would be overridden there. With 372 members voting today, opponents of the measure could only muster 81 votees, or 46 short of the one-third needed to sustain a veto.

Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Senate minority leader and a supporter of the bill, said today that he was not sure whether the Senate could override a veto.

The question may prove academic. A well-placed source in the Administration said today that "the preponderance of feeling" in the White House favored approval, although it was still officially an open question. In Indianapolis, where Mr. Ford was campaigning in the Indi- President said again that he would want to see the election commission bill before deciding on signing it or vetoing it.

Republican Successor

To maintain the statutory requirement that the commission be numerically bipartisan, the President would have to name a Republican to succeed Mr. Curtis, a former Representative from Missouri and twice an unsuccessful Senate candidate.

Mr. Curtis' resignation was hand-delivered to the White House last Friday. Mr. Curtis had earlier indicated informally his dissatisfaction with the commission's role, Congressional interference and the Supreme Court's ruling last January that invalidated the agency's powers, but he did not move formally until last week.

Besides reconstituting the commission by making all six members appointees of the President, the House-approved measure would:

¶Restore the agency's power to authorize pament of primary subsidies and to undertake investigation of campaign law violations, both in limbo for the last six weeks.

¶Narrow the scope of advisory opinions that the commission can issue at a candidate's request, requiring that any political rules of general application be cleared by Congress.

¶Establish new ground rules for political action committees stablished by corporations and unions, defining whom they can solicit for contributions that are later passed on to candidates favored by the committee.

¶Re-establish limits on the amount of personal or family money that a Presidential or Vice-Presidential candidate can invest in his campaign if he accepts public subsidies.

¶Define more specifically what constitutes an independent expenditure by a citizen or committee in support of a candidate, a kind of political spending that the Supreme Court said could not be limited.

During the House debate, Representative John J. Rhodes of Arizona, the House minority leader, said the compromise legislation, the product of a Senate-House conference, was "very strongly pro-union, very strongly pro-Democratic and very strongly pro-incumbent."

But other Republicans defended the measure as a fair compromise that balanced the interests of corporations and labor and introduced some needed reform into the campaign law. Senate efforts to complete action on the bill this afternooon collapsed when Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., Republican of Connecticut, held up the vote with a long speech protesting Congressional delay on a wide range of Watergate reform legislation.

Elizabeth Woman Is Held In Death of Newark Man

NEWARK, May 3 (AP)—An Elizabeth woman is to be arraigned tomorrow on homicide charges in connection with the death of a man outside his home here, the police said.

The woman, Mary Pitman, 35 years old, was charged with the death yesterday of Thomas Gibson, 36.

The police said that a scuffle involving four or five people had broken out in front of Mr. Gibson's home at 5 P.M. and that Miss Pitman had got into her car to get away from the disturbance. Mr. Gibson reportedly grabbed onto her car as it was accelerating and was thrown to the ground.

He was taken to Martland Hospital, where the police said he was pronounced dead of a crushed skull and broken neck.

CARTER IS QUERIED ON SPEECHWRITER

Candidate's View of Incident Is Somewhat Different From Earlier Stand

28

By CHARLES MAHR
Special to The New York Times

FORT WAYNE, Ind., May 3—Jimmy Carter was smiling, not scowling, when he was questioned today about the case of the disillusioned speechwriter. But there still seemed to be questions and uncertainties about the incident.

The former Georgia Governor, who is now the clear front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination, began a day of campaigning in Indiana with a news conference in Indianapolis at which he was again questioned about Robert M. Shrum, a young liberal who tried out as a Carter speechwriter and then denounced Mr. Carter as "manipulative and deceptive."

When asked yesterday to comment on Mr. Shrum's complaints that Mr. Carter had tailored public positions on issues in some cases to conform to privately held opinions or political commitments, Mr. Carter had attempted to cut short the questioning and seemed to show annoyance. Saying he had not seen a letter from the 32-year-old speechwriter, Mr. Carter also left the impression that he had little or no knowledge of Mr. Shrum's critiism of of Mr. Shrum himself.

Not on Payroll

Mr. Carter also said that Mr. Shrum had never formally been placed on the Carter payroll and asserted that "we did not use his speeches."

This morning, in Indianapolis and in Gary, Mr. Carter urged reporters to continue their questioning to their satisfaction.

The picture that emerged today of this relatively minor controversy was somewhat different from that painted yesterday.

Mr. Carter again disagreed with Mr. Shrum's criticism, but added, "I have nothing but admiration for Mr. Shrum," who wrote speeches for Senator George McGovern and Senator Edmund S. Munkie in the 1972 Presidential campaign.

Mr. Carter repeated that Mr. Shrum had never been formally employed, but added, "I believed on my part he had accepted a post" in the Carter campaign staff.

Mr. Carter also said that in the Pennsylvania primary campaign, he had used a "couple of brief press releases" written in part by Mr. Shrum. Other sources continued to say that Mr. Shrum had contributed to several speeches and statements by Mr. Carter.

Criticism Denied

At one point, the Georgian said that Mr. Shrum "never expressed any criticism of me or my philosophy on the issues." Mr. Carter added that he and Mr. Shrum had never had a "private" discussion of Mr. Shrum's disagreement with Mr. Carter's political style and substance.

However, at a later point, the former Governor said, "a pretty good discussion" took place between himself, Mr. Shrum and Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, aboard an airplane late last month, and that Mr. Shrum "was quite upset."

Mr. Carter attributed Mr. Shrum's unhappiness to the fact that, despite Mr. Shrum's "superlative speech-writing ability," he had refused to use a speech by Mr. Shrum on coal-mine legislation.

Mr. Carter's remarks also seem to indicate that an effort has been made by his associates to dissuade Mr. Shrum from leaving. Mr. Carter had not seen Mr. Shrum's letter of complaint until today because Patrick Cadell, a pollster associated with Mr. Carter, had hoped that Mr. Shrum would relent and stay on the staff, thus making it unnecessary to confront Mr. Carter with such a letter.

Endorsed by Bayh

Mr. Carter was endorsed this morning by Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, one of the many Democratic Presidential candidates whom Mr. Carter had defeated earlier this year and driven from the field. Senator Bayh said he believed that Mr. Carter was "the one candidate candidate" who had a chance to win the nomination in open primary contests rather than in a "brokered" convention that he said would cause "divisiveness and bitterness."

But even Mr. Bayh's endorsement led to further questioning of Mr. Carter's credibility, a quality that the former Governor has himself stressed as a central campaign issue.

Mr. Bayh disclosed that Mr. Carter had telephoned him last Tuesday, saying: "I need your help. I'd like for you to join in our campaign."

Reporters then noted that Wednesday, a day after the telephone call to Senator Bayh, Mr. Carter had said he had "never gone to anyone yet and asked them to endorse me."

"My point," Mr. Carter said in answer, "was that I have never depende on endorsements to put me in office." He added that he had asked Senator Bayh "for his support and confidence—we did not talk about endorsement at that time."

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H

BLACK DEMOCRATS DIVIDED IN CAPITAL

Feud Between Mayor and a Minister Overshadows Presidential Primary

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 3 — Campaigning here the other day for the District of Colum's d1 7 elegate votes at the Democratic National Convention, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia called the bitter, parochial infighting that has become the hallmark of factional Democratic politics in Washington "a frivolous local struggle."

Mr. Carter's outspoken assessment was that it would be "a serious mistake" for this city's electorate to let the mounting warfare between two District of Columbia rolitical machines distract them from their party's Presidential primary.

In the primary here on Tuesday the Presidential contenders are Mr. Carter and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. The name of former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma is still on the ballot, although he has withdrawn his candidacy.

Carter Is Favorite

Mr. Carter could probably afford to criticize the intraparty battle here because he was considered likely to win substantially in the preferential, "beauty contest" race on Tuesday and also to pick up, in the separate voting for delegate slates, some of the District of Columbia's 17 seats at the Democratic convention.

Mr. Carter's chance of picking up some delegates will depend on his showmig in the preferential part of the voting. The City Democratic Committee is required to apportion four of the District of Columbia's 17 delegates on June 3 according to the districtwide preference vote. The Georgian could win them all.

But both Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall are expected to be blanked in tomorrow's direct election of the 13 remaining delegates because the fight between the uncommitted slates sponsored by the two warring factions here has stirred by far the greatest voter interest, and they are expected to account for all 13.

Mr. Udall appears to have abandoned hope for success in the city. When he is in the Washington area he spends his time campaigning in nearby Maryland for the May 18 rimary there.

But in any case the fight between two Washington Democratic groups has been so ferocious that few here seem to have even noticed Mr. Carter's criticism of it.

The struggle is basically between the two leading black political leaders.

On one side is Mayor Walter E. Washington, this city's appointed, and then elected, head for the nearly 10 years that the District of Columbia has been more free of control by Congress under various forms of home rule.

The Mayor has come under increasing attack for delays, inaction fiscal difficulties and a burgeoning city bureaucracy. His chief critic, the Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy, contends that the Mayor's administrative mistakes are giving the black city government such a bad reputation in Congress that there is a rising possibility that home rule will be withdrawn or restricted in some way.

Mr. Fauntroy, an articulate former associate of the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., is the District of Columbia's elected Delegate in the House of Representatives, with a nonvoting status there similar to that of the delegate of Puerto Rico. His political support comes heavily from the city's black churchgoers, a powerful voting bloc in the city's 95 percent black electorate.

Allied with Mr. Fauntroy against the slate of candidates for convention delegate and for key party posts of the Mayor's so-called Open Party are all but one of the 10 City Council members.

Ex-League Official

Ir. Fauntroy's Unity '76 organization includes Sterling Tucker, a widely respected former official of the National Urban League, who is the City Council chairman, and John Hechinger, wealthy owner of a chain of hardware stores here, who is a former council chairman.

Mr. Fauntroy and Mr. Hechinger were active in the 1974 mayoral primary here, in which Mr. Washington's renomination despite their efforts to oust him set much of the bitter political tone now apparent.

Mr. Hechinger, a white, is now running to unseat the Mayor's man as chairman of the city's Democratic Committee, William Lucy, a black, who is the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union. Mr. Hechinger is favored to win; his victory would be a serious embarrassment for the Mayor.

Israel Reports on Tree Loss

HAIFA, Israel, (UPI) — The head of the Jewish National Fund's tree-planting department says that forest fires destroyed almost as many trees in Israel as were planted over the last year. Sharon Weitz said that fire wiped out 2.4 million trees, compared with 2.6 million planted.

Carter and Reagan Are Expected to Win in Georgia

ATLANTA, May 3—Georgia voters are expected to hand a Democratic primary victory tomorrow to their former Governo r, Jimmy Carter, and in a closer Republican contest to give Ronald Reagan his third Southern victory over President Ford.

Political observers have been predicting a substantial Carter victory, and a poll published Sunday by The Atlanta Journal and Constitution indicated that Mr. Carter would get 70 percent of the vote.

The Democratic primary amounts to two separate contests, one a nonbinding preferential vote among 17 candidates, the other a selection of delegates either unpledged or committed to Mr. Carter, Gov. or Representative Morris Udall George C. Wallace of Alabama of Arizona.

Of the 17 candidates appearing on the Democratic ballot, only the three mentioned have jledged delegate candidates.

Thirty-eight of the 50 delegates to the Democratic convention will be elected in 10 Congressional Districts, with the remaining 12 to be selected at large by the State Committee on May 22.

Mr. Carter has full delegate slates in all 10 districts. Mr. Wallace has delegate candidates in nine, excluding the Fifth, which includes Atlanta, and only a partial slate in the 10th, Athens-Augusta. Mr. Udall has a slate in two districts, one including Atlanta, the other encompassing its northern suburbs. The Udall slate in the Fifth District is headed by Julian Bond, the black state legislator.

Despite the opposition of Mr. Bond, it does not appear that Mr. Carter has lost significant support among Southern blacks as a result of his "ethnic purity" remark. Representative Andrew Young, who is black, has continued his support, and Maynard Jackson, the black Mayor of Atlanta, endorsed him after the remark.

On the Republican side, 48 delegates will be awarded on the oasis of the preference vote statewide and in the districts.

Mr. Reagan is regarded as the favorite over President Ford. The Atlanta newspaper poll found him to be the favorite among Republican voters by a margin of 56 to 44 percent. Mr. Ford's chief political adviser, Rogers C. B. Morton, has conceded that Mr. Reagan will probably win in the state.

Political observers believe that there may be a substantial crossover vote among conservative Democratic voters who want to see Mr. Reagan nominated.

Such a crossover is a simple matter in Georgia, since party preference is not stated upon registration. The primary voter may simply chose either the Republican or the Democratic ballot.

It is believed that Democratic conservatives leaning to Mr. Wallace may turn to Mr. Reagan now that the Alabama Governor's political fortunes have plummeted.

At the same time, those Democratic conservatives who might have been tempted to remain in the fold to vote for Mr. Carter, because they want a Georgian in the White House, may feel free to vote for Mr. Reagan, since Mr. Carter's victory in this state is apparently assured.

Owl Causes Blackout

CARBONDALE, Ill., May 3 (UPI) — An owl landed on an electrical substation yesterday and caused a blackout in sections of Carbondale, De Soto, and Elkville for up to 54 minutes. William Newman of Central Illinois Public Service Company said that a brown owl apparently flapped a wing against a breaker switch bypass. "He got into 34,500 volts, and I doubt if he knew what hit him," he said.

Rusk Endorses Carter

ATHENS, Ga., May 2 (UPI)— Dean Rusk, former Secretary of State, endorsed Jimmy Carter for President Sunday, saying that the former Georgia Governor offers the nation "a chance for a fresh start somewhat in the spirit of John F. Kennedy." "I think he has the makings of a very good President," said Mr. Rusk, a professor of international law at the University of Georgia, who served as Secretary of State to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson from 1961-69.

Another Country

By Russell Baker

New York City is closing hospitals, public schools and colleges. Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan are worried about the Panama Canal.

New York City is supporting a million people on welfare, many of them exported from other sections of America to hold down local taxes. Jimmy Carter says Americans are splendid folks.

New York City's old people are being terrorized by muggers. Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan want to spend $20 billion for a new bomber.

New York City's South Bronx is going the way of Dresden under "Bomber" Harris. Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford are worried about neighborhoods losing their ethnic characteristics.

New York City is losing its middle-income people to the suburbs. Ronald Reagan is alarmed about losing Angola.

New York City has more than ten percent of its work force unemployed. Gerald Ford is delighted about the improvement in the economy.

New York's building industry is near a standstill. Jimmy Carter says he will never tell a lie.

One could go on with these illustrations of why, if you are a New Yorker, the Presidential campaign seems to be happening in another country. There is the ineffable Governor Brown's reflection that we may not need cities any longer, which may be good long-range visionary philosophy but doesn't come to grips with the problem of getting to work if the subway is struck.

When President Ford was thundering damnation on New York last year, it seemed probable that the Presidential campaign might concern itself with city problems and, at least, produce some wider national understanding of them, which might lead to new Federal domestic policies. Even this mild expectation has been destroyed by the bizarre course the campaign has taken.

With only Carter, Ford and Reagan remaining as strong candidates at this stage, cities have ceased to exist as a subject of political discourse. The contest now is for the South and the suburbs, which, judging from the campaigns that have brought the three leaders to the top, are even more remote from the urban reality than New Yorkers had suspected.

If New Yorkers were left with any doubt during the Ford attacks that they were out of phase with the American majority, the primary elections should have removed the last wisp of suspicion. One scans the utterances of the big three in vain for evidence that they are aware cities exist.

The Ford campaign, disappearing off the scope at times in its attempt to outdo Reagan in conservative orthodoxy, is all Panama, Africa and Pentagon. It is hard to imagine either of them descending from the international cosmos long enough to wonder about garbage collection. The only urban question apt to rouse them is whether fluoridation is a Communist conspiracy.

Nor is there much more in the Carter campaign. Actually, Carter is not campaigning; he is giving the country a massage. After Vietnam and Watergate, he seems to have calculated, and accurately, that the country wants to spread out on the table, turn off its mind and have its weary psyche caressed and soothed.

In the New York primary, he did not lie. He did not promise Federal miracles to make the subways run on time. He took basically the same line the President had taken, which was that New York had a Mayor Beame

OBSERVER

problem rather than a problem peculiar to urban America. Bitter medicine. At first one was tempted to say, "He doesn't understand, either." But on reflection, it is obvious that he understood all too well that, in this time, showing excessive concern for the cities can hurt where it matters most, in suburbs and Southland.

He offered little except the statement that there was "great affection" in the country for New York. And his television audience laughed. And Carter lost New York very badly. And became the new Democratic Idol.

It must be a curious sensation for New Yorkers to find themselves so completely eliminated from the Presidential politicking so early in the game. They didn't even make it to the play-offs.

One consolation is the detachment with which New Yorkers can watch the contest from here in. Seeing no stake in the outcome, they have only the pure sport of the thing to observe. It is going on right now in another country whose people find Panama, Angola and not being lied to by politicians among the most urgent matters of the day, which is possible when your schools and hospitals aren't being closed and you don't have to get up the money to support all the losers those splendid folks in that other country keep sending you.

In the fall, of course, we will argue about international power and decency in Washington, and care again, and, afterwards, go on sending billions to Washington to keep from losing sheikdoms, principalities and tribes here and there across the waters.

WEATHER
Sunny and warm. Details on Page 11B.

The Atlanta Journal

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HOME EDITION

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Polls in State Open With Slow Trickle

Voting in Georgia's presidential primary was reported slow around the state, as Peach State voters balloted to give favorite son Jimmy Carter an expected landslide in his home state, and to settle a more contested battle between President Ford and challenger Ronald Reagan.

State election officials anticipated a low turnout — Secretary of State Ben Fortson had said he expected only 750,000 out of more than 2 million Georgians to cast ballots — due to apathy and a widespread belief that Carter has the Democratic contest here wrapped up.

The campaign of Carter's major opponent in Georgia, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, appears to have collapsed, and observers were expecting a heavy crossover vote from Wallaceites.

Balloting in the few precincts across the state that had reported in the first hour after polls opened at 7 a.m. was low.

Fulton County elections supervisor Joe Malone said turnout at two South Fulton County precincts, below College Park and at Red Oak, was continuous, but very low.

In Gainesville, only 50 of 4,000 registered voters showed up at Hall County's biggest polling place at 7 a.m. Probate Judge William Jones, one of the early voters, said this did not promise a heavy turnout. In Americus, Bill Smith, poll manager for Sumter County precinct, reported voting was "pretty regular, there's an even flow,

Turn to Page 8A, Column 1

POLLS

Continued from Page 1A

but not too big a crowd."

In the first 80 minutes, the precinct, which covers all of Americus, voted 240 Democrats and 19 Republicans.

Gwinnett County elections supervisor Ferd Dallas reported 20 to 25 voters the first hour at one precinct in Lawrenceville.

Voting in Columbus was reported "steady and slow." In five average, largely bluecollar neighborhoods surveyed, Democratic voters outnumbered Republicans by around two to one.

In Savannah, one precinct described as a "barometer" polling place reported a "terrible" early turnout, 19 of 911 registered voters. In other elections, 60 would have voted in the first hour, a spokesman said.

Georgia Democrats are selecting 38 delegates to their national convention in New York's Madison Square Garden in July.

It's Carter Who's Howling With Glee

BY DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

As recently as three months ago, the most intriguing question in Georgia was whether ex-Gov. Jimmy Carter had a chance of beating George Wallace of Alabama in an open primary election here.

Carter, single-minded, determined, and often abrasive in the exercise of his power, had gone out of office under a cloud of unpopularity. George Wallace was, of course, George Wallace.

Not even the most astute political pundit was willing to make a bet or venture a guess. Minute signs and symbols were examined closely for meaning.

One of the early predictions that Carter might have a fighting chance against Wallace, for example, came from an Atlanta Democratic party official who noted an increasing number of rural and small town Georgians expressing interest in running in the May 4 primary as Carter delegates. It was an idea that would have been unthinkable before Christmas for anyone who had a serious desire to go to the Democratic national convention in New York.

The only absolute predictions came from the inner circles of the Carter and Wallace organizations in Georgia. Powerful political forces dedicated to both pushed for rules allowing the maximum expression from Democratic voters as the best guarantee their man would win.

To Carter the matter was irrelevant, to Wallace it was essential.

Carter's master plan for winning the Democratic presidential nomination depended upon a series of good showings —or victories—in early primaries, which would have the dual effect of diminishing Wallace as a legitimate southern voice while establishing Carter as a front-running Democratic candidate.

Wallace never had any real hopes of becoming president of the United States. But there were some things he believed he could count on eternally to maintain his sphere of influence in national politics—Georgia was one of them.

But all that was before Carter's surprising win in a crowded field of Democrats in New Hampshire in February and, more importantly, before his defeat of Wallace in wide-open primaries in Florida and North Carolina.

On the eve of elections in Georgia and Alabama, Carter is favored to glean one of the largest margins of victory in the electoral history of his home state. There is outside speculation that he may deal Wallace the ultimate blow by beating him in Alabama.

Wallace's campaign, once the best financed and organized of any of the Democrats, is in a shambles. His hope of taking his standard bloc of southern delegates to the Democratic national convention is abandoned.

Carter virtually is assured the Democratic presidential nomination—an idea which brought howls of glee from political experts in his home state only a few weeks ago.

Wallace is on his way to taking a place in the history books as a symbol of an era of violent southern resistance to change.

It is a changing of the guard even the most stiff-necked southern segregationists are coming to applaud begrudgingly.

It is, in a very real sense, the passing from the old to the new. Georgia and Alabama on Tuesday, then Tennessee, Kentucky, and Arkansas primaries later this month will carve the benchmarks.

During his last day of campaigning in Georgia Saturday, Carter repeated for a predominantly white crowd in Central Georgia a remark he has made since the early days of his campaign—that the greatest thing that ever happened to the South was the passage of civil rights acts.

He was applauded, and no one thought it was unusual.

Later, in Augusta, one of Georgia's more conservative middle-sized cities, he made the same remark for another white crowd and went on to include Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in his list of great Americans to be emulated.

No one thought it was unusual.

The next day in Atlanta, Morris Udall of Arizona said Carter is to be congratulated for breaking a 100-year policy of national discrimination against southern politicians.

When everything is taken in context, none of it seems as phenomenal as the national political analysts seem to think it is.

The Weather
—Sunny, high near 70, low 0. The chance of rain is near through tonight. Wednesday—, high near 80. Yesterday—, air quality index: 34; temperature range: 66-55. Details, Page C2.

The Washington Post

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Classified C 9
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Editorials A18
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Pr. George's Unit to Back Gov. Brown

By Bill Peterson
Washington Post Staff Writer

The leadership of the Prince George's County Democratic Party, one of the strongest and most efficient political organizations in Maryland, agreed yesterday to endorse California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in the state's May 18 presidential primary.

The move gives Brown, who decided only a week ago to campaign actively in Maryland, a strong organizational base in two of the state's most populous counties and gives added impetus to his last-minute presidential bid. He had earlier picked up the support of Baltimore County Executive Theodore Venetoulis and his organization.

The endorsement decision came as the Maryland primary rapidly was narrowing to a head-to-head battle between Democratic presidential frontrunner Jimmy Carter and newcomer Brown, who drew large and enthusiastic crowds during a four-day swing through the state last week.

Reacting to this response, Carter has decided to gear up his Maryland effort with at least three appearances in the state, including one in Baltimore on Friday, aides said.

"Before Brown came in, it looked like a walkaway for Carter," said State Sen. James Clark, Carter's state chairman. "Now we're going to have to work a little harder."

See BROWN, A4, Col. 6

BROWN, From A1

In other major developments yesterday, 36 Maryland delegates supporting former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris announced they now back Brown and Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) appeared to be scaling down his effort in the state.

Meanwhile, Alabama Gov. George Wallace, the early favorite in the race, has sent letters to his Maryland delegates saying that despite financial reverses, "We are still in the campaign." Wallace, who closed his Maryland headquarters last month, intends to make his first campaign visit to the state within 10 days.

The Prince George's Democratic organization endorsement will be officially announced later this week when Brown's campaign swings through the suburban county, sources said.

The decision on it was made at the monthly breakfast meeting of the county's Democratic Advisory Committee attended by County Executive Winfield M. Kelly Jr., State Senate president Steny Hoyer, party leader Peter O'Malley, State's Attorney Arthur A. Marshall Jr., and approximately 10 other Democrats. Marshall and two other reliable sources confirmed the endorsement, although several principals refused to do so.

There is a strong anti-Carter feeling in the group, and it had decided to remain neutral in the race until Brown's visit last week.

Brown set the endorsement rolling in a secret, post-midnight meeting with Kelly, O'Malley and Hoyer at Faunsworth's restaurant in Largo immediately after the Muhammed Ali-Jimmy Young boxing match at the Capital Center last Friday night.

"He impressed me favorably," said Hoyer, who refused to confirm the endorsement. "And based on what others have told me, people (in Maryland) are very interested in seeing Brown, in finding out who the (California) governor is."

There were other indications of a sudden push for Brown in the county: A "Brown for President" headquarters opened up four hours after the breakfast meeting; it is at 6505 Bellecrest Rd., Hyattsville, and plans were announced for Brown to make an extensive two-day tour of the county beginning Wednesday.

At Democratic Party headquarters, executive director Marsha Crasnick said the phone has been ringing "like greased lightning" with calls about Brown.

"Oh, my God. When he hit Baltimore, the phone went crazy," she said. "If I had one call I had 100 that night. It's as if the other candidates have all left town."

The California governor will be met at the Baltimore-Washington International Airport by Hoyer, Kelly and other leading officals late Wednesday. That night, he is scheduled to attend a University of Maryland rally at Ritchie Coliseum, and an 8:30 p.m. affirmative action meeting of Democrats at Prince George's Community College. The following morning, a press conference is scheduled, apparently to announce the official endorsements.

Venetoulis, Brown's state coordinator, said he has received responses similar to that in Prince George's County "from all over the state" and the Brown headquarters has started to reassess its strategy.

Initially, the strategy was based on a highly visible media campaign and extensive personal appearances by the candidate. Yesterday, Venetoulis said, it was decided to mount a volunteer precinct operation throughout the state with coordinators in each county.

The effort still will be directed entirely toward the preferrential, or "beauty contest" part of the race.

Brown failed to file a slate in the separate contest for delegates to the Democratic National Convention in New York.

Several anti-Carter groups, including a large number of persons running as uncommitted delegates and 36 delegates pledged to Harris, have volunteered to switch to the Brown camp.

Their names still would appear on the ballot without being identified with Brown, and Venetoulis said Brown temporarily has decided that educating voters to make the connection would be too difficult.

"We accept everyone's endorsement — whether they be Harris people, Jackson people or uncommitted delegates," said Ventoulis. "But right now we're still concentrating on the popular vote — with a couple possible exceptions."

Anti-Carter forces see an upset victory in Maryland by Brown coupled with a victory by Udall in the Michigan primary the same day as the only hope to derail Carter's presidential bid.

Udall's Maryland coordinator, Richard Neustadt, said, yesterday the Arizona Democrat has decided to direct his personal attention to Michigan and concentrate his Maryland effort only on winning delegate votes.

"Mo is going to carry his personal campaign to Michigan where he wants a one-on-one contest with Carter," he said. "This doesn't mean we're bagging the Maryland primary, but we are shifting the emphasis to Michigan."

Brown entered the race with little organization and little name recognition in many parts of the state. Carter, Udall, Jackson and, to a lesser extent, Wallace, have had organizations working in Maryland for six months or more.

Udall has 21 staff members and 400 volunteers across the state. Jackson, who had the early support of Gov. Marvin Mandel, will have a full slate of delegates in the race and retains support of much of organized labor. Wallace has nine headquarters operating in the state.

The Alabama governor, who has faced a scries of primary setbacks, was hurt in the state by reports that he was closing his state headquarters. He attempted to counter that by writing a letter to key supporters last week, according to John Florer, state coordinator.

"At this point, we think it's a horse race," he said.

State Sen. Clark, Carter's state cochairman, said Brown's late entry has caused concern, but not panic in the Carter camp.

Brown is "coming in here with a lot of money and a lot of personal time," he said. "He's only got to worry about one state; Carter has to worry about nine."

"But I think Carter's support and organization in the state is good," he added.

Jackson, who announced Saturday that he had become a "nonactive" candidate for president, is attempting to hold on to his delegates, according to Thomas M. Bradley, president of the Baltimore area council of AFL-CIO unions and a Jackson delegate.

Jackson has promised to campaign four days in the state, he said. "Most of the labor people I know are still holding for Jackson."

Sen. Bayh Endorses Carter

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

INDIANAPOLIS, May 3—Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) gave more pulling power to Jimmy Carter's band wagon today by endorsing the former Georgia governor's candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The endorsement by Bayh, who joined Carter in a day of campaigning across Indiana, is the first to come from one of Carter's former primary opponents. Bayh became an inactive candidate March 4.

Carter, obviously cheered by his new-found support, said he hopes Bayh's endorsement would help him gain backing from other presidential candiates who have abandoned their campaigns.

The announcement also was expected to boost Carter's chances of winning all or most of the 75 convention delegates at stake in Tuesday's Indiana Democratic presidential primary. With the withdrawal of Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington from active campaigning last Saturday, Carter faces active opposition in Indiana only from Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Bayh said Carter approached him last Tuesday, on the afternoon of the Pennsylvania primary, and solicicted his support.

Bayh said his decision to support Carter was made before Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota dropped out of the Democratic race last Thursday. However, he said he delayed announcing that decision until he had a chance to "sit down and talk" with Carter about differences on issues.

"When I came to the decision, the only question was when and how" to announce it, Bayh said.

The senator said he had expressed concern "about Gov. Carter's position on several important national issues" when he was an active opponent of Carter.

Most of his misgivings over those issues—such as general revenue sharing for the cities and labor relations—have been erased as a result of his conversations with Carter, Bayh said.

Bayh acknowledged that he is "philosophically closer" to positions held by another active candidate, Sen. Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

"But one thing I learned a long time ago is how to count," Bayh said. "Anybody who has taken his (Carter's) candidacy to the country as long and as effectively as he has deserves support."

The senator said he was "not particularly interested" in becoming Carter's running mate. "The role of the Vice President is one in which there is little area for disagreement, and the Senate affords me lots of room for that," Bayh said.

However, he added: "I don't believe that anybody would turn down a request" to become Vice President.

The disclosure that Carter solicited support from Bayh seemed to contradict the Georgian's contention that he would not actively seek endorsements. But Carter said his actions were not contradictory.

"I think I have made it clear that I want the support of everyone ... My point was that I have never depended upon endorsements to win an election," Carter said.

On Sunday, Carter became angry when reporters pressed him on the details involving the departure from his campaign of speech writer Robert Shrum. The former governor seemed to have regained his composure today.

Carter apologized to reporters for his terse remarks and said he thought he was being forced to answer questions on a matter he knew little about.

He said he was able to see Shrum's letter of protest—in which the speech writer accused Carter of being manipulative and deceptive—only after receiving a copy this morning from an ABC television correspondent.

Carter said Shrum placed the letter in a hotel mail box where it was picked up by Patrick Caddell, a pollster for the Carter campaign. He said Caddell never gave the letter to him.

Carter said Shrum was "quite mistaken about two or three statements he made about me in his letter." One of those statements alleged that Carter had changed his position on several issues on which he had agreed with Shrum.

Carter said Shrum is a "superlative writer, and I think he felt when he came to work for us that because of his superlative speech-writing ability I would just accept his speeches and parrot them to the public." Carter said he likes to write his own speeches.

Blacks Faced Sharp Dilemma At Convention

By Austin Scott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Never before had 1,000 black Democratic politicians and political activists come together to write their own party platform. And the dilemma they faced when they gathered for three days in Charlotte, N.C., last weekend was sharp and agonizing.

They had planned the conference two months before, when there were almost a dozen Democratic candidates, as a means of bringing to the forefront in this election year the issues of full employment, equal educational opportunity, and other matters of great concern to blacks.

A dozen members of the 43-person steering committee of the Caucus of Black Democrats had met three times earlier to discuss how to stop what they saw as a dangerous trend toward dismantling the gains so many blacks had given so much to win the late 1950s and 1960s.

There was a desperate need they felt to stop the now-widening gap between black and white incomes, to close the gap between black unemployment and white unemployment, to get the nation discussing once again what government can do to ensure equal opportunity, not what it can't do.

Programs for better housing, better education, better health care, and more jobs help everyone, speaker after speaker emphasized.

The more than 100 influential black Democrats who prepared most of the conference's working papers appeared, from the position papers they drafted, to want the candidates to continue in the social programs tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles summed it up in his speech:

"There emerged during the 1960s a movement in this country which transcended the concern of race and gave hope to the aspirations of people irrespective of race, creed, color, or economic circumstances," he said. "It was, in fact, a coalition of conscience. Let it live again."

But by the time April 30, the first day of the conference, rolled around, Hubert H. Humphrey, the choice of many older blacks, had ruled himself out of the primaries. Other liberals—Milton Shapp, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris—had dropped into inactive status. And Jimmy Carter, the front-runner, was getting a consistently larger proportion of the black vote than any other candidate.

How, under those circumstances, could they hope to force the candidates to really compete for the black vote, some delegates wondered.

Was the conference being held two months too late, as Georgia state Sen. Julian Bond said when he refused to come.

Was it true, as Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who did come as a committed Carter supporter, said when he announced at the beginning of his keynote speech, "the train done left the station . . . but there are still some tickets left if you want to get on board."

The conference organizers had no certain answers to those questions. They could only forge ahead as planned, and see as the months went by whether what they did had made a difference.

The conference did put together, in a series of workshops and all-night drafting sessions, a set of "official" positions on 12 major issues that its leaders hope black voters everywhere will use as a yardstick to rate the remaining candidates on their commitment to helping blacks.

It also went ahead on two hidden agendas: the desire of some of its leaders to get personal commitments from the presidential candidates on what they would deliver to blacks, and try to raise the level of black interest in the November election.

All spring, black elected officials have been expressing concern over the low level of black voter turnout in most primaries. The fact that whites are not turning out in large proportions either has not been a source of comfort to black leaders, who want the black vote to be a well-defined and effective power bloc.

Rep. Yvonne B. Burke (D-Calif.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, laid out that issue in a major speech:

" . . . Our goals and demands will be no more than articulate rhetoric of the past . . .," she said, "unless we go from here into our communities and develop a black voter registration plan which will get our brothers and sisters to vote, and see to it that they go to the polls at election time.

"Our barber and beauty shops, entertainment spots, athletic events, and in fact, every social and business meeting of blacks ought to begin with information on how to register, so that our numbers at the polls more closely resemble our numbers in the population.

"We know how to turn out a crowd for 'Earth, Wind and Fire' or for 'The Temptations.' We need to be able to turn out a crowd like that at the polls."

The conference did accomplish something else, with the candidates, its organizers felt. Four active Democratic candidates appeared Sunday to be quizzed about their stands on the issues in the caucus platform.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Carter's Ex-Speechwriter

No sooner had he decided to quit Jimmy Carter's campaign on Pennsylvania primary day than left-wing speechwriter Robert Shrum began describing Carter to fellow liberals as lacking in beliefs and principles—a bizarre development posing long-range problems for his presidential candidacy.

Shrum advised friends he was leaving the Carter campaign after only two weeks not because Carter spurned his counsel but because he embraced it a bit too easily. A few days later in an interview with The Washington Post's Jules Witcover, Shrum accused Carter of "manipulation and deception."

That scarcely threatens to slow down Carter's rush for the Democratic presidential nomination. But Shrum's ill-tempered accusations do not help solve Carter's worst potential difficulty: suspicion that he has no public purpose larger than entering the Oval Office. Furthermore, the traumatic experience with outsider Shrum has caused doubts about the wisdom of expanding Carter's staff to outsiders beyond the good old Georgia boys who have brought him so far so fast.

Carter plucked Shrum from Sen. George McGovern's staff during his early April tactical crisis, following his narrow win in Wisconsin and the "ethnic purity" furor. The reason was twofold: to provide badly needed writing ability and help reassure worried liberals.

The move astounded political insiders. Shrum had helped propel past employers—John V. Lindsay, Edmund S. Muskie and McGovern—further left, often to their misfortune. His doctrinaire left influence on McGovern the last year (as his inflammatory demand that all presidential candidates support forced busing) was once compared to placing a whiskey bottle in front of an alcoholic. Having pleaded with McGovern to seek the presidency again, Shrum still wanted to work simultaneously for McGovern and Carter (an arrangement vetoed by McGovern).

Shrum was immediately repelled by the overriding pragmatism in the Carter camp (with the candidate rejecting statements on the Lebanon crisis because nobody paid any attention to them). He almost quit late during the week before the Pennsylvania primary but was talked out of it by Carter press secretary Jody Powell.

On the weekend before Pennsylvania, Shrum's spirits rose when Carter accepted, without one comma changed, his statement attacking President Ford for ruling out normalized relations with North Vietnam. Shrum, never modest about his influence, crowed to liberal friends that he had put Carter among those seeking diplomatic relations with Hanoi.

The speechwirter's jubilation was short-lived. Shrum quit on the day of the Pennsylvania primary. While at first refusing to talk on the record to newsmen, he passed his explanation through the liberal network: Carter's willingness to say whatever parses shows he believes in nothing; even the scorned Sen. Henry M. Jackson—because he stands for something—would be better than Carter. A few days later, Shrum lifted his silence to newsmen as well.

The first serious unrest within the Carter high command reinforces a xenophobic attitude there that the campaign should be in the hands of such tried-and-true Carterites from Georgia as Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell, without troublesome outsiders. Excluding such outsiders, however, does not eliminate the nagging question of whether Jimmy Carter believes in anything.

●

Ford campaign manager Rogers Morton sent a prophetic distress call from Atlanta back to Washington last week: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's African safari was playing background music for Ronald Regan's campaign in Dixie.

Reagan's sweep in Texas against President Ford a few days later confirmed Morton's worst fears. Dr. Kissinger picked an incomparably inopportune moment—just before Southern primaries in Texas, Georgia and Alabama, soon to be followed by Tennessee, Arkansas and Kentucky—for a new diplomatic offensive assaulting white Rhodesia and embracing African majority rule.

Neither Morton nor anybody else at the Ford Election Committee had been advised of Kissinger's plans. More significantly, neither Mr. Ford nor his senior staffers connected the African safari with Dixie primaries. The incident, Ford insiders admit, is a fair reflection of the political coordination and sophistication in the President's high command.

●

Correction: Our April 28 column on foreign aid said that President Ford opposes a new provision in the foreign aid bill that would deny aid to countries requiring American companies "to discriminate . . . against Israel." We should have written ". . . against American Jews," not Israel. We regret the error.

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The Weather
Today—Partly cloudy, high in mid to upper 60s, low near 40. Chance of rain is 20 per cent today, 10 per cent tonight. Tuesday—Fair, high in the 60s. Yesterday's temperature range, 76-54. Details are on Page C2.

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Democrats Seek Unifying Platform

Avoid Party-Splitting Issues

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

DENVER, May 2 — The Democratic platform committee is slogging its way toward a document that may avoid the party-splitting issues of the past and fit comfortably with the campaign of presidential front-runner Jimmy Carter.

After completing the last of four regional hearings here this weekend, the committee's chairman, Rhode Island Gov. Philip Noel, said, "There is a sense among Democrats that we don't want to tear our party apart and thus lessen our chances to win the presidency."

Noel and more than 40 of the members of the platform committee sat through 12 hours of testimony from a variety of witnesses, ranging from presidential candidate Frank Church and the officials of hard-pressed New York City and Newark to spokesmen for the fur industry and the gay liberation movement.

Similar sessions were held on earlier weekends this spring, in Providence, Atlanta, and Kansas City, with over 300 witnesses in all.

It is part of the "open access" convention process, mandated by the party reform rules of 1968 and 1972.

"We've taken testimony on every issue you've ever heard of, but two main threads come through," Noel said. "Our first priority has to be programs that will get America back to work and our second must be to restore confidence in government by attacking the com-

See PLATFORM, A10, Col. 1

Blacks Question Candidates

By Austin Scott
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHARLOTTE, N.C., May 2 —The four Democrats who remain active presidential candidates appeared before almost 1,000 black Democrats here today to answer questions about their positions on issues affecting blacks.

They broke new ground on three issues—policy toward Africa, consideration of a black running mate, and appointment of blacks to the federal judiciary in the South — according to members of the Caucus of Black Democrats' steering committee. Front-runner Jimmy Carter was not asked about his past statements on "ethnic purity" of and "black instrusions" into neighborhoods.

After almost two hours of questioning by a panel of seven blacks, representatives of the steering committee said that taken by themselves, the answers alone were not enough for any candidate to merit black backing.

The convention of politicians and political activists did not come to Charlotte to endorse or rally around any particular candidate, but primarily to push them into discussing issues of concern to blacks. Throughout the three-day conference, which ended today, very few buttons, bumper stickers or posters could be seen. All the candidates got roughly equal amounts of applause for their statements, and given the size of the audience, the applause was light.

"I don't think what hap-

See BLACKS, A5, Col. 1

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Democrats Seek Unifying Platform

PLATFORM, From A1

plexity and confusion of present programs."

That those two themes happened to be major emphases of Carter's campaign is not coincidental, although the former Georgia governor and leading presidential hopeful has not directly intervened so far in the platform drafting process.

Carter and many of the candidates he has vanquished will have their chance soon. Along with such big name Democrats as Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey, Edward M. Kennedy and Edmund S. Muskie, they are expected to present their proposals when the platform committee holds its final four days of hearings in Washington, May 17-20.

The hard work of drafting the platform is scheduled for the week of June 11, with the finished document due to be mailed to the delegates at least 10 days before the convention's opening in Madison Square Garden July 12.

While conceding that many controversies lie ahead, Noel and others working on the platform said they think the focus has shifted sharply from the issues that proved so divisive at the Democratic conventions in 1968 and 1972.

In Chicago in 1968, the party was wrecked by an angry debate over Vietnam war policies—an issue that split the convention almost down the middle. This year, said Michael Barnes, executive director of the platform committee staff, he has had to solicit testimony on foreign policy at the regional hearings, and witnesses have not yet filled the one day set aside for the subject in the Washington hearings later this month.

In Miami Beach in 1972, the convention debated until dawn a succession of planks on abortion, women's rights, drugs and homosexuality. Even though the more extreme positions were consistently rejected, many Democrats complained that the time-consuming controversy conveyed an impression to the television audience that the party had been captured by what one labor leader called "a collection of exotics."

This year, too, the platform committee has heard a great deal from spokesmen on both sides of the abortion question, from gay liberation members and from advocates of legalized marijuana.

But the prevailing view was expressed by Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson, vice chairman of the 1972 platform committee and a witness at the weekend hearings here. "They'll get a hearing," Gibson said of the "social issue spokesmen," "but the Democratic party can't afford the kind of splintering it had last time . . . The people who vote are basically the people in the middle and they're not going to get uptight if some of the fringe people don't get their language in the platform."

Noel said he could not predict what position—if any—the platform committee would take on these questions. But he noted a significant change in the rules from 1972 that will make it harder for minorities to bring platform issues to the floor for debate. Instead of needing only 10 per cent of the committee members present and voting—a minimum of eight people—it will take 25 per cent of the full platform committee membership—or 39 votes—to bring a minority plank to the floor.

The Rhode Island governor said he expects the issues of federal guarantees of jobs, income and health insurance and government reorganization to dominate the convention.

"Everyone agrees that the nation's capacity to meet human needs has been seriously curtailed by the inability to handle economic problems," Noel said. "Everyone is committed to a full employment economy, but I hope we don't promise more government services than we can really provide."

The same debate has been going on inside the Carter campaign. The Georgian committed himself early to a national guarantee of minimum family income, as a substitute for existing welfare programs. But he has moved slowly and with some reluctance to a partial endorsement of government-guaranteed jobs and health services.

The second issue Noel pinpointed is that of government reorganization—which Carter has made a main focus of his campaign. In speech after speech, the front-runner has pledged that the Democratic platform will support his promise to abolish 1,900 federal bureaus and replace them with not more than 200 operating agencies.

Noel, himself a vehement critic of the Washington bureaucracy, conceded that this issue would "pit the governors and mayors and county executives against the Congress. Not every member of Congress admits the need for that sweeping reform."

Noel said he thought that Carter would ultimately prevail because "the members of Congress are starting to get very shaky. They're not so anxious to protect their turf because everywhere they go they hear their own constituents complaining about the system."

Candidates Questioned By Blacks

BLACKS, From A1

pened here today in terms of questions and answers is sufficient for blacks to make even one decision," said California state Rep. Willie L. Brown Jr.

"The grading is going to be done . . . by the black voters who are hearing what they are saying," said Basil Paterson, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee. "If they like what they're hearing they'll come out and vote . . . If they don't, they'll stay home." No Democrat, said Paterson, can win in November without a strong black turnout.

All four candidates—Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., and former Georgia Gov. Carter—said they would appoint black federal judges in the South, where there are now none.

All four dodged the question of whether they would urge the Democratic National Convention to select a black running mate, and stated instead they would consider qualifications first in deciding on a Vice President, but black candidates would be considered.

Brown drew applause when he motioned toward California Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, a member of the questioning panel, and said, "Again I present a unique opportunity. I would select the best person I could find, but I would also appoint the first black governor in the United States." Dymally was Brown's running mate in California and by law would succeed him there.

All four candidates said they would rely far more heavily on blacks to help shape U.S. policy toward Africa.

"I know of no agency in government that has less black influence than the State Department, and that's why we're in trouble in Africa," said Church in a comment that brought applause.

The panel's format did not allow follow-up questions, so there was no probing of differences among the candidates' briefly stated positions.

Asked for their positions on "equal educational opportunities for blacks even if it takes busing to do it," Carter repeated his preference for "voluntary busing as we have in Atlanta" with a heavy emphasis on strong black leadership in the schools.

Both Church and Udall said laws that are on the books should be enforced. Brown, saying he was also for "full enforcement of court orders," added that the job of a President is also to provide "strong moral leadership."

On other issues:

- All four said they support either the Hawkins-Humphrey "full employment bill" now in Congress, or its concept. That bill is designed to reduce unemployment and make the government the employer of last resort.
- None said, in answer to one question, that they would make any "compensatory effort" to improve the quality of life in cities where most blacks now live.
- All supported some form of public assistance for those who could not work and a guaranteed annual income for all.
- All said they favored legislation to eliminate tax loopholes for the wealthy, and all said they favored a federal fund to help black colleges.

A number of delegates left the meeting grumbling that the candidates had not been pinned down on most of the issues.

Steering committee members, however, pronounced it a success.

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PRIMARIES '76

Texas' Anti-Washington Message Comes in Loud, Clear

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, May 2—Texas voters in both parties have sent President Ford a loud and clear message that the label "Washington" is more likely to be a political liability than an asset in 1976.

"President Ford has had a great deal of experience in Washington," former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter said while campaigning in Austin. "Anything you don't like about Washington, I suggest you blame it on Gerald Ford."

"I consider it an asset that I am not a member of the Washington establishment," repeatedly declared former California Gov. Ronald Reagan during the course of his Texas campaigning.

Today, as the vote counting neared completion in the state's first presidential primary, Reagan had made a clean sweep of the 96 Republican National Convention delegates and Carter had won 93 of the 98 Democratic delegates. Favorite-son candidate Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen won the other five Democratic delegates in Saturday's election. Republicans will choose another four delegates at their state convention June 19 and Democrats their other 32 delegates at a convention the same day.

Reagan 96, Ford 0

The victory for Carter, coming on the heels of last Tuesday's impressive triumph in Pennsylvania and Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson's withdrawal from active candidacy Saturday, gave the soft-spoken Georgia peanut farmer seemingly unstoppable momentum as he aims for a first-ballot nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York City.

Reagan's lopsided victory over Mr. Ford wrecked the President's emerging strategy of concentrating on Carter while pretending that the Republican presidential contest has already been decided. It virtually guaranteed that the former California governor will carry his fight all the way to the GOP convention in Kansas City.

The dual victories of Carter and Reagan also raised new doubts about the style and strategy of the President's campaigning and appeared to give respectability to an old Reagan argument that he is more electable than Mr. Ford.

Carter 93, Bentsen 5

Ever since he launched his presidential candidacy, Reagan has been contending that he has "a better chance for victory in November" than does the President. Reagan points out that he twice won big victories in the California governor's race by attracting the votes of Democrats and independents.

In contrast, he says, Mr. Ford is identified in the minds of most voters as the longtime House minority leader of a political party that now commands the allegiance of only 20 per cent of the electorate.

The combination of Mr. Ford's Republican identification and the voters' demonstrated preference for "anti-establishment" themes, make it unlikely that Mr. Ford can win in the fall, in Reagan's view.

"I happen to believe that the issue is that Jimmy Carter—who has run against the Washington establishment—will apparently be the Democratic nominee," Reagan said today in Indianapolis. "Republicans within our party must decide who is better to run against Jimmy Carter."

Reagan's argument has received some backhanded confirmation from Ford committee strategists, who have been worried

See TEXAS, A4, Col. 2

Texas Sends an Anti-Washington Message

The Harris Survey

Ford Trails Carter and Humphrey

By Louis Harris

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted just before the Pennsylvania primary, President Ford trailed both former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey in pairings for the November election. Carter led Mr. Ford 47 per cent to 43 per cent, and Humphrey led the President 47 to 46 per cent.

For Carter, these latest results represent a major gain from his March showing in the Harris Survey, when he trailed the President by 49 to 42 per cent.

For Humphrey, his one-point edge reflects no change from his 48-47 per cent advantage in March. Thus, Carter has been gaining momentum with his showings in the primary contests.

In a third pairing, President Ford holds a 43 to 33 per cent lead over California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who has now announced that he will campaign for the Democratic nomination outside his home state.

Brown's showing is quite impressive in view of the fact that he is still unknown to 47 per cent of the electorate.

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Associated Press

Ron Nessen reports Mr. Ford is disappointed at Texas results but still confident.

TEXAS, From A1

ever since the Texas campaign began that Reagan might follow up a big win here with primary victories in Indiana, Georgia, and Alabama this Tuesday. All are states that permit voters to participate in the primary of their choice.

This so-called "crossover voting" was a major element of Reagan's victory here Saturday, although the former governor also swept traditional Republican precincts.

The Ford strategists much prefer to face Reagan in states where crossover voting is prohibited. They tacitly acknowledge that Reagan is much more likely to draw Democratic votes, particularly from former supporters of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, than is Mr. Ford.

Other doubts were raised by the President's performance in Texas.

The most serious of these concerned Mr. Ford's switch in tactics from an above-the-battle incumbent to a gut-fighting candidate who mocked Reagan's acting career, called him "simplistic" and "superficial" and in some appearances compared him to a donkey.

Reagan was angered by these comments but heeded the advice of his strategists and kept his temper.

It was the opinion today both of Reagan's national advisers and of his Texas campaign managers that Mr. Ford's slashing attack backfired. Midland Mayor Ernie Angelo, a Reagan co-chairman in Texas, said that Mr. Ford's comments about Reagan were "unpresidential and very defensive."

The Texas campaign also exposed serious weaknesses in Mr. Ford's speaking style, which has long concerned his strategists at the President Ford Committee.

When the President spoke last Thursday at a suburban convention center near here, a deputy White House press secretary breathlessly estimated the size of the crowd at 6,500.

"Which count is that?" a reporter asked. "The crowd at the beginning or the crowd at the end?"

The reporter's question was based on the observation that crowds have a habit of turning out in goodly numbers for Mr. Ford's carefully promoted political rallies. But after some of these onlookers have seen the President, and particularly after they have heard him speak, they frequently start moving toward the exits.

Mr. Ford's television commercials in Texas tried to circumvent his reputation for dullness by showing many "action" pictures of him and by using a minimum of excerpts from his speeches. But the President campaigned in Texas the entire final week before the primary, and he may have made more of an impression on the voters than did his television spots.

A variety of issues played a role in Reagan's Texas victory—among them his recurrent theme that the United States is being militarily outpaced by the Soviet Union and his unyielding claim to United States sovereignty over the Panama Canal. But President Ford's signing of an energy bill that was highly unpopular in Texas also was a major issue.

Vice President Rockefeller, appearing today on the television program, "Issues and Answers" (ABC, WMAL), said that after a meeting with Texas Republicans last December he had warned Mr. Ford that he was likely to lose Texas if he signed the energy bill.

"I told him and he knew it," Rockefeller said.

But the Vice President predicted, as did Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) on "Meet the Press" (NBC, WRC), that Mr. Ford would win the nomination despite his one-sided defeat in Texas.

Washington Post staff writer Bill McAllister, with Reagan in Indiana, reported that Reagan was "stunned" by the magnitude of his Texas victory. The most optimistic pre-election forecast of Reagan's strategists was that the former governor would get 66 delegates.

John P. Sears, Reagan's national campaign manager, said that there would be no change in Reagan's "winning formula" that he used in Texas. Sears acknowledged that the Texas victory would be a help in fund-raising.

It is impossible to determine exactly how much money was spent in the Texas presidential primary, since Reagan's delegates were technically "unauthorized" and allowed to spend money on their own candidacies while Mr. Ford's delegates were not. Statewide, Mr. Ford's committee spent about $450,000 and Reagan's committee about $240,000 but the expenditures by Reagan delegates probably evened the totals.

Under the Texas primary law designed by Sen. Bentsen, there was no statewide popular vote.

However, an uncompleted compilation of the high vote for each candidate's delegates in 24 congressional districts showed the Reagan delegates with two-thirds of the popular vote compared to one-third for the Ford delegates. On the Democratic side, Carter delegates had approximately half of the vote with Bentsen delegates getting 24 per cent and Wallace delegates 19 per cent.

The remainder of the Democratic vote was divided among uncommitted delegates and delegates pledged to Fred Harris, Sargent Shriver and Ellen McCormack.

Voting turnout was heavy, but no official reports were available today.

Carter's victory was in many ways as impressive as Reagan's and also exceeded the winner's expectations.

"It is a good indication again of my popular support," Carter told a press conference in Charlotte, N.C. "Sen. Bentsen had delegates who were quite powerful and influential on the local level and most of my delegates were mostly unknown. But we still prevailed in almost every instance."

Asked whether he was now assured of the nomination, Carter replied: "Sen. [Hubert] Humphrey is one person who can get the nomination if I should make a serious mistake or if I should falter."

For Carter it was an unprecedented week of triumph. On Tuesday he won the Pennsylvania primary. Two days later Humphrey announced he would not become a candidate in the remaining primaries. Two days after that Jackson gave up his formal campaigning and Carter swept Texas.

Carter seemed confident today that he can win the support of Democratic leaders despite his anti-establishment and anti-Washington themes.

Asked how he could hope to have the Democratic leadership behind him after defeating its candidates, Carter said: "Most of the Democratic leaders acquire the eagerness of their own constituents."

Everything's Going Carter's Way in Indiana

By Joel D. Weisman
Special to The Washington Post

INDIANAPOLIS — Even if Henry M. Jackson had remained an active candidate, Jimmy Carter appeared headed for his most lopsided popular vote victory yet in Tuesday's Indiana primary, where party leaders say he would have received up to 60 per cent.

With the exception of winning 54 per cent of the popular vote in the North Carolina primary March 23, Carter has never won a majority in any primary with more than two contestants. His Texas landslide Saturday involved only delegates.

In addition to Carter and Jackson, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, and anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack are on the Democratic ballot here. The results of the voting will determine the selection of 75 delegates at a state party convention June 14.

Wallace, who captured 42 per cent of the primary vote here in 1972, has been hurt not only by poor early primary showings this year, but by intense internal bickering within his campaign. Some of his supporters plan to cross over into the GOP primary this year to vote for former Calif. Gov. Ronald Reagan.

But everything has been falling into place for Carter here — a fact reflected in Jackson's decision last week to withdraw as an active candidate and cancel five days of campaigning here.

Ironically, many Jackson backers here say that, with little effort, Jackson had the base—chiefly among party leaders, labor organizations, and some blacks—to use a respectable showing in Indiana as a comeback following his disappointing 25 per cent showing in Pennsylvania last week.

But because of concentration on the Pennsylvania effort, the Jackson campaign here consisted of three staffers who worked for the senator in the New York primary. After arriving here a week and a half ago, they sat in a tiny office behind the state Democratic Party headquarters, with two telephones and a pile of bumper stickers—before closing the operation Friday night.

"We had no money and no candidate presence here," lamented Diana Elliott, the state coordinator imported from New York. William Trisler, state Democratic chairman, who helped Jackson in the early stages of his campaign here, said the senator's late start, coupled with Carter's momentum, would have "left Carter coming through this state like a freight train, even if Jackson campaigned here."

"Carter could have hit 60 per cent, he was moving so strong," Trisler said.

William Schreiber, Democratic chairman of Marion County, which includes Indianapolis, said Carter was headed for "a healthy majority—at least in the high 50s and maybe more."

Even Robert Pastrick, East Chicago mayor and chairman of the Lake County Democratic Party, predicted the former Georgia governor would "do exceptionally well here" before learning of Jackson's pullout.

However, Pastrick, whose Lake County Democratic organization produces more than one-third of the state's Democratic vote, said even a minimal campaign effort by Jackson "would have assured him of a respectable showing," signaling a comeback from Pennsylvania.

"I originally endorsed Jackson out of friendship for Bob Keefe (Jackson's national campaign director), but I soon found he had plenty of grass-roots support here," said Pastrick, who was embarrassed by having to cancel a fund-raising cocktail party to which "more than 200 labor leaders had accepted invitations."

In addition to the powerful Lake County Democratic organization, Jackson had the backing of the United Steelworkers outside Lake County and several other AFL-CIO unions. In contrast to the trend of losing political impact elsewhere, Indiana unions have remained politically effective, according to Pastrick.

But Carter's campaign contends "even a strong Jackson effort couldn't have overcome our large natural constituency," said Terry Straub, a Washington-based political consultant heading the Carter campaign.

"Carter appeals to the Bible Belt, the large rural vote and Indiana's none-too-liberal tradition," Straub noted.

Perhaps because of these factors, Carter's formal campaign has been a modest effort.

Carter has been in the state only twice, including an overnight appearance over the weekend. At his first appearance, in April, the "ethnic purity" issue exploded as Carter tried to explain the term in press conferences in Indianapolis and South Bend.

Because of the phrase, Carter has yet to win support of Gary Mayor Richard G. Hatcher, a black, though spokesmen for both Carter and Hatcher say the mayor may render an election eve endorsement. Gary is a black voting stronghold.

Carter has the endorsements of the United Auto Workers here, Rep. Andrew Jacobs and the mayors of Bloomington, La Porte, Goshen and Warsaw.

But his national campaign earmarked only $25,000 for media advertising, and the local campaign will spend only $15,000 to $20,000 said Straub.

Straub refused to say precisely what Carter polls showed prior to Jackson's withdrawal from active campaigning, but noted, "We

next page

Gorman Retires From Meat Union

Associated Press

Patrick E. Gorman announced yesterday that he will retire after 54 years as chief executive officer of the Meat Cutters Union.

But Gorman, 83, will not be severing his union ties. He automatically becomes chairman of the executive board, retaining his $90,000 salary.

were headed for a handsome majority." However, some samplings showed Carter with "almost 60 per cent of the vote," according to a spokesman for Rep. Phil Hayes, a candidate for the U.S. Senate nomination, who was included in the Carter poll. Hayes is facing incumbent Sen. Vance Hartke.

However, with Democratic lack of interest caused by the Jackson withdrawal and heightened interest in the GOP race after Reagan's triumph in Texas, Carter's projected landslide could be diminished by Democrats who stay at home or cross over to the closer contest between Reagan and President Ford.

Meanwhile, with their presidential primary now a forgone conclusion, Democrats are watching the 1st Congressional District primary race between incumbent Raymond J. Madden, 84, chairman of the House Rules Committee and the oldest member of Congress, and state Sen. Adam Benjamin Jr., 40. Benjamin an attorney and West Point graduate, lost to Madden by 4,700 votes in 1972 in the district, which includes the cities of Gary, Hammond and East Chicago.

Madden has received heavy support from national labor organizations, who are worried that a successor as Rules Committee chairman might not be as reliable in supporting their interests. But Benjamin has won the support of leading local political officeholders, and is a slight favorite.

Indiana Democrats will also select their nominee for governor in a three-way contest between Secretary of State Larry Conrad, State Treasurer Jack New, and Bob Fair, Senate minority leader. The winner will face popular Republican incumbent Gov. Otis Bowen.

Carter Aide Quits in Protest

Post A6 5/3

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Robert Shrum, a former McGovern speechwriter who joined the speechwriting team of Jimmy Carter only two weeks ago, has quit in protest, accusing Carter of "a degree of manipulation and deception" he had not previously encountered in any campaign.

Shrum, in an interview yesterday, charged that Carter resisted attempts to bring more specificity to his speeches and position on issues out of fear of making a damaging mistake, and that he was motivated solely by what would help him politically.

"You say you wish to keep your options open," Shrum wrote in his letter of resignation to Carter made available by Shrum yesterday. "Within reason that is understandable. But an election is the only option the people have. After carefully reflecting on what I have seen and heard here, I do not know what you would do as President.

"I share the perception that simple measures will not answer our problems; but it seems to me that your issues strategy is not a response to that complexity, but an attempt to conceal your true positions. I am not sure what you truly believe in other than yourself.

"I have examined my reactions closely. I have attempted to justify a different conclusion. But I cannot rationalize one. Therefore I must resign."

Advised of Shrum's statement, Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, said most of the issues about which Shrum expressed concern had been discussed with him at length before his resignation. In fact, Powell said, Shrum had "apologized for being childish" about raising some of the questions.

"I think what he is doing now is childish and hurtful," Powell said. "I don't question his sincerity ... He, like anyone else, has said things about people and things that would be embarassing if quoted back to him."

Powell insisted that Shrum was not on the payroll during his nine-day stint with the Carter campaign and also denied Shrum's claim that he was to be paid $23,000.

In Terre Haute, Ind., Carter, visibly angry when pressed by reporters, said, "Shrum has never been on my payroll. I don't feel inclined to comment on this young man's statement."

But he added that Shrum "obviously wrote the letter for the news media. . . . I'm not a liar and I don't make any statements in private contrary to those I make in public."

Shrum, 32, was staff director of Sen. George McGovern's Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs before joining the Carter campaign. A former speechwriter for John V. Lindsay when he was mayor of New York, and for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), Shrum said he agreed to talk about his resignation because of his strong feelings about Carter.

He decided to quit, Shrum said, "because the candidate and the campaign seemed to me to be the opposite once I was there from what they seemed to be before I was there, and what I took to be perceived about them by the public.

"What made it hard," he said, "was to listen to the stump speech—'I will never lie to you, I will never mislead you,' said with fervor and passion—and seeing people believe."

Specifically, Shrum charged in the resignation letter that he was told that Carter, after having publicly pledged to reduce the defense budget 5 to 7 per cent, actually "might favor a substantial increase." He also complained that Carter had said he could not support automatic eligibility for black-lung benefits for miners after 30 years as "too radical" because there was no political quid pro quo involved.

Shrum said Carter told him on a campaign plane trip that this and other mine safety provisions "are too controversial and expensive." He said Carter added: "It would offend the operators. And why should I do this for Arnold Miller (head of the United Mine Workers) if he won't come and endorse me? . . . I don't think the benefits should be automatic. They chose to be miners."

Shrum also protested in his letter that Carter had said concerning a demand from trucking executives, potential campaign contributors, for changes in trucking regulations: "I want to give them enough reassurance to satisfy them, but give them as little as I have to."

Shrum said Carter proposed to tell the truckers "that I oppose the diversion of the highway trust fund to mass transit" though an aide reminded him "you're already on record as favoring it."

A discussion about specificity on issues, Shrum said, came after polls by Patrick Caddell of the Carter staff showed that a perception of Carter as fuzzy was "his single most serious problem." Shrum said, "There was a question of concern within the campaign that if it ever reached a question of Carter's honesty or integrity, it would be more difficult to deal with."

It became clear, Shrum said, that Carter only wanted "the minimum necessary appearance of specificity." on issues.

In preparation of his economic policy statement released with some fanfare several days before the Pennsylvania primary, for example, Carter emphasized that care be taken that the statement not "commit me too much."

Shrum quoted Carter as saying: "We have to be cautious. We don't want to offend anybody . . . I don't want any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon. (Sen. Henry M.) Jackson has all the Jews anyway. It doesn't matter how far I go. I don't get over 4% of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." Shrum added that he did not believe Carter intended this latter remark as anti-Semitic, but rather as a comment of political pragmatism.

The speechwriter in the interview painted Carter as a hard-nosed political operative. Shrum recalled one conversation he said he heard in which Carter's issues chief, Stu Eisenstadt, told Carter a certain Southern political leader would endorse him in return for "one last thing." Carter was said to have replied that the leader "can kiss my . . . and you tell him that. I'm through callimg him." The endorsement ultimately came, Shrum said.

Shrum said Carter often used mild profanity in talking privately with the staff.

Concerning the defense budget, Shrum said Carter aides in Atlanta told him that although Carter continued to say in general the defense budget could be cut, he had ordered no references to specific military cuts because an adviser, Paul Nitze, former deputy secretary of defense, had told Carter the military budget might have to be raised $20 billion or $30 billion.

Shrum said he protested, and in a speech in New Kensington, Pa., the Sunday night before the primary, Carter did give a speech that "wasn't specific but he was tough." Later, Shrum said, after he had quit, Carter aides called him, referred to the speech and said it was "Jimmy's way of showing you where he stood."

Concerning Carter's pledge to reorganize the federal bureaucracy by reducing 1,900 agencies to 200, Shrum said, he asked: "Don't we have any examples we can use?" In reply, he said, he was given a magazine article that listed "a number of silly, minor federal enterprises" that could be scratched, including something called the Tea Board. Shrum said he decided it was better to say nothing.

Comparing Carter to McGovern, Shrum said: "If somoene asked George McGovern to be for the Vietnam war, he'd say no. I think if somebody told Jimmy Carter there should be 4,000 agencies rather than 2,000, and it would help him get elected, he'd say, 'Fine.' "

Last Tuesday, the day of the Pennsylvania primary, Shrum said, he wrote Carter's victory statement. "I decided it was good, and that I didn't believe it," he said, and that was when he resigned.

Panel Won't Bar Lotion Containers

United Press International

The Consumer Proudct Safety Commission said yesterday it will not forbid aftershave lotion and similar cosmetics from being packaged in bottles shaped like cars or other toys.

The agency had been petitioned to do so on grounds that children playing with such containers might drink the contents or spill them creating a fire hazard if the liquid were flammable. Cosmetics in such containers have been marketed chiefly by Avon.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

How Humphrey Made the Decision

The failure of Sen. Hubert Humphrey's political allies to talk him into a dangerously late challenge of Jimmy Carter revealed the same lack of planning, coordination and political savvy that has marked so much of Carter's opposition since the forgotten days of the New Hampshire primary.

Indeed, what was remarkable about the effort was the fact that Humphrey nearly succumbed to it. At 2 a.m. Thursday, after the senator had been in nonstop meetings and family conferences since early afternoon, Bruce Solomonson, his son-in-law, confided to a top Minnesota Democrat that Humphrey had all but decided to take on Carter by entering the New Jersey primary.

That was after Joe Crangle, ardent Humphreyite and former Democratic state chairman in New York, had given Humphrey a long look at a poll taken by the Eagleton Institute of Rutgers University showing the senator leading Carter in New Jersey 61 per cent to 17 per cent.

Muriel Humphrey, the senator's patient wife, had overcome her horror at the prospect of a fourth Humphrey campaign for the presidency, following 60, 1968 and 1972—this one against forbidding odds. She asked Humphrey's private secretary, Ursula Culver, to interrupt the crucial Wednesday evening meeting Humphrey had in his office with eight key lieutenants to give him a note. He read it, smiled and moved it into his pocket.

Then, changing his mind, he read the note out loud: His wife, in a change of heart, wanted him to know he would have her full support whatever decision he made.

At the end of that 90-minute meeting Humphrey was leaning toward running. He commissioned Harry McPherson, one-time White House legal counsel for Lyndon Johnson and now a Washington lawyer close to Humphrey, to draft a statement explaining Humphrey's decision to enter New Jersey after months of promising under no conditins to run in any primary.



By James K. W. Atherton—The Washington Post

The statement's theme: With Carter's momentum threatening to deprive the Democratic Convention at Madison Square Garden of any chance for serious consideration of non-active candidates—meaning Hubert Humphrey—the senator felt compelled to enter New Jersey to protect the principle of an open convention.

Such was the hopeful, almost ebullient mood in the senator's camp Wednesday evening, culminating in Solomonson's private post-midnight forecast.

But the cold light of dawn transformed euphoria into reality. Lacking even the rudiments of a national organization, it was agreed the day before that Humphrey's challenge must be limited to New Jersey. Yet Humphrey was on the ballots in three other primary states: Nebraska (never a good Humphrey state), Idaho (home state of Sen. Frank Church, an active candidate) and Oregon. Though a declared candidate, Humphrey would have to duck out of these states.

Thus, Humphrey's partisans had to convince him that a single head-to-head battle with Carter—in New Jersey—could be sold to highly suspicious voters as a fair test of national sentiment.

Humphrey himself decided it could not be sold and that a victory in New Jersey would not fully legitimize him as a candidate and would destroy his credibility and tear up the Democratic Party.

If eager Humphrey lieutenants, applying pressure on him Wednesday, had prepared in advance for the situation they faced after Carter's sweep in Pennsylvania, the story might be different. No effort was made for standby Humphrey organizations in the still-open primary states, in keeping with Humphrey's own desire.

Yet, the stupidity of that concession to Humphrey's wishes was dramatized in Erie County, N.Y., where Crangle had pulled off a brilliant coup in the New York primary, electing 16 officially uncommitted but pro-Humphrey delegates.

With Nebraska, Idaho and Oregon ruled out for total lack of organization, the Humphrey operatives belatedly searched for non-primary states in which to test his new campaign. The pickings were slim: precinct caucuses in Colorado today, Utah in two weeks, four small states with state conventions to complete the delegate-picking process in the next three weeks. Hardly enough delegates to elect a sewer inspector.

Thus, Carter once again was beneficiary of the failure of anti-Carterites to develop contingent plans against his own rapid progress until too late, just as Gov. George Wallace took Florida for granted until too late and as big labor in Pennsylvania waited too late to organize its legions for Sen. Henry M. Jackson.

By Thursday noon Humphrey understood this and saw how it threatened him—but not his advisers—with personal disaster. "Remember," he confided to Sen. Walter Mondale just before he announced his decision not to challenge Carter, "I'm no Harold Stassen."

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William Raspberry

Withhold Black Votes?

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—You don't offer free checking if you run the only bank in town. You don't run specials on staple goods if yours is the only grocery. You don't have to flirt with the sailors if you're the only woman on the ship.

The analogies help, but they don't really convey the frustration that is almost a palpable thing here at the Caucus of Black Democrats.

There is, on the one hand, the realization that no Democratic presidential candidate can hope to be elected without the support of black voters. There is, on the other hand, the feeling that the candidates are taking that black vote for granted, on the compelling theory that it has no place to go.

That is particularly frustrating for the would-be power brokers here. They have a fistful of dollars in the estimated three and a half million blacks who are likely to vote, but there's only one game in town.

The frustration has intensified with the announcement of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey that he won't engage in any pre-convention campaigning for the presidential nomination and with the word that Sen. Henry Jackson is, for all intents and purposes, out of the running.

For what that means is that Georgia's Jimmy Carter, who in a close race for the nomination would have to make substantial concessions to the black electorate, can now be frustratingly subtle in his appeal to black voters.

"Black Americans are beseeched to vote for candidates who operate without a black agenda," Gary's Mayor Richard G. Hatcher told a Saturday morning session here. "It is no surprise that the black voter turnout to date has been depressingly low. Apathy can be appealing when your choices are limited to endorsing either calculating indifference or outright hostility. Lethargy has its logic."

What many of the participants here clearly would have liked is a forum in which Democratic aspirants would present themselves for inspection on "black issues" in open competition for support. And they would have preferred that that forum be held early enough so that it could be read as making the crucial difference, not on Sunday—as it was—when one candidate, Carter, is already riding high.

The "black issues" that the participants here want to see addressed are clear enough, even if they are by no means exclusively black. Unemployment leads almost everybody's list. It was cited as the *only* problem by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. Gary's Mayor Hatcher, Rep. Yvonne B. Burke and virtually every major speaker here have made full employment their No. 1 issue. Other matters of major concern include housing, revitalization of the central cities, and a national health care program.

But as Mayor Hatcher said in an interview after his Saturday speech, it isn't enough that candidates address these problems in general terms—not enough for instance, to come out in favor of full employment, better health care and revitalized cities but without specific commitments to black people.

"We are the problem within the problem," Hatcher said. "Nearly everything that is a problem for Americans generally is a much worse problem for us. Unemployment is a general problem. But if you get the unemployment rates to, say 4 per cent, what some people would call full employment, 8 or 10 per cent of us would still be out of work. That's why these issues must be addressed specificially in black terms."

The alternative, now being openly talked about, is the calculated withholding of black votes, whether that is in fact feasible or not. Hatcher sees it as a realistic position. So does Basil Paterson, chairman of the Caucus of Black Democrats and vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

While he sees no chance of blacks shifting to the Republican nominees, Paterson says the Democrats "will have to face the facts that those black voters are sitting on their hands" until the issues crucial to them are dealt with.

Neither Paterson nor Hatcher believes that acceptance of such black-oriented issues as jobs and urban rehabilitation would cost a candidate his white support.

After all, says Paterson, "our issues are white issues, too."

Which is another aspect of the frustration. For if the major problems of 1976 transcend racial lines, why the insistence that they be addressed in racial terms? Part of the answer is Hatcher's problem-within-a-problem formulations.

But another aspect perhaps just as important is that the participants here include nearly all the country's black political professionals, and the name of the game for this is the ability to deliver votes in exchange for concessions.

But Jimmy Carter is showing signs of being able to capture a substantial part of the black vote whether the party professionals deliver it or not—and without offering any major concessions in exchange.

Which means that the political power brokers are finding themselves without anything to broker. And that may be the most frustrating thing of all.

...acLeish

Rod MacLeish

Carter, the Absolver

There is apparently, something that is not understood by the dons and archdukes of the Democratic Party but *is* understood by Jimmy Carter. It concerns the texture of the American present as construed from the recent, sulphurous American past.

One molecule in the Carter phenomenon is as ancient and understandable as the Yin/Yang of sin and retribution. Another is the mysterious human capacity for collective guilt.

It is as if this country had been on a bender of intemperance since the mid-1960s. The way from then to now is littered with the broken remnants of our profligacy—violent protests, violent reprisals, Vietnam and Watergate, the effects of promiscuous government and rash utterance.

Whether the American public, *en masse*, should take the blame for any or all of that is a philosophic question that is beside the political point. Guilt, like Hume's definition of beauty, exists in the eye of the beholder. The Americans were *told* they were guilty by political and causist voices crying blame and damnation across those tumultuous years.

The accumulated miasma has created in this benumbed and issue-weary season a subliminal need for absolution.

And here comes Jimmy Carter.

His opponents and their arguments are all too familiar. They serve mostly to remind the voters of the wreckage-strewn past.

Carter, on the other hand, comes out of nowhere. He carries none of the tattered banners from those wars in which we wounded ourselves. His evangelical aura, scorned though it may be by professional politics, leads credence to his now-familiar benefiction: "We need a government that is as good as our people."

All the evils of the past, he tells his crowds, were due to the exclusion of the people from the decisions of government and politics—hence Vietnam, hence Watergate, hence corruption. The Americans were, by Carter's logic, absent from their own recent history and are, therefore, absolved of blame for it.

Time, events and the revelation of Carter's own, inner being will tell whether he is an Elmer Gantry or some genuine healer.

Whichever he is, Carter knows what professional politicians of many persuasions can't seem to grasp: Absolution wins this year.

He is the absolver. And he's winning.

AA

Kite-Flying Time
eezy today, high in
per 60s. Fair tonight,
w near 38. Fair
morrow, high in 60s.
tails: C-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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GOP Puzzle: How to Win Without South?

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

DALLAS — Jimmy Carter's extraordinary landslide in the Texas Deomocratic primary underlines a central question now facing the Republicans about the general election in November: Can they hope to keep the White House if they must sacrifice the South?

The scope of Carter's victory in Texas, where he won 89 of 98 delegates, was foreshadowed by his earlier and pivotal defeats of George Wallace in Florida on March 9 and North Carolina on March 23.

Reagan's Foreign Policy Attack. A-3
Ford on Defensive in Indiana. A-3
Blacks See Panel as Gain. A-3

In the voting here Saturday the delegates supporting Carter consistently defeated those pledged to favorite son Lloyd M. Bentsen by margins of 2-to-1 and better. Indeed, the only Bentsen delegates to survive were a few who won on their own names and local reputations.

THE MESSAGE for practical politicians in this is that Southern voters are indeed taken by the notion of "sending them a president rather than just a message," the theme Carter used against Wallace earlier in the campaign.

The Southern obsession with Carter seems to fly in the face of conventional wisdom that regional considerations have become far less important in politics since national television became such a factor. But even if that is true, the South is a special case because Southerners have been so defensive about their position in national politics and have never had a bona fide presidential challenger of their own until this year. Their reaction is much like that of Roman Catholics who flocked to support John F. Kennedy in 1960.

The special feeling for Carter is important for the November results because the Republicans have become so dependant on the South in what might be called normal presidential elections, meaning those that are closely contested.

SINCE 1948, the year of the Dixiecrat defection from the Democratic party, the Republicans have placed increasing reliance on Southern support in every election except 1964,

See CARTER, A-6

CARTER

Continued From A-1

when Barry Goldwater was beyond help, and 1972, when George McGovern gave Richard Nixon what was essentially a free ride.

In 1960, however, Nixon made it close against Kennedy only because of victories in the South. And in 1968 his Southern support was essential to his narrow win over Hubert H. Humphrey.

The big industrial states still make up the most important bloc in a presidential election. The 10 largest cast 259 electoral votes, only nine short of the majority needed for election.

But several of the 10 are hopeless cases for Republican presidential nominees, except in such extraordinary elections as 1972. Massachussetts and New York are the most obvious of these.

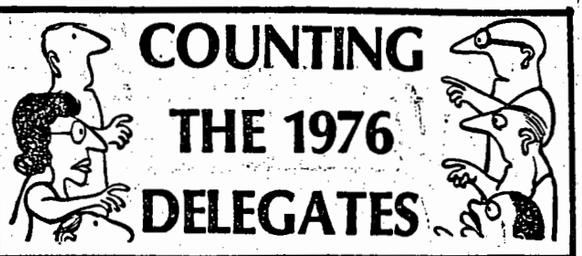
The 15 Southern and border states in which Carter might be expected to be strongest represent 163 electoral votes. If he could sweep them, and professionals suspect that he might, he would only have to win three or four of the largest states elsewhere to be elected.

THE CLOSEST thing to a Republican base outside the South is the far West. But the 11 Western states usually counted in that region represent only 95 electoral vote, 45 of them from California.

Thus, astute Republicans have been increasingly alarmed by the prospect of a Carter nomination that grows more likely every day. They see their situation as a no-win dilemma.

If President Ford is the candidate, he will be a pronounced underdog in the South against Carter. And no one imagines he could sweep the big industrial states, although he might be expected to do well in the Midwest and Far West.

Alternatively, Ronald Reagan is far and away the strongest Republican across the South. But it is doubtful he could sweep the region against a native son, and he is rated even less formidable than Ford in such critical northern industrial states as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New Jersey.



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Carter	Humphrey	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Iowa	47	17	—	—	10	—	9	11
Mississippi	24	5	—	—	—	11	4	4
Hawaii*	17	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Oklahoma	37	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Puerto R.*	22	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
N. Hampshire	17	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
Minnesota*	65	—	60	—	—	—	—	5
S.Carolina	31	9	—	—	—	8	1	13
Maine*	20	6	—	—	—	—	—	14
Massachusetts	104	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Washington*	53	—	—	31	4	—	—	18
Florida	81	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Illinois	169	59	4	—	—	3	88	15
N. Carolina	61	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Virginia*	54	14	—	—	4	—	—	36
Kansas*	34	13	—	2	1	—	2	16
Wisconsin	68	26	—	6	25	10	1	—
New York	274	35	—	106	68	—	—	65
Missouri*	71	10	—	1	3	1	9	47
Alaska	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Arizona	25	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Canal Zone	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Virgin I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Pennsylvania	178	65	—	16	22	3	17	55
Texas	98	89	—	—	—	—	9	—
Louisiana	32	10	—	—	—	7	—	15
Totals	**1,598**	**476**	**64**	**229**	**180**	**116**	**163**	**370**

* Process incomplete

REPUBLICANS

State	Total Delegates	Ford	Reagan
Iowa*	36	15.1	15.1
P. R.	8	8	—
N. Hamp.	21	18	3
Mass.	43	27	15
Florida	66	43	23
Hawaii*	19	12.1	4.3
Illinois	101	65	13
D.C.	14	14	—
N. Carolina	54	25	28
Wisconsin	45	45	—
New York	154	—	3
Arizona*	29	2	27
Minnesota*	65	9	1
Totals	**751**	**283.2**	**228.4**

* Process incomplete

TALLY

There are 1,505 votes needed to win the Democratic presidential nomination in New York City in July, and 1,130 to win the Republican nomination in Kansas City in August. These tables show convention delegate votes accumulated so far by candidates in state primaries and party caucuses. They include some projections in caucus states where the process has not yet been completed.

DD

William F. Buckley Jr.

God and man in Carter's campaign

The poll tells us that if Senator Humphrey had run in Pennsylvania, he would have achieved one half the vote, well ahead of Carter. Yawn.

In the first place we can't know whether that is true. In the process of running in behalf of oneself, inevitably one runs against somebody else. What Humphrey would have achieved if he had hypothetically run can be very different from what he would have achieved had he actually run.

Senator Humphrey in recent days has all but taken a blood oath to the labor unions, tonsured himself, donned coveralls and lunchbox, and said: "Tell me what to do." It is altogether conceivable that if he had run in his present posture, even in a state as heavily unionized as Pennsylvania, he'd have been rejected. After all, we are talking about the man who lost to McGovern in California, who in turn lost to Nixon in the biggest landslide in history.

An unexamined aspect of the success of McGovern is that his mystery reflects nicely the difficulties Democrats have in being concrete. When a typical Democrat promises full employment without inflation; or full and "free" medical care, the public begins, finally, to sense that it is being trafficked with.

Jimmy Carter is not only less than concrete, he seems to take the position that it is somehow vulgar to be concrete. When he is forced to take a direct stand on an issue — forced, for instance, in front of labor union tribunals to drink to the repeal of 14B — then he appears to be doing so less out of conviction than out of good nature. A matter of indulgence. "If you want to go to the World Series that bad, sonny, why I'll just dig into mah savings and get you a ticket."

Thus, to a black audience, Jimmy Carter announces that he is for school integration. And to a white audience. he says he is against forced busing. In fact the two positions are not always incompatible. In fact, Jimmy Carter hasn't said what is his position in such parts of the United States where the two positions are indeed incompatible. South Boston, for instance.

He would prefer to urge his listeners to believe that under his leadership tensions would dissolve: Why should anybody be mad at anybody else, when Jimmy Carter isn't mad at anybody, and loves us all equally?

I tell you, brothers and sisters, it is a formidable posture. And it is in my judgment, and in the judgment of men more practiced in cynicism (the sharp-eyed, sharp-tongued Richard Reeves, for just one example) entirely sincere, even if it is amorphous.

I happen myself to believe in the coming of the Lord, but I do not believe that the Lord takes an emphatic moral position on 14B, even if I believe that if Jimmy Carter wanted to exclude all but theological arguments, I could make a monkey out of him in a debate on 14B.

It is most commonly assumed that religion is mere incantation. A nice ritual, suitable for baptisms, weddings and funerals, and best delivered by Hallmark. Carter says it in an entirely different context. "In 1967, I had a profound religious experience that changed my life. I accepted Christ into my life."

That, really, is a terrifying statement. And I do not doubt that it is the source of the awe and horror some people are experiencing as Carter heads for the nomination, all but secured by his victory in Pennsylvania. The prospect of a president who would attempt to rule according to the Word is not only anticosmopolitan, it is in the nature of heresy against the commandments of the secular state. Could it be that a President Carter would come out against a particular measure on the grounds that he thought it wrong?

That is the nature of the Carter problem. It is likelier that the system will break him, rather than that he will break the system. It is also quite possible that the general temper of his indulgence would bring him to stress good nature to the breaking point of discipline.

It has been calculated that, while governor, the whole of his administrative indulgences was equal to more than the sum of its parsimonious parts. Promise them simplicity, and a decent austerity, and give them Macy's window.

He will be pressed to the wall in the coming months. but my own guess is that he's going to make it.

Mary McGrory

A3 5/3/76 SR

Brown in Maryland: Attractive Underdog

A black letter-carrier paused in the swift completion of his appointed rounds at the McCulloh housing project for senior citizens in South Baltimore to have a look at Maryland's new political sensation, Gov. Jerry Brown of California.

"I certainly will vote for him," he said. "Everyone wants a change. This fellow has more appeal than Carter. People think he is an honest man."

Odessa Davis, a social worker, gazed at the slim young figure in the well-cut houndstooth check suit while she explained the fascination.

"He looks like he knows what he wants to do," she said. "I thought of Carter, but that 'ethnic purity' didn't set too good with me. I'm not going to take no chances with him."

"JIMMY CARTER?" snapped an elderly woman. "I ain't listenin' to him."

"Black and Brown Are Beautiful" buttons were being handed out.

Jerry Brown is obviously going to fight Carter for every black vote in Maryland — it's 30 percent of the electorate. Any doubt about that was resolved by the hasty addition to his schedule of a stop at the Sheraton-Carrollton headquarters of Muhammad Ali to receive the champ's blessing.

"He's young," said Ali, "and he's pretty. He's an underdog, and I like underdogs."

It was a succinct summary of the early Maryland returns on the 38-year-old challenger. People are standing on tiptoe to see him. Women come away from meeting him with that glazed look some politicians inspire. Brown's good looks — he has a boyish, sensitive face framed with white-frosted sideburns — are taking their toll, and people are saying, "He talks real nice."

Young Lochinvar has come out of the West awfully late in the day. Even Hubert Humphrey who never says die, said on Tuesday that Carter can't be stopped. Henry Jackson seconded the motion on Saturday. If Brown had been privy to Humphrey's plans, which were announced hours before the filing deadline, Brown would have jumped into New Jersey's primary too to make good his claim that "people are still looking for something."

IT'S NOT TOO late, he told a doting crowd in the basement of the Sharpe Street Memorial Church. The last shall be first, he said, by way of showing that Carter has no lock on the Bible either. Spiritually, the ex-Jesuit seminarian will compete with the fundamentalist Baptist from Georgia in black churches.

He's supposed to be like carter, his senior by 13 years, in other ways — and he is in his remoteness and his cast-iron self-confidence. They also share a loathing for labels, resistance to defining positions and doubts about the healing powers of government.

But Brown wasn't talking down Washington in Baltimore. He was talking jobs and the need for the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill, a measure belatedly embraced by Carter.

"A young man doesn't have a job," he told the doting crowd in the church basement. "He steals a television. When he looks at the screen, he has seen the highest officials in the land not telling the truth. He has no respect for himself. We have to win the respect of our own people at home before we can win respect in the world. Can't we figure out how to put people to work? First, we have to want to do it."

Cries of "Amen" came from the audience.

Strangely enough, he was not received as a stranger in Maryland. People do not complain of his as they do of Carter that they don't know him. They've watched him on television. He comes across to them. The legends of his refreshing austerity have preceded him.

"HE'S NOT ONE of those guys who rides around in a Cadillac," said a gigantic steelworker outside the Bethlehem Steel plant. "He's got it, and he's got my vote."

Brown had been awkwardly scheduled at the plant between shifts, so he met only a fraction of the 22,000 workers. But he is a disciplined and philosophical campaigner.

"It's an incremental process," he said lightly. "We must lower expectations."

How effectively incremental the process will be is the question. He has booked nine days in the state, and one of his aides said "he would like to move in here." Maryland voters could be influenced by events that will occur elsewhere between now and primary voting day, May 18, and ratify the inevitability of Jimmy Carter.

Brown seems to have one advantage. He doesn't say to voters, as Carter does, that he will never lie to them. Apparently, he doesn't need to. Marylanders who are among the most lied-to voters in the Republic, have decided that Jerry Brown, the trendy Zen politician, is an honest man, "straightforward" and "sincere."

Jimmy Carter is taking no chances. He's scheduled another day in the state.

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MAY 2, 1976
SECTION K •

ANALYSIS
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After Pennsylvania Carter's in the clear

By ADAM CLYMER

Sun 5/2

Washington.

Eight years ago Tuesday Hubert H. Humphrey was talking about the "politics of joy" and announcing his second run for the White House. Last Tuesday the smile—as it has been almost all year long—was on the face of Jimmy Carter, who drubbed his opponents in Pennsylvania and proved that no one could stop Carter for Humphrey, let alone for Henry M. Jackson.

The former Georgia governor still has some problems, but comparing them to the other candidates' difficulties is like complaining of a hangnail in a cancer ward. That is more or less what Mr. Humphrey, a tear glistening on his cheek, conceded Thursday when he said there was too little time for him to organize a credible run in late primaries. "One thing I don't need at this time in my life is to look ridiculous," he said.

And Morris K. Udall is still running, saying the choice is down to Mr. Carter and himself. But last week he had less than half as many delegates as the Georgian. And if Mr. Udall gets 10 delegates in Texas, Georgia, Alabama, Indiana and the District of Columbia (in primaries yesterday and Tuesday), he will be doing well. Mr. Carter should win well over 100 in those states. All through May Mr. Udall will be trying for only a fraction of the delegates Mr. Carter will seek, and he will be trying without anything like the organization, money, or popular support that Mr. Carter can bring to bear.

Senator Jackson of Washington has withdrawn as an active candidate. Hxs friends in labor could not deliver for him in Pennsylvania. His campaign treasury seems more busted than Mr. Udall's. His earlier talk about using the "open microphone" to get the issues to the people suggested that he planned to seek the presidency by soundtrack.

There are two candidates who haven't lost yet—Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr., of California.

Mr. Church's first caucus effort will come tomorrow night in Colorado, and his first primary May 11 in Nebraska. He waited a long time, and his hopes that his intelligence committee's investigation would be a springboard to success don't look very promising.

Mr. Brown's effort is even later and less organized than Mr. Church's, and his youth and inexperience—less than two years as Governor and less in the way of policy stands than Mr. Carter—make him an improbable candidate, however good his first few crowds in Maryland are.

But the big problem for Mr. Church and Mr. Brown is that even if they could bring off an upset victory or two, they got in so late they cannot win many delegates.

And it is delegates, not victories in beauty contest primaries, that win nominations. That is why April 6 was a bad day for Mr. Carter. He got far fewer delegates than either Mr. Udall or Mr. Jackson in the Wisconsin and New York primaries. But last Tuesday, he got 64 to their combined total of 41, and then got more last night in Texas.

His campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, predicts that Mr. Carter will have at least 1,000 delegates after the primaries are completed June 8, That almost certainly means that Mr. Jordan expects at least 1,100. And while Udall aides dispute that estimate, saying the Georgian won't have more than 850 or 900, other key delegate counters in Washington think the expectation quite reasonable.

And getting from 1,000 to 1,505 now may not be as difficult as it seemed even a few days ago. Mr. Humphrey's press conference Thursday really disclosed no change in plans. But by announcing on national television that he was staying out he drew far more attention to the move than he would have if he had simply issued a press release saying he had not changed his plans. And that publicity reduces the hope for Mr. Humphrey as a factor in the campaign, a reason to hold back. It should be easier for Mr. Carter to win over Humphrey-leaning delegates, harder for Humphrey supporters in states yet to vote to get elected.

One of Mr. Carter's main activities in coming weeks will be to telephone delegates. The impact of having a presidential front-runner calling up the Cedar Rapids druggist who was elected as a Shriver backer or the Charleston lawyer who made the delegation uncommitted is yet to be tested, but anyone who has watched Mr. Carter when he wants to be persuasive and charming would not underestimate it.

Still, Mr. Carter is not without problems. He identifies his only real risk as the one of getting overconfident and arrogant, but there are others.

Uncommitted delegates elected from recent caucuses, even in states where he ought to have considerable appeal like Virginia and Missouri, have seemed to be against him, the only candidate actively seeking their support. In both states he did worse than George McGovern did four years ago, and the South Dakotan anti-war candidate certainly fitted neither of those states as well as Mr. Carter does.

Mr. Jordan argues that gradual attrition in caucus states has increased Mr. Carter's share of support from precinct to county to state level. But the attrition, according to Mr. Jordan's own figures, has come more from other candidates than from the uncommitted blocs. In states like South Carolina and Oklahoma the uncommitteds have stayed nearly constant.

Another problem is the softness of support from his voters—something various polls have been regularly reporting. But while those indices give his enemies hope, it should not make them ecstatic. First of all, his support in Pennsylvania was firmer than it had been earlier. Second, even if the voters may be soft, the true believers who signed up as Carter delegates in January when he was still an unknown are going to be firm at the convention.

The image of Mr. Carter as a politician fuzzy on issues may be more of a lingering problem than the others. Concerned by polling data that showed it as a problem, Mr. Carter sought to cope by hiring a traveling speechwriter and issuing more statements. The slow effort to develop position papers is being accelerated, although he still promises full details on tax reform no sooner than January, 1978.

He has really had no bad luck at all in the campaign, unless it was the snowstorm in Massachusetts on primary day. Even the congressional dilly-dallying over reconstituting the Federal Election Commission, which his chief fund-raiser, Morris Dees, Jr., insists is a Washington plot against Mr. Carter, has certainly hurt him less than it hurt Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson.

The general impression at the end of the week here was that only some monumental verbal blunder could trip Mr. Carter. It may well be that voters who were concerned about his waffling on abortion, or bothered by his gaffe on home mortgage interest deductions or his 15 hour turnaround on strip-mine controls, even those angered by "ethnic purity" remark, will be less ready to forgive yet another controversial utterance.

But even if he does say something that many voters dislike, it does not seem that any of the others is in much of a position to take advantage.

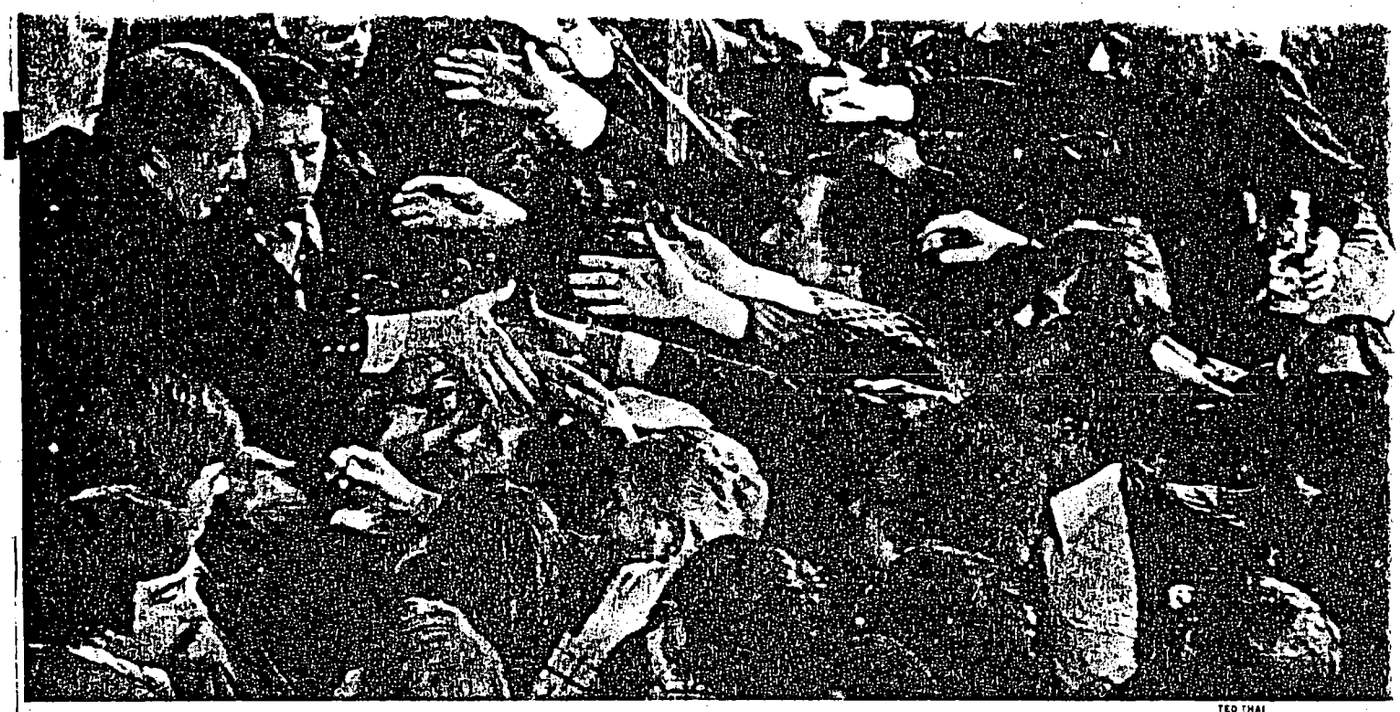
As Mr. Jordan put it at a Philadelphia press conference Wednesday:

"It's a long way from 1,000 to 1,500.

"It's a real long way from 500 to 1,500"

Adam Clymer reports on national politics from The Sun's Washington Bureau.

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TED THAI

DEMOCRATS/COVER STORIES

Jimmy Carter's Big Breakthrough

The 1976 script called for the longest, most grueling run of Democratic primaries and caucuses in U.S. history. In an effort to make the selection system more open, the Democrats had rewritten their ground rules for campaigning and Congress drastically tightened the laws on financing. Nearly a dozen serious candidates, some household names and others almost unknown, had formally entered the fray. On the sidelines hovered two of the party's most formidable figures. According to all the conventional wisdom, the process was going to be a marathon shambles, producing nearly five months of furious activity but probably settling nothing.

Suddenly, only a third of the way through the obstacle course, the race was all but over. Starting out 17 months ago with no national political base, name recognition or backing from powerful interest groups, onetime Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter had carved out on his own a broad constituency of small-town and rural voters, blue-collar ethnics, white-collar suburbanites, inner-city blacks. Week after week, winning primaries in the North, South and Midwest, he steadily thinned the ranks of his rivals. Last week by triumphing decisively and against formidable odds in Pennsylvania's pivotal primary, he all but crushed his remaining opposition, including Democratic Senior Statesman Hubert Humphrey.

The votes had hardly been counted when James Earl Carter Jr., one of the most phenomenal politicians to rise on the American political scene in this century, was talking about what kind of a President he would be. In an interview last week, he mused to TIME Correspondent Dean E. Fischer: "Most of my attitude toward Government is very aggressive. I wouldn't be a quiescent or a timid President."

Then he talked about his heroes. "My favorite modern President is Harry Truman. He exemplified the kind of Administration I would like to have." Carter said that he admired Truman's honesty, vision in foreign policy and "closeness with the American people." He also has a high regard for John Kennedy as a "much more inspirational President" than Truman, and for Lyndon Johnson's deep concern for the poor and the weak and his skill in pushing legislation through Congress. He spoke of Winston Churchill as the pre-eminent leader of our time, of Charles de Gaulle as uniquely expressing "the ideals and hopes and pride of the French," and of Mohandas Gandhi as the embodiment of "quiet courage."

Obviously no mortal can hope to exhibit all of these qualities, though some of Carter's detractors wonder whether he knows that. No matter; in the euphoria of last week, most things must have seemed possible to Jimmy Carter, as he rode the crest of his campaign for the presidency. So certain was he, with good reason, of winning the Democratic nomination at Madison Square Garden in July that he began making a list of whom he might choose as a running mate. He says that his most important considerations are to pick someone who is qualified to step up as President if necessary, a person "compatible with me on basic issues and general philosophy" and offering "some sort of geographical or other balance on the ticket." According to insiders at the Democratic National Committee, Carter's list includes two liberal U.S. Senators: Minnesota's Walter F. Mondale and Illinois's Adlai E. Stevenson. Choosing either would strengthen Carter with liberals and party hierarchs, the two groups that have remained most aloof from him.

But they are not likely to do so much longer. Like other Democrats, liberals and party leaders most want a winner, which Carter persuasively showed himself to be last week. His twelve-point margin in Pennsylvania proved conclusively that he could topple tough opposition in a big Northern industrial state. In Texas, his come-from-behind victory over Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen showed that not even a popular favorite son could slow the Carter bandwagon. The overwhelming successes—he has won eight of the first ten primaries—stunned old-line political leaders.

His victories all but eliminated the other Democratic candidates. He had long ago knocked out George Wallace, drubbing him in Florida and North Carolina. Henry Jackson was humiliated in Pennsylvania, where he had expected to sweep to victory with heavy union and political-machine support. At week's end he decided to drop out of the race. "I will remain a candidate and I do not intend to endorse any other candidate at this time," said Scoop to a group of supporters. "I am a realist. Simply stated, we are out of money." Asked to assess Carter's chances for the nomination, Jackson declared frankly: "He



is an open-field runner at this time."

Morris Udall, the primaries' perpetual runner-up, pushed on with characteristic good humor, but nobody took his candidacy very seriously. Latecomers Frank Church and Jerry Brown were still in the running, but some political analysts speculated that Brown at best was running for Vice President and Church perhaps for Secretary of State.

That left only Hubert Humphrey. After Pennsylvania, his telephones almost jangled off the hook as old friends begged him to step out of the sidelines and plunge into active campaigning. They pleaded that only he could stop Carter, whom many organization Democrats mistrust as an unknown and untested outsider. Time and again Humphrey met with longtime supporters and then pondered his decision one night.

Next day, looking exhausted, he flabbergasted friends by announcing that he had decided to stay out, but would still hold himself available in the "unlikely" event of a convention deadlock. The old (64) warrior explained that

TIME POLL

Startling Surge for Carter

If the presidential election were held now, Jimmy Carter would defeat Gerald Ford by 48% to 38% of the vote. Just seven weeks ago, after the Florida primary, Ford would have beaten Carter, 46% to 38%. The extraordinary shift in voter sentiment was a stunning measure of how far the Georgian had come by last week, just after his Pennsylvania victory.

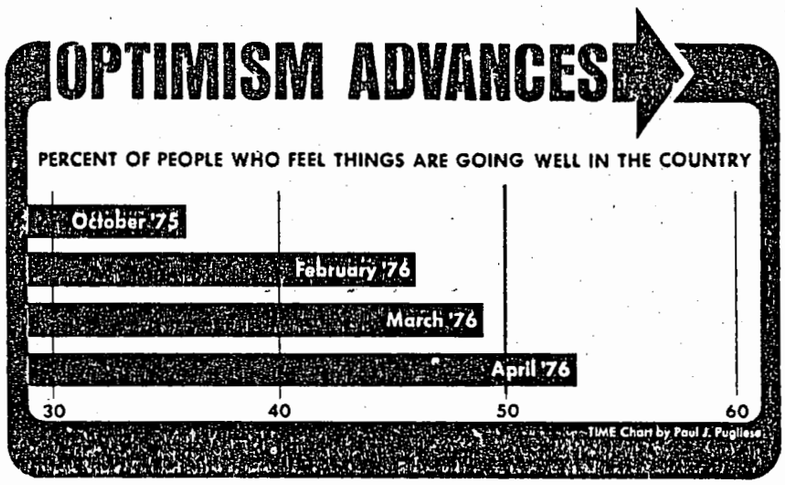
By 50% to 27%, moreover, U.S. voters want to see a Democrat elected as the next President, provided both candidates are of equal stature and competence. Voters—Republicans, Democrats and Independents—consider Carter the strongest possible Democratic candidate: 48% see Carter that way, *v.* 34% for Humphrey and 3% for Jackson. At the same time, Americans split evenly, 41% to 41%, with 19% uncertain, on whether the Democrat or the Republican will win in November.

These are the principal findings of a poll conducted for TIME last week by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., the opinion-research firm. The results were gathered in telephone interviews with a representative, national sample of 1,011 registered voters in the two days immediately following the Pennsylvania primary. Most of the interviews were taken before Humphrey announced he would not actively campaign and all of them before Jackson dropped out, so that, if anything, the poll may underestimate Carter's strengths.

The poll also indicates that there is still some vulnerability in Carter's position. Even with Pennsylvania behind him, Carter was the choice of a minority of his own party (39%, *v.* 59% for some other candidate). If they were voting on the basis of economic, defense and foreign policy issues alone, more Democrats would prefer Humphrey over Carter.

Still, the pace of Carter's ascendancy has been breathtaking. Before the New Hampshire primary, he was unknown to 55% of the electorate; now he is known to 82% and viewed as acceptable by 59%. Based on answers from the people who were polled, the Carter phenomenon seems the result of two factors: 1) the hunger for a Democratic candidate who can win in November and 2) the search for an indefinable quality of moral leadership at a time when 61% of the respondents feel something is morally wrong in the nation. That search for moral leadership promises to be Carter's strongest asset against Ford. Of those voters who feel something is morally wrong in the nation, 54% said they would vote for Carter in November, while 31% would support Ford. Another factor in Carter's favor is the extraordinary attention voters are paying this year to "the man" rather than the issues.

Two potential stumbling blocks for



he lacked the money and organization to mount his fourth campaign for the White House. Nor did he relish the possibility of another defeat.

Thus, the field was left to Jimmy Carter. Barring some unforeseen twist, he will be the Democrats' 1976 nominee. There was, at first, no stampede among party leaders to board his bandwagon. New Jersey Governor Brendan T. Byrne called on all 37 fellow Democratic Governors to unify the party by getting behind Carter, but initially drew no response. Still, no one seriously thought that Carter could be stopped.

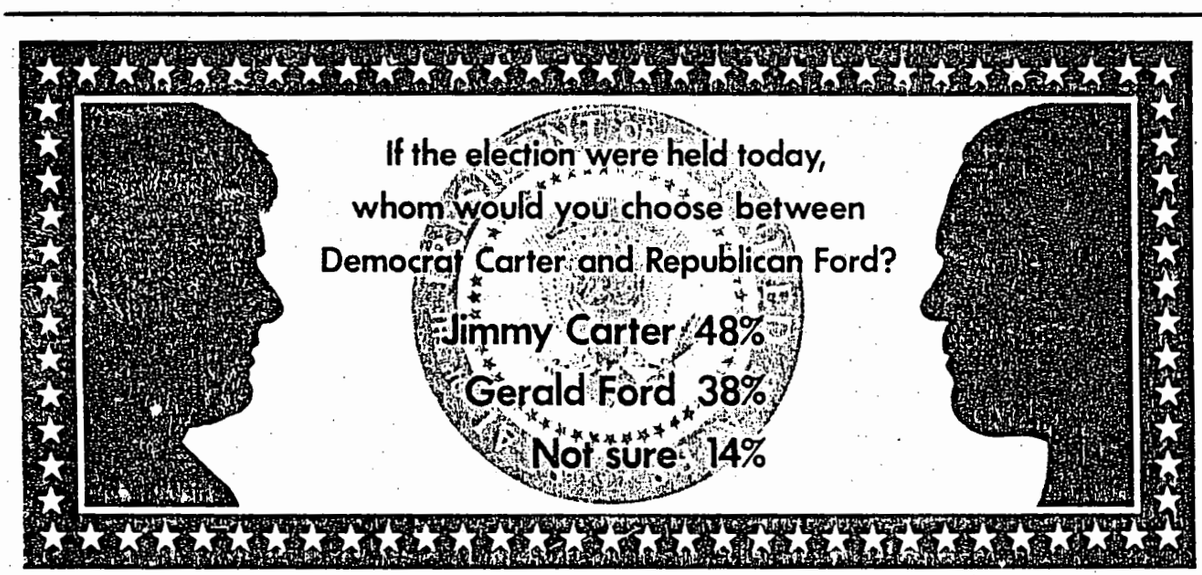
Said a top staff member of the Democratic National Committee: "Carter's the winner. His only problem will be maintaining interest in his campaign through the rest of the primaries." Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley called any lingering thoughts of a brokered convention "hogwash." President Ford, who was badly set back in Texas, agreed: "The only way I can see that they could stop him now is to have a smoke-filled room, brokered convention, and I think the public would object to that."

Ford was surprised by the events. He had long predicted that the Democratic nominee would be Humphrey and was obviously disappointed when he bowed out. It would have been easier to fight familiar old Hubert and his familiar liberal ideas before an electorate that has grown weary and suspicious of still more Government programs. A strong economy, highly probable in the third and fourth quarters, would have helped Ford more against Humphrey than it may against Carter. The White House was plainly scared of his winning appeal as an outsider crusading against the old pols and summoning Americans to believe in the nation's basic strength and decency. Ford has not devised a strategy for running against Carter, except to stress his own "proven record" against the Georgian's comparative inexperience. Said the President: "Well, we don't really know what Jimmy Carter stands for."

There was still the possibility that Carter might make a major gaffe that would cost him the nomination. Said he: "It would be unlikely for me to be stopped unless I make a mistake." Indeed, Carter—much like George McGovern in 1972—has burst onto the national scene so quickly that he has not yet undergone many political stress tests. With the single exception of his "ethnic purity" remark, from which he recovered quickly, he has escaped the blunders that have buried candidates in the past. But if he should stumble, many of the party's elders—whose first choice Carter clearly is not—will push Humphrey again.

Taking nothing for granted, Carter viewed his big victories in Pennsylvania and Texas as only the completion of the first phase of his campaign. Phase Two will involve consolidating and expanding his support by campaigning in all of the remaining contests—28 primaries and caucuses. His opponents are not active in many primary states, and they will have a tough time raising campaign money.

Carter may not win them all, of course. This week Alabama is expected loyally to hand Governor George Wallace most of its 35 delegates. Next week, in Nebraska, Carter faces Church, who



Carter—issues that seemed likely to make voters uneasy—have not materialized. Despite the brief uproar over his "ethnic purity" remarks, a strong 62% of the voters regard him as a fair person on racial issues. And 50% of the voters do not consider Carter's intense religious convictions a factor in the election; 32% believe such views are an asset; only 8% are worried by them.

On the Republican side, Gerald Ford has steadily improved his position against Ronald Reagan. Among Republicans and Independents, Ford is now the choice of 62%, *v.* 25% for Reagan. Seven weeks ago, it was Ford 56%, Reagan 28%. Among all voters, confidence in Ford's handling of two basic policy issues is reasonably strong. Almost three out of four voice some or a lot of confidence in his management of the economy and inflation. Two out of three express some or a lot of confidence in his conduct of foreign affairs. At the same time, the Reagan campaign has been hurting Ford by generating concern about U.S. military power compared with Russia's. One out of two voters are worried about the state of U.S. military power and consider it a major issue.

With Carter running strong on "moral leadership" and Reagan chipping away at Ford on the defense issue, the President becomes increasingly dependent on an improved economy as his greatest strength. But while the economy is gaining, voters perceive the rate of progress as slowing. The share of people who say they feel economic stress —worry about paying off bills or losing jobs—dropped from a high of 36% last June to 30% in October; since then, the index has shown no real improvement. Last week it stood at 29%.

On the brighter side, last October little more than one-third of the voters said that things were going well in the country. Now, for the first time since the TIME-Yankelovich polls started two years ago, more than half the people (53%) share that belief. That may work in Ford's favor. Among those who share this optimism, 48% would vote for him and only 39% for Carter.

is concentrating much of his money and personal campaigning on the state in hopes of scoring an upset. In Maryland, where Carter will take on Brown on May 18, he now leads, but Brown, who declared his candidacy only two months ago, received a tumultuous welcome during his first campaign foray to the state last week. His organization had planned for about 500 supporters at a reception at the Baltimore Hilton; 2,500 showed up. Said Brown, whose background as a Jesuit seminarian makes him Carter's equal in quoting Scripture: "It has been written that the first shall be last and the last shall be first."

Carter's muscle was amply displayed last Saturday in the Texas primary. Favorite Son Lloyd Bentsen had spent years setting up a statewide political organization, and his delegate slates included many of Texas' best known Democrats. Carter spent only a few days in the state, and offered this blunt message: "The only choice is between one who can be President and one who wants to broker or horse trade delegates." In the end, Carter crushed Bentsen, winning 93 of the 98 delegate contests.



CARL MYDANS

THE CANDIDATE ABOARD CAMPAIGN PLANE DURING A TRIP TO TEXAS
"I wouldn't be a quiescent or a timid President."

His margin in Texas was obviously widened by his victory four days earlier in Pennsylvania. Though many analysts had thought that Carter's love-and-compassion theme would not go over well in the raucous atmosphere of steel-and-coal towns, he captured 65 of 67 Pennsylvania counties. He lost only in Philadelphia, which Mayor Frank L. Rizzo's machine carried for Jackson, and in Philadelphia's liberal suburban Montgomery County, which went to Udall. Carter was particularly delighted that he carried Gettysburg, site of the bloodiest battle of the Civil War. And he got off one of his few campaign quips: "We ought to tell the Georgians that we finally won in Gettysburg."

In all, he carried 37% of the Pennsylvania vote to Jackson's 25%, Udall's 19% and a mere 11% for George Wallace. Though Jackson had predicted that regardless of how the popular vote went, he would win the largest share of the delegates, Carter got 64 delegates *v.* only 19 for Scoop, who finished not only behind Uncommitted (46) but also behind Udall (22).

Carter's strength in the heavily unionized western Pennsylvania steel-mill country—in the face of all-out opposition from union and party leaders—was startling. Among union members, he beat Jackson 36% to 27%, according to the New York *Times*/CBS News poll. Moaned Ernie Rewolinski of Harrisburg, a union leader who ran as an uncommitted delegate: "The Carter people knocked me right off. People are more sophisticated than they used to be. They headed straight for the presidential candidate."

Indeed, labor's efforts on behalf of Jackson were uncommonly inept. While praising him, many labor leaders made clear that their hearts were really with Humphrey. Voters were turned off by their perception of Jackson as a surrogate for Humphrey, as well as by Jackson's dull, plodding campaign and his shrill and far-fetched effort to blame Carter for Pennsylvania's high unemployment rate. Scoop may have been hurt by his identity with the labor-political establishment. Rizzo's support was a mixed blessing because the mayor is unpopular in much of the state. Neither the faction-ridden state party nor the slow-starting labor machine was able to mount effective support for Jackson.

Yet Carter won chiefly by his own skillful campaigning. He spent far more time (eleven days) in Pennsylvania than he had in New York and Massachusetts, two states where he had finished a dismal fourth. He benefited from a swelling corps of volunteers, enthusiasts slightly older than but nonetheless reminiscent of the "Children's Crusade" of the 1968 campaign of Eugene McCarthy. They swarmed in from Florida, Illinois, New Hampshire and other states where Carter has campaigned, and, of course, from Georgia. In Pennsylvania, they canvassed by telephone, passed out campaign pamphlets and, most important, worked the polls on primary day, explaining the complicated ballot and pointing out the Carter delegates to voters. A group of about 50 volunteers, assigned to the Pittsburgh area, slept on rented Army cots set up in a funeral parlor that had gone out of business.

The Southerner's supposed "ethnic purity" gaffe may actually have helped him: the controversy over the remark kept Carter on front pages and on television news programs for days. His money-starved opponents could not compete with Carter in paid TV advertising. None of the candidates has collected matching funds since the Federal Election Commission temporarily went out of business. But Carter, since his Wisconsin primary victory, has found it easier to raise money than either Jackson or Udall, both of whom have been dogged by "loser" images. Additionally, Carter has an efficient fund-raising operation, led by Alabama Lawyer Morris Dees, the former McGovern finance director, whose direct-mail operations reached hundreds of thousands of contributors to previous Democratic campaigns. Since the federal fund cutoff on March 23, Carter contributions have topped $600,000, far more than the amounts raised by Jackson and Udall.

After the Pennsylvania primary, the TIME-Yankelovich poll showed that Carter had achieved a new status in the minds of voters: he is no longer considered just one of the pack but a man who, at least for the moment, has a fair chance of beating Ford. Thus people are beginning to examine him even more closely and critically. They may be familiar with his basic biography: the rearing in rural Plains, Ga.; education at Annapolis (where he ranked 59th in a class of 809); his brief career in the Navy (in which he served under his idol, Admiral Hyman Rickover); success as a peanut farmer and wholesaler; his rise as a state politician and now, at 51, a national figure. There also seems to be something unknowable about him, an inner man that has not been—and may never be—revealed.

That mystery in Carter may be a small part of the answer to a large question that perplexes so many Americans, including a good many politicians and professional politician watchers who are

unaccustomed to perplexity in such matters: What is the magic, the secret, the explanation, of Carter's astonishing success with the electorate so far? Certainly there is the smile, the courtly Southern charm, the flattering intensity with which he talks—and listens—to individuals. There is his reassuring sense of himself, his evident intelligence, his successful projection of worthy goals beyond his own private ambitions. Then, of course, he lacks the scars of national politics; he seems free of entanglements with party bosses, special interests and power blocs. His is a fresh political face at a time when there seems much weariness with familiar ones.

Such obvious elements do not, however, satisfy the perplexed, who feel there must be more to Carter's public chemistry. Undoubtedly there is. Part of it may be his quietness. Carter's words on paper sometimes can seem banal or even inflammatory; the spoken tone is appealing. Many of the young seem drawn to him partly because, unlike so many of their elders, he does not bellow at them. All sorts of other Americans find parts of Jimmy Carter they seem able to identify with, and he promotes his man-of-many-parts image assiduously. And Carter wears his hard-won successes easily, without letting his pride slip into an unseemly boastfulness.

On a deeper level, Carter's call for a moral revival of sorts seems to have struck home in the American psyche, vintage 1976. Battered by the Viet Nam War, Watergate, scandals and abuses in high places, many Americans clearly welcome Carter's confidence in them and the worth of their country, and his soft-spoken promise to restore a moral purpose to national life. If the economy continues to improve and no foreign scares intervene, this spiritual issue could transcend all others this year.

Whatever the alchemy at work, Carter fascinates some people and bewilders others, arousing both great confidence and, particularly among some Northern liberals, deep skepticism. Most politicians, journalists and others who see him close up come away convinced that he has a first-class mind. Some are also repelled by the cold self-assurance.

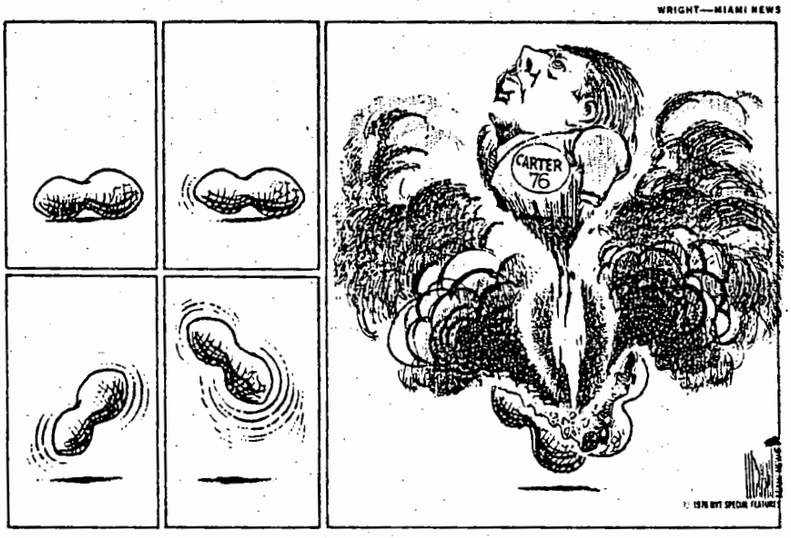
Michael Novak, a Catholic theologian and perceptive analyst of U.S. politics, wrote recently in the Washington *Post:* "The source of discomfort is that they [Northerners] do not know at first hand the pressures that shaped him, his inner demons and his inner angels. They can't confidently imagine scenarios of various pressures upon him and predict how he will act. He is, from his point of view, an outsider breaking in on their world. But they are, from their point of view, outsiders who can't quite understand what makes him tick."

Nothing arouses more fascination, suspicion and questions than Carter's deep-seated religious convictions. He contends that he does not inject them into his campaigning. But the two are inescapably intertwined, producing a blend of William Jennings Bryan's religious fervor and Woodrow Wilson's moral idealism.



"Well, what do you think?"

WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS



SIMPSON—TULSA TRIBUNE



The U.S. has perhaps 40 million Protestant Evangelicals, both black and white, and they are the fastest growing element in American Christianity (*see* RELIGION). They also constitute a natural constituency for Carter, responding enthusiastically to his frequent use of words and phrases that identify him as one of them: love, brotherhood, decency, purity, compassion. His preaching of traditional moral values also appeals to many others, notably blue-collar Catholic "ethnics." Typically, a black clergyman in Philadelphia praised him as a man "with a Bible in one hand and a ballot box in the other."

To skeptics, Carter's language often sounds like a pious façade. That, decidedly, is not the case. To Carter, his religion has always been a central and natural part of his life—"like breathing," as he says. Like many Southerners, he finds no contradiction in mixing an earthy appreciation of the good, secular life with the harder demands of Evangelicalism. But while religion has always been an integral part of his makeup, he dates his life as a spiritually reborn Christian only from 1967.

As Carter and his sister, Evangelist Ruth Carter Stapleton (TIME, April 26), tell the story, he was upset over losing his first bid for Governor and was questioning his personal values and goals. In the course of his search for meaning, he took a long walk with his sister in the pine woods near his 200-acre peanut farm. Recalls Carter: "Ruth asked me if I would give up anything for Christ, if I would give up my life and my possessions—everything. I said I would. Then she asked if I would be willing to give up politics. I thought a long time and had to admit that I would not." His sister warned that until he could, he would be plagued with self-doubts. Stapleton says that Carter cried during the conversation, but he has no such recollection. In any event, the experience led directly to his being "born again."* Says he: "I

*In the third chapter of John's Gospel, Jesus tells the Pharisee Nicodemus that only those who are spiritually "born again" will enter the kingdom of God. The passage—and the phrase—are favorites of Evangelical Protestants; their faith emphasizes the personal experience of turning to Christ.



SCOOP JACKSON, WITH HIS WIFE, CONCEDING IN PENNSYLVANIA

established a more intimate relationship with Christ. I developed a deeper sense of inner peace."

Thereafter, he traveled to other parts of Georgia and to Pennsylvania and Massachusetts "to witness among people who don't know about Christ." To questioners, he says that in politics he claims no "special relationship" with God. Says Carter: "I don't pray to God to let me win an election. I pray to ask God to let me do the right thing." As Governor, he prayed often, on his knees, in the seclusion of a small private room next to his office.

Carter is not a strict Evangelical. When he was Governor, he outraged some Southern Baptist clergymen by calling Georgia's ban on Sunday liquor sales hypocritical because many people patronized bootleggers on the Sabbath. One of his first acts was to end the pompous religious service that his predecessor as Governor, Lester Maddox, held in the state house every morning. Carter thought that the service was pointless.

The prime source of his belief is the Bible, but he reads it somewhat critically. Says he: "I find it difficult to question Holy Scripture, but I admit that I do have trouble with Paul sometimes, especially when he says that a woman's place is with her husband, and that she should keep quiet and cover her head in church. I just can't go along with him on that." Carter also has read deeply from the works of religious thinkers such as Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Barth, Paul Tillich and Søren Kierkegaard and quotes from them. In particular, he is fond of this sentence from Niebuhr: "The sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world."



UDALL BEING CONSOLED BY HIS WIFE

Some critics suggest that if he were elected, Carter's religious life might intrude on his acts as President; the objection echoes the fears that were raised about John F. Kennedy's Catholicism. Like Kennedy, Carter vows a strict separation of church and state, and denies that there is any conflict between the two. Says he: "The Bible says, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's.' It doesn't say you have to live two lives. It doesn't say you have to be two people." On the contrary, he maintains that his religious convictions "will make me a better President."

Some detractors regard Carter's ambition as exceeding even the generous quota to be expected of any presidential candidate. In Carter's case, there is an almost total humorlessness and an implacable quality to the pursuit of all his goals. Says a Georgia government official who knows him well: "He's got rock-hard, iron-hard confidence. He's like twisted steel cable inside." Trying to reassure an audience in Green Bay, Wis., that he was not dangerously ambitious, Carter pointed out that he had not always wanted to be President. Said he, in all seriousness: "When I was at Annapolis, the only thing I wanted to be was Chief of Naval Operations." Later, as a junior officer aboard the submarine *Pomfret*, he doggedly refused to be kept from his duties by seasickness. Recalls Warren Colegrove, who was the ship's engineering officer: "He'd take his [vomit] bucket with him to the bridge. He was a gutsy guy."

But the inner qualities that give rise to his driving ambition, iron will and unmovable adherence to moral principles are also the source of what he admits is a major failing: his reluctance to compromise. His rigidity caused him repeated trouble with the Georgia legislature. In 1974, while pressuring the legislators to pass a consumer protection bill, he scornfully described them as the worst in the state's history. Outraged, they stopped work for several days and bitterly complained until Carter retreated from his harsh words. But he stopped short of an apology. Indeed, Carter's refusal to yield on some points nearly caused the defeat of his major accomplishment as Governor—streamlining the state government by reducing the number of agencies from about 300 to 22. Recalls a top Georgia politician: "He couldn't pass any of his reorganization bill. We had to get it passed for him—or about 60% of it anyway." More recently, Carter—who admits to being "pretty rigid"—showed his stubborn streak by not backing off from his offensive language in the "ethnic purity" flap until he was clearly in danger of losing much of his black support.

Like most politicians, Carter is a professional collector of people. At one time or another, he has described as "good friends of mine" such retiring folks as Edward Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Golda Meir, Henry Kissinger, Bob Dylan and Burt Reynolds. There is probably no more bizarre relationship in American politics than the one that exists between him and Hunter Thompson, author of *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72* and other boozy, spaced-out analyses of the American body politic. Thompson met Carter in 1974 at a University of Georgia Law Day ceremony, where Carter gave an off-the-cuff speech. So impressed was Thompson by the speech that he got a tape recording of it, which he often plays at odd hours of the night.

In that address, Carter said in part: "One of the sources for my understanding about the proper application of criminal justice and the system of equity is from reading Reinhold Niebuhr ... The other source of my understanding about what's right and wrong in this society is from a friend of mine, a poet named Bob Dylan. After listening to his records ... I've learned to appreciate the dynamism of change in a modern society." Carter went on to scold the lawyers and judges in the audience for not caring more about the legal and moral rights of society's underdogs. He praised Martin Luther King Jr., "who was perhaps despised by many in this room because he shook up our social structure ... and demanded simply that black citizens be treated the same as white citizens." Added Carter: "As a farmer, I'm not qualified to assess the characteristics of the 9,100 inmates in the Georgia prisons. 50% of whom ought not to be there. They ought to be on probation or under some other supervision ... I don't know, it may be that poor people are the only ones who commit crimes, but I do know that they are the only ones who serve prison sentences."

Though he speaks almost mystically of the "intense friendships" that he has formed with Americans almost everywhere, Carter has few real cronies, and

he keeps even them at arm's length. He shares his most intimate thoughts and feelings with only one person—his wife Rosalynn. Says Gerald Rafshoon, an Atlanta friend who handles Carter's campaign advertising: "You don't get that close to Jimmy because he retreats. His wife Rosalynn is his best friend." With her he is unabashedly affectionate, holding her hand at almost every opportunity. Says a friend: "You can tell they were high-school sweethearts."

Nonetheless, Carter judiciously uses the advice of old campaign associates. Among them: Campaign Manager Jordan, Press Secretary Jody Powell, Adman Rafshoon, Campaign Treasurer R.J. Lipshutz and Charles Kirbo, a top Atlanta lawyer. With Carter three years ago, they drew up what he calls his "careful, detailed, meticulous" plan to win the presidency. They began by methodically researching every presidential election since World War II and reading almost every major book about U.S. Presidents and campaigning. Carter studied voting trends and population patterns in all 435 congressional districts. The plan called for entering all of the primaries and caucuses on the assumption that he could create enough momentum in the early contests to breeze through the later ones. It was an amazingly accurate forecast of what indeed happened.

Associates find Carter to be a demanding boss but one who readily delegates authority. Says Rafshoon: "He doesn't get involved in details or try to do your work for you. He expects the best possible work; if he doesn't get it, he gets rid of you." Rarely does Carter lose his temper. When something goes wrong, says Rafshoon, "he becomes cold and methodical."

Carter always has campaigned as something of a loner. Other candidates usually have large entourages of hirelings and hangers-on. Not Carter. To an astonishing degree, he is conducting a one-man campaign. On a recent trip, his official party consisted of four low-level aides (and ten reporters).

As a campaigner, he comes across as intelligent, quick and deeply informed, with a good grasp of most issues, though he is weakest on foreign policy. "I've got a lot to learn, and I know it," he repeats to groups of supporters, "but I think I am able to learn from good friends like you." His interests range far beyond politics. He is well read; his favorite authors include James Agee, William Faulkner and Dylan Thomas, though most recently Carter has concentrated on politics, philosophy, history, foreign affairs, taxation policy and the like. His tastes in music range from Dmitri Shostakovich to Dylan. While politicking, his energy and concentration are legendary. Campaigning recently in Mississippi, he shook the hand of a department-store mannequin. He recovered gracefully by quipping to an aide: "Better give her a brochure too."

Carter's single-mindedness and occasional self-righteousness raise questions about what he might be like as President. If he failed to get his own way, how would he react? Could he handle the give-and-take of diplomatic negotiations? Would he be able to compromise with Congress? Would he rather, in his own words, "go down in flames" than modify his own convictions? If he were as unbending as he professes to be, his disillusionment and frustration in the White House could be acute. Woodrow Wilson defied the Senate in his zealous crusade for the League of Nations; ultimately, he was destroyed by the relentless pursuit of his dream.

Reports TIME Correspondent Stanley Cloud, who has covered the Carter campaign since before the New Hampshire primary:

"As President, Carter would probably be far more liberal than many people now suspect. His appointments would often be surprising. He might retain, at least for a transitional period, a few key people in the current Administration. For example, he has a high regard for fellow Southerner David Mathews, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. But two present Cabinet members would be certain to go: Agriculture's Earl Butz and State's Henry Kissinger. He would disappoint many fervent backers who expect some patronage for their troubles. (Almost always as Governor, he reached outside the circle of his close supporters to fill important state posts.)

Though he is wary of the press, he would probably have more press conferences than any recent President. His dealings with Congress almost certainly would be stormy. For one thing, his plan to streamline the Federal Government, much as he reorganized Georgia's state government, could involve him in a bloody battle with Congress and the bureaucrats. But to persuade the Senators and Representatives to end their opposition to reorganization and his other pet projects, he would put pressure on them by making frequent—and perhaps very effective—appeals to the voters."

On defense and foreign policy, he has promised to reduce—on a phased basis—much of the American military presence overseas. He would pull American troops out of Korea in five to seven years. He would begin to reduce, though not eliminate, the U.S. military commitment in Europe. He would seek closer relations with Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as with traditional allies in Europe and Japan. Détente with the Soviets probably would continue, but with demands for them to make more concessions to the U.S. He thinks the U.S. defense budget could be cut by about $7 billion a year, chiefly through eliminating bureaucratic waste and some expensive weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber. But, because he believes that the U.S. fleet is becoming inferior to Russia's, he

EDDIE ADAMS



CARTER WALKING ACROSS THE FIELDS OF HIS FARM OUTSIDE PLAINS, GA., DURING A DAY OFF FROM CAMPAIGNING

A call for a moral revival of sorts that seems to have struck home in the American psyche.

would accelerate naval shipbuilding, including the nuclear, missile-firing Trident submarine.

On the U.S. economy, Carter would give highest priority to reducing unemployment, primarily by stressing job creation in private business rather than huge public employment programs. But, if all else failed, Government would be the employer of last resort (he stresses the last). His goals are a 4% rate for both unemployment and inflation and a balanced budget by 1979. To expand the economy, he advocates more stimulative fiscal policies and speedier growth in the money supply. At the same time, he would ask for stand-by authority to impose wage and price controls on key industries if inflation threatened to get out of hand. To provide more effective planning of the national economy, Carter wants budgeting handled on a three-year basis. As he did in Georgia, he would put almost every Government program on a temporary basis, and every year or two require bureaucrats to justify the need for them.

Carter has promised an overhaul of U.S. income taxes, but has not disclosed details. It probably would involve eliminating most deductions and tax shelters and lowering the tax rates. This would tend to increase taxes for people with many deductions or sheltered income but lower them for everyone else. He proposes a nationwide health plan that would place federal controls over doctors' fees and hospital charges and provide mandatory health insurance for every American, financed from general tax revenues and a payroll tax shared by workers and employers. He would have the Federal Government pay more of the costs of welfare but not take it over entirely. He supports registering all handguns, reducing penalties for the use of marijuana and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

It is a long, long time from May to November, and Carter could be tripped up by any one of many imponderables —a slip of the tongue, an unpopular stand on an issue or, of course, the voters' rejection of him. But these are the hazards of the trade that he long ago took up.

In 1962, when he was thinking of running for the Georgia senate, he consulted with a Baptist minister who was visiting Carter's mother. As Carter recalls the incident: "The pastor strongly advised me not to go into such a discredited profession. We had a rather heated argument, and he finally asked, 'If you want to be of service to other people, why don't you go into the ministry or into some honorable special service work?' " Replied Carter: "How would you like to be the pastor in a church with 80,000 members?" These days, Jimmy Carter is thinking in terms of heading a congregation with 215 million members.

Carter: Seeking Clear Goals

Thirty-six hours after his triumph in Pennsylvania, Jimmy Carter took off from Plains, Ga., for Texas to resume his pursuit of the presidency. Relaxing in shirtsleeves aboard his chartered commercial jet, Carter sipped coffee and discussed politics and policy with TIME Correspondent Dean E. Fischer:

Q. ***Assuming you are the Democratic nominee and President Ford the Republican, what do you think will be the principal issues in the campaign?***

A. Well, I think where Ford is most vulnerable is the absence of leadership capabilities that he has demonstrated since he's been in the White House—his inability to work with members of Congress; his timidity about dealing with domestic problems concerning Government reorganization, unemployment, inflation; the absence of policy concerning energy, agriculture, transportation, welfare, health, housing; his lack of comprehension, apparently, of international policy; his deferral to the Secretary of State as the single person who shapes basic foreign policy decisions.

I think there's a very good likelihood that we'll have roughly 7% inflation and 7% unemployment in November. If it's better than that, it can't be attributed to any action on the part of Ford.

Q. ***In your Chicago speech on March 15, you said that this nation's foreign policy has never been in greater disarray than it is at present. What did you mean?***

A. The foreign policy of a country derives its strength ultimately from the people of the country: their understanding of it, their evolution of it, their role in the consummation of it. Our foreign policy is without focus. It is not understood by the people, by the Congress or by foreign nations.

It is primarily comprised of Mr. Kissinger's own ideas, his own goals, most often derived and maintained in secrecy. I don't think the President plays any substantial role in the evolution of our foreign policy. Kissinger has tended to neglect our natural allies and friends in consultation on major policy decisions. Our neighbors in this hemisphere feel that they've been neglected; the Japanese feel that we've ignored their interests; the European nations feel that our commitment to them is suspect; plus there's no attitude of respect or natural purpose toward the developing nations.

Our participation with developing nations is peripheral and unplanned. We have treated them almost with contempt. A small amount of investment and genuine interest would pay rich dividends. I think the small nations are hungry for a more predictable and mutually advantageous relationship with our country.

Q. ***Beyond improving the process of consultation with developing countries, what else would you do? Would you increase foreign economic aid?***

A. I don't think gifts are the major need for the establishment of good relationships. We need trade agreements, and maybe a foreign aid expenditure equivalent to one-half of 1% of our gross national product, plus a reorientation of the ultimate beneficiaries of that foreign aid. One of my advisers has said that we should no longer tax the poor people of a rich country to give aid to the rich people in the poor countries. I think that's what we have been doing. We also have very little predictability with respect to foreign aid. We lack openly expressed and clearly understood goals. The American people are not part of the process. The Congress is not part of the process. We've lost our very precious bipartisan support that involved both Congress and the Executive.

Q. ***Where else do you disagree in substance and specifics with the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy?***

A. I think Kissinger still deals in his negotiations on the concept of power blocs. I think we need to deal more directly with individual nations, and to strengthen our bilateral friendships with those nations.

We need to strengthen our presence at the United Nations. Our chief spokesman at the United Nations should have his position strengthened in relation to the Secretary of State and the President.

Q. ***I assume you believe that the President and not the Secretary of State should be the principal formulator and chief spokesman of foreign affairs.***

A. That's right. And I would use a wide range of emissaries, including my own family members and members of the Cabinet other than the Secretary of State, to magnify the presence of the United States around the world. I would make sure we had a choice of diplomats who would enhance our presence in countries throughout the world. There is, for example, a tremendous reservoir of talented black leaders who I think would be uniquely effective in African countries. And the same with Latin Americans.

Q. ***Do you believe that the policy of détente has been in the best interest of the United States?***

A. I approve of the concept of détente. I don't think we'll have a permanent settlement in the Middle East without the full cooperation of the Soviet Union. Our interests are best served by strengthening cultural exchanges, promoting trade agreements, tourism, student exchange with the Soviet Union. But I would be a tough bargainer. Whenever the Soviet Union derived a benefit from negotia-

tions, I would want to derive an equivalent benefit.

Q. ***When you say that you would support the right of individuals to move into any neighborhood of their choice, but that you would not direct the Federal Government to try to make changes in the ethnic character of the neighborhoods, does that really address itself to the issue involved? The Supreme Court has ruled that it is permissible for the Federal Government to provide low-cost housing in the suburbs.***

A. The Supreme Court said that when there is a historical pattern of racial discrimination and when the needs of a low-income group cannot be met within the city, then the federal court does have a right to require that low-income housing be built in the suburbs. I agree with the Supreme Court decision. I have no objections to that at all.

Q. ***But would you take an affirmative approach that might go beyond what the Supreme Court said in order to provide low-cost housing in areas outside poor neighborhoods?***

A. Yes, if the goal is to provide low-cost housing for poor families. But if the goal is to change the ethnic character of a neighborhood, no.

Q. ***You have said that you don't plan to bring up Watergate during this campaign. Why not, given the fact that it was a major Republican scandal, and given the fact that Nixon appointed Ford and Ford pardoned Nixon?***

A. I'd like during my campaign to contribute to the healing of the nation's wounds and not exacerbate them. Also, I don't believe Ford ought to be held responsible for the Watergate scandal. I think it would be unfair.

Q. ***If you were President, would you consider pardoning Watergate defendants in prison or awaiting sentence?***

A. I don't think it would be appropriate for me to say anything on the subject of Watergate pardons. During my first week in office, I would issue a pardon to all Viet Nam defectors.

Q. ***You have conducted your campaign with a relatively small staff. As President, would you also have a small staff?***

A. Yes, I had a small staff when I was Governor, with complete accessibility of the staff to me. As President, I would want to meld the Office of Management and Budget more closely to the White House than it is now. That would enhance my plans to adopt zero-based budgeting and to reorganize the Executive Branch. I would want top civil servants to play a larger role. I'd try to have a wide range of sources to staff my Administration. I feel it would be very beneficial to have representatives of minority groups on the staff and in the Cabinet. They would bring a sensitivity to the Administration.

How Humphrey Made His Choice

With unexpected suddenness, after 20 years of reaching eagerly for the presidency, Hubert Humphrey made his wrenching personal decision: not this time. TIME *National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian was with Humphrey for several days before his announcement and talked with him in his office afterward. Ajemian's report:*

All year I've been alone with these decisions," said Hubert Humphrey as he flew from Minnesota back to Washington, where he would soon have to decide whether to give up his deepest ambition. "I have no political counselor whose judgment I totally trust. In the old days, I always had someone, someone like Jim Rowe [longtime adviser to Democratic Presidents]. Now I do things alone."

People close to Humphrey see it differently; they view him as a man who is too ready to take the advice of others. Humphrey leaned back in his plane seat. He could understand why people felt that way. "Everyone thinks he's got his hooks into me," he said. "I do listen to a lot of people, but I've become gunshy. I end up talking to my wife, Muriel."

Even before the last polls had closed on Carter's Pennsylvania triumph, Humphrey was once again listening to his friends. They called him by the dozens, urging him to stay in the race, and he in turn called others asking what he should do. Almost invariably, they told him he was the only person who now stood between Jimmy Carter and the nomination, and Humphrey agreed. Often they had vested interests of their own, but for the nation's good, they warned him, Carter needed to be challenged: he was too untested, too unknown. Again, Humphrey agreed. The arguments for getting in started to stir his blood. The old fever, the old wanting to be President was still very much there.

But some, like Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss, advised him to stay out. "I reminded him he had no money, no organization," says Strauss, "and that the people who were telling him to jump in today would be back tending to their own affairs tomorrow." The deadline for filing in the New Jersey primary was upon Humphrey—and he had to move. The pressure for a decision began to hurt.



HUBERT HUMPHREY ANNOUNCING THAT HE WILL STAY OUT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES
At this stage of his life, he did not intend to be ridiculous.

The week before, in Minnesota, during the Senate's Easter recess, Humphrey had been prepared for no such sudden crisis. He did not expect Carter to win so resoundingly in Pennsylvania. Flying around Minnesota to speak at his party's district nominating conventions, Humphrey raised the rafters as he tore into Gerald Ford. It was like being at a prize-fight; oldtimers said that Humphrey had never sounded better, and that pleased him. In his speeches, Humphrey's final line always brought his audience cheering to its feet. If his party wanted him as its nominee, he told them, he was now at


ROBERT SHORT


DALE BUMPERS


WALTER MONDALE


ROBERT STRAUSS


JOSEPH CRANGLE

Some thought he could win, but Hubert asked: "How can I run now, when I've said over and over again that I wouldn't?"

the fullness of his life and never more prepared to be President. But, he also reminded them, he would enter no primaries.

A few days before the Carter victory, Humphrey sat in his Minneapolis office, away from the crowds, and talked about his political plans. He said that he had decided finally to become more active: he would publicly authorize a committee, headed by his Minnesota friend Robert Short, to line up uncommitted delegates. It would be a low-key effort, in keeping with his pledges to the other candidates to stay out of the primaries. Like most other politicians, he believed Scoop Jackson was certain to win most of Pennsylvania's delegates even if he might lose the popular vote to Carter. "If Jackson does that," said Humphrey, sounding reassured, "I'm sure he'll stick to the end."

But the Jackson candidacy collapsed as Carter took everything. The day after Pennsylvania, Humphrey's ordeal was plain: He would have to get in—or out. In Washington, he met with his closest advisers: Senator Walter Mondale and his top assistant, Richard Moe; Tom Kelm, assistant to Minnesota Governor Wendell Anderson; Max Kampelman, a Washington attorney; Bob Short; and others.

For two hours Humphrey sat in his shirtsleeves and listened to the nine-man gathering tell him that they judged the Democratic race to be over—unless he decided to enter New Jersey. The low-profile candidacy he had planned would do no good. Joe Crangle, the upstate New York Democratic leader, read off a delegate count projecting that Carter would have 1,023 delegates by the end of the primaries if Humphrey made no move. The group was confident that Humphrey could defeat Carter in New Jersey, and Humphrey told them he felt the same way.

But he interrupted them with a question that was at the heart of his own struggle with himself. Asked Humphrey: "How can I run now when I've said over and over again that I wouldn't?"

His words hung in the air. Several in the group felt he had met his pledges; they said the other candidates no longer had any chance. Humphrey did not openly disagree with them, but he felt unconvinced by their argument. As the group broke up, one of the participants read him a prepared statement that said that Humphrey would enter New Jersey. It included a line noting, accurately, that Carter had challenged him to come in. Humphrey, the statement said, was going to oblige him. Humphrey liked that touch, but told them he wanted to sleep on the decision. Most of the group guessed that he had been persuaded to run.

Humphrey then returned a call from George McGovern, who was urging him to get in the race, and left the office with his wife. The two went home to their Washington apartment, along with their son-in-law, Bruce Solomonson. For three hours the Humphreys discussed the whole situation: their life together, their ages, their finances, their obligations. The phone kept ringing. Sometimes Humphrey would suddenly jump up as he remembered someone he wanted to call.

As they talked, it gradually became clear to Humphrey that his wife, who in the past had been so reluctant, who had so much wanted him to stay out this year, was now ready for him to run. "I was really surprised," he said. "It was a dramatic change for Muriel." He reminded her how brutal the last-minute campaign would be, that by his reckoning the most he could bring to the convention would be 600 delegates, and that Carter would have many more than that. "Besides," he said to her, "Carter would be attacking us every day for being a spoiler, for dividing the party—and so would the press." At 1 o'clock they went to bed, and at 6:30 the next morning, deadline day, Humphrey was up and back on the phone. He couldn't let go. It was as if he thought that, by telephoning, he might reach some authority who would convince him to make the fight.

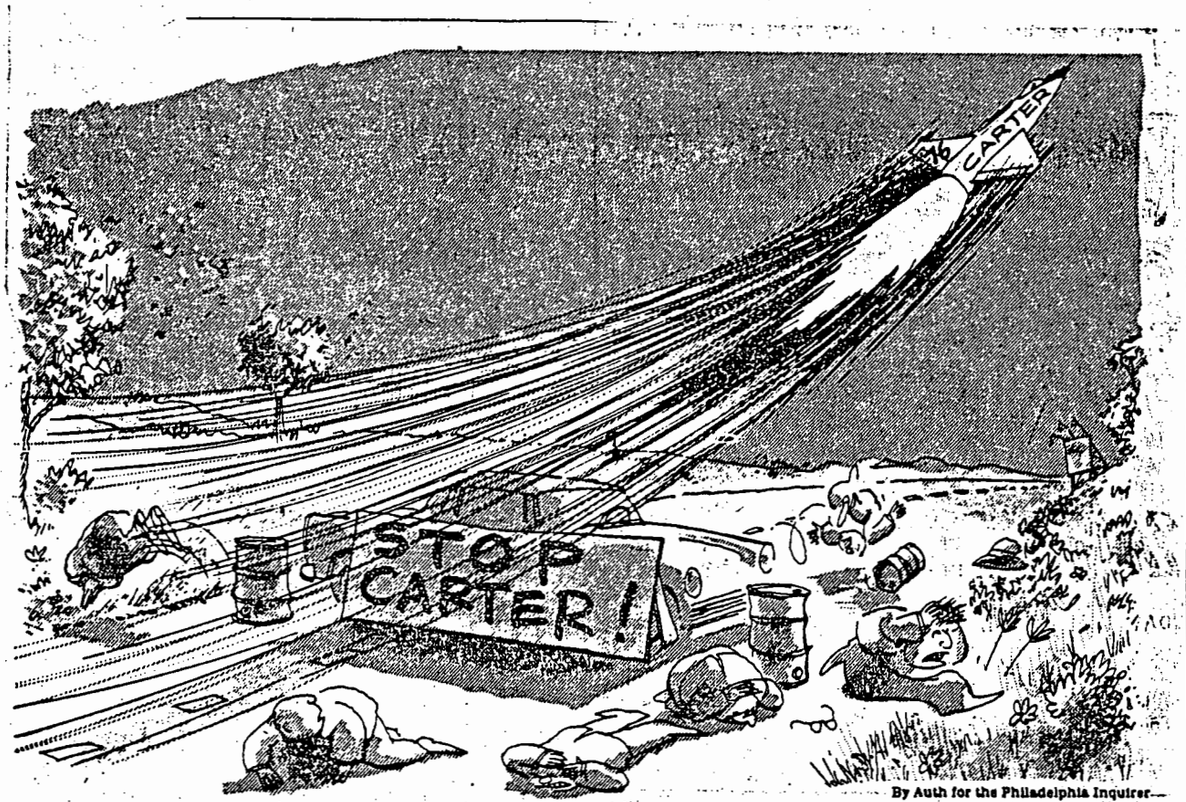
Some of those he talked to told him to stay out of it. Most wanted him to go in, and many of those were clearly anti-Carter. Southerners like Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers, Kentucky Senator Wendell Ford and former Georgia Governor Carl Sanders (who had lost to Carter) urged that Humphrey stay in the race, obviously wishing to deny Carter the nomination. Still, Humphrey could not decide. His wife asked him to remain home a little longer for a last exchange, and they sat together for half an hour. Says Muriel: "I could see that he was essentially negative about running, and I was a little more positive." He told her he would call from the office.

In less than an hour he phoned her and said he would not run. It was a decision, he stressed, that he had had to reach for himself. Even though it might mean the end of all his hopes, he would have his self-respect. And he would spare them both the familiar abuse—that he was Lyndon Johnson's puppet, that he was not tough enough, that people were tired of him—that would surely be heaped on him the minute he announced. As he would say later: "One thing I don't need at this stage of my life is to be ridiculous." Instead, Humphrey told Muriel he would be the Democratic Party healer and bring his longtime supporters to the nominee. He was the one man, he felt, who might be able to deliver that harmony.

In the apartment, Muriel Humphrey hung up the phone and started making the beds. She heard herself singing aloud. "I never do that," she recalled, surprised at herself. But then she knew what it was. She realized how pleased she was with her Hubert.

QQ

RR



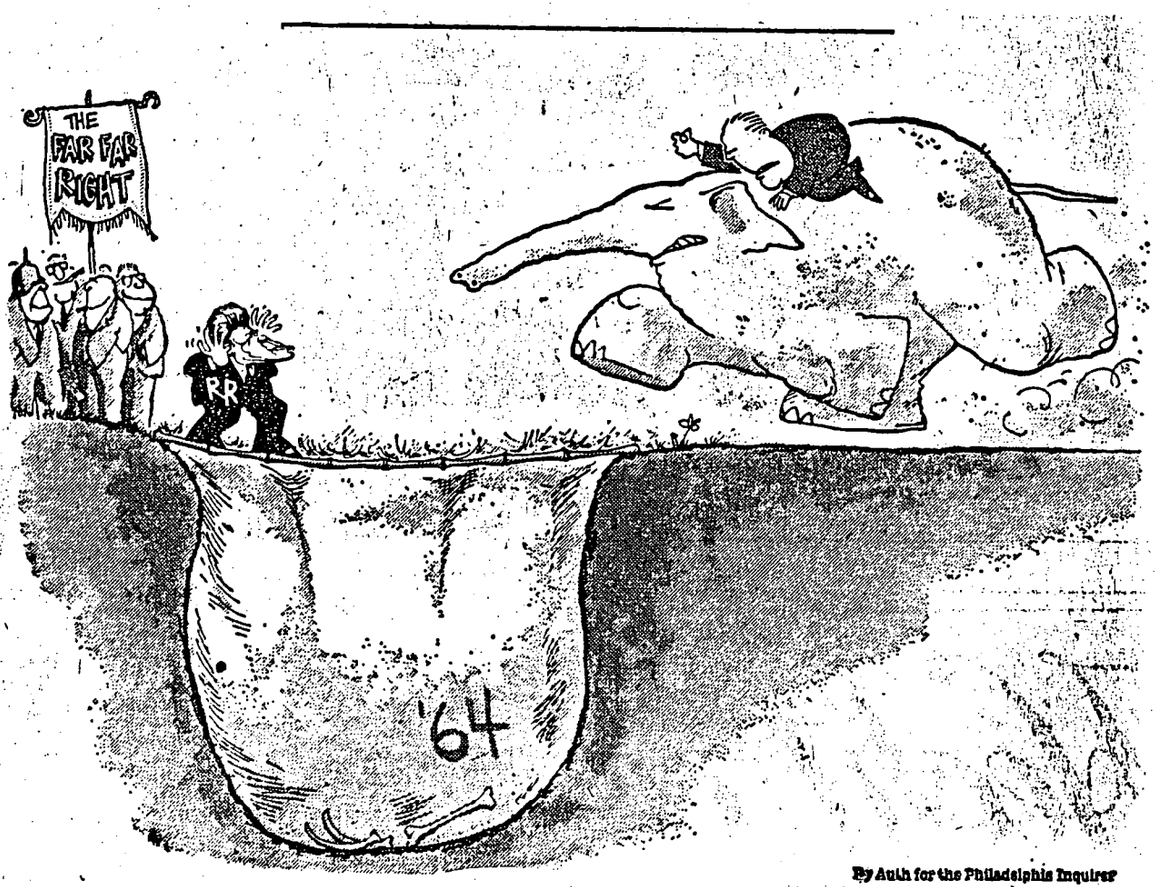
By Auth for the Philadelphia Inquirer—



Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/7



By Auth for the Philadelphia Inquirer

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News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

An intricate and comprehensive American approach to economic relations between rich and poor countries that put heavy stress on free enterprise and private initiative was outlined by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in an address yesterday to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in Nairobi. The most dramatic proposal was for an International Research Bank, an institution that, Mr. Kissinger said, would promote rational, systematic and equitable development of resources in developing nations." [Page A1, Column 8.]

After weeks of rumors, political tension between France and West Germany and a cooling of the once-warm friendship between their leaders have broken into the open. Wednesday night, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, replying to a question in the National Assembly, expressed astonishment at "thoughtless remarks" of the West German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, who, in a television interview, had criticized the long-term internal politics of France. [A1:7.]

National

The White House indicated that President Ford would not decide until next week whether to sign or veto the pending campaign financing legislation, virtually assuring that matching Federal funds would not be available for effective use in any major primaries before the last of them, the June 8 primaries in New Jersey, California and Ohio. Congress completed its work on the election commission bill last Tuesday, but the White House press secretary said that the bill did not arrive at the White House until late Wednesday, and that he did not know how long a legal, fiscal and political review might take. This means that there will be no Federal matching funds for the May 18 primary in Michigan, a contest that could be critical for Representative Morris K. Udall and Ronald Reagan. [A1:1.]

The Labor Department said that a rise in farm and food prices after several months of decline pushed the Wholesale Price Index up by eight-tenths of 1 percent in April, but the index of industrial commodities continued to show only moderate inflation. The rise in the Wholesale Price Index was the largest for any month since last October. [A1:5.]

Fluorocarbons used in spray cans and air conditioning systems may be depleting the protective ozone layer at a far slower rate then had been supposed, according to new observations on how ozone is broken down and replenished in the stratosphere. As a result, the National Academy of Sciences, whose assessment of the hazard was to have been issued last month, has shelved its report, while laboratories are rushing to complete a variety of related experiments. The academy is expected to have a revised report in two months. [A:1:2-4.]

Union supporters of Jimmy Carter, encouraged by the personal endorsement given him in Michigan by regional officials of the United Automobile Workers and two of its international vice presidents, said they would seek to push the merged labor federation into some expression of sympathy for the Carter candidacy at the meeting of its executive council in Washington. [A1:2-3.]

Secretary of the Army Martin R. Hoffmann has been asked by 10 Army officers on the legal staff of the United States Military Academy at West Point to make an investigation of the manner in which West Point is dealing with a cheating scandal. The 10 officers are preparing defense arguments for 49 cadets charged with cheating on an engineering examination last March. [A1:1.]

Metropolitan

Sanitation orkers were said to be ignoring the garbage piling up in the four-day-old strike of the apartment building-service employees becausee they were respecting picket lines. Complaints of tenants and owners increased and the Realty Advisory Board, representing the owners, demanded action by Mayor Beame and the Department of Sanitation. [A1:7.]

Mayor Beame's three-year austerity plan was weakened when the Ford Administration rejected his request to divert tens of millions of dollars in anticipated Federal housing subsidies from privately owned housing to public housing. The Mayor's proposal was seen as a victory by thosee who believed it would be unfair to private housing. Mr. Beame said he would appeal. [A1:4.]

The League of Women voters, which has accepted men as members in the last two years, considered dropping "women" from its name but finally voted overwhelmingly to keep the old name, deciding that it was more venerable than sexist. The league was established 56 years ago. [A1:2-4.]

The Other News

International

In Barcelona, a vigil for amnesty. Page A3
House of Commons bypassed by new wage pact. Page A3
Soviet-U.S. détente is found to be eroding. Page A3

Government and Politics

Conferees' budget is $17 billion over Ford's. Page A15
House ethics panel opens inquiry on Sikes. Page A16
Ford urged to ask Kissinger to quit. Page B4
Jackson renews campaign for Connecticut votes. Page B5
State's delegates seen following Rockefeller. Page B5
U.S. Catholic bishops urge political participation. Page B5
New York State tax refunds proposed. Page B20
New Yorkers in Congress score low on vote. Page D19

General

Expert calls Hughes "will" a forgery. Page A10
Three are held in Miami on bomb charges. Page A17
Transit Authority still pays living cost raise. Page B2
Friends Seminary principal charges bias. Page B2
Protesters detain 7 employees at Gouverneur. Page B2
Metropolitan Briefs. Page B3
Teachers in Farmingdale go on strike. Page B3
American International to buy skyscraper. Page B3
Two grain concerns are fined in thefts. Page B5

Amusements and the Arts

The rare world of art bookshops. Page C1
At Greek clubs, the kefi is high. Page C1
Papp envisions a legion of Hamlets. Page C2
For Off Off Broadway, an on on season. Page C3
Marilyn Sokol's mother said she had stardust. Page C5
Woody Allen wants next film ignored—for now. Page C6
Louis Falco's "Caravan" is a dance of life. Page C7
Serious music heads Carnegie Hall schedule. Page C9
Rock clubs boom in city and suburbs. Page C11

TODAY AND EVERY FRIDAY: WEEKEND, A NEW ENTERTAINMENT SECTION

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Rain endi
Partly sunny, seasonabl
Temperature range: t
Thursday 58-79. Detail

CXXV .... No. 43,203 — NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1976 — 20

Union Backers of Carter Ask A.F.L.-C.I.O. Support

By A. H. RASKIN

Union supporters of Jimmy Carter, encouraged by a major breakthrough yesterday in the Michigan base of the independent United Automobile Workers, say they will seek to push the A.F.L. - C.I.O. into some expression of sympathy for the Carter candidacy at the May 19 meeting of its executive council in Washington.

The pressure to abandon the official policy of A.F.L.-C.I.O. neutrality in preconvention maneuvering for the Democratic Presidential nomination is not expected to prevail. But it reflects a growing disposition among leaders of some large unions to climb aboard the Georgian's bandwagon and thus dissipate the impression left by Mr. Carter's primary sweep in heavily unionized Pennsylvania last week that union officialdom is out of step with its rank and file.

The most dramatic reflection of the pro-Carter trend thus far came with an announcement in Detroit yesterday that all six Michigan regional directors of the U.A.W. and two international vice presidents, Odessa Komer and Marc Stepp, had endorsed the former Georgia Governor.

There was no formal endorsement by the U.A.W. or by its political action arm, but Leonard Woodcock, president of the 1.4 million-member auto union, said he was keeping his personal options open on whether to make an endorsement before the Michigan primary May 18.

In a sense, formal union endorsement was made almost academic because the oragnization did authorize release to the six pro-Carter regional directors of funds to be used in getting out the vote and in acquainting the U.A.W. membership with the merits of their favored candidate.

The U.A.W. swing was of extra significance because just last Monday at a secret meeting in Washington a liberal coalition made up of the auto union and eight other unions—six in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and two independent—voted not to make any overall endorsement in the Democratic race but to continue concentrating on the election of delegates to the con-

Continued on Page B 4, Col. 5

Union Backers of Carter to Ask A.F.L.-C.I.O. Chiefs' Support

Continued From Page 1A, Col. 3

vention at Madison Square Garden in July.

The coalition was set up late last year as a counterweight to the domination long exrcised over labor's political action by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organibations.

The stand taken by the coalition last week left the group in much the same position now occupied by Mr. Meany and his executive council.

Their position is that any Democratic candidate, except Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, is acceptable to labor but that no formal endorsemnt will be given until after both major parties have held their nominating convention.

The argument now being made to have the A.F.L.-C.I.O. depart from this hands-off posture is that some of its old-line unions, especially in Pennsylvania ,translated the official policy into a "stop Carter" movement, a tack repudiated by large sections of the members. With the Georgian steadily gaining ground, his supporters see a danger that the federation will wind up with no real leverage at the convention.

That would duplicate its ineffectuality at the 1972 Democratic convention, when Senator George McGovern won the nomination over the undisguised hostility of the Meany forces. The federation expressed its resentment by staying neutral through the campaign, though the unions now enrolled in the liberal coalition backed Mr. McGovern as infinitely preferable to Richard M. Nixon. Most of the unions in the building and maritime trades supported Mr. Nixon in his successful bid for re-election to the Presidency.

This year there is almost no top-level support for either of the Republican contenders, President Ford and Ronald Reagan. However, many union chiefs remain skeptical about Mr. Carter's capacity to be President.

One of the most outspoken is John H. Lyons, president of the Ironworkers Union, who is an A.F.L.-C.I.O. vice president. He says: "I'm no admirer of Ford's abilities and Reagan absolutely scares me to death, but I've seen nothing so far that gives me any reason to have confidence in Carter. I think the news media have given him to us as a candidate, just as they gave us McGovern. The only brilliant analysis I've seen him make was on where to put his money. He went for broke in the early primaries, but in the election you can't duck the issues. If you do you're dead."

Another nonadmirer of the Democratic front-runner is George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union and a member of the Democratic National Committee.

Carter's Latest Problem

By James Reston

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And meanwhile he has to make peace with George Meany of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the Democratic National Committee, the state party leaders, the writers of the party like Ken Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger, et al.

If somebody can invent the 48-hour day, maybe he can do it, but it'll be no daisy. The Democrats are a contentious bunch, who would rather fight than unite, and their main consolation at the moment is that Governor Reagan is fighting President Ford and dividing the Republicans more effectively than anybody else.

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

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

The Crossover Vote

IN THE NATION

By Tom Wicker

Hank Grover is a voluble Texas conservative who ran for Governor of that state in 1972 and who is an ardent supporter of Ronald Reagan for President. As soon as the George Wallace campaign began to collapse after the Florida primary, Mr. Grover thought he sensed opportunity in Texas for Mr. Reagan.

In January, the Supreme Court had given Mr. Grover his chance to do something about it by ruling that an individual could spend as much of his own money as he wanted in support of a candidate, as long as he did not coordinate his spending with that candidate's official campaign organization.

So last week, just before the Texas primary, and with Mr. Reagan strapped for cash because of the suspension of campaign subsidies from the inoperative Federal Elections Commission, Mr. Grover laid down $24,000 of his own money for newspaper ads. They were placed in 52 dailies in medium-sized Texas communities—El Paso and Waco were the largest—mostly east of Interstate 35, which roughly bisects Texas.

Mr. Grover was taking dead aim at the "crossover vote"—Wallace and other conservative Democratic voters who were potentially favorable to Mr. Reagan but who either did not know they could vote in the Republican primary, or did not know the mechanics of doing so, or feared that if hey did they would be locked into voting Republican next November, no matter who the nominees might be.

The ads featured a strong-chinned picture of Mr. Reagan, a statement of his standard conservative position, and two strong pitches to the potential crossovers—that they were free to vote Republican in May and for anyone they chose in November; but that if they were for Mr. Reagan, they might not have a chance to vote for him in November unless they did so first in the May primary.

The ads—reaching a total circulation of more than 700,000—also directed people to "call your local newspaper" for instructions on where to go to vote for Mr. Reagan. When the ad appeared in the Waco morning Tribune, callers swamped that newspaper's switchboard; so in the afternoon Herald, the line was dropped from the ad and a front-page story was published to give the voting directions.

In El Paso, whether or not due to the Grover ad, the Republican vote rose to twice what it had ever been before; statewide, more than 400,000 people voted in the Republican primary, although not even the confident Mr. Grover had predicted more than 300,000 and only about 124,000 had voted for him in a contested primary in 1972.

"I knew the vote was out there," he said gleefully this week. "The people only needed to know how to cross over." Mr. Reagan, of course, swept all 96 Republican delegates in Texas and three days later, with the aid of more crossovers, defeated Gerald Ford in Indiana, Georgia and Alabama.

Mr. Reagan's comeback ought to ease his fund-raising problems, even if Federal subsidies continue to be withheld; and the examples of Hank Grover and the American Conservative Union—which has spent $110,000 for ads backing Mr. Reagan in seven states, including $33,000 in Texas and $15,000 in Indiana—may well lure other conservative organizations and individuals into the political financing field. That isn't exactly what campaign financing reform was all about, but it seems fair enough, owing to the delayed subsidies and the big financial advantage Mr. Ford is enjoying as an incumbent President.

More importantly, if the Wallace vote is going heavily to Mr. Reagan where crossovers are permitted, that fact is bound to suggest to many Republicans that Mr. Reagan would be a stronger candidate than Mr. Ford in the South. Since Jimmy Carter of Georgia now has such a long lead for the Democratic nomination, and obviously would also be a strong contender on the crucial Southern battleground, Mr. Reagan may begin to look better and better as a potential Republican nominee.

The fact is that as American politics has developed in the last decade, probably no Republican can hope to win the Presidency unless he can carry much of what was once the solidly Democratic South. And if Mr. Reagan can also win in Mr. Ford's home state, Michigan—where the Wallace crossover could be vital again—he might begin to look stronger than had been believed even in the industrial states of the North, with their blue-collar strongholds. In such states, what used to be the Wallace vote might make the difference next fall.

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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Brown on Carter: 'Reorganization' Phony Fiscal Issue

By James B. Rowland
Washington Star Staff Writer

Contending that the Democratic presidential primaries are far from finished, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is accusing frontrunner Jimmy Carter of pushing phony fiscal issues when he predicts sizable savings through governmental reorganization and zero budgeting.

"My father reorganized government when he was governor of California and then Reagan reorganized it, and there wasn't a dime's worth of difference," Brown argued last night.

"It's not how the (reorganizaton) boxes are arranged but rather it's the people who are in them that count," Brown said. "Reorganization will not produce significant savings that will produce accelerated revenues."

BROWN SPENT 15 hours a day for three weeks trying to conduct zero budgeting for California's $12 billion appropriation and learned first hand that it cannot be done, he said last night.

"The idea there is a magical secret plan to find waste in governent is not going to generate all that much money," he added.

Carter, winner in 11 of 14 Democratic primaries, boasts that he saved Georgia millions of dollars when he was governor by reorganization and zero budgeting — requiring each state agency to annually redraft spending proposals by starting from zero.

"It's the focus of government that means something, not how many people are working for you — It's the direction you're going that counts," Brown said.

This first direct assault on the frontrunner in Maryland's May 18 Democratic primary came as Brown spoke to more than 200 persons shortly before midnight in the backyard of the Silver Spring home of Howard Thomas, an attorney and onetime chairman of the Montgomery County Democratic committee.

THIS TALK ended a five-hour campaign swing that launched the governor's second four-day visit to the state where he faces his first presidential ballot test.

Brown got enthusiastic receptions from more than 2,200 students at the University of Maryland in College Park and another 1,000 students at the Prince Georges Community College in Largo.

Ronee Blakely, folk singing star of the film "Nashville," was engaged by campaign aides to help draw a crowd at College Park, but the audience paid her little heed. Brown's entrance, however, drew a lengthy standing ovation.

"I sense the depth of support is not there for Carter — Ford hit his Alamo in Texas last week and the same thing can happen to Carter here in Maryland," Brown told reporters last night upon landing at Baltimore-Washington International Airport.

"NO ONE should be smug or self satisfied this early in the campaign," Brown added, referring to Carter. "We still have a long way to go."

Replying to a question, Brown said he wuld first have to consult his Maryland advisers before deciding whether to actively solicit the support of persons running for national convention delegate seats. Brown's entered the Maryland primary after the deadline for filing delegate slates.

He also paid a brief visit to the Ebony Inn, a nightclub in predominantly black Fairmount Heights partially owned by State Sen. Tommie Broadwater.

Fielding questions at the two colleges, Brown got his loudest cheers after he said he signed bills to mandate prison terms for those convicted of committing crimes while using a gun, to make possession of one ounce or less of marijuana a misdemeanor punishable by a maximum $100 fine rather than a 10-year prison term and to mandate prison terms for those convicted of pushing heroin.

One woman complained to Brown that the toilets at the San Francisco Airport had not worked when she was there recently.

"I'm going back to San Francisco to find out what's wrong, and if I can't I won't come back here next week and tell you my plans for the rest of the country," Brown promised, to the cheers of the Largo crowd.

Public Response 'Fantastic' To Concert for Gov. Brown

A benefit concert at the Capital Centre on May 14 for Democratic presidential candidate Edmund G. Brown Jr. could net the California governor as much as $100,000 for his campaign four days before the Maryland primary, if early ticket sales are any indication.

"It's fantastic. The concert was put together last night and one third of the tickets are sold out already" for the show featuring The Eagles, Linda Ronstadt and Jackson Brown, according to Sam Lhommedieu of Cellar Door Productions.

Lhommedieu said Cellar Door Productions agreed to put on the concert for the Brown for President Committee after managers for the three acts called him from California saying the groups wanted to do the benefit.

"I've never seen a concert put together this fast," Lhommedieu said, adding that a third of the tickets were sold before the concert was advertised.

James J. Kilpatrick

Down from 30,000 feet comes Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter to his credit, has begun to respond to demands that he come out of the clouds and get down to earth. In his first position paper, on economic policy, he descends from about thirty thousand feet to maybe five or ten. He has a way yet to go.

The paper is a reasonably good effort. It contains some baloney, but not a vast deal of baloney. As a moderately liberal Democrat, Carter reflects his party's traditional faith in the wonder-working powers of the federal government. Carter adopts and embraces Gerald Ford's program of incentives within the private sector, but he proposes various stimulative programs within the public sector also. There is nothing in this paper that is shrill, or doctrinaire — or very original, either.

In Carter's view, the major economic problem is not the risk of renewed inflation; it is "unacceptably high unemployment." He views the present situation in the worst possible light, which is fair enough in a political campaign. With a flourish of italic trumpets, he states his own goal:

"We must give *highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment* — a job for everyone who wishes one — as rapidly as possible, *while reducing inflation.*"

The comment may reasonably be ventured that this is not Jimmy Carter's goal alone. It is everyone's goal. It is the trick of the week. Surely it is the goal of the Ford administration. The problem is how to put more people to work without incurring the monstrous deficits that would send the cost of living up again.

Carter's idea is to pursue "an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy in the near future, with some budget deficits if necessary." (Comment: A little baloney here. Carter knows deficits will be necessary under his program; there is no "if" about it.) Carter says that with a progressively managed economy, "we can attain a balanced budget within the context of full employment by 1979."

The foregoing sentence contains the gimmickry that Carter elsewhere shuns. What he is talking about is the mythical "full employment budget." This is a lengendary creature, like the unicorn; it exists solely in the imagination of economists who observe that we could balance the budget if we had the revenues that we would have if everyone had a job. This is the dream of the two hungry hoboes: If they had some bread, they could make a ham sandwich, if they had some ham.

Carter would achieve his rapid reduction in unemployment, without reviving double-digit inflation, by first expanding the money supply, then creating incentives for private industry to hire the unemployed, and then enlarging the role of government. He says: "The federal government has an obligation to provide funds for useful and productive public employment of those whom private business cannot or will not hire."

Pause: The federal government can provide such funds in three ways only — by taxing people, by borrowing money outright, or by printing money. How would he obtain these funds? Over what period of years would he provide these "meaningful public jobs"? What additional bureaucracy does he envision?

The entire statement can be obtained from Carter headquarters, P.O. Box 1976, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Those who are interested in examining Carter's ideas will want to obtain a copy and make up their own minds. As the probable presidential nominee of his party, he has an obligation to speak deliberately and explicitly; and the rest of us have an obligation to listen to what he has to say

G

Michael Novak

'America's Illusion': Great White Whale

Mr. Novak is The Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" will appear in this space every Tuesday and Thursday and in the Comment section on Sunday.

A new ontological entity has been created in journalism; the "trend." The trend is like a white whale, and both editors and advertisers hire watchers to sit high in the fo'castle to scan the shimmering seas. "Th'ar she blows!" — still the most exciting cry in the American experience. A thin white jet of water, a long sleek body, beckoning toward adventure in the unknown deeps.

Reporting on "trends" was one of the reforms of journalism just a few years ago. An attempt to gain greater "depth." An attempt to help prepare readers and viewers for the later emergence of events. To supply a context.

The problem is that to spot a "trend" is to reify it. To declare its existence is to strengthen it. To add to its mythic power, and to guarantee its growth in the public mind.

WHEN THE WHALING boats get a little closer, of course, there may be nothing substantial enough to stick with a harpoon. The Great White Beast disappears into the murky deep. Did it exist at all?

There is, they say, a conservative tide today. What ever happened to the Silent Majority? Is the new tide the Son of the Silent Majority?

Then there was the one about the "greening" of the nation. A "counter" culture.

Short hair is back? And also vests?

The three major political candidates in 1976 are Ford, Reagan and Carter. Say it isn't so.

The more "informed" our nation becomes, and the more we live by "news" — then the more locked we seem to be in myths, in symbols, and in shadowy entities. Those "trends."

Being "with it" turns out to be an expensive exercise. Writing "trends" is more difficult than riding waves. Staying "well informed" is like being insulated from those parts of the population outside the news, for whom life just goes on as always. For whom "the more it changes, the more it stays the same."

ADDICTION TO "news" yields a kind of steady high. Excitement, hype, fantasy, exhilaration, fear — with the certain knowledge, underneath, that not much really changes. Delicious roller coaster. Horror show. Fun house. Carnival of our adulthood: the evening news. Action news. Entertainment news. Ringling Brothers in the living room.

Who can forget the long season of the Watergate? The Greatest Show on Earth. The center ring, the side shows, the awesome revelations. It was the happiest time in many lives.

We keep forgetting how recent is our present way of life. In 1960, John F. Kennedy ran the first television campaign. The age of "media consultants" is scarcely a decade old. The panic in newspapers about the rise of television journalism hardly goes back a decade earlier.

So we are only learning now how to take it with a grain of salt. Distinguished addicts of the news have moved to Colorado, Vermont and Arizona. They report back, from time to time, that it is actually possible to live for weeks without the daily papers. Their television sets, they say, are snowy and they get only a single station. Sometimes, when the weather's good, they pick up WGBH. Some say they have never felt healthier, or more alive.

PACING ONE'S SOUL to accept the news with realism is a skill devoutly needed in our time. And yet the news *is* powerful. Makes or breaks careers. Makes or breaks a president. "How much momentum Jimmy Carter gets from Pennsylvania depends on Walter Cronkite," a Texas politician says.

Our Captain Ahab! Will the Great White Whale kill him, as well?

Poring over the daily entrails, our seers predict and by their advisories help to shape our time. Sad Caesar, who depended, not on "trends," but on the innards of mere birds.

Politics Today

Long Term Problems In Reagan's Strategy

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

There are a lot of ironies in Ronald Reagan's riding the defense issue into the dominant position in the Republican presidential race, beginning with the fact that it is the area of his least experience and expertise.

You'd think an eight-year governor of California, which has a bigger budget than all but a half-dozen or so of the world's largest nations, would present himself as an expert on the wide range of domestic policies that the nation confronts — California often first of all. The state, after all, doesn't have a foreign policy, with the notable exception of the city of Los Angeles under former Mayor Sam Yorty.

Every time Reagan has ventured into domestic matters in the early primaries, however, he apparently has fallen over himself. As a reputed authority on welfare and reduction of the size of government. he got into trouble over Social Security and his suggestion that possibly $90 billion in federal programs could be turned back to the state and local governments.

THIS APPEARED to be a championship-class blunder that would do to Reagan's hopes for the nomination what George McGovern's $1,000 demogrant proposal almost did for his. But whereas McGovern won his nomination by opposing an increasingly disastrous and unpopular war, Reagan is keeping his chances alive and well by espousing the sort of policies that got us into Vietnam.

He and his strategists have decided that this is the only handle he could get on Ford, and they appear to be right. The long-term problem is that Reagan's recent cluster of primary successes and the issues responsible for them, symbolized by his jingoism over the Panama Canal, have suddenly made the Democrats' chances for victory in the fall appear better, particularly if Jimmy Carter gets a first-ballot nomination.

After the Florida primary it appeared that Reagan's challenge was the best thing to happen to Ford and the GOP. He was making Ford appear more of a moderate than he really is and he was forcing Ford to organize and get some experience as a national candidate. Assuming peace and prosperity, his prospects looked good.

NOW THE CHALLENGE is revealing Ford's weaknesses. He has been responding defensively to Reagan's charges, and as one astute political observer in town points out, he who controls the dialogue of a campaign controls the campaign.

You'd think the Republican and Democratic candidates were campaigning in different countries. You haven't heard the Democrats arguing over the Panama Canal or getting alarmed that the country is becoming number two militarily to the Russians.

You can contend that you haven't heard them argue over much of anything. They've agreed on most things from the need for full employment and health insurance to the judgment that Jimmy Carter is a slick political operator (with one exception, the Democratic candidates seem to agree that maybe he's too slick by half).

What the Republicans don't need is a candidate who has been pushed in so tight with the most conservative half of the party that he can't get the Independents and Democrats he needs to win in the fall. Reagan's backers argue that his ability to attract Gov. George C. Wallace's former supporters may indicate that a true ideological conservative can win a majority, but in this they're kidding themselves.

Reagan, partly out of necessity, partly out of conviction, is betting that there are enough Americans, Republican and otherwise, who are still nationalistic and frustrated enough over the failure to win in Vietnam to offset the other kind. The other kind, disillusioned by adventuring abroad, thinks there are a lot of domestic concerns that need taking care of before we go challenging Latin America to wage guerrilla warfare against us over the Panama Canal.

IT'S NOT JUST that control over the Panama Canal is a non-issue like Quemoy and Matsu in 1960 and is a distraction from the debate of valid and crucial issues. It's partly because Reagan misstates the facts of the issue.

Reagan notwithstanding, the United States does not have sovereignty over the canal, as the country conceded at the time. It has use of the sovereignty, and the country began negotiating a new treaty partly out as a gesture that would ease relations considerably in Latin America.

Reagan's success raises a couple of lovely ironies. He has created the possibility of a brokered convention that could set the stage for the next hurrah of Nelson Rockefeller, who could be one of the chief brokers. Reagan's career as a presidential candidate has been built partially by exploiting conservative anger at Ford for appointing Rockefeller as vice president.

The other is Reagan's genius in publicly uniting Rockefeller and Sen. Barry M. Goldwater against him on the Panama Canal issue. Goldwater once made something of a presidential-candidate career himself using Rockefeller as a foil. Who is the now-unknown conservative GOP champion who will unite Ford and Reagan in the future?

The Weather
...Partly cloudy, high near 80 in mid 50s. Chance of rain 10 per cent today, 40 per cent tonight. ...Chance of rain, high in low ...terday — 3 p.m. AQI: 37 range: 79-47. Details on B2.

The Washington Post

FINA

Amusements C14 | Classified B 6 | Comics Weekly | Editorials A18 | Fed. Diary B 1 | Financial D13 | Inside: The W...

Year ... No. 153 | © 1976, The Washington Post Co. | THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1976 | Phone (202) 223-6000 | Classified 223-6200 Circulation 223-6100 | Richer beyond Metropoli... See Sec. A2

UAW Set to Work For Carter in Mich.

MICHIGAN, From A1

other UAW officials decided to keep the union officially neutral in the Michigan primary. The decision came during the height of discussion of Carter's "ethnic purity" remark.

Subsequently, however, five of the six UAW regional directors in Michigan endorsed Carter and the sixth—a backer of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota—now is reported ready to join the bandwagon.

Fraser, probably Udall's greatest sympathizer in the UAW leadership, told a reporter Tuesday, "I'm almost at the point where, no matter what my personal preference is, it would be a mistake to deny this man [Carter] the nomination. Our main goal is to get a new President."

Fraser said today's meeting would authorize "increased activity" on Carter's behalf. Other union sources said that informal plans are already under way to set up telephone banks to call UAW families on behalf of Carter.

Udall conceded yesterday that would be "a minus" for his efforts to delay what he called "the rush to judgment" that Carter has the nomination cinched.

But the Arizonan has brought virtually all 75 to 80 remaining members of his staff to Michigan, has launched a media campaign and says he is prepared to spend "$80,000 for sure, $160,000 if possible, or as much more as we can get our hands on" in the state.

Arthur Cullers of Battle Creek, head of the Wallace campaign, said in a telephone interview that he had 3,000 volunteers working around the state and "I still believe we can win."

But no other observers think Wallace can come close to the 51 per cent victory he achieved here in 1972, and many think his supporters will take advantage of the crossover provision to support Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary this year.

With the active backing of the UAW, Carter has become for the first time in a Northern industrial state the "establishment" candidate, and is therefore strongly favored.

Sander Levin, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in the last two elections, has led an effort to enlist dozens of county and district Democratic leaders on Carter's behalf. He predicted Carter would win at least 60 per cent of the 133 Michigan delegates.

The state AFL-CIO, less influential here than the UAW, was left without a candidate when Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington ended his active candidacy last Saturday.

William Marshall, the state labor federation president, has not switched to Carter, but his wife is a Carter contributor and his brother, Richard, the mayor of Taylor, a Detroit suburb, has endorsed the Georgian.

Nonetheless, David Olmstead, the 33-year-old Carter campaign director, professed to be worried about achieving a solid majority for his candidate. "It's like coming in to coach after Vince Lombardi," he said. "If you win, they say, 'So what?' And if you come up short, they say, 'How come you screwed up?' "

The UAW decision makes it less likely Olmstead will have to search for an alibi.

UAW Ready To Aid Carter

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United Auto Workers, linchpin of the so-called liberal labor alliance, is expected to announce today that it will work actively for Jimmy Carter in the May 18 Michigan primary.

The decision is a heavy blow to Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who is committing 10 days and virtually all his available funds to an effort to slow Carter's momentum in Michigan.

Calling himself the last progressive candidate in the Democratic race, Udall told a kickoff press conference in Detroit Tuesday morning, "I'm a fighter, not a quitter, and I want to give the people of Michigan a choice."

But later Tuesday, in a telephone conversation with UAW vice president Douglas Fraser, Udall was given strong indications that the union, a dominant force in Michigan Democratic politics, would gear up its machinery on behalf of the former Georgia governor.

"I'm kind of caught up in events outside my control," Udall said yesterday, "but I'll just say what Carter said in Pennsylvania—I don't care about the leaders, I just want the rank and file."

UAW president Leonard Woodcock campaigned for Carter in the Florida primary in March, but made it clear at the time that he was interested chiefly in stopping Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who won the Michigan primary in 1972 over the opposition of the UAW.

When Carter beat Wallace in Florida, some UAW officials wanted to back the Georgian in the Wisconsin primary on April 6. But the UAW finally split its endorsements between Udall and Carter, backing the Arizonan in six districts and Carter in two.

The reason, according to one key participant in the UAW's decision, was that UAW leaders "didn't want to take the responsibility for knifing the liberal candidate while he still had a chance."

As it turned out, Udall lost to Carter by 1 per cent of the Wisconsin vote, with the margin coming in the districts where the UAW had aided Carter.

Three days after Wisconsin, Woodcock, Fraser, who heads the Michigan political education operation, and

See MICHIGAN, A32, Col. 1

Joseph Kraft

A Glimpse Inside The Carter Camp

Jimmy Carter didn't say "third-rate burglary" about the resignation of his former speechwriter Robert Shrum. But otherwise his reactions—including the claim "I am not a liar" and the charge that Shrum was not on the payroll—sound exactly like Nixon denying Watergate.

In themselves those reactions indicate the importance of the Shrum resignation. It affords the first glimpse inside the Carter camp, and it raises serious questions about how well Carter can unite the Democrats and perform as President of the United States.

A word first needs to be said about Mr. Shrum, whom I have known for about five years. He has been involved in politics as a speechwriter for John Lindsay, George McGovern and Edmund Muskie for about a decade. He is thus no starry-eyed idealist.

He has always wanted to be a presidential speechwriter, and Carter's win in Pennsylvania brought him very close to that ambition. That he quit next morning gives the lie to any charges of opportunism.

The story circulated by the Carter people that he was unhappy because he was denied access to the candidate is even more unsaid by the 10-page account of his experience that Shrum drew up as a kind of background paper to his letter of resignation. If anything, he saw too much of Carter, not too little.

The most striking feature to emerge from the background paper is the tininess of the group around Carter. Only the political adviser (Hamilton Jordan), the press secretary (Jody Powell), the media man (Jerry Rafshoon), and the pollster (Pat Caddell) come, according to both Shrum and Caddell, close to Carter in decision-making. All of them are virtual unknowns, certainly not equipped to talk back to the boss. The Carter camp, in other words, consists of one field marshal and a bunch of nonentities.

The evidence suggests that Carter likes it that way. According to Shrum, Carter made nasty cracks about the opportunism of the Washington foreign policy and defense experts who have tried to help him. He kept his economic advisers at a distance. He disdained the help of Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta, and spoke of firing Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss.

I myself have heard Carter a take gratuitous slap at his New York political coordinator, William Vanden Heuvel. Other reporters have heard him put down his political managers in Wisconsin and Illinois. On the morning of his win in Pennsylvania he indicated the Democratic governors were "not important" enough to justify efforts to win their endorsement. His reaction to Hubert Humphrey's withdrawal was that he would have liked to take on the Minnesota senator in New Jersey.

At least two reasons for this closed-in staff system come to mind. Mr. Carter wants to be the undoubted star. He doesn't want to be surrounded by people who put hard questions, let alone raise doubts about his decisions.

Secondly, Carter likes to keep things to himself, the better to mask disparities between public positions and private intentions. He has said repeatedly in public that he intends to cut the defense budget, but Shrum claims—and I believe—that he cited former Under Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze in private to the effect that a major rise in defense spending might be necessary.

He publicly advocated, as part of a (to my mind, good) tax package, the closing of the loopholes that permit many of us to deduct mortgage payments from our taxes. Privately, according to Shrum, he denied taking any such position. Similarly with the use of highway funds for mass transit, which he favored in public and then backed away from in private.

None of these issues are simple, and any candidate has the right—even duty—to avoid premature commitments. But Carter comes on as Mr. Tell-the-Truth. So the Shrum account underlines for me, and for many others who have covered the campaign, uneasy feelings about Carter.

I do not believe, as Shrum seems to, that Carter has been captured by his conservative advisers. On the contrary, I fear that one adverse consequence of Shrum's protest is that, coming from the liberal wing of the party, it will make Carter mistake for reliability and wisdom the self-effacing patriotic number that is the specialty of conservative Democrats.

For I doubt that anybody now really knows where Carter stands. Apart from being religiously dedicated to the greater glorification of himself, Carter is a pig in a poke. Since there now seems no obstacle between him and the nomination, the leaders of the Democratic Party would be doing themselves and the country a favor if they moved to position Mr. Carter more firmly on the critical issues.

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Reviving the Election Commission

THERE ARE SEVERAL reasons why President Ford should immediately sign the campaign legislation that Congress has finally sent to his desk. The most important is that the Federal Election Commission ought to be put back in business as soon as possible. Since March 22, when the panel's authority to pay out matching funds to presidential candidates expired, requests for some $3.7 million have piled up. The suspension may not have inconvenienced Mr. Ford; while his campaign has filed for the most, about $1.4 million, he may have needed it less. Ronald Reagan, on the other hand, could really use the $603,000 now stuck in the pipeline at the FEC. On the Democratic side, Rep. Morris Udall has been strapped for cash for weeks. The matching payments would not solve his money woes, but would certainly help—just as faster action on the legislation might have relieved the fiscal strains that drove Sen. Henry M. Jackson out of the race.

Reviving the FEC is essential for other purposes, too. Besides serving as a disbursement office, the agency is supposed to be the main enforcer of the campaign laws. That vacuum, while less publicized recently, is also becoming more serious every week. Around the country, many congressional campaigns are gaining steam; more and more questions are arising about compliance with the complex federal law and about the impact of the amendments if approved. Mr. Ford's campaign managers, for instance, have complained about possibly irregular "independent" outlays by Reagan delegates in Texas. Mr. Reagan's team has grumbled because Mr. Ford, as the incumbent, does not have to shell out cash in advance for his travel costs. The proper forum for airing and examining such matters is the FEC. The longer that the commission stays in limbo, the more rancorous some campaigns may become—and the larger will be the possibilities for unchecked illegalities and unintentional mistakes.

While granting all of this, some opponents of the pending act still argue that the measure is too mischievous to be signed. The legislation does have some major flaws, particularly the requirement for congressional review of all of the commission's future rules. Yet those defects are offset, in our view, by some significant improvements. For instance, the act would substantially strengthen the FEC's civil enforcement powers. It would also curb the proliferation of business and labor political action committees, which have been multiplying at a rapid rate.

The real question, therefore, is not whether this measure is ideal, but whether a presidential veto could produce anything better. The answer, we think, is No. If Congress were to override a veto, Mr. Ford would have to live not only with the law, but also with the political burden of having tried to kill it for what can be easily interpreted as self-serving purposes. If a veto were upheld, Congress would not be likely to pass anything more to Mr. Ford's liking on a second try. Simple reconstitution of the FEC, however desirable it might have been some weeks ago, is not a realistic option at this point. A second measure might well contain more of the truly outrageous curbs on the FEC that were so narrowly avoided this time around. Or there might never be another bill at all—and hence no matching payments and no real enforcement of the law for the rest of this year's campaigns. Given that possibility, the case for signing this act, and restoring some overdue orderliness to the political proceedings, is very strong.

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Carter Kin Is Land Plan Stockholder

Constitution State News Service

PLAINS—A brother-in-law of presidential candidate Jimmy Carter was identified Thursday as one of the principal stockholders in a land promotion scheme which Carter has characterized as "designed to bilk the public."

State Sen. H. Norwood Pearce, the legal counsel for Plains, Ga., Peanut Farm, Inc., said a block of 500 shares in the corporation had been sold to W.G. Spann of Plains.

Carter has condemned as "detestable" the corporation's plan to sell 3 million square-inch plots of land near Carter's peanut warehouse for $5 each.

Pearce at first said Mrs. Gloria Spann, Carter's sister, and her husband purchased the shares jointly. But Mrs. Spann hotly denied owning any of the shares, and Pearce changed his mind.

"My husband bought some shares of stock, I don't know how many," Mrs. Spann said. "I don't own any of it."

Pearce said Mrs. Spann and her husband were together in the office when the stock purchase was made and added, "I assumed they were buying it together. But if Mrs. Spann says she doesn't own any of it, then she doesn't."

He said Spann sold to several original investors the half-acre of land that is being resold at $5 per square inch, and that Mrs. Spann was not present when that deal was consummated.

Sales of the square-inch plots are being made through mail-order advertisements.

Columbus marketing executive Doug Pritchett, one of the original investors, expressed surprise at Carter's denunciation of the venture.

"I had no idea he (Carter) would feel that way," Pritchett declared.

"In our opinion, it is ethical and legitimate. It is in no way tied to the campaign of Mr. Carter. It's a product we've found a lot of people want.

"We don't have any reservations about continuing."

In addition to Spann, those holding 500 shares of stock are Pritchett, J.D. Clements of Americus, and Clyde Fountain, Fred Freed, John Simpkins and Charles Tichtner, all of Columbus.

Pearce and Alex Williams, a Columbus municipal court judge, own 500 shares jointly.

SHOWING BY OFFICIALDOM

Union Leaders Lean to a Push for Carter

NEW YORK (NYT) — Union supporters of Jimmy Carter, encouraged by a major breakthrough Thursday in the Michigan heartland of the independent United Auto Workers, will seek to push the merged labor federation into some expression of sympathy for the Carter candidacy at the May 19 meeting of its executive council in Washington.

The pressure to abandon the official policy of AFL-CIO neutrality in preconvention maneuvering for the Democratic presidential nomination is not expected to prevail. But it reflects a growing disposition among leaders of some large unions to climb aboard the bandwagon of the former Georgia governor and thus dissipate the impression left by Carter's primary sweep in heavily unionized Pennsylvania last week that union officialdom is out of step with its rank and file.

The most dramatic reflection of the pro-Carter trend thus far came with an announcement in Detroit Thursday that all six Michigan regional directors of the United Auto Workers and two international vice presidents, Odessa Komer and Marc Stepp, had endorsed Carter.

There was no formal endorsement by the UAW or by its political action arm, but Leonard Woodcock, president of the 1.4 million-member auto union, said he was keeping his personal options open on whether to endorse before the Michigan primary May 18.

In a sense, formal union endorsement was made almost academic because the organization did authorize release to the six pro-Carter regional directors of funds to be used in getting out the vote and in acquainting the UAW membership with the merits of their favored candidate.

The UAW Swing was of extra significance because just last Monday at a secret meeting in Washington a liberal coalition made up of the auto union and eight other unions — six in the AFL-CIO and two independent — had voted not to make any overall endorsement in the Democratic race but to continue concentrating on the election of delegates to the Democratic convention in July without distinction.

This stance left the coalition, set up late last year as a counterweight to the domination long exercised over labor's political action by George Meany, in much the same position now occupied by the AFL-CIO president and his executive council.

Their position is that any Democratic candidate, except Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, is acceptable to labor but that no formal endorsement will be given until after both major parties have held their nominating conventions.

The argument now being made to have the AFL-CIO depart from this hands-off posture is that some of its old-line unions, especially in Pennsylvania, translated the official policy into a "stop Carter" movement — a tack repudiated by large sections of the members.

Carter Won 8 of 13 D.C. Delegates

WASHINGTON (AP) — Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter won eight of the city's 13 elected delegates in the District of Columbia primary, local Democratic officials said Thursday.

Rep. Morris Udall, D-Ariz., won four delegates and the uncommitted Unity '76 slate picked up one delegate.



A Fortune Interview

Jimmy Carter on the U.S. Economy and Business

Jimmy Carter recently paused in his pursuit of the Democratic nomination for President to discuss some questions of particular concern to business. A. James Reichley, a member of FORTUNE'S *board of editors, and associate editor Ann Hengstenberg conducted the interview with the former Georgia governor.*

Governor, what would you do to deal with inflation in the economy?

I would proceed aggressively, with the first emphasis on jobs. My economic advisers and I agree that until you get the unemployment rate down below 5 percent, there's no real danger of escalating inflationary pressures. I would also favor additional money supply, carefully controlled, but I think a little more than we've had in the past two years.

You think the money supply should now be increasing more rapidly?

I do. I think there was an overreaction in 1973 and 1974 to the rate of inflation, which was caused primarily, I think, by transient and external circumstances—competitive bidding for scarce commodities, increases in the price of oil, and so forth.

Another thing that I think should be done to control inflation is a tight, businesslike management of the government mechanism itself—a complete reorganization of the structure of government, the institution of zero-based budgeting which would screen out old and obsolescent programs, and a heavy emphasis toward a balancing of the budget.

Would you resort to wage and price controls under any circumstances?

I would like to have standby wage and price control authority that could be used for a limited period of time, but I doubt that I would ever use it. I know that Arthur Burns has advocated that this authority be permitted for a period of forty-five days. This would permit the President, or his surrogates, to try to reach an accommodation with management and labor to hold down peremptory increases in wages or prices. But I would not favor mandatory or permanent wage and price controls. My philosophic commitment is to a freer economy.

How far do you think you can get inflation down?

I don't see any reason why the permanent level of inflation can't be as low as 2 or 3 percent. If we get down below 4 percent unemployment, you would have very high inflationary pressures as you tried to reach lower and lower levels of unemployment. I think that most analyses have shown that if you reached a level of, say, 3 percent unemployment through government or private-sector efforts, the inflation rate would probably rise above 10 percent.

Do you mean in the short run or do you think that's a permanent characteristic of our economy now?

Well, I was talking about over the next four- or five-year period.

You think you can reach 4 percent without inflationary pressures?

I think you can go below 5 percent without inflationary pressures.

Somewhere between 5 and 4 percent you might run into some problems?

When you get down around 4 percent, perhaps you might. But you're talking about three or four years in the future.

You say you feel the supply of money should be increasing more rapidly. Do you think we should continue to have an independent Federal Reserve?

I do. I think that the present system has enough flexibility in it. I would not want to remove the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The Congress can modify the income-tax laws to give temporary stimulus to the economy through investment tax credits, tax rebates, and so forth. And the President, through his appointments to the Federal Reserve Board, his selection of the chairman every four years, his public statements and private consultations, has an adequate degree of ability to modify policies up and down in an effective way.

How would you go about the creation of more jobs?

In the first place, contrasted with some of my opponents, I would consider the private sector the primary supplier of jobs. I hope that everything the government does will be oriented to magnify the influence of taxpayers' money by providing more jobs in the private sector. For instance, we should allocate research and development funds to the industries that are inevitably going to arise in the future. One example would be solar energy, where a small investment in research and development money can result in a very rapid increase in

Drawing by Lynn Sturm Levy

numbers of jobs—literally tens of thousands of jobs.

Another thing that I would do would be to have a complete reorganization of the structure of the federal government, to make it, for a change, economical, efficient, purposeful in management. The bureaucracy is now an obstacle to any sort of economic progress. I think it would help a great deal to have a mechanism by which we can clearly define goals and purposes. The predictability of government policies and goals is very important to industry in such areas as automobile manufacturing or housing.

I would also promote the aggressive sale of American products overseas. We don't do this nearly so much as other countries do. I spent a lot of my time as governor traveling around in foreign countries trying to sell Georgia products. When I've been on these trade trips, I've seen small countries, like Bulgaria, or large countries, like France or Germany or Russia, with delegations comprised of government, industry, labor, and agriculture, saying, this is what we have to offer you, what can we do to make you our customer. Right on the spot, they can trade with those potential buyers for delivery schedules, the quality of merchandise, the price, interest rates, and repayment terms. As governor, I was never able to get any sort of answer from Washington on those same questions. It really incapacitates our ability to sell American products overseas.

Also, I would remove some of the tax incentives and other incentives that have encouraged American corporations to manufacture products in foreign countries, when their own employees in this country are out of work. Other nations don't do this, but we do.

Would you remove such incentives if that made it impossible for American companies to compete abroad—even if they wouldn't manufacture more of those products in this country anyhow?

I wouldn't want to paint my picture in black-and-white terms—to say I would go all-out to remove all incentives. The thing that concerns me is that if a company makes a million dollars in Germany, if they reinvest that million dollars in a new shoe-manufacturing plant in Italy, they don't have to pay taxes on it in this country. I think that's an unwarranted discouragement of that company to bring its capital profits back to this nation and to invest in a new shoe factory in New Hampshire, where you have a very high unemployment rate within that same company's employees. I have not analyzed the consequences of my beliefs adequately, in economic terms—I will before the general election—but that's the kind of thing that does concern me.

Also, there are some options in the identification of a country within which a profit is made that I think are unwarranted—so that if a company actually makes a profit in one country overseas, they can claim to have made it in a different country and reduce their taxes paid in this nation. That I think is not called for. I would be cautious about that change, but I think we ought to recognize that American corporations have a responsibility for employment in this nation, and that the sole motivation for their moving to other countries ought not to be to avoid pollution-control restraints, or to seek cheap labor.

Would you have the government intervene directly to create jobs?

I would provide direct federal job opportunities in some categories of the unemployed—for instance, chronic welfare recipients who have no defect to keep them from working. I would get them off the permanent welfare roles and into productive work. I would train them, give them literacy instruction, the services of private and public job-placement agencies—match them with a job and offer it to them. If they didn't accept it, I would not pay them any more welfare benefits.

I would also like to try some things of an innovative nature that are working in other countries. One example would be if you had an area of high unemployment, a geographical area, and a company that had 1,000 employees, and they had to lay off 100 employees temporarily. I would like to see the government and that industry, on a competitive bid basis perhaps, for a short period of time, like six months, employ all the people there for a shorter workweek, and let the government and the industry share the extra cost.

Would you provide public jobs for people, other than those chronically unemployed, who weren't able to find jobs in the private sector?

I don't believe we can afford that, on a permanent basis. This would create in our nation an inclination to circumvent the private sector, to depend on the federal government as a first supplier of jobs, and it would be extremely expensive. It costs about $12,500 to supply a job for a person in the public sector. But there are many other things that could be helpful. For instance, a federal-city guarantee of bond repayments for public-works construction is the kind of thing that could stimulate the construction industry. A guarantee by the federal government of home mortgage repayments would help a great deal. The construction of low-cost rental homes would help a lot. The guarantee or payment of interest subsidies above a certain level for home mortgages would have a direct impact on the housing industry. But I would not want to use massive public-jobs programs except in an extreme case, and I believe that as President I could avoid that circumstance.

Do you think public jobs have a tendency to freeze up the job market, in that the person who takes a public job does not look for a job in industry?

Yes, I do. It creates an atmosphere or an attitude of permanent commitment and a dependence on the government for jobs, and I just don't think that's a good thing for us to do, unless we get into an extreme and apparently permanent circumstance with high unemployment. I think we can reach a level of unemployment in the neighborhood of, say, 4 percent, with a well-managed government, and with good cooperation from the private sector.

Do you favor the federalization of welfare?

I don't think we can do that. But I do think the federal government and the state governments ought to take over the full responsibility of welfare. I don't think the local governments ought to have that responsibility on them. And as increased costs of welfare come in the future, I think the federal government ought to take an increasing responsibility for those financial costs. But it would be too much of a burden to put on the federal government now to take over all the states' portion. It would just mean that the state governments could reduce taxes and you'd have an enormous increase in federal expenditures but

continued page 290

Jimmy Carter

continued from page 185

no increase in the services to our people.

Do you think we need more planning in the overall economy?

I don't like the prospect of government planning that would be binding on private industry, but my own experience in government is that planning ought to initiate at the executive level, with the President and his office, or with the governor of a state. Secondly, the goals and policies established ought to be publicly divulged. And they ought to be constantly amended as goals are reached or priorities are changed so that the private sector—business, industry, agriculture, and so forth—can cooperate with the government in the evolution of their own long-range plans. I don't favor government domination of private industry with government plans.

What should be the approximate balance between government and private shares of the G.N.P.?

Well, the government share has been steadily growing. My inclination would be to attenuate the growth, at least. My hope would be that we could hold down or reduce the government proportion of the G.N.P. compared to what it would have been if I wasn't in the White House. I can't promise you that I'll stop it or reverse it, but I'll do what I can to hold it down.

What would you do about tax reform?

I think the nation is ready for comprehensive, total tax reform. This has been advocated by people from a wide spectrum of basic political philosophies—all the way from the Brookings Institution to William Simon. There are four basic principles that I've adopted. First, to treat all income the same. Second, to tax income only once. Third, a progressive tax rate. And fourth, to greatly simplify the whole system.

What do you mean when you say taxing income only once?

Well, we presently tax corporate income when it's earned and we also tax the dividends paid to stockholders.

You would favor not taxing dividends?

I would favor taxing income only once. Whether I tax it at the corporate-income point or dividends—I would like to keep that option open. I don't favor taxing the same income twice.

Do you favor taxing capital gains the same as other income?

Yes, I would tax all income the same.

Would you tax accrued capital gains on inheritances?

That is a question I would rather not go into until I have examined it more closely.

You have indicated you would eliminate many of the current deductions on the income tax. Can you say which ones you would eliminate?

No, that is something I want to avoid. I'm perfectly willing to accept the criticism about not being specific, but I don't know how to be specific yet. I would rather wait until I spend a considerable amount of time with a large number of advisers analyzing the entire tax

continued page 292

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April 14, 1976

structure, and then I want to propose it as one tax-reform measure. I would like not to get pinned down on a particular promise, or commitment, until I can look at the entire concept in a generic sense, in a comprehensive sense.

What about the deduction for interest on mortgages that favors homeowners?

I haven't ever said I would keep it as an income-tax deduction. I've said I would keep the same amount of incentive for homeownership, or more. I think the $10-billion figure to encourage private homeownership is a very good thing—whether it would be done through the income-tax structure or another mechanism, I don't know yet. If I make any change in it, it would be to increase the figure, or if I make any change in who gets the benefits, it would be to give low- and middle-income families more benefits than they get now.

Have you given any thought to how you would shift the benefits to those families?

Yes, I've given it some thought. But there again I don't want to get myself into a position of discussing one little tiny part of an overall tax-reform package. I'm just not qualified yet. I would want to do it at one time, so that the people could see a balance of where they might have to pay more in one area and get benefits in a different area: That would be okay. But if they only hear about the part that they'll pay more and don't hear about the compensating element of reduction in tax rates, that just creates consternation and concern, and it's a bad political thing to do. I'm not qualified yet to say what specific aspect of a tax-reform package I will maintain maybe two years in the future after I've had a chance to go into the concept.

Do you think we should have more emphasis on antitrust?

Absolutely.

How would you go about applying that emphasis?

Well, one way would be through enthusiastic enforcement of the present antitrust laws. I would like to get the Attorney General out of politics, and not have any constraint on the Attorney General about which antitrust laws are enforced. I would also like to abbreviate the procedures through which the antitrust laws are administered. It takes too long now for the courts to reach a final determination. There are some areas of antitrust laws that I think are inadequate—both in the procedural approach and also in the exact measurements of a lack of competition. The food-processing industry is one that concerns me very much.

What about the oil industry? Would you be in favor of breaking up so-called vertical integration in the oil industry?

The problem of the oil industry that concerns me is at the wholesale and retail end. I don't think I would favor divestiture of the exploration, extraction, refining, maybe even the pipeline distribution areas. But at the wholesale and retail end, I would probably favor divestiture requirements to ensure adequate competition, which I don't think exists now.

continued page 295

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How about horizontal integration? Would you be in favor of getting the big oil companies out of the ownership of other energy resources?

There again, my belief is that the present movement of oil companies into, say, ownership of coal mines is not good for the country. I would favor divestiture to the extent that I felt it was needed to provide for a continuing and very enthusiastic competition, and also to the extent that I thought it would encourage increased coal production. I think in some instances coal production has been constrained deliberately by the oil companies, to hold up the price of oil and to hold up the price of coal. We've not had any increase in coal production in the last four or five years, and I think that's part of the problem, although it's not all of it.

Several months ago you told us that breaking up General Motors would not be one of your goals. Does that still represent your thinking?

Yes, it does. There are a lot of other things that I would devote my time to doing rather than trying to break up a company just because it's large. I might discover as a candidate, or as President, that General Motors was constraining trade or was monopolistic in its attitude, in which case I would publicly demand that antitrust be enforced in that particular area. Or if I thought that antitrust laws were inadequate, I would do all I could to get new laws passed.

Do you feel that there's too much federal government regulation in the economy at the present time? In the transportation industry, for instance?

I certainly do. I think that in the transportation industry some of the rulings of the regulatory agencies are counterproductive to what's best for the consumers. And my primary interest, almost exclusive interest, would be what's best for the consumers of this country. I think competition among the carriers is not adequate. Also in my appointments to regulatory boards, I would lean quite heavily toward appointments that would favor the consumers. And I would try to minimize, to whatever extent possible, the sweetheart arrangements that exist between regulatory agencies and the industries being regulated. I think there's kind of a revolving-door concept where people move freely back and forth between the regulatory agencies and the industries being regulated.

Would you try to move back toward the market in the transportation industry where it's feasible?

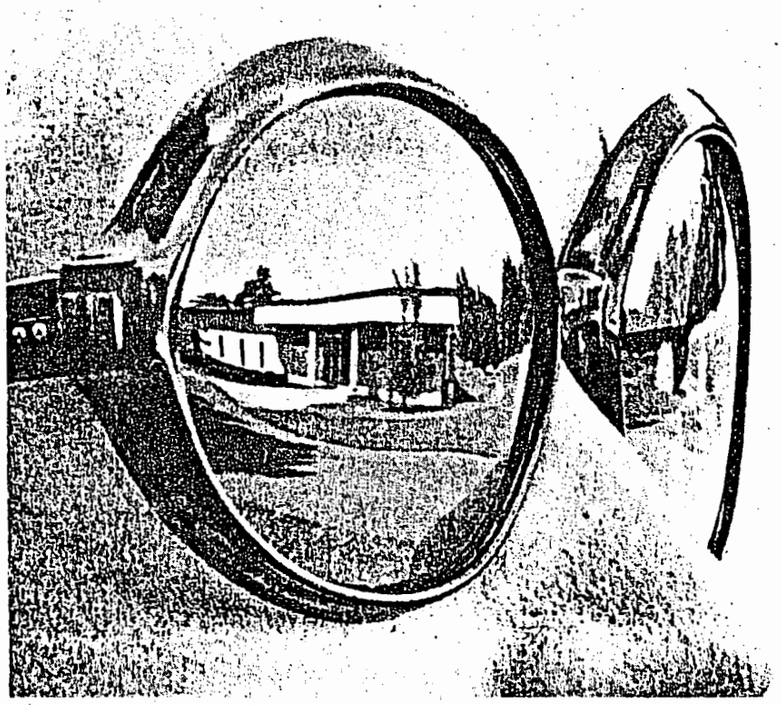
Yes, that would be a general trend of mine. If I thought that this gives unwarranted advantage to some of the more powerful carriers, which might ultimately result in a lack of competition, then, of course, that's where I would draw the line. That would be a matter of individual judgment on cases to the extent that I would have influence.

Some people think that the newer kinds of regulations protecting the environment and health have cost the economy too much for the benefits that they provide. Do you think that there is a problem there?

No, I don't. I was asked at the National Press Club the day I announced for President, "If there was a conflict that you couldn't resolve between economic

continued page 296

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Jimmy Carter *continued*

development and environmental quality, what would you do?" And I said that I would go with environmental quality. Because it's an irreversible process. I've had experience as a businessman, as an environmentalist, as a governor for four years, eagerly recruiting new industry and trying to retain jobs for Georgia people, with some conflict extant between economic infusions into Georgia and environmental quality. I've always gone with environmental quality. I don't think it's hurt our state at all. And I think there's a growing awareness among our people that if there's an unequivocal commitment to environmental quality, obviously using common sense, that in the long run both industry, employees, the communities, and our nation are better off.

Let me ask two questions on labor policy. Do you favor repeal of the prohibition of common situs picketing?

I don't know enough about it to answer the question about what I would do in the future. At the time the common situs picketing bill was on the President's desk, I was asked this question. And knowing that Truman, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Nixon, Johnson, and Ford —at that time—all promised to sign it, I said that if I was President, I would probably sign it. And I probably will. But I would like to be involved in the process of passing a future common situs bill. There are some things about it that concern me. One is the exclusion of an adequate opportunity for work for smaller businesses that might be deliberately frozen out of a job because of the common situs concept. And I also don't want to create additional disharmony in the construction industry. Now, I believe that I would sign the common situs bill, but I would like to make sure that the common situs bill that is passed and brought to my desk would be one that would assuage my concerns.

And you have said that you would sign the repeal of 14-B [the Taft-Hartley Act section that permits states to prohibit the union shop], but you would not promote the repeal?

That's right. And that's the same position I took as governor. Of course, on a state level, you don't call it 14-B, its the right to work. But, yes, that's the position I'd take. **END**

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/12



38A

B

News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee moved quickly to approve a new foreign aid bill designed to avoid another Presidential veto. The draft dropped many but not all of the policy restrictions that prompted Mr. Ford's veto of a previous bill last week. The House International Relations Committee also moved on a new substitute measure that was somewhat less conciliatory to the President than the Senate version. Both houses are expected to approve the measures and then set a joint conference to resolve the differences. [Page 1, Column 1.]

Administration officials in Washington said the Ethiopian Government was preparing a huge offensive against rebels in the northern province of Eritrea, using half the army and tens of thousands of armed peasant volunteers. Intelligence reports say "human wave" formations of Christian farmers armed with old Italian rifles and machine guns would be deployed against the predominantly Moslem rebels. The farmers have been promised "land grants" in Eritrea as an incentive. In preparation for the offensive, virtually all foreigners, including missionaries, have been evacuated from Eritrea and the neighboring Tigre province. [1:2-3.]

The Bolivian Ambassador to France, Gen. Joaquín Zenteno Anaya, was shot and killed near his Paris residence. The assailant escaped. Agence France-Presse received an anonymous phone call saying that the "International Che Guevara Brigades" were responsible. Ambassador Zenteno headed the military region in which Ernesto Che Guevara, the revolutionary, was captured and killed in 1967, the informant said. [1:1-2.]

National

President Ford signed into law the measure reviving the major powers of the Federal Election Commission, freeing the agency to authorize payment of a $2 million backlog of primary subsidies to Presidential candidates. It will also let the commission resume investigation of complaints of election law violations and will make several significant changes in ground rules for political candidates and committees backing them. [1:8.]

In West Virginia, the Presidential preference race was taking second place in voter interest to the comeback bid of John D. Rockefeller 4th for the governorship. In Nebraska, President Ford was again facing a challenge from Ronald Reagan. [1:7.]

Senate leaders agreed on a compromise plan for a new committee with exclusive authority to monitor the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and authorize funds for its operations. Approval by a large margin is expected. [1:7-8.]

The Food and Drug Administration said it would not lift its ban since 1969 on the artificial sweetener cyclamate. It said questions were still unresolved on its potential for causing cancer, its effect on growth and reproduction, and possible damage to the chromosomes. [1:6.]

Metropolitan

Mayor Beame appointed a panel to make recommendations to settle the nine-day-old strike of apartment-house employees. He named Vincent D. McDonnell, chairman of the State Mediation Board; Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the Central Labor Council, and Rexford E. Tompkins, president of the Dry Dock Savings Bank and former head of the Real Estate Advisory Board. The recommendations would not be binding, he said. [1:5.]

Governor Carey indicated he would soon name a person to supplant Patrick J. Cunningham, the embattled state Democratic chairman, in coordinating the Democratic legislative election campaign and the handling of party matters within the state. He said the chairman would retain his other major functions including his role as the state party's chief liaison with the national Democratic Party. Mr. Cunningham withheld comment and said he intended to discuss the new arrangement with Mr. Carey "in the next day or two." [1:4.]

A Federal judge in Brooklyn ruled that the retirement benefit provisions of the Social Security Act discriminate against men aged over 64 and for women and younger men. The ruling, which Judge Thomas C. Platt said applied to only one individual, noted a 1972 change in the law, to compute benefits for all men and women who turn 62 after Dec. 31, 1974, under a single formula. Previously there were separate formulas that had favored women. [1:1-2.]

The Other News

International

Giscard d'Estaing presses Africa plan. Page 2
New anti-Zionist move blocked in U.N. Page 2
Venice treasures escape quake damage. Page 3
Lebanese left offers new President a deal. Page 3
British Liberals ask Grimond to lead. Page 5
Soviet and China clash at trade parley. Page 7
Japan sends envoy to U.S. over Lockheed. Page 12

Government and Politics

Spy inquiries are ending amid indifference. Page 20
Whalen opposes easing nursing-home rules. Page 42
Connecticut Democrats vote '76 preferences. Page 46
G.O.P. leaders in Congress support Ford. Page 47
Ford signs bill for White House science aide. Page 48
U.S. issues rules for coal mining. Page 68
Rodino backed for No. 2 on Democratic slate. Page 68

General

Indictment of Hughes and aides reinstated. Page 17
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 45
Co-op City residents unhappy over court ruling. Page 45
Suffolk Legislature kills farmland plan. Page 45
Co-op City residents agreed on "ceasefire." Page 45
Last suspects in armored-car slayings caught. Page 45
City U. board asked to list budget cuts. Page 45
L.E.A.A. scored by 20th Century Fund. Page 48
Cadet convicted after revealing scandal. Page 49
$1.3 million award in disease called landmark. Page 68
Commodore Hotel to close next Tuesday. Page 81
Tanker truck crash kills four in Texas. Page 81

Industry and Labor

Tenants itching in during building strike. Page 38

Education and Welfare

Ivy League colleges drop sex-based quotas. Paeg 49

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDI

Weather: Partly sunn tonight. Sunny, pleas Temperature range: range 54-68. Details

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PRESIDENT SIGNS MEASURE REVIVING ELECTION AGENCY

Commission Is Authorized to Free $2 Million Backlog in Primary Subsidies

RELUCTANT FORD MOVE

'Serious Reservations' Are Cited—Levi Ordered to Test One Provision

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 11—President Ford reluctantly approved today legislation reviving the major powers of the Federal Election Commission and freeing the agency to authorize the payment of a $2 million backlog of subsidies to candidates in the Presidential primaries.

The bill also enables the commission to resume investigating complaints of violations of the campaign law and makes a number of important changes in election ground rules for political candidates and the committees that support them.

Mr. Ford said he was signing the bill despite "serious reservations" about some of its provisions, so serious that he directed Attorney General Edward H. Levi to challenge the constitutionality of one of them in court.

6 Members Nominated

The President said he was also sending to the Senate nominations of six commission members but did not announce the names. Presumably, he will rename five of the sitting commissioners plus a replacement for the chairman, Thomas B. Curtis, who asked not to be reappointed.

The new member was reliably reported to be a former Republican Senator, and one party source identified him as Marlow W. Cook, who represented Kentucky in the Senate from 1968 to 1974 and has since practiced law here.

If Congress moves swiftly to reconstitute the commission, confirming the six members named by the President without delay, the agency might be able to start the flow of matching funds to the Presidential campaign by the end of the week.

No Big Impact

Release of the primary subsidies, frozen for the last seven weeks, is not expected to have any material impact on the Presidential primary competition in either party. Three-quarters of the money will go to the three men who are already the leading contenders.

Of the claims already audited by the commission staff, $865,674 will go to the President Ford Committee. The Ford unit's most recent problem has not involved raising money but keeping within the $13 million spending ceiling imposed on Presidential candidates for the preconvention period.

Ronald Reagan, the President's Republican challenger, will get $390,000 immediately, but he reportedly has more large claims ready for submission. Among the Democrats, Jimmy Carter, the leader, will

Continued on Page 47, Column 4

President Revives the Election Agency

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

get the most money, $313,850, his chief active rival, Representative Morris K. Udall, has qualified for $113,960.

A dozen Presidential candidates have submitted claims totaling almost $3.7 million in subsidies, but the commission staff has audited and approved only $2.1 million of this amount. Ordinarily, the commission routinely approves staff recommendations for matching fund payments.

President Ford said in a statement that he had concluded that approval was "in the best interest of the nation." Changes were made in the bill to meet his most serious objections, he observed, and the resulting measure has "widespread bipartisan support in both houses of Congress and by the chairpersons" of the two national political parties.

Veto Power Contested

The provision that the President ordered the Attorney General to challenge "at the earliest opportunity" permits either house of Congress to veto a regulation promulgated by the commission, in theory an independent executive agency.

The President's action brought to an end more than three months of uncertainty and confusion resulting from the Supreme Court's ruling of Jan. 31 that the election commission had been unconstitutionally constituted in the first place, in violation of the separation of powers doctrine.

To revive the agency, Congress had to make all its members appointive by the President instead of having four of the six named by Congressional leaders. In the process, the lawmakers made a number of other important changes in the campaign law.

Two successive stays held up the effectiveness of the court order until March 22. Since then, no subsidies have been authorized; candidates have submitted requests for $3.7 million, of which $2.1 million has been informally cleared.

Pressure for a Veto

The President had been under considerable pressure from business, industry and conservative groups to veto the campaign bill. They all contended it gave too much political power to labor and hobbled the election commission. Despite his financial interest, Mr. Reagan also urged a veto.

In addition to reviving the commission's investigatory and subsidy authority, the 30-page measure approved by the President does the following things:

¶Prohibits the election commission from issuing advisory opinions or political guidelines that state general rules rather than dealing with a narrow specific problem, and makes all past opinions subject to Congressional review.

¶Limits the power of corporate political action committees to solicit contributions from rank-and-file employees to two anonymous mailings a year but gives such groups free access to middle-management professional and supervisory workers.

¶Reinstates limits on the amount of money wealthy candidates may invest in their own Presidential campaigns if they also accept Federal subsidies. The Supreme Court had struck down any unconditional ceiling on such spending.

¶Requires for the first time public reporting of money spent by labor unions to communicate with their members in behalf of favored candidates.

¶Fills in the details of the Supreme Court's requirement that independent political expenditures, which can be unlimited in size, must not be made in consultation or cooperation with any candidate and must be reported to the commission with a sworn statement to that effect.

¶Cuts off any matching funds to a candidate 30 days after he receives less than 10 percent of the vote in a second consecutive primary in which he actively competed.

Requirements Simplified

The legislation also simplifies off-year reporting requirements for candidates; imposes new, generally lower limits on the amounts a contributor can give to political committees; increases the maximum cash campaign contribution to $100 from $50 and exempts legal and accounting expenditures from campaign spending ceilings.

President Ford signed the bill several hours after meeting with a dozen Republican Congressional leaders, virtually all of whom urged his approval. Several of them called for immediate action, to avoid criticism that Mr. Ford was stalling to deprive his political rivals of money.

Representative Guy Vander Jagt of Michigan, chairman of the House Republican Campaign Committee, said afterward, "The very appearance of personal private advantage ought to be avoided."

In the three months that Congress spent squabbling over the legislation, there were numerous accusations that Democrats favoring Senator Hubert H. Humphrey were deliberately delaying the bill to hold subsidy money away from the party's active primary candidates, but no hard evidence was ever forthcoming.

In April, Republican leaders successfully promoted a two-week lapse, in a Congressional recess, raising the question of whether the President was putting financial pressure on Mr. Reagan by extending the subsidy freeze.

Actually, by Congressional standards, the legislation was drafted and approved in a relatively short time, considering its length, complexity and the fact that virtually all members regard themselves as experts on campaign law.

The single most sensitive subject in the new law involves political action committees, groups sponsored by either unions or corporations that solicit voluntary contributions and then distribute the resulting money among candidates favored by the sponsoring group.

The election commission ruled last year that corporate committees have the right to seek contributions from employees, a decision that enraged many Congressional Democrats. Today's bill reverses that decision, except for permitting two mailed solicitations that corporations can make of all their workers each year.

Union committees are given the same right to seek contributions from officers and stockholders of the corporation by mail. All such contributions are to be anonymous, to prevent reprisals against those who do not respond.

Republican Congressmen won approval of a provision extending the free solicitation privileges of corporate committees to salaried employees "who have policy-making, managerial, professional or supervisory responsibilities." No one really knows how large this group may be or how likely to contribute.

One key provision that has nothing to do with campaign law increases the amount that Federal officials may earn from speaking fees each year from $15,000 to $25,000 and the maximum fee per speech from $1,000 to $2,000. This change was strongly pressed by Senators, some of whom double their public salaries on the speaking tour.

House members forced Senate conferees to drop several significant provisions from the bill, including a proposed study of the Presidetial nominating process, by threatening to withhold their support from the raise in honorariums.

Resumption of campaign subsidies will ultimately benefit a dozen Presidential candidates, but many of them have already dropped out of active competition. In addition to the funds due to the four leaders, pending payments are:

Carter Calls Gov. Brown Ambiguous

46

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 11—Jimmy Carter widened today his criticism of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, painting him as an ambiguous and unclear political thinker.

Many political onlookers believe Governor Brown is a clear threat and could beat the front-running Mr. Carter in next week's preferential Democratic Presidential primary in Maryland.

Mr. Carter campaigned in Maryland and visited Washington, where he awaited the results of another primary in Nebraska today.

The former Georgia Governor appeared this afternoon at a crowded Capitol Hill news conference at which he received the endorsement of a number of freshmen Democratic Congressmen. Mr. Carter seemed to offer an olive branch to establishment Democrats, saying he had not "run against Washington" or Congress in his quest for the nomination.

However, the House majority leader, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., seemed to reflect a continues reserve about Mr. Carter among many senior Democrats, withholding his support and saying Mr. Carter had been attacking Congress.

Carter Assails Brown

Mr. Carter has been charging that Governor Brown, 38 years old, an even newer political face nationally than Mr. Carter, is supported by "powerful bosses" and "almost every machine politician" in Maryland.

Today, in an outdoor appearance before about 750 people at the Montgomery County Courthouse in Rockville, Md., Mr. Carter asserted that Governor Brown "was not even hoping to be the nominee," but was the instrument of those who still hope for a deadlocked national convention.

However, Mr. Carter added remarks that seemed to be aimed at casting doubts about Mr. Brown's political theories or pronouncements.

Mr. Carter said that when a leader moved beyond "recognizing the problems and musing about them," he could begin to offer new answers.

"My opponent says, 'it's the focus of government that means something, not how many people are working for you—it's the direction you're going that counts,'" Mr. Carter told the crowd. "Well, I don't know what that means and neither do you."

Mr. Carter also said "the Presidency requires more than philosophical inquiries issued from above the battle."

A total of 18 first-term Democratic Congressmen appeared at the Rayburn Office Building to endorse Mr. Carter. Representative John W. Jenrette Jr., of South Carolina, who organized the event, said he had hoped for 35 endorsements from freshmen Democrats, but that a number of members who came to meet Mr. Carter had "held off" for various reasons—some of them to make endorsements in their home districts.

Mr. Carter said at the news conference that, if elected, he was eager to work with Congress closely not only on a legislative program but on the evolution of foreign policy and defense policy.

Australia Vote Conceded

SYDNEY, Australia, May 10 (Reuters)—Premier Eric Willis of New South Wales officially conceded today that his Liberal-Country Party Coalition government was defeated in a state election nine days ago by the opposition Labor Party. The new state premier is Neville Wran.

DEMOCRATS HOLD CONNECTICUT VOTE

Carter Takes Early Lead at 35% as Towns Turn Out in Preferential Contest

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Special to The New York Times

HARTFORD, May 11—Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia Governor, took a narrow lead tonight in town-by-town voting for Democratic Presidential candidates in Connecticut.

With reports in from 66 of the 168 towns where voting took place Mr. Carter had 5,805 votes, or 35 percent of the total.

Gov. Ella T. Grasso, a supporter of Senator Henry M. Jackson, had conceded that Mr. Carter was a "very skillfully merchandised candidate."

The Washington Senator who revived his campaign, partly at Mrs. Grasso's insistence, for the sake of organization that had been built up for him here, went on a three-day barnstorming tour of the state last week. This activity was more intense than that for any other candidate.

"We only slowed down for lack of funds," Mr. Jackson said at the outset of the tour. He said that he had never lost heart in his campaign.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona closed his campaign in Connecticut with a two-day swing through the state Sunday and Monday.

"We're going to surprise some people," he said at a news conference on the Capitol lawn. "It's been a year of surprises."

The others on the ballot in Connecticut made less strenuous efforts. They are Ellen McCormack of New York, the antiabortion candidates, and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

Uncommitted Slates

There was also an uncommitted slate in each town, a feature mandated by the rules for this complicated, one-time, one-party affair, which was widely and inaccurately described as a "primary."

The rules, hammered out over the course of a year, envisioned an election in each town, with each candidate running at the head of a slate of delegates—a slate big enough to fill that town's delegation to one of the six district conventions on June 12, where the 51 delegates to the national convention in New York will be selected.

The delegates to New York were not being finally selected tonight. That will be done in June, after two more roll-call votes and a caucus at each district convention.

In effect, Connecticut was scheduled to have 169 separate preferential votes today, one in each town in the state.

But one town dropped out. Franklin, a rural town in eastern Connecticut with 340 enrolled Democrats and, apparently, only seven who had demonstrated any interest in today's voting, despaired of the effort and the complications and decided not to have a vote at all.

From 11 other towns, including Old Saybrook, Windsor and Woodstock, there was never any official word to Democratic state headquarters that they were taking part in today's voting. But they were.

The state organization had required that it be informed "forthwith" of the candidates who were contending and of the names on the slates that had been drawn up in support of those candidates. These names all emerged from the caucuses each candidate had in each town two weeks ago.

In 120 of the 168 towns that voted, paper ballots were used for the first time in half a century, to save money. This group included such cities as Bridgeport, Stamford, Waterbury and New Haven.

The day was warm and windy and the sky overcast when the polls opened at noon. Voting was slow at the start, but things picked up late in the day, especially after the factories let out in the bigger industrial towns.

Repnblicans and others who were not eligible to vote but who were confused by the intricate, extended system of selecting delegates for the convention in New York were turned away by apologetic volunteers at the polling stations.

The Republicans will have their own chance to pick their delegates to their national convention at a state convention of the sort that has been the normal practice in both parties in Connecticut.

Carter-Stevenson Ticket Suggested by Mayor Daley

CHICAGO, May 10 (AP) — Mayor Richard J. Daley said Monday that a Democratic ticket of Jommy Carter and Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d of Illinois would be "outstanding."

But Mayor Daley said the former Governor of Georgia had yet to clinch the Presidential nomination.

"I don't think anyone has anything sewed up," Mr. Daley told a news conference. "The convention isn't until July. You'll see a lot of things happen between May and July."

GIVE FRESH AIR FUND
GIVE REAL GRASS

The Religious Issue

By James Reston

VASHINGTON, May 11—"The religious issue" in the Presidential campaign is relevant and even important up to a point, but it's in danger of geting out of hand, and could, if were not careful, divide the country on theological rather than political grunds.

Ever since Governor Carter, in response to questions in press conferenes, described his religious faith, reprters and others in political rallies hare been asking all candidates about thir most private religious convictias, and expecting them to bear vness on television to the sort of qustions priests put to parishioners inthe privacy of the confessional.

hese questions are coming from tree sources: from skeptics who cannt quite believe a Presidential candidæ can be a true believer; from regious fanatics who don't think a mn should be a Presidential candidate uess he is a true believer; and from reorters who are honestly curious abut the effect of a candidate's rgion on his politics.

or example, on the Public Broadciting Service the other night, my o friend Bill Moyers, himself a formr divinity student and one of the mst thoughtful men in our public li today, asked Mr. Carter: "What dves you?"—a perfectly fair question.

Then, another question: "How do yu know God's will?", which assumes, ufairly, that Mr. Carter claimed he d. But the questions led Carter into te most intimate disclosures of his pivate philosophy, even into the apals of his prayers, and with the umost respect for Mr. Moyers, one hs to ask if this does not cross the lhe from legitimate political inquiry ito the most secret places of the heart.

In the case of Mr. Carter, and his startling rise from a regional figure to the leading candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination, it is

WASHINGTON

critical to know his philosophy; but now the religious questions are being put to the other candidates, as if we were electing an archbishop.

For example, the other day a young woman from Dallas, representing an organization called "Youth With a Mission," asked President Ford at Tyler Junior College in Texas:

"Mr. President," she said, "my question is twofold: Do you believe the Bible is the inspired word of God and it is the truth when He says that Jesus Christ is King of Kings and Lord of Lords? Are you personally committed to Jesus Christ as King of your life to make Christ the Prince the standard for all your decisions, whether judicial, legislative, executive or personal?"

President Ford paused. "The answer," he said, "without getting into details, is yes . . . I think the decisions that I make every day have to be related to a higher authority than just what we as humans do." (Incidentally, the young woman who asked the question, called up The Times and asked that her name be omitted because she was emigrating to another country and didn't want to be identified.)

Hubert Humphrey was asked by Sam Donaldson of ABC the other day on "Issues and Answers" about the political effects of Governor Carter's religion. He replied that one of Mr. Carter's great assets was his sense of morality, his religious convictions.

Then Mr. Humphrey, who didn't grow up in the Bible Belt for nothing, turned the question. "My religion is to do good," he said, "I believe the religion I have is to help those who are less fortunate . . . but you know, we don't have to debate people's religion and politics, whether you are Catholic, Protestant, or Jew. The question is, what is your attitude toward your fellow man. . . . I believe that helping one's brother is real religion. . . ."

Mr. Carter would understandably agree with this ethical ideal, but sees the human condition in religious as well as in moral terms. He told Mr. Moyers: "I ask God to let me do what's right, and to let me do what's best, that my life be meaningful. . . . And if I win or lose, I believe I can accept the decision with composure and without regrets and without animosities or hatreds and even deep disappointment."

"Do you ever have any doubts?", Bill Moyers asked Governor Carter, "about yourself, about God, about life?" Carter replied boldly and then caught himself: "I can't think of any . . . I do have, obviously, many doubts about the best way to answer a question or to alleviate a concern . . . but doubt about my faith? No. Doubt about my purpose in life? I don't have any doubts about that. . . ."

The modern age doesn't quite know how to deal with this old-time religion, particularly from one of the most successful and contriving politicians of the last generation. He is accused of hypocrisy. He is being asked questions about the contradictions of belief which reporters would not think of asking other candidates about the dangers of their disbelief. In some ways, this tells us more about ourselves than it does about Mr. Carter, but Carter does not seem to mind the inquisitive questions.

He apparently believes that the real "silent majority" in this country, despite all its skepticism, lies with the believers, or with those who long to believe, and at least he is willing to answer the theological questions and take his chances.

G

Agnew, on Journalism, Himself...

Spiro T. Agnew, in his first network television appearance since resigning as Vice President on Oct. 10, 1973, was interviewed yesterday by Barbara Walters and Jim Hartz on NBC's "Today" show. Now a businessman, Mr. Agnew was on the program to promote his book, "The Canfield Decision," a novel about political intrigue and romance. Following are excerpts from the network's transcript of the interview.

■

WALTERS: You have characters in the book talk repeatedly of the Jewish cabal, of the Jewish or Zionist lobby having too much strength, too much influence in Congress. Is this how you see?

AGNEW: I do feel that the Zionist influences in the United States are dragging the U.S. into a rather disorganized approach to the Middle East problem. I feel for example that we don't have an evenhanded policy in the Middle East.

There's no doubt that there has been a certain amount of Israeli imperialism taking place in the world. There has been an invasion of the West Bank. The Israeli Parliament is talking about settling on the Golan Heights, on the Gaza Strip, and I feel that because of the Zionist influences in the United States these matters of aggression are routinely considered to be permissible.

WALTERS: Influences where, Mr. Agnew?

AGNEW: There are influences, certainly, in the media, and when . . .

WALTERS: In the media . . .

AGNEW: In what I call the nationwide impact.

WALTERS: How do Zionists influence us in the media?

AGNEW: Well, because of the way it's treated.

WALTERS: Tell me. I don't understand what you mean. There are Zionists within the media or Zionists who . . .

AGNEW: I think the media are sympathetic to the Zionist cause, put it that way.

WALTERS: You call it the Zionist . . .

AGNEW: What I call the nationwide, impact media, and I don't feel —for example, we have a tendency not to separate the Arabs into what you might call militant Communist-oriented Arabs and the Arabs that support free enterprise systems.

WALTERS: You don't think we do that? For example, with Egypt.

AGNEW: No, I think the Saudi Arabians, for example, have been our very staunch friends over a period of sixty years and yet we regard them and Mr. Sadat in Egypt, who has been trying to fight the battle of balance between the Palestinians . . .

WALTERS: You don't think Mr. Sadat, when he came to this country, his views were given equal treatment?

AGNEW: Yes, I think he was covered but I don't think that Mr. Sadat and the late King Faisal and other Arabs are given this—are put in a different position.

■

AGNEW: I knew exactly what I was doing when I pleaded no-contest to the count, single count of income tax evasion and it'll be explained when I write the memoir.

I don't want to talk about it now except to say that I was fully conscious of what I did and I know it was a felony conviction resultant. I do feel that there are more important, more serious crimes being abetted in the world today than the one I was accused of.

Incidentally all of the evidence against me being produced by people who accepted immunity to testify— crimes being abetted such as the villification of our institutions, the C.I.A., the F.B.I., the glorification of the Communist system, this sort of thing.

WALTERS: Recently, in an interview which has not been aired, another television interview, you said, "I don't feel guilty. I had no personal benefit from anything that's happened."

AGNEW: That's correct.

WALTERS: In that conversation you raised the possibility that the money you're accused of having taken was more in the area of campaign contributions, which had been customary in the past.

AGNEW: That's part of it, but that's not all of it, and again I'm gonna— I'd like to get back to "The Canfield Decision," if we could, not because . . .

WALTERS: Let me ask you something.

AGNEW: . . . not because I object to discussing this at the proper time and because I'll be back to do it, you can be sure of that.

WALTERS: Let me take one more point, because in "The Canfield Decision," since you wrote it, and it was a product of your mind, you could go in any direction and Porter Canfield, who is a Vice President, but in many other ways is not you, but there are some things that he does—I don't want to give the book away—and he feels that he was framed. Do you feel that?

AGNEW: Do I feel that I was framed? Again, it's part of the story, and how I feel will have to [be] adduced from the telling of the complete, cohesive narration of what happened.

WALTERS: Can we ask you anything about—well, it has been reported there are some quarters who felt that Richard Nixon wanted your resignation to take the heat off of him, feeling that the country would think one resignation was enough in the time of Watergate. Do you feel this? What part do you think Richard Nixon . . .

AGNEW: Part of the same story.

HARTZ: I'm curious why you don't want to comment on it. This is your first television appearance in three years, very little . . .

AGNEW: There are essentially two reasons. One of them is a very simple one. I want to publish a memoir and I want to market it. I am not being interviewed for large sums as some political figures have been. How I tell my story, if it's something of interest, is a property of mine and I don't want it fractionated through being excerpted and commented on until I have a chance to tell it as an entity. The other reason is that there are still certain trials in progress that directly touch on my situation, that won't be completed probably until early next year.

HARTZ: It wouldn't affect the trial if you said here today you were guilty or innocent.

AGNEW: It could.

HARTZ: How could it?

AGNEW: Because anything that I say that relates to what happened to me affects other people who are intermingled in my situation. I think I've —when I came on this program I explained what the ground rules were, and that I wasn't going to talk about this, so I think now that I have answered the question and I'm not going to talk about it, let's leave it because we're wasting valuable time.

WALTERS: Do you think Richard Nixon should have been pardoned? Is that something you can comment on?

AGNEW: I don't want to comment on Richard Nixon.

WALTERS: You have not talked to or seen him, have you?

AGNEW: No, I haven't talked to him, no.

WALTERS: In the book, there is what you called the obligatory love story and the Vice President has an affair and I won't tell anyone who it is, but when John Lindsay wrote his novel, he had a Congressman—he had an affair, and John Lindsay said, well, it's better for marriages in a lot of ways. I'm vaguely quoting him, and especially in politics. It's almost a relief. Do you feel this, or did you put it in because you had to have a little sex—and by the way, it's well done in the book . . .

AGNEW: Well, it's really embarrassing to ask a 57-year-old man about sex.

WALTERS: Well, you wrote about it, Mr. Agnew.

AGNEW: I didn't have to, and I read a lot of books to write about it, but let me put it this way. When Julian Goodman, the president of NBC, is willing to come on and discuss his sex life, then I'll come . . .

WALTERS: I didn't ask you about your sex life, and Julian Goodman has not written a book. If he did and he wrote about sex, we would ask him about it . . .

AGNEW: I doubt it.

WALTERS: . . . and I have a feeling Mr. Goodman would answer. I'm asking . . .

AGNEW: I doubt if you'd ask him.

WALTERS: I'm asking about the political world, not you, Spiro Agnew, but in the political world . . .

AGNEW: The political world is no different than any other world. Personal relationships exist between politicians and nonpoliticians, just as they do anyplace else. I don't know how you can compartmentalize the political world when you're talking about sex.

HARTZ: You called it [the sex in the book] obligatory. Did the publisher ask you to put it in?

AGNEW: No, that was Bill Buckley's phrase, I believe, or Lindsay's phrase, I'm not sure, but I think it was Bill Buckley's phrase when he was speaking about his book.

WALTERS: I asked you in another portion of the program if there were times when you said, I could be President today, that could be me, and you said there had been those moments. Are you over them now?

AGNEW: Yes. Yes, I am. Completely over.

WALTERS: Are you at peace with yourself?

AGNEW: Yes, entirely.

Weather
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Political Romancing, Maryland Style

WHO CAN RESIST the temptation to see a latter day Lochinvar in California Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr., whose foray into Maryland has created such a stir. In Sir Walter Scott's Lochinvar ballad, as you surely recall, the young knight arrived at the home of his true love just before she was to be wed to an unworthy rival. Professing to seek just one last dance with the lady, Lochinvar beguiled her relatives, waltzed the maiden over to the door and rode off with her.

Just slightly edited, this could be the script for a stunning political upset. *Young Jerry Brown has come out of the West* . . . It scans nicely. And his aim seems to be to seize Maryland from Jimmy Carter's grasp and take off at full tilt toward the Democratic nomination. That's a romantic game plan, but rather unreal. Maryland politics is not the stuff of which ballads are made—and Gov. Brown has received such a tumultuous welcome in the Free State that it leads one to wonder what schemes are really afoot.

Consider, for instance, the curious coalition that has gathered around Mr. Brown. He was met at the airport by Gov. Marvin Mandel, who hardly represents the "new generation of leadership" that Mr. Brown wants to advance. His campaign is being promoted by Baltimore County's brash executive, Ted Venetoulis, and the powerful Prince George's County organization. Some in that group may be comfortable with the "spaceship Earth" rhetoric that the Californian likes to employ. But the same can't be said of the old-style machine politicians of Baltimore City who have also endorsed Mr. Brown. We have never heard former state senator Joseph Staszak or councilman Dominic DiPietro call overseas arms sales "a Faustian bargain." The presence of the Baltimore regulars in this camp is even more bizarre because they have thrived for years on the kinds of lavish lobbying, favors and deals that Mr. Brown has tried to banish from California.

But all this incongruous enthusiasm is quite simply explained. The Marylanders want a winner, and they don't like Jimmy Carter at all. Most of them would have been happy with Sen. Jackson, but his campaign has collapsed. They would have been even happier with Sen. Humphrey, but his drive has not started. So when Gov. Brown happened along, they embraced him. James H. (Jack) Pollack, Baltimore's most durable boss, summed it up when he asked the Baltimore Sun, "Who else are you going to take?"

Mr. Brown denies that he has become the candidate of the machine. He's not joining them, he says; they're joining him. But that isn't quite so. Although offered as newer than new, Mr. Brown has been sounding a bit more conventional since he leaped onto the national stage. He has begun to couple his "new politics" rhetoric with traditional liberal Democratic themes. For instance, in areas of high unemployment he stresses the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs bill, though it is not quite clear how he would reconcile that enormously expansive program with the sharply limited economic growth that he foresees. Moreover, his Maryland drive is being sparked by hoopla and a TV ad blitz even more than the Carter campaign; it is somewhat ironic to see California's ascetic anti-politician being hawked to the voters in such familiar and free-spending ways.

Thus Mr. Brown has indeed joined the race—and that means several things. It means, first, that his somewhat unusual views and his rather short record in office will be subjected to far greater nationwide scrutiny than they have received until now. It means, too, that he may have to keep seeking alliances of expediency such as those which have developed here. And it means, finally, that no one—least of all the candidate himself—should forget that he is not Lochinvar. The outcome of his flirtation with the voters remains to be seen. As for Maryland's conglomerated leaders, however, past experience strongly suggests that the romance may be brief. They are happy to dance with Mr. Brown in the primary, but they're not likely to get carried away.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Carter and Strauss

Jimmy Carter, having secretly wooed McGovernite liberals by promising to dump Robert S. Strauss as Democratic national chairman, may now ingratiate himself with party pros by keeping Strauss on the job through the November election.

Such chicanery is commonplace for Carter, who campaigns as a non-devious non-politician. But it also confronts worried liberal Democrats with this question: Now that Carter has nearly clinched the presidential nomination, will he abandon commitments —explicit and implicit—to them?

Carter's commitment on Strauss was explicit enough, playing on unreasoning anti-Strauss passion from the party's left wing despite his success as national chairman in keeping intraparty peace. Carter told one Strauss-hating liberal that getting a new Democratic chairman was high among his priorities. In other words: Back Carter if you want to sack Strauss.

Carter did not mention Strauss by name, but his operatives were less circumspect. Three ex-McGovernites—Democratic national committeewoman Patt Derian of Mississippi, Mike Abrams of Florida and the Rev. James Wall of Illinios—recruited fellow liberals with promises that Carter would get rid of Strauss.

Hearing about this, Strauss several weeks ago asked a Carter advisor, Atlanta lawyer Charles Kirbo, what was wrong. Kirbo replied there was no problem. Strauss asked Carter himself following the Gridiron dinner in Washington April 3. There ensued a political chat, during which Carter expressed no complaints whatever with Strauss.

With Carter reassuring party regulars following his Pennsylvania win, word seeped out that Strauss would be retained through the election. But doubts were renewed with the kiss-and-tell revelations of Bob Shrum, Carter's disaffected left-wing speechwriter.

In his keyhole memorandum on Carter, Shrum wrote that Strauss's status was discussed by Carter and aides over dinner in Pittsburgh April 25, adding: "I understand that Carter's managers were conveying indirectly to Strauss that he could remain chairman through the November election, but I suppose I wasn't really surprised when Carter said: 'If we can't remove Strauss, I'll be a pretty pathetic nominee.'"

When this inevitably got back to Strauss, a Carter lieutenant immediately telephoned an explanation of the Pittsburgh dinner: Somebody had mentioned the difficulty of naming a new chairman, and Carter merely replied that a nominee who could not do that would be "pretty pathetic."

That this explanation is being made —and accepted—points to present political realities: Jimmy Carter is a cinch to be nominated and will be better advised to retain the popular Strauss than change the guard now.

●

Sen. Barry Goldwater's sudden new animosity which could seriously impede Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign follows two long, friendly telephone conversations between them containing no hint of what now seems quite possible: open endorsement of President Ford by Mr. Conservative.

There has been no contact between Goldwater and Reagan the past month. But Rep. Barry Goldwater Jr. of California quietly informed Reagan operatives in Indiana last week that his father might endorse Mr. Ford.

Reagan insiders have two possible explanations for the Senator's sudden hostility: First, Reagan's lining up 27 Arizona delegates despite Goldwater's appeal for an uncommitted delegation from his home state; second, Reagan's threat to replace Goldwater as the Republican Party's No. 1 right-winger.

The first of two Goldwater-Reagan conversations, both originated by Reagan, came just before the Feb. 24 New Hampshire primary. They agreed that liberal Republicans, occasionally joined by the media, were smearing Reagan as "destroyer" of the GOP. Goldwater told Reagan that he experienced similar attacks in 1964.

In their second talk a month ago, Goldwater told Reagan he had heard complaints that some Reagan operatives were antagonizing party regulars. He strongly urged Reagan to keep a tight grip on his agents, and Reagan completely agreed.

Campaigning in Nebraska last week, Reagan was asked at every stop how Goldwater could differ so strongly with him on the Panama Canal. Reagan at first said he was saddened by Goldwater's criticism but at North Platte Wednesday, he reacted gently, saying: "I think Barry is a little confused." He also produced a 1975 Senate resolution, co-sponsored by Goldwater, opposing changes in the Panama Canal treaty.

●

Although Sen. Hubert Humphrey has ruled out an active presidential candidacy, he is not ready to bury the hatchet with Jimmy Carter.

Humphrey's office could not find room on the Senator's schedule last week when Carter asked to meet him. Sen. Joe Biden of Delaware, a Carter booster, told Humphrey he and Carter would just drop by unannounced; don't do it, HHH replied.

In truth, Humphrey still burns over being called a "loser" by Carter. That may partially explain Humphrey's enthusiasm over Carter's late-blooming challenger, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. Humphrey was gushing over the way Brown handled himself at a Capitol Hill reception last week.

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Joseph Kraft

California, The Media State

LOS ANGELES—Why is Tom Hayden, the ex-radical leader and present husband of Jane Fonda, running in the Democratic primary against Sen. John Tunney? Because, according to a mean gag going the rounds here in California, Jane Fonda can't bear to be married to someone who isn't a star.

That nasty little joke, while decidedly unfair to both Miss Fonda and Mr. Hayden, characterizes in a deep way politics here in California. This is a media state par excellence, and that explains why Ronald Reagan has to be taken very seriously as a challenger to Jerry Ford and Jerry Brown cannot be idly dismissed as an opponent of Jimmy Carter.

By the term media state, I mean that press and television have replaced all other institutions as the bridge between candidates and voters. The two parties are so weak here that candidates can't even make a villain out of organization bosses as they can and do in Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey or New York. Labor has repeatedly found union men going against its political endorsements and the unions took another black eye in the recent San Francisco municipal strike. Business is important chiefly because it has the financial wherewithal to facilitate campaigning on television.

The weakness of these traditional avenues to prominence is reinforced by the size and diversity of the state. The lumber men of the north, the cosmopolities of the Bay area, the growers and laborers of the valleys, the movers-on and blue-collar workers of Southern California have only one thing in common. They all watch TV.

The dominance of that medium in politics finds perhaps its chief expression in this year's election for United States senator. The incumbent, John Tunney, is widely derided as "the lightweight son of the heavyweight champion." In most states he would be so vulnerable that challengers galore would be after his scalp.

"Press and television have replaced all other institutions as the bridge between candidates and voters."

But the expense of mounting a statewide television campaign here limits the competition severely. The only opposition in the Democratic primary comes from Mr. Hayden, who, despite his intelligence and powers of articulation, is too radical to be a real threat.

On the Republican side, three figures are in the race—Alonzo Bell, a millionaire and former congressman whose campaign features endorsements by John Wayne; Robert Finch who became well known over the years as lieutenant governor here and a White House aide and cabinet member in the Nixon administration; and S. I. Hayakawa, the semanticist who made a name for himself by putting down student radicals as the head of San Francisco State College. Not surprisingly, Dr. Hayakawa—a colorful figure who combines Japanese features with a beret—is leading in the polls.

As to the presidential campaign here, three of the four competitors could do well. Gov. Brown is an extremly good TV performer, articulate in debate with a strong flair for manipulating the symbols—for example, the mansion, the executive jet and the official limousines he doesn't use—that most strike the voters' eye. He has to be rated a favorite over Jimmy Carter here, though Carter has excited attention by his meteoric rise. But because the Democratic presidential primary picks convention delegates on the basis of proportional representation in each congressional district, it seems unlikely any candidate can score a decisive advantage.

The Republican side is different. There the winner in the statewide contest gets all of California's 167 convention delegates. Ronald Reagan is almost the perfect candidate.

As a former governor of this state whose record impressed Republicans at least, Reagan is immune to the Ford charges of being a dangerous man who can't win. A good-looking star and relaxed performer, he also has a lock on issues—for example, American control over the Panama Canal—which ordinary voters can grasp easily. Better than anybody he understands the importance of television. "There's only one way you can reach hundreds of thousands or millions of people, and that's through TV," he said in an interview the other day.

President Ford, by contrast, is a distant figure here. His virtues—simplicity, candor, a common touch—look pale to an electorate used to political leaders with more striking qualities. He seems to be known here much more for the Nixon connection—particularly the pardon—than in other states I have visited.

What all this means is that if President Ford is going to win the nomination, he will have to do it in Nebraska, Michigan, Ohio and New Jersey. California, the biggest prize of them all, the super bowl of primary politics, is practically locked up for Gov. Reagan.

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Jimmy Carter Talks About His Inner Lif



By George Rebh for The Washington Po

In an hour-long interview May 6 with Bill Moyers, himself a former seminary student, Jimmy Carter talks about the forces that shaped his character—his childhood, his family, his hometown, his career. The following excerpt deals primarily with his view of God and the role religion has played in his life.

Q: What drives you?

A: I don't know exactly how to express it. As I said, it's not an unpleasant sense of being driven. I feel like I have one life to live—I feel that God wants me to do the best I can with it. And that's quite often my major prayer—let me live my life so that it will be meaningful. And I enjoy tackling difficult problems, and solving them, and the meticulous organization of a complicated effort. It's a challenge. Possibly, it's like a game. I don't know. I don't want to lower it by saying it's just a game—but it's an enjoyable thing for me.

Q: How do you know—this is a question I hear from a lot of people—how do you know God's will?

A: Well, I pray frequently—not continually, but many times a day. When I have a sense of peace, and self-assurance—I don't know where it comes from—what I'm doing is a right thing. I assume, maybe, in an unwarranted way that that's doing God's will.

Q: What do you think we're on earth for?

A: I don't know. You know, I could quote the biblical references, through creation, that God created us in his own image hoping that we'd be perfect. But we turned out to be not perfect, but very sinful. And then when Christ was asked what were the great commandments from God, which should direct our lives, he said to love God with all your heart and soul and mind, and love our neighbor as yourself. So, I try to take that condensation of the Christian theology and let it be something through which I search for a meaningful existence. I don't worry about it too much anymore. I used to when I was a college sophomore, and we used to debate for hours and hours about why we are here, who made us, where should we go, what's our purpose.

But I don't feel frustrated about it. I'm not afraid to see my life ended. I feel like every day is meaningful. I don't have any fear at all of death. I feel like I'm doing the best I can, and if I get elected President, I'll have a chance to magnify my own influence maybe in a beneficial way. If I don't get elected President, I'll go back to Plains. So, I feel I have a sense of equanimity about it, but why we're here on earth I don't know. I'd like to hear your views on that subject.

Q: Do you ever have any doubts? People say to me—Jimmy Carter appears to be so full of certainty, and conviction, in a time when as Gabriel said in "Green Pastures," "Everything that's tied together is turning loose."

A: Yes, I know.

Q: . . . "coming loose". Do you have any doubts? About yourself, about God, about life?

A: I can't think of any. I, obviously, don't know all the answers to philosophical questions and theological questions—the kind of questions that are contrived. But the things that I haven't been able to answer in a theory or supposition, I just accept them, and go on—things that I can't influence or change.

I do have, obviously, many doubts about the best way to answer a question. Or to alleviate a concern. Or how to meet a need, or how to create in my own life a more meaningful purpose, and to let my life be expanded, in my heart and mind. So doubts about the best avenue to take among many options is a kind of doubt that is a constant presence with me.

But doubt about my faith? No. Doubt about my purpose of life? I don't have any doubts about that. . . .

Q: You said once that you were strongly influenced by a sermon whose title was "If You Were Arrested For Being a Christian, Would There Be Enough Evidence To Convict You?" What is the evidence that the rest of us can see of a Christian?

A: I don't know. That's a hard question to answer because I don't think I'm better than anyone else. I recognize my own shortcomings and sinfulness, and need to improve, and need for forgiveness among the people around me and God. I was going through a stage in my life there that was a very difficult one. I had run for governor and lost. Everything I did was not gratifying. When I succeeded in something, I got no pleasure out of it. When I failed at something, it was a horrible experience for me.

And I thought I was a good Christian, and I was chairman of the board of deacons. I was the head of the brotherhood in all the 34 churches in my district, and head of the finance committee, and Sunday School teacher just about all my life. I thought I was really a great Christian. And one day the preacher gave this sermon. I don't remember a thing he said. I just remember the title that you just described— "If You Were Arrested For Being A Christian, Would There Be Any Evidence To Convict You?"

And my answer by the time the sermon was over was "No." I never had really committed myself totally to God. My Christian beliefs were superficial. They were based primarily on pride. I never had done much for other people. I was always thinking about myself. And I changed somewhat for the better. I formed a much more intimate relationship with Christ.

And since then I've had just about a new life. As far as hatreds, frustrations, I feel at ease with myself. Now, that doesn't mean that I'm better, but I'm better off myself.

Q: Tom Ottenad, who's a very well known writer for The St. Louis Post-Dispatch—I see you know him—said recently, "In a ruthless business, Jimmy Carter is a ruthless operator—even as he wears his broad smile and displays his Southern charm." And the question arises, and I've been inside the White House. I know some of the influences that work on a man trying to do the right thing. Can you be ruthless in the way I think he means it here—and a Christian?

A: I presume. . . . I'm a Christian no matter what.

Q: How do you reconcile?

A: He was talking about the campaign, and I don't know what he meant by "ruthless." I don't think I've ever deliberately hurt one of my opponents, to gain an advantage. I try not to. I don't remember when I have. There may have been something I've said in the heat of competition that made them feel discomforted. I can't deny that. But most people when they get to know me have finally decided that I'm much tougher than is originally apparent.

So, the word "ruthless" to me has connotations of cruelty. And I'm not sure that I could be cruel. . . . But I think I can be tough in making decisions that were difficult. And I can be tenacious under difficult circumstances.

You know I have temptations to which I yield often. You know, to make compromises. One of the major criticisms of me, by my opponents in the legislature, who've never yet been assuaged, is that I can't compromise. That's a common criticism. I often had to compromise, but I didn't compromise in a back room. I didn't compromise to begin with. My purpose was to spread out my position openly —this is what I propose. These are the reasons for it. This is the mess we have now. This is what we can accomplish. Try to work harmoniously with the legislature. Try to give them all the credit they could, and then, fight to the last vote. I was never much able to fit into a back room and compromise things away I believe in. And that's a very legitimate source of criticism for me.

I'm not a good compromiser. But I didn't suffer. I don't think Georgia suffered under my administration because of that attitude.

Q: I think what some people in this town are talking about is the unwillingness of Woodrow Wilson to compromise on the League of Nations, the unwillingness of Lyndon Johnson to compromise on the war, and a feeling that a disciplined, principled man, convicted of his own rightness, or having a private pipeline to God, in a sense, is going to say—I'm right. And the town won't function because of his inability to compromise. Is that a legitimate danger?

A: I don't believe so. I can see that that would be a legitimate concern, but I think the concern will be proven to be unjustified. They have a right to be concerned, but I don't think they need to be.

I like to quote one another thing—you've gotten into theology—Tillich said that "religion is a search for the relationship between us and God, and us and our fellow human beings." And he went on to say that "when we quit searching, in effect, we've lost our religion." When we become self-satisfied, proud, sure—at that point we lose the self-searching, the humility, the subservience to God's will—no intimate understanding of other people's needs, the more inclination to be accommodating and in that instant we lose our religion.

The fact that a person has deep religious convictions doesn't necessarily mean that that person always thinks that he's right, that God's ordained him to take a dominant position.

Although I have prayed a good bit—and do—I've never asked God to let me be President.

Q: Just to win the nomination? (laughter)

A: I've never asked God to let me win a single nomination. Never.

Q: What do you pray then?

A: I ask God to let me do what's right, and to let me do what's best, that my life be meaningful, in an optimum way, and if I win or lose, I believe I can accept the decision with composure and without regrets or without animosities or hatreds, or even deep disappointment.

Q: In your own search for what Tillich said is the truth about man's relationship to man and to God . . .

A: Yes?

Q: What's the most significant discovery Jimmy Carter has made?

A: Well, I think I described it superficially a while ago. I think it affected my life more than anything else. This is embarrassing a little bit for me to talk about because it's personal, but in my relationship with Christ and with God, I became able in the process to look at it in practical terms to accept defeat, to get pleasure out of successes, to be at peace with a world. For instance, one of the things I derived from it, again in a kind of embarrassing way, when I stood out on a factory shift line like I did this morning (in Erie, Pennsylvania, the General Electric Plant). Everybody that comes through there, when I shake hands with them, for that instance, for that instant, I really care about in a genuine way. And I believe they know it a lot of times. Quite often I will shake hands with women who work in a plant, and I just touch their hands, and quite frequently they'll put their arms around my neck and say—God bless you, son, or good luck. I'll help you and good luck.

But it's a kind of relationship with people around me, but I don't want to

insinuate that I'm better than other people. I've still got a long way to go. But you asked me a difficult question: What was the major discovery of my life? That's a hard thing to answer.

Q: But you care, though?

A: I care.

Q: You have found that you care about people?

A: I do.

Q: Why not be a pastor or a bishop and not a President?

A: (laughter) You've read my book. This came up early in my life, when I got home from the Navy, and I was thinking about running for the Georgia Senate. Some of your viewers haven't read the book. And we had a visiting pastor, and he was giving me a hard time about going into politics. He said it was a disgraceful profession —stay out of it. And I got angry and I turned to him and kind of lashed back and said—how would you like to be pastor of a Church with 80,000 members—because there were 80,000 people in this state senate district. I don't look on the presidency as a pastorate. . . .

Q: I was going to ask you . . . if the President was the pastor of 230 million . . .

A: No. Although Teddy Roosevelt said it's a bully pulpit, no, I don't look on it with religious connotations. But it gives me a chance to serve, and it also gives me a chance to magnify whatever influence I have, for either good or bad, and I hope it will be for good.

Q: What do you want for your children that you didn't have?

A: Well, I have to say that I had almost everything that I could have needed. I worked hard when I was a little child, but I'm proud of it. I lived in an isolated area when I was a little child, but I'm proud of it. I didn't travel much when I was a little child, but I don't regret it now. I think those travels through the fields and swamps were, in retrospect, were very precious days for me.

So, I would like to see what they already have—a much greater awareness of the world structure. My 8-year-old daughter now knows more about biology and science and history and politics and foreign affairs when I did when I went off to college. And it's because she has television, because she reads constantly and because we educate her well. And you know, we focus into her what we've learned. So, each generation has a chance to be better, as far as knowledge is concerned. But also they've lost something.

Q: Lost something?

A: Yes. Did I mention earlier, I think, in our conversation? I had a stability there. You know, when things started going wrong in my own life, my mother and father were there; and my sisters and brothers were there; and the church was there; and my community was there—which never did change, never has changed yet—but there was something there around which I built my life. In the modern-day world, you don't have that. It's a mobile world, and things to cling to are kind of scarce and few and far between. And which one of those advantages and disadvantages is the greater, I don't know. I wouldn't swap the life I had for the new, modern, fast-moving, open, non-structured, minimal family life, but there are advantages now I know—more and earlier traveling, having a tighter interrelationship with your own peer group than I had—but which is best I don't know.

But, maybe, we could go back to some of those old principles that we knew when we went to BYPU on Sunday afternoon . . . and at the same time keep the advantages of a modern world. I'm sure we can keep the advantages of the modern world, but going back to those principles that give stability are things that we're still searching for. We haven't found them yet.

Q: I'd better explain to people. The BYPU means Baptist Young People's Union.

A: That's right.

Q: What was your favorite Baptist hymn?

A: Oh, "Amazing Grace"—is it. It's . . . "Amazing Grace."

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Sprinkles
Chance of rain today and tonight; high in 70s, low in 40s. Sunny, cooler tomorrow. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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IN FOCUS

Where Do You Draw the Line on How Polls Operate?

Research that becomes advocacy is area of concern

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

When the political history of 1976 is written, the Bicentennial Year may also be known as the Year of the Pollster.

Never before in our history has the impact of polling on our political lives been as obvious as this spring, when two highly sophisticated polling operations began to define and exploit the "anti-Washington" issues that have propelled two candidates — Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan — to within grasping distance of the presidency.

To even casual fans of politics, Patrick Caddell, Carter's pollster, has become a household word, like Gallup or Harris, as the result of his work for Carter. At age 25, Caddell has become a master at using polls to identify the precise issue that hits what he has called the "antipathy to Washington" that Carter has used so well.

Then there is Richard B. Wirthlin, head of a Santa Ana, Calif., firm called Decision Making Information, who demonstrated how former California Gov. Ronald Reagan could use the foreign policy to reverse President Ford's position as the front runner within a period of a few weeks.

To get the complete picture of what is going on behind the speeches and the issue papers, you would have to know about Robert M. Teeter. Teeter's firm, Market Opinion Research, located in Detroit, mounted what is believed to be the single most ambitious polling operation ever done for a presidenial candidate. In 1971 and 1972, President Richard M. Nixon's Committee for the Re-election of the President, spent approximately $1 million through Market Opinion Research to see what voters were thinking.

THE COMPANY is now working under contract to the Ford campaign, a stance that might make it difficult to hit the anti-Washington nerve that the other pollsters have exposed. Difficult, perhaps, but not impossible, according to Teeter.

"In a sense, he (Ford) is the face of government, but at the same time his whole career has been an effort to cut the government back," Teeter points out.

The efforts of the Teeters, the Caddells and the Wirthlins are the visible ripples on the surface of an industry that now holds immense power over peoples' lives. There are believed to be as many as a thousand polling firms now in operation throughout the country. The lack of uniform standards and the totally unregulated nature of the industry makes entry into the polling business relatively easy.

"The number of private pollsters in politics really isn't that large," explains Mervin D. Field, a California pollster. "There are just a few in every election that become hot, so to speak. At any given times you'll find about six or seven firms doing all the work."

The real money and power within the polling industry comes from devising strategies to sell commercial products, not candidates, but there is a connection: If pollsters are successful in the political arena, commercial clients will flock to their doors.

Most of the criticisms of polling in the public press has been over the so-called "bandwagon effect," the alleged tendency of polls to stampede the media and the public off in quest of a candidate. Other criticism has been aimed at sampling techniques, chronic wondering at how a national election result can be predicted by interviews with a few thousand voters.

BUT THE POLLSTERS themselves are worrying about a third issue: the connection between commercial clients and the type of political work that polling firms do. Field, for example, is the head of an indus-

See POLLS, A-6

POLLS

Continued From A-1

try committee that is attempting to answer what is, perhaps, the most troublesome question of the moment: Where do you draw the line between research and advocacy on behalf of a client?

It is not an easy area to draw lines. Congress has shied away from regulating the polling industry because it was felt that any questioning of public polls and private polls that appear in the press raises serious First Amendment problems.

So it would appear that the only true arbiter here is the pollee. Sit back. Relax. Imagine a pollster has entered your home to get your opinion on vital questions of the day. Afterwards, you can fill in the bottom line yourself:

QUESTION NO. 1: This spring, several environmental leaders in California received telephone calls from a Cambridge, Mass., polling firm, Cambridge Reports. The caller wanted to know what the environmentalist community felt about nuclear energy and about "energy parks," or the concept of clustering nuclear power plants and related facilities on the same site.

Nuclear power is currently a big political issue in California. On June 8, the state's voters will face something called "Proposition 15" a referendum measure that would place severe restrictions on the future growth of nuclear power in the state.

The environmentalists, many of whom are leading the campaign for Proposition 15, thought nothing of the polling until they learned that Caddell, the president of Cambridge Survey Research Inc., the parent company of Cambridge Reports, was engaged in extensive polling in California for Westinghouse. A company with massive investments in nuclear power, Westinghouse is helping to orchestrate the drive against Proposition 15.

Then they read in the papers that Caddell had appeared at a conference in Atlanta sponsored by the Atomic Industrial Forum (AIF), the nuclear power industry's trade association, and had given a lecture on how the industry could put together a political campaign to defeat proposition 15.

ACCORDING to one account, Caddell told the nuclear industry heads that what they needed was: "An immediate, professionally managed, political campaign, and a professional campaign manager to look at the problem — developed and defined by research — to build a strategy for its solution. Research defines ways to provide maximum impact with the right issue to the right audience through the correct media."

Alan McGowan, the president of Scientists Institute for Public Information (SIPI), the New York firm which had commissioned the poll on nuclear parks, began getting angry phone calls from California. After he thought about the problem, he began to get angry and fired off a telegram ordering Caddell's firm to stop the poll.

SIPI, according to McGowan, had asked Cambridge Reports for a national poll on the attitudes of environmentalists and citizen activist groups on nuclear power and other energy issues as part of a contract SIPI has with the National Science Foundation.

In agreeing to undertake the polling, Cambridge Reports sent McGowan a letter saying that the firm had "done some work for Westinghouse on nuclear energy." The letter said that the firm could say nothing further about dealings with Westinghouse because "all data is confidential," and added that there was no conflict with SIPI's project.

McGowan is convinced there is a conflict. "I called up and expressed a certain amount of outrage. They said California was so far away. Certainly what's happening in California is a national issue. The basic question is what limits are placed on work that pollsters can do.

"Its absolutely unethical that they can undertake to do polls and then to orchestrate one side of a political campaign. As far as I'm concerned this throws the whole validity of polls into questions."

ASKED ABOUT his appearance before the AIF conference, Caddell said that he appeared at the request of his client, Westinghouse. The industry, he said, wanted to know "the nature of what a campaign was all about." And Caddell said he delivered a "technical discussion" based on his experience with political campaigns.

Caddell totally disagrees with McGowan's assertion of a conflict between his firms' projects with SIPI and Westinghouse and John Gorman, his partner, backs him up.

"We aren't political consultants," Gorman told a reporter. "We're only there when we have research to present. A consultant is there on a day-to-day basis making decisions. It's an industry wide distinction."

QUESTION NO. 2. One day in May 1971, Louis Harris received a telephone call. It was from President Nixon. The first thing Nixon wanted to know was, "Are you out to get me?" Harris recalls. "I assured him I wasn't. 'Well,' he says, 'I always thought you were the best in the business, but I always thought you were out to get me.' And he repeated 'Are you sure you're not out to get me?' He repeated it four times. Then he said 'If the Domestic Council asks you to do a study would you do it?'"

Lou Harris is one of the nation's most influential public pollsters. His polls and columns are carried in many daily newspapers. Like Caddell, he made his fame through political campaign work. Harris considered himself a member of John F. Kennedy's "inner circle" during Kennedy's drive for the presidency in 1960.

Now his polling firm, Harris Associates, a subsidiary of the Gannett newspaper chain, is a $6-million-a-year business. Harris said he demanded and received control over how the questions would be asked for the White House's Domestic Council. From then on, according to Harris, the White House was just another commercial client of his firm, which makes most of its money from its commercial clients, not its public polls.

Michael Wheeler, an associate professor of law at New England School of Law in Boston, challenges that assertion in a new book entitled "Lies, Damn Lies and Statistics" that is generally critical of the polling business.

The circumstances of Harris's dealings with Nixon, Wheeler states "are damning, in and of themselves. Before Harris began dealing with the administration, his ratings of Nixon were invariably lower than Gallup's, sometimes markedly so. Thereafter, the



PATRICK CADDELL
Carter's poll master

disparity vanished. For all but three weeks of Nixon's last year in office, Harris showed greater support for Nixon than did Gallup."

HARRIS CHARGES that Wheeler's inference that he somehow changed his polling to favor his new customer "is not true." Conservative groups, he asserts, were charging that he was loading his questions against Nixon. "We get it from both sides."

Wheeler has also charged that Nixon's campaign staff had a source inside the Gallup Organization, Harris' chief rival in the public polling business. The source, according to Wheeler, would always tell them when Gallup surveys were being conducted and Nixon would always time political endorsements and other campaign events to have maximum impact on the Gallup poll.

According to Alec Gallup, son of Dr. George Gallup, the organization's founder, Gallup polls always contain questions for the firm's commercial clients. After about 10 minutes of political or public interest questions, those interviewed for the Gallup poll are likely to be asked another 30 minutes of questions on what brand of lawn sprinker they favor, or what breakfast food they prefer.

Gallup said that the Nixon administration's unusual interest in the polling business was well-known within the industry. The White House, he said, was always calling to get early poll results and other special favors. "They were terribly preoccupied with polls and they bugged everybody."

QUESTION NO. 3. In January 1975 the Opinion Research Corp. (ORC), a subsidiary of the Arthur D. Little Co., asked 2,038 people some questions about the proposed new federal Consumer Protection Agency:

"Those in favor of setting up an additional Federal Consumer Protection Agency on top of all the other agencies say it is needed because the agencies we have are not getting the job done by themelves. Those who oppose setting up the additional agency say that we already have plenty of government agencies to protect consumers, and it's just a matter of making them work better. How do you feel?"

"Do you favor setting up an additional Consumer Protection Agency over all the others, do you favor doing what is necessary to make the agencies we now have more effective in protecting consumer interests?"

Projecting from the answers of their national sample, the firm came up with the conclusion that "75 percent of the American adults were opposed to the creation of a consumer advocacy agency." The sponsor of the poll, a trade group called the Business Roundtable, released the findings to the press and the story broke just as Congress was mulling over bills backed by consumer groups that would create the new agency.

Carole Tucker Foreman, head of the Consumer Federation of America, attacked the ORC poll, charging that its questions were "slanted" and "deliberately misleading."

Ms. Foreman took her case to a new evaluation committee being set up by the major trade association of the polling industry, the American Association For Public Opinion Research (AAPOR). The committee is headed by Field and consists of 12 respected polling experts. It made the ORC case the first ever to be subjected to peer review within the industry.

IN JANUARY the committee issued a 13-page decision that makes some remarkable admissions about the weaknesses of the polling industry. It concluded that ORC violated industry standards because the firm "did make interpretations which do not appear to be supported by the data made public. . . ."

The poll, according to the committee, was biased because its questions gave people the impression that a large number of federal agencies already existed to protect the consumer. In addition, they were phrased to "mobilize a large portion of any latent anti-big-government sentiment that exists among the public."

In reaching its decision, which was approved by 11 out of 12 committee members, the panel added these illuminating remarks about the polling industry in general. In a section entitled "methodology," the panel noted that it was "severely hampered by the absence of minimum methodological standards of practice. There is a vast literature on every phase of survy research methodology, but this is scarcely acknowledged by the existing AAPOR code . . . . Standards of scientific competence are referred to in the code without further explanation."

The committee shied away from ruling that ORC had intentionally done something unethical, however. Speaking in general terms, it said that the group's code of ethics wasn't always a useful tool because the "largest amount of misinformation about public opinion is probably the result of unknowing or unintentionally bad research. We suffer more from the work of incompetents than from that of the knowingly unethical."

And finally, the committee concluded that "when a researcher undertakes to report on the state of evidence in support of some point of view, no matter how objective he or she may try or appear to be, he is engaged in 'advocacy research.' There is nothing inherently unprofessional or unethical in such an enterprise, but it is freighted with many hazards."

Harry W. O'Neill, executive vice president of ORC, has replied to the committee's findings, saying he welcomes the effort to get a better definition of standards and research methods within the industry.

ORC, he added, is still sticking by its guns on the consumer study, however. "Our reporting of the findings of the research in question relates to our conclusion of what the data say, not what we thought would help our client's position."

QUESTON NO. 4: It has been said that there may be conflicts of interest in the polling business. Strongly agree..... Agree..... Disagree..... Strongly Disagree..... Other.....

Q

Crosby S. Noyes

What Jimmy Carter would offer as president

The way things are going, it is not premature to consider how Jimmy Carter would perform as the next president of the United States. Although a good many things about the former Georgia governor are still enigmatic — including his extraordinary appeal to a large number of voters — some tentative observations can be offered.

The first and most important is that Jimmy Carter is a certified, card-carrying Democrat who presumably shares political leanings with the majority of the members of Congress. He might even command their loyalties — a refreshing change from the way things have been over the last eight years.

Since there is no realistic chance of electing a Republican Congress next November, there is an obvious advantage in electing a Democrat as president. It is hard if not impossible to do the essential business of the nation under today's conditions of political and institutional antagonism.

The present situation, of course, is extraordinary. If Gerald Ford were to be elected president in his own right, his relationship with the Congress would change drastically.

As it is, the spasm of congressional reassertion brought on by Watergate seems to be running its course. Congressional excursions into the areas of foreign affairs and the national intelligence have been sufficiently damaging to inspire a certain reaction from the voters, and consequently a certain caution on the part of the lawmakers. But even so, the normal relationship between the executive and the legislative would come far more easily under a Democratic administration.

Not that Carter's election would be a guarantee of instant harmony. If his record as governor is any guide, Carter would be far from shy in asserting the prerogatives of the executive over those of the legislature. In his own estimate, his attitude toward government is "very aggressive." Nothing that has happened in the presidential primaries suggests that Jimmy Carter would be a passive president.

What kind of president he would be is still anybody's guess. It is true that the difficulty of pinning Carter down on particular issues — or even of tagging him as a liberal or a conservative — disturbs many people. It also is somewhat curious in a candidate who promises a kind of communion with the American people that has not been the political fashion in recent years.

At the same time, the evasions and generalities have a stamp of honesty in Carter's case. The plain truth is that he does not know — and at this point cannot know — what he will do about a host of specific problems until he has the authority and the facts on which to base his decisions. A candidate for the presidency who comes to office encumbered with a blueprint for action on every important issue might be far more suspect.

What Carter has demonstrated so far beyond reasonable dispute is a talent for political organization that has not been seen in this country for a very long time. It is not the professional kind of talent of a Lyndon Johnson or a Harry Truman. But its success in projecting an unknown personality into the limelight of public attention in the space of a few months has been a shattering experience for every professional politician in the country.

This, and something more. Along with political organization, Carter seems to have the infinitely more important talent of communication on a national wavelength. What he has been saying matters much less than the conviction that he conveys to his listeners. And this is the most priceless gift a politician can have.

IORNING
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For 107 Years the South's Standard Newspaper

MAY 12, 1976

FIFTEEN C

Reagan, Church Win Nebraska Primaries

By ANDREW J. GLASS
and ANDREW MOLLISON
Constitution Washington Bureau

OMAHA—Ronald Reagan beat President Ford Tuesday in Nebraska's Republican primary, but Ford broke Reagan's recent winning streak with a solid victory in West Virginia.

In the Democratic contest, four-term Idaho Sen. Frank Church scored a surprising win over the national frontrunner, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

Church said a Nebraska win in his first primary outing would be "a political miracle," adding that "miracles still happen in politics."

Carter commented, "You can't win them all." Carter had won 12 of the 15 primaries that preceded Tuesday's voting.

Carter won Connecticut's party-run Democratic presidential primary Tuesday, fending off a strong challenge from Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, 33 per cent to 31 per cent.

With 65 per cent of the precincts counted in Nebraska, Reagan—who has come from behind since May 1 to surpass the President in GOP delegate totals—had 53 per cent of the votes against 47 per cent for the President.

Rogers Morton, President Ford's campaign manager, conceded Tuesday night that Reagan probably had defeated Ford in the Nebraska primary.

Asked what he would do to change Ford as a candidate, Morton retorted: "I'm not going to rearrange the furniture on the deck of the Titanic." He did not elaborate.

While Nebraska brought another round of unwelcomed news to the White House, the apparent loss here was offset somewhat by the results in West Virginia, where Ford scored a 56 to 34 per cent win over his California challenger.

Yet, neither Ford nor Reagan had invested the money, campaign time or personal prestige in West Virginia that they had in Nebraska—the first farm state primary of the campaign season.

John D. (Jay) Rockefeller won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in West Virginia and former Gov. Cecil Underwood captured the Republican nomination.

With approximately half the Nebraska vote in, Church led Carter by 40 to 35 per cent. If the trend held up when the farm vote came in, it could mark Carter's first loss in a popular primary contest since early March when he was defeated by Washington Sen. Henry Jackson in Massachusetts.

Two familiar Democratic names—Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and

See PRIMARIES, Page 8-A

5

Primaries

From Page 1-A

Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts—did not do well in Nebraska.

Placed on the ballot against their will, Humphrey and Kennedy shared about 25 per cent of the total vote with seven remaining contenders whose hopes had faded in earlier contests.

Church's strong showing immediately gave heart to the anti-Carter forces in Democratic ranks.

Carter faces another strong challenge next Tuesday in Maryland from California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr. A top Brown political aide, Allard Lowenstein, dubbed the Nebraska outcome as "terrific news."

Church felt his strong showing served as an adequate launching pad for his presidential campaign, giving it "a legitimacy which no one has yet recognized."

In an indirect slap at Carter, Church contended that he had done well because his drive had been "aimed explicitly at the issues."

"I can't win them all," said Carter, still dressed in a tuxedo after attending a swank Democratic fund raising dinner in Washington.

"We've got 15 primaries in May," he pointed out. "It's not a sure thing that I win in Nebraska just because I won in other states."

Carter emphasized that he was not conceding or claiming victory at his press conference, which came after 29 per cent of the returns in Nebraska showed Church ahead with 40 per cent of the vote.

"I don't see it (lossing to Church in Nebraska) as a loss of front-runner status," said Carter.

Meantime, West Virginia Democrats lined up overwhelming behind native son Robert Byrd, the Senate Majority whip. Byrd, running against Alabama Gov. George Wallace, his sole opponent on the West Virginia ballot, received nine of every 10 votes.

The beleagured President had termed the Nebraska outcome "crucial and critical" to his nomination.

The Ford camp feared that Reagan's mounting string of victories had left him in danger of losing the prize—the first president to face such a prospect since Chester Arthur in 1884.

At a minimum, the verdict in this Midwestern farm state will raise political storm signals in Michigan, Ford's home state, which holds an open primary next Tuesday.

A Reagan victory in Michigan could prove devastating to the President's cause.

Despite open aid from Sen. Barry Goldwater, R-Ariz., the hero of GOP conservatives, the President appeared to be faltering under a Reagan barrage against the administration's foreign and defense policies.

Both men campaigned last week in Nebraska.

Vote Counts

In Nebraska

REPUBLICANS

65 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Ronald Reagan	72,560(52%)
Gerald Ford	64,138(48%)

DEMOCRATS

65 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Frank Church	48,313(40%)
Jimmy Carter	43,898(36%)
Hubert Humphrey	8,914(7%)
Ellen McCormack	4,251(4%)
George Wallace	3,482(3%)
Edward Kennedy	3,938(4%)
Morris Udall	3,179(3%)
Henry Jackson	1,953(1%)

In West Virginia

REPUBLICANS

38 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Gerald Ford	30,872(56%)
Ronald Reagan	24,545(44%)

DEMOCRATS

38 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Robert Byrd	106,824(90%)
George Wallace	13,015(10%)

In Connecticut

DEMOCRATS ONLY

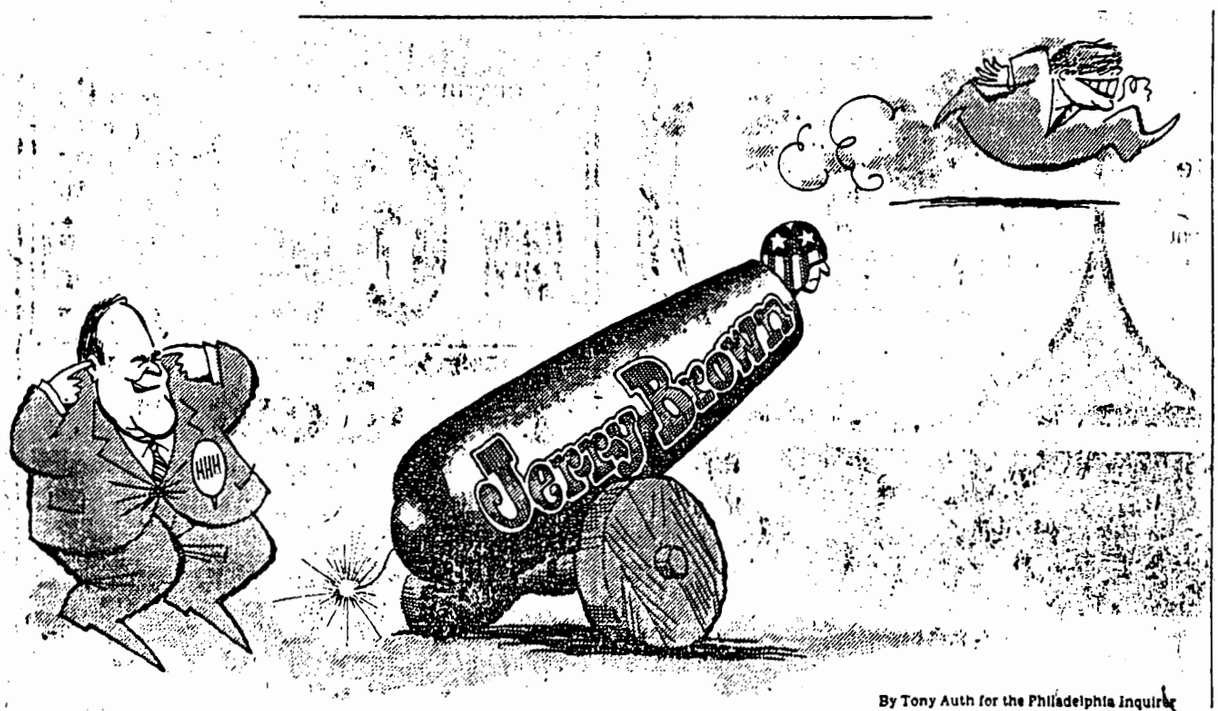
100 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	35,415(33%)
Morris Udall	32,860(31%)
Henry Jackson	18,962(18%)
Uncommitted	13,674(13%)
Ellen McCormack	5,515(5%)

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/13



By Tony Auth for the Philadelphia Inquirer

39A

B

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The United States and the Soviet Union quietly initialed in Moscow a treaty limiting the size of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, but plans for formal signing ceremonies today in both capitals were postponed. Some Administration officials said the White House was nervous about giving Ronald Reagan something new to criticize before Tuesday's primary vote in Michigan. [Page 1, Column 4.]

Russian Embassy officials in Washington have been frequently in touch with Jimmy Carter's aides and advisers, showing interest in the Presidential race and implying that they could possibly pursue policies that might influence the outcome. The aides said the Soviet diplomats repeatedly said that President Ford was undermining détente, that they did not want to see Senator Henry M. Jackson elected President and that there would be mutual benefit in Mr. Carter's meeting the Soviet Ambassador. [1:5-7.]

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, six weeks after it gained victory with Soviet and Cuban support over its rivals, is faced with overwhelming peacetime problems. The economy is virtually paralyzed by the destruction of the transportation and distribution systems, there is a desperate lack of technicians and shortages of equipment, spare parts and food. Angolan leaders are more concerned with what they consider economic sabotage and a relaxation of the revolutionary spirit. [2:4-6.]

National

Senator Frank Church's upset victory over Jimmy Carter in the Nebraska Democratic primary gave fresh hope to Democrats opposing the front-runner, while Nebraska Republicans gave Ronald Reagan his fifth victory over President Ford in 10 days. Next Tuesday's primaries in Michigan, Mr. Ford's home state, will be acutely important to him, while Mr. Carter will be seeking to regain his momentum. [1:8.]

The House ethics committee voted in a closed meeting to investigate a complaint brought by Common Cause alleging conflict of interest in the affairs of Representative Robert L. F. Sikes, Democrat of Florida. While chairman of a subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee overseeing military contracts, he was said to have had a personal involvement in business deals involving the armed services. Mr. Sikes has denied any wrongdoing, and his attorney expressed confidence that he would be exonerated. It will be the committee's first probe since it was created in 1967. [1:6.]

Metropolitan

The Realty Advisory Board, representing apartment-house landlords, rejected the recommendations of Mayor Beame's special panel for settling the 10-day-old strike of building service employees. The union local immediately announced it would sign agreements with any individual employers on the basis of the recommended $39-a-week three-year package. The landlords' group asked the Mayor to reconvene the two sides, but the union president said it would work out individual agreements instead. [1:1.]

Governor Carey proposed that former Mayor Robert F. Wagner take over many of the duties of Patrick J. Cunningham, the Democratic state chairman. The move was interpreted by some party leaders as a signal to Mr. Cunningham, who has been under investigation for a possible role in the alleged sale of judgeships, to quit his post. Democratic county leaders were quick to express their opposition to Mr. Wagner, who has often opposed "the bosses" in his career. A source close to Mr. Carey said he had moved to supplant Mr. Cunningham in patronage and legislative matters because the split with the state chairman was beginning to affect his capacity to govern. [1:2-3.]

A special state grand jury has indicted State Supreme Court Justice Irving H. Saypol on corruption charges, according to law-enforcement officials. The indictment, alleging bribery and perjury, was sought by Maurice H. Nadjari, the special state prosecutor. Justice Saypol, a former Federal prosecutor and a state judge for 25 years, reached the retirement age of 70 last year but was certified for two more years. [1:2-3.]

The Offtrack Betting Corporation devoted an entire news conference to James Sullivan, who had bet $3 and won $128,844. He picked the winners of four races at Yonkers Raceway by converting the last four digits of his Army serial number into letters that matched the results. Over all, OTB patrons lose about $200 million a year after taxes, commissions and surcharges. [1:1-2.]

The Other News

International

Teng affair mirrored in Canton posters. Page
Portugal's army chief backed for Presidency. Page
Artist in Soviet Georgia "happy man." Page 4
2 Latin leaders deny Cuba is a threat. Page 5
Ex-M.P. describes role in Thorpe case. Page 6
Liberals in Britain name caretaker leader. Page 7
Quake relief becoming Italian election issues. Page 8
New ertmors complicate Italian relief efforts. Page 8
Jamaica orders curfew to curb violence. Page 8
Searches yield no clues in Bolivian's death. Page 9
Political quarrels disrupt Nairobi meeting. Page 11

Government and Politics

Oswald not in huge secret service file. Page 10
Justice Dept. won't defend 2 F.B.I. agents. Page 10
Senators approve tax cut on "unearned income." Page 12
Equal employment agency scored. Page 13
City Council to move on residency requirement. Page 21
Brooklyn Republican leader supports Reagan. Page 26
Ford campaigns hard for Michigan primary. Page 26
Senator Church hails "political miracle." Page 27
Rivals complain of Jay Rockefeller's spending. Page 29
Democrats welcome Carter to New York. Page 29
Mrs. Abzug says she won't seek House seat. Page 32
M.A.C. is seeking to help elderly investors. Page 59
Savings-bank checking accounts again. Page 62
Carey's bid to aid housing agency falters. Page 62
Compromise being sought on Co-op City. Page 62

General

Two more purported Hughes wills disclosed. Page 15
Miss Hearst confronts Harrises in courtroom. Page 17
Suffolk farmland program to be renewed. Page 32

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Sunny, milder tonight. Cloudy, milder Wednesday. Temperature range: 54-63. Detail

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NEBRASKA VICTORY BY CHURCH BUOYS STOP-CARTER BLOC

Vote Is Seen as Indication That Georgian's Impetus May Be Slowing

FORD PROSPECTS HURT

President Viewed as Badly in Need of a Victory in Michigan Next Week

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

OMAHA, May 12—Senator Frank Church of Idaho, with his upset victory over Jimmy Carter in yesterday's Nebraska primary, gave fresh hope to Democrats who still hope to stop the former Georgia Governor.

President Ford's prospects were further damaged in this sparsely populated agricultural state by another loss to Ronald Reagan, the fifth in the last 10 days. The President defeated the California conservative in West Virginia, but neither of the Republicans had emphasized that state.

As the last of the returns trickled in today, their effect was to set up yet another significant series of tests next week in the tumultuous 1976 Presidential race.

Mr. Ford, who has not bested Mr. Reagan in a sharply contested primary since March 16 in Illinois, desperately needs to do so in his home state, Michigan, next Tuesday. He campaigned there today, striving to avoid what Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee described as a potentially "devastating" defeat.

Could Lose Momentum

Mr. Carter, for whom yesterday was the first primary day of the year without a victory, is in danger of dissipating the momentum that has brought him close to nomination. Should he lose in Michigan to Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, whom he seems to lead comfortably, and in Maryland to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, whom he appears to trail slightly, his campaign could be stalled.

The Georgian did manage to attract more support than any other candidate in Connecticut, where Democrats chose delegates to district conventions on June 12, but he only narrowly edged Mr. Udall, the lanky liberal who has yet to win a primary. Mr. Udall said that the Nebraska and Connecticut outcomes meant "the end of a wholesale stampede to the Carter bandwagon."

Commenting on the results in her state, Gov. Ella T. Grasso of Connecticut said they showed that the Democratic contest remained open. In New Jersey, James P. Dugan, the Democratic chairman there, predicted that the uncommitted slate he supports would win a majority of the 108 convention delegates at stake in the state's June 8 primary.

Mr. Carter reacted philosophically, commenting in Washing-

Continued on Page 26, Column 3

Aides Say Carter Is Courted by Russians

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 12 — Russian Embassy officials have mad numerous contacts with aides and advisers to Jimmy Carter, expressing interest in the Presidential race and implying that they could possibly pursue policies that might influence the outcome, according to the aides and advisers.

They said in interviews that the Soviet diplomats repeatedly asserted in these private conversations that President Ford was undermining détente, that they did not want to see Senator Henry M. Jackson elected President and that there would be mutual benefit in arranging a meeting between Mr. Carter and Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin.

"They told us," said one Carter aide, "that a new strategic arms limitation agreement is ready to be signed, and that Ford is delaying the signing for political advantage against Ronald Reagan."

Ford Administration officials have often stated publicly that the arms talks are being held up by Moscow's unwillingness to make some final compromises. Mr. Reagan has been accusing Mr. Ford of making too many concessions to the Soviet Union.

At the same time that the Russians are courting Mr. Carter, Mr. Ford continues to respond to the political sensitivity of Soviet-American relations in the Republican primaries. Mr. Ford today delayed the formal signing of a seperate agreement with Moscow on limiting peaceful nuclear explosions.

Experts on Soviet affairs said that the Russians attempted to influence Presidential elections in the past by taking policy action on matters being debated in the campaign. But tahey have not been so outspoken in the past as they seem to be now, according to these experts.

Looking back on the contacts that began last fall, one Carter aide reflected, "I think they have been trying to tell us that they see Presidential politics as an opportunity to intervene in our politics, and that they see an ability to influence the outcome."

Carter aides and advisers said that they had also been approached by French and British diplomats, although not often, but never by Chinese diplomats.

Aides to other Presidential hopefuls — Senators Frank Church and Hubert H. Humphrey, Representative Morris K. Udall, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Reagan—reported no contacts with Soviet diplomats or with

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

Church Victory Gives New Hope to Carter's Foes

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

ton, "I can't win them all." He said that he remained the probable nominee, and most party leaders agreed.

The Plains, Ga., farmer is the strong choice of Democrats nationally, according to a Gallup Poll completed on Monday. In interviews with 545 Democrats, 39 percent chose Mr. Carter, as against 30 percent who preferred Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, who elected to avoid an active candidacy. No other candidate topped 10 percent.

President Ford's allies made no attempt to hide their chagrin at his Nebraska setback; Representative John J. Rhodes of Arizona, the House minority leader, called it "more bad news." But Ford campaign officials, from Rogers C. B. Morton, the campaign manager, on down, continued to predict ultimate victory.

The President himself said in Michigan that he had expected to suffer some "disappointments" in May, but he appealed for "a mandate from Michigan and the American people to finish the job" in the White House. Asked whether he expected to win in Michigan, he replied, "You bet I do."

Discussion of Concession

For the first time, however, there was discussion among a few Republican professionals of the possibility that the President might decide to concede defeat if he could not reverse the tide. A party chairman in the Middle West said he thought it "just barely possible" that Mr. Ford would step aside if "humiliation is piled on top of humiliation."

As in the past, victory in Nebraska went to the candidates who spent the most time and effort here. Consevative, independent and fiercely Proud of their grain-rich state, Nebraska voters seem to resent being taken for granted.

With 1,505 delegate votes needed for nomination, Mr. Carter, with 596, has almost three times as many as his nearest rival. Mr. Udall has 203½, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington has 203 but has withdrawn from active campaigning, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama has 143. The rest are scattered, with 308½ delegates remaining uncommitted.

Reagan Keeps Lead

On the Republican side, Mr. Reagan retained his lead with 415 delegates as the primary campaign passed the halfway mark. To date, 16 states have held primaries; 14 remain on the schedule, mostly in Southern and Western states. Mr. Ford has 325 delegates and 381 are uncommitted, although many of the uncommitteds lean toward the President.

Mr. Church, a boyishly handsome, 51-year-old liberal who is serving his fourth senatorial term, achieved what he and others called a political miracle in Nebraska. Having declared his candidacy only six weeks ago, he began as an unknown quantity to most Nebraska Democrats yet managed to find a constituency in the face of assertions over the last two weeks that Mr. Carter was unstoppable.

He said that he was "stunned" by his sudden success—one neither Mr. Udall nor such earlier rivals as Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma had been able to achieve.

First for a Liberal

It was a victory particularly notable because it was the first scored all year by a Democratic liberal. As such, it will undoubtedly give heart to those liberals, particularly in Washington, who are suspicious of Mr. Carter's views.

Although he led his front-running rival all night, Mr. Church barely hung on to win by fewer than 2,000 votes. He also won 15 delegates, the eight others going to Mr. Carter.

The Idaho Senator owed his victory to thestate's only two metropolitan counties, Douglas (Omaha) and Lancaster (Lincoln), each of which he carried by 4,000 votes. Mr. Carter outpolled him elsewhere, aided by his own farm background in winning 65 of the 93 counties, most of them rural, and such small cities as Scottsbluff and Grand Island.

Persuading the backers of other candidates to coalesce behind him was clearly a major reason for Mr. Church's victory. So was the intensity of his effort here. He out outcampaigned Mr. Carter, two weeks to two days, and outspent him, $125,000 to $40,000, which he will be unable to do in the Western states where he next meets the Georgian.

Not Second Place

At a news conference in Omaha this morning, Mr. Church said he was "not going to settle for second place" and held out hope that he could win the nomination on a second or later ballot. Most Democratic officials thought it more likely that his victory here, if duplicated in other primary states, would in the end help Mr. Humphrey to emerge as the choice of a deadlocked convention.

Mr. Carter's success in Connecticut, which appears likely to bring him at least 18 of the state's 51 delegates, was based on a strong shoooting in Hartford. Mr. Udall, who will probably get 16 or more delegates did best in New Haven, a university town, and the Fairfield County suburbs.

In West Virginia, Senator Robert C. Byrd won nine of every 10 votes cast in the preferential primary, scoring the first favorite-son victory of the year. Mr. Wallace was second. Mr. Carter was not entered in West Virginia, the only state whose primary he skipped. By state law, all 33 delegates are uncommitted.

Aid to President

The Republican delegates from that state are also uncommitted, which is one reason Mr. Reagan and Mr. Ford ignored the primary. Because Gov. Arch A. Moore Jr., a Ford backer, will control most of the 28-member delegation, the President is likely to gain more votes from West Virginia than Mr. Reagan gained from his psychologicall more important victory here.

Mr. Ford won at least 50 of West Virginia's 55 counties, inculding populous Kanawha, which includes Charleston.

In Nebraska, Mr. Reagan won relatively easily because he swept the rural areas and held Mr. Ford to a margin of only 73 votes out of 40,000 cast in Douglas County. The President's strongest area was that around liberal Lincoln, site of the state government and the University of Nebraska.

So strong was the Reagan tide in the sand hills and farmlands of western Nebraska that Senator Carl T. Curtis, one of the most successful Republician politicians in the history of the state, barely won election as a Ford delegate. In all, Mr. Reagan took 18 delegates and Mr. Ford seven

Mr. Ford's defeat in Nebraska, a state where he said his cammpaign to retain the White House was to "begin anew," was considered damaging in a number of ways, including the following:

¶Mr. Reagan won here without the help of the crossover votes that aided him in Texas on May 1 and Indiana on May 4. He was quick to point that out, commenting that Nebraska "confirms my support is not a Wallace vote." Neither independents nor Democrats were permitted to cast Republican ballots in this state.

¶Mr. Ford's new strategy of acting more "Presidential," evolved in the aftermath of three primary losses last Tuesday, appeared to have failed, although he may not have had sufficient time to change the voters' perceptions.

¶His weak showing, particularly in the farming areas of the state, indicated that he may have trouble carrying the usually Republican farm belt in November even if he can defeat Mr. Reagan.

An additional piece of news for the White House came from California, where the latest survey by Mervin D. Field, a widely respected pollster, showed Mr. Reagan widening his lead in that crucial primary state over the President.

Voting Effects

Following are the final tally in Tuesdays Democratic Presidential voting in Connecticut and the latest delegate-vote totals, including the Connecticut results, the primaries in Nebraska and West Virginia and Republican caucuses and conventions in Louisiana, Missouri and Guam:

Connecticut Voting

Carter	35,415	(33%)
Udall	32,860	(31%)
Jackson	18,962	(18%)
Uncommitted	13,674	(13%)
McCormack	5,515	(5%)
Harris	178	

*Less than 1 percent.

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

	New	Total
Reagan	21	415
Frd	14	325
Uncommitted	34	381

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

	New	Total
Carter	26	596
Udall	16	203½
Jackson	4	203
Wallace	0	143
*Stevenson	0	86
Humphrey	0	65½
Church	15	18
Shapp	0	18
Harris	0	17
McCormack	0	2
Walker	0	2
Brown	0	1½
Bayh	0	1
Uncommitted	43	308½

*Favorite son in Illinois

Carter's Aides Assert Russians Are Paying Court to Candidate

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

diplomats from other nations.

According to members of the Carter camp, Russian diplomats made their first approaches last October, after a news article predicted that Mr. Carter would win most of the Democratic delegates in Iowa. Initially, the Soviet diplomats went to the Carter campaign office in Washington, seeking campaign literature and speeches.

"Since February or March, and especially in the last month or so, they have been lighting up our switchboards and coming over regularly," said an aide.

The aides mentioned three regular visitors and callers—Victor F. Isakov, counselor and fourth-ranking man in the Embassy; Igor V. Lebedev, a third secretary, and Oleg N. Yermishkin, a press secretary.

"They told us that they were not happy at all with Jackson, and that he was the one person they didn't want to be nominated," one Carter staff member said.

The Russian diplomats talked a great deal about Jewish emigration and argued that Jews, contrary to what is said in the United States do not want to leave the Soviet Union, the aides related.

"Most of the conversations with the Russians have been about how United States-Soviet relations are falling apart because of the way they say Ford is trying to compete with Reagan for conservative votes," one Carter source said.

Members of the Carter camp, many of whom are experienced in dealing with the Russians, indicated that they were aware of Soviet moves designed to influence previous Presidential elections. In 1960, it is generally believed by experts in the Russian field, the Russians delayed the release of U-2 spy pilot Francis Gary Powers to help the electoral chances of John F. Kennedy over Richard M. Nixon. In 1968, Moscow is known by American negotiators to have urged the North Vietnamese to get negotiations under way with the United States to help Hubert H. Humphrey's candidacy against Mr. Nixon. In 1972, Moscow showered attention and friendship on Mr. Nixon in his race against Senator George McGovern.

The Russians could seek to have a similar effect this year by offering or withholding compromises on such issues as the Middle East and the nuclear arms talks.

In regard to the Russians' suggestions about a meeting between Mr. Carter and Ambassador Dobrynin, a Carter associate said, "We told them that it may come at some time, but that it's not appropriate now."

Such a meeting is considered neither illegal nor improper. Candidates often talk to foreign officials in Washington and travel abroad with the express purpose of meeting foreign leaders.

Told about these events, a State Department expert on the Soviet Union said that they seemed to him somewhat typi- influential leaders, except for the degree of attention being given to the Carter staff and the bluntness and suggestiveness of the anti-Ford remarks.

Two attempts were made to reach Mr. Dobrynin. After the second telephone call, his aide said, "The Ambassador is aware of the purpose of the call and will return it."

In his speeches and statements Mr. Carter has made three points about Soviet-American relations. First, he said that he de emphasize the importance of these realations and upgrade efforts to deal with its allies. Second, he has stressed his support for "the objectives of detente" and would "continue our friendly relationships with Russia." Third, he has charged that the Ford Administration "is giving up too much and asking too little" of Moscow.

Mr. Carter has also promised to reduce defense spending by about 5 percent.

Senator Church Hails Victory as a 'Political Miracle'

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore. May 12—It was pouring rain this morning when Senator Frank Church left Omaha, but if a drop fell on him, he never notice it.

The tabulators were tallying the last precincts in the Idaho Democrat's narrow victory over Jimmy Carter, a performance the Senator himself was now calling a "political miracle."

But Mr. Church was already headed for Oregon in search of money and support for the May 25 voting in this state, which he considers the most important primary he will contest.

Senator Church is now refining his tactics to concentrate his limited resources in Oregon, Idaho and Nevada two weeks from now. After that will come efforts in Montana and Rhode Island.

Flying Westward

"If I can win in the Northwest, which is my home territory after all, and can now attract enough press and television attention, I can go into the final primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey and do quite well," Mr. Church said in a quiet conversation this afternoon as he flew westward.

If his calculations are more accurate than they were in Nebraska, where he had hoped only to run a close second to Mr. Carter, Mr. Church expects to present himself to the Democratic National Convention in New York next July with a "respectable" number of delegates pledged to him, "somewhere around 150."

"I never have excepted to come in this late and go to the convention with enough to win at New York on the first round," he said. "But if I can keep my Nebraska momentum going into the Northwest, I'll go in with enough to help keep Carter from winning on the first ballot. After that, it'll be an open convention that could move in many directions."

The Senator said that from the beginning he had two pressing problems: Getting the news media to consider him a serious candidate and raising enough money to act like one. After his surprising victory in Nebraska yesterday, Mr. Church expects to have a little less trouble with the first, but still expects plenty from the second.

Although he was reluctant to discuss figures, he did concede that he would have to run in four Northwestern states and Rhode Island with less than $1 million.

How much he can do in California will depend, he said, on his modest momentum, attracting more money to go with the roughly $500,000 he either has or will get when Federal matching funds, for which he is eligible, are freed.

But he managed to campaign 10 days in Nebraska on about $125,000, he said.

Oregon Race Crucial

"I have no worries about Idaho," he said. "That's home and I have friends there. Oregon will be the bellwether. I'll be facing the same challenge as I did in Nebraska. Every Democrat alive will be on that ballot, and I'm starting from the farthest back of any of them."

Montana, Mr. Church continued, should be favorable to him. The Senator is well known in that state and, while he expects a tough challenge from Mr. Carter, the issues troubling Montanan voters are ones he has long been been on the right side of.

Carter Still Confident

Special to The New York Times

SALISBURY, Md., May 12—Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia said today the "the inexorable nature of our victory is becoming more and more apparent."

Mr. Carter said that he was not shaken by Senator Frank Church's victory in the Nebraska primary yesterday.

In a news conference at a local television station this morning, Mr. Carter conceded that he thought he would come in first in Nebraska and congratulated Senator Church as "a superb compaigner."

However, Mr. Carter said that even if he also suffered "narrow" defeats in Maryland on May 18, Oregon on May 25 and California on June 8, "I don't think this would have any substantial bearing on whether I get the nomination."

At one point, Mr. Carter said "I certainly expect to lose" in the California primary to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

One reason for his optimism, Mr. Carter added, is that, because he has entered every primary contest except West Virginia's yesterday, he cannot be expected to win every election, and that he can maintain his "viability" while losing a few elections.

Another factor, he said, was that he has taken a "very long step" toward victory at the Democratic National Convention. He said today that the number of delegates he had accumulated so far was 724—with 1,505 needed to nominate. The New York Times credits him with 596.

Mr. Carter's total includes not only delegates already formally selected, but also the share that should fall to him in states where a number of future delegates will be selected on the basis of proportional primary vote or on showings in precincts and other low-level caucuses.

Saigon Said to Hold 200,000 In Its 'Re-Education' Camps

PARIS, May 12 (Reuters) — At least 200,000 South Vietnamese linked to the deposed government of President Nguyen Van Tieu are still being held in "re-education camps," the newspaper Le Monde has reported.

Patrice de Beer, a correspondent who recently visited several of the camps, said most of those detained were former soldiers and officers.

He said it appeared that the main reason the men were still held was that the Communist Government that took over the country in April 1975 feared they would create disturbances if released.

The correspondent said there had been no executions and that the lower-ranking officers might be released in a few months.

The re-education program, he said, consists mainly of studying recent Vietnamese history as seen by the Communist authorities.

Jersey's Anti-Carter Democrats Feel Their Chances Are Better

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, May 12 — New Jersey Democrats opposed to Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign indicated today that they thought their efforts to stop the former Georgia Governor had a chance of succeeding.

State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman, predicted that his uncommitted delegate slates, which are backed by most of the major Democratic county organizations, would defeat Mr. Carter in the June 8 primary, winning the majority of New Jersey's 108 convention votes.

Senator Dugan's prediction was precipitated in part by Mr. Carter's defeat yesterday in Nebraska's Democratic primary, where he lost to Senator Frank Church of Idaho, and by Representative Morris K. Udall's strong showing in Connecticut.

And Mr. Dugan is awaiting two more developments.

One is his expectation that Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California will win next Tuesday's Maryland primary.

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, the favorite of the uncommitted delegates in New Jersey, has predicted that a victory by Mr. Brown in Maryland would be an "earthquake" in the Democratic Presidential race, "setting off reverberations that would ensure an open convention."

The Other 'Card'

Senator Dugan's other expected development hinges on the powerful Democratic organization in Hudson county, a political force that often is compared to that of Mayor Richard Daley in Chicago. Hudson Democrats invariably produce nearly a quarter of the Democratic primary vote and nearly all of it is expected to be uncommitted.

And other old-line organizations in Middlesex and Camden Counties, as well as four or five others, are expected to push the party's uncommitted slates, which are headed statewide by United States Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr.

With Mr. Carter's victory in Pennsylvania on April 27 and Senator Humphrey's subsequent refusal to enter the primary here, Democratic leaders in New Jersey were prepared for Mr. Carter to win most of the state's delegates. Governor Byrne has come out strongly for Mr. Carter and his campaign organization has been predicting a major New Jersey victory.

"I admit that there were five or six days after Pennsylvania—when things looked tough for us," Senator Dugan said today in an interview, "but we survived and now we are going to prosper."

For the moment, Senator Dugan and his uncommitted forces are supporting Governor Brown, who is scheduled to campaign here next Tuesday even though he is not entered as a candidate on the ballot.

THINK FRESH:
THINK FRESH AIR FUND

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Vote in Connecticut Leads Some to Feel Race Is Wide Open

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Special to The New York Times

HARTFORD, May 12—The narrow victory by former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia in the Democratic Presidential voting in Connecticut yesterday left some political leaders in the state with the feeling that the Democratic contest is still wide open.

"The Presidential nomination is not over yet," Gov. Ella T. Grasso said this morning.

She was referring also to the unexpectedly strong showing by Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in the Connecticut voting, and to Governor Carter's defeat in the Nebraska primary yesterday.

Mr. Carter won 33 percent of the vote in yesterday's primary. Connecticut is at midpoint in a complicated process of selecting its 51 delegates to the Democratic National Convention in New York in July. Mr. Carter's share, by a rough mathematical projection of his win yesterday, should be 18 of those delegates, and possibly one more.

Mr. Udall, with 31 percent of the votes in Connecticut, will get about 16 delegates, possibly more, depending on the impact of yesterday's voting on the 1,210 delegates to six district conventions in this state on June 12.

At those conventions, after two roll-call votes and a final caucus, the names of the 51 who will go to New York will emerge.

Most of those not won by Mr. Udall in yesterday's voting will go to the district conventions as uncommitted delegates.

CARTER IS GREETED ON NEW YORK VISIT

Low in State's Primary, He Arrives as Front-Runner

By MAURICE CARROLL

New York Democrats gave Jimmy Carter 12 percent of their votes in the primary election, but their leaders welcomed him to New York City yesterday as the acknowledged front-runner for the party's Presidential nminaton.

Mayor Beame scheduled a conference at Gracie Mansion with the former Georgia Governor about an urban-needs plank in the party platform.

Governor Carey scheduled a private meeting with him, with no announced agenda.

More than 500 Democrats bought $100 tickets to a Carter breakfast planned for today at the Plaza Hotel.

And party leaders prepared to give Carter delegates some of New York's seats on the three major committees at the national convention, to which, because of his weak showing in the state delegate primary, he was not technically entitled.

No Pressure Reported

Mr. Carter's local staff insisted that there was no effort to pressure New York politicians to sign on with Mr. Carter, upon whom the front-runner mantle settled after he won the Pennsylvania primary. "I absolutely don't press anybody," said William J. vanden Heuvel, the Carter chairman in New York.

The always outspoken Matthew J. Troy Jr., a Carter adherent and City Councilman, suggested in an interview that "the boat is leaving and the gangplank is going up."

But for the most part, the Carter people played their now-significant status in state politics low-key.

Mr. vanden Heuvel described the breakfast and the meetings surrounding it—with the Mayor, the Governor and with party and governmental leaders who are grouped together in the city Democratic committee—as "an important beginning."

"You see, he's never been in New York when the people he's meeting paid any attention to him," Mr. vanden Heuvel said. "This gives them an opportunity to meet him and get a sense of him."

Mr. vanden Heubel has been on the telephone to leaders of the delegate groups that ran ahead of Mr. Carter's—backers of Senator Henry M. Jackson, Representative Morris K. Udall and uncommitted slates. "At this point, the best thing is for the Governor to deal with the major elected leaders in the state first," he said.

2 Endorse Carter

Two freshman Congressmen from New York—Representative Thomas J. Dwney of the Second District on Long Island and Representative Edward W. Pattison of the 29th District upstate—were among a group of freshmen Representatives who endorsed Mr. Carter the other day. Another metropolitan area politician, Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut, was in the group, too.

"At this point, it's going to be pretty bloody if political bosses deny him the nomination," Mr. Downey said.

But most New York political leaders were sitting tight. Meade H. Esposito, the Brooklyn leader, met with his Brooklyn delegation about 10 days ago, for instance, and the word that came out was that they were to "hang loose."

The state chairman, Patrick J. Cunningham, was fashioning a plan to give the Carter people at least one seat on the convention's platform rules and credentials committee.

"We'll give up one of ours if the Jackson and the uncommitteds do, too," said Jo Baer, the Udall leader.

Donald R. Manes, the Jackson leader, said, "No question about it, Carter is the leading candidate at this time and he should have some representation."

Joseph F. Crangle of Erie County, who elected most of the uncommitted delegates, said, "It makes good sense."

Mr. Vanden Heuvel was pleased.

"I think it's an important concession," he said, "and we appreciate it."

Richard Redux

By William Safire

WASHINGTON—Those who still defiantly wear Richard Nixon tie clasps —a slim bar terminating in a trained Presidential seal—can find much to admire in the campaign techniques of Jimmy Carter.

More than any candidate in either party, Mr. Carter is following the precepts set down by candidate Nixon in his 1968 campaign.

1. *Stay fuzzy on the issues through Labor Day, then inundate the press with complex stands in lengthy position papers and radio speeches.* Little is to be gained, and much to be lost, in spelling out positions in the primaries. Mr. Carter has made his necessary concessions to the specific—the obeisance to labor in opposing Taft-Hartley's 14-B, the sop to the liberals with support of the makework job bill, the muted appeal to blacks with his whispered call for repeal of the Byrd Amendment that permits importation of Rhodesian chrome—but these are doled out sparingly, without hoopla.

The Carter position on the Panama Canal is a perfect expression of the Nixon rule: He opposes "relinquishing actual control" of the canal to Panama, which pleases the silent majority, but is willing to remove the word "perpetuity" from the treaty, which pleases the Establishment responsibilities.

2. *Keep a tight circle of young, long-time advisers, and trust nobody else.* Mr. Carter's inner circle of Hamilton Jordan, Jerry Rafshoon, and Jody Powell are even younger than were Nixon aides Haldeman, Ehrlichman and Zeigler. In both cases, the inner circle is made up of men whose lives are totally dominated by their leader's long quest for the Presidency. In both cases, the press secretary has had the advantage of no previous experience as a reporter.

And in both cases, the campaigns were burned by the breaching of this rule. In 1968, conservative outside speechwriter Richard Whalen stormed out of the Nixon camp on principle, and in 1976, liberal outside speechwriter Robert Shrum gagged when he was offered a spoonful of Carter's political pragmatism.

"I don't want any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon," Mr. Shrum says Mr. Carter told him privately. "Jackson has all the Jews anyway. It doesn't matter how far I go, I don't get over 4 percent of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." "That's not anti-Semitic, that's pro-politic; candidate Nixon thought the same way, although—perversely—he went on to espouse the pro-Israel view he proved later he held.

3. *Damn your opponents with faint praise.* "Never go after them personally," Mr. Nixon used to instruct Mr. Agnew; "Say 'my wife likes them,' or something." Carter carries this out well; he often says, "My opponents, they're good people, I don't want to criticize them."

But even as Mr. Carter doesn't criticize, he does what playwright Arthur Miller calls "acting against the words"—saying one thing in a way calculated to cause the audience to believe the opposite. Mr. Nixon would do this with a rather heavy hand; Mr. Carter has a lighter, more devastating touch.

4. *Keep your eye on the ball, and remember only the Ins are guilty.* Singlemindedness is required. While Governors Rockefeller and Reagan were busy running their states, Mr. Nixon spent full time pursuing the Presidency, and won it in the primaries; while Messrs. Humphrey, Jackson and Udall were plumphing around in Washington, Mr. Carter was out organizing in the primary states.

Mr. Nixon was among the first to see that running against Washington would be profitable, and that the American people did not want to be blamed for the Vietnam War. Mr. Carter, uniquely among present candidates, has a way of absolving us all from Vietnam—and Watergate—and blaming it on a scapegoateed "them." Guilt is a loser; pride goeth before the fall campaign.

Of course, there are differences between the 1968 Nixon and the 1976 Carter. While Mr. Nixon had a lifelong interest in foreign affairs, Mr. Carter is picking his up as he goes along. While Nixon had a few close personal friends, Carter has none. While Nixon downplayed his Quaker fatalism, Carter parades his piety.

And one precept of Mr. Nixon's is not being followed by Mr. Carter: *Try never to let the cruelty and ruthlessness. Show.* If wounded, a candidate must never let the voters see him bleeding icewater; if Mr. Carter wants to go into a general campaign with his party behind him, he would do well to choke back his inner rage at "those who" would stand in his way.

When Hubert Humphrey refused to lead the charge, shedding a tear as he let his last chance go, the gracious reaction one might expect from the front-runner was absent. Instead, Jimmy Carter allowed as how he was sorry Hubert didn't enter the New Jersey primary; the loss of the opportunity to personally humiliate the old warrior seemed to distress him. The Carter staff must warn him about letting such cool vindictiveness show.

But taken as a whole, the similarity of the '68 Nixon and '76 Carter campaigns is startling. Some of us polish our tie clasps and smile at the way today's candidate holds up a triumphant index finger as if to say: "Carter's the One."

. . . . and Democrats

Former Governor Carter also encountered defeat in Nebraska. Senator Frank Church is an admirable public servant; but his victory there had as much to do with the intensity of his campaign effort as with the virtues of his record. Senator Church spent a total of 12 days in the state during the past month while Mr. Carter spent only one. On this point, however, Mr. Carter has no grounds for complaint as he won his critical early victories by the same kind of intensely focused, personal solicitation of a relatively small number of voters.

Representative Morris K. Udall meanwhile must be approaching a record for heartbreakingly close second-place finishes. In a party-conducted primary for Democrats only in Connecticut on Tuesday, his delegate slates polled 31 percent of the total vote to Mr. Carter's 33 percent, with Senator Henry M. Jackson a distant third despite Governor Grasso's enthusiastic support. In earlier primaries, Representative Udall lost by a whisker to Mr. Carter in New Hampshire and Wisconsin and ran a strong second to Senator Jackson in Massachusetts and New York.

The Connecticut vote demonstrates that Mr. Udall's core of liberal support is holding firm, unimpressed by the efforts to get an unstoppable Carter bandwagon rolling. Having lost to Senator Church in Nebraska and facing a dual challenge next week from Mr. Udall in Michigan and from Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. in Maryland, Mr. Carter may at the moment feel more like a hardpressed infantryman than a bandwagon driver.

The Weather
tly sunny today, mostly clear and night. High, 72; low, 50. Yesterday's 2, low, 60.
(Details and Map, Page C2)

THE SUN

Most of Harford coun teachers go on strike:

278—No. 152—E** BALTIMORE, WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1976 ** 15 (

Jimmy in Trouble

Rockville, Md.

Jimmy Carter's Maryland campaign is in disarray, which isn't necessarily fatal. But it may be in serious trouble too.

Although the candidate himself continues to receive a generally cordial and interested reception in the state, the campaign's disorganization in Maryland has local Carter supporters on the brink of despair. National staff members are more sanguine, but they are still rushing in all the last-minute reinforcements they can find in an effort to

Peter A. Jay

stave off defeat in a primary that had appeared, until the arrival of Jerry Brown, to be in the bag.

Yesterday morning, Mr. Carter received a worried memo from Wyche Fowler, the astute young president of the Atlanta city council, who has been doing some political chores and intelligence-gathering for him recently in Maryland. The memo summed up what Mr. Fowler had seen for himself, as well as what he had been told by the handful of experienced political Marylanders involved with the state campaign: the outlook isn't good, especially in parts of Baltimore.

Carter headquarters in Maryland are being run almost entirely by out-of-state people, many of them young and cocky after successes in other states, but ignorant of political realities here. They have made some unnecessary mistakes and come close to making others—notably an effort to tough-talk Baltimore's hot-tempered Mayor, William Donald Schaefer, into making a firm endorsement of Mr. Carter. (This last was headed off by the savvy Mr. Fowler, and the Mayor remains uncommitted but still amiable toward Mr. Carter.)

By contrast, the Brown operation in the Lord Baltimore Hotel is bursting with volunteers, literature and plugged-in Marylanders —including political professionals, amateurs and semi-pros.

At this point, with a week to go, Mr. Carter appears to be substantially behind Mr. Brown across the state—though he is strong on the Eastern Shore and in the predominantly black Seventh Congressional District on Baltimore's west side. (Maynard Jackson, Atlanta's black mayor, will be campaigning in the city this week for Mr. Carter, as will Atlanta's popular black congressman, Andrew Young.)

But East Baltimore's Third Congressional District, where the leaders of white Democratic organizations are eagerly trying to earn Brownie points from Governor Mandel by stopping Mr. Carter cold, looks nearly hopeless.

The Carter campaign staff is taking heart by comparing Maryland to Pennsylvania, where they overcame machine opposition to defeat Scoop Jackson; in Maryland, though, instead of a drone for an opponent they have a trendy transcendentalist, and it makes a difference.

Ben Brown, a black Georgia legislator who has been working for Mr. Carter since the start of his campaign, exemplifies the current staff attitude—which is either one of confidence or whistling in the dark, depending on how you see it. Mr. Brown was asked if it didn't hurt the Carter campaign in Baltimore not to have the support of identifiable politicians.

"You mean white folks?" he asked. "White politicians? We *never* have them, and we win."

That's hyperbole, of course. The campaign is looking for all the endorsements it can get, and it is still getting quite a few. Yesterday, in Baltimore, Mr. Carter was introduced by Ben Brown to Lester S. Hyman, a New York lawyer and fundraiser who has been closely identified in the past with Hubert Humphrey. Mr. Hyman recently wrote Mr. Carter in Plains, Ga., asking if he could help; two days after he sent the letter, Mr. Brown was on the phone.

Yesterday's Carter appearances in Maryland were limited to cameos. In Baltimore, Mr. Carter talked to older people and delivered a speech, clearly for the national television audience, on Social Security. He looked tired and a bit listless; "he's really worn down," one of his Maryland supporters said.

Here, in the afternoon under a near-drizzle, he brought his anti-Washington campaign to the home grounds of some of those who feed particularly well at the federal trough. "We all know our federal government doesn't work properly," he said, but went on to add generously that he knew those who worked for it agreed with him.

"Abolish 1,700 Agencies?" queried a sign in the crowd, raised by a Udall supporter. "Name Us 17," demanded another. Mr. Carter wisely didn't name any, and was otherwise well received. Perhaps the civil servants in the audience understood what he seemed to be saying—it isn't *their* agency that's inefficient and ought to be abolished, it's the one down the hall.

Church leads

Democrats

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Jimmy Carter won his 13th primary of the election season by a hair's-breadth in Connecticut yesterday but was trailing in his one-on-one contest with Frank Church in Nebraska.

Mr. Church was given a narrow lead in early returns from a primary that could brake the Carter momentum on the eve of the Georgian's contest with Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr., in Maryland next Tuesday.

The day's third Democratic primary, the first which the otherwise ubiquitous Mr. Carter passed up, was in West Virginia. There the state's favorite son candidate, Senator Robert C. Byrd trounced his only opponent, George C. Wallace.

Mr. Carter, a former Georgia governor, skipped the West Virginia primary, apparently to avoid probable defeat and also so as not to alienate Mr. Byrd, who may be the next Senate majority leader.

Mr. Carter was particularly anxious to deal sudden death to Idaho's Senator Church in Nebraska as a precedent to his head-on against California's Governor Brown, who is hoping to use Maryland as a launching pad for his late presidential campaign.

But an intense campaign by Mr. Church appeared to have paid dividends, and Mr. Carter's popular image as an unstoppable front-runner was very much on the line.

With 39 per cent of the vote in from Nebraska this was the situation:

Church	32,226	40%
Carter	28,232	35%
Humphrey	6,201	8%
McCormack	3,555	4%
Wallace	2,838	4%
Kennedy	2,868	4%
Udall	2,423	3%
Jackson	1,464	2%

Under Nebraska law all potential presidential candidates are listed on the ballot, including those who may have withdrawn or declared themselves non-runners.

For Mr. Carter, Nebraska was the most important of yesterday's three primaries largely because it precedes—and therefore affects the momentum he carries into—next week's one-on-one contest with Mr. Brown in Maryland and Representative Morris K. Udall (Ariz.) in Michigan.

Mr. Udall gave Mr Carter a unnervingly close run in Connecticut, but his defeat even by so narrow a margin, can hardly improve his chances of gaining the outright victory he so badly needs in Michigan to keep his candidacy viable.

In Connecticut, where only the Democrats took part in a first town-by-town stage of eventual selection of 51 dele-

See DEMOCRATS, A6, Col.3

Carter says Brown lacks goals

By THOMAS B. EDSALL
Sun Staff Correspondent

Rockville—Jimmy Carter, anticipating a tough primary contest in Maryland, shifted the focus of his attack on his major opponent yesterday and sharply criticized the philosophy of government of Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr.

The charges against Mr. Brown are apparently prompted by the fears of the former Georgia governor that he may

California Carter-backers will campaign in state.C4

lose the May 18 Maryland primary, and are an attempt to portray Mr. Brown both as an insubstantial executive and as a pawn of backroom politicians.

In a speech before a lunchtime crowd of about 1,000 here, Mr. Carter, the leading Democratic presidential candidate, contended that Mr. Brown is vague, has no goals, and fails to recognize the need for reorganization of the federal government.

"My opponent says, 'It's the focus of government that means something, not how many people are working for you. It's the direction you're going that counts.' Well, I don't know what that means and nei-

See CARTER, A6, Col.1



Sunpapers photo—Walter M. McCardell

Jimmy Carter speaks to elderly citizens at the Christ Church Harbor Apartments on Light street in Baltimore.

Carter says Brown lacks goals

CARTER, from A1

ther do you," Mr. Carter declared.

At another point, Mr. Carter departed from his prepared text to comment on Mr. Brown, the Governor of California: "My opponent has said he has no goals in his life."

This comment was apparently based on Mr. Carter's interpretation of Mr. Brown's occasionally mystical statements —"What I am will unfold over time," for example—which Mr. Carter described as a view that "life just is and you float along with it, that human nature never changes."

In his prepared speech, Mr. Carter attempted to define as a major issue between himself and Mr. Brown his own advocacy of the need to reorganize the federal government:

"A basic issue has been raised in this campaign. Do we need to reorganize the federal government? I say the answer is: 'yes.' My opponent here in Maryland says: 'no.'

"He has said that the waste, inefficiency and insensitivity of the federal government are not the fault of the system but of the people who are trying to make that system work—that 'It's not the boxes but the people who are in them.'"

Mr. Carter contended that government employees are in the main "good people" forced by a faulty system to "spend their time shuffling papers, smothered in red tape."

Fred Epstein, Mr. Brown's campaign press aide, countered:

"The real issue here is that Governor Carter is presenting reorganization as a cure-all and Governor Brown doesn't think it is enough.

"Shuffling the boxes on the organization chart is no substitute for a President who is strong enough to say 'no' to the bureaucracy."

Mr. Carter has stepped up campaigning for the May 18 Maryland primary because his own polls show him to be in trouble in what is turning out to be a head-to-head contest with the 38-year-old California Governor, and there are growing indications that the local effort in Mr. Carter's behalf is disorganized.

Sources within Mr. Carter's Maryland campaign said that the sudden Brown candidacy came as a complete surprise and that coordination of Carter workers is either chaotic or completely lacking.

"It's a hydra-headed campaign," one Carter worker commented, complaining of an inability to obtain direction or authority from anyone in the state drive. In addition, state workers are often unaware of details of Mr. Carter's campaign plans within the state.

Mr. Carter did not drop the bossism charge, a ploy which worked very successfully in his Pennsylvania primary contest against Senator Henry M. Jackson (D., Wash.)

Describing Mr. Brown as "a fine young man," Mr. Carter said to the Rockville audience: "A vote cast for him is a vote cast away from you to the political machines [seeking] a deadlocked convention . . . He [Mr. Brown] is not even hoping he'll be the nominee."

Mr. Carter has contended that Mr. Brown is being used as a pawn by Governor Mandel and other Democratic leaders to stall the Carter drive and to force a deadlocked, brokered convention.

He is clearly taking the threat of defeat here quite seriously, not only increasing his campaigning and spending in Maryland, but also attacking Mr. Brown with a vengeance unusual for a front-runner, whose normal role would be to try to unify the party behind his candidacy.

Early yesterday, speaking before 250 elderly people in Baltimore, Mr. Carter supported a financially stable and better coordinated Social Security program, including guaranteed cost-of-living increases for people receiving payments and a gradually rising amount of income taxable for Social Security.

Later in the day, Mr. Carter went to Washington to receive the endorsement of 17 freshmen members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Carter, who is usually very affirmative in his view that the President, and not Congress, is the initiator of federal policy, was more modest in his appearance with the freshmen. "I don't have all the answers," he told them, adding that legislative issues "will be worked out jointly by me and the leaders of Congress."

Carter's evening less than perfect

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—It was not one of Jimmy Carter's better nights.

Mr. Carter spent last night attending the annual fund-raising dinner of congressional Democrats but, from almost the start, things went less smoothly than they have on his meteoric rise to the front of the Democratic presidential race.

First, the two sisters of his chief rival in next Tuesday's Maryland primary, California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr., were introduced to the 1,800 guests before the former Georgia governor.

Then, a halfhearted ovation for Mr. Carter was far outpaced by the rousing welcomes that were accorded to both Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who still retains his presidential hopes, and for retired House Speaker John W. McCormack, the night's honored guest.

Finally, Mr. Carter received the news that he had won only a narrow victory over Representative Morris K. Udall in Connecticut, and was trailing Senator Frank Church in the Nebraska Democratic primary.

Nevertheless, Mr. Carter told reporters, "I don't concede anything as far as a loss of stature and a loss of front-runner status.

"I still have it," he said, noting as he has before that his rivals were concentrating on one state—Mr. Church in Nebraska, Mr. Brown in Maryland—while he was running in 14 of the 15 May primaries.

"My campaign can't be sidetracked by a temporary victory by someone in one or two states," he said.

Asked if he was worried that poor showings might impel Mr. Humphrey into the race against him, the still-confident Mr. Carter replied: "I don't feel any sort of trepidation." He added that the Minnesota senator had made it quite clear that his position is that "he is available."

Mr. Carter sat at the table of Senator J. Bennett Johnston, Jr., of Louisiana, chairman of the Senate Democratic Campaign Committee. Mr. Johnston endorsed Mr. Carter last Friday.

Both at the dinner, and at the reception that preceded it, Mr. Carter was greeted by many of the guests. Television cameras followed him everywhere, bathing him in light while two of his former rivals, Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, slipped quietly in without much attention.

Party officials said the dinner grossed $900,000 for Democratic congressional campaigns this fall, $200,000 more than last year's dinner and $265,000 above the total in the last presidential year, 1972.

Base becomes resort

Hong Kong (Reuter)—Vietnamese authorities are transforming the former United States military base at Nha Trang into a tourist resort, the North Vietnam News Agency said yesterday.

Church holds edge in Neb.; Carter wins a 13th in Conn.

DEMOCRATS, from A1

gates to the party's national convention, final returns showed:

Carter	35,415	33%
Udall	32,959	31%
Jackson	18,962	18%
Uncommitted	13,774	13%
McCormack	5,515	3%

Mr. Carter's victory in Connecticut effectively doused the brief flicker of renewed life from the previously moribund candidacy of Senator Henry M. Jackson (Wash.), who campaigned for three days in the state, saying that if he did well there he would revive his efforts in Maryland.

Clearly, he is now finished.

The West Virginia result was a foregone conclusion. With Senator Byrd, a powerhouse political figure in his home state, facing a challenge only from the fast-fading regional candidacy of Alabama's Governor Wallace.

With 22 per cent of the vote counted, the situation in the West Virginia Democratic primary was:

Byrd	60,602	90%
Wallace	6,692	10%

Of the three primaries, the outcome of the Nebraska Democratic race was the most important, with the prospect of a Church victory a real upset.

Senator Church, a late entrant into the election campaign after completing a series of Senate hearings into United States intelligence operations, engaged in a desperate race against the clock in Nebraska to get his campaign off to a viable start.

The stop-Carter forces' only chance now of derailing his runaway campaign is to take him on one at a time in chosen states. Nebraska was the first test of the feasibility of such a strategy. The follow-through is the Carter-Brown fight in Maryland and the Carter-Udall showdown in Michigan, also next week.

Although each is an individual and apparently separate effort to halt Mr. Carter, together they inevitably hold out a potentially damaging cumulative effect. This made the Nebraska primary pivotal for Mr. Carter.

The polls gave Mr. Carter a comfortable lead two weeks ago, but Mr. Church waged a determined campaign to narrow the gap and was generally conceded to have made considerable progress. A Church victory, however, would have to be regarded as an upset.

Nebraska Democrats, who cast votes in both a presidential popularity poll and for individual delegates, faced a list of 11 candidates.

State law required the secretary of state to list all likely presidential candidates on the ballot, and among those named were noncandidates such as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) and Senator Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.).

Both Mr. Carter and Mr. Church recognized the danger of losing crucial votes to these and the other candidates in a potentially close race, and both appealed to Nebraskans not to waste their ballots.

Nebraska sends 23 Democratic delegates to the party convention, and these were being selected in the state's three congressional districts. It was therefore possible that a candidate could win the statewide popularity vote, but still end up with a minority of the delegates.

Also on the Democratic ballot in Nebraska were Birch Bayh, Fred R. Harris and Sargent Shriver, who have all abandoned active campaigning; Mr. Wallace, who has not be an active contestant; Mr. Udall, who stood aside so as not to split the stop-Carter vote with Mr. Church, and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate.

Weather
...hich in low to mid ...Chance of rain near ...tonight. Thursday— ...in 70s. Yesterday—3 ...25. Temp. range, ...are on Page C2.

The Washington Post

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Amusements	B8	Financial	
Classified	C9	Metro	
Comics	B12	Obituaries	
Crossword	B13	Sports	
Editorials	A22	Style	
Fed.Diary	C2	TV-Radio	

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Church, Reagan Win in Nebraska

Carter Wins Conn.

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Frank Church (Idaho) apparently defeated Jimmy Carter, the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, in the Nebraska primary election yesterday.

Carter, a former governor of Georgia, narrowly fought off a separate challenge in Connecticut, winning by two percentage points over Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.).

Church led from the beginning in Nebraska, his first presidential primary. He focused all his early money and energy there.

"I'm astonished," said Church in Omaha last night. "We started just four weeks ago and came from nowhere."

Before he knew that Church definitely had won Nebraska, but with Church leading, Carter told reporters here in Washington that "I can't win 'em all."

"As far as a bandwagon goes, I take one state at a time and campaign in them all," he said.

The former Georgia governor said that yesterday's results were "still a good showing" considering that Udall and Church each concentrated all his energies in a single state.

Carter will be tested again next Tuesday, when he faces a heavy Udall challenge in Michigan and another first-time candidate, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, in Maryland.

Udall acknowledged yesterday that he and Church had made a deal to allow each of them to run his best race against Carter.

Udall pledged to stay out of Nebraska, Udall said, and pressured Church to stay out of Connecticut.

Carter won 33 per cent of the Connecticut vote against Udall's 31 per cent. Sen. Henry M. Jackson was third with 18 per cent.

Udall, campaigning in Michigan, told Washington Post special correspondent Joel Weisman, "We pressured the hell out of [Church's people] to make sure they didn't come in and dilute Connecticut after we had been reasonable in bypassing Nebraska."

Of his and Church's showings yesterday, Udall said that it "marks the end of the stampede to the Carter bandwagon, and is a victory for Democrats who desire a truly open convention.

See DEMOCRATS, A6, Col. 1

Summary

Following are vote totals in Tuesday's two presidential primary elections and the party-run presidential primary in Connecticut:

NEBRASKA
76% of 2,509 precincts

Republicans

Ronald Reagan	84,046 or 53%
Gerald R. Ford	73,668 or 47%

Democrats

Frank Church	54,842 or 40%
Jimmy Carter	50,776 or 37%
Hubert H. Humphrey	10,354 or 7%
Edward M. Kennedy	5,256 or 4%
Ellen McCormack	5,092 or 4%
George C. Wallace	4,391 or 3%
Morris K. Udall	3,804 or 3%
Henry M. Jackson	2,311 or 2%

WEST VIRGINIA
54% of 2,368 precincts

Republicans

Ford	45,027 or 56%
Reagan	35,326 or 44%

Democrats

Robert C. Byrd	166,112 or 88%
Wallace	21,886 or 12%

CONNECTICUT
Final unofficial results

Democrats

Carter	35,415 or 33%
Udall	32,959 or 31%
Jackson	18,962 or 18%
Uncommitted	13,774 or 13%
McCormack	5,515 or 3%
Fred R. Harris	178 or 0%

Carter Victor Over Udall In Connecticut Primary

DEMOCRATS, From A1

"Jimmy Carter is not a bad person and shouldn't necessarily be denied the nomination, but there is no reason to give it to him right now, when he is again showing he is incapable of winning a majority of the vote in a major state," Udall said.

Udall slipped into Connecticut over the weekend from his heavy campaigning in Michigan to try to gain on Carter.

Carter's aides had pleaded with him for the past two weeks to spend some time in Connecticut, but he refused, targeting instead on Church's challenge in Nebraska.

Carter's message was carried instead by media expenditure of about $25,000. Carter ran especially well in Hartford, where he took more than 60 per cent of the vote.

Jackson ran well in one town, Bridgeport, where he won 56 per cent of the vote, and where he had support of most of the state Democratic establishment.

Although Jackson has announced he is an inactive candidate, he campaigned in Connecticut for three days because of commitments he had made to the state's Democratic power structure, including Gov. Ella Grasso, who was running as a Jackson delegate.

In the third primary held yesterday, Sen. Robert C. Byrd won easily in his home state of West Virginia.

Carter was not on the ballot there, and Byrd's only opposition was Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace. Wallace's campaign encountered financial difficulty late last month, and his two campaign headquarters in West Virginia were closed then.

The 28 West Virginia delegates to the Democratic convention were elected as uncommitted, but they will be controlled by Byrd, who said last night that "morally, I think one might think they are committed to vote for me."

The election, Byrd said, "went about as I anticipated."

In Nebraska, Church was cheered by the early returns which showed him holding a lead. The early votes were coming from Omaha, which he had expected to be heavily for Carter.

Running third there was Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, who had tried and failed to remove his name from the ballot.

None of the other eight candidates, who included Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, was winning more than 5 per cent of the votes.

Church spent so much time campaigning in the state over the past 30 days that the Omaha World-Herald mentioned yesterday that he was nearly eligible to vote himself.

Carter, meanwhile, spent a mere 24 hours campaigning in Nebraska, that coming last weekend. But Carter spent nearly two years building a state organization.

Church said that he thought "it would be kind of a political miracle to win the first time out against a front-runner."

He said that he wasn't sure he would be the winner when all the votes were counted, but that "my showing here is going to be a very strong showing no matter what" and would bolster his further efforts in primaries in the Northwest.

Church said he would be able to start winning the support of uncommitted delegates "if I can demonstrate that, unlike the other candidates that have been driven from the race, that I can win against Jimmy Carter."

The Idaho senator deferred the start of his presidential effort until the Senate intelligence committee, of which he was chairman, had wrapped up its major business.

The big problem in Nebraska for both candidates—the only ones who campaigned there since the thinning out of the Democratic ranks—was the large number of candidates—11—on the Democratic ballot.

That selection was the discretion of the secretary of state of Nebraska, a Republican, who included the names of Kennedy and Humphrey, although neither is an active candidate.

The only Democratic aspirant not on the ballot was California Gov. Brown, who entered the race too late to be listed.

Nebraska, like some other states, actually had two contests. One was a statewide popularity vote, and the other, held in each of the state's three congressional districts, was for 23 delegates to the national convention.

Besides Carter and Church, five candidates authorized official slates: Wallace, Jackson, Udall and Fred Harris and Ellen McCormack.

Four candidates—Humphrey, Kennedy, Bayh, and Shriver—were listed only in the popularity race.

The primary was the first to be held in a mostly agricultural Midwestern state, and thus was considered crucial to Church's hopes to press on against Carter.

He had hoped to challenge him May 25 in his home state of Idaho, as well as in Nevada and Oregon, and on June 1 in Montana and Rhode Island.

Despite the state's "conservative" representation in Congress, Nebraska's Democrats have a history of voting for self-proclaimed "liberal" candidates in primaries.

Carter Va. Conversions Mount

Previously Uncommitted Delegates Pledging Support

By Paul G. Edwards
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter's Virginia campaign co-ordinator said yesterday that a steadily increasing number of previously uncommitted state Democrats are pledging their support for the former Georgia governor's presidential candidacy.

About 3,000 delegates to congressional district conventions on May 22 will choose Virginia's 54 delegates to the National Convention. In the first step of the two-step delegate selection process last April 3, 30 per cent of the delegates chosen were pledged to Carter, 58 per cent were uncommitted and the rest were pledged to Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) or other candidates.

John H. Brebbia, Carter's Virginia coordinator, said in an interview that the pace of conversions on the part of uncommitted delegates to Carter has quickened as the Georgian has continued to register primary victories in other states.

Brebbia said he hopes to see the movement to Carter culminate soon with endorsements by two prominent advocates of an uncommitted delegation, Attorney General Andrew P. Miller and state party chairman Joseph T. Fitzpatrick.

Former Lieutenant Governor Henry E. Howell was an early Carter supporter. He and Miller are announced candidates for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination next year.

Brebbia said he met with Fitzpatrick and Miller in Richmond on Monday to renew Carter bids for their support.

An aide to Miller said the attorney general is expected to make a statement on the presidential campaign before the end of the week.

The recent installation of Brebbia as Carter coordinator apparently has helped extricate the Georgian's campaign from the Howell-Miller rivalry.

"The important thing now is to get a unified delegation to the National Convention that is led by Joe Fitzpatrick and that includes Andy Miller and Henry Howell," Brebbia said. "This is essential if Virginia wants to play a role in selection of the president."

In Northern Virginia, state Senate Majority Leader Adelard L. Brault of Fairfax has lent his support to the Carter effort with a personal endorsement.

Meany, Carter Will Meet

By Robert G. Kaiser
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter is scheduled to meet Friday with George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO–a meeting that may begin a process of reconciliation between organized labor and the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Until now, Meany and most of his colleagues have stayed outside the fight for the Democratic nomination. Some Democratic politicians believe they have already stayed out too long to be of much influence in this election year.

Earlier in the campaign Meany evaded requests for a meeting from the Carter camp. His candidate was Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), who has been all but forced out of the race after his disastrous showing in Pennsylvania last month.

Other powerful figures in the labor movement assumed for months tht Hubert H. Humphrey would emerge as the Democratic candidate this year, a prospect that pleased many of them. Now Humphrey too has taken a long step backward from an active candidacy.

Carter, meanwhile, has continued to win labor votes in state after state. In Pennsylvania his decisive victory humiliated labor leaders who had endorsed Jackson.

Carter's big win in Pennsylvania persuaded many of his supporters that he did not need organized labor's endorsement. If Carter won union members' votes without union endorsement, Carter aides reckoned, union leaders may need the former Georgia governor more than he needs them.

Nevertheless, Carter has welcomed labor support wherever he has found it, and has repeatedly said he would appreciate the AFL-CIO's help in the campaign.

Meany, meanwhile, quietly passed the word to lieutenants last month to avoid participation in any "stop Carter" movement. High-ranking sources in the AFL-CIO emphasized that Carter was an "acceptable" candidate "within the mainstream of the (Democratic) party."

Meany may signal a similar message after he meets with Carter Friday, but Meany is not expected to endorse Carter now. The AFL-CIO leadership decided last year to remain neutral until the Democratic convention, and they are expected to maintain that posture.

A coalition of unions characterizing themselves as liberal has also decided not to ensorse any candidate at this time. The coalition has been working to elect delegates to the Madison Square Garden convention in July, on the theory that it would be a brokered affair.

One of the coalition's major partners, the United Auto Workers, has thrown its strength behind Carter in next week's Michigan primary. However, the California branch of the UAW is supporting Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., both in the Californonia primary June 8, and—by contributing manpower—in other states around the country.



United Press International

Campaigning in Detroit, Democratic candidate Morris K. Udall accuses front-runner Jimmy Carter of "taking both sides of the oil company break-up issue."

The division of labor in this campaign dismays some labor leaders, who fear that unions are losing whatever chance they had to influence the Democrats' choice.

Meany and his associates appear to believe that they can still make an important contribution after the convention, when labor can put an army of political workers into the field to support the Democrats' nominee.

Some of labor's influential political friends are not so sure. One of them, an influential member of Congress, was asked yesterday what labor's position is now in the presidential campaign. "Do you think they know, the dummies?" quipped this congressman, long a close associate of organized labor.

Many of the traditional union leaders have expressed discomfort with Carter's candidacy. Carter aides have acknowledged that his style and his positions on issues may not reassure labor leaders — that, for example, he doesn't share their enthusiasm for big new federal programs to solve economic and social problems.

The Carter campaign is at least tempted to conclude that formal endorsement by the leaders of organized labor won't make much difference this year. Pollster Louis Harris reported findings from Pennsylvania which seem to support this view.

In a poll of the Pennsylvania electorate completed two days before that April 27 primary, Harris found that only 18 per cent of the union families in the state even realized that organized labor had endorsed a candidate. And of that small fraction, only 40 per cent knew that labor's choice was Jackson.

In other words, union leaders had only reached 7.2 per cent of their immediate constituency with the news that they were backing the senator from Washington. (They announced this endorsement just a week before the primary.)

Harris asked if union endorsement of a candidate increased the likelihood that members of union families would vote for that candidate. Two thirds of his respondents said a union endorsement would have little if any effect on their vote.

Views Sought on Milk Supports

United Press International

Agriculture Department officials are inviting public comment on whether the government's price support rate for milk should be raised again on July 1.

The announcement carries out a pledge made by Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz when he persuaded the Senate earlier this year to uphold President Ford's veto of a bill raising milk supports to 85 per cent of the "fair" parity standard and mandating future quarterly increases to keep pace with production costs.

Officials said in the call for public comment they are interested in views from farmers and others on the level of federal milk support and for individual dairy commodities including butter, nonfat dry milk and cheddar cheese.

Seoul Aide to U.S.

Reuter

SEOUL, May 11—South Korean Deputy Premier Nan Duck Woo left here today for a 17-day trip to the United States, Britain, France and Switzerland seeking capital and technological aid for South Korea's five-year plan beginning next year.

An Auto Worker Endorses Carter

'We Need . . . New Ideas, Even If He Smiles Too Much'

By Myra McPherson
Washington Post Staff Writer

DETROIT—Peter Donovan slumped in his living room chair after a day's work at the General Motors Fisher Body plant and let fly with his many views on politics.

"People are primarily fed up. Look at how bad Ford's done." There was no home state loyalty for the President, who, Donovan quickly points out, was elected by the people of Grand Rapids only.

"There is no way in hell that guy could run for governor of this state and win. He's in on a fluke.

"We need a guy like Carter. The presidency is a symbol. We need somebody with new ideas, even if he smiles too much. We're all into the humdrums."

Peter Donovan, and the many thousands like him in auto plant jobs of mind-breaking monotony, do not get their names in the papers. But Leonard Woodcock, the United Auto Workers president, does. It is front page news when Woodcock personally endorses Jimmy Carter. The implication often is that massive rank and file votes will follow such an endorsement (Michigan alone has nearly 750,000 of the 1.4 million nationwide UAW members).

However, Michigan labor politics, 1976, is more the other way around. Labor leaders here are rather in the position of the general who waits to see which way his troops are going before he decides which way to lead them.

Too many labor leaders wince with remembrance of 1972 when they endorsed first Muskie and then McGovern—and the rank and file went for Wallace. Or last month, when Pennsylvania labor leaders came out for Jackson—and the rank and file went for Carter.

Many labor leaders privately acknowledge that they are listening to their people this time. As one Michigan representative of UAW's political action arm, the Community Action Program, put it, "Woodcock's shrewd enough not to stick his neck out; he likes Carter personally, but he's also going with the wishes of the rank and file." He feels that CAP can "sway the rank and file to vote as much as I can sway my own family—which is not very much. We provide guidance to make them politically aware." (CAP has pledged funds to back Carter's campaign).

Donovan, who like many rank and file made his decision for Carter before Woodcock did, scoffs at the concept that union leaders' endorsements have much impact. "McGovern was a laugh. The people in the plant couldn't get over it."

Donovan, who has an elected but non-paying union job helping members with their problems, talks often with the men and women in his plant. "Many workers are sick and tired of the UAW telling them how to vote without any rhyme or reason. If the devil himself ran on the Democratic ticket the union leadership would probably vote Democratic." He also shrugs at Woodcock's endorsement: "Nobody wants to have an enemy in the White House in November."

Those thousands of auto workers are no more monolithic than, say, the members of Congress, and so Donovan, 32, is not typical—any more than any other auto worker is typical. But Donovan carries with him certain thoughts that many working men have—about their personal sense of politics, about trying to make a better life for their families, about being laid off and conditions in the plants, and where they're going.

His full name is Peter Timothy Francis Xavier Noel Donovan and he looks it, with red tinged hair and cocky grin. He was born in Ireland. His family came here when he was 3 but Donovan only recently got his citizenship papers so he could vote. "He felt left out," his wife, Pamela, explains.

In addition to Carter's "new face," Donovan wants him for President because he thinks Carter will initiate a national health plan. This means a lot to Donovan. His 19-year-old brother, Patrick, is dying of cystic fibrosis. His mother, Bridget, has lost her medical assistance through some bureaucratic mix-up, Donovan says.

Things are a little rougher financially for the Donovans these days because two weeks ago Peter suddenly called his wife at her night job at a nearby pizzeria and demanded she quit.

Until then, the Donovans knew the split-shift existence of many laboring families. He worked days, she worked nights. They met at the door at 10 minutes to 4 as she left for work and he came home to babysit with Ricky, 10, and Brennan, 6.

Donovan comes from a separated family. "I want it a lot different for my kids. I just think they need her around here more than we need the money. I'd come home from work bitching: a crab. Maybe it would have been different if I made a little more money, if things weren't going bad in the plants with people getting laid off and some even losing their homes. If my brother weren't so sick, if I didn't feel all these things . . ."

Pamela, 29, upset at first by his demand, now says, "he feels he's doing me a favor by letting me stay home."

She saves money at home now by cooking meals that cost less but take more time to prepare. When they go out it's as a family, to things like Walt Disney movies.

Pamela lost a girl at birth five years ago and she is "just now getting over it." She dreamed of a daughter—"baking together, going shopping, planning weddings."

For the boys, it's Little League and Ricky shows his baseball uniform quickly to visitors. His father coaches in the league. His mother says, "I think sports is the answer for boys. If they're not involved in sports, what would they be into?"

The Donovans live on a street of $29,000 homes—neat, with aluminum awnings and tricycles and bicycles out front, three miles over the city line. They moved there from Detroit for a good school system, and are against busing "100 per cent."

The Fisher body plant 16 miles from their home is almost back to two full shifts, totaling 4,000 workers, since last year's layoffs, although Detroit unemployment is still a depressing 13 per cent. Long, high rooms are filled with conveyor belts, sewing machines, heavier machines, bins of material. This is where the interior fabric pieces are put together—cushions, door panels, bucket seats, arm rests. Many of the workers are women, paid a piece work hourly rate for shoving materials through heavy duty sewing machines and stamping patterns into fabrics. On some auto plant assembly lines the pace is so incessant that months may pass before an employee learn the name of the worker at the next station on the line.

Donovan is a checker, making sure foam rubber door panels are properly marked for shipment. With eight years at the plant, he makes $6.58 an hour.

"This plant," says Donovan, "has one of the highest amounts of sick leave in the entire industry. There is a lot of nervous stress, and the women get bursitis, arthritis.

"The lines are the worst. I've done line work and Pam knows what I'm like when they put me on the line. Doors were coming down on hooks at a rate of almost 600 an hour. You dream about it. It's like a big tidal wave of doors coming down on you.

"Most guys I know feel the same as I do—militant but not militant enough, because we feel the union will not stand behind you. If the company calls for a speedup, we feel we should have the right to walk out. If we did that, the whole local would be down our necks and we'd probably be fired."

Much of the control boils down to a fear of losing jobs. "A guy married and with a couple kids, where can he go? You can't beat the benefits—life insurance, paid sick leave, supplementary pay when you're unemployed, until the fund goes dry."

Donovan was laid off a half-year and go no supplemental pay the last six weeks. Without it, they were getting around $100 in unemployment compensation and $90 a week from Pamela's job.

"When I was laid off, the phone was ringing off the hook with people with problems." As an unpaid community service representative, Donovan is in the unique position of making management and union happy. He helps people with their personal problems and that leads to more work from them. Donovan's stories about the problems are grim.

"The working people—most just want an even break. Every time there's a war it's the guy in the plant who gives his life or the woman who gives her sons, and they're not getting a damn thing in return. Veterans' education benefits is running out for a lot of us."

He says almost wistfully that if he and working friends had the money they would have gone to school instead of VietNam. Donovan was there from 1964 to 1966 and saw several close friends die.

The concerns of his working class friends are many. "When we get together drinking, the guys talk about wouldn't it be nice if, for a person on a fixed income, they'd freeze the taxes. Give 'em a break."

And he thinks there ought to be child care facilities for working women "like they have in Russia and England."

He left the Detroit school system because of busing but he defends blacks. "I feel sorry for them. There's no damn truth to that saying that they want to stay on welfare. About 5,000, mostly blacks, applied for 300 jobs last week."

Yet he worries that a feeling of unity at the plant is being replaced by "bad vibes" among white males who feel management is "going overboard" in hiring women and blacks. "Some nut even put a KKK poster in the plant the other day."

He adds, "You know what we talk about at work? The Marshall Plan! Our money picked up Germany and Japan and brought them back—but we bitch about giving New York City a few lousy bucks. The same with Detroit. Here's a country that can't do for its own what we did in the past for our enemies."

And Peter Donovan has his own dreams. He wants his boys to have it better than he did, "to have a better education if they desire or be a plumber or electrician or whatever they want. When I grew up, a lot of the time the church or neighbors took care of us. We were in a middle-class neighborhood which made it even rougher.

"I still think of myself as rather young. I've got good health and I'm gonna take a shot at life. I know guys at Ford's tool and die make only $1 an hour more than I and they've got $70,000 homes—but they have to work seven days a week, year in and year out. They get no enjoyment.

Donovan wants to save enough money somehow—$20,000 or so—to buy a truck and three or four good ladders and put himself in business as a painter and plasterer. "I'm very good at it and I'm not afraid to use my hands. My money spends as good as some guy's who works at a desk."

Does he really feel that who is in the White House would make his future any better? Donovan answers evenly, "I'd like to think so.

"I just like to think that there are better days ahead."

Carter Laughs Off His 'UFO Sighting'

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter laughed off a report yesterday that he saw an unidentified flying object a few years before he became governor of Georgia.

The report is contained in a new book entitled "UFO Exist!", written by Faris Flammonde.

Flammonde said Carter, now the leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, no longer laughs at people who claim to have made similar UFO sightings.

But the former Georgia governor disappointed Flammonde yesterday.

Carter said the sources of Flammonde's story are newspaper accounts about his ruminations on a night in September, 1969, in Georgia.

"One night, I was getting ready to speak to a Lion's Club in southwest Georgia," he said humorously. "I was standing with about 20 members of the Lion's Club outside.... A light appeared and disappeared in the sky. . .It got brighter and brighter," Carter said.

Asked what he thought the light was, Carter replied: "I have no idea . . . I think it was a light beckoning me to run in the California primary."

Flammonde said his Carter information is based on two newspaper stories — one that ran Sept. 14, 1973, in "The Wichita (Kansas) Beacon," and another published on Sept. 16, 1973, in "The Journal and Sentinel" in Winston-Salem, N.C.

Flammonde said both stories quoted Carter as saying: "I don't laugh at people any more when they say they've seen UFOs, because I've seen one myself."

Carter replied "yes" last night when asked if he recalled making the statement attributed to him by Flammonde.

He was asked whether he considers that he saw a UFO.

"I told you what I saw, it was a light," Carter replied.

Asked if he believes in the existence of UFOs, Carter cut off the conversation.

The 39-year-old author also said in the book that President Ford, when he was a congressman, wrote a letter to L. Mendel Rivers, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, asking him to investigate numerous alleged UFO sightings in Michigan.

"I think there may be substance in these reports," Rep. Ford said in the letter written to Rep. Rivers in March, 1966, according to Flammonde.

Bill Roberts, a White House spokesman, confirmed Flammonde's report.

"That's correct . . . I don't see anything wacky about that. Do you?" Roberts said. He said the committee conducted an investigation, "but the committee's findings were what committee findings usually are — all up in the air."

An Ailing Economy? Try Carter's Little Pills

A Commentary

By Nicholas von Hoffman

Jiminy Peanut has been unfairly accused. The gleamy-toothed, bushy-tailed annointed chipmunk of the Lord hasn't been so evasive as his detractors have alleged. The May issue of Fortune magazine contains a long Q and A with the smiling Georgia shell-shucker in which he enunciates what President Carter would do about matters economic with sufficient precision to satisfy most people. Since economics is mostly what modern government is about, if this Georgia peach turns out to be a bit tart, you can't honestly say he didn't warn you.

What comes through here is that he advocates no significant diminution or change in the scope of federal government activity or its relation to the society. Does that make him a poseur? Is this anti-Washington stance hypocrisy?

There's no reason to think so. Carter appears to equate increasing efficiency in the bureaucracy with lessening the role of Washington in our lives. What he's really saying is that he thinks he can improve the quality of the administration of government which is far different from a major pull-back or a restructuring.

The chief instrument he offers for the reform of federal government is "zero-based budgeting," essentially an administrative process designed to eliminate expenditures which produce few results. Zero-based budgeting is another efficiency expert fad of marginal utility like the cost-effective analysis fad McNamara brought to Washington 16 years ago.

What Carter evidently doesn't understand is that the bureaucracy isn't simply the dysfunctional fatty burden which everybody says can be cut, lopped off or chopped from the private sector. For both our economy and our government the operative distinction between public and private sectors disappeared years ago. When you cut, lop and chop the one, you cut, lop and chop the other, and neither Carter nor anybody else in politics, except maybe Patty Hearst, is going to do that.

". . . Some of the rulings of the regulatory agencies are counterproductive . . ." says the Pious Peach, but then he adds he would not deregulate to the point that free market ruleless-ness would so favor "the more powerful carriers" (in the trucking industry) that the little guy would be out of business. Carter is right to worry that a free market would destroy a lot of independent businessmen, but his solution isn't to cast around for new approaches, but rather to keep the old governmental mechanisms in place.

Poster

This is not a man who is going to do anything toward freeing up our society. He says he wants "enthusiastic enforcement of the present anti-trust laws"; he would like to "abbreviate" the procedures and make the criteria for enforcement a tad less legal and more economic, but we've been through this ever so often before and it doesn't mean anything as long as there is no attack on economic bigness per se. This Carter makes clear he isn't prepared to do. As with deregulation, he's fallen afoul of the same set of contradictions which have paralyzed so many before him.

On tax reform, Carter is somewhat bolder, perhaps because he knows that mossback conservatives like William Simon in the Treasury are also demanding large and important changes. But going so far as to abolish both the corporate tax and the favored rate on capital gains looks like more than it is. Where Carter is silent is in changing the part of the tax code which encourages malinvestment, inefficiency and the very corporate largeness which he declines to cut down after the government has promoted it.

His reasons aren't sinister. Like Ford, Reagan and Humphrey, Carter regards the federal income tax as an important instrument in the execution of the overall plan for the economy. He, however, like Ford and Reagan, and unlike Humphrey, says he's opposed to overall planning, but don't take him seriously. That's the practical pol's aversion to a dirty word, because at the same time he wants standby wage and price control. But past macroplanning for the whole economy to reach stated goals for employment, inflation, etc., Carter also supports microplanning for particular industries like housing.

In some areas Carter would push the federal government even more. In addition to the grants Washington is already disbursing to states and localities for public works construction, Carter would now have the federal government guarantee local bond issues. If he got 85 per cent of the vote in the Georgia primary, with a program like that he'll get 100 per cent on Wall Street.

Mr. Peanut does engage in a bit of flim-flam, but it's so transparent that if you believe it you deserve to be fooled. He's doing that number about putting the ablebodied, undeserving welfare recipients to work. "I would train them, give them literacy instruction . . ." Reagan tried it in California and succeeded with so few people it must have cost more to put 'em to work than to keep 'em on the dole. Liberals believe they can rehabilitate rapists and muggers; conservatives believe they can do the same with recipients.

If you look at Jiminy Peanut's ideas for shrinking Washington all you can say is that, for a man who prays so much, he gets precious little inspiration for his efforts. Accept this devout chipmunk for what he is, a late 20th-century American candidate trapped like the other politicians with no other vision of the way to run the government than the way it has been run. Not a hypocrite, just an exciting fresh face with a stale mind.

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David S. Broder

Carter and Brown: If One, Why Not the Other?

Next Tuesday's Maryland primary is Belfast without the bombs: a good, mean scrap among the righteous.

There is something so fitting about Jerry Brown lying in wait to ambush Jimmy Carter that it makes even a cynic believe that there is a Higher Intelligence and perhaps even a Higher Sense of Humor that guides the petty affairs of mankind.

If ever two candidates seemed to deserve each other, it is the former governor of Georgia and the present governor of California. And the way they are going after each other—accusing one another of duplicity and fraud—is a genuine comfort to those who know there's nothing like two high-principled gentlemen when it comes to kneeing in the clinches.

On the surface, the two seem opposites. Carter is the dedicated family man who loves every stranger on sight. Brown is the bachelor-loner whose warmth can be gauged from the fact that when he refers to his father, the amiable Pat Brown, he calls him "the governor before Reagan."

But don't be misled by the seeming contrast in personalities. At heart, the two are alike enough to justify the jibe, "The real Jimmy Carter is Jerry Brown."

They are propelled into this confrontation by a self-confident ambition that is stunning to behold. When Bill Moyers asked Carter, during that extraordinarily revealing television interview last week, "Do you have any doubts? About yourself, about God, about life?" Carter replied: "I can't think of any."

And when asked if it was hard for him to leave the Navy after ten years to return to the family business, Carter, who was 29 at the time and a lieutenant, replied, as not many former lieutenants would, "I had a choice to make. Did I want to be Chief of Naval Operations, and devote my whole life to that one narrowly defined career, which was a good one, or did I want to go back and build a more diverse life with a lot of friends . . .?"

Brown left a Jesuit seminary in his twenties for Berkeley, Yale and politics. But he has not yet, so far as the record shows, indicated that when he opted for "a more diverse life," he gave up a clear shot at the papacy.

On the other hand, he said something almost as remarkable in an interview with Washington Post staff members last week. "I didn't need this kind of risk," Brown said, in reference to his late-starting presidential campaign in Maryland. "I'm in it because I think I represent something different. I think I represent the future."

What both Carter and Brown represent, in the eyes of some bemused fans, is John Kennedy reincarnate. The comparison rests on their demonstrated ability to stir the spirits and enlist the energies of people jaded with conventional politics. But the comparison stops there.

The Kennedy charm was laced with a strong sense of irony and self-deprecating humor—which was the surest safeguard that he would not use his power over people in dangerously demagogic ways. He was surely not a moralizer and he never pretended to be above the "wicked" politics of the Potomac.

Carter and Brown, on the other hand, base their claim to public trust on their innocence of the moral and bureaucratic corruption of Washington. And what must rankle Carter is that Jerry is twice as pure as Jimmy by the very standards Jimmy has set. So why be half-safe?

Plains, Ga., is a long way away from the wicked capital, and Carter symbolizes the New South, which came through the fires of desegregation, polished and pure. But Sacramento is even further from the source of the political infection, and Brown represents the New Generation, burnished to an edge of skepticism by its disillusionment with the Great Society and Vietnam.

The intriguing question is: If one should be President, why not the other? Their records as governors are equally impressive or thin, depending on one's standards. Neither would be put forward by fellow-governors as the best the state capitols have to offer; neither, in fact, has many admirers or friends among his fellow-governors.

Both are ardent advocates of the post-Watergate politics of openness, where secrecy is the cardinal sin. And both are extraordinarily private men, who open themselves to few outsiders.

Both have bright, loyal and attractive staffs. And both have suffered the embarrassment of high-level resignations by aides who found them privately arrogant and hypocritical.

Both say they should be trusted to do what is right. Both promise to reduce unemployment, curb government waste and give us "a foreign policy that will make us proud again" (Carter) or will express "the vision that I have that the human species is coming to a turn in the road" (Brown).

How a Maryland voter—or anyone else—judges such candidates is a mystery, and Carter and Brown are no help. Both have said they will never lie to or mislead anyone. And each finds the other dishonest. What's a poor voter to believe?

Bright
Sunny today and tomorrow, highs in mid-70s. Low tonight in upper 40s. Details: B-6.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Church Nebraska 'Miracle' —Just As Simple As ABC

FULL STORY

- Flashback: Ford plannning whistlestop campaign. A-1
- Church found working a "miracle" as simple as ABC. A-1
- Ford's future could all hinge on the folks back home. A-1
- Politics Today: "Soft support" and hard questions. A-3
- Environmentalists rate Carter purer than Brown. A-6
- News from Carter: "I'm not anti-Washington." A-6
- Keeping track: Latest convention delegate countdown figures. A-6
- Reagan's practicing new role as frontrunner. A-9
- It's Jay Rockefeller vs. Cecil Underwood for West Virginia governor. A-9
- David Israel: Portrait of a tired strategist. B-1

THE FORM

REPUBLICANS

PRESIDENT FORD — Michigan could be his last stand.

RONALD REAGAN — Come-from-behind victory in Nebraska accelerates his momentum.

DEMOCRATS

JIMMY CARTER — Thrown off stride by upset in Nebraska.

FRANK CHURCH — Late campaign gets off to successful start with win in Nebraska.

JERRY BROWN — Hope for Maryland victory heightened by Carter loss.

MO UDALL — Pleasantly surprised with close second finish to Carter in Connecticut.

'Anybody But Carter' Club Joins Labor and Liberals

By Lyle Denniston
Washington Star Staff Writer

OMAHA — Sen. Frank Church's presidential campaign opened with a victory — his narrow "miracle" in Nebraska yesterday — because normalcy came back to Democratic voting.

Basically, he won on a revival of "ABC" sentiment — "Anybody But Carter" — plus the fact that the traditional Democratic alliance of labor and liberals chose him.

Church, finishing first among 11 Democrats to beat Jimmy Carter of Georgia, apparently put over his main appeal to Nebraskans:

"Whatever kind of Democrat you are, you're a Democrat who can support Frank Church."

IT WAS NOT A triumph of his ideas; he won in many areas of the state, among all ideologies. And it was not a personal victory as such; he sold himself as the stand-in for everybody's favorite.

But he did come from behind to upset Carter, who lately had gotten into the habit of beating every challenger in sight. And Church did it his first time out.

In winning here, the Idaho senator put frontrunner Carter in a position he had not occupied all year: facing perhaps a month of steady losses in primaries — on the eve of the Democratic convention.

Church also put himself and the other "late-late" challenger, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., in position to gather to themselves or to split all the anti-Carter sentiment that remains in their party.

Brown was not in the Nebraska race, so he and Church do not face each other until the California primary June 8.

NOW, CHURCH and Brown figure to become the alternatives, not Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington or Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

See DEMOCRATS, A-6

Continued From A-1

Udall has yet to beat Carter anywhere, Jackson has not beaten him convincingly anywhere, and Humphrey is not even competing — yet.

Moreover, none of those three seems likely to be as threatening to Carter as both Brown and Church could be in the next few weeks.

Carter may lose to Brown in Maryland next Tuesday, Idaho and Oregon to Church on May 25, and California to Brown on the last primary day, June 8.

Many Democratic party "regulars" had begun turning toward Brown as the last hope to keep Carter from winning the nomination before the convention in New York City in July. Carter is considered by the "regulars" to be a loner, an outsider and a maverick.

Church, however, becomes another acceptable challenger after defeating Carter despite the momentum the Georgian had built up in winning eight out of 10 primaries up to yesterday.

With 91 percent of the Nebraska precincts counted, the senator had defeated the former governor by about two percentage points, 39 to 37. This at the same time Carter barely edged out Udall in Connecticut's party-run Democratic primary.

In Connecticut it was 33 percent for Carter to 31 percent for Udall and 18 percent for Jackson, with 13 precent of the vote for uncommitted delegates to the party's national convention. Connecticut delegates are to be officially selected at district conventions in a month.

IN NEBRASKA, CHURCH won primarily by beating Carter convincingly in the two major population centers. He had a margin of more than 3,500 in the Omaha area, where more than a fourth of all Democratic voters in the state live, and a margin of more than 4,000 in the Lincoln area, the site of the state university.

Labor is a dominant force in Democratic politics around Omaha, and Church had gained the late endorsement of several key union leaders. Democrats living in the Lincoln area tend to be the state's most liberal.

Church moved out in front in the early counting primarily because of his strength in labor wards in Omaha. In South Omaha, a working-class sector, Church beat Carter by substantial margins.

The senator even ran close to Carter among one part of the Georgian's following: urban blacks. In Omaha's second ward, dominated by blacks, Carter had 321 votes to Church's 245 and Humphrey's 149. Humphrey is a longtime favorite there.

Outside of the two main cities, Church and Carter ran much closer. In fact, they split evenly the next 10 counties in size, with the victory margins generally 200 votes or less.

Of the 32 most populous counties, Carter won 19 and Church 13, but the Georgian did not win by enough anywhere to offset the Church victories in the Omaha and Lincoln metropolitan areas.

IN BALLOTING FOR 23 national convention delegates, entirely separate fromt he popularity contest voting, Church was leading for 15 delegates and Carter for eight.

The senator apparently had to win in Nebraska to be taken seriously as a contender this late in the primary season. About a month ago, when he began campaigning actively here, it seemed hopeless. That, apparently, is why he said, "A miracle is in the making" as he led throughout last night's counting.

Two weeks ago, the major newspapers in the state showed Carter ahead of Church in polls by at least 10 percentage points. Carter finished with at least 10 percent more of the vote than he showed in those polls, but Church picked up another 20 percent.

Last night, as his win began to emerge, Church said: "It launches my campaign and gives it legitimacy, which no one has recognized."

He said the victory would give him "momentum" going into the final primaries late this month and in June. What is most important at this stage, the senator commented, is to gain "momentum from the primaries of last impression" — the ones that may be most on delegates' minds when they arrive in New York City.

However, Church curbed his optimism, saying that "I wouldn't expect to win on the first ballot" at the convention.

"I can't win them all," Carter said when asked to assess thechance that Church could win. But Carter added, "My campaign won't be sidetracked by a temporary victory by someone else in one or two states."

IN NEBRASKA, the Idahoan put on a campaign that apparently suited voters in each of the state's three congressional districts.

For the Omaha area, he spent most of his time wooing the labor vote and the elderly vote, and buying as much TV and radio time as he could afford.

In Lincoln, he relied upon his iage as a liberal, including his recent leadership of the CIA investigation.

In the vast area of central and west Nebraska, he stressed his background as a westerner with long experience in dealing with farm policy.

He personally campaigned heavily in the Lincoln area, and most of the larger counties west of there, coming into the Omaha area for a final blitz. He spent a total of 12 days in the state over the past month.

The fact that he has been in Washington for 20 years apparently did not count against him. In all of his appearances, he stressed his experience in the Senate, and some of his supporters said they were for him because they did not believe that a President should learn about government through "on-the-job training."

What counted most for Church, however, was that he called himself an alternative to Carter, and asked the followers of all kinds of candidates to vote for him instead.

"The one key by which we can pull off a tremendous upset that would bring the attention of the whole nation to Nebraska is to get bellind one candidate," he told a rally last week in a west Omaha union hall.

APPARENTLY, THIS strategy worked well for a candidate who a month ago was almost unknown here. Humphrey, who has long been popular in Nebraska, got only 7 percent of the vote. In the Omaha area, where Humphrey is most popular, Church got 19,526 votes compared to Humphrey's 4,305.

Aside from Carter and Church, all other Democrats on the ballot here got fewer votes than Humphrey.

Although Church last night stressed the fact that he had taken firm stands on public issues here, that did not appear to be so much a positive factor for him as it was a negative one for Carter. Many voters complained that Carter was "fuzzy" on issues.

Carter did not allow himself much time to go after votes here. He was in the state for only one day. He did, however, buy a sizable amount of TV, radio and newspaper advertising.

It was unclear whether Carter could have done more by spending more time here. He won one of the midstate counties he visited, but lost the other one. He lost in Lincoln and Omaha, where he had spent the most time.

Perhaps the most uncomfortable loss he had anywhere in the state came in Saline County, the most Democratic county in Nebraska. Both Church and Carter went there to gather votes, and Church beat him by less than a margin of 100.

Pakistan Limiting Dowry Payments

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (UPI) — The Pakistan National Assembly has passed a bill limiting dowries paid by eligible women to $500, in a move to cut the heavy demands made by bridegrooms-to-be.

The bill, which also slashes marriage expenses to a maximum of $250, is still to be passed by Pakistan's upper house before becoming law.

Brown Thesis Hit

Public Servants Get Carter Smile

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia governor who has built a political power base around the theme of running against Washington, has paid some homage to the Nation's Capital.

Not unmindful, perhaps, that a great number of federal employes will vote in Maryland's primary next Tuesday, Carter yesterday attacked California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. for saying the problem with government "is not the boxes but the people who are in them."

The phrase comes from a speech given by Brown during an appearance here last June 6 during which Brown asserted that mere reorganization will not get at problems of inefficiency in the federal government.

"That is wrong," Carter told a lunchtime crowd of more than 1,000 in front of the Montgomery County Courthouse in Rockville. Carter said his experience in Georgia had taught him that the people in government "yearn for a chance to throw off the burden of red tape, confusion, duplication, political manipulation and lack of goals and direction."

The candidate added, "I know that it is possible for an irrational, ill-planned, inhuman system to grind down, discourage and virtually incapacitate the most dedicated and competent public servant."

CARTER SAID he would see that the Democrats write a plank in their party platform calling for a reorganization of the federal government. "The process (reorganization) will require at least a year. It will require the combined wisdom of the President and his staff, the Congress and professional civil servants as well as the talents and advice of business, labor consumer groups and the legal community," he said.

"I cannot tell you the details of how it will look at the end because no single person is competent to do so," the candidate explained.

During the afternoon, Carter held a press conference in the Rayburn House Office building with a group of freshman congressmen who were endorsing him. Again, he had some kind things to say about the city.

"I'm not anti-Washington," he explained at one point. "I've never made an anti-Washington statement," he added, insisting his remarks had always revolved around "positive" suggestions on how to improve the city's major industry.

Still, he warned, a Carter presidency would change things here. "I don't want anyone to vote for me unless they want to see some profound changes made in the structure of government."

THROUGHOUT the day he made jabs at Brown. Once it was for being the tool of "machine politicians." Another time, Carter pointed out that "the Presidency requires more than philosophical inquiries issued from above the battle."

Carter's schedule this week is placing major emphasis on the Maryland contest against Brown. The candidate will spend most of today and Friday campaigning in Maryland.

Though he is making a major effort in the state, his campaign office acknowledged that he will not be using a radio ad — used heavily in the Pennsylvania primary April 25 — in which he says:

"We know from bitter experience that we're not going to get the changes we need simply by shifting around the same group of Washington insiders. They sit up in Congress every year making the same political speeches and the same unkept promises."

Last night, Carter dined with many of Washington's most powerful "insiders" at a banquet put on by the House and Senate Democrat campaign committees at the Washington Hilton. After a parade of Democrat committee chairmen were introduced, the television lights focused on Carter as the master of ceremonies intoned:

"We have one presidential candidate with us. Last week Time Magazine said he is the most phenomenal politician to come on the scene in this century."

The candidate rose amid great applause.

EVEN BEFORE the ceremonies began it was clear that Carter has already made his mark on the city. In the hotel's terrace section, outside the banquet hall, Democrats stood elbow to elbow, waiting for the celebrities to arrive. Then a cluster of television lights suddenly turned on, bathing one corner of the room in their glare.

"Who is that?" asked on veteran Senate aide.

"That could only be Jimmy Carter," replied another.

Both men edged through the crowd in time to see an illumination of political change in Washington. Jimmy Carter, the upstart from Georgia, stood facing Sen. Herman E. Talmadge, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee and the heir of a much older Georgia power base.

The candidate and the senator stood there silently, grinning, crinkling their eyes at each other.



COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Carter	Humphrey	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Alabama	35	3	—	—	—	29	—	3
Alaska	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Arizona*	25	4	—	—	15	1	—	—
Canal Zone	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Connecticut*	51	17	—	5	15	—	—	14
D.C.	17	6	—	—	4	—	—	7
Florida	81	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Georgia	50	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii*	17	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Illinois	169	59	4	—	—	3	88	15
Indiana	75	48	—	—	—	6	—	21
Iowa	47	17	—	—	10	—	9	11
Kansas*	34	13	—	2	1	—	2	16
Louisiana	41	13	—	—	—	9	—	19
Maine	20	9	—	—	5	—	—	6
Massachusetts	104	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Minnesota*	65	—	60	—	—	—	—	5
Mississippi	24	5	—	—	—	11	4	4
Missouri*	71	10	—	1	3	1	9	47
Nebraska	23	8	—	—	—	—	14	1
N. Hampshire	17	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
New York	274	35	—	106	68	—	—	65
N. Carolina	61	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Oklahoma	37	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Pennsylvania	178	64	—	19	22	3	17	53
Puerto Rico*	22	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
S. Carolina	31	9	—	—	—	8	1	13
Texas	130	89	—	—	—	—	9	32
Virginia*	54	14	—	—	4	—	—	36
Virgin Islands	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Washington*	53	—	—	31	4	—	—	18
W. Virginia	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
Wisconsin	68	26	—	6	25	10	1	—
Wyoming	10	1	—	—	1	—	1	7
Totals	**1,933**	**615**	**64**	**237**	**209**	**153**	**178**	**498**

* Process incomplete

REPUBLICANS

State	Total Delegates	Ford	Reagan	Uncommitted
Alabama	37	—	31	6
Arizona	29	2	27	—
D.C.	14	14	—	—
Florida	66	43	23	—
Georgia	48	—	48	—
Hawaii*	19	12	4	3
Illinois	101	77	11	13
Indiana	54	9	45	—
Iowa*	36	15	15	6
Kansas*	34	11	3	1
Louisiana*	41	—	12	3
Maine	20	16	3	1
Massachsetts	43	28	15	—
Minnesota*	42	15	1	2
Mississippi	30	—	—	30
Missouri*	49	9	—	—
Nebraska	25	10	15	—
Nevada	18	—	—	18
N. Hampshire	21	18	3	
New York	154	—	3	151
N. Carolina	54	26	28	—
Oklahoma*	36	—	18	3
Pennsylvania	103	—	—	103
Puerto Rico	8	8	—	—
S. Carolina	36	4	26	6
Texas	100	—	96	4
West Virginia	28	—	—	28
Wisconsin	45	45	—	—
Wyoming	17	—	—	17
Totals	**1,308**	**362**	**427**	**395**

* Process incomplete

TALLY

A total of 1,505 votes is needed to win the Democratic presidential nomination in New York City in July, and 1,130 to win the Republican nomination in Kansas City in August. These tables show convention delegate votes accumulated so far by candidates in state primaries and party caucuses. They include some projections in caucus and primary states where the process has not yet been completed. Coming up next Tuesday in the convention delegate countdown are primaries in Maryland and Michigan. And the following week it's Idaho, Kentucky, Neveda, Oregon, Arkansas and Tennessee.

Environmental Group Rates Carter Ahead of Brown

By Michael Kiernan A6
Washington Star Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter has a far better record on environmental issues than California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., the League of Conservation Voters reported this week.

The report — still in the final drafting stage — was made available yesterday, a week before the Maryland primary in which the two will meet for the first time.

The primary marks Brown's first campaign effort outside California since he became governor 16 months ago, and environmental activists who have backed Carter in past primaries appear determined to make clear they still favor the Georgian over his new rival from the Far West.

Several environmentalists interviewed yesterday were criticial of Brown, who has fashioned his campaign around a theme of recognizing the need to conserve natural resources on "spaceship earth."

JOE BROWDER, treasurer of LCV and a strong supporter of Carter, said yesterday: "Everybody says Carter waffles on the issues, but it's Brown who hasn't been specific on environmental concerns."

Calling Brown's conservation record as governor only "fair at best," the LCV report praised Carter for an "outstanding performance" on environmental issues during his four-year tenure as Georgia governor between 1971 and 1975.

Carter was "consistently ahead of his state legislature on nearly every (environmental) issue graded," the report said, noting that Carter blocked construction of the controversial Sprewell Bluff Dam on the Flint River.

The report added that Carter had "exposed wasteful energy policies of the Georgia Power Co. and resisted the utility's demands for a rate increase."

A Brown spokesman in California said yesterday that Brown has an "excellent" record on preserving the environment and said the California governor has had to deal with environmental problems "far more complex and greater in number" than Carter did in his four years running Georgia.

THE CONSERVATION group, which is well respected among environmental activists, has been evaluating environmental records of political candidates since 1970.

LCV'S 29-page report on Brown criticized the 38-year-old Californian for endorsing sound conservation concepts but then failing to support specific legislation to implement these ideas.

In certain areas, such as air pollution and transportation, the conservation group rated Brown's record as "excellent," but said he was "poor" on land-use planning and forestry.

"Perhaps the most s prising aspect of the 'r spirit' administration Jerry Brown has beer shallowness of his leg tive program," the rep said.

As of the Easter legisl tive recess, Browo "had n endorsed any of the majo natural resource bills nov before the (California) legislature," according to the report.

David Jensen, Brown's press spokesman in Sacramento, noted yesterday that Monday night Brown endorsed three bills now in the California legislature calling for tougher controls on nuclear development.

BROWN IS now on record favoring a ban of new nuclear plants unless the state legislature and state energy commission specifically approves federal methods of storing radioactive wastes and recycling fuel at these new plants, Jensen said.

So far, however, Brown has taken no position on Proposition 15, a controversial nuclear safeguards proposal, which will be on the California ballot June 8.

Fewer Jobs in Canada

OTTAWA, Canada (AP) — The national unemployment rate rose to 7.4 percent of the labor force during April from 6.9 percent a month earlier and was the highest so far this year, Statistics Canada reported yesterday.

AA

BB

Charles Bartlett

Is Jerry Brown more spirit than substance?

By billing himself as the apostle of a new spirit for America, California Gov. Jerry Brown has encouraged his audiences to look for more innovations than they find in his political approach.

He has the cool assurance of a young politician who has made a quick breakthrough. He is articulate, but his words raise unfulfilled expectations of new ideas. He manages to convey the enlightened air of an earnest young political science professor who deprecates what has been going on and means to try something different.

Exactly 100 years ago in a Harper's textbook for young Americans, the author wrote: "Politics has always been, in every free state, an enticing profession followed by many honest and high-minded men out of a desire to see their favored principles prevail; by other men to advance their private fortunes, and by yet others for a combination of both these motives."

A principle on which own has staked his bid national fame is that ective candor will be the ademark of his "new eneration of leadership." here will be no more overselling and overpromising, no shallow recitations of party dogmas and partisan cliches. To save voters entrapped in political rhetoric, he means to lead them to the safe harbor of his own consistency.

The tender of his good faith has been his denunciation of programs which promise more than they deliver, his discouragement of the popular inclination to seek legislative solutions. But while campaigning against Washington, he has insisted that the federal government must adapt its policies to provide jobs for everyone.

Brown maintains this can be accomplished by transforming the programs that don't work into job-producing efforts. He doesn't want the government to be the employer of last resort so that "everyone who can't get a job finds a nest in the federal bureaucracy." He says it is not just a matter of "pumping up the economy." Pushed by the unions, he has signed onto the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which asserts a federal policy of guaranteeing jobs to all Americans.

So Brown's position is confusing, more likely to win votes than create employment. He talks about "setting a national direction" but he is not specific on the steps necessary to attain the Humphrey-Hawkins objective. He warns in candor that the economy will grow more slowly than it has in the past. But he is endorsing the push-button expansion of Humphrey-Hawkins.

Brown charges Jimmy Carter with making "a superficial assessment of how things can be improved." But Carter's remedies are actually more specific. He says the private sector would be the primary source of jobs, a concession to the Ford position which most Democrats have been unwilling to make. He would apply job subsidies in areas of high unemployment but he would not resort to massive public jobs programs except in an extreme situation. He wants to use tax policy to keep American manufacturers at home.

But Carter's stand is also blurred by his enrollment in the alliance supporting Humphrey-Hawkins. The bill would oblige a President to draft a countercyclical program which would invoke public employment as an automatic response to an economic downturn. It would entail extensive planning toward the attainment of 3 per cent unemployment. The bill is a nostrum that will be rushed through Congress to dramatize the Democrats' impatience with the Ford position on jobs.

Hubert Humphrey is a prime sponsor of this legislation because he unabashedly believes in the duty of government to insure that the less fortunate fare well. He has deep faith in the government's power to keep the economy on the track and people at work.

Right or wrong, Humphrey occupies a more candid position than the fresher faces who acquiesce in the expansion of Washington's power while they align themselves with those who would diminish it. They show only a flickering desire to see their favored principles prevail.

Politics Today

Church Shows What 'Soft Support' Means

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

DETROIT — For months now the wise guys of the Democratic party have been saying that the support for Jimmy Carter is soft. In Nebraska yesterday Carter and Frank Church proved the point.

"Soft support" is generally defined as that based on rather tenuous identification with a candidate. By contrast, "hard support" is that based on either a long association with a candidate or a passionate devotion to the candidate's positions on issues.

Carter's support, then, is soft for two reasons. First, because he is such a newcomer to the center stage of national politics, the voters don't know him very well. Second, he has enlisted the supporters he does have largely through the image he has projected of himself as a different kind of potential president, whatever his position on specific questions.

THE EVIDENCE of softness that was disclosed in Nebraska yesterday was not the first to have surfaced this spring. Indeed, Carter's own polls have shown a growing number of voters who react to him negatively. And reporters and politicians alike have been struck in recent weeks by the frequency with which questions are raised about his positions on issues — or, more accurately, about the perception of him as fuzzy on issues. At least a vocal minority of Democrats are clearly repelled by Carter's so-called thematic approach because they see it as essentialy an attempt to substitute form for substance.

All of this obviously was reflected in Nebraska yesterday. Carter can point out that Church spent 12 days campaigning there while he was "spreading myself thin" and could devote less than 24 hours to the state. Unquestionably that contributed to the Church triumph.

But it is also true that Nebraska is part of the Union, and voters there get their basic diet of information from the same media as voters elsewhere, media that have presented Carter as an inevitably frontrunner and Church as just another guy tilting at windmills.

SO, WHATEVER CHURCH'S concentration on Nebraska, it is apparent that the results represented something more than just a referendum on who "cared enough to come" to present his case in person to Nebraska Democrats.

Nor could Carter claim much satisfaction out of his showing in Connecticut yesterday. He won there, but his narrow margin over Morris Udall clearly failed to meet his expectations or to reflect the political community's estimate of the relative strength of the two candidates.

Carter pointed out that "You can't win them all" and it is true he has lost before — in Massachusetts, New York and Alabama. But losing to candidates viewed at the time as equally formidable is not the same as losing to Frank Church in the Idaho liberals' first test of a "late, late strategy" that no one in the political community believes feasible.

THE OPERATIVE QUESTION is what, if anything, this means in the ultimate decision on the Democratic presidential nomination. That Carter showed weakness in Nebraska does not imply corresponding new strength for Church or, for that matter, any of the others still in the field. Carter still has some 600 delegates and, although the results yesterday may make the uncommitted less inclined to join him at a deadrun, there is no one in a position to challenge him seriously at this point.

The Church victory raises the possibility that Carter may have other difficult days in the final weeks of the primaries. If he can be beaten by Frank Church in Nebraska yesterday, presumably he can be beaten by Jerry Brown in Maryland next Tuesday and by Frank Church again in Idaho and Oregon May 25 and by Jerry Brown again in California June 8.

Carter is not defenseless in this situation. He can lose Maryland next Tuesday so long as he defeats Morris Udall in Michigan. He can lose Idaho and Oregon May 25 if he wins Kentucky andd Tennessee the same day. He can lose California to its governor June 8 so long as he wins New Jersey and Ohio.

BUT THE CRITICAL TEST is not how Carter reacts strategically in the search for the 1,505 delegates. Instead, it is how Carter responds to the questions raised by that defeat in Nebraska.

One obvious temptation is to play a cautious game and try to inch toward the magic number delegate by delegate without giving offense and adding to that number of voters who react negatively. But that approach would not harden any of that soft support, which is what Carter needs to do not only for the nomination but for the general election if he succeeds in winning that nomination.

What is essential for Carter is to deal directly with the questions voters are raising about him before the notion there is little behind that smile becomes a full-scale epidemic. Otherwise, the "soft support" is likely to revive the search for an alternative and another 11th hour brawl within the Democratic party. Hubert Humphrey has stepped aside for the moment but he has not pledged total abstinence.

CC

William F. Buckley Jr.

Reston, the old trouper and wee Jimmy

James Reston, in one of his routine exercises in indiscretion, has announced to the American public that Henry Kissinger having been dispatched from time to time to brief Gov. Ronald Reagan during the Nixon days, "testified later that seldom in his long experience as a teacher had he come across a more gullible pupil . . ." Concerning that statement, a few observations:

1. Did Kissinger say that to Reston? Certainly Kissinger has never "testified" on the question of Reagan's gullibility, else us plain-folks would have heard about it. What Reston surely means is that Kissinger said as much to Reston personally Presumably he said it in confidence, but Reston permits himself to transcend these considerations, as when not long ago he wrote that publicly the President and the secretary of state applaud Daniel Patrick Moynihan, while privately they deplore him. Exit Moynihan.

I wonder whether other friends of the secretary of state should feel free to reveal positions Kissinger has "testified" to? Reston, whose cosmopolitanism contrasts so sharply with Reagan's gullibility, is a man who having got his appendix taken out successfully in China, came back with praise for that totalitarian state which would have embarrassed Edgar Snow. Reston's current hold on public reality is best measured by his continuing references to "wee Jimmy." The gentleman in question is Governor Carter, who will probably be the next President of the United States.

2. Though it is true that Kissinger, like so many intellectuals, is a man of considerable personal impatience with those who either fail quickly to grasp his point, or else proceed to disagree with it — Harold Wilson is a little bit that way: he's always assumed that people who disagree with him are just not quite bright — he would surely not "testify" to the "guillibility" of Reagan. After all, if Kissinger is calling Reagan gullible, what do you suppose Le Duc Tho is calling Kissinger?

3. The "guillibility" of Reagan is based on Reagan's assertion that the United States has full sovereign powers over the Panama Canal. As a matter of fact, Reagan is technically wrong. We don't own the canal zone in exactly the same sense we own Alaska. But Reagan has a far more accurate sense of the active relationship between the United States and the Panama Canal than the legion of his critics who speak as though the canal zone were Panamanian territory in any meaningful sense.

The relevant sentence in the treaty authorized the United States "to exercise all rights, power, and authority within the zone . . . which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory . . . to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign rights, power, or authority."

I think even gullible people, reading those words, would be entitled to say that we have effective sovereignty over the Panama Canal.

Reston says that "Reagan couldn't pass a test in freshman American history," preaching what he does about American rights in Panama. If that is so, as much could be said of former Secretary of State and later Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes, who is 1923 wrote, "It is an absolute futility for the Panamanian government to expect any American Administration, no matter what it is, any President or Secretary of State, ever to surrender any part of these rights which the United States has acquired under the treaty of 1903."

4. Since Reston is having so much difficulty understanding the rise to political eminence of "wee Jimmy" and of the former governor of California, whom Reston calls with such wit, "the old trouper," I'll tell him what's going on. These men are making headway because huge numbers of American citizens review a scene in which for a generation or two the Restons of this world, strutting their sophistication, had the critical hand in shaping. The statesmen who turned on the Restons, gave us a couple of world wars, slave empires that stretched from East Europe to Indochina, a passion for decolonization that has all but extinguished human freedom in yet another large continent, and, at home, a thorough demoralization of the spirit. They want something old and true (Reagan), or something — anything — new (Carter).

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Staff Photo—Minta Linn

Gloria Carter Spann: Prone to Sit on a Creek Bank Fishing

The 'Countreee' Sister

'When Jimmy's Elected President . . .I'll Still Be a Farmer's Wife'

By FREDERICK ALLEN
Constitution Staff Writer

PLAINS—In the bright yellow, wall-length bookcase one finds the five leatherbound works by Guy de Maupassant, the French short-story writer, which belong to Jimmy Carter.

They are wedged in there along with the collection of every U.S. News and World Report issued since 1952, the yard-long stretch of National Geographics and the 1843 "Encyclopedia of All Human Knowlege."

The scrapbook with the photos of Alaska at midnight—when the sun rises and sets all at once—is stored elsewhere in the simple frame house.

The Honda 500 motorcycle is parked out back.

On the wall of the living room hangs a print of a religious scholar, bearded head pressed forward into his hands in deep thought, dressed in a green plaid work shirt.

This is the home of Gloria Carter Spann—artist, motorcyclist, photographer, naturalist, farmer's wife, writer, skier, teacher, maker of handpainted denim jackets for motorcycle clubs—sister of heavyweight presidential contender Jimmy Carter.

* * *

About a mile from Carter campaign headquarters (the old train station in Plains), down the blacktop of Highway 45, Walter and Gloria Spann are trying to grow soybeans and peanuts in peace on a several-hundred-acre spread.

Peace is a bit hard to find these days, with brother Jimmy getting so close to the White House, and Gloria Spann is resigned to the onslaught of newsmen.

"Come on in," she greets a reporter and photographer. "There's nothing to be afraid of."

Once inside, she says in a deadpan, "I don't like my home invaded by newsmen."

And then comes the Carter smile, open and unthreatening, and an invitation to sit down for a midday meal of stuffed bell peppers, lima beans, potatoes, muffins and apple pie.

Mrs. Spann is sporting a blue T-shirt and faded blue jeans which she has handpainted with a red design. She has

See GLORIA, Page 18-A

EE

Gloria

From Page 1-A

the clear blue eyes of the Carter clan, and is an attractive woman who, without makeup, looks younger than her 49 years.

"My life's not going to change a bit when Jimmy's elected president," she says. "I hope not. I'm prone to be sitting on a creek bank fishing."

She scoffs at the idea of Washington's social and political swirl. "I don't even know how to mix a drink," she says, conjuring up a prerequisite for survival in the nation's capital. "I had my first jet plane ride a week ago."

Like her brother, Mrs. Spann talks about *when* Carter is elected, not *if*. And when that day comes, she says, "my husband will still be a farmer and I'll still be a farmer's wife."

She would like to spend a night at the White House, "and I'd like to see the kitchen," but that's about as far as it goes. "I've never even seen a President. I once drove a hundred miles to shake Hubert Humphrey's hand when he was running for president—and that's the closest."

Reviewing what she has said, Mrs. Spann laughs. "Countreee!" she sings, disavowing sophistication.

* * *

Gloria Spann's disinterest in the amenities of national political life—and her frequent admonitions that she is simply a farmer's wife—mask the life of an adventurer and free spirit. The family calls her "Go-Go," which seems appropriate.

Two facets of Gloria Spann emerge. She doesn't want to be embarrassing brother Jimmy by publicizing what some would call an unorthodox lifestyle. But she is proud of her interests, and she apologizes to no one.

Much has been written about Ruth Carter Stapleton, Gloria's younger sister, who is an evangelist and faith healer. "Don't you dare call me 'the other sister,'" Mrs. Spann warns, smiling. She recalls the time a couple of weeks ago when she and Walter drove all the way to Cordele to get away from the campaign goldfish bowl for dinner, only to have a woman approach the table and say, "You look so much like Jimmy Carter. Are you the evangelist or the peanut farm sister?"

She is more than a peanut farm sister. On weekends, the Spanns hold "open house" at Blackshear Lake on the Flint River and provide hundreds of teenagers the opportunity to waterski. And there are the motorcycle outings, and winter forays to Beech Mountain in North Carolina for snow skiing.

Mrs. Spann is serious about her fishing, with a 6½-pound bass the biggest catch to date.

Her bike is a Honda 500—not exactly a toy—and husband Walter rides one of the big Harleys. The Spanns try to make it to rallies and races, and they ventured by bike to Florida earlier this year for a bit of campaigning.

Mrs. Spann gave up one of her hobbies, selling handpainted blue jeans, "because most people wanted to buy them because I'm Jimmy Carter's sister." Her handiwork can be found enhancing the motorcycle jackets of the Soul Brothers and the Thunder Hawks, two black motorcycle clubs.

She has taught the rudiments of art to "at least 2,500 people," many of them black youngsters whose talents had gone unrecognized in the Georgia school system.

Last July, she and Walter tied a motorcycle on the front bumper of their pickup truck and headed for Alaska. The month-long, 12,500-mile adventure resulted in Mrs. Spann's scrapbook, a collection of high-quality photos and a diary which shows the hand of a writer.

She is deeply religious, and says her one temptation has been to become an evangelist. Her belief, in a nutshell, is that "I am a manifestation of God's personality. That's why we're all different. That's probably why we're all different in this family."

* * *

Gloria Spann is the family comedienne. "I'm the funny one," she says. "I have a great sense of humor."

The Spanns' sense of humor is the source of the one sore point to emerge so far in brother Jimmy's campaign—the much-publicized plan of Walter Spann and six other investors to sell square-inch plots of land for $5 apiece near Carter's peanut farm.

The candidate was not amused. In what Mrs. Spann has come to refer to as "the blast," Carter disavowed the land sale and labelled the plan an effort to "bilk" the public.

Up until the blast, Mrs. Spann notes, the press found the plan humorous. One reporter told her, "At last we have something new to write about Plains. We're tired of overalls and peanuts."

Mrs. Spann does not want to dwell on the subject, but it is clear she can't see what all the hoo-rah is about. "Everybody thought it was a great joke," she says, "and a great souvenir of Plains. And I think so too. Want to buy one?"

Walter Spann, a large, good-looking man with deep-set eyes, says, "It hasn't been trouble. It's been fun." He grins shyly.

* * *

Gloria Spann is a big fan of her brother. She will not, for instance, be going to the Democratic National Convention, largely because she doesn't want to see anyone opposing Jimmy. "Any vote that goes against him," she says, "is an enemy of mine."

She adds, "I think he's perfect." When they were children (she is two years younger), "I never asked him a question he couldn't answer."

She shows off the de Maupassant books "that Jimmy got when he was five. He doesn't know where they are." Family members have been snitching books from each other for years.

Somehow a presidential campaign, with a brother who has a strong shot at the White House, seems remote here. Mrs. Spann looks aghast at the suggestion that her life might change if Carter is elected. "They'd leave us alone once he was in Washington, wouldn't they?" she asks a reporter hopefully.

One hopes they will. "I do my own housework and my own cooking like most women in Plains," Mrs. Spann is saying. "I'm a farm wife and I just love it.

"I started out to be the best wife in the whole world, and I am."

May Take 2 Ballots To Win, Carter Says

By FAY S. JOYCE
and CLAUDIA TOWNSEND

On the heels of his presidential primary defeat in Nebraska, Jimmy Carter is intensifying efforts to win Maryland's primary and has conceded that he may be nominated on the second ballot at the Democratic National Convention rather than the first.

A Carter aide said the former Georgia governor will spend extra time in Maryland prior to the Tuesday primary there.

Carter announced Wednesday that 100 "Georgians for Jimmy"—citizens who campaigned for him in key primary states, including New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Florida—would troop to Maryland Thursday and ring doorbells for him through Tuesday.

He brought in 12 paid staff members and a new Maryland campaign coordinator last week to bolster his efforts in the state.

The Carter advertising budget in Maryland also has been hiked.

"I have not said that I had to win on the first ballot," Carter said in Salisbury, Md., when he was asked if he might lose the momentum of a frontrunner if he faltered in additional primaries.

"I think I'll win on the first ballot," he added, but said a second-ballot nomination built on momentum from the first tally "is certainly something that would not cause me deep concern."

Of Carter's escalation in Maryland, a staffer said a major factor was California Gov. Edmond Brown Jr.'s showing in a state poll taken by Carter's organization last week. Brown led Carter in the poll.

"The hooker is Brown's showing in our poll, but it would be bad to lose two primaries in a row," the staffer said.

On Wednesday evening, Carter flew to New York to meet with the state's two leading officials.

He first called on New York City Mayor Abe Beame at Gracie Mansion, and later in the night conferred with Gov. Hugh Carey at the Plaza Hotel.

In primary voting Tuesday, Carter lost narrowly in Nebraska to Idaho Sen. Frank Church, a newcomer to the race, and defeated U.S. Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona by a slim margin in Connecticut.

Church beat Carter by 66,990 votes

See PRIMARIES, Page 18-A

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Primaries

From Page 1-A

to 65,263—39 per cent to 38 per cent. Church and Carter led a field of 11 others, including noncandidates Hubert Humphrey and Edward M. Kennedy.

In Connecticut, Carter beat Udall by 35,415 votes to 32,860, or 35 per cent to 33 per cent. Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington followed with 18,962 votes; uncommitted delegates got 13,674 votes; right-to-life candidate Ellen McCormack garnered 5,515, and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris took 178.

Carter was not entered in the West Virginia primary, in which favorite-son candidate Sen. Robert C. Byrd crushed Alabama Gov. George Wallace with 90 per cent of the vote. Carter said Tuesday that a staff slip-up resulted in failure to pay the $2,000 fee last February to have his name listed on the West Virginia ballot.

Carter press secretary Jody Powell said the former Georgia governor picked up 26 or 28 delegates altogether, for a new total of 724—counting uncommitted delegates who are leaning to Carter. A candidate must have 1,505 delegates to win the Democratic nomination.

Carter's problem now may be to keep his bandwagon rolling in the glamorous primaries. Here in Maryland, he confronts a political face that is even younger and fresher than his: Brown's.

Carter said at a press conference here Wednesday that even if "I should be narrowly defeated and make a respectable showing in Maryland, and be defeated in Oregon and California, I don't believe it'll have a substantial bearing on whether I can get the nomination."

He said that there is "a new factor" in his candidacy.

"Many people are coming to me and saying, 'With you at the head of our ticket in our state, our congressional candidates and our candidates for governor and our candidates for U.S. senator will have a better chance of winning than with the people who have run against you," Carter said.

While Church concentrated on stopping Carter in Nebraska, Brown is doing the same in Maryland and Udall is doing it in Michigan. Both Maryland and Michigan vote next Tuesday.

An Atlanta aide to Carter said Wednesday that the candidate has altered his campaign schedule to allow him more time in Maryland before Tuesday's primary, but said the adjustment is not major.

"We stay extremely flexible so that we can take into consideration things like how we do in the various primaries," said Carter press aide Rex Granum.

Instead of spending the weekend in his hometown of Plains, Carter is now tentatively set to go to Maryland on Sunday afternoon.

He may participate in one campaign event on Sunday, but Granum said Carter is planning to spend most of the day with his wife Rosalynn, who already was scheduled for weekend campaigning in Maryland.

Carter will greet a factory shift change in Maryland Monday morning and fly to Michigan later in the day for campaigning there.

In reference to the Nebraska defeat, Granum said, "If they can go and spend two weeks concentrating solely on one state—run laps around us in the amount of money they can spend on media there—then quite obviously they can beat us."

He said it is hard for candidates like Church or Brown to repeat in other states the kinds of concentration they have shown in Nebraska and Maryland, and emphasized that Carter campaigners "still feel very good."

In Michigan Wednesday, Udall described Carter's Nebraska loss as a possible turning point in the Democratic presidential race.

"I think we're going to look back and say May 11 was the day the Carter bandwagon began to draw to a halt," Udall told reporters in Detroit.

He said that Carter's frontrunning status has been under constant threat because he has failed to get majority support in the primaries he has won, and asserted that if Carter fails to gain commitments from at least 1,000 delegates before the July convention, "the man with the second number of delegates will be in good shape."

Carter claims correctly that his resources have been scattered across the nation, but it seems he must continue scoring primary wins to retain the momentum of a frontrunner going into the Democratic convention in July.

He is campaigning hard in Maryland, attacking Brown both personally and politically.

On Wednesday, Carter charged that Maryland voters would be handing over their right to vote for a president to "machine politicians" if Brown wins the state primary Tuesday.

"Do you want to decide who's going to be president by voting for someone who is running or turn over your vote to machine politicians?" he asked. "Don't sit back, it's your government, it's your nation."

Carter asserted Brown "is not running for president.

"Nobody can be elected president by entering one or two or three states," Carter said, adding that Brown was "hoping primarily for a deadlocked convention."

Brown is running only in Maryland, Nevada and California.

Returning to Maryland Wednesday night, Brown denied Carter's charge that he was in league with Maryland political bosses.

Citing a news account of Carter's narrow victory in Connecticut which attributed the Carter win to a potent Democratic organization in Hartford, Brown said, "Mr. Carter owes it to the people of Maryland to explain why he accepted the support of the Hartford organization, so that what he says in one place is consistent with what he says in another."

Now Even the Russians Want Carter for President

By LESLIE H. GELB

WASHINGTON (NYT)—Russian Embassy officials have made numerous contacts with aides and advisers to Jimmy Carter, expressing interest in the presidential race and implying they could possibly pursue policies that might influence the outcome, according to the aides and advisers.

They said in interviews that the Soviet diplomats repeatedly asserted in these private conversations that President Ford was undermining detente, that they did not want to see Sen. Henry M. Jackson elected president and that there would be mutual benefit in arranging a meeting between Carter and Soviet ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin.

"They told us," said one Carter aide, "that a new strategic arms limitation agreement is ready to be signed, and that Ford is delaying the signing for political advantage against Ronald Reagan."

Ford administration officials have often stated publicly that the arms talks are being held up by Moscow's unwillingness to make some final concessions. Reagan has been accusing Ford of making too many concessions to the Soviet Union.

At the same time that the Russians are courting Carter, Ford continues to respond to the political sensitivity of Soviet-American relations in the Republican primaries. Ford Wednesday delayed the formal signing of a separate agreement with Moscow to limit peaceful nuclear explosions.

Experts of Soviet affairs said the Russians have attempted to influence presidential elections in the past by taking policy actions on matters being debated in the campaign. But they have not been so outspoken as they appear to be now, according to these experts.

Looking back on the contacts that began last fall, one Carter aide reflected, "I think they have been trying to tell us that they see Presidential politics as an opportunity to intervene in our politics, and that they see an ability to influence the outcome."

Carter aides and advisers said they also had been approached by French and British diplomats, although not often, but never by Chinese diplomats.

Aides to other leading presidential hopefuls — Sens. Frank Church and Hubert H. Humphrey, Rep. Morris K. Udall, Jackson and Reagan — reported no contacts with Soviet diplomats or with diplomats from other nations.

According to members of the Carter camp, Russian diplomats made their first approaches last October, after a news article predicted that Carter would win most of the Democratic delegates in Iowa. Initially, the Soviet diplomats went to the Carter campaign office in Washington, seeking campaign literature and speeches.

"Since February or March, and especially in the last month or so, they have been lighting up our switchboards and coming over regularly," said an aide.

The aides mentioned three regular visitors and callers — Victor F. Isakov, counselor and fourth-ranking man in the Embassy; Igor V. Lebedev, a third secretary; and Oleg N. Yermishkin, a press secretary.

"They told us that they were not happy at all with Jackson, and that he was the one person they didn't want to be nominated," one Carter staff member said.

"Most of the conversations with the Russians have been about how U.S.-Soviet relations are falling apart because of the way they say Ford is trying to compete with Reagan for conservative votes," one Carter source said.

Members of the Carter camp, many of whom are experienced in dealing with the Russians, indicated they were aware of Soviet moves designed to influence previous Presidential elections.

In 1960, it is generally believed by experts in the Russian field, the Russians delayed the release of U2 pilot Francis Gary Powers to help the electoral chances of John F. Kennedy over

See RUSSIAN, Page 18-A

Russian

From Page 1-A

Richard M. Nixon. In 1968, Moscow is known by American negotiators to have urged the North Vietnamese to get negotiations under way with the United States to help Hubert H. Humphrey's candidacy against Nixon. In 1972, Moscow publicly showered attention and friendship on Nixon in his race against Sen. George McGovern.

The Russians could seek to have a similar effect this year by offering or withholding compromises on such issues as the Middle East and the nuclear arms talks.

In regards to Russian suggestions about a meeting between Carter and Dobrynin, a Carter associate said, "we told them that it may come at some time, but that it's not appropriate now."

Such a meeting is considered neither illegal nor improper. Candidates often talk to foreign officials.

JJ

6 PRIMARIES

Confused? Wait Until May 25

13A

By ANDREW MILLISON
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — If you think you had trouble absorbing the popular vote and delegate results from this week's three Democratic and two Republican primaries, just wait until May 25.

Each party will have six primaries that Tuesday, climaxing the 15-primary extravaganza that began with the Texas primary May 1.

The easiest way to keep track of what's happening is to remember the politician's rule of thumb: popular vote victories are nice, but delegates cast the more important ballots in this summer's national conventions.

President Ford picked up seven delegates in Nebraska Tuesday, and probable support from most of the 28 West Virginia delegates who are technically uncommitted under state law.

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan won 18 delegates in Nebraska, despite a narrower 55-45 per cent victory in the popular vote there. He won because his campaign chose and backed delegate slates in each of the state's congressional districts early, while Ford depended on tardily selected and inadequately publicized slates that in one district contained 11 names although there were only nine delegate slots.

Reagan will presumably also get the support of those West Virginia delegates who do not back Ford.

Without counting the West Virginia delegates as committed to either Republican, Reagan has a solid 417 delegates so far this year and Ford 323, with 381 uncommitted. Another 1,138 are yet to be chosen in Republican primaries and caucuses, with 1,130 votes needed to win at August's GOP National Convention in Kansas City.

In this week's Democratic primaries, frontrunner Jimmy Carter picked up eight delegates in Nebraska, and newcomer Sen. Frank Church of Idaho picked up 15, although they were only one per cent apart in the popular vote. Church, with 39 per cent, was strongest in two metropolitan counties, Doregeas (Omaha) and Lancaster (Lincoln), where his delegates also won. Carter's support came from the state's rural areas, outpolling the Idaho liberal in 65 of the 93 counties.

In Connecticut, Carter won 33 per cent of the delegate-slate votes, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizoza, 31; Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, 18; uncommitted, 13; anti-abortionist Ellen McCormack, 3, and Fred Harris less than one per cent.

Deals during negotiations among backers of various candidates may change the final proportions among Connecticut's 51 delegates, but it appeared that Carter had won 18 delegates, Udall 16 and Jackson 4, with the rest uncommitted.

West Virginia's native son, Sen. Robert C. Byrd, scared off all challengers except Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace in that state's primary. Byrd got 89 per cent of the vote, and will presumably heavily influence the convention choices of that state's 33 delegates to July's Democratic National Convention in New York City.



Associated Press Photo

NEBRASKA WINNER
Frank Church

After his slim, 1,800-vote win over Carter, Church was entitled to a listing as a bright contender for the Democratic championship belt to be awarded in Madison Square Garden next July.

So was California Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown, who will step into the ring next week.

While Brown tries his luck against Carter in Maryland, Church will step out of the ring for a week, because he thinks he will have a better chance the following week in Oregon, Idaho and Nevada.

That week Brown will run only in Nevada, skipping the two Northwestern states, plus the three simultaneous primaries in Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas.

Carter will be in the ring both weeks. In addition to trying to fend off newcomer Brown in Maryland, he will be trying to beat Udall, the Arizona congressman, in Michigan.

The following week he is in all six primaries.

Even iron-man Carter has missed one primary. Because his aides were reluctant last February to invest in the $2,000 West Virginia filing fee, highest in the nation, he never had a chance to take on Sen. Byrd in his home state.

But Carter seems to be doing all right despite that ommission.

As of today, when the two hottest challengers are Church, who has 18 delegates, and Brown, who has none, Carter has between 594 and 616 delegates. He claims that quiet commitments from "uncommitted" delegates actually give him a total of 724.

It will take 1,505 delegates to win the Democratic nomination, and 1,340 are yet to be chosen.

Boston Curfew

BOSTON (UPI) — Mayor Kevin H. White Wednesday vetoed a city council ordinance imposing a 10 p.m. citywide curfew on all youths under 17 years old. He called the curfew "unnecessary and impractical."

ONE IN FOUR CONTRIBUTES

Campaign Funds Adequate

WASHINGTON (AP) — One of every four taxpayers is contributing to the presidential campaign fund this year, apparently assuring sufficient funds to finance the campaign, according to Internal Revenue Service figures.

The tax contributions to the fund could total at least $95 million for the four tax years of 1972 to 1976.

The funds could be flowing to the candidates again less than 24 hours after President Ford nominates the members of the new Federal Election Commission. Ford signed the new election law Tuesday and the nominations could come as early as Thursday. Confirmation by the Senate has to come next.

Funds already approved for 11 candidates and waiting to be disbursed total some $2.1 million.

Before the 1976 primary elections, there had been some expressions of concern that there may not be enough money in the campaign fund to pay candidates what they were entitled to receive.

However, a spokesman for the election commission staff said Wednesday there is certain to be more than enough funds now to meet all obligations of the funds through the November election.

Two things have happened. One, the candidates have not raised enough money on their own to qualify for the maximum campaign fund subsidy of $5 million per candidate. Second, the large number of drop-outs from the Democratic presidential contest has eased the pressure.

The election commission said the largest potential claim for the primary elections so far is from Ford, a total of $3.3 million in both approved and requested funds. George Wallace has been paid the most so far, $2.8 million, followed by Ford, $1.9 million; Ronald Reagan, $1.7 million, and Jimmy Carter, $1.1 million.

There also has been a steady flow of taxpayer contributions into the fund, despite the confusion that followed the Supreme Court's ruling that the election commission was unconstitutionally constituted.

As a result of the court's decision, no payments have been made to candidates since March 22.

Total taxpayer contributions to the fund are expected to be at least $95 million after all tax returns are processed this year. The total funds paid, approved and committed for campaign purposes is now about $62.7 million.

The IRS said Wednesday that taxpayers had designated $24.7 million to the campaign fund as of May 7, with about three-quarters of all tax returns processed. Total designations for the year are expected to reach $32-33 million, which was the advance estimate.

About 25 per cent of all taxpayers have contributed to the fund so far for 1975, up from 23.7 per cent last year, 13.6 per cent in 1973 and 3 per cent in 1972, the first year the fund was established.

Designations to the fund in previous years totalled $31.9 million in 1974, $17.3 million in 1973 and $12.9 million in 1972.

The Federal Election Commission paid out about $12.6 million to qualifying candidates prior to March 22, and has approved another $2.1 million to be paid once payments are resumed.

Of the amount approved, Ford will receive $866,000, Reagan, $390,000 and Carter, $314,000.

Of the remaining funds, $4 million will be divided between the Republican and Democratic parties for their nominating conventions, and another $44 million will be split between the two major candidates for use in the final election campaign.

Wallace Urges Voters to Stay Loyal

LANSING, Mich. (UPI) — Describing himself as a "viable candidate" who still has a shot at the Democratic nomination, George C. Wallace discouraged his supporters Wednesday from crossing party lines to vote for Ronald Reagan.

The Alabama governor, who won a dramatic victory in Michigan in 1972 with 51 per cent of the vote, campaigned in three cities for next Tuesday's primary election and plans to return to the state Friday for a final round of stumping.

He was greeted at Capital City Airport by one backer who promised to remain loyal.

"When you've been with somebody since '68, you don't change," said Thelma Lischefski, who drove to Lansing from Owosso with four other women to see Wallace.

Asked about the crossover phenomenon that first emerged in the Texas and Indiana primaries, helping Reagan beat President Ford in both cases, Wallace said, "I don't like it, but what can I do about it."

KK

Initial Reaction to Gov. Brown Highly Favorable

14A

By LOUIS HARRIS

HARRIS POLL

Despite his late entry into the race and his uphill battle in next Tuesday's Maryland Democratic primary, California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown has impressed voters in ways that are most unusual for politicians these days.

Although no more than 53 per cent of the public are familiar with him, the initial reaction to Brown is almost highly favorable. And in the West, where he is well known, it is nothing short of remarkable.

The following elements in the Brown profile rate positively with the American public:

—By 56-5 per cent, a majority of the cross section of 1,546 adults interviewed last month feels that "he is right in saying that, with the world running out of physical resources, it is more important to improve the quality of what we have than to try to get more quantity of nearly everything." In the West, an overwhelming 73-6 per cent feel the same way.

—By 45-7 per cent, a substantial plurality feels that Brown "is a new type of politician who is unafraid to ask the public to make sacrifices, rather than promising them handouts from the federal government—and that is good." In the West, a lopsided 69-7 per cent of the public agree.

—By 41-7 per cent, a plurality of the adult public likes Brown because "he is unafraid to say 'no' to the pressures to spend more money that most politicians give in on—and that is good." In the West, a 67-10 per cent majority agrees.

—By 49-9 per cent, close to a majority believes that "by abolishing all of the state government's planes and limousines and by refusing to live in the new 25-room mansion built for the governor of California, he clearly has shown he is not an ordinary type of politician who wants to live it up on the taxpayer's money." In the West, this view is held by a 69-11 per cent majority.

—By 28-17 per cent, a plurality of the country feels that Jerry Brown "is the kind of new political leader this country needs to restore confidence in government." In the West, a more substantial 49-23 per cent plurality agrees.

Furthermore, various popular criticisms of the young governor are rejected by the public by rather wide margins:

—By 55-15 per cent, a majority of the American people does not believe that "at 38 years of age, Brown is too young to become President." In the West, a 68-19 per cent majority feels similarly.

—A 63-5 per cent majority disagrees with the view that "before turning to politics, Brown was in training to become a Catholic priest, and I don't feel entirely comfortable having a Catholic for President." In the West, a massive 83-6 per cent reject this also.

—By 40-12 per cent, a plurality does not feel Brown is "wrong to take stands against many of the social programs that have been so long a part of the Democratic liberal philosophy." In the West, a 55-14 per cent majority disagrees with this criticism.

It is apparent from these results that the initial impression Brown has made on the country is a favorable one. To be sure, when Brown is pitted head-to-head against former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination among 1,090 Democrats and independents nationwide, Carter wins by 52-33 per cent. But in the West, where he is known to 79 per cent of the public, Brown emerges on top by a clearcut 53-35 per cent. Brown also runs ahead of Carter among business executives.

Hal Gulliver

Democratic Governors and Carter

LIMERICK, IRELAND — Jimmy Carter's name kept cropping up on this Emerald Isle during a Bicentennial tour by the governors of the 13 American original states.



"I run into it everywhere," said Georgia Gov. George Busbee at one point, as the four-day visit neared an end.

Carter's name is still a relatively new one as a national political figure in the United States, despite his early success in primary and caucus states. Across the blue waters, it is often considered near incredible that someone whose name was virtually unknown three months or so ago could seemingly now be on his way to the Democratic presidential nomination and maybe to the White House.

Not only did Irish officials want to talk some about Carter, the name frequently came up as the American state officials and their staffs talked to each other.

One interesting note: maybe there are still rumblings of a Stop Carter movement here and there but none of the seven Democratic govenrnors and one lieutenant governor put much stock into it.

New York Gov. Hugh Carey and Connecticut Gov. Ella Grasso are, to put it mildly, a bit less than enthusiastic about the prospects that Carter will lead their party in November. Yet neither talks as if there were much prospect of heading Carter off for the nomination (even though Gov. Grasso's husband, Dr. Thomas Grasso, was wearing a Jackson campaign button in his lapel, this more than a week after Sen. Jackson withdrew from the presidential race).

Why has Carter's national presidential campaign been so surprisingly successful? It seemed an interesting question to put to the Democratic party leaders, a group that the Irish Sunday Independent featured in an article called, "Meet America's Most Powerful Politicians."

Here are some of the answers, first from the only lieutenant governor along, Lt. Gov. Brantley Harvey of South Carolina. "I really think people were looking for a fresh, probably non-Washington, leader. People like Carter's open way of campaigning and the way he uses his family. I think people are talking a little more about basics this year, about truth and honesty," said Harvey.

Harvey incidentally was elected in South Carolina as an uncommitted delegate to the Democratic national convention. He endorsed Carter last week and got on the plane for Ireland wearing a gold Carter campaign pen in his lapel. His state has a Republican governor at present and Harvey is expected to be chairman of South Carolina's delegation at the Democratic convention.

"Carter got out to meet the people," allowed New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne. "He has a very sincere way about him. I'll tell you a story. He stayed with us at the governor's residence in Princeton, as did some other candidates. The staff were all for him after he left. One woman went out on a boat trip and came back and said she had converted everyone on the boat to Carter," said Byrne.

Byrne endorsed Carter quite recently, sending telegrams to all other Democratic governors urging their support for the Georgian. "You can't stop him for the nomination, and the Democratic chances in November are getting better all the time with Ford's weakness," said Byrne.

"There can't be any doubt that he'll be the nominee. Everyone is moving to endorse him," said Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp. "I think Jimmy Carter senses a real desire on the part of the American people for a change. Washington has been cold to the American people. There's anger and frustration out there," said Shapp, then adding, "I think Jimmy Carter has an excellent chance to be the next President of the United States."

Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis commented that Carter had shown capacity to organize and run a national campaign. "If you can demonstrate that capacity, you have demonstrated something of the capacity to run the country. By contrast, President Ford is floundering around," said Dukakis.

Gov. Philip Noel of Rhode Island said simply that Carter "worked harder at it. He was very serious, got organized at a much earlier stage. My state's a tiny state, Rhode Island. Carter was there early, two or three times, more than all the other candidates combined." On the November general election? "I don't think there's any question, we're going to win," said Noel.

Georgia Gov. Busbee, offers two reasons for Carter's national success: "One is that people are very much down on Washington. There is an anti-establishment feeling. Carter was able to start out early in the campaign and campaign full time. He projected early and never became winded," said Busbee. Carter as nominee? "After Pennsylvania, I don't think he can be stopped," said Busbee.

NN

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

5/14

ELECTION FUNDING DELAYED FURTHER

Payments to Candidates Await Action by Ford

A16

By WARREN WEAVER Jr
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 13—Hope that $2 million in frozen Federal subsidies could be made available to hard-pressed Presidential candidates this week vanished today at President Ford declined once again to re-establish the Federal Election Commission.

The President signed legislation reconstituting the agency on Tuesday and was supposed to reappoint five of the six present members plus one new one at that time. Once the commission is reappointed and its members are confirmed by the Senate and are sworn in, they can release the backed-up subsidies.

But Mr. Ford did not come forward with the commission nominotions today, making it impossible today for Congress, the commission and the Treasury Department to take the sequence of actions required to provide the money before next week. The Senate, which must confirm the nominees, adjourned today until Monday.

As a result, candidates who had hoped to use the retroactive subsidies to make last-minute purchases of television and radio time for next Tuesday's primaries in Maryland and Michigan will be able to do so only if they borrow money.

Candidates in Debt

The President had been scheduled to appoint Marlow W. Cook, former Republican Senator from Kentucky, to the commission vacancy, but his name was withdrawn at the last moment Tuesday for unexplained reasons.

If Mr. Ford had chosen to rename the five sitting commissioners, they could have been confirmed by the Senate in a matter of hours, without reference to committee or hearings, and the revived commission could have authorized the subsidy payments yesterday.

Meanwhile, financial reports filed with the commission indicated that the two principals Democratic contenders still active in the primaries, Jimmy Carter and Representative Morris K. Udall, were about equally deep in debt.

Mr. Carter's April report showed him with a $122,000 operating deficit but a balance of $307,000 when his debts are subtracted from money owed to his campaign from various sources, including the Federal subsidy. The Georgian arrives at the latter figure, however, by contending he is owed $852,000 in subsidies when he has filed for only $520,955.

If only the subsidies that Mr. Carter has officially claimed are credited as assets, his campaign appears to be about $150,000 in debt.

Representative Udall reported an operating deficit of $3,000 plus debts $70,000 larger than the total amount of money due him from all sources. Like Mr. Carter, he listed more subsidies due him than the claims he has filed with the commission, $400,000 as against $366,000.

Jackson in Better Shape

If Mr. Udall gets all the matching funds he has requested, he will then be running about $107,000 in the red.

The most dramatic contrast between the two Democrats was in April fund-raising. During the month, Mr. Carter took in $732,000 and Mr. Udall $324,000. This was reflected in the fact that the Carter campaign has been able to spend $3.6 million during the first four months of 1976, and the Udall campaign a little more than $2 million.

Ironically, Senator Henry M. Jackson, who dropped from active competition because of a shortage of funds, was in stronger financial position than either of his former rivals.

Senator Jackson's debts exceed his cash on hand by about $200,000, but he has filed claims for subsidies totaling $330,000 that he did not list as assets.

In order to keep his campaign running, Mr. Carter has taken out loans of $175,000 from the C. and S. Bank of Atlanta and $100,000 from the Fulton National bank of Atlanta.

Among his debts are more than $300,000 to his advertising agency, $42,000 to a telephone canvasser, $32,000 to a supplier of direct mail addresses and $29,000 to his poll taker.

Udall campaign debts included $112,000 to American Express, $100,000 to the Representative's public relations agency and $71,000 to an advertising agency. The candidate himself has made three loans totaling $55,000 to the campaign.

ONE HUNDRED SUMMERS
THE FRESH AIR FUND

40 A

News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Assurances given by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the Administration would act energetically to carry out its new policy of seeking an end to white minority rule in Rhodesia were received with considerable skepticism from an otherwise sympathetic committee. Several Senate leaders told Mr. Kissinger that they doubted that President Ford would risk alienating conservatives in an election year by pressing for repeal of the Byrd amendment that allows Rhodesian chrome and nickel to be imported in violation of United Nations sanctions. [Page A1, Column 4.]

South Africa's Secretary for Information, Eschel M. Rhoodie, going beyond previous public statements of Prime Minister John B. Vorster and other Government leaders, said that the Pretoria administration foresaw no circumstances under which South Africa would intervene militarily to save the white minority Government in Rhodesia. [A1:5-6.]

Jimmy Carter, speaking at a privately sponsored conference on nuclear energy and international order at the United Nations called for a voluntary moratorium by all nations on the purchase or sale of nuclear fuel enrichment and reprocessing plants to help stop the spread of nuclear weapons. He said that the new Soviet-American treaty limiting the size of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes was "wholly inadequate," and said "we can and should do more." [A1:2.]

National

President Ford asked Congress to adopt a mandatory four-year timetable for approving or rejecting the most extensive reform ever attempted of the Government's regulatory programs and agencies. Under the four-year schedule, the White House would be required to recommend and Congress to approve or reject reform proposals for Federal regulations generally affecting the economy. [A1:1.]

The smallest cut in the defense budget in a decade was made by the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee as it reduced the Administration's request for $106.7 billion in defense appropriations by only $800 million. The subcommittee approved a $105.9 billion bill providing $15.5 billion more in appropriations than last year. [A1:1-2.]

Democratic party officials said that Mayor Beame had decided to endorse Jimmy Carter for the nomination for President. Mr. Beame was said to have made up his mind at a meeting in New York with Mr. Carter. According to Mr. Carter's New York State chairman, William J. vanden Heuvel, the Mayor discussed a list of urban problems with Mr. Carter and decided that as President the Georgian would be good for New York City. [A1:2-3:]

Metropolitan

Manhattan Surrogate S. Samuel DiFalco and State Supreme Court Justice Irving H. Saypol were charged with illegally steering $20,000 in commissions to Justice Saypol's son Roger, an appraiser and auctioneer, in exchange for the justice's appointment of lawyers to lucrative court assignments. Both pleaded not guilty. The charges followed an investigation by a special grand jury under the supervision of Maurice H. Nadjari, the special state prosecutor. [A1:8.]

Separate agreements that contain settlement terms recommended by Mayor Beame's special panel are being signed by the apartment building service employees' union and building owners and cooperatives, according to John J. Sweeney, president of Local 32B of the Service Employees International Union. Mr. Sweeney estimated that 200 owners and cooperatives had signed agreements, which provide a $35 weekly wage increase and $4 weekly for welfare and pensions over a three-year contract. [B5:5.]

The Board of Education is looking into a number of situations regarded as "suspicious" in which school custodians, including one who employs his wife, as a bookkeeper, and son, as a custodial worker—they have a total family income of $70,000 a year—and others who are believed to have fraudulently inflated their earnings. [A1:6.]

A Federal grand jury in Brooklyn found the now-defunct Security National Bank and three of its former top officers not guilty of charges that they had illegally diverted $200,000 of the bank's funds for political contributions. But the jury found Patrick J. Clifford, the bank's former president and board chairman, guilty of making a false statement to the Comptroller of the Currency. [A1:1.]

The Other News

International

Coalition Cabinet resigns in Finland. Page A3
Northern Europe uneasy over U.S. role in NATO. Page A3
Emergency cabinet urged in Rome. Page A3
Rockefeller tours Italian area struck by quake. Page A6
U.S. acted to bar any 1975 Saigon coup. Page A7
Panel says it has new data on Oswald. Page A8
Soviet quietly cancels nuclear-pact signing. Page A11

Government and Politics

Brown campaigning without spending limit. Page A14
Fifteen Brooklyn Republicans endorsee Reagan. Page A16
Ford delays naming of election fund panel. Page A16
Udall seeks free TV time in Michigan. Page A16
Butz denies pressure to aid Callaway resort. Page A17
Kissinger criticizes Reagan on Panama Canal. Page A17
125 questioned in spy report disclosure. Page A19
Court upholds Carey on suspending cuts. Page B4
Abortion bill referred to Assembly committee. Page B4
Cable TV tax may be repealed. Page B5
Hughes stewards set to preserve estate. Page B6
Ford won't insist on end of rent control. Page D16
House votes compromise budget resolution. Page D12

General

Metropolitan Briefs. Page B2
Commissioner proposes rehiring some firemen. Page B2
Report urges keeping municipal hospitals open. Page B2
Self-styled bishop indicted in four murders. Page B3
Historic city documents are being salvaged. Page B3
Many may run for Manhattan surrogate. Page B4
New York lets terminal user to withhold rent. Page D16
New finds push back date of Bronze Age. Page D12

Industry and Labor

Garbage pickups still pose problems. Page B5

| the News
Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Temperature
Thursday 45-6

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Beame Is Reported Ready To Give Support to Carter

By MAURICE CARROLL

Mayor Beame has decided to endorse Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination for President, according to authoritative party officials. The Mayor's decision, which was reportedly reached yesterday on a visit by Mr. Carter that left some politicians confused about what he had told them, could help Mr. Carter's image among urban voters. It could also add fresh complexity to the fractious Democratic politics of New York.

In the New York State primary, Mr. Carter ran far behind Senator Henry M. Jackson, whose long history of sympathy for Israel helped him to dominate the heavy Jewish vote in New York City.

A former Jackson supporter and the city's first Jewish Mayor, Mr. Beame may help Mr. Carter to build bridges to that portion of the party.

So far, Mr. Carter has been endorsed by three big-city mayors—Peter Flaherty of Pittsburgh, Coleman A. Young of Detroit and Maynard Jackson of Atlanta.

But Mr. Beame's decision could cause him some trouble at home.

He is scheduled to be elected today as chairman of the 274-vote New York delegation to the Democratic National Convention, a job that Governor Carey wanted former Mayor Robert F. Wagner to get.

Some politicians speculated that disclosure of Mr. Beame's endorsement plan would give the Carey team a new hook on which to hang arguments that

Continued on Page A14, Col. 4

CARTER GIVES PLAN FOR NUCLEAR CURB

He Calls for Moratorium In the Transfer of Fuel Processing Plants

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 13—Jimmy Carter called today for a voluntary moratorium by all nations on the purchase or sale of nuclear fuel enrichment and reprocessing plants as a means of curbing the spread of nuclear weapons.

Speaking here at a privately sponsored conference on nuclear energy and international

Excerpts from Carter talk are printed on page A12.

order, the former Georgia Governor, who is seeking the Democratic Presidential nomination, declared:

"An alliance for survival is needed, transcending regions and ideologies, if we are to assure mankind a safe passage to the 21st century."

Mr. Carter described as "wholly inadequate" the Soviet-American treaty initialed

Continued on Page A13, Col. 1

Carter Asks Halt in Nuclear Fuel-Plant Transfers

Continued From Page 1A, Col. 2

yesterday limiting the size of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes.

Saying, "We can and should do more," he urged the United States and Soviet Union to conclude at once an agreement to prohibit all nuclear tests for five years and make it subject to renewal.

The Carter address, delivered before about 200 people in a United Nations conference room, had been prepared, according to close associates, with a panel of advisers, as a reply to campaign critics that his position on issues was "fuzzy." Speeches on other topics are to follow, the associates added.

Nuclear Expertise

They said Mr. Carter chose to devote his first detailed policy statement to the issue of nuclear power in part because he could claim some expertise as a former nuclear engineer in the Navy.

The conference was organized by Richard N. Gardner, professor of law at Columbia and one of Mr. Carter's advisers. It was sponsored by the Institute on Man and Science of Rensselaerville, N.Y., the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, the Overseas Development Council and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation.

Professor Gardner was among the Carter advisers who helped prepare the speech.

Among those listening to it were United Nations delegates who are also participating in a weekend conference on food and energy at Rensselaerville, south of Albany, under the chairmanship of Professor Gardner and the sponsorship of the same four organizations.

In his speech, Mr. Carter stressed that the United States dependence on nuclear power should be kept to the minimum to meet its needs and that energy conservation should be maintained along with efforts to derive increasing amounts from inexhaustible sources such as the sun.

He urged holding a World Energy Conference under United Nations auspices that would help countries eliminate waste and increase efficiency, and to emphasize alternative sources for developing countries that are making a "premature nuclear commitment" because they lack access to other sources.



The New York Times

Jimmy Carter arriving at United Nations yesterday.

He also suggested that such a conference might lead to a new agency for research and development of nonnuclear sources working side by side with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which could then focus on improved safeguards, and on aid in the nuclear field.

In calling for a moratorium on the national purchase or sale of uranium enrichment and plutonium reprocessing plants, Mr. Carter said this halt in trading should apply to recently completed agreements — meaning West Germany's sale of a reactor to Brazil, with plutonium technology offered as well, and France's sale of a reprocessing plant to Pakistan. There are also prospects of a multibillion-dollar West German sale to Iran.

Mr. Carter declared that such sales might have been headed off if President Ford had raised the matter "as should have been done many months ago" at the highest political level, meaning with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of France and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany.

The former Georgia Governor made it plain that he was not trying to interfere with the competitive market in reactors, which sell for up to $1 billion and use a nuclear fuel that cannot be employed directly to produce weapons.

Rather, he said, he is calling for a halt in sales of small reprocessing plants selling for much less that sometimes are called "bomb factories" because they can be used directly to produce them.

"I believe that all supplier countries are entitled to a fair share of the reactor market, Mr. Carter declared. "What we must prevent, however, is the sale of small pilot reprocessing plants which sell for only a few million dollars, have no commercial use at present, and can only spread nuclear explosives around the world."

Ford Administration aides dealing with reactor sales questions have acknowledged that the United States expressed unhappiness over the West German and French deals but did not firmly oppose them. However, there were responses in Congress including a new move by Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri to amend pending foreign aid legislation to deny American assistance to countries acquiring plants that give them a weapons capacity.

Ikle Criticizes

A high-ranking Administration official criticized the International Atomic Energy Agency yesterday as an institu- with "a split personality"— administering nuclear safeguards on the one hand and spreading nuclear technology on the other.

The official, Fred C. Iklé, who is director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said that the agency had "no physical control" over nuclear materials of the 106 member countries, adding that it was "a burglar alarm but not a lock."

He said further that the agency was not keeping pace with new developments in nuclear technology, lacked an adequate number of inspectors and was incapable of seeking out clandestine nuclear plants.

Mr. Iklé made the criticism in a statemnt issued in Washington and delivered at a conference on nuclear energy and world order in the United Nations building, following Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Presidential aspirant, and other speakers. His main concern was the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons technology.

"With some technologists," he said, "the potential for catastrophe is deadly certain."

He suggested that one such development was the high-temperature gas-cooled reactor developed by one United States concern and manufactured in West Germany. Mr. Iklé said this type of reactor was fueled with highly enriched uranium that could also be used to make nuclear bombs.

He was particularly critical of the rush of several countries to construct nuclear fuel-recycling plants. He said the reprocessed materials could replace at most only one-third of the fuel required.

Mr. Iklé said this meant "recycling would not bring independence from imported fuel," and added:

"As to economics, at present the costs of separating plutonium for recycling would actually exceed the value of plutonium as a fuel."

He further contended that the new fuel cycles would make plutonium, the stuff of atomic weapons, "far more accessible for diversion to weapons manufacture."

Mr. Iklé said the International Atomic Energy Agency, though weak, was "one of the best organized and technically competent international organizations existing today."

The United States, he went on, is attempting to strengthen the agency by seeking to obtain approval of an international convention on physical security of nuclear materials against theft and sabotage.

Washington Star Head

WASHINGTON, May 12 (AP) —Richard S. Stakes has been named president and chief executive officer of The Washington Star by the publisher, Joe L. Allbritton. Mr. Stakes was head of the newspaper's radio-TV division. Mr. Allbritton named James J. Daly, The Star's vice president, as executive vice president.

BEAME REPORTED SET TO AID CARTER

Continued From Page 1A, Col. 3

the Mayor should not head the delegation.

Others said that the Carey people had a fallback position, to push for Lieut. Gov. Mary Anne Krupsak as "co-chairman".

Mr. Beame made up his mind after meeting in the Gracie Mansion living room for an hour Wednesday night. According to Mr. Carter's state chairman, William J. vanden Heuvel, the Mayor brought up a list of urban concerns, such as welfare and mass transit, and satisfied himself that Mr. Carter as President would be good for New York City.

Mr. vanden Heuvel said that Mr. Carter had been somewhat surprised, and very gratified, to find that Mr. Beame was so issue-oriented.

Other New York Democrats—a score of government and party leaders at a private meeting and 400 of the curious who paid $100 apiece and were served orange juice, coffee and pastry—also listened to Mr. Carter yesterday, and many of them came away confused.

The former Governor of Georgia, returning to New York for the first time since he became the generally acknowledged front-runner for the Democratic nomination for President, sketched his position on changes in the welfare system in his talk to the party leaders.

A polite spatter of applause followed him as he left their session in the Stae State Suite of the Plaza Hotel. Behind him, he left confusion but, according to some participants, Mayor Beame vigorously defended him.

"He'd lift the load off the city," one man at the meeting said.

"He didn't say that," another retorted.

"Yes, he did."

"Well, he said that he'd take over welfare," Mayor Beame said.

"Abe, he didn't say that," someone else broke in. "He specifically said he wouldn't."

"But that's not what he told me at Gracie Mansion last night."

Position Paper Cited

While the officials debated their interpretations of what they had been told, Mr. Carter stepped into the corridor and, chatting good-humoredly with reporters, said that he had outlined for the officals what was in his position paper on welfare.

"There'd be a fairly uniform nationwide payment, varying only with the cost of living," he said. Would the base be at the low level of Southern states like Mississippi or the high level of New York? "I can't say the whole nation would be at the New York level," he said. "That would cost $22 billion."

Suppose New York, as it does now, wants to peg its welfare payments higher?

"There's no way the Federal Government can prevent any state from paying a bonus," Mr. Carter said.

Some of his listeners—who included members of the Board of Estimate, leaders of the Legislature and the City Council and party leaders in the city—were cheered by Mr. Carter's assertion that the cost of welfare should be lifted from the city.

But none of them seemed clear as to how Mr. Carter would do that. New York State, by its own decision, without the need for Federal approval, makes its big cities include half of the non-Federal cost of welfare in their local budgets.

"He told us," one official said after the meeting, "that position papers were available."

Mr. Carter also referred guests at the earlier $100-a-seat breakfast to his position papers, which can be obtained, he told them, from Post Office Box 1776, Atlanta.

Candidate Is Composed

The former Governor moved with equanimity, but his aides seemed overwhelmed and his Secret Service detail startled by the many reporters and broadcast staff members who swarmed into the Grand Ballroom of the Plaza. The small room had pumpkin-colored draperies, pink linen on the tables and an ornate little alcove at one end. Figures of cherubs were inlaid in the ceiling. Three tables were set up for Mr. Carter and his special guests.

The breakfast guests heard what reporters who have traveled with Mr. Carter described as a fairly standard speech—a call for more efficient, more responsive government and two jokes—along with an interpolated tribute to New York City.

In his travels around the country Mr. Carter said, he found "there is a strong feeling of friendship — supportive friendship—toward the greatest city on earth, your own."

He answered three questions from whe audience, including one about Israel from Abe Hirschfeld, the businessman who is running for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator who had stationed himself in camera range at the corner of Mr. Carter's table.

Then Mr. Carter hurried to the private meeting with the leaders.

"It went over pretty well," Manfred Ohrenstein, the Manhattan Democrat who is minority leader of the State Senate, said afterward.

"I was very impressed," said City Comptroller Harrison J. Goldin. "Not moderately impressed—very."

THINK FRESH:
THINK FRESH AIR FUND

Carter's Nuclear Plan: a Blend of Old and New

By LESLIE H. GELB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 13 — Jimmy Carter's speech today on nuclear energy and world order appealed for international solutions—based on national self-interest — to the problems of energy development and the spread of nuclear weapons. His formula would seek to change established notions of national self-interest.

News Analysis

The means Mr. Carter proposes is a blending of some old and some new measures — unusual, in this year's political debate, only for his eventual comprehensiveness and sense of commitment.

The problem of the spread of nuclear weapons, Mr. Carter said, cannot be solved separately from a general reduction in armaments by the superpowers and an international effort to develop alternative sources of energy.

His declared goal is an "alliance for survival" where "balance-of-power politics must be supplemented by world-order politics." It is a hazy, but suggestive horizon that is defined only by the proposed means of achieving of it: nations with nuclear technology exercising self-restraint in what they sell, buyers denying themselves certain nuclear facilities, and superpowers stopping their nuclear testing programs.

First Specific Speech

The speech represents Mr. Carter's first speech devoted to a single foreign policy subject. He gave a general foreign policy speech several weeks ago.

Carter aides said he had chosen this topic because he felt comfortable with nuclear issues in view of his background in nuclear engineering, because he believed the prevention of a nuclear spread crucial to survival, and because Prof. Richard N. Gardner, one of Mr. Carter's advisers and the principal drafter of the speech, was himself deeply involved in the question.

The aides said other foreign affairs speeches were in the planning stage. They also said that Mr. Carter intended to make foreign policy a major issue in the campaign after the Democratic Convention.

Without attacking the Ford Administration by name, the speech did differ with the President's approach in several respects.

First, the Administration's proposed $100 billion energy development fund lays stress on the development of nuclear power. Mr. Carter questions this on safety and cost grounds and suggests more reliance on conservation and helping others develop oil, gas and coal resources.

Second, while Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford agree on the crux of the problem—safeguarding the sale of nuclear reprocessing plants—the Administration has tried to accomplish this by negotiating conditions for sales by the suppliers, and Mr. Carter would aks the sellers not to sell at all and the buyers not to buy.

Nuclear reprocessing plants are used to separate out plutonium from the spent fuel of a nuclear power reactor. The plutonium can, in turn, be used for a nuclear weapon. While the Administration bans the sale of reprocessing plants, other nations do not.

Mr. Carter did not discuss yet a third approach, namely sanctions against nations that sell reprocessing plants and unsafeguard nuclear reactors. Senator Abraham Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut, has recommended that the United States and the Soviet Union, virtually the exclusive suppliers of enriched uranium, deny that commodity to any seller of reprocessing plants. This would entail Soviet-American sanctions against allies of the United States like France and West Germany.

A third difference between Mr. Carter and the Administration deals with how each feels Soviet-American relations affect the problem of the nuclear spread.

Mr. Carter proposes a five-year moratorium on nuclear tests for both weapons and peaceful uses. The Administration has negotiated an agreement with Moscow that allows for weapons tests up to 150 kilotons, or 150,000 tons of TNT, and treats peaceful tests in a separate category.

More fundamentally, Mr. Carter maintains that the United States cannot expect other nations to deny themselves nuclear weapons when the United States and the Soviet Union continue to increase their own armaments. He contends that the main business of the strategic arms talks between Washington and Moscow should be "the reduction in strategic forces."

"The world is waiting, but not necessarily for long," he said. "The longer effective arms reduction is postponed, the more likely it is that other nations will be encouraged to develop their own nuclear capability."

In this area, Mr. Carter's reasoning and proposals are similar to those advanced over the years by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts. Mr. Kennedy has said that the Administration's approach seems to many nonnuclear nations "in practice to be a device for the nuclear nations to retain some sort of hegemony."

Mr. Carter stated that he was aware of Soviet objections to his approach, but he insisted that he could persuade them.

He said he would back this up with persuasion from the international community in the form of a World Energy Conference patterned after United Nations meetings on food and population. This was the one completely new proposal, among the many suggestions he made.

Mr. Carter's speech demonstrates an awareness that this is not how international business has been conducted, that his ideas have been considered impractical by this and previous administrations. He said: "Of one thing I am certain—the hour is too late for business as usual, for politics as usual, or for diplomacy as usual."

CARTER SAYS SOVIET SEEKS TO MEET HIM

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia said yesterday that his staff had been approached by diplomats from a dozen or more countries, including the Soviet Union, who were interested in meeting with him.

"I think it's the normal thing to do," he said. "They believe I have a good chance to be the Democratic nominee, the next President."

Mr. Carter was asked about the reported contacts at a fund-raising breakfast in the Plaza Hotel and a series of impromptu chats with reporters afterwards.

After the Soviet overture, he said, "I sent word back I was not prepared to talk until after the nominating process is over."

Later, at a news conference at the United Nations, where he had spoken at a symposium on nuclear energy, he said, "If the Soveit Union should want to help any candidate, the best thing they could do would be to stay out of the election process."

Mr. Carter said he felt it would be improper for him to get involved now in "direct or private negotiations."

Asked if anyone else had talked with the Russians on his behalf, he said, "Nobody's authorized to speak for me."

Mr. Carter said he had told aides to give his position papers on foreign and domestic affairs to any foreign representatives. "I think that's an adequate way for representatives of foreign nations to learn about my positions," he said.

Excerpts From Carter

Speech on Nuclear Policy

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., May 13—Following are excerpts from the text of Jimmy Carter's address on nuclear policy as prepared for delivery at the United Nations.

U.S. dependence on nuclear power should be kept to the minimum necessary to meet our needs. We should apply much stronger safety standards as we regulate its use, And we must be honest with our people concerning its problems and dangers.

I recognize that many other countries of the world do not have the fossil fuel reserves of the United States. With the fourfold increase in the price of oil, many countries have concluded that they have no immediate alternative except to concentrate on nuclear power.

But all of us must recognize that the widespread use of nuclear power brings many risks. Power reactors may malfunction and cause widespread radiological damage unless stringent safety requirements are met. Radioactive wastes may be a menace to future generations and civilizations, unless they are effectively isolated within the biosphere forever.

And terrorists or other criminals may steal plutonium and make weapons to threaten society or its political leaders with nuclear violence unless strict security measures are developed and implemented to prevent nuclear theft.

Nuclear Spread Feared

Beyond these dangers, there is the fearsome prospect that the spread of nuclear reactors will mean the spread of nuclear weapons to many nations. By 1999, the developing nations alone will produce enough plutonium in their reactors to build 3,000 Hiroshima-size bombs a year, and by the year 2000, worldwide plutonium production may be over one million pounds a year—the equivalent of 100,000 bombs a year—about half of it outside of the United States.

This prospect of a nuclear future will be particularly alarming if a large number of nations develop their own national plutonium-reprocessing facilities with the capacity to extract plutonium from the spent fuel. Even if such facilities are subject to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency and even if the countries controlling them are parties to the Nonproliferation Treaty, plutonium stockpiles can be converted to atomic weapons at a time of crisis, without fear of effective sanction by the international community.

Nuclear energy must be at the very top of the list of global challenges that call for new forms of international action.

I suggest that new lines of international action should be considered in three main areas: action to meet the energy needs of all countries while limiting reliance on nuclear energy; action to limit the spread of nuclear weapons; and action to make the spread of peaceful nuclear power less dangerous.

Moral Imperative Seen

The time has come to put the world energy problem on that new agenda. Let us hold a World Energy Conference under the auspices of the United Nations to help all nations cope with common energy problems—eliminating energy waste and increasing energy efficiency; reconciling energy needs with environmental quallty goals; and shifting away from almost total reliance upon dwindling sources of nonrenewable energy to the greatest feasible reliance on renewable sources. In other words, we must move from living off our limited energy capital to living within our energy income.

Is it really necessary to the welfare of our countries to become dependent upon a nuclear energy economy and if so, how dependent and for what purposes? Surely, there is a moral imperative that demands a worldwide effort to assure that if we travel down the nuclear road we do so with our eyes wide open.

Such a worldwide effort must also provide practical alternatives to the nuclear option.

More should be done to help the developing countries develop their oil, gas, and coal resources.

We need new international action to limit the spread of nuclear weapons.

In the past, public attention has been focused on the problem of controlling the escalation of the strategic nuclear arms race among the superpowers. Far less attention has been given to that of controlling the proliferation of nuclear weapons capabilities among an increasing number of nations.

And yet the danger to world peace may be as great, if not greater, if this second effort of control should fail. The more countries that possess nuclear weapons, the greater the risk that nuclear warfare might erupt in local conflicts, and the greater the danger that these could trigger a major nuclear war.

The advanced countries have not done nearly enough in providing such peaceful benefits to convince the member states that they are better off inside the Treaty than outside.

Nuclear Deals Recalled

In fact, recent commercial transactions by some of the supplier countries have conferred special benefits on nontreaty members, thereby largely removing any incentive for such recipients to join the Treaty. They consider themselves better off outside. Furthermore, while individual facilities in these nontreaty countries may be subject to international safeguards, others may not be, and India has demonstrated that such facilities may provide the capability to produce nuclear weapons.

As a further part of the two-way street, there is an obligation by the nuclear weapons states, under the Treaty, to pursue negotiations in good faiah to reach agreement to control and reduce the nuclear arms race.

I believe we have little right to ask others to deny themselves such weapons for the indefinite future unless we demonstrate meaningful progress toward the goal of control, then reduction, and ultimately, elimination of nuclear arsenals.

Unfortunately, the agreements reached to date have succeeded largely in changing the buildup in strategic arms from a "quantitative" to a "qualitative" arms race.

Total Nuclear Ban Urged

There is one step that can be taken at once. The United States and the Soviet Union should conclude an agreement prohibiting all nuclear explosions for a period of five years, whether they be weapons tests or so-called "peaceful" nuclear explosions, and encourage all other countries to join. At the end of the five-year period the agreement can be continued if it serves the interests of the parties.

It now appears that the United States and the Soviet Union are close to an agreement that would prohibit underground nuclear tests above 150 kilotons. This so-called threshold test ban treaty represents a wholly inadequate step beyond the limited test ban. We can and should do more. Our national verification capabilities in the last 20 years have advanced to the point where we no longer have to rely on on-site inspection to distinguish between earthquakes and even very small weapons tests.

We need new international action to make the spread of peaceful nuclear power less dangerous.

The danger is not so much in the spread of nuclear reactors themselves, for nuclear reactor fuel is not suitable for use directly in the production of nuclear weapons. The far greater danger lies in the spread of facilities for the enrichment of uranium and the reprocessing of spent reactor fuel because highly enriched uranium can be used to produce weapons; and because plutonium, when separated from the remainder of the spent fuel, can also be used to produce nuclear weapons. Even at the present early stage in the development of the nuclear power industry, enough materials are produced for at least a thousand bombs each year.

Enrichment Plants Crucial

It has therefore been the consistent policy of the United States over the course of several administrations, not to authorize the sale of either enrichment or reprocessing plants, even with safeguards. Recently, however, some of the other principal suppliers of nuclear equipment have begun to make such sales.

In my judgment, it is absolutely essential to halt the sale of such plants.

I am not seeking to place any restrictions on the sale of nuclear power reactors which sell for as much as $1 billion per reactor . I believe that all supplier countries are entitled to a fair share of the reactor market. What we must prevent, however, is the sale of small pilot reprocessing plants which sell for only a few million dollars, have no commercial use at present, and can only spread nuclear explosives around the world.

I call on all nations of the world to adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national purchase or sale of enrichment or reprocessing plants. I would hope this moratorium would apply to recently completed agreements.

I do not underestimate the political obstacles in negotiating such a moratorium, but they might be overcome if we do what should have been done many months ago —bring this matter to the attention of the highest political authorities of the supplying countries.

The nuclear situation is serious, but it is not yet desperate. Most nations of the world do not want nuclear weapons. They particularly do not want their neighbors to have nuclear weapons, but they understand that they cannot keep the option open for themselves without automatically encouraging their neighbours to "keep options open" or worse.

The recent initiative of the Finnish Government along these lines deserves commendation. The Finns have urged a compact among the purchasers of nuclear fuel and technology to buy only from suppliers who require proper safeguards on their exports.

This proposal would convert the alleged advantages to a supplier of breaking ranks and offering "bargains" in safeguards into a commercial disadvantage.

Of one thing I am certain— the hour is too late for business as usual, for politics as usual, or for diplomacy as usual. An alliance for survival is needed. -transcending regions and ideologies -if we are to assure mankind a safe passage to the 21st century.

Every country -and the United States is no exception -is concerned with maintaining its own national security. But a mutual balance of terror is an inadequate foundation upon which ao build a peaceful and stable world order. One of the greatest long-term threats to the national security of every country now lies in the disintegration of the international order Balance of power politics must be supplemented by world order politics if the foreign policies of nations are to be relevant to modern needs.

The political leaders of all nations, whether they work within four-year election cycles or five-year plans, are under enormous temptations to promise short-term benefits to their people while passing on the costs to other countries, to future generations, or to our environment. The earth, the atmosphere, the oceans and unborn generations havno political franchise. But short-sighted policies today will lead to insuperable problems tomorrow.

I believe the erloan people want this larger kind of leadership.

In the last two years, I haVe visited virtually every one of our 50 states. I have fonnd our people deeply troubled by recent developments at the United Nations. But they do not want to abandon the UN -they want us to work harder to make it what it was created to be -not a cockpit for controversy but an instrument for reconciling differences and resolving common problems.

The nuclear age, which brings both sword and plowshare from the same source, demands unusual self-discipline of all nations. If we approach these problems with both humility and self-discipline, we aay yet reconcile our twin goals of energy sufficiency and world order.

FRESH IDEA
GIVE TO THE FRESH AIR FUND

Brown Backed by Machine in Maryland

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 13—In the two and a half weeks since Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California flew here to begin his belated national campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, the politically unorthodox, 38-year-old former seminarian has turned the Maryland primary, which will be held next Tuesday, into one of the most intriguing stops on the way to the party's convention in New York in July.

Today, he annuonced his intention to enter the Oregon primary as a write-in candidate on May 25, and staff aides said M. Brown was also considering campaigning in Rhode Island in that state's primary, which will be held June 1.

In a heavily Democratic Roman Catholic state, the Rhode Island delegate slate of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, no longer an active candidate, was said to be vulnerable to a neffort by Mr. Brown. Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the acknowledged front-runner, is entered in both Oregon and Rhode Island.

Politicians say it is possible that Mr. Brown will win here.

Rhetorec and Loyalty

Not only is he continuing to mesmerize large, enthusiastic suburban audiences with his graceful rhetoric. He has also gained, through the behind-the-scenes efforts of Gov. Marvin Mandel, the loyalty of this city's machine politicians.

Backing the often ethereal-sounding Brown campaign are aging city powers from white ethnic neighborhoods who, cued by Governor Mandel, want to join in stopping Mr. Carter even if they are notably not members of Mr. Brown's "new generation of leadership."

In an effort to help Mr. Carter, about 100 of his wealthy backers from California—a group that includes Governor Brown's former finance chairman in his gubernatorial campaign there last year—are flying here Saturday to ring doorbells and make a pro-Carter appeal "to keep Jerry Brown in California."

According to their leader, Harold Willens, who contributed to former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota in 1968 and to Senator George McGovern in 1972, most of these volunteers are "new to politics," a switch that gives the Carter campaign some of the Brown camp's aura of innocence.

Brown Leading in Poll

The significance of Mr. Brown's gathering confrontation here with Mr. Carter became more apparent today with the publication of a poll by The Baltimore Sun that said Mr. Brown may defeat Mr. Carter in Maryland next week in the "seauty contest" preferential vote. Mr. Brown has no delegate candidate in that separate race.

The Sun's latest voter survey gave Mr. Brown the backing of 28 percent of those polled, while Mr. Carter received 27 percent.

A month ago, the poll showed Mr. Carter leading a large number of candidates with a 24 percent preference. Mr. Brown, then a favorite son candidate in California, had only 7 percent.

For Mr. Carter, a substantial victory over Mr. Brown in Maryland, combined with a victory in Michigan the same day, would probably have favorable psychological repercussions when the two men meet in the California primary on June 8. For Mr? Brown, a victory or a close second-place finish here is crucial if his candidacy is to say alive.

Brown Only National Candidate To Run Without Spending Curb

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 13 — Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California occupies a unique position among the Democrats campaigning nationally for their party's Presidential nomination: He is the only one campaigning without spending limits.

Despite disclaimers from the Brown camp, some politicians believe this could provide the 38-year-old Governor with a major advantage over former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia in the California primary if Democrats trying to block Mr. Carter should unite financially behind Mr. Brown.

Last January, the Supreme Court struck down statutory ceilings on spending in primaries by Presidential candidates, except for those who accepted Federal subsidies.

All the Democratic candidates except Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who is not campaigning outside his state, have qualified for subsidies and accepted them. Thus, they are all subject to state-by-state primary spending limits and an overall ceiling of $13 million for the preconvention period.

In a telephone interview from Brown headquarters in Los Angeles, the Governor's campaign manager, Mickey Kantor, said a decision would be made within the next week on whether to attempt to qualify for subsidies or to rely exclusively on private contributions.

To qualify for subsidies, a candidate must raise at least $5,000 in contributions of $250 or less in each of 20 states. Thereafter, all private contributions up to $250 are matchable in Federal funds, dollar for dollar, including those obtained in the qualification process.

Mr. Kantor expressed doubt that Governor Brown would spend more than the existing ceiling in any of the four primary states in which he is competing or may compete. His current Maryland campaign is expected to cost about $200,000. The limit for the state is $491,000.

The campaign manager said he did not believe any candidate could spend the full $2.6 million California primary limit "effectively," even in the unlikely event that he could raise it.

Mr. Brown is subject to the same limits on the size of contributions he may receive as other candidates, $1,000 from individuals and $5,000 from political committees. These ceilings were sustained by the Supreme Court.

In addition to Maryland on May 18 and California on June 8, Mr. Brown expects to compete in Nevada on May 25. He is being urged to organize a write-in on the same day in Oregon, where he declared his candidacy too late to get on the ballot.

Edmund Brown: 'I Live in the Moment'

By KANDY STROUD

It was the end of a grueling day in the fall of 1974, a day of frustrations and delayed schedules. At 2 A.M. Edmund G. Brown Jr., then a California gubernatorial candidate, was visibly irritated.

Mr. Brown was standing beside his small chartered airplane scowling when an onlooker tried to break the grim silence with a quote from Dylan Thomas. "Do not go gentle into that good night," he teased.

Mr. Brown took the cue and shot back, "Old age should burn and rave at close of day; Rage, rage against the dying of the light."

Spouting Dylan Thomas is as natural to the 38-year-old Mr. Brown as breathing. He can rattle off the last paragraph of Albert Camus' novel "The Stranger" as readily as he can toss away a line of e. e. cummings or discuss Thomas Aquinas.

This enigma of a public figure is at ease with intellectual topics, but discussing his private life, his past or even his programs is another matter. His reluctance to deal with such things has inspired some of those who watch his Presidential campaign most closely to refer to him as "little Carter."

What about his so-called fuziness? "That's part of the game," he said the other day. "Sure you should try and be specific, but there is an inexhaustible appetite for data that no one is really interested in, including the people who ask the questions.

"Look, very few candidates give details. Programs? What programs? You're using words that have no meaning in my head. I'll provide leadership. Listen, John Kennedy said, 'I want to go to the moon.' He didn't give out an organizational charts about how he'd get there."

From whom does he take foreign policy advice? Mr. Brown bristles. "No one of note to date. Some people say I don't take advice from anybody . . . Why don't we get Rusk, Kissinger and McNamara and all the architects of disaster of the last 10 years and ask them what to do next . . . That's what candidates are supposed to do, memorize a little list, and every time you buzz a name of an adviser—Ding!—you get a certain response.

"This has to be opened up and debunked."

No Greetings, No Smiles

Mr. Brown sprints from a rousing rally at a shopping center in Harford County, Md., and slides into the back seat of his gold Dodge. There are no greetings, no introductions, no smiles, no handshakes, and later no goodbyes.

Mr. Brown directs his gaze straight ahead, conferring with three aides in the front seat about where he's going next, and begins to busy himself with a paper on the seat next to him.

He looks neither like the ascetic they say he is nor like the average casual Californian. Formally attired in three-piece charcoal gray pinstripe suit, monogrammed shirt, a blue and red sild tie twisted into the perfect know of the affluent, black wingtipped shoes and a solid gold Omega watch with lizard band, he looks more like a Wall Street investment banker than the chief executive of the Golden State.

And although he has women swooning—"My god, my god, I shook his hand," gasped coed at American University in Chevy Chase, Md.—on close observation his face is not flawless. He is pasty from a lack of sleep and exercise, his nose is hooked, his cheeks are spliotchy from an old r4azor and it is apparent whv he is not given to wide smiles. His two front teeth overlap, and one is badly discolored, as though it were dead at the root.

'I Live In the Moment'

The conversiation begins on a serious, defensive and abrasive note. "When did I start thinking about getting into the race? I don't know. When? Where? The exact hour. I don't know. I mean—I think about a lot of things. I've really been focusing on being Governor. I live in the moment. There's an old Jesuit saying, 'age quod agis.' Do what you're doing."

His sister, Kathy Brown Rice, says of her brother and his race for the White House. "He's been talking about it since he was born."

The charismatic Governor may be full of quips and one-liners on the stump, but in person he seems humorless. His campaign press secretary has warned that he "turns off" on personal questions, and so he does. Mr. Brown terms inquiries about his spiritual life "irrelevant" and questions about his lifestyle "trivial and silly."

"To try and pick out each piece of a person's life," he says, "is a distraction."

And although his penchant for sleeping on a mattress on the floor of his Sacramento apartment has been the subject of considerable discussion and print, when asked why he does not sleep in a regular bed, he answers: "So what did you expect, a four poster?"

He calls to his aide, Leroy Chatfield, a gentle, blond, blue-eyed former Christian brother who is now the father of four girls. "Hey, Leroy. This is going to make the difference in whether America survives. The human species faces extinction, and we're worrying why my mattress is on the floor. Look, I lived a certain way before, and I still live that way. It's not uncommon among people of my generation."

Ask Mr. Brown which parent influenced his life and he splits hairs like a Thomistic theologian. "I wouldn't try to separate it out. It's a very complex question if you think about it. You have to know what my mother is, what my father is, what I am—What do you mean by influence?—what the causal connections, the manifestations are."

He skirts the subiect of his supposedly strained relationship with his father, Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, the former Governor. They talk twice a week by phone, he savs. They dined last on April 21' But he admits that he went against his father:s wishes when we entered the Jesuit seminary. "He said don't go. He just wanted me to stop fooling around. Go to school. Get out and work."

And he ignored his father's advice in running for the Presidency. "We talked about it a few times, but he liked the idea of a favorite son candidate, which I didn't."

Mr. Brown never told his father until after his public announcement that he had decided to run in three primaries.

"But he was one of th eifrs people I called."

A Political Family

The candidate concedes that growing up in a political family had its drawbacks—"I got a little less attention than I would have cared for"—but he was exposed to such world leaders as deGaulle, Kennedy, Tito, Eisenhower and Truman, and he found that "interesting."

He entered the Jesuit seminary to become a priest because "I wanted to devote my life to the service of God," but left because it was "too rigid, too dogmatic, and ou couldn't get out and meet people." He still approves, however, of Catholic education: "It gives a structure to life and balance. . . look at all the people who go to phychiatrists."

Now he admits that he is no longer a practicing Roman Catholic, quipping: "My pracitice is catholic." He rarely attends mass, preferring instead to visit Zen or Trappist monasteries on the weekend.

He does not avoid magazines such as Playboy ("I read it in the barber's"), and he is into Zen because he sees it as more realistic and open.

"I'm just trying to understand life and myself. There's a saying that in the beginner's mind there are many possibilites. In the expert's, very few. People whose minds have been ossified by the same thoughts, the same patterns of mind, miss a great part of the world that's in front of them." He does not try to analyze what he learned either from his three-and-a-half year Jesuit experience or his three years as a student at Berkeley.

'Process of Unfolding'

Ke offers the standard of Pere Teillhard de Chardin by way of an explanation. "Each experience is not separate, does not weigh you down first in one direction and then another. There's a certain continuity of who you are. All these things are just the process of unfolding."

He does not believe, as the Jimmy Carter Baptists do, that all events are part of the divine scheme of things, or that he has a mission. "What do you mean mission? That's so cosmic. I just want to reduce the sum of human misery a little. I think one person can improve things if they do their part."

To Mr. Brown, "Things just are. There's no big mystery. Things are very, very simple.

But things happen each day that don't lend themselves to rigid control. The future to a large extent is not within your control. That's one of the problems with planning. There's an organic, natural flow to things."

Mr. Brown is sitting in the Baltimore-Friendship Airport cafeteria wolfing down orange juice and a Granola bar, his lunch. "Fasting by necessity, not choice."

His breakfast has been, as usual, black coffee. Food does not interest him, nor does cooking. He hasn't eaten or cooked a meal at home since he was elected Governor, he says. He usually eats dinner at a local restaurant, a health-food store or Shakey's Pizza parlor with his staff or "whoever happens to drop by" at 9:30. He hasn't watched more than 15 hours o television. Hasn't seen a movie since "Airport," he says.

Running for Governor and for President has consumed his life. He rarely gets to dance or swim or run anymore or listen to Gregorian chants though his earphones, which he used to find restful.

The last book he read—a month ago—was Ivan Illych's 'Medical Nemises."

He operates on five or six hours' sleep each night, but craves seven. "I like a good night's sleep," he yawns.

He almost never sees the papers. "Hey, Leroy, give me some bread. I never have any money," Mr. Brown calls, squatting at an airport newsstand trying to catch up on the latest headlines. "K don't even know what's going on in this campaign."

His meditation these days consists of a few quiet minutes riding from place to place when "I just let my mind open and rest."

Dating is just about out of the question. "It's hard to have a serious relationship doing this every day, although I trust I won't have to do this every day. I certainly don't want to do this the rest of my life."

There are many who feel that Mr. Brown cannot have a serious relationship, that he is cold, unemotional, unhappy and disdainful of sex. He denies each characterization. He also denies that he is homosexual. There have been rumors. How will he handle them in his Presidential campaign? "I don't have to handle them. It's not true," he says calmly.

He says he likes women, particularly those who are "open, spontaneous, free spirits not caught up in their own thoughts." He does enjoy eVe contact and seems comfortable with women.

One morning last week when he wandered through his New York Hilto suite, wrapped in nothing but a bath towel, and found a female reporte waiting to interview him, the ggovernor did not bolt for cover.

"Hey, how ya doing," he said. Mr. Chapfield, his horrified aide, shooed him back into his dressing room.

He wants to marry and have children, he says. "It seems to be in the progression of things, after I get my occupational requirements satisfied." But he ducks when asked if he would marry a career woman. "I don't know. I would have to see. I have to see things first. I'm a very concrete person.

"Basically I think people have to be independent and have their own skills and things they can do, and whatever would bring out their talents and potential as a person can't be locked up."

In the next breath when it is pointed out that the button is missing from his vest he says, "That's one of the drawbacks of being single." Would he sew on his own button? "No," he says positively. "The roles in my family were fairly well drawn."

He would not live with a woman before marriage. "No. I try to observe the rules of God and man the best I can."

Mr. Brown sees himself as a new breed of politician, a man of the people who spurns such perquisites of office as briefcases, mansions and limousines. He was firm the other night when the dress designer Diane Von Furstenberg appeared in a sleek, chauffer-driven, black Mercedes to ferry him to her New York apartment for a fund-raising dinner.

Dirty Brown Ford

The Governor would have no part of it. He had one of his aides suggest that the wealthy woman ride with him in the dirty Brown Ford his New York supporter shad provided. "I cannot relate to that material possessory consciousness," Mr. Brown said.

But traveling with Mr. Brown for four days through Maryland and New YYork reveals that the candidate can deal with Satan and all his political works when hecessary.

Though he has called New York "degenerate," he admits privately that he "loves the excitement, the electricity of it. It's full of idea and exciting people."

He has no trouble sipping white wine and mingling with the worldly and sophisticated likes of writers, models and machine politicians in midtown Manhattan brownstones or at Democratic rallies in East Baltimore. Baltimore.

"We still live in the world," he offers as explanation. "We have to work with the world." Then he cracks one of his rare smiles. "Even Christ preached among sinners."

Congress Is Asked for Funds For New Pact With Spain

WASHINGTON, May 13 (AP) —President Ford asked Congress today for supplemental appropriations of $64.3 million to carry out a new agreement on military bases with Spain during the 1977 fiscal year that begins Oct. 1.

In submitting the request, Mr. Ford said that the money would be used only if the Senate ratified the treaty of friendship and cooperation with Spain. The treaty authorizes continued operation of American military bases in that country.

Report On a Goofy Town

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 13—When the Presidency is up for grabs, this town goes a little goofy. It knows precisely what to do about bandwagons (get aboard) or sinking ships (get overboard), but right now it's in a state of subdued confusion.

Nobody is in his normal place. Jimmy Carter is beginning to make Presidential speeches on the control of nuclear energy at the United Nations, and paying courtesy calls on George Meany at the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Meanwhile, President Ford is off whistle-stopping, like a freshman Congressman, in Michigan and appealing to the crossover voters he condemned for crossing over to Governor Reagan in Pennsylvania and Indiana.

Vice President Rockefeller has flown to the comparative calm of the earthquake zone in northern Italy. John Connally is crying for order and leadership (meaning himself) among the business leaders of the country, and Henry Kissinger, stung by Governor Reagan's attacks on his foreign policy, is preparing a series of speeches to be delivered just by accident in California the week before that state's critical primary election.

The Democratic National Committee, normally the center of political hurricanes in Washington, is comparatively calm. It has been getting the final figures from all the primary elections held so far and feeding them into its computers along with its best estimates of the primaries to come, and it has come up with these calculations:

¶If things go badly for Carter in the remaining primaries—for example if Governor Brown of California beats him in Maryland and California and Senator Frank Church beats him in the Mountain State elections—Carter will still go to the Democratic convention with about 1,075 delegates.

¶If Carter wins some and loses some between now and the heavyweight championship at Madison Square Garden, he will probably get into the ring with about 1,150 delegates.

¶And if he licks all challengers in the next month, he will have at least 1,360 votes at the bell, and turn it into a garden party with balloons on the first ballot.

■

Edward Bennett Williams, who is a big cheese at the Democratic National Committee as well as the presiding genius of the Washington Redskins professional football team, thinks that it is first down for Carter on the 18-yard line and that Wee Jimmy should make it if he doesn't fumble.

Other unlikely characters seem to be thinking along the same lines. Yuri Zhukov, the master's voice of Pravda ("Truth") in Moscow, has suddenly appeared in Washington wondering amiably about Mr. Carter and his experience on nuclear submarines, and the beliefs of the Southern Baptists. All the big embassies are now trying to get a handle on Carter, but when the embassies call, he is always out to lunch.

The Republicans are in worse confusion. They have peace, a rising prosperity, and the Presidency, but seem determined to throw them away, and are obsessed with Panama, Kissinger and Michigan. It is hard to avoid the suspicion that their strategy has been devised by Jimmy Carter and the Democrats.

Even in the present confusion here, the serious speculation is bewildering. Suddenly the Michigan primary is being discussed as a greater threat to Mr. Ford than Jimmy Carter or Leonid Brezhnev. If he loses in his own home state, it is said, even if he loses by crossovers from the 800,000 voters who backed George Wallace in the 1972 Michigan primary, he will not only be hurt, which is true, but will lose the nomination and may even quit, which is ridiculous.

Yet this is the gossip of Washington these days, and it is more than gossip. For as Ford declines and Reagan advances, there is actually serious talk here that Rockefeller and Connally will then challenge both Ford and Reagan for the Republican nomination.

■

Mr. Rockefeller's position is particularly ironic. He was dumped by Ford as Ford's Vice-Presidential running-mate this year, though Rockefeller was allowed to give the appearance that he jumped. But now Rockefeller controls more than 100 New York State delegates which Mr. Ford may very well need to defeat the Reagan challenge.

A few weeks ago, it seemed that the Democrats were in a pickle and would have to settle it among the brokers under the Madison Square platform after a few indecisive ballots. Now the Republicans are talking about a brokered convention between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan—and if they knock each other off, between Rockefeller, with his New York swing vote, and Connally.

If this sounds crazy, it probably is. For the guess here is that both the President and Mr. Carter will be nominated, regardless of what happens in Maryland, Michigan, California and the other remaining primaries. But Washington is obsessed by the contradictory signals it is getting from the voters, and hounded by the unpredictable accidents that have staggered this city in the last few years. It can believe in anything now, no matter how goofy, and for the moment it is doing precisely that.



UPI

Carter basks in the returns from Indiana and Georgia: He didn't have to beg any more

Jimmy Carter Calling

Jimmy Carter studied his prospects last week and reached a comfortable conclusion: only a miracle—or a bad mistake—could keep him from the Democratic Presidential nomination.

To be sure, a number of Democrats acted as if they didn't share that forecast: California's Gov. Jerry Brown still hoped to surprise and hurt Carter in Maryland next week; Rep. Morris Udall was entrenching for a last-ditch campaign against him in Michigan; Hubert Humphrey declined to endorse him. But Carter announced confidently that he was trimming back his schedule. To convert doubters and heal rifts, he would spend two or three days a week down home in Plains, Ga., making telephone calls to—and accepting them from—party leaders, labor chiefs and uncommitted delegates. And when Carter called, most folks listened. "When he talks to me," joshed a Democratic senator in Washington, "I'm going to ask how I can write out a retroactive check as a campaign contribution."

The phones started ringing as Carter wound up his triumphal grand march through the Indiana, Georgia and District of Columbia primaries last week. Carter chatted inconclusively with Humphrey. He rang up Missouri Sen. Thomas Eagleton, who sounded out potential delegates in his state and discovered that two-thirds of them were ready to join the Carter camp. He talked with state Democratic chairmen in Virginia, South Carolina and Mississippi—another source of uncommitted delegates—and to a list of power brokers that ran from Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley to New York Gov. Hugh Carey. "He's making the right calls to senators, congressmen, mayors, governors and party people," reported Democratic National Committee Chairman Robert Strauss. And Strauss predicted that if Carter dialed as successfully as he had campaigned in the primaries (he has run up eleven victories in fourteen starts), the Democrats might emerge more unified than at any time since Lyndon Johnson's best days in 1964.

"He doesn't have to call and *beg* anybody," observed campaign director Hamilton Jordan. Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana got the message. On the day of the Pennsylvania primary two weeks ago, he was having lunch in the Senate dining room when Carter phoned to ask his support. At dawn on the morning before the Indiana primary last week, Bayh was out at the Western Electric plant gates in Indianapolis inviting the workers to shake Carter's hand. "One thing I learned a long time ago and that's how to count," Bayh explained.

Labor leaders were also doing some computations. In Washington, AFL-CIO chieftain George Meany was still scrutinizing Carter's position on right-to-work laws, guaranteed jobs, common-situs picketing practices and other labor matters.



UPI

Brown courts Humphrey: A brush fire in Maryland

A GLOWING ENDORSEMENT

But with the collapse of Sen. Henry (Scoop) Jackson's labor-sponsored stop-Carter movement in Pennsylvania (a fiasco that exposed an embarrassing gap between AFL-CIO leaders and rank-and-file union voters) and with the withdrawal of Hubert Humphrey from the fray, big labor seemed to have nowhere else to go. "If he's the nominee, we'll have to endorse him—even if he's a peanut farmer who pays minimum wages in a plant that's not organized," said one top AFL-CIO figure. At the weekend, Carter aides said Meany and the candidate would meet to talk this week. And Leonard Woodcock, head of the United Auto Workers, went out to the Detroit airport trailing hordes of reporters and bestowed a glowing endorsement upon Carter—a beneficence all but ensuring a Carter win over

Udall in next week's Michigan primary.

The opposition, such as it was, grew more lonely and forlorn. "I'm the only survivor," observed Udall on a bleak, rain-drenched campaign swing into Michigan. But with the 1.25 million-member UAW as well as Henry Ford lining up behind Carter, the Arizona congressman appeared to be running out of friends and funds at the same time.

'A NEW DIMENSION'

Anti-Carter Democrats did show twitches of interest in the eleventh-hour challenge being offered in Maryland by Jerry Brown. After Humphrey opted out of the race two weeks ago, Brown enlisted the support of Maryland Gov. Marvin Mandel, a closet Humphrey man, who put his own formidable state organization at Brown's disposal—and helped him drum up support among Maryland labor unions. To stem a flow of old Humphrey support toward Carter, Mandel argued that slowing Carter down would encourage the independent Georgia governor to come to acceptable terms with liberals, laborites and Jewish voters who are troubled by his center-right politics—and by the fact that they have little leverage with him. Brown then orchestrated a sturdy radio and TV blitz, drew squealing crowds of small-is-beautiful supporters and surged upward in the polls. "He genuinely has a shot at beating Carter," Mandel predicted.

The strong Brown challenge caught the ever-eager eye of Humphrey, who hopefully called Brown a "new dimension" in the race. For an antipolitician, Udall in next week's Michigan primary.

DELEGATE COUNT

LAPPING THE FIELD

Jimmy Carter has left his rivals behind. The totals include the results of last week's Indiana, Georgia and Alabama primaries and recent caucus races.

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES	NUMBER OF DELEGATE VOTES
CARTER	551
JACKSON	200
UDALL	162
WALLACE	142
Favorite sons	92
Other candidates	90
Uncommitted	256

Total needed to nominate: 1,505

Total delegate votes: 3,008

Fenn & Freyer

GIVING CARTER THE FISH EYE

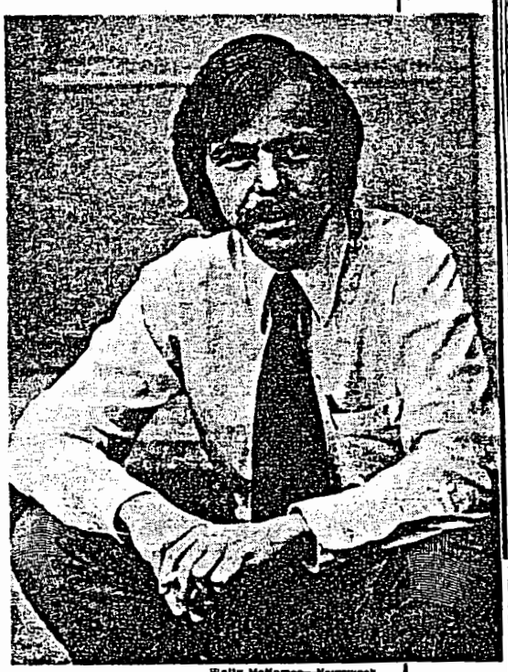
At 32, Robert Shrum had already worked on two losing Presidential campaigns—for Edmund Muskie and George McGovern—so when he jumped on Jimmy Carter's bandwagon on April 19, the liberal speechwriter thought that he finally had a winner. On April 27, however, Shrum jumped off the bandwagon. In a ten-page memorandum released last week and in interviews, he provided one of the first unflattering glimpses inside the Carter campaign. His views reflected, in part, the disillusion of an issue-oriented young staffer who could not tolerate the reluctance of a politician to become too specific on issues. In his nine days with Carter, Shrum said, he also found the candidate guilty of "a degree of manipulation and deception" that he had not encountered in any of his previous campaigns. Concluded Shrum: "The only thing I am sure he believes in is himself."

At their first meeting, Carter "smiled a lot," Shrum recalled, "a very warm and genuine smile." But after Shrum had signed on, "I never saw him smile in private unless there was someone there he wanted to impress." Nor did Carter's reverent rhetoric withstand Shrum's first strategy meeting, when an aide mentioned that a local politician wanted to bargain for his endorsement. "He can kiss my ass and you tell him that," Shrum says Carter replied. There was no visible emotion, Shrum noticed—just a granite hardness. "Carter is a man of iron control," said Shrum. "[It] is pervasive, constant, unremitting."

Tennis: Carter imposed his "iron control" not only on his own life—he had given up tennis for the campaign because he was afraid that it would seem frivolous—but also on his inner circle. The staff confided that their man was a "loner [who] doesn't like to hear things he disagrees with." Staffers took care to keep their skeletons, such as divorce, in the closet. "I asked [a staff member], 'What's going to happen when he reads the FBI reports?' " Shrum recalled. Only half-joking, the aide replied, "He'll have to get a new staff."

But it was Carter's calculated moderation on the issues that most upset Shrum. He didn't want any more statements on the Middle East, Shrum says Carter told aides, because "[Henry] Jackson has all the Jews anyway. I don't get over 4 per cent of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." Once, before Carter spoke to a group of trucking executives, issues director Stu Eizenstadt reminded him that he had endorsed diverting highway funds into mass transit. "Carter seemed annoyed," Shrum recalled. "He said, 'Maybe that's what I said, but I think all this mass transit isn't a good idea'." Later he sent Eizenstadt to the truckers, urging, "Be cautious, cautious, cautious."

Mum: Caution was Carter's byword on most issues, by Shrum's account. After getting conflicting advice on defense spending, he resolved to say "nothing more on defense." A speech by Shrum backing stronger mine-safety standards was hedged because "it would offend the operators," Carter told Shrum. "And why should I do this for [United Mine Workers president] Arnold Miller if he won't come and endorse me?"



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Shrum: A refugee's complaints

Carter's aides responded that Shrum had misunderstood harmless campaign "banter" such as his reference to the Jews—Shrum himself had called the remark politically pragmatic, not anti-Semitic—and campaign director Hamilton Jordan explained that "Shrum is much more liberal than Jimmy." A scowling Carter at first had trouble remembering Shrum at all, but a few hours restored his memory—and his smile. "I have nothing but admiration for Mr. Shrum," said Carter, but added that he "has never been on our payroll." That was technically true; because he neglected to fill out the requisite tax form, Shrum said last week, he was never paid for his nine days with Jimmy Carter.

—SANDRA SALMANS with JAMES DOYLE in Washington

Brown took care to court the Democratic Establishment in Washington. The 38-year-old California governor showed up alongside House Speaker Carl Albert and Humphrey at a breakfast meeting of Congressional Democrats, touching off speculation that a Humphrey-Brown ticket might be quickly cobbled together if Carter unexpectedly fails to win nomination on the first ballot.

The headlines next day clearly rankled Carter, who said that he was trailing Brown in Maryland. "He's not a serious candidate—he's not running for President," Carter complained. He charged the "attractive" governor with being the patsy of "political bosses" out to use him as yet another stalking horse for Humphrey in a brokered convention.

Carter has nagging problems elsewhere. In New York, both Gov. Hugh Carey and New York City Mayor Abraham Beame were smarting over the fact that Carter operative William vanden Heuvel, an old political foe, had sounded them out about supporting Carter—but that Carter hadn't bothered to call. Carter picked up the phone himself last week to patch things up with them. To reassure Jewish leaders, who were anxious over Carter's stand on Israel and who feared they had alienated Carter by supporting Jackson, Carter's campaign treasurer Robert Lipshutz arranged for 25 of them to have breakfast with Carter in Washington this week.

DEALING FROM STRENGTH

Most of the sore points could be attributed to the inexperience of Carter's field hands in currying favor with the Democratic Establishment—or their refusal to do so. But with the nomination nearly within his grasp, Carter intended to play his hand carefully. He made his reservation for the $500-a-plate Democratic Congressional dinner in Washington this week, and his list of people to see before the convention included retiring Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield; West Virginia Sen. Robert Byrd, who would like to replace Mansfield and whose favorite-son Presidential campaign Carter has diplomatically declined to challenge, and House Majority Leader Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill, a Udall supporter. Carter's agents also began discreetly to sound out Jackson. "They don't want to overlook or offend anyone," said one Congressional leader. Despite the good manners, Carter knew he was dealing from strength. "It's pretty obvious one guy is going to win the nomination," said Carter brain-truster Charles Kirbo.

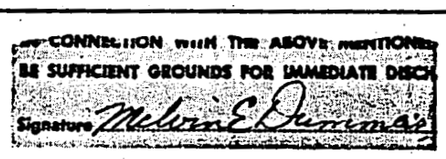
With Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan wrangling bitterly on the Republican side of the Presidential race, Carter's appeal for unity seemed like common sense to most Democratic pragmatists—though few old party professionals seemed to warm to him personally. He had shown powerful support in the Northeast and Midwest and he stood to carry eleven Southern and border states once conceded to the Republicans. "It changes the whole game plan for the fall," observed Mark Siegel, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, last week. "We pick up the South and don't lose anything in the North." That was the kind of bottom-line convention delegates care about. "To lose he'd have to attack a nun at noon on the steps of the Capitol—and then lie about it," said Atlanta Congressman Andrew Young, Carter's adviser on black and urban problems. While the possibility for upset, surprise, mistake or disaster remained, no one expected Jimmy Carter to turn careless.

—TOM MATHEWS with ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign and HAL BRUNO in Washington

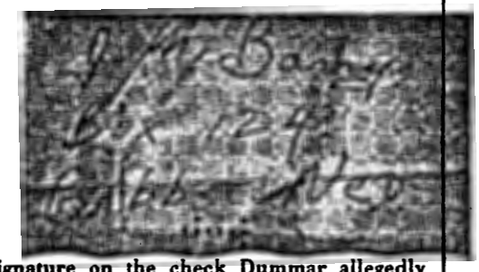


Joan R. Shupé

Dummar on the job: At night, lessons in business



Melvin Dummar's signature



Signature on the check Dummar allegedly cashed: The judge dismissed the case

HOWARD HUGHES:

Heirs Apparent?

The controversy over Howard Hughes's purported will moved into court last week and gave every indication of becoming the most complicated probate proceeding in American legal history. Hughes's relatives and business associates filed challenges to the will in Nevada, California and Delaware. A professional heir-finder from Tennessee called the will a fraud and vowed to hire ten private investigators to prove it. On the West Coast, two handwriting experts ran extensive tests on the three-page will; one triumphantly declared it a forgery, the other pronounced it genuine. So far, however, no one had any clear answers to who had found the will, where it had come from or whether Howard Hughes had really written it.

Some of the most intriguing questions centered on 31-year-old Melvin Dummar, the Utah service-station operator who said he had once picked up Hughes injured and driven him across the Nevada desert. Dummar has been named as a beneficiary of one-sixteenth (about $120 million) of the $2 billion Hughes estate. Suspicions about him increased last week after it turned out that he had been arrested for allegedly cashing a forged check in 1968 (the year the will was dated). But a judge eventually dismissed the case—and many of Dummar's friends and relatives thought he lacked the savvy to orchestrate a sophisticated hoax. "Even if Mel had set out to forge the will, it wouldn't have come out right," laughed his sister Chloe.

Meanwhile, Dummar continued to pump gas in Willard, Utah. Business has never been better: he and his family have been besieged by reporters, agents with book offers and curious onlookers. His sister in Las Vegas has even received seven marriage proposals. A fortnight ago a cousin named Ronald Brown, 28, also appeared at the door, announcing that he was prepared to take over Dummar's financial affairs. Dummar quickly ordered him home to California, but Brown's reported involvement in a chain of unsuccessful business ventures as a pressure-cooker salesman and escort-service operator raised more questions. As a result of all the commotion, Dummar's wife allowed that she wished the family had never been willed Hughes's millions. Dummar himself seemed only slightly more grateful—although on the advice of his three

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Carter Urges 5-Year Ban On N-Blasts

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

NEW YORK—The United States and the Soviet Union should agree to halt all nuclear explosions for five years, Jimmy Carter told a conference on nuclear energy meeting at the United Nations Building Thursday.

"We have little right to ask others to deny themselves such 'nuclear' weapons unless we demonstrate meaningful progress toward the goal of control, then reduction and, ultimately, elimination of nuclear arsenals," the Democratic presidential hopeful told some 100 representatives at the session sponsored by the Institute on Man and Science, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Overseas Development Council and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation.

"The United States and the Soviet Union should conclude an agreement prohibiting all nuclear explosions for a period of five years, whether they be weapons tests or so-called 'peaceful' nuclear explosions, and encourage all other countries to join," the former Georgia governor said.

The Strategic Arms Limitations talks (SALT) between the U. S. and Russia should move from setting ceilings on the number of strategic weapons each nation may stockpile to reducing those deadly arsenals, Carter continued.

The elements that can be used to produce nuclear weapons—enriched uranium and reprocessed plutonium recovered from nuclear energy reactors—must be strictly controlled by international safeguards, Carter warned, so that the spread of nuclear power reactors doesn't continue to promote the spread of nuclear weapons. And the United States should submit to that control, he said.

"The United States should fulfill its decade-old promise to put its peaceful nuclear facilities under international safeguards to demonstrate that we, too, are prepared to accept the same arrangements as the non-weapon states."

Carter said nuclear fuel reprocessing plants sell for only a few million dollars and have no commercial use. "By 1990, the developing nations alone will produce enough plutonium in their reactors to build 3,000 Hiroshima-size bombs a year," he said.

"I call on all nations of the world to

See CARTER, Page 26-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

adopt a voluntary moratorium on the national purchase or sale of enrichment or reprocessing plants," he said, until a study of proposed multi-national fuel centers is completed.

The necessity of reprocessing plutonium should also be re-examined by the U.S. and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Carter said.

Until then, the start-up of the first U.S. reprocessing plant, at Barnwell, S.C., should be delayed, Carter proposed and he said the plant could eventually be operated as a multi-national facility by the IAEA.

Carter also called for "stringent safety requirements" on nuclear power reactors in this country, without going into detail.

He suggested the U.N. hold a world energy conference to help nations cope with common energy problems and limit reliance on nuclear energy.

He said the conference might lead to a new World Energy Agency to work side by side with the IAEA to seek out non-nuclear energy sources.

Later in the day, Carter faced questions about suggestions his Washington office had received from Soviet diplomats that Carter meet with Soviet Ambassador Antoly Dobrynin. The former Georgia governor said he would reject such an offer, as he rejected offers from "10 or 12 other nations that sent word they'd like to meet me as my prospects improved."

Although Carter said he did ask for a session with Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz in Miami, "I have sent word back to the others that I am not yet the nominee" and not an official U.S. representative.

Carter said he talked with Dinitz about the Jordan River's West Bank because Carter had visited it.

Making a repeat appearance in the state where he got only 12 per cent of the primary votes, Carter spoke to some 800 metro New Yorkers who paid $100 a plate to attend a breakfast at the elegant Plaza Hotel.

His reception was cool, heating up when he answered a question with: "I intend to be friendly to Arab countries; but I will let them know our commitment to Israel is constant and unshakable."

Joining Carter at the head table were an array of prominent persons, including former Secretary of the Treasury C. Douglas Dillon, publisher Henry Luce III and garment workers' union president Murray Finley.

After the breakfast Carter met privately with city Democratic Committee members for about half an hour.

Carter fan and New York City Councilman Matthew J. Troy had remarked a day earlier, "The boat is leaving and the gangplank is going up."

Sen. Eagleton and Other Missourians Back Carter

KANSAS CITY, Mo. (AP) — Sen. Thomas Eagleton, D-Mo., and a host of other Democratic party leaders in Missouri announced Thursday that they will support Jimmy Carter for the presidential nomination.

Eagleton had urged previously that Missouri's delegates to the Democratic National Convention be uncommitted. He was nominated to run as the Democratic vice presidential nominee in 1972 but then resigned when it was disclosed that he had received electroshock therapy for depression.

Missouri's 71 votes at the convention constitute the largest bloc from a state that does not have a presidential primary.

Eagleton and the others said in a statement: "We believe that Gov. Carter is the right man at the right place and right time to lead our party and our country. We believe that now is the time for the Democratic party to unite behind Gov. Carter and to begin our unified march to the White House."

Eagleton was joined in the statement by state Auditor George Lehr, state Treasurer James Spainhower and Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick, four members of the Missouri Democratic congressional delegation, and Jackson County executive Mike White.

Rep. Jerry Litton, D-Mo., had endorsed Carter earlier.

There was no immediate indication whether the former Georgia governor would receive all 71 of the Missouri votes, but White said, "It looks to me like the whole state is going for him."

New Base Sought

WASHINGTON (AP) — President Ford asked Congress Thursday for supplemental appropriations of $64.3 million to implement a new military base agreement with Spain during the 1977 fiscal year that begins Oct. 1.

Beame Backing of Carter May Gain Jewish Votes

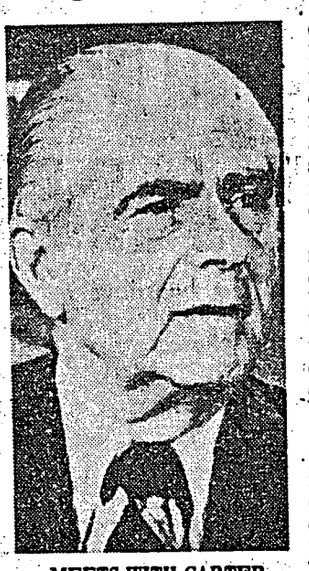
NEW YORK (NYT) — Mayor Abraham D. Beame of New York City has decided to endorse Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination for President, according to authoritive party officials.

The mayor's decision — which was reached during a visit here Thursday by Carter that left some of the politician participants confused about what he had told them — could help Carter's image among urban voters. It could add fresh complexity to the fractious Democratic politics of New York.

In the state primary, Carter ran far behind Sen. Henry M. Jackson, whose long history of sympathy for Israel helped him to dominate the heavy Jewish vote in New York City.

A former Jackson supporter and city's first Jewish mayor, Beame may help Carter build bridges to that portion of the party.

But Beame's decision could cause him some trouble at home. The mayor is scheduled to be elected Friday as chairman of the 274-vote New York delegation to the Democratic convention, a job that Gov. Hugh L. Carey had wanted to see go to former Mayor Robert F. Wagner.



MEETS WITH CARTER
Mayor Beame

Some politicians speculated that disclosure of Beame's endorsement plan would give the Carey team a new hook on which to hang arguments that the mayor should not head the delegation.

Others said the Carey people had a fallback position, to push for Lt. Gov. Mary Anne Krupsak as "co-chairman."

Beame made up his mind after meeting at his residence for an hour Wednesday night with Carter. According to Carter's state chairman, William J. Vanden Heuval, the mayor had run through a list of urban concerns — welfare, mass transit, countercyclical aid, etc. — and satisfied himself that Carter would be good for New York City as a president.

A host of political factors no doubt helped motivate the endorsement, but vanden Heuvel said that Carter had been somewhat surprised, and very much gratified, to encounter such an issue-oriented quiz from Beame.

Other New York Democrats — a score of government and party leaders at a private meeting and 400 of the curious who paid $100 a piece for orange juice, coffee and pastry — listened to Carter Thursday and many of them came away confused.

The former governor of Georgia, returning to New York for the first time since he became the generally acknowledged frontrunner for the Democratic nomination for president, sketched his position on changes in the welfare system for the party leaders.

A polite spatter of applause followed him as he left their session in the State Suite of the Plaza Hotel. Behind him a babble of confusion arose with Beame, according to some participants, vigorously defending Carter.

California's Gov. Brown Enters Oregon Race

BALTIMORE (UPI) — Edmund G. Brown Jr., armed with a poll showing him running almost even with Jimmy Carter in Maryland's primary Tuesday, said Thursday he will enter the Oregon primary as a write-in candidate.

At the same time, Gov. Marvin Mandel, in his harshest attack yet on Carter in the increasingly bitter contest, said the former governor of Georgia is complaining about Brown's support from the state political machine only because he was unable to get its backing.

Brown, the governor of California whose late entry into the presidential race will be tested first in Maryland, said he decided to enter the May 25 Oregon primary because "I want to go out there and meet the people of Oregon and give them a chance to get into this.

"I think the nomination is closer in sight. Maryland may be the beginning, but it's just the beginning."

The Maryland contest has been enlivened by the close race between Carter and Brown and by Carter's criticism of state political support for Brown, who he says is not a real candidate.

Mandel Thursday described Carter's charge that Brown is the tool of the "machine bosses" as "the biggest bunch of baloney that's ever been in a campaign.

"A person becomes an independent when he calls all the political leaders and gets turned down for support. And if you don't get it, then the machine's against you."

Brown's response to Carter's charges that he is a tool of old line Maryland political organizations is: "They buy my philosophy, I don't buy theirs."

"Leadership is the ability to pull together contradictory elements for a common purpose."

Brown met some Jewish leaders Wednesday night after his arrival in Maryland, including Mandel and Irv Kovens, a powerful political figure who faces the same federal racketeering and mail fraud charges as the governor.

5

Joseph Kraft

Politicking in a Media State

LOS ANGELES — Why is Tom Hayden, the ex-radical leader and present husband of Jane Fonda, running in the Democratic primary against Sen. John Tunney? Because, according to a mean gag going the rounds here in California, Jane Fonda can't bear to be married to someone who isn't a star.



That nasty little joke, while decidedly unfair to both Miss Fonda and Mr. Hayden, characterizes in a deep way politics here in California. This is a media state par excellence, and that explains why Ronald Reagan has to be taken very seriously as a challenger to Jerry Ford and Jerry Brown cannot be idly dismissed as an opponent of Jimmy Carter.

By the term media state, I mean that press and television have replaced all other institutions as the bridge between candidates and voters. The two parties are so weak here that candidates can't even make a villain out of organization bosses as they can and do in Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey or New York. Labor has repeatedly found union men going against its political endorsements, and the unions took another black eye in the recent San Francisco municipal strike. Business is important chiefly because it has the financial wherewithal to facilitate campaigning on television.

The weakness of these traditional avenues to prominence is reinforced by the size and diversity of the state. The lumber men of the north, the cosmopolites of the Bay Area, the growers and laborers of the valleys, the movers-on and blue-collar workers of southern California have only one thing in common. They all watch TV.

The dominance of that medium in politics finds perhaps its chief expression in this year's election for United States Senator.

The incumbent, John Tunney, is widely derided as "the lightweight son of the heavyweight champion." In most states he would be so vulnerable that challengers galore would be after his scalp.

But the expense of mounting a statewide television campaign here limits the competition severely. The only opposition in the Democratic primary comes from Mr. Hayden who, despite his intelligence and powers of articulation, is too radical to be a real threat.

On the Republican side, three figures are in the race — Alonzo Bell, a millionaire and former Congressman whose campaign features endorsements by John Wayne; Robert Finch who became well known over the years as a lieutenant governor here and a White House aide and cabinet member in the Nixon administration; and S.I. Hayakawa, the semanticist who made a name for himself by putting down student radicals as the head of San Francisco State College. Not surprisingly, Dr. Hayakawa — a colorful figure who combines Japanese features with a beret — is leading in the polls.

As to the presidential campaign here, three of the four competitors could do well. Gov. Brown is an extremely good TV performer, articulate in debate with a strong flair for manipulating the symbols — for example, the mansion, the executive jet and the official limousines he doesn't use — that most strike the voters' eye. He has to be rated a favorite over Jimmy Carter here, though Carter has excited attention by his meteoric rise. But because the Democratic presidential primary picks convention delegates on the basis of proportional representation in each congressional district, it seems unlikely any candidate can score a decisive advantage.

The Republican side is different. There the winner in the statewide contest gets all of California's 167 convention delegates. Ronald Reagan is almost the perfect candidate.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/17



41A

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News Summary and Index

MONDAY, MAY 17, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Nablus, an Israeli-occupied city on the West Bank yesterday proclaimed two days of mourning and a general strike in protest over the killing of an Arab girl by an Israeli soldier. Later, two friends of the dead girl demonstrating in a crowd outside her house were injured when Israeli soldiers fired to disperse the crowd. The Mayor of Nablus said that he had rejected an explanation by the Israeli Army that the girl had been shot accidentally. [Page 1, Column 2.]

Beirut and its suburbs went through one of the most violent days of the Lebanese civil war. Scores of people, most of them civilians, died in exchanges of heavy artillery and mortars. The collapse of the two-day-old truce, which had been honored at best only partly, came as Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, conferred in Damascus with President Hafez el-Assad of Syria against a background of Syrian-Palestinian tension. [1:3-4.]

The chief of staff of El Salvador's armed forces was arrested and charged in Federal court in Manhattan with taking part with six other men in a plot to sell 10,000 submachine guns for $2.8 million to people he thought were underworld figures in the United States. Col. Manuel Alfonso Rodriguez, 48 years old, was arrested in Mount Kisco. He was held in $3 million bail on charges of conspiracy to violate gun controls and to defraud the State Department and the United States Treasury. [1:6-8.]

National

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, who for eight years has been the main architect of American foreign policy, said in an interview that even if President Ford won the November election he would prefer to leave office. He went further in declaring publicly his intention to resign than he had previously. [1:1.]

The Senate Intelligence Committee's staff said in a report that military agents had violated the rights of United States citizens and protest groups and in doing so threatened "to violate the traditional and legal restraints which govern the use of military forces in the civilian community." The staff also confirmed reports last week that the Army had under surveillance United States citizens living in West Germany regarded as "threats" to Army operations. [1:3.]

Metropolitan

In a tough report to the Senate on New York City's fiscal-crisis loan program, the Senate Banking Committee proposed that the Government "seriously consider" ending its $2.3 billion in annual aid if the city failed to maintain its three-year municipal wage freeze, and proposed that city employees' fringe benefits be reduced as a condition for continuing the aid. The committee urged the city and state to confront the rent control "problem" squarely and, "if necessary," to take the actions needed to phase out rent control. Rent control, the committee said, was "a major cause of the decline of New York City's housing stock and the erosion of its real-estate tax base." [1:8.]

The New York City Buildings Department disregarded instructions from the Mayor's office, city officials said, and issued a permit allowing the owners of Broadway's de Mille Theater to convert it into three that, according to officials, will show pornographic films. The permit was approved within 24 hours after a written request for it was submitted last March 22. Preparatory work on the conversion has begun. Sidney Baumgarten, special assistant to the Mayor in charge of cleaning up midtown, is attempting to revoke the permit. [1:7.]

The start of the $5 million acoustic renovation of Avery Fisher Hall in Lincoln Center began with the dismantling of the interior almost immediately after the New York Philharmonic finished its concert Saturday night. This kind of renovation in a modern concert hall is without precedent. The hall has had a poor acoustical record since its opening 14 years ago. [1:4-6.]

The apartment house service employees' union, whose strike is entering its third week, and the Realty Advisory Board, representing the building owners, are scheduled to meet today with Vincent D. McDonnell, chairman of the State Mediation Board. Mr. McDonnell said he had called the meeting at the request of Mayor Beame. Negotiations between the union and the landlords have been at an impasse since the landlords rejected a wage-increase proposal by a mayoral panel last week. The advisory board's vice president said today's meeting was being held to "assess the situation." [56:1-3.]

The Other News

International

Priest tells of clergy's aid to Basques. Page 2
U.S. says Iran must share nuclear plant control. Page 3
Shelling sets off tumult at Beirut airport. Page 4
14 reported slain in Teheran shootout. Page 7
Ethical issues weighed at atomic conference. Page 8
Rockefeller attack on Soviet raises questions. Page 8
French Socialists agree to cooperate with Reds. Page 10
Americans, French found mutually indifferent. Page 12
Ethiopia offers conciliation to Eritrean rebels. Page 13
U.N. trade talks: What have-nots want. Page 14
Simon plans appeal on U.S. aid to Chile. Page 15

Government and Politics

Tydings comeback bid is overshadowed. Page 19
Ford ends 3-day appeal for Michigan votes. Page 22
Ford finding it hard to inspire voters. Page 23
Democrats in Legislature propose utility curbs. Page 49
Legislators seek to save expense allowances? Page 49
Insight into Wagner-Cunningham turnover. Page 49

General

Urban League in Bicentennial tribute to blacks. Page 15
Illinois towns want new St. Louis-area airport. Page 17
Roosevelt Island tramway opens tomorrow. Page 31
Rockwell scout paintings exhibited here. Page 31
Law stemming flight of upstate farmers. Page 32
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 33
Ninth Avenue food festival attracts thousands. Page 33
Judson Memorial Church opens fund drive. Page 33
Will Rogers cardiac work to be continued. Page 33
Daughter rebuts portrayal of Pat Nixon. Page 49

Amusements and the Arts

Teichmann's biography of Woollcott reviewed. Page 27
Ailey in 4 pieces to Ellington music. Page 39

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Carter's Record as Georgia Governor: Activism and Controversial Programs

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 15—Up in Maryland this last week, Jimmy Carter suggested that those who are curious about the kind of President he might be "should look at the sort of Governor I was."

If that is the case, the 51-year-old Democratic front-runner would bring to the White House a quick mind, eclectic intellectuality, enormous physical stamina, boyish enthusiasm, unabashed patriotism, a zealous instinct for reform, deep, religious convictions and unflappable confidence in himself and his abilities.

Moreover, if, as he suggests, his record as Governor of Georgia is admissible evidence, the soft-spoken patrician farmer would also bring along an unyielding stubbornness, a humorless and sometimes acerbic impatience with those less single-minded, a mastery of the use of people and institutions for his own purposes, and the willingness of an average politician to exaggerate on occasion.

That, at least, is the complex, composite portrait of Mr. Carter as drawn from conversations and interviews with him and with many of the Georgians who worked both for and against him during his term as Governor from 1971 to 1975.

Those insights, combined with an examination of the documentary testament of his tenure, seem to indicate that his conduct of that office was neither as brilliantly innovative as his campaign brochures suggest nor as abysmally incompetent as his political adversaries insist.

At any rate, it was most certainly an activist administration.

"I didn't care for much that he did or tried to do," said Tom Matthews, the Speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives and an outspoken critic of Mr. Carter, "but I'll say this about the fellow: He was damned aggressive."

That trait first became evident when Mr. Carter, only moments after his inauguration, promised in blunt language to do what he could to bring an end to racism in the state.

Then, over the next four years, as a "freewheeling" Governor—his own description—he addressed himself to many of Georgia's most recalcitrant problems—bigotry, economic decay, ecological and environmental neglect, tax inequities and an antediluvian penal system. But he concentrated first and foremost on Georgia's

Continued on Page 22, Column 3

Carter as Governor Had Activist Team

Continued From Page 1, Col. 6

sprawling, venerable bureaucracy.

These days, as he campaigns for the Presidency, he says there were more than 300 government agencies when he began his reorganization project in 1971. When it was over, he says, only 22 remained.

"And not only did we make possible the savings of millions of dollars in administrative costs, we made the whole operation much more efficient and much responsive to the needs of the people," he says. "I'm proud, really very proud of that."

There are those in this old capital city who dispute the merits of that claim, including Mr. Matthews, who is admittedly partisan, and Ernest Davis, the state auditor, who says he is unbiased.

According to Mr. Davis, the economic savings Mr. Carter says resulted from his restructuring of the government have never appeared on his own balance sheets.

Never Saw Savings

"I suppose there are certain ways to figure this and not figure that—you know, take a little bit here and leave a little bi there—and come up with the numbers you want," he said. "But in strict accounting terms, I've got to say that I never saw all those savings, any time."

Mr. Carter's allies in state government estimate that his reorganization resulted in savings of at least $45 million in the first year and around $30 million in the years that followed.

But several veterans capital figures question the effects of the reorganization, scoffing at Mr. Carter's appraisal of its as a "radical piece of surgery that restored the patient's health."

Mr. Matthews called the program nothing more than a "cosmetic rearrangement of the furniture," and other critics who asked not to be identified (the more popular Mr. Carter becomes as a Presidential candidate the fewer Georgians there are who will talk on the record) were more or less agreed.

Cites Adversaries

Mr. Carter concedes that there were certain final weaknesses in the reorganization of the state government, but he insists that they resulted not from his own lack of vision or understanding but rather from the work of his adversaries in the bureaucracy and in the Legislature.

"They fought me all the way," he remembers—and that recollection, according to the account of many others, is accurate.

The Legislature, a traditionally stiff-necked body of conservatives, opposed him at almost every turn, not only in the dramatic struggle over reorganization but also on almost every other proposal he made.

It was bitter, brutal political combat with Mr. Carter on one side and Lester G. Maddox, the segregationist Lieutenant Governor who was Mr. Carter's predecessor, on the other.

"There was a great deal of blood," recalls Jody Powell, the candidate's press secretary.

Mr. Carter himself concedes that he "twisted a lot of arms" in behalf of his programs. Mr. Matthews recalls that the Governor seemed to "enjoy the bloodletting."

Eventual Victory

But that period is also remembered here for Mr. Carter's eventual victory. He had promised in his 1970 campaign to make wholesale changes in the structure of the government, and when he was elected he hammered out an unusual "reverse veto" plan for the project that ultimately became law.

He asked for and got the authority to order revisions in the state government with the stipulation that the legislature could then veto such orders. Traditionally, the veto is the executive's prerogative, but Mr. Carter reasoned that nothing substantive would happen if each of his planned changes had to emerge from a separate piece of legislation.

Now, he is promising that if he is nominated and elected President, that is what he will propose to Congress—a reverse veto that would allow him to make executive orders regarding the Federal bureaucratic structure and provide Congress with the power to veto individual changes.

"We really fought that," Mr. Matthews, the House speaker, recalled, "but Carter had enough friends over here to ram it through—and those who weren't his friends, he put the fear of the Lord in them and they came around."

But the Governor is also recalled as a man who could be persuasive without being threatening.

Throughout the long fight over reorganization, he is said to have met three and four timseeach day—over breakfast and lunch in his office and supper and drinks at the stately Governor's mansion—with members of the legislature, wheedling them, cajoling them and in some cases "preaching to them," and in many cases, winning them over.

In the end, the reorganization became the showpiece of his administration. He had brought to the task a large group of men and women chosen from business, industary and the campus, and he had driven them mercilessly, establishing what seemed to be impossible deadlines for their work.

"But the important thing is that he was right there with us, working just as hard, digging just as deep into every little problem," one member of that force recalls; "It was his program and he worked on it as hard as anybody and the final product was distinctly his."

During that period, however, an important part of Governor Carter's own demeanor came to light. He once tried to reach the state's civil defense office to ask its help in finding a lost child. He was unable to find anyone to speak for the civil defense office and so in his reorganization, he insisted that the office be placed directly under his control.

Everyone in his administration argued against it, but the Governor was adamant.

"No, this is the way it's got to be," he was quoted by a staff member. Eventually, he relented but only after inordinate amounts of time and energy had been spent in dissuading him.

"He's stubborn, that's true," says Mr. Powell, the one aide who is thought to be closest to Mr. Carter, "but it's not a stubbornness arrived at lightly. I mean, there are a lot of things he doesn't feel strongly about, either way, but once he makes up his mind on something—and that's no simple process—then, generally, that's it."

Decided to Run

And, soon after the 1972 Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach, which produced Senators George McGovern and Thomas F. Eagleton as the party's slate, Mr. Carter made up his mind to run for President in 1976. He had been Governor for about a year and a half and he had been at least moderately successful with many of his projects; but once he decided to make 1976 a primary goal in his life, there was a decided change in his approach to the job as Governor.

"It was as though he was bored by the routine of the office," recalls an associate, no longer on his staff. "I don't mean he quit being Governor—that's absolutely not the case—but the demands in the office were just that for him: demands."

Others in the capital recalled that there seems to be a distinct absence of leadership in the Governor's office during the last year and a half or so of his term.

"Maddox just took over," said one of Mr. Carter's old friends. "I was very disappointed, even though I thought I knew what was happening."

Maddox Agrees

Mr. Maddox himself more or less concurs.

"Carter was a very hard man to deal with for a while," he remembered recently, "but after a while, I didn't have to deal with him at all. Seemed like he just disappeared. He would veto this or veto that once every so often, but the last part of his term was very different from the first part."

The former aide views all of that as an affirmative side of Mr. Carter.

"He had the Presidency on his mind, that's true," he says. "But he had no intention of sloughing off his job as Governor, and he did not. He worked just as hard, and I suppose as a mater of conscience, maybe he worked even harder at being Governor after he decided to run for President."

And, in the process, he put together a record that has become—for him, at least—the premise of his Presidential campaign. Those who watched it happening then now recall it as a matter of will, of personal discipline and determination.

Many More Blacks

He increased the number of black appointees on major state boards and agencies from three in 1971 to 53 when he left office; he raised the number of black state employees from 4,850 to 6,684, and he staged a purposely dramatic hanging of a portrait of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luthern King Jr. in the rotunda of the state Capitol—where only a few years before Mr. Maddox as Governor had sat stolidly in his office, ringed by cordons of state troopers, while the civil rights leader's coffin was borne through the streets of Atlanta.

He proposed and saw passed a "sunshine law" that opened to the public and to reporters many official government meetings previously held in private. The Southern Regional Council called it a "model," although others viewed it as a rather halfhearted effort that allowed too many loopholes to make it very effective.

As Governor, he called for and got a tax rebate in 1973 of about $50 million. The next year he vetoed the same piece of legislation, deciding that it benefited public utilities and large property owners more than the low income people he said he had intended it to help.

Not without a temper, he called the 1972 legislature the "worst" in Georgia's history and termed its deliberations "an absolute victory for every selfish interest and lobbyist that ever set foot in the capital." By then, the legislators were accustomed to his temper.

"We used to call him Jungle Jimmy," oneof them recalled. "There was no way of dealing with him when he went into his primitive state."

Still, Mr. Carter managed to



Jimmy Carter outside church in Plains, Ga., recently

get most of what he wanted out of the legislature.

He goaded it into purchasing thousands of acres of wilderness land to protect it from commercial development; and he imported from out of state highly respected penologists to begin a continuing overhaul of Georgia's ancient prison system, once characterized by the old chain gangs.

He traveled frequently, not only in this country but abroad as well, and while he now concedes that he was brushing up on foreign affairs in preparation for his Presidential pursuit, he also established state offices in several foreign countries as part of his effort to increase the economic health of the state. During his tenure in office, economic development increased by $2.5 billion in capital investment and by 89,000 new jobs.

Fiscally, however, the record forged during that period is substantially less impressive. The number of state employees rose from 34,322 to 42,400 despite his highly touted reorganization. Similarly, the Georgia budget showed a sizable 58.5 percent increase from $1,057 million to $1,675 million.

But, Mr. Carter is nevertheless using what he did and did not do as Governor as the premise for his Presidential campaign. It seems a contrasting picture at best.

Facing a hostile legislature, he learned to be relatively conciliatory, but only to the degree that he believed it would enhance the chances for passage of a piece of legislation he espoused.

Confronted by a bureaucracy weighed by decades of patronage and populated by thousands of men and women whose jobs represented the difference between survival and unemployment, he tempered his hard-line attitude on efficiency and compromised on wholesale job cuts that would have saved millions of dollars and perhaps contributed to a much more efficient government.

Mr. Carter also developed in those years a trait that has carried over into his Presidential campaign and presumably, if his suggestions are valid, would follow him into the White House. He found that his time was limited and that therefore he could not do all the things he wanted to do, including the preparations for his Presidential campaign, if he allowed those less driven than he to occupy his time.

"His quotient for small talk was and is very low," says Mr. Powell. If he can't get rid of the people he believes are wasting his time, he simply leaves the room himself, not physically, but mentally. He just turns the whole thing off and uses his time in a way he believes is more productive."

Mr. Carter concedes that it is true.

"I like to concentrate," he said. "There's a lot I want to do and I just have so much time to do it in and I don't like to waste any time at all on anything that I don't believe is important."

He paused a moment.

"Important to me," he added quietly.

Ford Finds It Hard, Even in Own State, To Convey Vision That Inspires Voters

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

LANSING, Mich. May 16—Most of the crowd had drifted away while the President was having lunch, so when Gerald R. Ford reappeared on the back platform of the Presidential Express here yesterday to continue his whistle-stop tour of southern Michigan, only a few hardy, rain-soaked souls remained to see him off. But Mr. Ford, fighting this weeked for political survival as have few 20th-century Presidents, stood where he was, loath to ignore a single voter. "We will be deeply grateful," he called, a lone figure shrouded in the mist as the train gathered speed and slipped out of the station, "for that vote on Tuesday."

The train was almost invisible now, and most of those who had lingered turned to trudge back to their cars. But Ford rang out over their heads, amplified by the Presidential Express's powerful public-address system: "Vote on Tuesday. Vote on Tuesday."

It was a poignant moment on a poignant day, a day on which a sitting President—the occupant, as Richard M. Nixon used to say, of the most powerful office in the "free world"—found himself required to beg the voters of his own party, in his own state, not to turn their backs on him.

News Analysis

never mentioned his opponent, nor did anyone else.

But American Presidents have always been expected to articulate some vision of the future, some goal shared with the electorate, even if that goal is imperfectly expressed, and perhaps dimly understood, by the electorate. Mr. Ford, in the view of many Republican politicians who have thought deeply abot his problems, has found that hard to do, and he did not do it yesterday.

Here in Lansing, for example, he claimed credit for a restoration of faith in the Presidency, for progress on economic problems and for presiding over an end to Vietnam.

There was nothing, however, about what kind of society he hoped to build in the nation or the world—not even any sloganeering about a "new frontier" or a "generation at peace." Nothing to compare with Mr. Reagan's vision of a newly hard-nosed Administration in Washington, determined to defend American honor abroad and the public purse at home.

It is that lack, a number of Republicans have begun to conclude, that has imperiled the President, far more than the shortcomings of his staff or his rival's television skills or election-law technicalities that permit crossover voting.

Most analysts expect him to win here. He lost only narrowly in neighboring Indiana, after all, and that is a more conservative state than this, with a similar crossover potential and without the incentive to support a native son. The unfathomable element is Mr. Ford's plummeting prestige in the aftermath of defeats in Indiana and three other states.

"I'm worried," said a prominent Michigan Republican, standing along the Grand Trunk tracks at Durand, "that he'll win by only a little here, and then have to fight so hard at the convention that the nomination won't be worth anything. What did the Greeks call it? A Pyrrhic victory?"

The Plain Truth

"We must win in Michigan," Mr. Ford said in Flint, the first stop. He said it with his square jaw set, and it was that rare utterance in a political campaign—the truth from from hyperbole. There are few people in the President's inner circle, and almost none outside it, who think he could go on to win the Republican nomination if he loses to Ronald Reagan in the Michigan primary Tuesday.

So Mr. Ford, almost plaintively, asked his fellow Michiganers not to "let me down." Casting his usual modesty aside, he talked of "my openness, my candor and my proven integrity." And he earnestly told the sizable crowds, "I've been the very best President that I know how to be."

There was plenty of hoopla on the train, including a jazz band, two University of Michigan cheerleaders, six pretty girls in jeans ssuits and straw boaters, 175 reporters and technicians, two dozen Secret Service agents and Dick Tuck, the Democratic prankster—all parading up and down the aisles.

Uneasy Conversations

But the conversations among those accompanying Mr. Ford were uneasy. They talked about Mr. Reagan's plan for a $60,000 television blitz in the final 72 hours; about what Saul Friedman of The Detroit Free Press called "the 800,000-pound gorilla" at large in Michigan (a reference to the 800,000 voters who backed Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in 1972 and might opt for Mr. Reagan this year), and about the effect of this whistle-stop tour on the primary's outcome.

"Oh I think it [the tour] will help a lot," Mr. Ford told a questioner as he wandered through the press cars. "It'll get the voters interested, and that's what it's all about."

But when he went out onto the platform of the old observation car at the end of the train to talk to those who pushed close to see and hear him at each stop, Mr. Ford appeared to suffer from the difficulty that has plagued him since he began to lose primaries to Mr. Reagan, the former California Governor, in North Carolina seven weeks ago.

It was not that he was pushed onto the defensive by hostile questioners, not that he had to campaign on Mr. Reagan's issues, like the Panama Canal and military preparedness. He

In 'Thumb' of Michigan, Fervor For The Primary Is Not Red Hot

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

OBLY, Mich., May 15—The Michigan Presidential primary—indeed, very far away here in the thumb section of President Ford's home state.

This is farming country, an off-the-track land of flat, buff-colored fields made frosh and bright at this time of year by lightly greening trees and alternating carpets of brilliant yellow dandelions. Jutting out of Michigan's eastern flank into Lake Huron, it gets its name because it is the "thumb" of the "mitten" formed by lower Michigan on the map.

And it is home to a classic variety of American voter: the conservative, but not radical, rural, small-town Middle Western Republican. It is a group that President Ford is counting on desperately in his drive to avoid embarrassment and possible defeat at the hands of Ronald Reagan in gtuesday's primary

Mr. Ford cannot take these voters for granted, as he once might have. Although they are Michiganders, the President has never before sought their vote. His old Congressional district lies clear across the state.

Worried About Rain

Edward Kulish, 74 years old, is one of those voters. Yesterday he was encountered by visitors in a field by the side of Route 19, just south of Ubly. He was opening bags of fertilizer and emptying them into a tractor-drawn corn planter. Warm, caressing breezes pushed slightly threatening clouds across the sky, and Mr. Kulish was much more concerned about whether it would rain on his planting operation than about the political questions he was about to be asked.

That is the way it is around here. Hurt and confused by what some see as a betrayal at the hands of Richard M. Nixon, many of the Thumb's voters seem almost repelled by matters political.

"I used to be wore excited[about politics]," Mr. Kulish said. "I think I had more faith in who I believed in. Today you get let down right and left, and you can't know what to think."

But he says he will vote on Tuesday. For President Ford.

"I've got reservations," he said, eyeing the sky, "but I'll still go along with him."

What reservations?

Conservatives Seem Unconcerned by 73 Political Issues

"Oh, this Nixon pardon and stuff like that."

But Mr. Ford had done a good job, over-all?

"Yes, well, I guess you can't do everything right."

What about Ronald Reagan?

"Well, what have I got to go by, to form an opinion?"

Does the fact that Mr. Ford comes from Michigan mean anything?

"No, nothing at all."

Mr. Ford's support in these parts—and it appears to be considerable—seems to be mostly of the kulish variety: barely warm, born almost out if inertia, reflecting the built-in advantage of incumbency in a traditionally Republican stronghold.

Almost everyone you ask expects Mr. Ford to do well in the Thumb. The common perception, not only here but in more urbane Republican enclaves such as some of Detroit's suburbs, seems to be, as one voter put it, that Mr. Ford "hasn't done anything great, but he hasn't messed up, either."

From the Republican Party establishment to an Ubly High School social studies class, those who have made any serious attempt to gauge voter preference expect Mr. Ford to defeat Mr. Reagan handily here in Huron County, at the tip of the Thumb.

60 to 70% G.O.P.

ED Moore, the county Republican chairman, expects that 60 to 70 percent of the vote cast on Tuesday will be in the Republican column, and that Mr. Ford will get 60 to 70 percent of the Republican vote. (The county party organization has backed neither candidate.) Mr. Moore expects that Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama will share the Democratic vote about equally.

Based on a countywide turnout of 6,000 votes in Tuesday's wide-open crossover primary (roughly equal to the turnout in the 1972 primary), that would give President Ford between 35 and 50 percent of all votes case in Huron County, Mr. Reagan 20 to 30 percent, and Mr. Carter and Mr. Wallace 15 to 20 percent each.

Four years ago, Governor Wallace, at the highw-ater mark of her perennial drive for the Presidency, got 41 percent of the vote here. Many Republicans crossed party lines to vote for him, shattering a stranglehold that had enabled the Republicans always to carry Huron County by better than 2 to 1.

Weakening ghold

That stranglehold may be permanentlty weakened. More and more of the Thumb's voters, like Clarence Ventline, describe themselves as independents. Mr. Ventline, the general manager of a grain elevator in Kinde, north of here, says Mr. Ford "hasn't done the job," and is trying to decide whether to vote for Mr. Carter or Mr. Reagan.

The surge toward independence goes only so far, however. In the 1972 primary, for example, at the height of the Wallace tide, Richard Nixon polled 1,924 votes in Huron County—20 percent of the total cast—in an election in which he was essentially unopposed.

That probably represents the hard core of Republican loyalists. And among those loyalists, as well as others, to be Republican seems to be equated with voting for the party's leader.

So President Ford seems strong hereabouts. Down in Argyle, south on Route 19, Gerald King says he will vote for Mr. Ford "because Ithink he's a man; he don't pull no punches."

In Bad Axe, the Huron County seat, a fertilizer salesman says that Mr. Ford "has done all right," that he likes the President's stance on "promising what you can deliver, and delivering what you promise and delivering what you promise." He wishes Mr. Ford were a little more forceful in foreign affairs, and recognizes that Mr. Reagan appeals to that wish. But to him, Mr. Reagan is "just a movie star" who "can't do it' 'in foreign policy matters.

And in Pinnehog, Bob Heck, the owner of Heck's bar, used to hear lots of political talk from the farmers who stop in. But this election, he said, "there's nothing." There's talk about prices and inflation, yes. But not politics.

It's that kind of year in the Thumb.

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Udall, Brown Attack Carter on Specifics

From Press Dispatches

Morris Udall, who is facing Jimmy Carter in Michigan, and Edmund G. Brown Jr., challenging Carter in Maryland, both attacked the Democratic front-runner Sunday for not being specific.

Udall and Brown, appearing on ABC's Issues and Answers, said Carter does not have the nomination wrapped up and hit at the Georgian's oft-repeated promise to cut the government bureaucracy by 1,700 agencies.

"I've been asking him to name just 17," Udall said.

Brown said he has some programs of "great specificity" to offer, including: Limiting to $25 a year the value of gifts lobbyists could give to federal employes, changing utility rate structures, getting Detroit to make cleaner cars, supporting national health insurance with an emphasis on preventative medicine and greater use of nurses and midwives to perform routine care.

Udall said, "I'm the only candidate left in this race" talking about specific programs. "Carter won't tell you where he stands. . . ." I think we're serving the country and the party, Jerry Brown by taking him on in Maryland and my taking him on Michigan."

After flying back to Detroit, Udall urged Carter to repudiate remarks by Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, a Carter supporter.

Young, who is black, has been raising the Mormon Church's racial policies as a way of attacking Udall, who broke with the Mormons 30 years ago because they refuse to appoint black ministers.

Udall demanded an apology from Young Saturday and then asked Carter to repudiate the mayor's statements, which the Arizonan called a "false and political cheap shot."

Young called Udall "the biggest crybaby in the political campaign."

Campaigning in Maryland, Carter, in what is generally considered a tossup race against Brown, said the California governor is not a serious candidate for president and is "either trying to wheel and deal...or he's trying some other act in politics with which I'm not familiar."

The Michigan GOP primary is of critical importance to President Ford in his battle with Ronald Reagan, and while Reagan was resting in California the President was spending a third day in his native state before returning to Washington Sunday evening.

Ford termed the primary in Michigan, his home state, "crucial" to his chances of winning the nomination. Speaking at a Bicentennial celebration in Saginaw, he predicted that he will win and said, "I seek a mandate to finish the very important job I have begun."

See PRIMARIES, Page 17-A

Primaries

From Page 1-A

After GOP caucuses and conventions in six states and the Virgin Islands this weekend, Reagan picked up 49 more delegates to Ford's 26. The delegate count shows Reagan with 491, Ford with 457 and uncommitteds with 335. It takes 1,130 to win the nomination.

In Maryland, polls give Ford an edge in the preference section of the ballot. Both he and Reagan have supporters running in the separate category for delegate selection.

In Michigan, where polls also give Ford a slight edge, there is only a preference vote. Delegates will be chosen later to reflect, as closely as possible, the percentage of the vote for the candidates.

The only Democratic delegates selected over the weekend were in New Mexico which gave 8 to Carter, 6 to Udall and 4 uncommitted. The Democratic delegate count shows Carter with 608, Udall with 210, Henry Jackson with 202, George Wallace with 138, 219 for others and 314 uncommitted. It takes 1,505 to win the Democratic nomination.

Carter, appearing on Washington station WTOP-TV, said "I don't know how to name the ones that would survive at the end of a three-or four-year period. But I intend to do this and there's no doubt it will be done."

He said Brown "is something of a mystery. He believes in almost nonadministration. I think he feels the government should drift and an administrator should observe the drift and go along with it. What his . . . ultimate aspirations are I don't know."

On NBC's "Meet the Press," Sen. Paul Laxalt of Nevada, the chairman of Citizens for Reagan, said he doesn't think President Ford's campaign is washed up. Recalling that some observers said Reagan's campaign was washed up after early Ford victories, he said he worries that a Ford win in Michigan will be considered a "resurrection" of his candidacy.

"I can't believe we can win in Michigan," Laxalt said, "but it could happen."

Maryland Newspaper Poll Shows Carter Running Ahead of Brown

Constitution Washington Bureau

BALTIMORE—Jimmy Carter holds a slight edge over California Gov. Jerry Brown as Tuesday's voting in the Maryland presidential primary approaches, according to a poll by The Baltimore Sun.

The Sun said the sudden surge in Brown's popularity shown in its previous poll "seems to have stalled," at least temporarily.

However, the margin between Carter and Brown was too narrow to predict a winner, the Sun said. The poll showed Carter with 31 per cent, Brown 28, the rest undecided.

Meanwhile, one Democratic source said a private poll taken Thursday in Maryland by the Carter campaign showed Carter and Brown running even, each with 32 per cent. Earlier last week, Carter aides said the former Georgia governor was running behind Brown by three or four percentage points.

Intense, Impish and Sexy, Jerry Brown Is Different

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

BOWIE, Md.—Pushing her 3-year-old daughter at California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., a surburbanite pointed to a Latin phrase on the little girl's T-shirt and commanded, "Translate."

"Cogito Ergo Sum," he read with a peal of laughter. "I think, therefore I am."

Renee Descartes' maxim is not the kind of slogan that cheers most politicians. But for the former Jesuit seminarian, it may have been a touchstone.

There is no doubt that Jerry Brown is a politician, as well as a lawyer and former student for the priesthood. According to a poll here last week, he had pulled even with Jimmy Carter for votes in Maryland's Democratic presidential primary Tuesday.

But Jerry Brown is also different. He's California. And not everybody here has figured him out.

In a campaign day he can be both intense and impish, casual and sexy, delivering speeches with his hands jammed in his front pockets and kissing teen-age girls on the mouth.

Standing on a campaign platform without Secret Service agents, often surrounded by children and speaking to crowds that are barely voting age, he sometimes looks as though he is running for class president.

But he talks about the globe, about "spaceship earth" and all of us riding in its closed atmosphere together.

"There are limits to the planetary carrying capacity, to the world's population growth and resources. We have to recognize that," he says.

"We need a much greater commitment to conservation, and we have to invest in more benign sources of energy. And that takes redirecting a lot of effort both in the public and the private sector. Either that will happen or we won't survive," he says matter-of-factly.

Brown lives in the spartan style he advocates. Instead of moving into the California governor's mansion when he took office 16 months ago, he rented an apartment and sleeps on a mattress on the floor. Spurning the executive limousine, he rides in a Plymouth. He didn't give an inaugural ball and doesn't throw

See BROWN, Page 16-A

From Page 1-A

the required dinners. "Fol-de-rol. They can eat a sandwich," he says of people who would like to be his guests.

He is aiming for simplicity: small is beautiful; less government is better government; people should lower their expectations of what government can provide.

He won't do the kinds of things you're supposed to do to keep other politicians happy—like show up at banquets. That comes under the category of campaigning, he says, and he clearly doesn't care for it.

"You become a talking mannequin, spouting program utterances," he said. He was stretched out on the middle seat of a van with his shoes off. The van, labeled "Courtesy Action Ford," was carting him around the hot Maryland countryside and Brown was trying to figure out where it would take him next.

"What's that at 5:30?" he asked, pointing to his schedule. "I can't read the schedule. Is that an event?" he asked his aide.

"Our life is an event," the aide replied.

"Okay," said Brown, letting it go. "Whatever it is, it is."

Brown may accept events with a Buddha-like calm, but he challenges ideas and assumptions like a monastic scholar.

"What are the influences on my thinking?" he repeats the question, annoyed. "That's like the metaphor of the billiard table, where all the things in my life have collided on my brain.

"The influences are very simple. I was born in San Francisco, I grew up in a certain kind of neighborhood, I lived in the same house all my life. Went to public school, went to the seminary. Went to Berkeley. Attended Yale Law School. Traveled around South America for five months. Worked on the Supreme Court. Worked in the Gene McCarthy campaign. Became secretary of state. Became governor. Running for president.

"My father's work was in politics all the time I was being brought up—governor, attorney general, district attorney. I didn't get into it originally, but I suppose the influence was there because I'm in it now."

He left the seminary after nearly four years "because I didn't want to be a Jesuit. It's a very confining life and I wanted to live in the world, get a job, live an independent life."

At 38, he says he would like to get married and have children, but "this (lifestyle) is not very conducive to a serious relationship.

"I've been working pretty hard the last few years," he adds. "I think there are stages you go through in life. I just haven't gotten to that stage yet."

Brown barely looks 38. He has a stark, unlined face; deep hazel eyes, black eyebrows and dark hair that is gray at the temples. He is thin and dresses in Wall Street banker suits.

His wit is quick and fun. Asked by a reporter what position he plans to use the presidency as a stepping stone to, Brown shot back, "The Papacy."

Criticism from Jimmy Carter he dismisses as "Cartesian rhetoric."

After inspecting a garbage dump, he came out to ask a group of reporters, "What is the inner meaning of all this? Why are we here? What are we doing?"

Asked if he ever does any writing, Brown replied, "I like to write veto messages. I like to make sure they're syntactical."

There is often intellectual curiosity in his eyes, startled surprise when he seems to realize where he is and what he is doing, but during his carefully arranged daily display, one seldom sees warmth.

He reads poems, magazines and books; Joseph Conrad and Yvonne Illich are his favorite authors. His taste in music leaps from Merle Haggard and Johnny Cash to Gregorian chants. He used to listen to classical music, he says, but doesn't much any more.

Asked if he meditates often

these days, he replied, "When I'm riding on this bus I meditate on the general absurdity of this process. I think the exercise, I think the practice of this campaign is itself a form of meditation. It really is because of the concentration and separation it creates. It's so concentrated that it holds you back."

He is doing it, he says, because "I'm trying to get people to accept the limits that government by its nature has, and yet maximize the potential within a broad spectrum of people; to de-emphasize the authority of experts, which I think is oversold; to try to get the country to full employment, to recognize the limits of the environment and to try to restore confidence by being as open as I can.

"I think that's what I've done in California. People are responding for some reason." (Eighty-five cent of the residents there said recently that they approved of the job Brown was doing.)

"And I think the same thing can be done throughout the country," Brown added.

A president should set the course for the country, not just manage the government, he believes.

"I think good management is a part of it, but the president is someone who sets goals and sets emphasis. Are we going to have a $9 billion overseas economy depending on obsolescence and waste and arms merchantry, or are we going to try to slow that down and redirect it? It's not a management question; it's a policy question. It's a leadership question.

"That isn't over six months or a year. It's a general tone, a direction. The government is like a big battleship. You can only turn it a few degrees in the water," he said.

In California, Brown has been criticized as being a non-leader who won't make decisions, but who sits back and lets events run their course until conclusions and compromise are inescapable.

"Well, sometimes I do," he admitted. "I don't try to have an opinion on every single subject. I don't think that the future is so clearly set that one can lay out a sequential set of events. My thinking is more open."

legalize private behavior between consenting adults, a bill decriminalizing the possession of small amounts of marijuana, another imposing mandatory prison terms for crimes committed with a gun and for selling half an ounce of heroin. Brown is also proud of having signed a new law cutting in half the amount of water that will be flushed down the toilet with every flush from seven gallons to three-and-a-half gallons.

The young governor also has offered a 17-bill consumer package to the state legislature.

Of his five-person cabinet, two members are women—the first to serve in that capacity in California. He has made 728 appointments since last January, including 161 women, 70 Chicanos, 62 blacks, 25 Asians and five American Indians.

There is a ritual to which many politicians seem to attach an almost mystical significance: shaking hands. If they somehow let the opportunity slip by when you are introduced, they make sure to grab it as you are leaving.

Brown doesn't share this obsession. There was no handshake hello. There was no handshake good-by.

"Go forth to forge the uncreated conscious," he murmured as he stepped from the Action Ford van.

Under his brief administration, the state budget has gone up 5.2 per cent in two years, from $11.9 billion to a proposed $12.6 billion. Brown has been able to avoid raising taxes, partly because Ronald Reagan left a $500 million surplus.

The number of California state employes has dropped from 123,235 to 122,736, according to newspaper accounts, and 2,400 state highway department workers have been laid off.

At the same time, Brown has sunk $15 million into public service jobs; the state's basic unemployment compensation check has gone up from $90 to $104 a week, and an innovative early childhood remedial education program got a 50 per cent boost—from $63.2 million to $97.7 million.

Higher education grants to minority and economically disadvantaged students have doubled and the state's new budget includes $10 million more for child-care centers.

Brown also created a new agency that will have $950 million to finance the construction of low- and moderate-income housing if the voters approve the bonds for it.

He signed a so-called "homosexual bill of rights" to

Public Dislikes Big Government

HARRIS POLL

By LOUIS HARRIS

Public aversion to big government has now reached flood-tide proportions. When asked what was the "biggest threat to the country," 10 per cent of the public selected "big business," 15 per cent "big labor," 32 per cent, "big government" and 32 per cent volunteered "all three."

A substantial 76-77 per cent majority of the American people feels that "the trouble with government is that the elected officials have lost control over the bureaucrats, who really run things." The number who feel this way has risen 11 points over the past three years. The bureaucracy issue is first and foremost on the minds of voters these days when they think of government.

The issue of corruption also plays an important role in how the public perceives big government. The Watergate issue left 62 per cent of the people with a deep-seated feeling that "most politicians and public officials are in government for all they can get out of it."

Tied to the Watergate issue, but also reflecting public reaction to disclosures about illegal activities of the CIA and FBI, is the issue of governmental secrecy. By 70-15 per cent, a majority of the public feels that "a lot of the problems connected with government could be solved if there weren't so much secrecy on the part of government officials." Current attitudes have not diminished from the 71-19 per cent majority who felt that way in 1973 during the height of the Watergate revelations.

The anti-government sentiment of the American people may well have played a dominant role in recent primary elections, with former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and former California Gov. Ronald Reagan scoring heavily on the issue against opponents who have been associated with the Washington establishment. By a substantial 68-20 per cent, the voters think that "people running Washington, D.C. are out of touch with the rest of the country."

Nevertheless, the public criticism has centered on the way government has been run, and not whether the various functions of government are needed or not.

By 48-38 per cent, a narrow plurality rejects the concept that "the best government is the government that governs the least." A 66-27 per cent majority agrees that "the federal government has a deep responsibility for seeing to it that the poor are taken care of, that no one goes hungry and that every person achieves a minimum standard of living."

An even more substantial 77-12 per cent believe that while "the federal government should not run the life of the country," it should "regulate major companies, industries, and institutions to be sure they don't take advantage of the public." And an 85-7 per cent majority feels that "the federal government represents all the people of the country, so it should handle the most important matters, such as how to control inflation, avoid depressions and how to achieve peace in the world."

When asked if they felt the federal government "can be well run," a thumping 81-12 per cent majority expresses the view that it can be. This is only slightly down from an 868 per cent majority who felt the same in 1973..

What the people are saying is that government by itself is essential and needed, but the way the federal government has been handled in recent times has been close to a disaster, and the bureaucracy is "out of control." This is also a criticism of "the corruption stemming out of Watergate," the "secrecy in the activities of the intelligence services and the behavior of the White House," and the lack of overall responsiveness to the people — a hallmark of the Washington establishment.

Recently, a cross section of 1,523 adults nationwide was asked:

"Looking to the future, which would you say is the biggest threat to the well-being of this country—big business, big labor or big government?"

BIGGEST THREAT

Public	Total Per cent
Big business	10
Big labor	15
Big government	32
All three (volunteered)	32
Not sure	11

Most averse to big government these days are Democrats, labor union members, young people under 30 and those who live in the West. This is quite a different pattern from the older people, small town residents and more conservative Americans who traditionally have been most opposed to government.

Hal Gulliver

Talmadge and Nunn Could Help Carter

Georgia Sens. Herman Talmadge and Sam Nunn were not early supporters of the Jimmy Carter presidential campaign.



Indeed, their belated endorsement of Carter, just after the Georgian had crushed his remaining opposition in Pennsylvania, was viewed with some cynicism by some Carter boosters. Who needs 'em? was the line.

This incidentally was an understandable point of view. At a very early point in Carter's campaign, after he first announced in December of 1974 and when he was just beginning the long national marathon of his 1975 campaign, the snows of New Hampshire and the small towns of Illinois and the nooks and crannies of Iowa, just at that stage it would have been of great value for Georgia's two United States senators to have said a kind word for James Earl Carter of Plains.

They didn't. And one of the most common queries from national media people and national Democratic political people was on this very point: if Carter is a serious candidate, why aren't the main political figures in his home state out front endorsing him? It was a good question and Carter had a tougher time establishing national credibility because the main political figures in Georgia failed to offer any support at that early time.

Well, then, at the time the endorsement came from Sens. Nunn and Talmadge, it at least arguably was of little help, so who needs 'em? Again, it is an understandable view, but interestingly it is not a view shared by the candidate himself or by his closest advisers.

On the contrary, Carter believes that Talmadge and Nunn may yet be of great and significant help in his national campaign.

They both are accepted figures on the Washington scene, respected members of the U.S. Senate.

Talmadge has been there for fully 20 years. He is chairman of a major committee and in the last several years has come to be of increasing influence in Washington.

Nunn is a much newer figure, needless to say, but he landed a spot on the prestigious Senate Armed Services Committee as a freshman and has impressed fellow senators with the caliber of his work.

Carter is simply not known, even yet as the Democratic frontrunner to many important Washington figures. Many of these are not necessarily against the Georgian; they genuinely feel they do not have a clear understanding of his background, his competence, his position on issues.

It is in this important arena that both Nunn and Talmadge could be of invaluable service to Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign in the critical weeks to come, leading up to the national Democratic convention in July.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

carry

What The Press Had To Say.

5/18



42A

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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, MAY 18, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

On the third successive day of anti-Israeli rioting on the West Bank, an Arab youth was shot and killed yesterday by Israeli soldiers, the second Arab slain by the Israelis in two days. The youth was shot in Kalandia as he watched a fight between two Israeli soldiers and a crowd of Arabs that had attacked the Israelis' truck. The continuing disturbances tended to confirm the fear expressed recently by Israeli leaders that the riots are growing progressively worse and more difficult to control. In Nablus, where a girl was slain on Sunday, thousands of people thronged the streets, waving Palestinian flags, chanting slogans and shouting "murderers" at Israeli soldiers on patrol. [Page 1, Column 4.]

Libya, a supporter of the most extreme elements within the Palestinian camp, openly entered the Lebanese situation in an attempt to mediate between Syria and the various leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Maj. Abdul Salam Jalloud, the Libyan Prime Minister, arrived in Beirut from Damascus with Yasir Arafat, the head of the P.L.O. Major Jalloud was understood to have brought Syrian assurances to Palestinian and leftist Moslem leaders that the Syrian intervention in Lebanon was not directed against them and would not deprive them of their freedom of action, contrary to what many of them have charged. [1:1.]

The British pound fell to less than $1.80 in London for the first time before making a slight recovery on the strength of modest purchases of pounds by the Bank of England. It dropped to $1.799 at noon before closing fractionally above $1.80. [1:2-3.]

National

The conviction of John D. Ehrlichman was unanimously affirmed by the United States Court of Appeals for his role in the 1971 break-in by the White House "plumbers" of the office of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's former psychiatrist. The court also unanimously upheld the conviction of Mr. Ehrlichman's co-defendant, G. Gordon Liddy, who worked for both the White House, where Mr. Ehrlichman was President Nixon's chief domestic adviser, and the 1972 Nixon re-election campaign. But the court, by a 2-to-1 vote, reversed the convictions of two other defendants in the break-in trial, Bernard L. Barker and Eugenio R. Martinez, who carried out the break-in. [1:8.]

The 1976 Presidential campaigns are the first in which political action committees of business corporations have operated on any scale following clearance by the Federal Election Commission last year. The amounts they are giving to the primary campaigns remain relatively small. The political committees have invested more than four times as much money in President Ford as they have in Ronald Reagan. Jimmy Carter has received more corporate funds than Mr. Reagan. [1:7.]

President Ford officially revived the Federal Election Commission, appointed five of the six commissioners to new terms and then filled the single vacancy with William L. Springer, a former Republican Representative from Illinois. Senate leaders agreed to vote confirmation of the five current commissioners today without committee hearings so that the commission can move promptly to authorize campaign subsidy payments. The commission's staff has audited claims totaling $2,171,364 filed by 11 candidates. The chief beneficiary of the funds will be President Ford. [1:6.]

Metropolitan

Negotiators said they were close to an agreement on a revised New York City transit contract that would tie cost-of-living increases to productivity savings and limit the size of the transit employees' raises in any year. In addition, they said, the formula for computing the cost-of-living raises would be reduced—and the employees would get smaller increases than they had expected—to help the city match the terms of the transit contract when contracts with municipal employees expire on June 30. [1:5.]

Representative Bella S. Abzug announced her candidacy for the Senate, seeking to replace James L. Buckley, the Conservative-Republican, whom she called "Lord Buckley." "We can no longer afford to regard the United States Senate, as some do, as kind of House of Lords, where economic aristocrats preach sacrifice to the rest of us," she said at a news conference. She observed that there were no women among the 100 Senators. "People of both sexes and all parties can, and do, feel the injustice of that," she said. [1:8.]

The Other News

International

Giscard arrives for talks with Ford. Page 2
Quake strikes Soviet Central Asian desert area. Page 2
South Africa urges new move on Rhodesia. Page 3
W.H.O. assembly rejects report on Israel. Page 5
Madrid bars rightist rally honoring Franco. Page 8
Japan acts to curb "hot-rodder" gangs. Page 11
Market aide on Italys Communist ticket. Page 11
The Government as bully is issue in Britain. Page 11
Iran reports that the murders are solved. Page 12

Government and Politics

Dissident young Navajos are stirring. Page 15
Aide denies Reagan paid no tax in 1970. Page 18
Michigan "primary jumper" to vote for Reagan. Page 18
Udall is hoping for upset today in Michigan. Page 18
Governor Carey's press secretary leaving job. Page 56
Carey submits criminal-justice bills. Page 56

General

Cheating scandal changes West Point. Page 14
Boston Mayor asks tax rise for busing. Page 17
St. George Hotel may become apartment house. Page 22
Tenants give to workers in building strike. Page 27
Nadjari accused of harassing Cunningham clients. Page 27
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 35
M.T.A. serving food on New Haven train. Page 35
Judge sanctions work on 63d St. subway station. Page 35
Aerial tramway to Roosevelt Island opens. Page 57

Education and Welfare

Monthly increase sought for the poor Page 57

Health and Science

British coronary study supports home care. Page 7
Radio waves used in new cancer study. Page 13
F.T.C. plans inquiry on cigarette ads. Page 17

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY ED

Weather: Chance of evening showers. Co Temperature range: Monday 58-69. Deta

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6 Named to Vote Agency; Funds May Resume Today

Ford Ahead in Corporate Contributions

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

dates have only a few months left. After the national nominating conventions this summer, the entire cost of the general election will be paid by Federal subsidy, and no more private contributions will be permitted.

So far this year, according to the candidates' own reports, President Ford has collected $65,200 from such committees, Mr. Carter, $15,700 and Mr. Reagan, $13,600. Mr. Carter has also received $4,800 from political action committees sponsored by organized labor.

Theory Contradicted

The lopsided division of corporate contributions among the two Republican candidates appeared to contradict the widespread theory that the Reagan brand of strong conservatism makes the former California Governor the favorite of business and industry.

However, the figures are complete only through April 30, the day before Mr. Reagan won the Texas primary and then began winning elsewhere. Until that time, many corporate committees may have adopted the functionally conservative policy of not offending the incumbent President.

Mr. Carter got no corporate committee money at all in February, about $5,300 in March but $11,300 in April as his prospects of winning the nomination began to climb. (Most candidates did not begin reporting action committee contributions separately until February.)

Political action committees, both corporate and union, collect voluntary contributions from executives and stockholders on one hand and members on the other and then parcel out the money to candidates favored by management or labor.

The operating costs of these committees are paid out of corporate or union assets. Under the Corrupt Practices Act, such money cannot be donated directly to a candidate, party or political committee.

The corporate committees that have given to both President Ford and Mr Reagan have all favored the President. The Chevron Committee for Political Participation, an arm of the Standard Oil Company of California, gave $500 to Mr. Ford and $300 to Mr. Reagan. The Olin Executives Voluntary Non-Partisan Political Fund (the Olin Corporation) gave $1,000 to Mr. Ford and $25 to Mr. Reagan.

Some idea of the professional gamblers' view of the Ford-Reagan contest can be measured by conttributions made by Harrah's Republican Political Action Committee, sponsored by a Nevada gambling casino. It gave $1,000 to Mr Ford and $200 to Mr. Reagan.

Three California-based groups were bold enough to make major contributions to Mr. Reagan while giving nothing to the President. They were the Political Awareness Fund (Union Oil Company), $2,500; The Federal Citizenship Responsibility Group (Southern California Edison Company), $1,000; and General Telephone Employees Good Government Club of Santa Monica, $2,000.

Some Ignored Reagan

The Ford campaign received many large contributions from committees that ignored Mr. Reagan. Among these were Special Political Agricultural Community Education (Dairymen Inc., of Louisville, Ky.), $5,000; NAPACT (Nursing Home Administrators Political Action Committee of Texas), $5,000; Southern Railway Good Government Fund (Southern Railway System), $5,000; Michigan Doctors Political Action Committee (state medical association), $3,000; California Medical Political Action Committee (state medical association), $2,000; Southern Pacific Management Officers Good Government Fund (Southern Pacific Railroad), $2,900; and G-P Employees Fund (Georgia Pacific Corporation), $1,900.

A few of the committees that donated to the President hedged their bets by also giving to Mr. Carter. The Georgia Committee for Political Action, which is financed by the Kentucky milk group called S.P.A.C.E., gave Mr. Ford $5,000 and Mr. Carter $3,000.

Th Southern Railway Good Government Fund, which had contributed $5,000 to the President, gave Mr. Carter $950. The Pacific Lighting Political Assistance Committee (Pacific Lighting Service Corporation of Los Angeles) gave Mr. Ford $1,000 and Mr. Carter $200.

Largest Contributor

Mr. Carter's largest corporate contribution from a political action committee came from C-TAPE, the Committee for Thorough Agricultural Political Education, an arm of Associated Milk Producers Inc., which gave him $5,000, the legal maximum from a committee.

In 1974, Associated Milk Producers was fined $35,000 for making illegal corporate campaign contributions in the 1968, 1970 and 1972 elections, and two of the dairy cooperative's former officers were given four-month jail sentences.

Labor contributions to the Carter campaign were $3,300 in several installments from the United Automobile Workers, $500 from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and $1,000 from a Frankfort, Ky., group listed as "Labor App Carter." Like several other contributing committees, the last group had not registered with the Federal Election Commission, and its sponsorship thus could not be readily identified.

Companies Aid Ford

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON May 17—The political committees set up by corporations to channel campaign contributions to favored candidates have invested more than four times as much money in President Ford as they have in his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, in 1976.

For the Democrats, Jimmy Carter, the current favorite to win the nomination, has received more help from these corporate funds than Mr. Reagan, but the bulk of it did not come in until April, when Mr. Carter established himself as the front-runner. Nearly half of his contributions of this type have come from two milk industry groups.

This is the first Presidential election in which corporate political action committees have operated on any scale, following clearance by the Federal Election Commission last year, and the amounts they are feeding into the primary campaign remain relatively small.

The corporate, professional and trade association committees that wish to register their support of Presidential candi-

Continued on Page 19, Column 3

Carter's Adept Use of TV Encounters Competition From Brown in Maryland

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 16—In the middle of one of the television commercials shown here for Jimmy Carter in the final weekend of the Maryland primary campaign, the cover of last week's Time magazine fills the screen with a portrait of the candidate.

A hand enters the screen at the lower left hand corner and flicks the magazine open so that a camera can focus on a poll that shows Mr. Carter defeating President Ford by 10 percentage points. An announcer says that the former Georgia Governor "has proven that he is the only Democrat who can be elected President in 1976."

Mr. Carter is not only the front-runner for his party's nomination, but also the front-runner, by an even more commanding margin, in the race that the Democratic candidates are waging for coverage in the national press and on network television. But in the primary states in which he is running, Mr. Carter still has to scramble and compete with his rivals for "exposure" in local newspapers and newscasts.

Competition Is Rough

Here in Maryland, that competition has been especially rough, for Mr. Carter is up against California's telegenic young Governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., who has enjoyed a great deal of news coverage himself.

Another short Carter television advertisement shows, however, that Mr. Carter's advisers know that primaries are not won on the covers of Time and Newsweek. Prepared just for Maryland, the Carter commercial represents the first time the Georgian has used television commercials to attack an opponent directly—a measure of his concern over the threat posed by Governor Brown.

Mr. Carter is shown by himself, standing on a lawn under a shade tree. "My opponent has the backing of almost every machine politician in Maryland," he says. "They want a brokered convention where powerful people can horse-trade in the backrooms and pick the nominee. They don't want to let the people of Maryland make that decision for themselves."

Mr. Brown has been spending much more time and a little more money in Maryland than Mr. Carter. From the perspective of a television viewer in Baltimore, the Californian appears to be holding his own in the contest for attention. In his 30-second commercials, he is shown talking into the camera about the importance of "leveling with people." He says a President should "describe a future," which he does by promising "an equal, open, ecologically sound and sane society."

Mr. Brown has not been neglected by the networks. At one point last week, he not only had three network television crews but also three CBS reporters traveling on one of two press buses in his campaign caravan.

But with his campaign limited to Maryland and no convention delegates yet pledged to his candidacy, Mr. Brown has been easily outdistanced by his opponent, who seemed nearly ubiquitous on network newscasts last week, showing up in Maryland, Michigan, Washington and the United Nations headquarters in New York.

This meant that Mr. Brown had to make his mark on local news programs. Yesterday, for example, he turned up at the Pimlico Racetrack here for the Preakness sweepstakes. The film of him shaking hands at the track made the evening newscasts.

Mr. Brown has proved to be adept a television interview. Asked the other day by a local reporter about a statement Mr. Carter had made on Jews in the Soviet Union, Mr. Brown said he was glad to see that his rival was "going along, because a lot of people were wondering where he stands on Israel."

Referring not at all to Jews in the Soviet Union, he then noted that he had supported Israel "from the beginning."

$3,000 Program

The Governor showed to his best advantage on television in a half-hour program Friday night that his campaign purchased here for $3,000. Taking questions from viewers who phoned in, he replied in relaxed style, without the argumentative, slightly abrasive edge that his responses often assume when he is faced with an interviewer or with sharp questions at public rallies.

The television medium subtly alters Governor Brown's physical appearance. On the screen he appears larger, more self assured—and with the studio lights picking up the gray in his sideburns—even slightly older than he does when he is encountered in a shopping center or college auditorium.

His half-hour program, which was expected to "penetrate" at least 10 percent of the 735,000 television households in the Baltimore area, followed a bowling program. That may explain why most of the callers were men, a development that pleased the candidate's campaign aides, because a Baltimore poll had shown him to be drawing significantly more support from women.

For politicians, using the news media is a kind of roulette. The viewer's impressions—and the candidate's luck—can change with each spin of the dial. On one recent local television broadcast here, Mr. Carter was described as being in an almost desperate position in Maryland, attempting "to prevent another primary loss on the heels of Nebraska."

On Another Channel

At the same time, another station was presenting the case for his candidacy as it was made here by Atlanta's Mayor, Maynard Jackson.

To counter the appeal that Mayor Jackson made on Mr. Carter's behalf to black voters, the Brown campaign flew in another black Democrat, Lieut. Gov. Mervyn Dymally of California, for a elevised news conference yesterday.

But newscasts are curtailed on Saturdays, so Mr. Dymally's remarks got less air time than Mr. Jackson's.

The casual viewer could have decided that Mr. Carter was making a much bigger push for black votes than was Mr. Brown. It remained to be seen whether this might affect former supporters of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama who had seemed to be leaning to Mr. Carter.

The Brown campaign, on its part, took out a big two-page advertisement in The Baltimore Afro-American, a local black paper. "Brown and black are beautiful," the ad proclaimed.

In the same issue, an ad for Mr. Carter took only three-quarters of a page. But the Georgian got The Afro-American's endorsement as "a decent man possessing the necessary foresight, administrative ability and courage."

MARYLAND VOTING IN PRIMARY TODAY

Brown-Carter Race Viewed as Close—Unruh Backs Ex-Governor of Georgia

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

ANNAPOLIS, Md., May 17—They all gathered this morning at the Hilton Hotel in Baltimore, the wheelhorses of the Democratic machines to get their marching orders from Gov. Marvin Mandel for tomorrow's Maryland Presidential primary.

This state's politics, like those of Missouri and Texas and a few other states, has achieved a certain renown for producing both colorful characters and corruption, and the cast at breakfast today lived up to at least part of that reputation.

There was Mr. Mandel, who faces trial in June for racketeering and mail fraud; Dominic (Mimi) DiPietro, a malapropprone city councilman from East Baltimore, who was acquitted a few years ago of charges that he had bribed a pool hall owner; Jack Pollack, the legenrarily crafty former boss of Baltimore, now in his 70's, and State Senator Harry J. (Softshoes) McGuirk, so called, according to a friend, "because he kind of oozes up to you, puts his arm around your shoulder and starts to whisper."

The Governor's choice, as everyone there already knew, was a man celebrated for his partiality to Plato rather than precinct captains — Gov Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. But that did not bother Mr. DiPietro. In his eyes, he said afterwards, "Brown is beautiful."

At about the same time, Mr. Brown was campaigning in the Maryland suburbs of Washington, D.C., telling his audiences that he had "the freshest face in the campaign;" that he was always "straigt with people," and that a Brown Adminlstration would be "unencumbered by the baggage of the last 20 years."

Asked at an interview in Rockville how he squared his endorsements from the old guard of Maryland politics with his own zeal for reform, the Governor replied: "I can accept the support of all elements of the party, just like John F. Kennedy, without anyone owning me."

In his California campaign, he said he had the backing of the hikhway contractors, but still cut freeway construction.

Unruh Backs Carter

Back up the road in Baltimore, Mr. Brown's chief rival here, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, who has been blasting Mr. Brown for his machine support, was winning the endorsement of Jesse M. Unruh, the former Speaker of the California Assembly — a man once considered that state's backroom virtuoso.

"I decided to run among the people," Mr. Carter declared at Cheverly. "Every other candidate decided to run among Democratic political leaders."

"Another example of consumer fraud by Carter," Mr. Brown retorted. "He calls me a party hack and then accepts support from the epitome of bossism."

So it has gone in the Maryland primary, a curious contest between two anti-Washington outsiders who have spent much of their time here behaving like prototypical insiders.

"Let me tell you about 'Independence,' " said Mr. Mandel in an interview at the state capitol. "An independent is a politician who has tried for support from the political leaders and failed. Then he goes around yelling about 'bosses.' "

Although he will not discuss his feelings publicly, Mr. Mandel profoundly dislikes Mr. Carter, whom he considers a politician whose word cannot be trusted. The antipathy stems from several episodes in the early 1970's when, according to members of the Mandel staff, Mr. Carter agreed to support certain persons for leadership positions in governors' associations, then supported their rivals.

So Mr. Mandel conducted a long search for someone whom he could back against Mr. Carter in the primary. Let down by Senators Henry M. Jackson and Hubert H. Humphrey, he turned at the last moment to Mr. Brown.

If the Californian can win here, Mr. Mandel is said to believe, Mr. Mandel will have demonstrated that even uder indictment he retains the dominant role in Maryland politics.

G.O.P. Primary Overshadowed

The race appears to be very close, with some indications that an extraordinary surge for Mr. Brown has slowed in the final hours of the campaign. The latest poll by The Sun, Baltimore's morning newspaper, showed Mr. Carter ahead, 31 percent to 28, a statistically insignificant margin, but a slightly larger one than he held a week earlier. The new survey, for which 539 Democrats were interviewed, was completed last Thursday.

Mr. Brown's and Mr. Carter's intensive campaigning has overshadowed completely the quiet Republican primary, in which President Ford is expected to defeat Ronald Reagan. The polls will be open from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. tomorrow.

If Mr. Brown is defeated here, the chances of denying the Democratic nomination to Mr. Carter may quickly evaporate —a fact that has led not only Mr. Mandel and the regulars to support the California but also a number of young liberals who work in Washington and live in Maryland.

Also in the Brown camp is Sargent Shriver, the former Peace Corps director, who entertained hopes of winning Mr. Mandel's job in 1970 and who ran for President this year.

The variety of Mr. Brown's support prompted a cartoon by Mike Lane in The Baltimore Evening Sun last week, in which the Californian, a former Jesuit seminarian, was pictured in a Franciscan robe and labeled, "St. Jerry Brown."

At his feet was a group of prominent Maryland political figures, caricatured as animals. The caption: "I love all the birds and beasts."

Carter Won't Repudiate Backer's Udall Remark

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 17—Jimmy Carter and his spokesman refused today to repudiate a suggestion by a Carter supporter that Representative Morris K. Udall was tainted by antiblack dogmas of the Mormon Church and, instead, charged that Mr. Udall and his supporters had for months impugned Mr. Carter's religious beliefs, his commitment to racial justice and his integrity.

However, although he was repeatedly pressed to do so, Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, declined to give examples of such actions by Mr. Udall or those close to him.

The controversy began when Detroit's black Mayor, Coleman A. Young, who has endorsed and campaigned vigorously for Mr. Carter and who had the former Georgia Governor as a house guest last week, drew attention to Representative Udall's Mormon background to black voters.

Mr. Udall has often said that he left the church as a youth because of the Mormon Church's doctrine that does not permit full black participation in the hierarchy of the church, whose formal name is Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Mr. Udall deplored Mayor Young's statement and said he hoped Mr. Carter would "repudiate" it.

NO Repudiation by Carter

In a news conference in Washington this morning, Mr. Carter said, "I don't have any intention to repudiate anyone" and "I am not going to tell Mayor Young what to say."

Mr. Carter went on to say that if Mr. Udall would "apologize for all the misleading things he has said about me, I would consider such a response." Charging that Mr. Udall, an Arizona Democrat, had conducted "almost entirely a negative campaign in recent months, he said that in New Hampshire "the major thrust of his campaign was to attack me on religious grounds, on the grounds that I was a friend and supporter of Lester Maddox and George Wallace and therefore a racist."

Mr. Maddox is a former Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Georgia with conservative racial views and Mr. Wallace is the Governor of Alabama.

Mr. Powell had issued a brief statement to wire service reporters last night and repeated it today. It said in part:

"Mr. Udall has consistently run a negative campaign. He and his supporters have impugned Governor Carter's commitment to racial justice, his personal religious beliefs and his integrity. If Mr. Udall is ready to repudiate these statements, I am sure Governor Carter would be willing to consider his request."

The thrust of the Mr. Powell's discussions with newsmen appeared to be that a long botled-up resentment by the Carter staff, and possibly by Mr. Carter himself, had bubbled forth—a feeling that the Washington and liberal establishments had been unfairly picturing Mr. Carter for months as a man with an eccentric religious faith and an opportunistic position on race when appearing before black and white audiences.

Mr. Powell at one point said that Mr. Udall's "folks" had depicted Mr. Carter as "a bit of a Holy Roller, using his religion as a political factor."

At another point, however, Mr. Powell said, "I am not personally familiar with any [such statement] that could be laid to Udall's folks."

Udall Is Hoping to 'Turn This Thing Around' Today in Michigan

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 17 — It was two years ago today, by his own reckoning, that Representative Morris K. Udall's quest for the Democratic Presidential nomination began, and he marked the anniversary with a 20-hour day of campaigning to keep his candidacy alive beyond tomorrow's Michigan primary.

The Arizonan has pledged to "go all the way" to the national convention no matter what the results of the voting here. On Wednesday, he will fly to Oregon, whose primary is next week; yesterday he spent a few hours in Ohio.

He tells his Michigan audiences that this primary can "turn this thing around" and stop the Carter "bandwagon" or "steamroller," that they have a chance to make an "historic" decision tomorrow despite the public pronouncements of unnamed pundits that the race is over and Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia governor, is the inevitable Democratic nominee.

Mr. Carter, and on the Republican side, President Ford, are both considered favorites here.

A Critical Test

For Mr. Ford, this is a critical test of his ability to beat back the challenge of Ronald Reagan. For Mr. Carter, a victory here would ensure the momentum he needs to sweep to an easy convention victory. For Mr. Udall, Michigan is crucial if he is to survive as a candidate to be taken seriously.

There are no state or local candidates on the ballot to inhabit crossover botng; although there is no party registration in this state, it is estimated that at least 40 percent of the 4.5 million voters consider themselves to be independents. Delegates—84 Republicans and 133 Democrats—will be selected at June caucuses, apportioned as closely as practicable on the basis of tomorrow's votes.

About two million persons are expected to vote, choosing between Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan on the Republican side or among Mr. Carter, Mr. Udall, former Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, Sargent Shriver and Ellen McCormack on the Democratic side. Mr. Wallace won the 1972 primary with 51 percent of the vote. The polls will close tomorrow at 8 P.M.

Gesture of Reassurance

Mr. Udall's 3½-hour trip to the Toledo, Ohio, area late yesterday was partly a gesture of reassurance to his supporters there. Toledo is in Lucas County, one of the two Ohio counties that went for Senator George McGovern in 1972, and Mr. Udall was enthusiastically received at a labor-student rally at Bowling Green University and at a gelatin-salad-and-chicken county Democratic dinner. "Don't despair," he told the rally audience. "Stay with us. We can win this thing in 1976." And to the local Democratic officials: "If we don't do anything else, we're going to slow this bandwagon down."

Noticeably more at ease than he seemed in New Hampshire, Mr. Udall still has an air of diffidence, and the fatigue of the last 10 days has speeded up his speech to a machine-gun rattle of phrases at the end of a long day.

Today, which began at 7 A.M., will be the worst day yet, he said last night on his way back from Ohio. There is no provision in the tight schedule for breakfast, lunch, or dinner, or even for a 10-minute rest.

But he is clearly heartened by Mr. Carter's decision to return to Michigan today for a few hours' campaigning, which he sees as a signal that he is gaining. A poll taken by Udall volunteers 10 days ago, whose exact results the campaign has refused to release, reportedly shows Mr. Udall moving up very quickly to close what was at one time believed to be a 2-to-1 margin. The question, Mr. Udall said recently, was whether he is moving fast enough.

Mr. Udall was also cheered by the victory of Senator Frank Church of Idaho in Nebraska last week, and by the strong possibility of California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s winning tomorrow's Maryland primary. It is not entirely clear why he feels that he will be the beneficiary of these defeats for Mr. Carter, beyond saying that they will ensure an "open convention" with no first-ballot victor.

"In a multiple-ballot convention, I will have delegates; I will have had a period of scrutiny," he said last week. "If it's determined that Carter can't get it," he continued, he feels that his claim is a strong one. His staff says he now has about 225 delegates, including some still technically bound to former candidates, such as Mr. Shriver. This is about 400 fewer than Mr. Carter, but more than anyone else, by his figuring, can possibly accrue in the remaining primaries.

"If Carter is the nominee," Mr. Udall added, "I want to make sure his feet are held to the fire" on a long list of issues that Mr. Udall feels are vital, and that he charges Mr. Carter has been equivocal about. "If I can't get that [the nomination], I'm going to have as much influence on the convention as I can," probably in terms of the party's platform. Mr. Udall does not appear to see the Vice Presidency as either a desirable or a possible option.

His theme, in this last week of hard campaigning, has been that he wants to give Democrats a "choice," an alternative to three men, whom he describes as conservative, President Ford, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Carter. The country, he feels, wants and needs a "progressive" alternative such as himself, the candidate of "sensible change."

He describes himself as being in the tradition of 40 years of Democrats, from Franklin D. Roosevelt through John F. Kennedy and Senator Philip A. Hart of Michigan, who has endorsed him.

H

Democrats Put Moynihan on Platform Subcommittee

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 17—Despite protests from some liberals and blacks, Daniel P. Moynihan was elected today to the drafting subcommittee of the Democratic Platform Committee.

Mr. Moynihan, Ambassador to India under President Nixon and representative to the United Nations under President Ford, is the only person on the 15-member subcommittee with special expertise in foreign policy.

Party officials said that Mr. Moynihan was placed on their slate of candidates for the subcommittee as concession to Senator henry M. Jackson of Washington. Mr. Moynihan endorsed Mr. Jackson's Presidential candidacy and campaigned for him in Massachusetts and New York.

An effort tor emove Mr. Moynihan's name from the official slate was rejected in the full committee by a margin of nearly 3 to 1.

Subcommittee's Job

The subcommittee's function is to prepare a draft platform for presentation to the full platform committee next month. The platform adopted by the full committee will be presented to the Democratic National Convention at Madison Square Garden in July.

Mr. Moynihan's election came as the platform committee opened four days of hearings at the Hyatt Regency Hotel here. It is the last set of hearings before the platform drafting procedure begins.

New York politicians said that Mr. Moynihan's position on the subcommittee would help him if, as has been speculated, he decides to run for the Democratic nomination for the Senate from New York. The politicians said that a role at the Democratic National Convention would help re-establish Mr. Moynihan's credentials as a Democrat.

Although he served in both the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, Mr. Moynihan, a professor at Harvard, was closely identified with the foreign and domestic policies of Presidents Nixon and Ford.

Action Last Friday

Mr. Moynihan was not a member of the platform committee until last Friday. Then, at the behest of Senator Jackson, the leaders of the New York delegation to the national convention removed Chester Straub, a former state senator, from his seat on the platform committee and replaced him with MR. Moynihan.

Of the 274 convention delegates elected in the New York primary last mongh, 103 are pledged to Mr. Jackson. And Mr. Moynihan's possible senate candidacy is said to be viewed favorably by party regulars.

Over the weekend, according to party officials, representatives of Mr. Jackson said that their principal request to the platform committee was that Mr. Moynihan be given a spot on the drafting subcommittee.

"I know Jackson wanted him, and we were trying to accommodate everyone as much as possible," Robert S. Strauss, the party chairman, said after Mr. Moynihan's election. Mr. Moyihan is the only New Yorker on the subcommittee.

Percy Sutton, the Manhattan Borough President, who is also a member of the platform committee, said that he did not believe Mr. Moynihan would "represent my interests or the interests of black people generally in the area of foreign policy."

Mr. Sutton voted for Mr. Moynihan nonetheless, because, he said, he thought it was important that the state be represented on the subcommittee.

Problems at Hotel

Also opposing Mr. Moynihan was Sam W. Brown Jr., state treasurer of Colorado and a one-time leader of the antiwar movement. Mr. Brown argued that Mr. Moynihan did not represent the consensus foreign policy views of the Democratic Party.

The official slate, however, had been cleared in advance with all the Presidential candidates. Stuart Eizenstat, a member of Jimmy Carter's campaign staff and a platform committee member, voted for Mr. Moynihan, as did supporters of Representative Morris K. Udall and other Presidential candidates.

Meanwhile at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, which opened for business last month a few blocks from the Capitol, the escalators broke down on and off throughout the day, and some of the platform committee members had to wait for more than an hour to get a sandwich for lunch in the overcrowded dining room.

A Michigan 'Primary Jumper' Explains Why He Is Planning to Vote for Reagan

By NAN ROBERTSON
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 13—For the first time in his short, undramatic but absorbing life, Dewey Burton is crossing the line.

Thirty years old, an auto assembly worker, he is a Democrat by upbringing and conviction, a strong union man who has always worked hard for a living.

But he will vote for a conservative Republican, Ronald Reagan, for President in Tuesday's Michigan primary. Like thousands of others in this traditionally liberal state, he will become a "primary jumper," as he calls it—and and how they vote is one of the keys o the primary.

Mr. Burton will cross over because he believes the former California Governor shows the qualities of independenc strength and freshness that George Wallace showed four years ago, but "without the shadow of racism behind him."

Backed Wallace in '72

In the 1972 primary he and the 800,000 other Michigan voters who backed Mr. Wallace gave the Alabama Governor a victory in their state. For Dewey Burton then, the single, obsessing issue was school busing, which he feared would doom his only child to an "inferior education" in the inner city he himself had left.

In the Presidential election six months later, he voted—reluctantly—for a Democrat, Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, who he says always remained "a dark shadow," a mysterious figure, to him. But he could not bring himself to vote for Richard M. Nixon, a Republican, he recalls, even though he did not consider Mr. Nixon a villain.

Now he thinks both parties have come forward with a better and broader range of candidates than before.

'What I Want'

President Ford comes across to him as "a decent human being," but "he's already President," and Mr. Burton thinks it would be a waste to vote for him at this time. He says he is telling the party, "If you want me to vote Republican, this is what I want in a candidate"—and it is Mr. Reagan.

He thinks that Jimmy Carter's portrayal of himself as a simple peanut farmer, a "down-home, in-the-heart American," while using big words, "all worth a buck and a half," serves to obscure whether Mr. Carter means yes or no to a question.

He likes Representative Morris K. Udall, Democrat of Arizona, but does not consider him a leader.

As for Mr. Wallace, Mr. Burton said, "It's still there, but the thing that he stood for four years ago just doesn't matter any more."

Don't get me wrong," he added. "I'm sure busing is important in Boston, but it's not important in Michigan now." In July 1974, the Supreme Court overturned the ruling that would have shuffled the Burtons' son and 300,000 other Detroit-area children between inner city and suburban schools.

Felt Trapped in Job

Four years ago Mr. Burton, interviewed in his tiny bungalow in a white, working-class suburb, was an angry and frustrated man. Bright, energetic, sensitive, he felt trapped in his job of wiping off automobiles on the assembly line of hte Ford Motor Company plant in Wixom.

He had struggled to better himself by taking work-training courses and by going to college between shifts, but he came home "half whipped" after exhausting hours on the assembly line, where he had begun working when he was 18 years old. He quit six months short of a diploma. in 1972, he had not had a vacation since he and his wife, Ilona, drove to Niagara Falls on their honeymoon.

Mr. Burton retains the same core of decency and thoughtfulness he had four years ago. He is heavier, more mellow, and has stopped wearing the "mod" haircut and mustache he had worn a few years ago.

At least one of his yearnings—"to be more tomorrow than I was yesterday"—has been stilled, he says. His job at Wixom, spray-painting spare parts, is better-paid.

'I Work, I'm Paid'

He says: "I think I'm happier. I go to work. I do a good job. I get paid for it. I'm not trying to impress anybody."

He moved to a larger house in the suburb of Westland two years ago, on a corner lot with a paved street, paying $24,890 for the property. The neighborhood is middle-class, and near an all-black neighborhood. His son, David, 9, a roly-poly, irrepressible child, makes excellent grades at a school five blocks away. Mrs. Burton says of the school, "There are a few coloreds and a few Orientals, which makes it real nice—everything mixed."

Mr. Burton has become a Mason and his activities in the lodge consume several nights a week.

He took the first plane ride of his life in 1973, flown to New York by David Susskind to appear with other workers on a television program about "industrial boredom." He dined at Maxwell's Plum as Mr. Susskind's guest, then went back to Detroit.

A Trip to California

In 1975, the Burtons took their first real vacation, driving to Florida. Last month they saw more of the world. The three of them piled into a rented car and set off for California.

And all along the way, the Burtons listened to political commercials on the car radio, many of them for or by Ronald Reagan.

"We talked an awful lot about what he said," Mr. Burton remembered. What came through the commercials was the image of a man who "was never part of the family circle in Washington," who was "new and clean," according to Mrs. Burton.

Mr. Reagan's theme that the United States is second in defense to the Soviet Union and that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger is at fault for this position appeals to Mr. Burton. He says he loves his country and that voting is "not only a privilege of an American citizen, but a duty." He adds that Mr. Reagan is "committed to putting pride back in the place where democracy has worked."

These days, Mr. Burton starts work at 4:42 A.M. and finishes at 3:30 P.M. He is paid $6.90 an hour for 40 hours of a regular eight-hour shift, plus time and a half for overtime.

For the first time, muttering "it's nobody's business," including his "bosses," he would not give out his gross wage and take-home pay. Four years ago, he readily disclosed that his gross weekly wage was $189.90, and his take-home pay was $134.68 for a 40-hour week.

Mrs. Burton, chiding her husband for his wariness, disclosed her gross weekly wage as a seamstress at the Fisher Body plant at $258.40 and her take-home pay at $169.15. Both regularly work overtime and complain of fatigue, but they feel their wages are ample enough to carry the family.

As before, Mr. Burton rarely watches television and never gets a newspaper at home except on Sundays, when he pores over the classified ads for "hot rod" automobiles in what he calls "my weekly ritual." He loves cars and drives to work in a 1962 purple Corvette.

The Burtons have yet to see a Presidential candidate in the flesh, or to attend a political rally, or to put on a political button or bumper sticker.

'No President Is Dumb'

But Mr. Burton studies the newspapers during his half-hour lunch break at the plant, and forms his opinions on what he reads.

He regards Mr. Carter as a calculating man, who has "put a lot of work in, and it shows."

Mr. Burton, who comes from a Southern Democratic family background, adds that he respects Mr. Carter's open avowal of being a "born-again" Christian.

Does he regard President Ford as dumb? "Most certainly not. You can't believe that anybody that gets to be the President of the United States is dumb. He had to be approved by his peers—the legislature. He must have gotten there by some sort of intelligence."

He and his wife think the Fords have brought a "little flash, a little fun," to the White House.

But he thinks Mr. Ford's pardon of Mr. Nixon for Watergate put Mr. Ford "in a bad light."

But all that is history now, Mr. Burton thinks. "Four years ago, it was all fire and brimstone—busing and the Vietnam war. And then it was Watergate. Now there are aren't any issues, except maybe the economy."

He considers himself a calmer man now, with fewer aspirations. He sees the lines blurring between Democratic and Republican voters, and he sees "factory workers making more than small-business men."

Dewey Burton took another drag on one of his interminable unfiltered cigarettes and looked at his pretty, platinum blond wife. "Sure, I've got qualms deep down inside me about voting for a Republican," he said. "But a man's got to grow up sometime."

The Making of an Issue

By Tom Wicker

The Democratic majority in the House has proposed a five-year economic plan that if incorporated in the 1976 platform would draw clearly the major issue—perhaps the only real issue—between the two parties. That issue is whether the nation's highest economic priority should be full employment or a low rate of inflation.

Not that the two necessarily are mutually exclusive. There is no automatic link between high employment and high inflation. But the Ford Administration's policy has been to pursue a slow rate of economic recovery and expansion through reduced Federal spending, with unemployment remaining at 6 percent or more for the rest of this decade. The stated rationale has been to avoid inflation.

The Democrats in the House, in contrast, are proposing to create 12 million new jobs by 1981, thus reducing unemployment to 3 percent of the adult workforce. They believe the added tax revenues from those who will be put to work, as well as the resulting increase in gross national product and decrease in unemployment and welfare benefits, will be sufficient to keep the long-term rate of inflation manageable.

There's a lot to be said for the Democratic proposal. Unemployment at the levels contemplated by the Ford Administration is socially crippling; no one can really estimate the results in poverty, alienation, crime, drug addiction, wasted lives that might have been useful. In that sense, even the Democratic plan may not go far enough; 3 percent adult unemployment could leave unacceptably high levels of unemployment among young people and minority groups. At the accepted rule of thumb, it would mean 6 percent black unemployment, for instance, and an even higher rate among perhaps the most volatile and critical group, black teen-agers, unless some special effort was made to put them to work.

Economically, the massive Federal outlays that would be required to stimulate the economy sufficiently and provide the necessary public service jobs (before the expected increase in income tax revenues), not to mention the $10 billion tax cut the Democrats proposed for 1978, would almost surely be inflationary in the short run. While the Democrats also talked bravely of raising vast new revenues through tax reform (closing loopholes), that's been tried before and found politically difficult, if not impossible. The logic of the Democratic proposal, therefore, points straight at a rigorous system of wage and price controls—which is mentioned in the five-year plan only as a sort of last resort. It's more likely to have to be a first resort.

Politically, the House proposal raises several questions. While its authors clearly hope it will provide the cornerstone of the Democratic platform and of a Democratic Administration's program beginning in 1977, it was worked out entirely separately from the Presidential nominating campaign. Thus, before the identity and views of the nominee are known, the Democrats in the House are attempting to set his course and influence his campaign in a decisive way.

If the nominee should be Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the front-runner, it is by no means clear that he and the House program would be entirely compatible. Mr. Carter's own economic pronouncements have not been quite so expansive; the "big government" aspects of the House proposals may not mesh well with his anti-Washington strategy; and he has given much

IN THE NATION

evidence that he will more nearly want to articulate his own program than accept one tailor-made for him by a Congressional majority he has not hesitated to criticize for lack of leadership.

On two counts, however, the House program appears to echo Mr. Carter. He, too, has been espousing tax reform aimed at reducing the burden on low- and middle-income taxpayers, and has been calling for even more sweeping reform of the Federal bureaucracy than the Congressional Democrats did.

Presumably, Gov. Jerry Brown of California, if he believes his own "less is more" rhetoric, might also have some difficulty with the House platform. Representative Morris Udall and Senator Hubert Humphrey probably would find it much more to their liking—indeed, its centerpiece is the Humphrey-Hawkins full-employment bill.

But candidates usually find some way to live with platforms they may not like, or entirely accept. The more serious political question is whether a massive-spending, big-government set of priorities like that proposed by the House Democrats will be attractive to an electorate that by most standards of measurement has lost faith in government programs and thinks the Federal Government already is spending too much, running deficits that are too big, and doing too much to help the unemployed, the welfare recipients, and the minority groups.

At least, however, the House Democrats have focused attention, if only briefly, on one of the real issues between what is left of the two parties. After the inanities of the Democratic primary battle and the muscle-flexing demagoguery of the Republicans, it's a relief to have a line drawn that means something.

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2 STATES VOTE TODAY

Carter Says Reagan, Ford Are Out of Touch

BY FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

DETROIT—Hoping to head off Democratic defectors in Tuesday's Michigan primary, Jimmy Carter Monday painted both President Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan as being out of touch with working people.

Earlier in the day, the Democratic presidential frontrunner predicted that he would defeat California Gov. Jerry Brown in Maryland voting Tuesday.

One poll here has revealed that up to 9 per cent of normally Democratic voters—70,000 to 80,000 of them—may bolt to the tighter Republican contest, and another 14 per cent may move from undecided to vote in that race. Alabama Gov. George Wallace won here in 1972 with a stunning 42 per cent of the vote, and Reagan is expected to pick up a share of that segment of the voting population.

Carter criticized Ford in the wake of a highly publicized weekend confrontation between the President and a heckler.

"President Ford said to a young man in Michigan who was out of work, 'If you wanted a job, you could get one,'" Carter said.

Pointing out that Michigan's unemployment rate is 12.5 per cent, Carter said, "For the President to insinuate that anybody who wants a job can find one shows that he's been in Washington too long.

"That just because he got appointed to his job, and has been in Washington 30 or 35 years, he told an afternoon crowd at suburban Livonia Mall. "It shows he's been out of touch with what goes on in this country."

Crowds greeting Ford during his weekend campaign swing through Michigan were larger than had been anticipated, and a White House spokesman said Monday that the President expects to win the state's GOP primary.

Ford also "expects to do well in Maryland," Press Secretary Ron Nessen told reporters.

In Michigan, Ford and Reagan will be competing for 84 Republican delegates selected proportionally to popular vote. On the Democratic side, U.S. Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona is Carter's main opposition for the state's 133 Democratic delegates.

In Maryland, 43 GOP delegates are at stake on a statewide proportional basis. Although Brown hopes to beat Carter in the Democratic popular vote, the California governor has only one pledged delegate running among the 53 at stake on a separate ballot.

The most recent polls taken in Maryland indicate a close Democratic race. A Baltimore Sun poll published Monday showed Carter leading 31 per cent to 28 per cent for Brown. But the polls showed 25 to 30 per cent of the voters uncommitted, and the rest scattered among other candidates.

The Carter campaign in Maryland got a last-minute boost Monday from California's state treasurer, Jesse Unruh, who endorsed the former Georgia governor in his race against Brown.

In Detroit, Carter attacked Reagan for refusing to disclose whether or not he paid income tax in 1970.

Carter said Reagan's income averages $150,000 to $200,000 a year, and his net worth is $1.4 million. He added that 24 people who had $1 million income each paid no taxes the year before last, and "there were about 300 people who made $200,000 and paid no taxes.

"And when they don't pay taxes, you know who pays the taxes for them," he said.

A woman in the back of the crowd muttered, "We do."

Carter said it would not be "proper" for Democrats to vote for Reagan in order to embarrass Ford and have an easier Republican to defeat in November.

Introduced as a candidate who opposes "Ford's busing" and federal intervention in neighborhoods, Carter spoke to a white crowd at the mall.

But at a Chrysler plant, he was heckled by a black supporter of Udall. The young woman also raised a sign that read "Young Lies, Mo's No Mormon."

Black Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, a supporter of Carter, had accused Udall of belonging to a church that "won't even let you (blacks) in the back door."

Udall, who broke from the Mormon church years ago over the issue of rac-

See CARTER, Back Page

Carter

From Page 1-A

ism, had demanded that Carter apologize for Young's remark.

But at a press conference in Washington Monday morning, Carter refused, saying he would consider doing so only if Udall or Udall's supporters apologized for their attacks on Carter.

Carter said Monday that he is not prepared to detail his plan for reducing the number of federal agencies from 1,900 to 200.

He had been asked about criticism from Brown that those plans are like Richard Nixon's plan to end the war in Vietnam. "I don't know how to respond to that," Carter said. "If I am elected president, the executive branch will be made efficient, economical, purposeful and manageable."

Both Maryland and Michigan give the Democratic frontrunner a chance to squelch the fledgling stop-Carter movement that Idaho Sen. Frank Church launched by edging Carter in Nebraska last week.

But Carter said that the Maryland primary is more crucial to Brown's chances for the Democratic nomination than to his.

On the Republican side, Reagan has defeated Ford in five of the six Republican primaries since May 1, and Ford now trails Reagan in committed delegates, 495 to 357. A repudiation in his home state would be considered a crushing blow to Ford's hopes of winning his own term.

Democratic delegate counts show Carter heading into Michigan and Maryland with 608 of the 1,505 delegates required to win the nomination.

Behind Carter in the Democratic delegate race are Udall with 210, Henry Jackson with 202 and Wallace with 138.

In his first campaign trip to the state where he was shot four years ago, Wallace said Monday in Wheaton, Md., that he would be president today if he had not been critically wounded by Arthur Bremer.

With the delegates he now has and those he hopes to pick up in future primaries, he said, "we're going to give the people a voice in the platform instead of letting it be dominated by the ultra far left as we have in the past."

Carter flew to Nashville, Tenn., Monday night to listen to country music and get a coonskin cap from his fans.

At a $100-a-couple reception that netted $30,000, Carter said he remembered Estes Kefauver, the Tennessean who waged a doomed campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952 and again in 1956.

"He labored to present himself to the people," Carter said of Kefauver.

"He entered 13 primaries and won 11 of them, I believe, but when he entered the convention, he lost.

"All my opponents, 16 or 17 of them, decided to pick a few states and get enough delegates to horse trade," Carter said.

"I entered every state. I've campaigned everywhere, exactly the way Kefauver did," he said, "and it's paid off for us, as you know."

Carter went on to predict he would pick up 100 delegates in Tuesday's primaries and "at least another hundred" next week when several states, including Tennessee, hold primaries.

From the reception, Carter went on to a rally at a National Guard armory, where a sequined country music singer warmed up the crowd, and then was scheduled to drop in on a benefit concert on his behalf by Capricorn Records' singer Charlie Daniels. From there he was to leave for Little Rock to spend the night.

Corporation Committees Give More to Ford and Carter

WASHINGTON (NYT) — The political committees set up by corporations to channel campaign contributions to favored candidates have invested more than four times as much money in President Ford as they have in his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, during 1976.

For the Democrats, Jimmy Carter, the current favorite to win the nomination, has received more help from these corporate funds than Reagan, but the bulk of it did not come in until April when Carter established himself as the front-runner. Nearly half of his contributions of this type have come from two milk industry groups.

This is the first presidential election in which corporate political action committees have operated on any scale, following clearance by the Federal Election Commission last year, and the amounts they are feeding into the primary campaign remain relatively small.

The corporate, professional and trade association committees that wish to register their support of presidential candidates have only a few months left. After the national nominating conventions this summer, the entire cost of the general election will be paid by federal subsidy, and no more private contributions will be permitted.

So far this year, according to the candidates' own reports, Ford has collected $65,200 from such committees, Carter, $15,700 and Reagan, $13,600. Carter has also received $4,800 from political action committees sponsored by organized labor.

The lopsided divisioin of corporate contributions between the two Republican candidates appeared to contradict the widespread theory that the Reagan brand of strong conservatism makes the former California governor the favorite of business and industry.

However, the figures are complete only through April 30, the day before Reagan won the Texas primary and then began winning elsewhere. Until that time, many corporate committees may have adopted the functionally conservative policy of not offending the incumbent President.

Carter got no corporate committee money in February, about $5,300 in March but $11,300 in April as his prospects of winning the nomination began to climb. (Most candidates did not begin reporting actions committee contributions separately until February.)

Political action committees, both corporate and union, collect voluntary contributions from executives and stockholders on one hand and members on the other and then parcel out the money to candidates favored by management or labor.

The operating costs of these committees are paid out of corporate or union assets. Under the Corrupt Practices Act, such money cannot be donated directly to a candidate, party or political committee.

The corporate committees that have given to both Ford and Reagan have all favored the President. The Chevron Committee for Political Participation, an arm of the Standard Oil Company of California, gave $500 to Ford and $300 to Reagan. The Olin Executives Voluntary Non-Partisan Political Fund (the Olin Corporation) gave $1,000 to Ford and $25 to Reagan.

Three California-based groups made major contributions to Reagan while giving nothing to the President.

Ford Opens Way for Resuming Federal Campaign Subsidies

WASHINGTON (NYT) — President Ford officially revived the Federal Election Commission Monday, apparently clearing the way for resumption of federal campaign subsidies Tuesday and ending an eight-week freeze on such payments.

The President renamed five of the six sitting commissioners to new terms and filled the single vacancy with former Rep. Wiliam L. Springer of Illinois, a Republican who has also served on the Federal Power Commission.

After a brief squabble among Republican members, Senate leaders agreed to vote confirmation of the five present commission members Tuesday, without any committee hearings, so that the agency can move promptly to authorize subsidy payments the same day.

The commission staff has audited claims totaling $2,171,364 filed by 11 candidates.

The chief beneficiary of the release of funds will be Ford himself, who is due $866,000. Other major candidates eligible for immediate cash include Ronald Reagan, $390,000; Jimmy Carter, $314,000; and Rep. Morris K. Udall, $240,000.

Altogether, the presidential candidates, active and inactive, have filed for about $3.7 million of which about $1.4 has not been audited and is therefore not ready for payment. Still more requests were being submitted Monday.

PARTY CHIEF STRAUSS

Democrats 'Learn Lessons'

WASHINGTON (AP) — Democratic party chairman Robert Strauss said Monday the Democrats gave the country Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford "and that burden we will never be able to shed from our shoulders."

Addressing an opening session of the final series of hearings by the party's platform committee, Strauss said internal bickering had kept the party out of power for eight years but that Democrats have closed ranks for the 1976 campaign.

"The Democratic party fully understands now, what we couldn't understand in the past — that our internal bickering and internal warfare brought the nation nothing but disaster," Strauss said.

"The Democratic party, in myopia, bitterness, pettiness and often downright stupidity, brought Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford upon the American people," Strauss said. "And that burden we will never be able to shed from our shoulders, for the nation has suffered."

However, Strauss said Democrats "have fully learned our lessons, and we will not make the same mistakes again."

Strauss' appeal for a platform representing "all kinds of Americans," came just after temporary platform committee chairman Philip Noel had removed himself from consideration for the permanent chairmanship in a conciliation move.

Opening testimony in the final round of hearings concentrated on full employment, control of big corporations, civil rights and energy.

Both Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a contender for the party's presidential nomination, and AFL-CIO President George Meany refused to cross a picket line outside a Capitol Hill hotel to testify as scheduled, but Meany submitted written testimony calling on the party to support full employment in its platform. "To the American economy, just as to individual Americans, full employment is an absolute necessity," Meany said.

Meany asked the Democrats to reject policies "that utilize unemployment as an instrument of national economic policy. For the last seven lean years, planned unemployment has been an integral party of the economic policy of the national government."

Rep. Donald M. Fraser, DMinn., testifying as president of Americans for Democratic Action, also called for a full-employment plank, tax reform, a national-health-care program and national energy planning.

Frank N. Ikard, president of the American Petroleum Institute, asked for "return to a free market in oil and natural gas" and removal of "barriers to the increased production of domestic energy."

But the National Rural Electric Cooperation Association followed with a call for "additional protection for the public against monopolistic control and pricing of energy resources."

The committee also was asked by the leadership conference on civil rights to support busing of school children as a desegregation tool.

Other Voices

A President by the People?

MANCHESTER, England—Within a few swift days, the whole shape of the American election campaign has changed.

On the Republican side—against a backdrop of falling inflation and expanding production—Gerald Ford seemed certain for a tranquil coast towards renomination. He might, of course, expect a little trouble in Texas. But all the polls there showed Reagan's efforts flagging and the ex-California governor's sunbelt strategy setting quietly in the West. Those prophets who—only a year before—had seen Ford as the most enfeebled of lame ducks were freshly praising his solid strength.

Those prophets who—a year before—had failed to see how the resurgent Democrats could contrive to lose, were dusting through the imminent debris of a once dominant party. And now, suddenly, the whole board is turpsy-turvy.

Hubert Humphrey with tears in his eyes is not running. Scoop Jackson, with no money in his bank, is not running either. Jimmy Carter has not finally sown up the nomination; but the running for him is straight and seemingly placid.

Meanwhile, Gerald Ford has fallen hard on his nose. Texas, for the President, is a disaster; not because defeat was unthinkable but defeat on the scale that it came must exceed his wildest forebodings. Ford is still a hot certainty for the Republican ticket, but he has no placid or straight run-in. On the contrary he must endure a series of bruising sunbelt contests, all of them strengthening the Democratic enemy which must be left unchallenged, now that the immediate Republican enemy—Ronald Reagan—has gained at last the credibility that New Hampshire and Florida had denied him at the beginning.

The lessons are obvious. A recovering economy has not given Ford the expected help. His personal election clout remains horribly frail. More, he has of yet no distinct steam. Against Reagan, he is being forced further and further to the shrill Right—warning Russia of this, that, and the other, keeping on the Mega-weapons, bizarrely denouncing the perils of Big Government. It begins to throw a chill shadow of impermanency over the whole administration and may soon render American politics immobile. Speculation about Henry Kissinger's anxiety for retirement could quickly prove totally redundant. And increasingly the heart of the action is Gerald Ford himself. He does not inspire, he does not strike chords. Whatever his successes, the American people give him diminishing credit.

Many, examining the Ford and Carter record, have concluded that a known quantity is better than an unknown and unquantifiable one. On the contrary, on the stump, the politics of inertia are falling by the wayside. America is steeling itself for a change; and the real Gerald Ford will have to stand up for counting soon or else be counted out.

What about a prospective President Carter? Here Washington (and the wider world) quake a little. The Washington establishment, politicians, and pressmen, do not know Jimmy Carter. He is a hostile force, preaching benign hostility to their way of life. The big unions are in a similar haze of apprehension. And as for Carter on Europe, Carter on Britain, Carter on Southern Africa, the questions remain vast and open.

Last week, an ambivalent reasurrance, the Carter camp announced a new hiring programme of "issue experts" and, once the experts had mulled over the issues, a new stream of actual "policy positions" from their candidate. Having discovered he is electable, his men now seek something to get him elected for. The old political saw that policies are far more important than mere personalities stands exposed in its most naked decrepitude.

Yet, as the threshing machine roars on, the merchandizing of the perpetually grinning man is by no means terrifying. An American President needs many qualities; but stamina, determination, the ability to uplift and unite, and a rapidly growing political skill are no bad set for starters. Carter has prospered thus far on what he represents and embodies; the new South, a relaxed charm, an antipathy towards the pall of Washington, and devout, God-fearing openness. Nobody should underrate this blend. And nobody should grind the candidate from Georgia into the dust too soon for failing to spout complex formulae for national regeneration at every drop of an awkward question. A President does not know everything. (Certainly Gerald Ford does not know everything.)

Jimmy Carter, however, is reaching the stage where his original assets will no longer serve, where his credibility will rest as much on his grasp of economics and SALT and UNCTAD as on the fervour with which he says his prayers. More, he will soon begin, of necessity, the business of rapprochement with Washington, the accommodation an outsider needs to work inside.

Carter's showing so far is also reassurance. Democracy is at work with his success. And, if he lasts the course, America may hope for what it has lacked for too many years—a President genuinely elected by the people, for the people.

(The foregoing article was originally published May 9 in the Manchester Guardian Weekly.)

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had,To Say.

5/19



43A

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News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Reports reaching Addis Ababa said guerrillas seeking independence from Ethiopia for the northern province of Eritrea have stalled the peasant volunteers sent to oppose them. At least one key bridge or more, according to some reports, have been blown up, stranding thousands of the peasants who have been promised land grants in Eritrea. [Page 1, Column 1.]

Israeli border policemen menaced by a crowd of stone-throwing demonstrators in a narrow alley in Jerusalem's Old City opened fire, killing a 21-year-old Arab. As tension rose throughout the former Jordanian part of the city, the victim's funeral was followed by the blockading of a gate to the Old City and the raising of a Palestinian flag atop the walls. Border police broke up the renewed demonstration with riot batons and tear gas. [3:1-2.]

National

President Ford appeared to be headed for a much-needed victory over his challenger, Ronald Reagan, in the Republican Presidential primary in Michigan. In the Democratic contest, Jimmy Carter, the former Georgia governor, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, were running neck and neck in early returns. A sampling by The New York Times and CBS News of voters who had cast their ballots showed Mr. Ford defeating Mr. Reagan in almost every segment of the electorate. [1:5-8E.]

Hard rain intermittently in Maryland was a factor in the Maryland primaries. President Ford was looking for a badly needed victory over Mr. Reagan, while Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, with all-out backing from Governor Marvin Mandel, was trying to slow the onrush of Jimmy Carter. [1:5.]

President Ford refused to swear in three Democratic and two Republican members of the reconstituted Federal Elections Commission until the Senate has confirmed the sixth appointee, a Republican whose committee hearing has not been held. The effect was to hold up payment of more than $2 million in campaign subsidies for another week, until after the six primaries next Tuesday. In all of these Ronald Reagan, who has back claims for more than $1 million in matching funds, is challenging Mr. Ford. [16-7.]

President Ford has asked Attorney General Edward H. Levi to seek an appropriate case in which to ask the Supreme Court to "re-examine" the use of busing as a means of integrating schools. His press secretary said Mr. Ford had left it to Mr. Levi to decide whether the Boston school case would be appropriate. The Attorney General had decided tentatively to intervene on the side of opponents of Boston's court-ordered busing plan. [1:4.]

Metropolitan

The New York State Emergency Financial Control Board imposed a less costly contract on the transit workers and, responding to a Federal warning of a cutoff in emergency loan aid, issued specific limitations for the coming round of municipal labor negotiations. The board thus moved deeply into the setting of the city's labor policy, dropping its earlier reluctance. [1:1-2.]

It was Treasury Secretary William E. Simon who warned that if the city failed to maintain its three-year wage freeze the Federal Government would end its $2.3 billion in annual seasonal loans. He said any wage increase, including a cost-of-living increase, would "blow the plan out of the water." High Treasury officials expressed skepticism at the Emergency Financial Control Board's proposal to link cost-of-living increases for employees with productivity. [1:2.]

A possible break in the apartment house employees' strike appeared imminent as both sides were reported to be considering a formula to resolve their differences. Members of the Realty Advisory Board, representing landlords and cooperatives, were scheduled to meet this morning to act on a revised package. It was said to be a rearrangement of the recommendations of Mayor Beame's special panel. [1:3.]

The New York State Senate moved toward final passage of the bill to let savings banks provide checking accounts, with opponents seeking to delay its effect for a year. [1:2.]

Carnegie Hall invited some of the world's greatest musicians to perform at its gala concert celebrating 85 years of peerless sound. Patrons gave from $1,000 to $200,000 for seats in the orchestra and first-tier boxes, to aid the hall's future. [1:3-4.]

New York City children receive school lunches that are unappetizing and often far below minimum standards of nutrition, according to a three-year study of 150 public, private and parochial schools. [1:6-8.]

The Other News

International

Giscard d'Estaing addresses U.S. Congress. Page 2
Senate panel backs treaty with Spain. Page 3
Libyan leader backs Lebanese Moslems. Page 3
C.I.A. revises Soviet defense costs upward. Page 4
Vorster welcomes idea of seeing Ford. Page 5
Canada won't resume nuclear aid to India. Page 8
7,000 held for "objectionable" publishing. Page 10
Portuguese Communists to run candidate. Page 21

Government and Politics

Women denied giving F.B.I. data about paper. Page 15
Longtime appeals judge defeated in Alabama. Page 19
Black aides seen bypassed in busing move. Page 20
Illness may delay Jersey income-tax vote. Page 45
In Larchmont, it's taxes before politics. Page 47
Strauss to quit after the convention. Page 47
Assembly approves club role for policemen. Page 77

General

Harvard officials rebut critic of minorities. Page 18
Navajos protest alleged corruption in tribe. Page 20
Cunningham ordered to give law firm's records. Page 21
Hollander draws 5 years probation. Page 45
Bar members urged to represent the poor. Page 45
Testimony describes abuses in parole system. Page 45
Pageantry marks Year of Torah study. Page 45
U.S. to give up landmark building. Page 45
Tramway begins its regular schedule. Page 52
Three policemen indicted on bribe charges. Page 79

Education and Welfare

Westchester area tries no-principal plan. Page 24
City U. presidents back tuition plan. Page 42

Amusements and the Arts

"Loose Ends" opens at the Whitney Museum. Page 25

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Unseasonably tonight. Sunny, milder Temperature range: Tuesday 54-75. Details

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CRUCIAL VICTORY

President's Campaign Is Revived After a Series of Defeats

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 18—President Ford revived his troubled election drive tonight by sweeping to victory over Ronald Reagan in the key Michigan Republican Presidential primary.

Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona were running neck and neck in early returns in the state's Democratic primary.

The election was considered vital to the prospects of Mr. Ford, who was fighting to avoid embarrassment or a possible defeat on his home ground. The President had been beaten by Mr. Reagan in five primaries within the last month.

Crucial for Udall

It was just as vital to Mr. Udall, who had made a major effort in Michigan, where he was attempting to slow what he called Mr. Carter's bandwagon. A loss by Mr. Udall would raise grave questions about his ability to survive as a realistic candidate.

Estimates of the candidates' showings were based on projections from a sampling by The New York Times and CBS News of voters after they cast their ballots as well as on scattered early returns. The sampling is considered a more accurate representation of the result.

With 227, or 4 percent, of 6,331 precincts reporting the tally was:

REPUBLICANS

Ford	17,483 (61%)
Reagan	11,022 (38%)

DEMOCRATS

With 292 precincts:

Carter	13,858 (44%)
Udall	13,009 (42%)
Wallace	2,342 (7%)

Among those sampled, Mr. Ford was defeating Mr. Reagan in almost every segment of the electorate. Only among Democrats who crossed over to vote in the Republican primary did Mr. Reagan seem to be running even with the President.

Former Wallace Backers

Republicans who said they favored Governor of Alabama George C. Wallace appeared to be voting heavily for Mr. Ford. Mr. Wallace was aso on the balot here, where he won the Democratic primary four years ago. He campaigned again this time, but apparently was running well behind his Democratic rivals, Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall.

The New York Times/CBS News sampling indicated that Mr. Carter's biggest strength was among blue-collar voters, even more so than had been the case in other states. He

Continued on Page 46, Column 1

FORD AND REAGAN VIE IN MARYLAND

Carter-Brown Contest and Democrats' Senate Battle Mark Primary Voting

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 18—President Ford sought a badly needed Republican primary victory over former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California here today and Maryland Democrats voted in a contest that focused on an effort to stop Jimmy Carter.

Bad weather was a factor. It rained hard intermittently during the day, under overcast skies, a development that normally tends to discourage casual voters from voting.

Maryland's Democratic Governor, Marvin Mandel, went all out for Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in an effort to slow the onrush of Mr. Carter, former governor of Georgia.

The stakes were high for Mr. Brown, who came here only 20 days ago to begin his belated national campaign for the Presidential nomination.

Three other Democratic contenders in the Maryland primary, including Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M Jackson of Washington, virtually dropped from sight in statewide polls conducted before the voting by The Baltimore Sun. Also on the ballot were former Senator Fred R.

Continued on Page 46, Column 7

Ford Wins Over Reagan In Crucial Michigan Test

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

seemed to be winning handily among members of the United Automobile Workers, although Mr. Udall's preliminary showing among other union members was better than Mr. Carter's.

In addition, the former Georgia Governor appeared to be scoring heavily once again among black voters, an important segment of the liberal constituency to which Mr. Udall had been addressing his candidacy.

Coleman A. Young, the black Mayor of Detroit, had campaigned energetically for Mr. Carter while Mr. Udall had been championed by Representative John Conyers Jr., the powerful black Democrat from Detroit.

Mr. Udall was preferred to Mr. Carter, the poll showed, among voters concerned about issues, liberals other than blacks, people under 30 years of age, the college-educated, white-collar workers and independents.

Also on the Democratic ballot were former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Sargent Shriver and Ellen McCormack, none of whom campaigned in the state. Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan were the only Republican contenders.

Although Michigan's delegates to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions will not be selected by party caucuses until next month, the selection is based on the results of the primary. Under party rules, the caucuses are required to allocate the delegates to the candidates proportionally, according to the vote they receive.

The Republicans are to select 84 convention delegates, the Democrats 133.

But it was never the delegate count that was most important in this primary. The importance lay, rather, in the dramatic picture of a President on the defensive in his home state, the "last stand" quality attached to Mr. Udall's campaign, and the psychological impact on Mr. Carter's surge toward the Democratic nomination.

Problem for Candidates

The apparent danger facing all major candidates was rooted in the nature of Michigan's disparate, volatile electorate and the free-for-all nature of the primary itself.

Masses of voters, breaking away from the liberal sway of the United Automobile Workers on the Democratic side and from the moderate-progressiv influence of the moderate-progressive influence of the modern-day Michigan Republican Partv, were becoming more independent —and more conservative —by the 1970's. And in 1972, when the school-busing issue was raging here and Mr. Wallace brought his populist-conservative campaign to the state, a new, pivotal force burst on the scene.

That force, including many of the more than 40 percent of Michigan voters who had come to describe themselves as independents, gave Mr. Wallace a 51 percent majority in the 1972 primary. That is the vote that became crucial in the 1976 primary.

Now, as in 1972, the primary is wide open, with unlimited crossover voting permitted. There is no party registration, and voters may cast ballots for whatever candidate they want. Crossovers were made easier because there were no state or party contests on today's ballot.

Into this electoral minefield came President Ford, shaken and worried by the way in which Mr. Reagan had ridden the crossover vote in Texas and Indiana; and Mr. Carter, who needed to score well among the 1972 Wallace voters, among others, to stave off a vigorous challenge by Mr. Udall.

Mr. Udall's major hope was to hold most of the 700,000 voters who cast ballots for three liberal candidates in the 1972 primary, as against 800,000 for Mr. Wallace.

The Ford and Reagan forces sought Democratic crossovers. In Mr. Ford's case, there was a hint of panic about his campaign for a time.

The Michigan Republican organization, one of the most powerful in the country dropped its impartiality and worked for the President.

Mr. Ford made several visits to the state last week, and the climax of his campaign was an old-fashioned whistle-stop tour across the state last weekend on which he appealed to his fellow Michiganders not to let him down.

Abandoning his earlier strategy of counterpunching against Mr. Reagan's thrusts, the President took a higher road, emphasizing what he said was his record of peace, prosperity and restoration of trust in government.

Outgunned and outmanned in many ways, the Reagan campaign mounted an intensive radio and television effort. But Mr. Reagan appeared in the state for only a day.

Meanwhile, Mr. Carter, faced with the aggressive "one-on-one" challenge of Mr. Udall, stepped up his campaigning. His strategy was to hold as many of the former Wallace voters as possible in the Democratic fold, but attract as many independents as he could. He also sought to head off Mr. Udall among black voters, and to woo away some liberals.

Mr. Udall carried on the most energetic personal campaign of the primary, stumping Michigan on 10 of the 14 days preceding the election. But his drive was somewhat limited by lack of funds. He reportedly spent $75,000, while hoping to spend $160,000. Mr. Carter reportedly spent $95,000.

Worse, from Mr. Udall's point of view, he watched many powerful figures line up on the side of Mr. Carter, who was perceived as the ultimate winner of the nomination.

First, Coleman A. Young, Detroit's black Mayor, came out for Mr. Carter and directed his energies toward denying Mr. Udall the black vote.

Then the United Automobile Workers freed its political funds for use in the campaign, and most of its top Michigan leaders, including Leonard Woodcock, the union president, endorsed Mr. Carter. So did Tom Turner, a black who heads the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization council of metropolitan Detroit. Mr. Carter even got kind words from the management side of big industry when Henry Ford 2d said he thought Mr. Carter deserved the nomination.

While there were issues here —Mr. Udall, for example, stressed unemployment and Mr. Reagan pursued his foreign-policy themes relating to détente and th Panama Canal—this was not essentially an "issues" campaign. In this it contrasted sharply with 1972, when the busing issue raised the campaign to a high emotional pitch.

Survey Finds Church Leads In Utah Democratic Vote

SALT LAKE CITY, May 18 (UPI)—A survey of Utah Democrat shows that Senator Frank Church of Idaho and an uncommitted slate will receive the largest shares of the state's 18 delegates to the party's national convention.

The tally, conducted by United Press International, also indicates that Ronald Reagan has outdistanced President Ford in the first round of delegate selection on the Republican side, with another large bloc also uncommitted.

The vote by Democrats at 1,250 neighborhood meetings held last night will determine the makeup of Utah's delegation in New York City, while the G.O.P. selection process must still go through 29 county meetings and the state convention.

The official count of the Democratic miniprimary will not bbe completed for a week to 10 days, but a sampling of districts across the state showed more than a third of the Democrats attending the meetings marked "uncommitted," while close to a fourth chose Mr. Church.

Vote in Maryland Marked By Ford and Reagan Fight

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

Harris of Oklahoma and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate.

The party primaries here were conducted in two distinct sections—a "beauty contest" preferential vote with a purely psychological meaning for the winner, and a separate binding, direct election of delegates slates. Mr. Carter was the only contender with a full, statewide slate of delegate candidates, identified by his name on a long ballot.

Senate Race Overshadowed

Democrats were also deciding a contest for the senatorial nomination that would have been high political drama had Mr. Brown's late appearance in the Presidential race not overshadowed it.

Joseph D. Tydings, a one-term United States Senator who was defeated six years ago in a campaign that he charged was heavily influenced by Republican dirty tricks inspired by the Nixon White House, was making a comeback bid against a strong Democratic opponent, Representative Paul S. Sarbanes of Baltimore.

In November, the winner of that contest will oppose Senator J. Glenn Beall Jr., the Republican who defeated Mr. Tydings in 1970. Mr. Beall has already received his party's nomination. The tydings-Beall fued goes back to 1964, when Mr. Tydings entered the Senate at the age of 35 years by defeating the incumbent, Mr. Beall's father.

Governor Brown's seemingly spontaneous presidential campaign here became an organized stop-Carter drive two weeks ago when Governor Mandel quietly passed the word to his lifelong political allies in Baltimore to get out an anti-Carter vote for Mr. Brown.

The Maryland governor, although publicly neutral, had been supporting Senator Jackson in the preprimary campaigning until Mr. Jackson virtually withdrew last month.

Humphrey His Favorite

Mr. Mandel's real favorite for the nomination, however, was Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota .Beyond that, Mandel aides have said that the Maryland Governor dislikes Mr. Carter, whom he came to know at governors' conferences at which Mr. Mandel felt the Georgian did not keep his word.

When Mr. Humphrey also bowed out and the young, unorthodox Mr. Brown landed here on April 28, Governor Mandel was at the airport to greet him, along with Lieut. Gov. Blair Lee 3d and Francis B. Burch, Maryland's Democratic Attorney General. The strange alliance between the oldstyle political leaders of Baltimore's Democratic machine and the often mystical-sounding, "new generation" politics of Mr. Brown bloomed suddenly after Mr. Mandel acknowledged having had "a few phone calls" to party leaders here.

Some political leaders in the city, accordingly, labeled today's outcome something of a referendum on the power, if not the popularity, of Mr. Mandel. He goes on trial in Federal court here next month on charges of enriching friends through state contracts.

The city's Democratic machine has been in disarray, however, and its alliance with Mr. Brown was seen by some as a case of aging poitical leaders taking a ride on Mr. Brown's energetic campaign, as much as anything.

Governor Brown, contending that his entry here had been designed to "change the chemistry" of the Democrats' nominating process, had said that a strong finish here would "create an energy that cannot be ignored."

When polls here showed him making a dramatic gain on Mr. Carter—from a 7 percent preference rating in early April to 28 percent in a Baltimore Sun poll published yesterday—Mr. Brown annopnced plans to enter the Oregon primary a week from today and to campaign in Rhode Island, where the primary is on June 1. He is entered in the Nevada primary next Tuesday and in his home state of California on June 8, a race that he has caled the "super bowl" of primaries.

2 Ford Sons Will Campaign Tomorrow in Oregon and Ohio

WASHINGTON, May 18 (OKO (AP)—President Ford's youngest son, Steven, will join the political campaign for the first time with a swing into Oregon, the White House said today. He will visit Portland, Salem and Corvallis on Thursday, seeking votes for his father in the May 25 primary.

Meanwhile, Jack Ford will campaign in five cities in Ohio on Thursday. He will be in Piqua, Bowling Green, Columbus, Mansfield and Canton.

The President's children have separate voting registration places and, unlike their mother and father, it is not the crucial state of Michigan.

According to press secretary Sheila Weidenfeld, Jack is a registered voter in Utah, Susan in Virginia, son Michael and his wife Gayle in Massachusetts, and she believes Steve is registered to vote in California.

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Ford Delays Swearing In Of Election Unit Members

By WARREN WEAVER Jr.

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18—President Ford held up payment of more than $2 million in campaign subsidies for another week today by refusing to swear in five members of the Federal Election Commission until the Senate confirms the sixth.

As a result, none of the accumulated subsidy money will be available for the six Presidential primaries taking place May 25—in Oregon, Idaho, Nevada, Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee. Had the President sworn in the five commission members today, payments could have been made within an hour or two.

In all those primaries, Ronald Reagan is challenging President Ford for the Republican nomination. Mr. Reagan has pending before the commission unpaid claims for more than $1 million, of which $400,000 has been audited for immediate payment.

The additional week's delay will also mean that candidates will have subsidy money available for only last-minute investment in the three primaries scheduled for June 1—in Montana, Rhode Island and South Dakota. These also involve Ford-Reagan confrontations.

The Senate confirmed five commission members by voice vote just after noon today. All had been reappointed to the agency by the President yesterday. A sixth new member, William L. Springer of Illinois will

Continued on Page 46, Column 7

President Delays Swearing In Of 5 Election Unit Members

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

face a committee hearing Thursday or Friday and thus cannot be confirmed until early next week.

About the same time the Senate was acting, President Ford was telling a group of Arkansas television journalists that he "would hope that all six [commissioners] would be sworn in simultaneously." Asked if he then intended to hold up empowering the five to act, Mr. Ford replied, "That would be the more proper way to do it, yes."

A Balanced Panel

Informed that he would delay payment of campaign subsidies for another week, John Carlson, the deputy White House press secretary, replied, "They [Congress] want an equally balanced commission. As soon as they can act, we can act."

By statute, the election commission is composed of three Democrats and three Republicans. Without Mr. Springer, a former Republican House member, the agency would have a nominal Democratic majority of 3 to 2.

The five reappointed commissioners included: Joan D. Aikens and Vernon W. Thomson, Republicans; and Neil Staebler, Thomas E. Harris and Robert O. Tiernan, Democrats.

President Ford has filed claims for more than $1.6 million in subsidies, of which $865,000 has been audited for immediate payment. As the incumbent, he has been able to rely more heavily on private campaign contributions while subsidies have been frozen, and to avoid taking out loans.

Democratic candidates have felt the pinch of the subsidy freeze as well. Jimmy Carter has before the commission requests totaling nearly $750,000, of which $314,000 has been audited. Representative Morris K. Udall has filed for nearly $500,000, of which $240,000 has been cleared.

The Supreme Court stripped the commission of most of its major powers, including subsidy authorization, in a January decision that became fully effective March 22. Congress reconstituted the commission to meet the Court's objections in a bill passed March 4. President Ford waited a week before signing the bill and six more days before making appointments to the revived agency.

Scant Two Weeks

As a result of today's inaction, candidates will have subsidy money available only for two weeks before the climactic round of primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio on June 8.

In today's Senate debate, the minority whip, Senator Robert P. Griffin of Michigan, said that "legal questions could arise" if the commission attempted to take official action without "its full complement" of six members.

This contradicted a legal study made by the agency's general counsel, John G. Murphy Jr., who concluded that five members could act just as effectively as six. Under the new campaign law, the agency must have a minmum of four votes for any action.

All told, nine Presidential candidates filed today new claims for matching funds totaling almost $1.5 million. This brought the total backlog to just over $4 million, of which $2.2 million has been audited and awaits routine authorization.

Until mid-April, delay in reconstituting the election commission was attributable to slow action by Congress and its Democratic leadership. Then, however, Republican Senators forced a two-week postponement of final legislative approval of the compromise campaign bill, and for the last two weeks the White House has been primarily responsible for the delay.

GIVE REAL GRASS
GIVE FRESH AIR FUND

Independent Vote Key

Democrats in Michigan Crossed Over To Reagan—Nonpartisans Chose Ford

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Democrats and independents crossed over in substantial numbers to vote in yesterday's Michigan Republican primary, as the White House had feared. By a narrow margin, the Democrats preferred Ronald Reagan, but the far more numerous independents, the key element in most recent Michigan elections, chose the local boy, Gerald R. Ford, by almost 2 to 1.

News Analysis

Their support, combined with the President's overwhelming support among Republicans, who gave him three-quarters of their votes, was enough to give him the show of home-state strength that he needed to revive his flagging campaign. The threat of a Reagan runaway has been blunted, and the chances are now stronger that the rivals will fight it out at the convention.

Interviews by The New York Times and CBS News with some 1,600 voters as they left their polling places indicated that many of those who gave George C. Wallace of Alabama a landslide 51 percent of the vote in the 1972 Democratic primary stayed at home yesterday. Others may have voted but refused to admit for unknown reasons that they had supported the Alabamian.

Of the 24 percent of this year's electorate that professed to have backed Mr. Wallace in 1972, about half voted in the Republican primary and about half in the Democratic primary.

Vote by Independents Is Key in Michigan

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Mr. Reagan, who had sought to knock the President out of the race with an upset in Michigan, got two-thirds of the Wallace backers who chose a Republican ballot, but they were less numerous than he hoped.

About half the voters in the Republican primary were Republicans, about 15 percent Democrats, the rest independents.

As he had in the Illinois primary on March 16 and as he had failed to do since, while Mr. Reagan won five out of six contests between them, President Ford ran strongly in Michigan among most demographic groupings and among those on both sides of most major issues. That pattern suggested that his favorite-son status had aided him considerably.

Image as Party-Splitter

The Times/CBS News poll also showed that Mr. Reagan's image as a party splitter had hurt him. Almost half the Republican voters expressed concern about the problem, and they gave Mr. Ford more than 85 percent of their votes. Those who were not worried by divisiveness went narrowly for the California conservative.

On the Democratic side, former Gov. Jimmy Carter benefited from two endorsements and one personal trait, the poll indicated, in his race in Michigan with Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Rank-and-file members of the United Automobile Workers, the largest and most influential union in the state, followed the lead of their president, Leonard Woodcock, in supporting the Georgian. Mr. Carter got almost two-thirds of the U. A. W. votes, which comprised an astonishing 30 percent of the total, while losing among other union members.

A large percentage of the auto workers' membership in Michigan is composed of white Southerners and blacks, groups that have strongly supported Mr. Carter elsewhere, so he might conceivably have done nearly as well without Mr. Woodcock.

Helped By Black Votes

The endorsement of Mayor Coleman A. Young of Detroit was evidently worth more to Mr. Carter than the backing of Representative John Conyers Jr. meant to Mr. Udall among black voters. Mr. Carter won nearly two-thirds of the large black vote, the poll indicated.

And the former Georgia Governor, "born-again" Christian, scored a sweeping victory among his fellow Protestants. He won a large majority of those who agreed with the proposition, on the poll that "my main source of comfort in life is my faith in God." Among those who disagreed with that statement, Mr. Udall won.

The Udall voters were younger, better educated, more white-collar, more liberal and more interested in issues than the Carter voters. Asked whether they preferred a candidate with specific programmatic proposals or one who stressed the restoration of morality to government, the Democratic voters split neatly into two groups: programmatic-Udall and morality-Cater.

Mr. Ford's recovery in Michigan was evident in comparing the results there with those in neighboring Indiana, a somewhat more conservative but somewhat similar state, where Mr. Reagan won the primary on May 4 for his first Northern victory.

Stronger at Home

In Indiana, Mr. Ford won only a narrow margin among self-identifying Republican and lost among the independents. He was far stronger among both groups in the voting in his home state.

The President's Michigan showing would seem to augur well for his prospects in Ohio and New Jersey, the final two industrial states to vote, on June 8. Mr. Reagan, with the home-turf advantage that seemingly aided Mr. Ford yesterday, leads in California, which also votes that day. In the nine relatively small states that vote between now and then, the Californian is believed to hold an advantage, but the President's comeback last night may enable him to pull off an upset or two.

Only one issue appeared to hurt Mr. Ford severely in Michigan, and that was the one with which Mr. Reagan has been scourging him in other states. The President could eke out only a bare majority among those in the poll who agreed that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger had "conceded too much" to the Soviet Union.

Those on both sides of every other question in a long series of queries on issues went solidly for the incumbent. In Michigan, at least, issues were not much on the voters' minds.

1,600 VOTERS POLLED IN MICHIGAN SURVEY

The New York Times and CBS News polled about 1,600 Michigan voters yesterday as they left the polling places. Of these, about 900 were Republicans and about 700 were Democrats.

Twenty voting precincts were chosen in the state, and within each precinct each voter had an equal chance of being selected.

One possible source of error in a survey such as this is sampling error. One can say with 95 percent certainty that results based upon the entire sample differ by no more than 7 points, in either direction, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all voters in Michigan. For Republicans and Democrats alone, the margin of error would be 8 to 9 points.

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 Orren of Harvard University.

Brown Seeks Uncommitted Jersey Vote

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

ELIZABETH, N.J., May 18—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California appealed for the support of New Jersey's uncommitted Democratic delegates here tonight, promising them that a Brown Presidency "would restore honesty to the White House and put a paycheck in every pocket."

The Governor's appearance here coincided with the voting in the Maryland Democratic Presidential primary, an election, he told the delegates, that was a "good test" between him and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, who leads the Democratic Presidential race.

Twice Mr. Brown received a standing ovation in the ballroom of the Sheraton Inn here, and his appeal for votes was interrupted several times by applause.

According to one ranking Democratic Party official, if a vote had been taken after Mr. Brown left for Baltimore for the ballot counting, he would have won most of the delegation's 31 votes.

No Easy Nostrums

"I'm not offering any cheap or easy nostrums," the Governor declared. "We have a long hard struggle ahead of us. But with your help, we'll win."

That brought the delegates t otheir feet.

Initially, the uncommitted srategy adopted by the state's regular party leadership was a political holding operation for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

However, Mr. Humphrey refused to enter the June 8 primary election here, leaving the uncommitted strategy without a candidate—that is until Mr. Brown arrived today.

Although Governor Brown is not in the race here, either, Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman, and other party leadders strongly indicated that the Californian was their candidate, depending they said, on the outcome of today's vote in Maryland.

"If he's a stalking horse for someone else," o ndelegate remarked, "then we're going to nominate the first stalking horse in convention history."

Earlier, the Governor arrived shortly before 2 P.M. at Newark Airport, where he was met by Mayors Kenneth A. Gibson of Newark and Paul T. Jordan of Jersey City.

Standing by was the third-grade class of Our Lady of Mercy School in Jersey City, shouting and applauding the Governor as he emerged from his flight from Rhode Island.

"We're on a field trip to the Allegheny Airlines terminal," one teacher explained.

Mayor Jordan took the Governor to Jersey City where he visited a plant that manufactures bathrobes and held an impromptu news conference outside.

However, Mr. Brown's foray into Jersey City, where Mayors like Frank Hague and John V. Kenny could once turn out thousands of Democratic partisans at a moment's notice, was a modest media event by comparison.

Reporters and television camera crews along with political hangers-on by far outnumbered anyone Mr. Brown encountered making bathrobes or in Journal Square later.

Not the Same Governor

At one sewing machine, Mr. Brown approached Toula Makris, who was busy stitching the seams on a bright red robe.

"Hello, I'm Governor Brown and I'm running for President," he said.

"That's nice, Governor Byrnes," she said.

"No, no, I'm Governor Brown," he corrected her after he was told he had been mistaken for the New Jersey Governor, who was supporting his rival today in the Maryland primary, Jimmy Carter.

"I hope you'll vote for the uncommitted slate in the primary," Mr. Brown told her.

"Don't worry," Mrs. Makris said, "you got my vote, Governor Byrnes."

After Mr. Brown went looking for someone else's vote, his head shaking ever so slightly, Mrs. Makris was asked if she knew who he was.

"I haven't got the slightest idea," she said.

Journal Square Tour

Then, Mayor Jordan, who said he was "tremendously impressed" by Mr. Brown, took him on a walk through Journal Square, which old-time Democratic politicians in New Jersey regard as hallowed ground.

"Kenny helped make John Kennedy right on this very spot," one Democratic captain chortled.

But the Jordan-Brown entourage failed to attract much attention ! up 4. and it quickly disappeared down into the Journal Square PATH station, where Mr. Brown tried to take a rapid transit train to Newark. But there was no train. After five minutes, there were the predictable jokes such as Governor Byrne ordering the power turned off.

After 10 minutes, Senator Dugan began to panic a little. But a train finally pulled in and Mr. Brown spent the 10-minute ride to Newark chatting with Lois McMullen, a divinity student at Princeton Theological Seminary.

"He was simply delightful," she said afterward.

2 U.S. Frigates Due to Visit 4 West African Ports

WASHINGTON, May 18 (Reuters)—Two United States warships will visit several West African ports late this month on their way to the Indian Ocean to relieve ships of the U.S. Middle East Force, the Navy said.

The frigate Donald B. Beary is scheduled to visit Dakar, Senegal, and Monrovia, Liberia. The frigate Capodanno will visit Conakry, Guinea, and Banjul, Gambia.

After the visits the warships will enter the Mediterranean and pass through the Suez Canal into the Indian Ocean, the Navy said.

Strauss to Quit After the Democratic Convention

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18 — Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, said today that he expected to give up his party leadership post after the July convention but would remain available for any kind of political service the Presidential nominee might suggest.

Mr. Strauss told a reporters' breakfast that he assumed that Jimmy Carter or any other Democratic nominee would want to put his own political advisers in charge of the party machinery for the general election.

"The last day of the convention, my term is up," the chairman declared, "and I'm going to tell the nominee: 'I'll do anything you want me to do to help get you elected, and I hope it's carrying my district in Dallas.'"

There have been reports that Mr. Carter told campaign aides he would replace Mr. Strauss if he were nominated at New York City. The chairman noted that party rules automatically created a vacancy in his job after the convention but indicated he would stay on if asked.

Asked if he would rather see the Democratic candidate run against PrPesident Ford or Ronald Regan, Mr. Strauss said it was a case of "Twiddle dee and Twiddle dum" because "the tone and pace of the Republican campaign has already been set."

The Democratic official said the President had hurt himself politically by fighting the Democratic-controlled Congress rather than wooing it. He also charged that a "bum" Ford campaign staff had let Mr. Reagan seize the initiative and control many of the President's political positions.

Having abandoned the quota system in effect in 1972, Mr. Strauss said, the Democratic convention will still have substantial representation of women, blacks and Spanish-speaking delegates but regrettably only a "negligible" number of people under age 30.

Mr. Strauss said he would turn the party over to the Presidential nominee in July with campaign and registration plans in place, all but $2 million of its former $10 million debt paid and the rest budgeted and "cash in the bank."

Democrats Stress Jobs in Platform Talks

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 18— Three of the heaviest hitters in the Democratic political lineup —Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Hubert H. Humphrey and Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr.—went before the party's Platform Committee today with the same basic message.

The dominant issue in the election campaign, they said, is going to be the economy, and the thrust of the Democratic platform must be a pledge to find a job for every American who wants to work.

The members of the Platform Committee had been sitting and fidgeting for two days through a series of speeches by the party's lesser lights. But the familiar faces and voices of Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Humphrey and Mr. O'Neill, three of the most accomplished stump speakers in the party, brought them to their feet with enthusiastic applause.

More Programs Urged

Whomever the party nominates for President, it is likely, according to many members of the committee, that the presentations of the three members of Congress will be reflected in the platform adopted at the national convention in July.

They accused the Republicans of driving the country into recession and called for a series of steps to stimulate the economy.

If there is an anti-Washington, anti-government mood in the country, as former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the leader in the race for the Presidential nomination, has been saying, it was not evident at the platform hearings today.

The witnesses sought more government action, not less; additional programs, not fewer.

"I'd rather be held responsible for action than to be held responsible for inaction and indifference," Senator Humphrey declared. His voice rising, his eyes and hands animated, he began to recite from the preamble to the Constitution.

He paused for a moment, took a breath and said: "The purpose of our Government is to do justice. The whole thrust of the Constitution is a program of action."

Senator Kennedy, too, argued for action. "We are ready now to dothe things we have left undone for so long," he said.

The hearings today almost did not take place. The National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians, which is involved in a labor dispute with the NBC, had a picket line at the Hyatt Regency Hotel, where the hearings were scheduled, and most of the witnesses refused to enter the hotel.

Ironically, many of the witnesses who were thus prevented from testifying were labor officials.

At lunchtime, the party arranged to transfer the hearings from the hotel to the caucus from in the Russell Senate Office Building. Traditionally unions do not picket at the Capitol. Although NBC continued to use a nonunion crew to record the proceedings, no picket line was established, and the hearings continued.

Proposed Planks Listed

Among the planks sought by Mr. Kennedy and Mr. O'Neill, who are from Massachusetts, and Mr. Humphrey, a Minnesotan, were the following:

Enactment of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which would set a national goal of a 3 percent adult unemployment rate within four years.

¶Vigorous Government action to keep the lid on inflation.

¶Changes in the tax laws to make the rich pay more and the poor less.

¶Establishment of a national health insurance system.

¶Revitalization of the nation's cities.

"The Republicans," Mr. O'Neill, the House Majority Leader, said, "have no faith in a government which is directly responsive to the needs of the average citizen."

Democrats, he argued, "believe that government must play a leadership role in the nation's economy."

London Bookmaker Pats Carter at Even Money

LONDON, May 17 (AP)— Ladbrokes, the bookmaking house, reported Monday that it had taken more than $100,000 in bets on the United States Presidential elections, with most of the bets coming from America. Ron Pollard, an oddsmaker, predicted the firm would take in more than $1 million.

"I have never known such interest," said Mr. Pollard, who changed the odds today on Jimmy Carter, President Ford and Ronald Reagan while leaving them in that order as favorites.

Mr. Carter now is even money. He had been 5 to 4 you bet $4 to win $5, plus your stake back).

Mr. Ford moved from 2-1 to 7-4 in the latest shuffle, and Mr. Reagan from 9-4 to 5-2.

For those who want to bet for a party only, it's 5 to 6 on both the Republlacns and Democrats.

Ladbrokes's odds start with his assessment of the chances of the candidate, but are changed according to betting pressure, Mr. Pollard said.

The Weather
Variably cloudy, chance of
:h near 70, low near 50.
of rain 60 per cent. Wed-
Variably cloudy, high mid
lerday—3 p.m. air index:
. range: 80-65. Details B2.

The Washington Post

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Amusements C 7 Finar
Classified B 7 Metr
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Strauss Reminds Platform Drafters of '68, '72

Democrats Are Urged to End Bickering

By Peter Milius
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss urged his party's platform committee yesterday to bury the "myopia, bitterness, pettiness and often downright stupidity" that he said cost the Democrats the last two presidential elections.

He issued his call for conciliation as the 153-member committee began a final four days of hearings, and after committee members spent the morning skirmishing over their chairman and the members of the platform drafting subcommittee.

First, blacks succeeded in keeping Rhode Island Gov. Philip W. Noel from the permanent chairmanship of the platform committee; and Minnesota Gov. Wendell R. Anderson was elected in his place. Then a coalition of liberals and blacks failed in an attempt to oust former U.N. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan from a seat on the 15-member platform drafting subcommittee.

The committee then began making its way through a list of about 100 anticipated witnesses. But several scheduled witnesses including AFL-CIO President George Meany and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a presidential candidate, failed to appear. Striking NBC broadcast employees had a picket line at the entrance to the Hyatt Regency Hotel, where the hearings are being held, and Meany and Wallace refused to cross.

Noel, had been the committee's temporary chairman, but had come under attack from blacks for remarks he made when asked about school busing in an interview last fall. The attacks continued after Noel apologized for the remarks. Noel said he was withdrawing simply to avoid divisiveness.

Moynihan was opposed mainly for his hard-line on foreign policy, and particularly toward so-called Third World nations. Sam Brown of Colorado, who first ap-

See PLATFORM, A5, Col. 1

Democratic Platform Panel Is Urged to End Bickering

PLATFORM, From A1

peared on the national Democratic stage in 1968 as an organizer of the antiwar, pro-McCarthy movement, said, "I don't believe Daniel Patrick Moynihan in any way reflects the foreign policy of the Democratic Party."

But Moynihan was sustained by a top-heavy vote of 71 to a total of 29 for two rival candidates.

Veterans of 1968 and 1972 took the vote as an early sign that this year's convention may be, as one put it, "less ideological" than the last two.

Strauss may have caught at least part of the mood in his introductory remarks. "The Democratic Party fully understands now what we couldn't understand in the past," he said, perhaps hopefully, "that our internal bickering, our internal warfare brought this nation disaster in the persons of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford."

The chairman of the drafting subcommittee will be Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis. The subcommittee and full committee are scheduled to write and approve the platform in a series of six sessions in mid-June. It will then be subject to final approval at the convention beginning July 12 in New York.

Wallace will not be the only candidate not to appear before the committee. Front-running former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter sent a telegram yesterday saying he would submit a written statement before the drafting begins rather than testify this week, which he said was impossible because of all the primary states in which he has to campaign.

Carter spoke in the telegram as if he were already the nominee: "I do not intend to attempt to dictate the substance of the Democratic platform," he said. Four of the 15 drafting subcommittee members are Carterites, four are uncommitted, and the others are scattered among other candidates. The platform committee's membership is supposed to reflect delegate strength among the presidential hopefuls.

Yesterday's witnesses ran the gamut from Ralph Nader to American Petroleum Institute president Frank Ikard. New Orleans Mayor Moon Landrieu, president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, spoke out for revenue sharing and the cities.

Meany, in his written testimony, called on the party to commit itself to full employment and lashed out at those politicians who have spent the year attacking "big government and social programs."

"They would retreat from the 20th century to that so-called 'simpler' time when the social ills of poverty, deprivation and discrimination were left to right themselves—the good old days' of sweatshops, segregation, starvation," Meany said.

The committee also heard in person from Joseph L. Rauh Jr. and Clarence M. Mitchell of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, who urged the party to endorse busing, scattered site public housing and other integration tools, and not heed "the bugles of retreat being trumpeted in various quarters of the Democratic Party."

K

Carter Lashes Udall 'Negativism'

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

LIVONIA, Mich., May 17—Jimmy Carter, fighting the two forces that could combine to stall his bandwagon in the Michigan Democratic presidential primary Tuesday, today lashed out at rival Morris K. Udall and urged Democrats not to cross over into the more hotly contested Republican primary.

Carter is regarded as the Democratic favorite here. But Udall stands to benefit if conservative Democrats, especially supporters of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, reject Carter in favor of helping decide the Republican contest between President Ford and Ronald Reagan.

At a press conference in Washington before flying here, Carter accused Udall of running an "almost entirely negative campaign" against him that he said included an attack "on religious grounds" during the New Hampshire primary campaign in February.

Udall, campaigning in Marquette, Mich., said in a telephone interview that he was "appalled and puzzled" by Carter's charges. "I don't think anyone in this race has run a more positive campaign than I have," he said.

When reporters who had covered Udall said they could not remember him mentioning Carter's religion in the New Hampshire race, Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, said, "I'm not sure he [Udall] personally said anything about his [Carter's] religious beliefs but it's been a fairly consistent theme" of Udall campaign workers in New Hampshire and elsewhere.

Later Powell said Julian Bond, a black Georgia state legislator who is supporting Udall, wrote a memorandum in which he compared Carter with former President Nixon, criticized Carter's racial record as governor of Georgia and accused him of displaying "religiosity." Powell said the memo was circulated during the Wisconsin primary.



MAYOR COLEMAN YOUNG ... calls Udall a "crybaby"

Carter made his charge in response to Udall's demand that he repudiate Detroit Mayor Coleman Young's criticism of Udall's Mormon background.

Young, a prominent black supporter of Carter, accused Udall last week of belonging to a church that discriminates against blacks. Udall responded that he left the Mormon church 30 years ago because of its racial exclusion policies. After Young called Udall a "crybaby," the Arizona congressman called on Carter to disassociate himself from the charge.

At his press conference at Washington's Union Station, Carter said he would only consider repudiating the statement if Udall "will apologize for all the misleading statements he has made against me."

Carter, who normally has little to say about Udall and his thus-far second-place campaign, then launched a counterassault:

"But Congressman Udall, among all the candidates in this country, has run almost entirely a negative campaign—in Iowa, where the major thrust of his campaign was to attack me and Sen. [Birch] Bayh, in New Hampshire, [where] the main thrust of his campaign was to attack me on religious grounds, on the ground that I was a friend of and supporter of Lester Maddox and George Wallace and therefore I was a racist. And his advertising campaign now in Michigan is now almost 100 percent negative.

"If he will apologize for everything he's said about me, I would be much more interested in trying to orient the comments of my supporters. I don't have any intention of trying to tell Mayor Young how to speak for himself. He's able to speak for himself."

Carter said he did not know anything about Udall's religious ties or the Mormon church and "has always tried to avoid reference to someone else's religion."

If Udall has repudiated discriminatory aspects of Mormonism, Carter said, "it's a very admirable thing for him to do."

Udall specifically rejected the accusation that he had ever criticized Carter "on religious grounds" or portrayed him as "a racist."

"When the 'ethnic purity' thing came up," Udall said, "I repeatedly emphasized that much as I was disturbed by Gov. Carter's language, I knew he was no racist."

Staff writer David S. Broder contributed to this article.

Liberal Church Stumps West Waxing Conservative, Specific

By Paul G. Edwards
Washington Post Staff Writer

BOISE, Idaho, May 17—Frank Church concluded three days of campaigning throughout his Western home base today, presenting himself as the last presidential hope for moderate-liberal Democrats while in fact reflecting a moderate-conservative viewpoint on a broad range of specific issues.

In three speeches and a dozen question-and-answer sessons with press and public, the Idaho senator:

- Called for a Supreme Court review of its busing decisions.
- Opposed federal gun controls in any form.
- Supported the renewal of clearcutting of national forest timber.
- Took a permissive attitude toward proliferation of nuclear power plants.
- Advocated the right of states rather than the federal government to decide fundamental domestic policy questions whenever possible.

Even in foreign policy, where opposition to the war in Vietnam helped nurture his liberal image, Church's answers seemed simply to be the current embodiment of the well-established non-interventionist philosophy expounded by such other heartland figures as Robert Taft, J. W. Fulbright and Mike Mansfield.

Church's moderate-conservative positions are well documented by his 20-year record in the Senate. But his effort to turn the Democratic primaries into an issues forum, and the unrelenting specificity of his answers, may disconcert some of those Democrats around the country who are the object of his appeals.

It is generally believed that in the Nebraska primary Church managed to beat Jimmy Carter, the front-runner for the Democratic nomination, by rallying the liberal supporters of Hubert H. Humphrey, Morris K. Udall, Edward M. Kennedy, Henry M. Jackson and Fred Harris.

Again and again on this campaign swing, Church called for backers of those five to unite behind him Never, however, did he appear to flinch at a question that might produce an answer offensive to the liberal wing of the party.

In a broad-brush way, his speeches dealt with the apparent contradictions in his beliefs by insisting that contradictions are inescapable in a thoughtful approach to the country's problems.

"I am as conservative as Sam Ervin in my views on the constitutional rights of the individual," he said. "I am as progressive as Teddy Roosevelt in my view of the monopolistic powers of huge corporations. I am as liberal as Franklin Roosevelt in my belief that the federal government should provide jobs and not welfare for the jobless. I am as common-sensical as the American people in my belief that America should not involve itself in futile foreign wars."

In Montana, Church sometimes substituted the name of Majority Leader Mansfield, the state's retiring senior senator, for "American people" when describing his common-sense foreign policy.

Church is striving for victories in his home state on May 25 and in Montana on June 1 impressive enough to sustain his late candidacy if he fails to win in Oregon, which also votes on May 25.

Church is counting on victories in the West to attract national press attention as he goes into the June 8 primaries in three states with big convention delegations: California, Ohio and New Jersey.

Despite the first wave of publicity generated by his Nebraska victory, his press following through the two states last weekend was meager: Only one television network, CBS, and two large newspapers, The Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post.

Although the sprawling mountain-and-plains states offer a colorful setting, Church's cerebral style sometimes seemed to have a bleaching effect.

At the annual Bucking Horse Auction in Miles City, Mont., on Saturday he shook some hands and then sat rather stiffly in the back of a pickup truck while a lusty crowd of thousands around him drank beer by the six-pack and bet on horse races between sales of rodeo broncs.

He doffed his coat, but in tie and wing-tip shoes, he looked positively Wilsonian in a setting that called for a Teddy Roosevelt. At the 1960 auction, Teddy Kennedy got national picture publicity by riding a bronco as he campaigned for his brother, the late President.

Church did much better at a packed campaign headquarters in Billings earlier Saturday. For almost 30 minutes he was peppered with questions by Montanans on everything from wheat sales abroad to federal aid for the arts.

The persistent inquiries seem to legitimize his assessment of the Nebraska campaign victory: "Proof that the people are hungry to talk about the issues."

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	582
Jackson	201
Udall	192
Wallace	138
Stevenson	86
Humphrey	56
Church	16
Harris	15
Walker	2
McCormack	2
Bayh	1
Brown	1
Uncommitted	318
Total chosen to date	1,610
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Florida, North and South Carolina, Canal Zone, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, N.Y., Arizona, Alaska, Virgin Islands, Penn., Wyoming, Louisiana, Illinois, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Nebraska, N.M. and partial selection in Puerto Rico, Iowa, Texas, Kansas, Minnesota, Ala., D.C. and West Va.

REPUBLICANS:

Reagan	481
Ford	334
Uncommitted	374
Total chosen to date	1,189
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Puerto Rico, D.C., North and South Carolina, Wisc., Ind., N.Y., Guam, Miss., Maine, Ariz., Penn., Georgia, Ala., Neb., Wyo., West Virginia, Virgin Islands, Hawaii and Oklahoma and partial selection in Illinois, Minnesota, Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri and Virginia.

Coming up today: The Maryland primary with 53 Democratic delegates and 43 Republican delegates and the Michigan primary with 133 Democratic delegates and 84 Republican delegates.

-The Washington Post

Dripping
Showers, thunderstorms through tonight. High today in low 70s. Low tonight near 50. Cloudy, cool tomorrow. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Carter Set For Tight One In Maryland

Says Narrow Brown Victory Wouldn't Be Serious Reversal

By Michael Kiernan
And James B. Rowland
Washington Star Staff Writers

Jimmy Carter — the Democratic front-runner who estimates he has roughly four times as many delegates as any of his rivals for the presidential nomination — is again engaged in a primary election where he is taking little for granted.

Anticipating a close race in Maryland today against California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., Carter appeared to be preparing for the possibility of bad news as he blitzed through early yesterday.

"A narrow victory by Gov. Brown won't be a serious setback," Carter told reporters on a Metroliner leaving Baltimore.

REGARDLESS of the outcome of the preferential primary, Carter said, he would still win more than half the 40 delegates to be elected in eight congressional district races. Party officials will choose 13 other delegates next month. Some 600,000 voters, half the Democrats registered in Maryland, are expected to vote before polls close at 8 p.m.

Emerging from a strategy meeting in Baltimore yesterday, one member of Gov. Marvin Mandel's team predicted Brown would beat Carter, and throughout Maryland the suggestion was clear: Democratic organizations, ranging from old line politicians in Baltimore to the more sophisticated power brokers in Prince Georges, would be out in force to beat Carter and take credit for providing Brown a winning margin.

A Baltimore Sun poll released yesterday had Carter ahead of Brown by some 3 percentage points, with as many as 25 percent of all registered Democrats undecided as of Thursday.

What has confused many voters — and alarmed Carter — is the sudden change in Maryland's political atmosphere, the result of a lightning bolt in the form of skinny, fast-talking Jerry Brown, who at 38 is described by the labor officials and Maryland politicians who support him as "the hottest thing in politics since Bobby Kennedy."

DRAWING LARGE crowds even in Western Maryland and along the Eastern Shore, Brown has transformed what figured to be a "beauty contest" of marginal interest into a two-way horserace of national importance.

Carter first began to take Brown seriously 10 days ago. Since then he has tried to put together a last-minute campaign organization which until recently appeared no match to that put together by Brown's influential friends, which include Mandel, Baltimore County Executive Ted Venetoulis and Prince Georges County kingpin Peter O'Malley.

Carter has lashed out at the Californian as a tool of Maryland politicians and has used a heavy radio and television advertising blitz to take his message into Maryland homes.

He has brought in his top organization people, increased his personal campaigning in the state and encouraged some 120 Georgia volunteers and relatives to help over the last four days.

BROWN, AT first reluctant to get into a name-calling contest, began

See MARYLAND, A-6

MARYLAND

Continued From A-1

swinging away last week. On Friday, Brown all but called Carter a hyprocrite as the Californian repeated a charge made by Mandel a day earlier that Carter aides had sought support from some of the same politicans who now support Brown. Carter, replying, challenged Brown to name those politicians.

Brown may have an edge simply because he has spent more time campaigning in the state and because he is credited with turning a lackluster primary of little interest into something Marylanders can watch on the national news and read about at length in their newspapers.

Brown has shown considerable skill in campaigning, sounding like a new frontiersman of the John F. Kennedy administration at one stop and like a follower of Alabama Gov. C. Wallace with his send-them-a-message theme at the next.

THIS CONTEST has overshadowed the Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate, in which former Sen. Joseph D. Tydings is in a close race with Baltimore Congressman Paul Sarbanes for the nomination to oppose incumbent Republican J. Glenn Beall. A large turnout today was expected to help Tydings in his comeback effort.

Besides Brown and Carter, five other candidates will appear on today's Democrjtic presidential ballot, including Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Wallace, who are still active candidates but have not campaigned extensively in Maryland.

The Brown-Carter showdown has also eclipsed the Republican presidential primary, in which President Ford was expected to defeat challenger Ronald Reagan and win most of the 24 convention delegates at stake. Nineteen other GOP delegates will be selected later.

Udall and Wallace both could play the role of spoiler, Udall taking votes away from Brown among liberal voters and Wallace similarly hurting Carter among conservatives.

CARTER IS counting heavily on support from conservative suburbanites as well as Dixiecrats on the Eastern Shore who voted for Wallace four years ago.

He is also hopeful of a strong black turnout for him in Baltimore, which is nearly 50 percent black, but Brown's supporters are also well organized in the city.

Baltimore Sun polls indicate Brown has strong support among young Democrats, women, Catholics, Jews, and liberals who voted for McGovern.

Carter, in contrast, is more likely to draw support form Protestants, conservatives, older voters and those who say they voted for Nixon in 1972.

In the end, the race could be settled in the Baltimore nd Washington suburbs if Carter musters enough support in Western Maryland and along the Eastern Shore to offset Brown's expected strength among party loyalists in Baltimore.

Japanese Police Order Crackdown On Hotrodders

New York Times News Service

TOKYO — Japan's national police agency has ordered a nationwide crackdown on young motorcyclists and "hotrodders" after a riot in Kobe late Saturday night in which a news photographer was killed.

The agency, which is similar to the American FBI, ordered local police forces to break up gatherings of hotrodders and to take more rigid precautions against onlookers who might turn into a mob.

The agency reported that over the weekend, 9,600 hotrodders turned out in 3,540 cars and 1,470 motorcycles in 19 of Japan's 47 states.

The worst scene was in Kobe, in central Japan, where 10,000 people rioted, overturning about 35 cars and setting them afire. Stone-throwing battles with police raged through the night, with some 35 persons injured and about 30 police cars set on fire. In the melee a local photographer was killed but it was not clear how he died.

Worm Diggers Go on Strike

WISCASSET, Main (AP) — Bloodworm diggers, hipboot deep in mud and inflation, have gone on strike in the marine worm capital of the world, where diggers bait the hooks of the nation's sports fishermen.

Maine bloodworms are prized by sports fishermen as far away as California, and digging is a multimillion dollar industry in Maine. There are 1,250 licensed worm diggers, and the Wiscasset area is home for many of them.

The diggers here went on strike Sunday after demanding a $20-per-thousand-worm increase in the price they receive from dealers. They now get $50 per thousand, or 5 cents per worm. The strike is said to be spreading to other coastal towns.

P

Clues to Watch In Crucial GOP Michigan Vote

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

If you want a reading on how President Ford is faring in Michigan tonight, watch the vote for Jimmy Carter.

Carter's goal in the Democratic primary there is a flat majority of the vote. If he seems to be falling far short of it, Ford may be in serious trouble against Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary.

This is the case because Reagan's chances of upsetting Fordnin Michigan apparently rely heavily on Democrats and independents who might otherwise be inclined to vote for Carter. If Carter gets them, Reagan does not — and, according to the consensus of Michigan politicians, Ford will win on his base of strength among regular Republicans.

THESE INTERPARTY calculations are possible because Michigan's electorate is notoriously volatile and unfettered. There is no party registration, and more voters split their tickets than follow the Republican or Democratic line. Most important, the primary is open, meaning any voter can choose either side after he walks into the booth.

The Ford-Reagan contest in Michigan is far and away the most important primary today. Another Ford defeat, coming after five losses in the last six primaries, would leave his campaign a shambles. Although no one in the White House is saying so out loud, there is already speculation among leading Republicans about whether the President might be forced to withdraw should he lose his home state.

A Ford victory, unless of landslide proportions, would put a little color in his cheeks without necessarily curing his political malaise. In that case the Republican contest would move on to later critical primaries in Oregon next week and California June 8.

See PRIMARIES, A-6

PRIMARIES

Continued From A-1

The Democratic primary in Michigan is supposed to be pro forma. Carter is heavily favored to defeat Morris K. Udall and George C. Wallace, the only active candidates competing there. If he doesn't, the whole Democrjtic situation will be in turmoil once again.

THE DEMOCRATIC focus today is on the second primary, in Maryland, and the challenge to Carter there from Edmund G. Brown, the latest phenomenon of the month in the 1976 campaign. Both major public opinion polls depict the primary as close enough to go either way.

What the polls don't show is what, if anything, a Brown victory would mean to the shape of the contest for the Democratic nomination. The California governor has no delegate candidates entered, so Carter will get most of the 53 Maryland will send to the Democratic National Convention in New York in July.

But Carter, who was beaten by Frank Church in Nebraska last week, clearly doesn't warm up to the prospect of being cuffed around by a new rival each week. Thus he has intensified his own campaign effort in Maryland in the final 10 days.

The defeat of BroN WOULD BE A VALUABLE FOR Carter. It would mean the Californian would have only one other arena to challenge Carter, Brown's home state, and Carter could afford to treat that one lightly if he had Brown on neutral territory.

PERHAPS equally important for Carter is the fact that a victory over Brown would put to rest the notion that this perplexing 38-year-old, self-proclaimed ascetic has some special, mystical connection with the electorate that conventional politicians cannot understand.

The Republican contest in Maryland is no contest at all. Neither candidate has campaigned there, which means Reagan is ceding most of the state's 43 delegates to the President.

Michigan offers Democrats a rich delegate prize — 133 votes. Primary voters today will name 100 of them by congressional districts and the other 33 will be chosen by the party later and aportioned on the basis of the vote today.

Thus, Carter easily could add more than 100 delegates from Michigan and Maryland to the 800 or so he now claims to be committed to his candidacy.

On the Republican side in Michigan, 84 delegates will be elected and divided between the two candidates on the basis of their popular vote. But the delegate contests are secondary. The question today is whether Fordnis capable of breaking the slide that began in Texas 18 days ago.

IRS Asks Twice On Campaign Contributions

United Press International

The Internal Revenue Service doesn't always take a taxpayer's "no" for an answer for the Presidential Election Campaign Fund.

The IRS says it sent nearly 2 million follow-up notices to taxpayers who did not designate $1 of their tax money to the campaign fund in 1975. A spokesman said yesterday that the IRS is pursuing its follow-up program again this year.

The spokesman said the follow-up program was part of an IRS response to a 1973 lawsuit brought by Common Cause to compel the IRS to give more publicity to the campaign fund.

He said the follow-up notices were only being sent to taxpayers who were being notified of a mathematical error or some other problem with respect to their tax returns.

Strauss Promises Party a Platform Acceptable to Al

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

Vowing to end the "myopia, bitterness, pettiness and downright stupidity" that brought the Democratic party to disaster in 1972, Robert S. Strauss, chairman of the party's national committee, says Democrats "have fully learned our lessons" and will draw up a platform that will be agreeable to all segments of the party.

Strauss made his remarks yesterday as 145 Democrats sat down at the Hyatt Regency Hotel for four days of hearings on proposals to be considered for platform planks.

THE PROGRAM, which includes almost 100 witnesses, hit a snarl shortly after Strauss' opening remarks as two star witnesses — Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace and George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO — notified the Democrats that they would not appear yesterday because of a picket line put up around the hotel by striking NBC technicians. The picket line was removed later in the day.

Meany sent the committee a 10-page statement urging the Democrats to support full employment as an "absolute necessity."

Another noteworty absentee, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, sent a telegram saying he could not appear because he was busy campaigning. The telegram said Carter would not "attempt to dictate the substance of the Democratic platform," and that he applauds new party rules which have relied on regional hearings to develop a better consensus of what the party wants in a platform.

Consumer advocate Ralph Nader, perhaps the best known of the battery of witnesses who followed Strauss, said the most meaningful reform the party could advocate would be a law requiring the federal chartering of the nation's top 700 corporations.

NADER ALSO said there should be new laws to protect government employes who expose wasteful federal programs and policies and a system that would allow taxpayers to make automatic contributions to tax reform groups by checking a box on their tax returns.

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., counsel of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, called for further action in the area of civil rights. He asked for the platform to repudiate a recent law that would prevent busing in certain areas where there are segregated schools.

Donald M. Fraser, president of the Americans for Democratic Action, said that the party should make full employment, tax reform and a comprehensive health care system its first three priorities.

Moon Landrieu, the mayor of New Orleans and president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said he wanted to see a "very strong commitment to general revenue sharing at such levels that will permit us to rebuild the cities."

ROBERT G. LEWIS, secretary of the National Farmers Union, said the party should adopt a plan to return the nation's farmers to price support loans at 90 percent of parity on wheat, soybeans, corn and other basic crops. Such a move, he said, is necessary to remove the farmer from the "boom and bust" cycle of farm prices.

James Flug, counsel of a consumer-oriented group called Energy Action, said that the "watershed issue" for the platform committee this year will be a proposal which would require major oil companies to sell off entities which give them control over the fuel cycle from oil production and refining to retail marketing. Such divestiture, he said, would promote competition within the industry and result in lower fuel prices.

Asked about the issue, another witness, Frank N. Ikard, head of the American Petroleum Institute, the industry's lobbying arm, said that it would have a "devastating effect" on the fuel supply system and would raise fuel prices. It would create confusion, he said, by forcing oil companies to "spin off $150 billion worth of assets."

IN A BUSINESS session that prededed the hearing, the 153-member platform committee named Minnesota Gov. Wendell Anderson as chairman and Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis as chairman of the 15-member subcommittee that will draft the language of the platform.

Anderson replaced Rhode Island Gov. Philip Noel, who had been the committee's temporary chairman but resigned yesterday.

Noel, who has come under fire from civil rights groups for remarks he had made concerning busing of ghetto students to school, said he stepped down "because unfortunately I have become the center of controversy regarding a remark that I made that, taken out of context, has caused some controversy to the Democrats."

The platform committee rejected a move to bar Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former ambassador to the United Nations, from the drafting subcommittee.

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Ford Victorious in Two States; Carter Wins One, Loses One

By ANDREW MOLLISON
and JOSEPH ALBRIGHT
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—Jimmy Carter's frontrunning bandwagon hit a bump in the road Tuesday.

California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., a political upstart running in his first primary, whipped Carter by 10 percentage points in Maryland.

Carter beat Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall in Michigan by a smaller-than-expected margin, failing to put a finish to the liberal standard-bearer's persistent challenge.

However, Carter emerged from Tuesday's balloting with his 14th primary win and maintained a lead of about three-to-one over his nearest challenger, Udall, in committed delegates.

But the "beauty contest" defeat by Brown—coming on the heels of a loss to newcomer Sen. Frank Church of Idaho in last week's Nebraska primary—slowed Carter's drive for a clear mandate as the favorite for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The Georgian once again missed his chance to convince party regulars that they had better board his bandwagon quickly because of the inevitability of a first ballot victory in July's Democratic National Convention in New York City.

Carter apparently met one goal. He gathered almost precisely the 100 delegates he predicted he would get out of the 186 available Tuesday.

He apparently won 67 in Michigan and 25 district delegates in Maryland, with another eight at-large delegates available to him later under Maryland's proportional representation rules.

"We'll have at least 1,000 before we get to New Jersey, Ohio and California," Carter said Tuesday night. "I don't take anything away from Gov. Brown for winning the popular vote, but we got our delegates."

Brown was glowing after his Maryland victory, even though he got no delegates, because he entered the race too late to field a slate.

Calling Maryland a "microcosm" of the nation, Brown said:

"I've got a hunch people are really ready for a new generation of leadership."

Brown said that the hard-driving, late-starting approach he used in Maryland "may work in Oregon and California and across the country."

Udall won 60 delegates in Michigan, according to partial returns. "It is now very clear that I will go to that convention with more delegates than anyone but Carter," Udall said. "I am in it all the way and if Carter falters, I will be ready to take up the lead."

Joking about what appeared to be his seventh second-place finish this year, Udall said, "We're going to be like Avis; we'll try a little harder."

In both states, very few voters chose to vote for any of the other once-prominent candidates listed on the primary ballot.

Alabama Gov. George Wallace, who won both states in 1972, trailed in both with considerably less than 10 per cent of the vote.

The only consistent winners in Tuesday's Democratic contests were the party's party regulars.

In heavily unionized Michigan, the United Auto Workers backed Carter. In politically well-organized Maryland, Democratic machines in Baltimore and in Prince Georges County in the Washington, D.C., suburbs backed Brown.

Even the Republicans at the headquarters of double primary winner Gerald Ford were closely following the Democratic results.

See DEMOCRATS, Page 6-A

Democrats

From Page 1-A

Peter Kaye, press secretary for the President Ford Committee, said:

"The Carter bandwagon may be in trouble. All of a sudden, Carter doesn't look as formidable as he did a week ago."

He said he hoped the "revival of interest o in the Democratic party all of a sudden" would discourage conservative Democrats who might otherwise plan to cross over to future Republican primaries in Idaho and New Jersey.

A survey completed Monday by the Democratic National Committee found that Carter had 636 firmly committed delegates before picking up the 100 or so Tuesday night.

Another 123 uncommitted delegates in Oklahoma, Virginia and Missouri are really in Carter's camp, according to public declarations by party officials in those three states.

To be nominated at the convention, a candidate must capture at least 1,505 of the 3,008 delegates.

Tuesday's results increased interest in next week's Oregon primary, where Carter and Udall are on the ballot and Brown plans a write-in campaign.

Carter, the only candidate also entered in all five of the other Democratic primaries next Tuesday, will have to figure out a way to beat candidates in such spotlighted battles, although his long-time strategy has been to enter all primaries.

Explaining Tuesday night his loss to Brown, Carter said: "He concentrated a lot of effort in Maryland, when I was running all around the country."

The question to be answered next week is what will make Oregon different from Maryland.

Earlier Tuesday, National Democratic Chairman Robert Strauss told reporters in Washington that he agreed with Carter that a loss in Maryland "would not be a major setback" for the former Georgia governor, whom he described as "our frontrunner."

Non-campaigner Hubert Humphrey has offered a different appraisal: that a Carter loss to Brown would start an "earthquake" within the Democratic party.

Others on the Maryland ballot were Udall and Wallace, who concentrated their efforts in Michigan; Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, both inactive candidates, and anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack.

Primary Vote Counts

In Michigan

REPUBLICANS

85 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Gerald Ford	589,715(65%)
Ronald Reagan	309,711(34%)
Uncommitted	7,075(1%)

DEMOCRATS

85 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	258,101(44%)
Morris Udall	247,434(42%)
George Wallace	41,913(7%)
Uncommitted	12,601(2%
Henry Jackson	8,743(2%)
Others	16,248(3%)

In Maryland

REPUBLICANS

100 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Gerald Ford	94,784(58%)
Ronald Reagan	68,916(42%)

DEMOCRATS

100 Per Cent of Precincts Counted

Jerry Brown	283,956(49%)
Jimmy Carter	216,687(37%)
Morris Udall	31,360(5%)
George Wallace	23,922(4%)
Henry Jackson	13,547(2%)
Ellen McCormack	9,616(2%)
Fred Harris	6,875(1%)

INACTION ON FEC

Candidates Subsidies Delayed Again by Ford

WASHINGTON (NYT) — President Ford held up payment of more than $2 million in campaign subsidies for another week Tuesday, by refusing to swear in five members of the Federal Election Commission until the Senate confirms the sixth.

As a result, none of the accumulated subsidy money will be available for the six presidential primaries taking place May 25. Had the President sworn in the five commission members Tuesday, payments could have been made within an hour or two.

In all of those primaries, Ronald Reagan is challenging Ford. Reagan has unpaid claims for more than $1 million pending before the commission. Of this, nearly $400,000 has been audited for immediate payment.

The additional week's delay will also mean that candidates will have subsidy money available only for last-minute investment in the three primaries scheduled for June 1. These also involve Ford-Reagan confrontations.

The Senate confirmed five commission members by voice vote just after noon Tuesday, all on whom had been reappointed to the agency by the President Monday. A sixth new member, William L. Springer of Illinois, will have a committee hearing Thursday or Friday, and thus not be confirmed until early next week.

At about the same time, Ford was telling a group of Arkansas television newscasters that he "would hope that all six (commissioners) would be sworn in simultaneously." Asked if he then intended to hold up empowering the five to act, Ford replied: "That would be the more proper way to do it, yes."

Informed that this would delay payment of campaign subsidies for another week, John Carlson, the deputy White House press secretary, replied: "They (Congress) want an equally balanced commission. As soon as they can act, we can act."

By statute, the election commission is composed of three Democrats and three Republicans. Without Springer, a former Republican House member, the agency would have a nominal Democratic majority of 3 to 2.

Ford has filed claims for more than $1.6 million in subsidies, of which $865,000 has been audited for immediate payment. As the incumbent, he has been able to rely more heavily on private campaign contributions while subsidies have been frozen, and to avoid taking out loans.

Democratic candidates have felt the pinch of the subsidy freeze as well. Jimmy Carter has requested nearly $750,000 before the commission, of which $314,000 has been audited. Rep. Morris K. Udall has filed for nearly $500,000 of which $240,000 has been cleared.

The Supreme Court stripped the commission of most of its major powers, including subsidy authorization, in a January decision that became fully effective March 22. Congress reconstituted the commission to meet the high court's objections in a bill passed March 4.

Ford waited a week before signing the bill and another six days before making appointments to the revived agency.

5

Maryland Disappoints Carter, But. . .

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

DETROIT—Although he admitted disappointment over his stunning defeat in Maryland's presidential primary by California Gov. Jerry Brown, Jimmy Carter emphasized the positive Tuesday night and reasserted that he is "in the business of accumulating delegates."

Maryland voters seared the former Georgia governor with the most important defeat of his presidential quest in voting Tuesday, but Michigan residents salved the wound by apparently picking Carter over Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall.

The outcome in Michigan saved Carter from a battering by twin waves of a stop-Carter movement.

"We're disappointed about Maryland," Carter said here, but claimed he had picked up another 95 delegates in the day's voting.

"I'm in the business of accumulating delegates," he said.

Despite the boost Brown's victory gave the stop-Carter hopes, numbers indeed seemed to be on the side of the former Georgia governor.

Carter says he has 806 firm delegates, including those who are elected as uncommitted but have switched to him. He projected that Tuesday's returns would put him over 900, and six primaries next week would put him over 1,000. By the close of the primary season June 8, Carter repeated that he would have between 1,200 and 1,300 delegates.

It takes 1,505 to win.

Brown, Carter said, now has one and a half delegates.

Carter admitted he was surprised at his apparent margin of defeat in Maryland. Noting that two television networks had predicted he would lose by 6 or 7 per cent, the still cool and confident former governor said, "We thought it be between 2 and 3 per cent one way or the other."

Carter said he will not change his campaign plans in view of the rising threat from Brown, but will go on to campaign this week in Oregon, Nevada and Brown's home state, California.

He said he will also emphasize the second phase of his campaigning, putting pressure on uncommitted delegates to swing to him.

"I will win the nomination in Madison Square Garden with your help on the first ballot," Carter told a cheering, jubilant throng of 500 supporters crowded into the ballroom of the Cadillac Hotel.

The well-wishers barely let Carter finish his speech, interrupting him often with chants of "number one, number one."

The 38-year-old California governor beat Carter because he had similar stands on the issues, a similar image, more time to concentrate on Maryland and a new face, Carter said.

Carter's federal reorganization plan, which Brown opposes, may have also cost the former Georgia governor votes in the Washington suburbs where many federal employes live.

The weather in Maryland turned rainy and cold about one o'clock, Carter said, and "when that happens, the machine candidate has an advantage."

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

5/25



Associated Press Photo

46A

B

News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, MAY 25, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Hearings in the House of Representatives will be held next month on the political activities in the United States of the religious movement of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon, the wealthy Korean industrialist and evangelist. Mr. Moon's central organization in the United States is the Unification Church, which claims 30,000 American members. According to former South Korean and American officials and former members of the Moon organization, a number of persons and organizations connected with Mr. Moon have intimate ties with and have received assistance from the South Korean Government and the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency. Representative Donald M. Fraser, Democrat of Minnesota, whose subcommittee on international organizations has been investigating the operation of the Korean C.I.A. in the United States, said that "our information shows a pattern of activity that raises serious questions as to the nature and purpose of Moon's various organizations." [Page 1, Columns 6-7.]

National

On the eve of six crucial primaries, 119 New York Republican delegates—77 percent of the state delegation—voted to endorse President Ford. This gave Mr. Ford a 156-delegate lead over Ronald Reagan. The lead is probably large enough to enable Mr. Ford to stay in front despite his possible loss of five of today's six primaries. [1:6-7.]

In what was regarded as a landmark victory for the consumer movement, the Supreme Court ruled 7 to 1 that states may not forbid pharmacists from advertising the prices of prescription drugs. The Federal Trade Commission staff said last year that lifting restrictions on drug-price advertising could save consumers over $300 million a year. The Court also ruled that advertising in general—even when it is "purely commercial" with the sole purpose of offering a product for sale—is entitled to at least some protection under the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech. This was regarded as a major reinterpretation of the free speech guarantee. [1:8.]

Britain and France, barred from landing their Concorde jets in New York over a dispute on noise, began flights from London and Paris to Dulles International Airport near Washington, their second-choice destination. Two of the supersonic planes, one carrying 75 passengers and the other 80, arrived at Dulles in four hours, half the time of a conventional jet. The Federal Aviation Administration said that noise-measuring equipment showed both Concordes to have been quieter than a Boeing 707 monitored at the same time. [1:1-4.]

Charges that Representative Wayne L. Hays, Democrat of Ohio, placed a woman in a $14,000-a-year Government job in exchange for sexual favors are being investigated by the Department of Justice, Federal officials said. A new division of the Justice Department that deals with public integrity was said to have started the inquiry on Sunday. [1:2.]

Metropolitan

Carmine G. De Sapio, the former Tammany Hall leader, pleaded not guilty to a charge that he had lied to a special grand jury investigating how information gathered in a confidential inquiry by Maurice H. Nadjari's office had been divulged to subjects of the inquiry. Specifically, Mr. De Sapio was accused of perjury when he testified that he had not sent a "messenger" last December to tell Thomas I. Fitzgerald, Manhattan's public administrator, "to go up and see" Mr. De Sapio. In a second indictment, Mr. Fitzgerald was charged with three counts of perjury and three of criminal contempt. He also pleaded not guilty. [1:5.]

Mayor Beame and the City Council leadership urgently sought the necessary 22 votes among the 43 Council members to pass the $12.5 billion expense budget before a midnight deadline last night. There was strong opposition among Council members, but the Board of Estimate was ready to pass its version of a budget, despite a split on the budget question, and there appeared to be enough votes to get it through. [1:3-4.]

Two post office employees at Kennedy International Airport were accused of stealing $800,000 from the mail. This is believed to be the largest theft in the history of the United States Postal Service. Most of the stolen money was said to have been shipped from an Italian Bank to the Irving Trust Company. David Walker, 48 years old, a foreman, and Helen A. Helton, a clerk, were charged with the theft. [1:1.]

The Other News

International

Technical Soviet violation of arms pact resolved. Page 1
Japan ratifies pact to halt atom spread. Page 2
Guyana leader "always a Socialist.' Page 2
Angolan avows an independent policy. Page 2
Figure in British scandal retracts his story. Page 2
Fighting in Lebanon intensifying again. Page 3
Japanese Premier fighting ouster move. Page 5
Seven are injured in Tel Aviv. Page 3

Government and Politics

Hays's constituents calm over woman's charge. Page 19
President Ford campaigns in California. Page 24
Mysterious "Ford" letter sent to foundation. Page 24
Security readied for Democratic convention. Page 25

General

Moves to let woman in coma die halted. Page 1
Voluntary busing urged in Milwaukee. Page 17
Choir members killed in bus-crash buried. Page 17
Social Security deficit less than projected. Page 18
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 37
West Side Highway faces demolition. Page 37
Trial lawyers attack State Medical Society. Page 37
Excerpts from testimony by Fitzgerald. Page 40
De Sapio scoffs at indictment against him. Page 40
Cunningham wins delay in yielding records. Page 40
Police ties with Mafia are reported. Page 62

Education and Welfare

New cases of cheating cited at West Point. Page 8

Health and Science

Drug-price decision ends 2½-year battle. Page 12

Amusements and the Arts

Ehrlichman, Agnew novels are reviewed. Page 39
City Ballet dances Tchaikovsky concerto. Page 42

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Partly sunny tonight. Chance of rai Temperature range: Monday 49-70. Details

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119 New York Delegates, In Switch, Endorse Ford

Shift From Uncommitted Status Swells the President's Lead Over Reagan on Eve of Six Crucial Primaries

By FRANK LYNN
Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, May 24 — In a move to bolster President Ford on the even of six crucial primaries, 119 New York Republican delegates, or 77 percent of the state delegation, voted today to endorse the President.

The move gave Mr. Ford a 156-delegate lead over his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, the former California Governor. The lead is probably large enough to enable the President to stay in front despite the possible loss of five of the six primaries tomorrow.

With 1,130 Republican delegate votes required for the Presidential nomination at the party convention in Kansas City next August, the tally after the New York move was:

Ford	695
Reagan	539
Uncommitted	167

Mr. Reagan is considered the favorite in five of tomorrow's primaries—those in Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Nevada and Idaho. Mr. Ford is thought to be ahead in Oregon.

Among the Democrats, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia will attempt to regain his momentum. He is favored in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas, and he may win in Oregon, where he faces challenges from Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. Governor Brown is favored in the Nevada primary and Senator Church in his home state.

The Democratic delegate tally, with 1,505 votes needed to nominate, shows Mr. Carter in the lead with 739, well ahead of his nearest rival, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who has 292½.

The New York endorsement of Mr. Ford—a move that had been expected—was designed to offset the bandwagon psychology of Mr. Reagan's expected victories tomorrow.

"This is the critical moment," said Vice President Rockefeller, a New York delegate who, along with Richard M. Rosenbaum, the Republican state chairman, engineered the New York switch from uncommitted to pro-Ford.

Although Mr. Reagan was held to only 18 votes in the delegation, 15 other delegates, including former Gov. Malcolm

Continued on Page 24, Column 4

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119 New York Delegates Endorse Ford

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Wilson, voted to remain uncommitted. This was regarded as somewhat of a blow to Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Rosenbaum, who had hoped to deliver all but the 18 Reagan votes to the President. Two delegates were absent.

The meeting, which was held behind closed doors in a motel here—in contrast to an open meeting 10 days ago of the Democratic delegates to their party's national convention—sparked some controversy.

George L. Clark Jr., the Brooklyn Republican chairman and leader of the Reagan forces New York State, complained of a "fast shuffle," arguing that only 97 delegates were present and the rest of the votes were accounted for by alternate delegates and proxies voted by county chairmen. At one point in the meeting, Mr. Rosenbaum was heard shouting, "I make the rules here!"

A Political Plus

Nevertheless, the New York move was regarded as a solid political plus for the President. And it came on a day in which the latest Gallup Poll, taken last Friday through last Sunday, showed Mr. Ford slipping from his previous lead of 61 percent to 35 percent over Mr. Reagan among a national sampling of Republicans to a margin of 53 percent to 40 percenta. The previous sampling was taken April 30 through May 3.

Discussing the New York endorsement of President Ford at a news conference and in a later interview aboard Air Force II, Vice President Rockefeller denied that there were "any strings or conditions" to the New York move.

He also denied reports that Mr. Ford had pleaded for the endorsement in conversations last week. Mr. Rockefeller said he had merely informed the President of the impending New York move.

'Deal' Ruled Out

As for the possiblility that the Vice-Presidential nomination or a Cabinet post was a quid pro quo for the New York endorsement, Mr. Rockefeller repeatedly said, "I can conceive of no scenario that would lead to that conclusion."

However, while Mr. Rockefeller appeared to rule out accepting a Cabinet post, he did not close the door on the Vice Presidency. "He'd take it in a minute," a close associate said.

Although his own nomination to the Vice President might be a long shot, Mr. Rockefeller indicated that he would like to be consulted by Mr. Ford on his successor.

Mr. Rockefeller said that he would oppose Mr. Reagan for the Vice-Presidential nomination, and indicated opposition to two other possible Vice-Presidential candidates, John B. Connolly of Texas and Senator James L. Buckley of New York.

'A Broad-Based Ticket

"Obviously, we have an interest in a broadbased ticket, geographically and ideologically," the Vice President said, adding: "If you consider Ford in the center, you don't go to the right, to the fringes of the Republican Party." He declined to discuss other Vice-Presidential possibilities.

However, he emphasized several times in the interview that Mr. Ford must make the final decision preferably, Mr. Rockefeller said, after the President himself was nominated, when presumably the nomination could not be used as leverage for a Vice-Preside tial hopeful.

The Vice President was obviously unhappy about the brtak for Mrm Reagan in the usually tightly disciplined New York Republican ranks.

He described the Brooklyn delegates, who constituted 15 of the 18 Reagan votes, as a "minority within a minority" and questioned whether the support of Mr. Reagan was for "idtological or expediency reasons." The other three Reagan votes came from Queens, where three deleoates had been elect-td as Reagan supporters in the Presidential primary here on April 6.

Cross Endorsements

The New York delegates who decided to remain sncommittee included seven from Suffolk county, whert Edwin M. Schwenk, the Republican county chairman, did not want to upset cross-endorsement negotiations with the Conservative Party, which is backing Mr. Reagan.

However, Assembly Speaker Perry B. Duryea of Suffolk, a dtlegate at large who supported Mr. Ford, hredicted that most of his Suffolk colleagues would be in the Ford camp.

There were also three uncommitted delegates from Brooklyn, with the five others scatttred throughout the state.

Former Governor Wilson said in a telephone interview that he had decided to remain uncommitted because he thought a choice should be made "at a time more proximate to the convention." Mr. Wilson, who did not attend the meeting, has had close ties to the Conservative Party.

Top 3 Democrats Make Final Appeals in Oregon

Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 24—The three leading competitors in tomorrow's Democratic Presidential primary—Senator Frank Church of Idaho, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia — campaigned across the state today in a last-minute search for votes.

Senator Church, his wife, Bethine, and his supporters believe he will win the primary here by a narrow maring over Mr. Carter. There will be both a preferential choice and separate balloting for 34 delegates.

At a Weyerhaeuser Company plywood mill in Springfield this morning, Senator Church told office workers, "I can now say that it's a dead heat and two weeks ago I was 4 to 1 behind."

Endorsed by Governor

"That's coming a long way in a short time and I'm very encouraged," he added. It was his most confident statement since he arrived here late last Wednesday night for five days of grueling, hop-scotch campaigning across the state.

The Senator's aides and supporters were even more confident of a victory because of recent developments, including an endorsement today by Oregon Gov. Robert Straub.

That endorsement was expected to bring many votes to Mr. Church since Governor Straub is a supporter of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Mr. Humphrey s popular in Oregon.

Church aides also noted that a private poll taken between May 17 and 20 for the state Democratic organization showed Senator Church with 22.6 percent of the vote, eight-tenths of 1 percent behind Governor Carter.

The poll asked 644 Democratic voters across the state whom they would vote for on the day they were telephoned and listed all the candidates on the Tuesday ballot plus the name of Brown, a write-in candidate, who received 10.7 percent of those polled. Senator Humphrey was the choice of 15 percent of those surveyed.

Theory on Carter

Senator Church and his aides believe that Mr. Carter is losing votes because Oregon voters are "issue oriented" and because Mr. Carter's position on "front-runner" has exposed him to careful scrutiny that they believe has harmed him.

"I think Carter's losing strength fast," Senator Church told reporters aboard a bus heading to Corvalles from Eugene, the home of the University of Oregon, where he had received an enthusiastic reception from more than 3,000 students.

On the final two days of his write-in campaign. Governor Brown made a series of hops by chartered plane to small towns in the southern and central parts of the state, a circuit of nearly 1,000 miles.

When he landed in Roseberg last night, he was more than an hour behind schedule, but he found a crowd of about 600 persons waiting patiently for him on the courthouse lawn.

Stirred by Enthusiasm

Stirred by their enthusiasm, he came close to acknowledging his hope for an upset victory here, where no Presidential write-in campaign has ever before succeeded.

"In three short weeks in Maryland we were able to win an overwhelming victory," he said. "I'd like to try to do the same thing in Oregon."

Later when he landed in the coastal town of Coos Bay, he was greeted by several hundred persons who had been waiting outside in the chilly night air for more than an hour. They listened with rapt attention, protesting good-naturedly when, at 10:30 P.M., after more then a half-hour, the candidate said he would take only a few more questions.

The audiences that Mr. Brown drew around the state seemed to be with him even before he talked to them. Concluding a speech to an outdoor rally of more than 2,000 at South Oregon State College in Ashland. he reminded them to look for the blank space on the ballot where they could write in his name. "The blank space does not represent emptiness," he quipped. "It represents possibility."

Volunteers Scheduled

The Brown campaign said it will have volunteers at every one of the state's 2,000 polling places when the polls open tomorrow. The candidate himself, meantime, will be flying to San Francisco to start his California campaign. He will be there Tuesday night when the Oregon results start to come in.

Carter Statement

PORTLAND, Ore., Mkay 24 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter said today that women and blacks are among those he is considering as his running mate if he wins the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Mr. Carter made the statement in response to a question during an appearance at Mt. Hood Community College in suburban Gresham. He declined to mention names of any potential Vice Presidential choices.

"I am considering some women and blacks," he said. "I think this country is ready to accept a person on the basis of ability and not on the basis of color or sex."

Mr. Carter told the college students, "It is very unlikely I will fail to get it[the nomination] on the first ballot" at the Democratic National Convention.

Delegate Votes In Both Parties

Following is the latest tally of delegate votes in the Presidential races in both parties, reflecting last weekend's caucuses and conventions and the meeting of New York State Republican delegates yesterday in Albany:

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

Ford	695
Reagan	539
Uncommitted	167

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

Carter	739
Udall	292½
Jackson	248
Wallace	145
Stevenson*	86
Humphrey	67½
Church	18
Harris	18
Shapp	6
Brown	4½
McCormack	4
Walker	2
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	353½

*Favorite son in Illinois.

Some Oregon Voters Appear to Be Taking A Second Look at Democratic Candidates

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 24—A week ago Deidre Middlebrooks and Ann McKinney had a strong feeling, amounting to a certainty, that they would vote for Jimmy Carter in the Democratic primary here. Now, with only one day left before the voting, Miss Middlebrooks no longer knows what she will do and Mrs. McKinney has ruled out the front-runner from Georgia.

If random interviews in a middle-class neighborhood of northeast Portland are any indication, the sentiments of voters have become extremely volatile in the last week in this state where staunch independence is a tradition even among party regulars. At a time when undecided voters would normally be making up their minds, a number of voters appear to be pausing to take a second look at their choices.

Probably the major unsettling factor has been the dramatic entry into the race by California's young Governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., as a write-in candidate. A week ago political commentators were saying that an eleventh-hour write-in campaign was a form of self-immolation for Mr. Brown, but all the Democrats interviewed seem fully aware of his candidacy and the option they have to inscribe his name on their ballots.

Carter's Problem

In the areas where Mr. Carter is losing support, the reason seems to have little to do with last week's Maryland and Michigan primaries, which showed him to be vulnerable. On the contrary, his problem seems to be the appearance of invulnerability that he has tried to project in the face of his recent setbacks.

Nearly all the voters with a hunch about who would win the primary here, or the nomination itself, point to Mr. Carter. But the bandwagon effect is conspicuously absent. Those who are having second thoughts about the former Governor seem to have gotten the message that he no longer needs their votes.

"Carter is getting too bigheaded," Mrs. McKinney said. "In the last two weeks, the way he looks on the news, he all of a sudden seems to be getting a swelled head. The way he talks gives you the idea that he's pretty much got it sewed up."

Mrs. McKinney's husband, Sam, a postal worker, describes himself as being tired of politicians and as looking for what he calls "late runner." Mr. McKinney says he is still undecided but he he is strongly inclined to write in "Jerry Brown for President" as a hand does on a blackboard at the end of the Brown commercials that are being shown on television here. His wife thinks she will probably do the same.

Neither Mr. Brown nor Senator Frank Church of Idaho has yet made an impression on Miss Middlebrooks, but the young hospital worker might be receptive if they can reach her before Tuesday, because for she is having similar doubts about Mr. Carter.

In her case, the doubts were planted not by overexposure to the candidate on television but by a lawyer friend who dismissed the Carter campaign themes that had most impressed her. All politicians say those things, her friend said, and she now agrees that she had probably been naive.

Refreshing Candor

It is not that Oregon voters are harder to impress than voters elsewhere. If anything, they are more open to impressions. But they are wary of being stampeded. Even when they have been impressed, their votes cannot be taken for granted as front-runners before Mr. Carter have discovered.

Bob Sund, a real estate broker, liked Mr. Carter to begin with and likes him now. But when he stepped out on his mother-in-law's porch on a recent evening to chat about the candidates, he said that he and his wife and daughter had just made up their minds to write in Governor Brown's name after seeing a television news clip in which the Californian said that no form of tax reform could possibly relieve the burden on middle classes.

That rang true and Mr. Sund found the candor refreshing. He doesn't think that Mr. Brown is ready to be President yet but said he would vote for him simply to give him a bigger voice in the Democratic Party. Asked whether he would vote for Mr. Brown if he seemed to have a good chance to win the nomination, Mr. Sund unhesitantly replied, "in that case, I'd be more for Carter because of his experience."

A few doors down the block, Jean Smith enthusiastically discussed Mr. Brown's appeal. "Jerry Brown is kind of delightful," she said. "He has quite a bit of personality. He's very casual."

But, she hastened to add, there was no chance that she would vote for him or for Mr. Carter whose "Southern voice" puts her off. She had made up her mind, she said, to stay with Representative Morris K. Udall, who has withdrawn from active contention here.

Jack Grohs, a bearded longshoreman, was wearing a Church button on his jersey when he opened the door, but here again the first impression could not be taken as a firm clue as to where the vote was going. On Senator Church's side was the fact that he comes from Idaho, a neighboring state, but Mr. Grohs said that he was also attracted by Governor Brown's youth.

California Image

On the map, California is also a neighboring state, but Diane Yates, who had come to the door with Mr. Grohs, patiently explained that Oregonians don't see it that way. Idaho is more of a "layman's state," she said, making the point that it had ordinary working people with whom Oregonians could identify. California, it seemed, was synonymous with flashy lifestyles, high spending and squandered resources.

This contrast emerged regularly in the conversation of voters who were considering Senator Church. His television commercials here end with the slogan: "At last a candidate who makes you want to vote."

Still, among the voters who were giving second or even third thoughts to the candidates, Mr. Brown remained an object of fascination. Joe Lauritzon, an electrician, said, "Younger people are more tuned in." And Laurie Golden, a certified public accountant, said, "I'm ready for something different."

Besides, she added, "I've never written anybody in ever before in my life and I thought maybe this was a good time to do it."

The firmest vote for Mr. Carter came from Philip Kraushaar, an organ salesman whose stereo system was blaring rock music. Like Mr. Carter, the young man said, he had experienced Christian "rebirth."

"I believe he's serious in his convictions about Christ," Mr. Kraushaar said. "You don't say those things and open yourself up to ridicule unless you are serious. I believe in God's guidance and I know that an instrument yielded to God is a lot more likely to do good for this world."

COUNTRY FUN FOR KIDS
GIVE FRESH AIR FUND

Safeguards Against Variety of Disorders Prepared for the Democratic Convention

By MAURICE CARROLL

Three separate sets of politically attuned security forces are focusing on Madison Square Garden to insure that the Democratic convention that begins there July 12 will be safe, serene and a good television advertisement for a party that wants to elect a President and a city that wants to erase its recent image as a municipal disaster.

Demonstrators? Prostitutes, bums? Crazy people?

"And suppose there's some kind of strike. Or a power failure. Or a flood." Deputy Chief Daniel Courtenay, the Police Department official in charge of convention security, cheerfully tinked off a catalog of potential disasters, some implausible to the point of ludicrousness but all of them situations for which contingency plans are being fashioned.

"Good planning reduces the number of surprises," he said.

Building a capacity to cope with the unforeseen is simply one aspect of the three-way security plans. Efficient handling of demands that can be foreseen easily is the main task, and some of the highlights include:

¶Demonstrators. Two major rallies are scheduled to welcome the convention to the city. On Sunday, July 11, anti-abortion marchers will head south from Central Park and marchers from the Gay Activist Alliance will head north from Greenwich Village.

¶Prostitutes. The Police Department is officially circumspect about its plans to chase the hangers-out who now make Eighth Avenue an outdoor market of sleazy sex. But plans call for an increase in arrests in June, as a reminder of sorts, and department officials are talking with the District Attorney's office to make sure those arrested will be prosecuted and with Justice David Ross, who is administrative judge in the city, about sentencing.

¶Crowds. The main job, according to Jim McDonnell, head of the Miami-based private agency that has been hired by the Democrats to handle the party's ushering and security responsibilities, is simply to move thousands of people efficiently in and out of a nine-level building in which various areas will be restricted to various groups—delegates here, alternates there, podium officials up there, reporters way out there, etc.

¶Commuters. About 400,000 Long Island Rail Road and Penn Central riders pour in and out of Pennsylvania Station, underneath the Garden, every day. Their access approaches will be a bit limited during the four days the Democrats are on display up above.

¶Crazy people. A Secret Service detail under Richard A. Jordan, special agent in charge of the Chicago office (the New York office has enough to do, he explained, without taking on the convention too) will share inside-the-Garden responsibilities and will also coordinate the conveys of officious young men with communications equipment who hover about Presidential candidates.

that normally would occupy a policeman's working hours, but this, the first national political convention in New York City since 1924, is an unusual assignment.

There will be about 1,000 policemen on the streets around Madison Square Garden. Wooden barricades will block off the area between 31st and 33d Streets and Seventh and Eighth Avenues to all except the authorized. The depressed taxi driveway that leads to Pennsylvania Station will be closed. Demonstrators will be channeled to two sites—on 31st and 33d Streets, between Eighth and Ninth Avenues.

The police or dispatchers will check credentials of people boarding special convention-bound buses from the 20 or so hotels.

Passing the 2d Line

Then, depending on their destination, those attending the convention will pass a second, interior police line and be guided by some of Mr. McDonnell's people to the various tower entrances to the Garden. Their credentials will be canceled there and, if they wish to wander off for a hot dog or whatever, a hand stamp will entitle them to re-entry. Mr. McDonnell remembers the 1968 Chicago convention in which machine-read plastic cards were used and someone found out that credit cards worked the machines just as well.

Inside, the elite 25-member "management team" of Mr. McDonnell's 400-member convention staff will be ready to swoop down on special problems. Has someone sneaked an obscene banner into camera range? Do some delegates from State X want to take a punch at some delegates from State Y? Does the chairman feel that a floor demonstration has lasted long enough? Has someone set off a stink bomb?

Chief Courtenay will also have a uniformed group inside, keeping, he says, an exceptionally low profile, but ready to augment Mr. O'Donnell's "management" group should something escalate beyond their capacity to handle.

The policemen and secret service team will of course be armed. Some major politicians—mayors, Governors—are accustomed to being escorted by armed security guards. Those guards, the convention security people insist, will be required to abandon their weaponry.

"We don't want a lot of private security forces around," Chief Courtenay said. Mr. McDonnell said: "If someone tries to get in with a gun, he'll have a visit with Dan Courtenay's men. If someone should get inside and pull a gun, he'll be a dead man."

From the time the Barnum & Bailey elephants tromp out of the Garden on May 31, the security people will begin paying particular attention to the building.

To help achieve a "sterile atmosphere" there by the time the gavel calls the Democrats to order, access will be only by pass, starting in June, and pericdic sweeps will be made through the place so that if a bomb alarm is telephoned in, the security people will have some assurance that no one has been leaving things there who was not supposed to be there.

The Police Department's bomb truck will be on hand, Chief Courtenay said, in the unlikely event that anyone has been able to slip something explosive inside.

A Daily Critique

Two or three days before the delegates gather, there will be a dry run by Mr. McDonnell's amalgam of people from Madison Square Garden and his own agency, the police and other protectors, to see that everyone understands what is to be done. And, Mr. McDonnell said, his people plan a daily critique during the meeting to try to make sure that all goes smoothly.

For it is the routine adjustments that occupy most of the planners' thoughts, like speeding convention-bound buses through evening traffic. Or trying not to ruffle the feelings of the politically potent, not normally subject to movement-limiting rules, when they confront a security line and must be cleared by a supervisor. Or mollifying the delegate or delegate's wife who has got caught up in the turmoil of Eighth Avenue.

"Demonstrators sitting down in the street? Now that's an easy one," Chief Courtenay said. "An earthquake . . .?" He laughed. But it seemed likely that in one of the security planners' contingency folders, even for rocky Manhattan, someone might have checked off what to do in an earthquake.

Demonstration Issues

The problems of the security people relate as much to political as to protective considerations. On the likelihood of mass demonstrations, for instance, Chief Courtenay said: "I think our biggest problem is going to be local issues—hospital closings, day-care centers, etc. I don't feel we have any major national or international issues at the moment. The economy seems to be recovering."

That is not the sort of thing

Jersey Democratic Primary a Three-Cornered Race

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, May 24—The Democratic Presidential primary campaign in New Jersey has narrowed down to a three-cornered race. The contest involves former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and the regular Democratic organization in the state, which is supporting either Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, or Gov. Edmund G. Brown of California, its fresh new hope, or a brokered convention.

And the June 8th primary also promises to have a significant impact on New Jersey's Democratic political superstructure, largely because the party organization has gone one way and its nominal leader, Governor Byrne, has gone another by his strong support of Mr. Carter.

The Democratic contest will involve fewer than 15 percent of the state's 3.2 million registered voters, if past voting patterns are any measure. So the key to success, aside from having a winning candidate, largely depends, Democratic leaders say, on the success rival campaigns have in exploiting the enrolled Democratic voting lists in each county, for Republicans are barred from crossing over.

To Determine Winner

It is these lists, and the extent to which each campaign organization succeeds in exploiting them, that will largely determine the winner.

The election also will reveal whether the old line organizations in the big Democratic counties can deliver votes for an uncommitted slate of delegates who say they are for Mr. Humphrey on one day, and may say they are for Mr. Brown on another.

"We're for both of them," said State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman and the party's strategist. "In fact," he said with a smile, "we're the only campaign that can offer a complete national ticket on one slate."

Uncommitted strategies have not fared well in other states this year, but Mr. Dugan said it would work in New Jersey because of the party's disciplined organization.

He added that there "would be no question in anyone's mind" by primary day whether the uncommitted slate was for Mr. Humphrey or Mr. Brown.

The mechanisms of the primary are complicated: There are 10-member delegate slates that will run statewide, and two-member slates in each of the state's 40 legislative districts, except for the 37th District in Bergen County, which received an extra delegate as a bonus for turning out the biggest Democratic vote in the 1972 Presidential election.

All told, 91 delegates will be elected, with the election of district candidates decided by local voting and the election of statewide candidate delegates decided proportionally by the percentage of the total vote each respective slate receives.

Later, the 91 elected delegates will select 17 more, with their selection governed proportionally by the total delegates won by the candidates or by the uncommitted slates.

There are six rival statewide delegate slates: five are individually committed to Mr. Carter, Mr. Udall, Senator Frank Church of Idaho, Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortionist, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

The sixth deegate slate, representing the party organization, is uncommitted even though its 91 delegate candidates voted unanimously last month to endorse Mr. Humphrey if they should win in June.

The Carter, Udall, Wallace and uncommitted slates have entered full complements in each of the 40 legislative districts, while Mr. Church and Mrs. McCormack are only entered in some of them.

In addition, there are delegates committed to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington running in most districts even though his backers in the state withdrew a statewide slate committed to him just before the April 27 filing deadline.

Campaigns on Wane

For the most part, the Jackson campaign has been abandoned and the statewide Wallace campaign is virtually moribund, its telephone disconnected at its headquarters in Linden.

Mrs. McCormack's campaign is largely a nonpolitical effort to galvanize anti-abortionist sentiment in the state, and Mr. Church's campaign is a small, volunteer effort being run out of kitchens and living rooms.

There is also a nonbinding preferential contest in which Mr. Carter, Mr. Church, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Jackson are entered, along with six minor candidates. This election is regarded as a "beauty contest" and empty of any political value.

The three biggest campaigns are being waged by Mr. Carter, Mr. Udall and the regular party organizations. And if manpower and organization are any gauge, Mr. Carter's efforts far surpass anything mounted thus far by his opponents, including the party organization.

Initially, the party's uncommitted strategy, supported by Mr. Byrne, Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr., Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr., and State Senator Dugan, was a political holding operation for Senator Humphrey, who is held in deep affection by Democratic leaders here and the party's rank-and-file.

However, this strategy was undermined by Mr. Carter's primary victories and by Mr. Humphrey's last-minute refusal to enter the New Jersey primary as the candidate of the party's uncommitted forces.

At the same time, Mr. Byrne, who was secretly helping Mr. Carter, finally endorsed him publicly and asked every other Democratic governor to follow suit.

The Governor's endorsement prompted a break-up of the original uncommitted slate, with Mr. Rodino dropping out as its leader and Mr. Williams moving up to replace him.

As for the Carter campaign, there are coordinators in each of the 40 districts and national coordinators have been filtering in from Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Maryland to organize 12 regions in the state.

Liberal for Carter

Presiding over a bustling headquarters in East Orange is Dan Gaby, the president of a New Jersey advertising agency and a leader of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party.

Mr. Gaby, an intense, intellectual neopopulist who has just published a handbook on politics, was a candidate for the party's senatorial nomination in 1972 and a leader of the forces supporting George McGovern then.

His colleagues include a wide political spectrum in New Jersey—from State Senator Anne Martindell, the chairman of the McGovern campaign in 1972, to Mayor Thomas G. Dunn of Elizabeth, who led Democrats for Nixon during the same year.

The Carter effort in the state is no different from the campaigns he has mounted elsewhere—an amalgam of blacks, blue-collar workers, liberals, and middle-of-the-road Democrats who foresee the Georgian as a winner, if nothing else.

Their strategy is simple: an elaborate telephone campaign, mailings, media events and campaign publicity releases, and pro-Carter pitches made in Democratic clubhouses and union halls.

Unlike the Udall campaign, which is being aimed at the more affluent suburban communities, Mr. Carter plans to challenge the regulars in every district—in Jersey City, in Camden, here, and in Middlesex County.

Operating from a converted home in a commercial section of Union, the Udall campaign should see more of its candidate than either the Carter or the uncommitted slates. Mr. Udall has appeared here twice recently and his placing New Jersey ahead of both California and Ohio as a primary target means that he will most likely spend more time campaigning here than will his opponents.

2 Earlier Visits

Mr. Carter has appeared here twice briefly and is scheduled to come in again this Wednesday and perhaps once more.

As for the uncommitted strategy, what is involved is harnessing that traditional alliance of organized labor in the state with the Democratic organizations into a rank-and-file turnout for the party ticket.

Although Mr. Humphrey is not a candidate, he has appeared here three times already, the last time Thursday, and Mr. Dugan hopes to get him in at least once more. Governor Brown was in last Tuesday and he is expected back Memorial Day weekend.

None of the other candidates have any aprearances scheduled.

Democratic Delegates Are Held High in Income and Education

WASHINGTON, May 24 (AP) —The first groups of delegates selected for the Democratic National Convention are more educated and have higher incomes than Americans in general, an Associated Press survey shows.

Men outnumber women more than 2 to 1 among the first quarter of the 3,008 delegates who will meet in New York City in July to pick the Democratic nominees for President and Vice President.

Of the delegates surveyed, 59 percent has at least a college degree and 42 percent had done postgraduate work or had a postgraduate degree. That compares with only 14 per cent of potential voters in 1974 who had college degrees, according to the Census Bureau.

Jimmy Carter's delegates and those nominally pledged to Senator Adlai Stevenson 3d of Illinois were most likely to have finished college or more advanced work, while delegates favoring Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington were more likely to have graduated only from high school or attended some college.

The number of delegates who said they earned over $25,000 a year was four times the national average. Those earning from $10,000 to $25,000 were represented in this first group of Democratic delegates in measure about equal to the nation as a whole.

Only 9.5 per cent of the delegates said they earned less than $10,000, compared with 35.8 per cent of Americans in 1975.

The incomes of delegates for most candidates generally tended to reflect the conventions' over-all profile. However, the percentage of delegates supporting Mr. Wallace and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona who had incomes under $10,000 was higher than the average.

Men outnumbered women 70 percent to 30 percent among those delegates already interviewed.

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Media Events...

Presidential primaries are inevitably media events. Although these contests select delegates and the roll-call of the delegates at the convention will ultimately be decisive, the primaries in this age of television also have a kind of instant significance depending upon how the press interprets them.

Today's primary in Oregon has thus become important because reporters and analysts have concluded that former Governor Jimmy Carter, after his defeats in Nebraska and Maryland, has to give a new demonstration of his winning ways. It is also the first place where Mr. Carter will simultaneously confront both of his late challengers, Senator Frank Church who defeated him in Nebraska and Governor Edmund G. Brown Jr. who bested him in Maryland.

Psychologically important though Oregon is, it will elect only 34 delegates to the Democratic National Convention, while three states of the upper South—Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas—which also vote today will choose a total of 118. Mr. Carter is heavily favored to win all three of these states where he faces Representative Morris K. Udall and the now-crumpled candidacy of Governor George C. Wallace. In these curious circumstances, Mr. Carter could thus make substantial progress toward his goal of having more than 1,000 delegates by convention time and at the same time suffer a much-publicized defeat in Oregon.

Oregonians in both parties have historically preferred the more moderate or more liberal candidate. In 1964, Nelson A. Rockefeller achieved one of his few triumphs there. In 1968, Eugene McCarthy obtained his only victory over Robert F. Kennedy in Oregon. But the state has also shown an occasional taste for mavericks that could bode well for Governor Brown and his unorthodox campaign.

On the Republican side, Oregon is President Ford's big hope for an impressive victory over Ronald Reagan. Otherwise, the day promises to be somewhat drab for him. He is regarded as trailing Mr. Reagan in the other Western primary states—Idaho and Nevada—and also in the three Southern states. Tennessee affords the President his best prospect in the South. But there the outcome depends in part upon one of the most baffling phenomena of the primary season—the crossover vote.

The Man Who Isn't There

By Tom Wicker

PORTLAND, Ore., May 24—The man who isn't there in the Oregon primary—no one could call him "the little man"—is Representative Morris Udall of Arizona. That absence tells you something about Mo Udall. His name is on the ballot, but he hasn't campaigned here, both to give the other Democratic candidates a better shot at front-runner Jimmy Carter, and to pursue his own quixotic ways elsewhere.

The only one-eyed candidate who would know how to put in a slam-dunk on a New York playground has new financial life, a new strategy and a better record than he has been given credit for. He beat Mr. Carter in Massachusetts and New York, ran him virtual dead heats in Wisconsin and Michigan, is in second place (if far back) in committed delegates, and has outlasted not only a slew of liberal candidates but also the conservative Scoop Jackson, who was assumed last January to be well-heeled enough to make it at least to the convention.

Armed with $312,000 in new matching funds from the revived Federal Election Commission—with $127,000 still to come—Mr. Udall has been campaigning in Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, where he is given less chance than the Phoenix Suns in Boston Garden. His object, in a game whose name is supposed to be delegates, is to be able to say that he has waged a national campaign from Arizona to New Hampshire—in marked contrast to the pot-shot tactics of Gov. Jerry Brown and Senator Frank Church, who are running only where they think themselves strong, or the sandbag strategy of Senator Hubert Humphrey, who works for a deadlocked convention that may turn to its most familiar face.

IN THE NATION

The real significance of Mr. Udall's survival, and his determination to stay in the race, is that he represents the refusal, so far, of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party to accept Jimmy Carter. That does not mean that Mr. Carter can't be nominated; it does not necessarily mean that, if nominated, he will not be able to unify the party. It does mean that to this point in the 1976 campaign, no irresistible Carter bandwagon has developed—the responsibility for which goes at least as much to the stubborn Udall holding action on the left as to the late-show flurries from Mr. Church in Nebraska and Mr. Brown in Maryland.

On the other hand, Democratic liberals—those who nominated George McGovern and backed Eugene McCarthy or Robert Kennedy—don't seem ready to die on the barricades for Mo Udall. He has not won a single primary; and in Wisconsin, where he came so close, he said publicly that those who really wanted Mr. Humphrey should vote Udall. He is not even a good Vice-Presidential bet, since Mr. Carter, as a nominee from the South, would be better off with a Northern liberal and Mr. Humphrey would almost surely have to take Mr. Carter—or at least not another liberal.

On his Southern swing, Mr. Udall told reporters his strategy was "to be in a strong bargaining position" when the Democratic convention opens on July 12. But for what? Or for whom? The likelihood still is that if Mr. Carter cannot reach the magic number of 1,505 delegates on the first two or three ballots, the Democrats will turn not to Mo Udall but to Hubert Humphrey.

The only likely alternative to Mr. Carter or Mr. Humphrey is Governor Brown, whose victory in Maryland has generated much excitement. A write-in victory for him in Oregon over Mr. Carter and Senator Church, followed by a big victory in California, might set off a kind of Brown stampede. Even a good second-place finish in Oregon for a write-in candidate would be a blow to Mr. Carter, who has already been slowed by losses in Nebraska and Maryland, Mr. Udall's strong race in Michigan, and worse showings than expected in the Virginia, Vermont and Colorado conventions. But if Mr. Brown runs poorly in Oregon, he can and will blame it on the problems of a write-in candidacy.

If Mr. Brown or Mr. Church does well in Oregon, damaging Mr. Carter, some of the credit will be due to Mo Udall's absence. And if the persistent Udall campaign seems more likely to produce a Humphrey or even a Brown combination than his own, nevertheless Mr. Udall has been a major factor in keeping the campaign open. He has enlivened it with neo-Stevensonian wit, and taken some heartbreaking defeats with grace and courage. It is to human if not necessarily to his political credit that he seems to set store by some values other than winning.

The question for liberals, however, is who might best defeat Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan—or both, as a Ford-Reagan ticket seems a real possibility. A case can be made for Jimmy Carter; a different case can be made for Hubert Humphrey; and even for Jerry Brown, as a new young face from beyond Washington, some sort of Brown-is-beautiful scenario might be devised. The problem for Morris Udall is that, with all his charm and tenacity, nothing can be certainly said except that a vote for him is not a vote for Jimmy Carter. It might not even really be a vote for Mo Udall.

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SIX PRIMARIES TODAY

Carter Fighting For Momentum

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore.—Ronald Reagan gets a chance to try to close what became a substantial delegate lead Monday for President Ford, and Jimmy Carter fights for new momentum as six states hold Republican and Democratic primaries Tuesday.

Voters in Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Idaho, Nevada and Oregon will decide this latest round in the twin battles for the presidential nominations.

On Monday, New York's uncommitted Republican delegation gave Ford another 119 delegates to the national convention, putting the President even farther ahead of challenger Ronald Reagan for the party's presidential nomination. Ford now has 697 delegates to Reagan's 541. It takes 1,130 to win the nomination.

Of New York's 154 GOP delegates, 119 decided Monday to follow the urgings of Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller and the party's state chairman and switch to Ford. Nineteen reaffirmed their earlier commitments to Reagan, 15 remained uncommitted and two didn't show up.

But Reagan has done well in previous primaries in the South, where three of Tuesday's primaries will be held. In an Idaho poll released Sunday, the former California governor ran ahead of Ford, and Reagan is also regarded as a challenge in Nevada.

Ford, however, has said he will gain more Republican delegates than Reagan among the 176 being chosen Tuesday. "We have a fighting chance in Nevada," he said Monday.

Calling the New York results "very good news" on Monday, Ford added: "This takes us up close to 700 in the number of delegates."

Democrat Carter, far ahead of his rivals in committed delegates, faced challenges in at least three of the six primaries but again predicted he would pick up 100 more delegates Tuesday.

Carter still has 741 of the 1,505 delegates needed to nominate, far ahead of second-place Udall's 292.5. Church has only 19. Brown did not run delegate slates in Maryland and—although he officially has zero committed delegates—is assured 6.5 votes toward the nomination.

A total of 191 delegates is at stake for the Democrats in the six states with primaries and in Alabama runoff elections for eight delegates not decided in the April 6 primary.

Of Tuesday's six primaries, the best horse race for both the GOP and the Democrats will probably be in Oregon, where every president since 1924 has won his party's primary.

Both Ford and former California Gov. Reagan have campaigned here in recent days, Ford to bolster a 13 per cent lead he held in a poll three weeks ago in this traditionally moderate Republican state.



Associated Press Photo

Carter on Baby Trail in Oregon

Oregon manufactures aluminum processed from bauxite, which is transported here through the Panama Canal. Reagan has hit the issue of the control of the canal hard here, but there is some natural resentment against him because he is seen by some as representing a sort of southern California glamour that Oregonians fear Californians are pushing onto their state with second-home developments. "Don't Californicate Oregon" is a bumper-sticker slogan here.

On the Democratic side, California Gov. Jerry Brown doesn't suffer from that image. In his TV ads, he talks about the environmental limits of the planet. But Carter recently picked up the en-

See PRIMARIES, Page 8-A

Primaries

From Page 1-A

dorsement of 16 prominent Oregon environmental group leaders.

Brown is running a write-in campaign, and even though frontrunnner Carter and Idaho Sen. Frank Church are both on the ballot, observers say the race is very close.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Rep. Morris Udall, Sen. Henry Jackson and several others are also listed on the ballot.

A poll published in Tuesday morning's editions of the Portland Oregonian showed that Church has surged ahead, overcoming a fairly comfortable lead held by Carter earlier this month.

The survey gave Church 28 per cent, Brown 22 per cent, Carter 17 per cent and Humphrey 12 per cent. The poll was taken only in the Portland metropolitan area and involved 187 telephone interviews conducted by a professional polling firm.

The Oregon contest is the first that pits Carter against his two late challengers, and members of his staff say they expect him to come in second.

At the end of last week, Brown was ahead, according to several polls, but over the weekend Carter pulled back into the lead, said his southwest coordinator, Chris Brown.

Another factor in the outcome will be the allowances election officials make for the way Brown's name is written in on the ballot.

Carter decided to do three extra days of campaigning here beginning Saturday, and pulled in most of his high command to coordinate polling, advertising and organization. Pollster Pat Caddell flew in while press secretary Jody Powell dropped back from the traveling press entourage to orchestrate the three-day effort and to handle requests from the national reporters headquartered here.

Media director Gerald Rafshoon said advertising spending had to be limited to $45,000 because Brown and Church had bought up the available TV time.

The Carter camp did not put much emphasis on Oregon until Brown and Church proved their power to slow Carter in earlier primaries.

Then the three-day extra effort got off to a rocky start. The chartered jet that was supposed to fly Carter from San Francisco to Medford, Ore., on Saturday morning was delayed 90 minutes while an interior light was repaired.

The Medford stop was canceled and Carter flew directly to Boise, Idaho. He held a press conference there early, leaving just when a number of people who turned out at the right time showed up to hear him.

At his next stop, a lamb show in Eugene, Ore., the announcer refused to turn the microphone over to Carter. In fact, the announcer griped to several hundred sheep lovers because his exhibition of little dogs herding ducks into a pen was being interrupted.

The afternoon improved, however, when a barbershop quartet in Salem serenaded Carter and his wife with "Dixie." The former Georgia governor sang along for a moment.

By Monday his sweep through Portland was bringing out larger audiences.

Meanwhile, looking to the important June 8 primary against Brown in California, Carter said, "(Alabama Gov.) George Wallace spent more time in Georgia than I will spend in California. . . . For instance, in my own state against George Wallace and Morris Udall, Wallace ran a fairly—a long-standing campaign. I got 85 per cent of the vote."

Wallace actually spent only a day and a half campaigning in Georgia for the May 4 primary and had almost no organization in the state.

In Tuesday's voting, Carter is favored in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas where he faces Wallace and Udall.

In Arkansas, Sen. Henry Jackson is also listed, as is Church in Tennessee and abortion foe Ellen McCormack in Kentucky.

On the Republican side, Ford predicts a win in Tennessee, but not in Arkansas and Kentucky.

The other Western primaries are in Nevada and Idaho, where Reagan is expected to clean up.

Church, who withstood a recall attempt in 1966 over his opposition to the Vietnam war, is the two-to-one favorite in his home state. In Nevada, neighboring Gov. Brown is favored.

Following is a state-by-state breakdown of the primary voting procedures to be used Tuesday, with the number of delegates in each party listed after the state:

OREGON—Republicans 30, Democrats 34. Party registration prohibits the crossover voting which has vexed candidates in other states. Brown missed the March 16 filing deadline, so he is conducting a campaign for write-in votes.

The state places the names of all prominent potential candidates on the ballot, leaving no avenue of withdrawal even for those like Kennedy who say they don't want to be listed.

No delegates are directly elected in the primary. In each party, congressional district conventions will be held between June 24 and July 4 to pick the delegates. What is called "proportional representation," the allocating of delegates according to the share of the popular vote taken by each presidential candidate, prevails.

ARKANSAS—Republicans 27, Democrats 26. Crossover voting is possible, although the state Democrats have a rule against those who openly support another party voting in the Democratic primary.

Again, delegates are not elected in the primary. County conventions will be held June 14 to pick delegates to the state conventions on June 26, where the national delegates will be chosen under proportional representation.

IDAHO—Republicans 21, Democrats 16. Crossovers and write-ins are allowed. Eighty per cent of the delegates are allocated under proportional representation according to the primary outcome, but the national convention voting is not bound by the results of the primary. The remaining one-fifth of the delegates are chosen according to the rules of each party.

Democrats held precinct caucuses on March 16, district caucuses on April 17 and will complete the selection of delegates at the state convention June 16. Republicans choose their delegates at the state convention June 26-26.

KENTUCKY—Republicans 37, Democrats 46. The primary results are binding on the delegates, under proportional representation, and no crossovers are allowed.

The national delegations are chosen by state and district conventions, composed of delegates previously elected at county or precinct meetings. The Republican state convention was April 24, and the Democratic is June 5.

TENNESSEE—Republicans 43, Democrats 46. Delegates are directly elected in the primary and are bound to vote for the candidate they are pledged to. Write-ins and crossovers are permitted.

A "winner-take-all" outcome is possible, with district delegates bound to the winner of the primary in their district and the at-large delegates bound to the statewide winner.

NEVADA—Republicans 18, Democrats have 16 individual delegates but only 11 actual convention votes. Nevada has no crossovers or write-ins. Delegates are picked at state conventions and are bound for two ballots under proportional representation.

Dakota Farmers Greet Carter

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

SIOUX FALLS, S.D.—Jimmy Carter received a thunderous welcome in this farming state Monday night, where he told a crowd of 850, "We ought to have an aggressive sale of crops abroad."

Carter capped a day of issue-oriented campaigning in Oregon with an evening speech and television taping here. He sketched plans to cut the nation's defense budget and called for crop support prices equal to the cost of production.

In the eastern Oregon town of Pendleton, Carter talked about the need for preventive health programs like Georgia's cervical cancer and stroke screening projects; the impact of inflation on the elderly; undertaking welfare, transportation and other reforms through federal reorganization; and the need to take the tax burden off manual laborers.

The peanut processor seemed at ease with both his farming audiences and with his more issue-centered approach.

As he faced out onto green fields near the Pendleton airport, he said he would rather spend half a day plowing to "get my feet on the ground" than weeks in the South Sea islands.

He was applauded by about 400 area residents, including a leather-faced Indian chief in full headdress and white-beaded costume.

Chief Clarence Burke is a regular at Pendleton political rallies. Only a few days ago he had his picture made with President Ford.

Carter stopped here overnight on his way back East, saying, "It's about time we had another farmer in the White House. Thomas Jefferson was the last one."

He also spoke at length about his admiration for the late Harry S. Truman.

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...ny, high in mid to upper ...er 50. Chance of rain ...day, 10 per cent tonight. ...unny, high in 60s. Yes... ...p.m. AQI, 22; Temp. ...Details on Page B2.

The Washington Post

FINA...
68 Pages—4 Sections

Amusements C 6 | Financi...
Classified C 9 | Metro
Comics B 6 | Obituari...
Crossword B 7 | Sports
Editorials A22 | Style
Fed. Diary B 2 | TV-Radi...
Bicentennial Calendar, ...

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Church's Ore. Image Unclear

By Paul G. Edwards
Washington Post Staff Writer

PENDLETON, Ore., May 23 — Frank Church crisscrossed Oregon again today, continuing to thrust precise answers sheathed in classy oratory at the state's 700,000 Democrats and continuing to encounter a confused perception among voters of what this veteran U.S. senator from a neighboring state actually stands for.

The reactions of those who came to hear Church could not be more contradictory. At a veterans conference at Southern Oregon College in Ashland on Friday, a thoughtful questioner preceded his inquiry by saying, "Senator, your liberal credentials are well-established . . ."

Yet a few miles away and less than an hour earlier, Lonna Hutson, home economics teacher at Phoenix High School, got her first exposure to Church in a wide-ranging question and answer session and then said: "I really like his conservatism. His views on capital punishment, abortion and gun controls should make him very popular around here."

Without significant deviation, Church has given the same detailed answers to questions in conservative southwestern and eastern Oregon that he has in the more liberal Portland area, but no summary image of the man seems to emerge in the minds of voters.

Whether that actually poses a problem for him in Tuesday's presidential primary is a question. After a rigorous, hour-long session with editors and reporters at the Portland Oregonian Thursday, the paper's editorial page editor said to the candidate, "Senator, you are such a reasonable man, I don't see how you are going to get a handle on the voters."

Church got a handle on the Orgeonian, which endorsed him in today's paper, but in most people's minds, including his own, he remains an underdog in the competition for Oregon votes with former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr.

It is the irony of the Church campaign, which is based on his premise that "Oregon is an issue-oriented state," that Church's explicit positions leave voters groping for a picture of the whole candidate while Carter and Brown seem to enjoy a more precise image despite the stock criticism that both are vague on issues.

A college student who heard Church speak in Ashland said: "I don't see how he can question Brown's experience. I think Jerry Brown's lifestyle qualifies him to be President."

Church and his aides regard Brown as their major problem in Oregon. The Californian's late bid for write-in votes, they believe, may keep Church from attracting supporters of generally liberal Democrats who are still on the ballot in Oregon but have faded as active presidential possibilities.

Church upset Carter in Nebraska two weeks ago by commanding the votes of people who had expressed preference for Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred R. Harris.

The impact of Brown on the race remains the major imponderable in the minds of the Church camp in Oregon. They were heartened but skeptical Saturday when told that a poll taken for Democratic candidates for state office showed Carter and Church virtually deadlocked with about 23 per cent of the voter sample. That poll put Humphrey at 15 per cent and Brown at 10.

Most recent Carter polls, however, show Brown and Carter nearly tied, with Church trailing.

Church seems to have some of the same factors working for him in Oregon that he thinks contributed to his Nebraska victory. He is campaigning steadily throughout the entire state while Brown and Carter dart in and out for scattered appearances. He has a visible organization that includes veteran workers for the late Oregon Sen. Wayne Morse, and Church has collected the longest list of endorsements from labor unions and state legislators.

The Idaho senator's classic political oratory, which contrasts with the almost diffident style of his two active opponents, evokes responses from youthful audiences. Church steps up its intensity when he knows he is giving a popular answer, such as his call for amnesty to Vietnam draft evaders.

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	728
Udall	290
Jackson	239
Wallace	140
Stevenson	86
Humphrey	56
Church	17
Harris	15
Walker	2
McCormack	2
Bayh	1
Brown	4
Uncommitted	377
Total chosen to date	1,957
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Mississippi, Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Oklahoma, North and South Carolina, Canal Zone, Wisconsin, New York, Arizona, Alaska, Virgin Islands, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, Louisiana, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Nebraska, New Mexico, Michigan and Maryland and partial selection in Puerto Rico, Iowa, Texas, Kansas, Minnesota, Alabama, D. C., West Virginia, Connecticut, Vermont, Colorado, Virginia and Washington.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	574
Reagan	519
Uncommitted	294
Total chosen to date	1,387
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Puerto Rico, D. C., North Carolina, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Guam, South Carolina, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Maine, Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Nebraska, West Virginia, Virgin Islands, Hawaii, New York, Michigan and Maryland and partial selection in Illinois, Texas, Minnesota, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, Virginia and Vermont.

Coming up May 25: Primaries in Arkansas, with 26 Democratic delegates and 27 Republican delegates; Idaho, with 16 Democratic delegates and 21 Republican delegates; Kentucky, with 46 Democratic delegates and 37 Republican delegates; Nevada, with 11 Democratic delegates and 18 Republican delegates; Oregon, with 34 Democratic delegates and 30 Republican delegates; and Tennessee, with 46 Democratic delegates and 43 Republican delegates.

The Washington Post

Udall Is Hanging In There

But His Campaign Shows Telltale Signs of Second-Place Effort

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOUISVILLE, May 23—Rep. Morris K. Udall's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination is showing telltale signs of a second-place effort.

Saturday, in Nashville, Tenn., it was a dingy old camped Volkswagen bus dispatched by campaign aides to pick up the tiny national press corps assigned to Udall. The day before, in Little Rock, Ark., it was Udall and Company grabbing a quick lunch in a downtown cafeteria. Always, it seems, there is a frantic dashing for commercial flights that never seem to depart or arrive on time.

The Arizona congressman, who consistently has finished in the field behind former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter in the primary races, frequently has joked about being second. "I'm old second-place Mo," he says. But he attempts to dispel the pervasive air of secondness that has engulfed his campaign.

"I resent the emphasis being placed on this 'second' business. . .The seven worst words in the English language are, 'I got to be with a winner,'" he says.

The problem is that most voters want a winner. At the very least, they want an underdog who appears to be able to win. The other problem is—either because of his helter-skelter campaign style, his string of second-place finishes, or a combination of both—a number of people are reluctant to take Udall seriously.

Some examples:

• The Udall entourage, a casual group of staffers, Secret Service agents, and media representatives, boards a commercial flight Friday at Washington National Airport en route to Nashville. Regular passengers sense the presence of a political celebrity, and wonder who it is.

"Who are all these people?" one man asks.

"I think they're with Carter," a second man replies.

"No, they're with that guy, Udall," a woman interjects.

"Udall? says the first man. "Why, he hasn't won anything yet, has he?"

• Joy Greer, a vice president at the First National Bank in Little Rock, can hardly believe that Udall has stopped to eat lunch Friday in Britling's—a popular, but unpretentious downtown cafeteria.

"Imagine!" she says with astonishment. "A presidential candidate. . .eating lunch. . .I mean he's actually eating lunch in a cafeteria. I've never seen anything like that before."

• In his effort to gain maximum exposure at minimum cost, Udall frequently spends his campaign days appearing on television and radio talk shows and speaking with local newspaper editors. Good-sized crowds are a rarity, in this campaign, a fact that frustrates the network cameramen covering Udall.

But Saturday was different. About 300 people had gathered at the Fayette Mall in Lexington, Ky., to greet Udall. The 6-foot-5 congressman received enthusiastic applause when he picked up 6-month-old Moses Gates and lifted him above the crowd.

"It's really a shame," said a young man amid the applause. "Mo hasn't got a prayer for winning in Kentucky."

Udall says he knows he will lose in Tuesday's Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas primaries, but he notes he has to spend time in those states in order to avoid a third-place finish in any of the remaining primaries before the July 12 Democratic National Convention.

"I didn't have very many choices," he told a reporter. "I wanted like hell to go into Oregon because that's my kind of state. But (Sen. Frank) Church and (California Gov. Edmund G.) Brown (Jr.) are spending money and time there. If I had gone into Oregon, I might have come in third," he said.

Earlier this month, Brown trounced Carter in Maryland, and Church beat him in Nebraska.

Udall said he is hoping that Church and Brown will "put a little bit more wobble" into Carter's bandwagon in the Western primaries—enough to cause second thoughts about the Georgian's candidacy.

Udall said he wants to pick up enough scattered delegates in places like Kentucky, Arkansas and Tennessee—where he hopes to finish second to Carter in order to ensure his standing "as a good second-choice to Carter" in the event of a deadlocked convention.

Udall said he was forced into this position by the plethora of liberals—he prefers to call himself a progressive—who sought the Democratic presidential nomination. "The whole story of '76 was a great disappointment for me," Udall said. "There have been too many candidates for too long. By the time I was the sole surviving progressive candidate, I was in trouble because of two things.

"One was that Carter had gotten all sorts of momentum and was winning all kinds of delegates. Then, by the time I had a couple of shots at him by myself, in come Church and Brown.

"I couldn't keep them out. . .They had some kind of magic I did not have."

"Does that mean there is a chance you would drop out of the race?" he was asked.

"Oh hell no," said Udall. "I've been in this for too long a time now. I've invested a lot. What do I have to lose?"

He was sitting in the first-class cabin of a commercial jet in white shirtsleeves and black stockinged feet. It was the second flight to Nashville in one day. He paused a moment, tilted his head toward a reporter and put his foot up on the cabin partition.

"Personally, I'm relaxed about it," he said, reflecting on the campaign. "I'm philosophical about it. My philosophy is to give her a good hard day—to keep at it for the next 17 days until the primaries end—and, well, what will be will be."

Helicopter Ship Is a 'Lemon,' Rep. Aspin Says

Associated Press

A landing helicopter assault ship the Navy plans to commission this coming weekend "is the biggest floating lemon that the Navy's accepted in a very long time," Rep. Les Aspin (D-Wis.) said yesterday.

The Navy denied the claim, however, saying deficiencies found in the $276 million ship have been corrected.

A March 17 report of the Navy's Board of Inspection and Survey, released by Aspin, said the Tarawa had 2,731 defects at the time of its trial cruise in early March.

More than 80 per cent of those deficiencies were classified as major. The report put the blame for 94.3 per cent of them on the builder, Litton Industries.

Firemen Burn Wrong House

PLEASANTON, Calif., May 23 (AP)—Firemen conducting a training exercise burned the wrong building by mistake and destroyed a 123-year-old historical structure nearby, officials said today.

The burned house had been donated to the Dublin Historical Preservation Association by the City of Pleasonton. It was to have been moved this week to the Dublin History Center.

The run-down, two-story frame house was built with wooden pegs and square nails by Jeremiah Fallon, a founder of the nearby community of Dublin and one of the area's first settlers. Pleasanton is a northeastern suburb of San Francisco.

ROSALYNN, From A1

White House is indeed a reward.

Rosalynn and Jimmy Carter, married 30 years, are startlingly alike—the same soft Southern drawl and sweet smile that mask a steely discipline, unquenchable self-confidence, ambition, toughness and stubbornness.

"It's hard to imagine," said Hamilton Jordan, Carter's campaign director, "but if one person wants him to be President more than Jimmy it's Rosalynn. She's one tough lady," he said admiringly. "I've been on the receiving end when she thinks I'm off base."

"No one," Mrs. Carter said evenly, "has ever told me what to do or say." She was talking about the campaign, but it seems as if that could apply to her life as well.

Her 77-year-old mother-in-law, a widow widely known as "Miz Lillian," says: "She's very ambitious. She made Jimmy a lovely first lady in Georgia and she'll make him a lovely first lady up there" in Washington.

Moreover, if Carter were to become President, Rosalynn Carter would be a force to reckon with. She has more influence on him than anyone else.

"If I want Jimmy to do anything, I ask Rosalynn," said his mother. "She can do anything in the world with Jimmy and she's the only one. He listens to her. He thinks she has a great mind."

"If Jody (Carter press secretary Jody Powell) and I strike out, the best thing to do is to try to get Rosalynn on our side," said Jordan, who added he uses this tactic as sparingly as possible, saying, "I don't want to use up all my leverage."

Mrs. Carter, who extols her husband's attributes at each campaign stop with a fervor that gives no hint that she has said it all before, says that in private they have had lots of arguments over issues. "I scream and he sits there and doesn't say anything," she said with a hint of a smile. She cannot, or will not, recall a specific issue. "This is not the time to disagree . . . There will be a time."

The ambitions that pushed these two from the hamlet of Plains, Ga., to try to conquer the political world are complex, too complex to fathom quickly or perhaps, ever, totally. Some of these reasons are buried in the roots of small-townism. It was a way of life that nurtured security and confidence coupled with a hunger to succeed beyond those confines. "Our whole life has been a challenge," Rosalynn Carter said.

Carter's Biggest Booster

Candidate's Wife, Rosalynn, Is 'One Tough Lady'

By Myra MacPherson
Washington Post Staff Writer

She was nearing the end of a typical, 17-hour campaign day when the singers in Bicentennial costumes serenaded her. Rosalynn Carter thanked them and added, "You're going to come to the White House and sing for me." Laughter greeted that—until she shook her finger and said, "I'm serious. Don't forget now."

A few hours later, darkness hid the weary faces of her companions as their car sped from Flint to Detroit. It was a few days before her husband, Democratic presidential front-runner Jimmy Carter, squeaked by in Michigan for another primary victory. Everyone else in the car was content to think of nothing more major than crawling into bed, but Rosalynn Carter was still tracking.

"Be sure to make a list of all the supporters we've spent a night with while campaigning," she told a worker. "I want them to spend a night in the White House and I don't want to leave anyone out."

Such thoughts are no political pep-talk visions. For 48-year-old Rosalynn Carter, it's all reality. Those thousands of handshakes, thousands of speeches, thousands of miles separating her and her husband in their divide-and-conquer-the-country campaign—it's sort of like "you take the East Coast and I'll take the West"—are necessities to ensure the "inevitable" White House reward. And for Mrs. Carter, unlike many candidates' wives, that

See ROSALYNN, A5, Col. 1

Above all, they remain private people. She gets her best laughs, and sometimes, applause—as from a crowd of Democrat and labor types in leisure suits in Flint—when she explains that she is well-trained for the fishbowl existence of political life. "We grew up, and still live, in a town of 683. Everybody's *always* known everything I've ever done. There has never been a hint of scandal in Jimmy's public or private life."

Carter's mother, who has known her daughter-in-law all her life, says, "I admire her, but I have never seen her let her hair down, never heard her tell a joke."

For a woman who was very shy and found campaigning painful when Carter first ran for the Georgia Senate in 1962, Rosalynn Carter today seems nourished by campaigning.

She is adept at handling issues — speaking, touching people as she moves through a crowd. Her style seldom changes as she takes strangers by the hand, leans close and whispers a message that seems meant for that "person" alone—"Vote for my husband"—then repeats it to the next person she meets.

She seemed more nervous and impatient in her handsome, red brick home in Plains than on the campaign trail. Thinking of a day of interviews spaced every 45 minutes, she fidgeted with her reading glasses, "feeling I ought to be out there campaigning." She tries to get home on weekends to be with her 8-year-old, Amy, and "to walk in the woods and get completely away, then come in, read the mail, write my 'thank yous' and go again."

In private conversation she always has a comeback for Carter opponents, who she said, are ganging up on her husband "because he's a winner and they can't control him." Using the first-person plural that comes easily to her, she added, "It doesn't matter, we're going to beat 'em all anyway."

She seems to be of the 'don't get mad, get even' school. Georgia state Sen. Julian Bond is one of the prominent blacks who has not come on board the Carter bandwagon. Rosalynn Carter says cooly, "Bond is very ambitious and the President and Vice President can't be from the same state."

Her customary speech notes that her husband is a hard-working peanut farmer and businessman who was on the local school board before becoming governor of Georgia. But she can quickly amend it to fit the mood of an audience.

One example came as 1,000 persons gathered in a Flint auditorium to hear her address them at the "Freedom Celebration," a red-white-and-blue musical extravaganza featuring a 400-voice choir.

Backstage, someone suggested that she revise her speech to include religion as well as politics because this was to be a night of "patriotic and sacred songs."

After listening to "I Am Thankful to Be An American," she told the crowd it was a "great experience to be here listening to beautiful music and thinking about our country and praising the Lord." In addition to her patter about her husband being a hard-working farmer and honest governor, she added that he is "deeply religious. We both grew up in Christian homes. Church is the center of Plains life. Jimmy has said many times that he spent more time on his knees as governor than any time in his life. We need your help—and we need your prayers." They loved it.

Jimmy and Rosalynn knew each other all their lives in Plains. Carter's mother, a registered nurse, took care of Rosalynn's father, a mechanic, before he died of leukemia. Rosalynn was 13 then, the oldest of four children.

Life for Rosalynn was hard after her father's death. "We were very, very poor and we worked hard. It was just a very bad time," she said. Her mother worked at the post office and sewed trousseaus. Rosalynn worked in a beauty parlor and helped her mother sew. She was given $4 a week for lunch and expenses and she attended junior college in Americus, Ga., nine miles from Plains.

Just before her 19th birthday, she married Carter, who was three years older and had been at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis.

The Navy was her first chance to see the world and she argued against returning to Plains and the peanut business when Carter's father died in 1953. She lost, and together the couple expanded the peanut growing and processing business to its estimated current market value of more than $500,000. "I kept the books, weighed the fertilizer trucks, did everything," she said.

Chip Carter, 26, says the first adjective he can think of to describe his mother is "active." She worked full time while raising him and the couple's other sons, Jack, 28, and Jeff, 23, but it was a different life than the



Associated Press

Mrs. Carter says of her husband: "He's not cold or calculating. He's a planner."

one that now engulfs her and keeps her—except on weekends—from Amy, who is cared for at other times by Carter's mother.

Mrs. Carter says she is ready for the massive criticism as well as adulation that comes with national politics. "That's not new to me. We lived in Plains and had our business boycotted, on several occasions, because of saying that blacks should be able to come into the church, and for trying to consolidate the schools." She quickly adds, "But all that's behind us and nobody has worked harder, or helped us more than the people of Plains. But you don't stand up or not fight for things you believe in just because somebody might criticize you."

There is no question that she would be an active first lady. As Georgia's first lady, she supervised mental health centers, and this year she speaks of her support for community day-care centers and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Critics of Carter have voiced concern that he is too driven, too mechanical. They point to his single-minded pursuit, since 1971, of the presidency and note that humor has not been a Carter characteristic.

His wife protests, "He's not cold or calculating. He's a planner. I don't think you have to be cold and calculating to decide you're going to be President—and then lay out a plan for it.... He never had time for frivolous things.

"Jimmy has a great sense of humor. People just don't know that about him yet."

Like others around Carter, she has a hard time coming up with examples. There has not been that much time for humor, she says, with a tinge of exasperation, "because we've been busy. My life has not been normal for the last year and a half because I get up and campaign all day. When I get home I read issue papers. I don't even read [anything else] anymore."

Mrs. Carter says her husband's confidence comes from the fact that he feels he is "capable. Jimmy has always known what he's wanted to do and he's always successful. It's just one progression to another. He wanted submarine school and he got that. He wanted nuclear subs and he got that. He wanted governor and he got that."

Like others who seek the presidency, Carter feels he can make a change for the better. "I think what first started him thinking about running was just the way the federal government functioned while he was governor under Nixon . . .," his wife said.

"Here was the federal government just a hindrance to anything he was trying to do. I think that's when he first started thinking he'd like to get his hands on that. He's very smart, very warm and he cares about this country."

Mrs. Carter says she is motivated for the same reasons. "Every day I just see things I know I could help change if I were first lady.

"I'm not doing all this just for Jimmy. I feel I'm doing it for the country."

Rod MacLeish

An American Cromwell?

The question at the outset was: Who is Jimmy Carter?

He came out of nowhere—or, Plains, Georgia which was the pastoral tranquility of nowhere's suburbs—declaring himself swaddled in faith and beholden to none of the power brokers who, by Carter's gospel, have disfigured our recent history. Radiating benevolence, he came to each primary as if it were a pit stop on the sure road to an American restoration.

He was believable largely because so many of those who voted seemed to believe in him. In a time of turbulent, ambivalence, Carter's apostolic goodness seemed as fixed as his smile.

On the evening of May 6 he appeared on public television and told Bill Moyers, "I ask God to let me do what's right. . ." An adult crisis had re-aligned him with the deepest teachings of his faith. "And since then," Carter said, "I've just about had a new life. As for hatreds and frustrations, I feel at ease with myself."

Since the Pennsylvania primary, a certain, faintly arrogant peevishness has begun to flicker behind the beaming Carter personna.

His reaction to Hubert Humphrey's withdrawal from the New Jersey primary was unpleasant. Carter wished ole Hubert had stayed in so he could be beat. Democratic Party tradition holds that you embrace, forgive and try to incorporate opponents who back off.

The nasty spat over race and religion in Michigan smacked of hatred and frustration. A Carter backer, Detroit's mayor Coleman Young, attacked Morris Udall for belonging to a church that discriminates against blacks. Carter must know that Udall left the Mormon Church decades ago. But he declined to disavow Young's assault. Instead, he accused Udall of attacking his (Carter's) religion. Nobody in the Carter campaign could cite any instances of such Udall attacks.

It can be argued that all of this is common in American politics. But Carter has postulated himself as a very uncommon American politician—someone new in that he eschews standard brawling, someone as traditional as Christian values.

There are days now when he sounds like an American Cromwell and the original question remains: Who is Jimmy Carter?

Neal R. Peirce

Investing in Young People

Universal youth service, often proposed but never instituted in the United States, has emerged again as a response to sky-high levels of unemployment—and alienation—among the nation's young people.

Even in a "full employment" economy, according to former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, "there would be a 20 per cent unemployment rate among white youths and 40 per cent among black youths. More and more employers are simply not hiring anybody under 20 except for dead end jobs such as dishing out hamburgers."

"We make almost no investment in youth between 16 and 25," Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.) told this correspondent. "These young people wander the streets and become drifters. They lack a basic sense of direction or roots." The dearth of youth-oriented programs, Young said, leads directly to "crime and all kinds of social disorders we're now throwing money at—with few tangible results."

Mr. Peirce, a contributing editor of National Journal, writes a syndicated column on the problems of cities and states.

It would be a better idea, Young said, to "throw some love" instead, through a universal youth service (UYS) that gives young people a structured way to serve their communities and gain their first work experiences.

The start of a national campaign to enact UYS in the 1970s emerged last month at a conference of some 75 educators, labor officials, businessmen and alumni of past national youth projects at the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute in Hyde Park, N.Y.

The Roosevelt tie is a "natural." The closest the nation ever came to UYS was the Civilian Conservation Corps' forest and park camps and the wide variety of service projects under the National Youth Administration, both programs of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s.

Youth programs since World War II have been limited to specialized groups: the GI Bill for veterans, the Peace Corps and VISTA for the highly qualified, and Great Society "war on poverty" programs for the disadvantaged. President Lyndon B. Johnson considered national service in 1966—about the time he found he couldn't have both guns for Vietnam and more social programs at home.

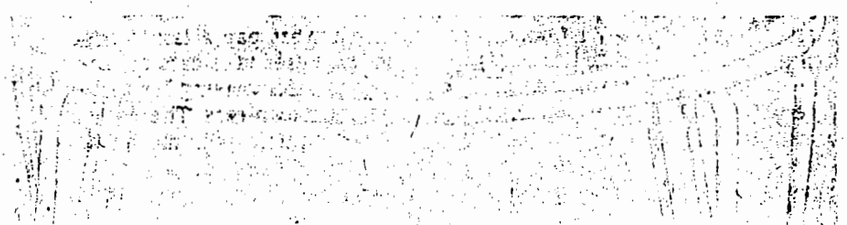
Among attendees at the Hyde Park conference were Young and Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., strong supporters of Jimmy Carter, the frontrunning contender for the Democratic presidential nomination. Carter, Roosevelt said, believes a national plan and program to combat youth unemployment is essential, and is studying the universal service approach. Both Young and Roosevelt said they would strongly urge Carter, should he be elected, to back UYS. Young, as Carter's leading advocate among black elected officials, might be particularly influential.

No precise formula for UYS emerged from Hyde Park, but three points came through loud and clear: Youth must be involved in the planning. Major federal funding—$1 billion to $5.5 billion annually—would be needed. And the program should be administered at the grass-roots level to avoid federal bureaucratic red tape and to encourage local initiatives for creative service opportunities.

Under the model developed by Donald J. Eberly, a universal youth service proponent since the early 1950s, the program "must be truly open to all persons from 18 to 25." It would have two major options—community service (teacher's aides, paramedics, assistants in social agencies, etc.) and environmental service (tree planting, park improvements and the like).

Applicants would agree to a contract with public or private agencies that had requested volunteers. UYS would pay the minimum wage to all participants.

A pilot program in Washington State, first proposed by Republican Gov. Dan Evans and similar to the Eberly model, has been in operation for three years.



By all accounts this "Program for Local Service," funded by the federal volunteer agency, ACTION, and administered by the state's Office of Community Development, has been exceptionally successful. Agencies have hired 40 per cent of volunteers at the end of their year's service, and 71 per cent of the agencies reported that the volunteers "equalled or surpassed regular employees in motivation, responsibility and skills."

The Washington program does not eliminate applicants for lack of education or experience. One 22-year-old woman, considered mentally retarded, worked at a senior citizens center organizing events from pinochle tournaments to trips out of town. When her service was up, the residents successfully petitioned their city council for funds to hire her permanently.

Young envisages a prestige youth corps in non-military type uniform ("like what our Olympians wear"). Service should begin, he thinks, with physical and civics training and discipline to help young people learn to work within a group. Young believes the program should eventually be compulsory. He had opposed abolishing the draft because "the Army provided the only education a lot of poor folk got."

But compulsion, according to Washington's Secretary of State Bruce K. Chapman, "is a horrible idea that would poison the well of volunteerism and service. I don't trust the government to know what's best for people." Voluntary service, Chapman added, can be an honor and challenge for young people and provide incentives for longterm career success.

UYS could even expand to include private sector opportunities—perhaps, Roosevelt suggests, through tax breaks to employers who offer young people work experience. The arts, home crafts or even organic farming could be eligible, Chapman says.

In place of either "federal officialdom" or "local officialdom" administering UYS at the local level, Wirtz would turn to such groups as community colleges, Lions and Rotary Clubs, or Big Sisters to propose volunteer activities and run the program.

Bypassing state and local governments, however, could generate the same kind of opposition that eventually killed off Great Society projects such as the Community Action Program.

A strong point of a successful UYS program is that it might reduce future criminal justice and welfare costs so significantly that it would be cost-effective, even with annual expenditures of several billion dollars of the taxpayers' money.

But the essential point is human. As President Roosevelt said in 1935, when 2,870,000 young people were out of work and out of school, "We can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women."

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Cool Winds
ny, breezy and cool
ay, high in the upper
Fair tonight, low
r 50. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Oregon Big for Democrats, Special Test for Reagan, Too

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — Early last night, 36 hours before the polls open for the Oregon presidential primary tomorrow, the campaign offices of both President Ford and Ronald Reagan were shut down. But at Jerry Brown's headquarters nearby, more than 50 volunteers were busily making telephone calls and preparing voter lists for the primary.

This was but one shred of evidence showing how the Democratic primary here tomorrow has overshadowed the contest on the Republican side between Ford and Reagan. But, however cavalierly the Republican primary is treated, it represents a special test for Reagan.

The conservative from California has held the incumbent President to what amounts to a draw in the first three months of primary competition, but Reagan has yet to win in a Northern state with any reputation for political moderation. And unless he wins here, his only chance to do so may be June 8 in California, where Reagan's special status as a former governor and favorite son would take much of an edge off a victory.

FOR REAGAN, the danger is that, whatever his delegate position, he will arrive at the Republican convention in Kansas City in August viewed as a regional candidate who still has not demonstrated the potential for winning in major industrial states. And that perception could be a telling argument against him if the contest for the nomination is close.

Reagan's weakness outside the South and Far West was emphasized on the eve of the Oregon primary by the news from the two largest uncommitted delegations, those from Pennsylvania and New York, that most of their votes would go to Ford. There was nothing unexpected about that, but it underlined the special character of Reagan's strength.

Reagan lost to Ford in Massachusetts, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, passed up the chance to compete in New York and Pennsylvania and is considered a distinct underdog i Ohio and New Jersey, both of which vote June8. The only Northern states he has won are Indiana and Nebraska, both considered capitals of conservatism rivaling anything in the South.

See PRIMARY, A-6

PRIMARY

Continued From A-1

REAGAN'S RECORD so far is one of the reasons Ford is favored here tomorrow. Neither campaign has been very intensive in Oregon, although both candidates were here over the weekend, but politicans generally believe Ford should win.

Whatever happens here, Reagan is expected to show a net gain tomorrow night and to go back ahead of Ford in the race for 1,130 delegates needed for the nomination. Reagan is either a narrow or heavy favorite in all five of the other primaries — in Idaho, Nevada, Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas. In fact, Ford is considered within striking distance only in Tennessee and Kentucky.

The six primaries represent 176 delegates, or well over 10 percent of the number needed for nomination.

Campaigning here in the final weekend, Reagan sought to downplay the importance of Oregon, telling reporters he has "never been very optimistic" about winning here and would settle for "a reasonable showing" against the President.

REAGAN WAS RUNNING a heavy campaign of commercials in the final hours but no issue had emerged in Oregon with the volatility that the national security issue demonstrated for him in earlier primary victories in such states as North Carolina and Texas.

The President combined campaigning on the high road with his usual attention to local issues. He made a point, for example, of opposing an initiative here that would limit the development of nuclear power plants, thus taking a position that most Republicans in Oregon seem to share.

But political attention was so much focused on the Democratic contest between Brown, Jimmy Carter and Frank Church that the Ford and Reagan appearances in the state were viewed largely as a temporary diversion.

For Reagan, nonetheless, Oregon represented an important opportunity to demonstrate something he has not been able to demonstrate yet all year — that he has the ability to reach out from the most conservative constituencies and win elections.

4

Jack Valenti

Why issues don't elect presidents

There is a political lesson to be learned from the presidential campaign so far, a lesson that wise old political observers have known for some time, to wit: Specific issues count not a damn in presidential primaries or the general election.

The key that unlocks the voter's heart is that which goes to his heart. It is how the candidate makes the voters "feel," whether the candidate is perceived to be "exciting" and whether he is "liked" by those who see him or read about him. The unchanging political maxim is that voters choose their President much as they chose their wife or husband, not by logic, and surely not by formula. It is a curious amalgam of public instinct and emotion which is indecipherable, which, of course, gives issue-minded campaign managers the hives.

Try to remind yourself what the issues were in 1960. All most of us remember is that Jack Kennedy said he would get this country moving again. That had a nice ring to it but it was not very specific. Kennedy and Nixon argued about Quemoy and Matsu but who the devil can recall who was for which and why, and what difference it made?

In 1964, it was whom do you trust to have his finger on the button.

In 1968, the only issue was how desperately the Democratic liberals cursed Hubert Humphrey, and by the time their imprecations had subsided, the election was over.

In 1972, the instant that George McGovern got specific about his $1,000 giveaway plan and detailed how many air wings he was going to cut, the voters ran quaking and scared toward Nixon. It wasn't the specific issue, it was the specifics of the issue.

In this primary election season you will recall that Ronald Reagan spent two months trying to disentangle himself from his specific $90 billion tax cut *cum* transferral.

Jack Valenti, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, was a close aide of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

It is hard to put a dagger in the belly of a candidate who says he understands the problem and he will do something about it after he is elected. Most people nod and say, "Yeah, that seems right." Does anyone really read, much less comprehend, candidates' position papers?

What counts is who best wins the hearts of the voters, or conversely who frightens them the least.

So few of us really understand the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, or the details of SALT, or the defense budget, or the Panama Canal treaty. Does anyone believe that this election will be decided over Panama? (The clatter over the canal and the specter that it will count mightily in the voting booth reminds me of that scene in Robert Bolt's *Man for All Seasons* when Richard Rich perjured himself against Sir Thomas More because Henry VIII paid off Rich by making him attorney general of Wales. More's classic indicting line: "I can understand a man selling his soul for profit, but for Wales?")

The only issues that cut to the voting bone are war and peace (i.e., World War II, Korea, Vietnam) and raging depression. We are involved in neither.

Gov. Carter and Gov. Brown are capturing a good many hearts. Why? Are they articulating the issues that trouble our national conscience? Perhaps. But it may be largely because voters "feel good" about them, whatever the reason. They seem to be making no false promises, or even no promises at all. It's not what they stand for or against, it's what they sound like and look like. Or as a voter in Maryland told a *Washington Star* reporter about one of the candidates: "No, it's not any issue, I just like his outlook. He's fair and honest, I think." Or as a cab-driver told the same reporter: "I just like the guy."

We can debate whether this is good or bad for the country, but it is real and it is happening. I remember my own parents when FDR campaigned. They couldn't care less what he said; it was the way he said it. "That voice" coming over the radio soothed them and embraced them. It was that way every time he ran. He was the guy they "loved" and trusted.

It was the same with Eisenhower. No matter Adlai Stevenson's undoubted eloquence or that the Democratic intellectuals ground their teeth over the general. He just smiled that large smile, held up his arms in a big "V" and if it weren't for the 22nd Amendment, Ike would have been President until he died.

Moreover, chance and luck play such a crucial role in how elections go. Robert Blake, biographer of Disraeli, wrote a timeless summary of presidential elections. About Disraeli, he wrote: "He knew how small a part in politics is played by logic, cool reason, calm appraisal of alternatives. That is why politicians appreciate him. They realize that a large part of political life in a parliamentary democracy consists not so much in doing things yourself as imparting the right tone to things that others (here Blake possibly meant opponents) do for you or to things that are going to happen anyway."

It was ever thus and so it will continue to be.

Things visceral cannot be measured any more than love can be computerized. Unless a man who engages the heart of the people commits an egregious, stupid error of judgment, unless the country begins to fray around the edges because of wars no one supports or an economy that wounds us all, it will be his personal image that will be crucial. All else are tracings written on dry leaves in the wind.

That is what this campaign is all about. That is what all presidential campaigns of the last 40 years have been about.

Garry Wills

Brown, not 'machine,' was the primary factor

Four weeks back, Allard Lowenstein scared with candor some of his fellow workers in the Brown campaign. He told journalists that Gov. Brown had to win in Maryland if he was going to remain viable this year. The official line was, at that time, that a "strong showing" was all Brown needed — and Brown himself refused to define "strong" in this context.

Having taken his chance on a long shot, Lowenstein was not going to see it belittled on election night. To newsmen who talked of a machine victory, he posed a series of hard questions.

Could the machine have turned out a similar vote for Scoop Jackson or Sargent Shriver or Mo Udall? Is the Maryland machine more powerful than Pennsylvania's? Could anyone else have beat Carter here by over 75,000 votes? The only honest answer to all of these questions is no. The candidate made the difference.

Lowenstein argues that Carter got where he is by plurality victories against candidates that have enlisted no real voter enthusiasm. He claims that when you get a candidate who has genuine appeal, but who can also work with the organizations, the result is Kennedylike.

His argument is supported by the fact that machine-backed Maryland delegates, originally lined up for Senator Jackson, ran poorly while Brown, the machine's new choice, was sweeping the beauty contest.

Gov. Marvin Mandel turned out his troops for Brown. But he got as much as he gave from that effort. When, at the victory party, Brown introduced his supporters from the platform, Mandel was booed by the largely young crowd on hand. And ex-mayor Tommy D'Alesandro III, Baltimore's truest political guru, thinks Brown's real power comes from the ability to reach the young voters — not the young demonstrator or talker, but the large group of people in their early twenties who do not usually vote.

In 1972, one of McGovern's strategists, Fred Dutton, tried to fashion a plan based on the demographic bloat in the "young voter" category. There were two things wrong with his plan. Most "young voters" don't really vote — not till they are 27 or so. And those who could be persuaded to register were not McGovern supporters after all.

D'Alesandro says he never saw so many young people out working for a candidate, recruiting their fellows, getting to the polls. If that is true, Brown eats drastically into the mood for change that Carter has profited by and helped create. Carter, in this scheme of things, did more to destroy the standing of "old politics" than to inspire the trust he likes to talk about.

D'Alesandro has a feeling that people are not really easy with Carter, that they have distrusted his opponents more than they have trusted him. Brown, by contrast, pretending to less absolute standards of purity, is fresh without being out of contact with politics.

So, at least, Tommy puts it. And Tommy has a very shrewd feel for politics. On election day in Maryland, everyone else was calling the Senate race between Paul Sarbanes and Joseph Tydings a toss-up. But two weeks earlier Tommy bet friends that Sarbanes would win by at least 75,000 votes. It seemed crazy at the time. How could he defend such a position? "Just a feeling," he said — but backing his feeling with cash.

He also said Brown would win — and Brown did, by over 75,000 votes. Sarbanes? He won by over 100,000 votes. Tommy, as it turned out, underestimated both victories. But only he, of all the pundits, came that close.

Russell Baker

Can he handle a laundry crisis?

NEW YORK — In a campaign such as this, when it is difficult to decide whom to support for President — or, indeed, whether to support anybody — it sometimes helps to imagine how each of the candidates might behave as President in a crisis.

Let us imagine first, then, that Gerald Ford has been elected and that he is scheduled to appear at an important banquet and that two hours beforehand he discovers he has no clean shirt to wear.

* * * *

President Ford stared at the empty drawer and tried to guess what Ronald Reagan would do at a moment like this. He was tempted to phone Reagan and ask, but stifled the impulse. It had become a bad habit with him, not deciding which way to turn until Reagan had suggested something. He must change his ways.

"After all," he said, "I'm the President now, not Reagan. What's more, I've got a Cabinet to help me." He tried for a long while to remember who was in the Cabinet so he could phone one of them for advice, but he could only think of Henry Kissinger.

"Completely out of clean shirts?" Kissinger repeated from his room in Nairobi. "Why don't you launder one quickly in the White House washing machine, and then run it through the White House clothes dryer and then press it with the White House iron?"

President Ford swung into action. It was more fun than anything he had done since sinking the Cambodian Navy. Seizing a dirty shirt, he rushed to the White House cellar, opened a machine, tossed in the shirt and pressed a button. A moment later, Premier Brezhnev pressed a button in Moscow, and the machine tossed back the dirty shirt with Brezhnev's hotline message on it. "Is there something you want to talk about?" the shirt said.

Quickly, the President punched the machine again, saying, "Sorry. I got the hot line confused with the washing machine. I desperately need a cean shirt fast."

"Don't worry," said Brezhnev's reply on the hot line. "I'll have the Soviet Embassy send you one down from 16th Street in 10 minutes."

* * * *

President Carter was mortified as he stared at his empty shirt drawer. No clean shirt for the big dinner! He examined the cuffs of the shirt he had been wearing all day. It would have to do.

As he arrived to begin eating the grapefruit with maraschino cherry before a national TV audience, everybody stood, but he told them please to sit while he told them something important. He had said he would never lie, he said, and he did not intend to start now.

"I am wearing a dirty shirt," the President said. "And the reason I am wearing a dirty shirt — and I won't lie to you about this — is that I am largely incompetent at managing my own wardrobe. To be completely honest with you, and that's the only way I'll ever be, this strain of incompetence was first noticed by my mother when I was just a little boy, 5 years old, and one day I couldn't find any clean socks.

"The truth is — and I'll never hesitate to tell the truth, no matter how painful — that my officers at the Naval Academy commented on my wardrobe incompetence on two occasions, and I think a decent respect for the truth compels me to tell you about both of them. The first occurred when a set of Navy blues. . ."

Ninety-seven minutes later, the President concluded. By that time, everybody's grapefruit had gotten warm and the maraschino cherries had gone limp, and all over America people were hoping they would never get invited to dinner with the President.

* * * *

President Reagan smiled his boyish, devil-may-care smile as he gazed into the empty drawer and realized that he was no longer No. 1 in shirts. When word of this got out, he knew what the consequences would be unless he acted with dispatch to restore the respect due America.

The Panamanians would say that, shirtwise, Reagan couldn't cut the mustard anymore. That he was a President who could be pushed around by his laundry. It would encourage them to start taking risks. They might even challenge America by sending a Panamanian Army platoon to Angola.

This is why Reagan was smiling his boyish, devil-may-care smile. He already knew what had to be done, and by George, he had the courage to do it now.

Oh, not the obvious thing. Not sending the Marines against the laundry that had let him down, played fast and loose with America. That was too big a laundry. What was called for was a limited response.

He would move, instead, against a small neighborhood laundry in Georgetown. That would give the Panamanians something to think twice about, since Panama wasn't much bigger than a small laundry itself. He moved swiftly to the telephone, and issued orders calmly.

"Notify the banquet I am engaged in a crisis and cannot attend,' he commanded, "and tell SAC I want the B52's to flatten Goldie's Georgetown Laundry in precisely 30 minutes."

George Beveridge, The Star's ombudsman whose weekly column usually appears on this page, is on vacation.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

5/27



The New York Times/Don Hogan Charles

ENDORSES CARTER: Mayor Beame with Jimmy Carter at Gracie Mansion. Page 24.

48A

B

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, MAY 27, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Defense Department officials in Washington disclosed that Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld was interceding on behalf of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation in an attempt to overcome Japanese reluctance to purchase $250 million worth of patrol aircraft directly from the company. The sale has been jeopardized by disclosure of the company's payment of bribes and commissions in Japan. Mr. Rumsfeld has proposed an arrangement under which his department would become the contracting agent. [Page 1, Column 1.]

The 24 countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development have agreed in Paris on a strict code of conduct for multinational corporations following disclosures of bribery and other illicit practices by some of them. The guidelines, scheduled for formal adoption June 21, are voluntary but are expected to carry considerable political and moral weight. [1:4.]

The British Government put on its biggest show of the year to celebrate the loss 200 years ago of the 13 colonies that became the United States. In Westminster Hall, cradle of the Mother of Parliaments, a Congressional delegation received a reproduction of Magna Carta to symbolize a common heritage. The British are getting more mileage out of the anniversary than any country except perhaps the United States. [1:2-3.]

Martin Heidegger, the German philosopher who was one of the most seminal thinkers of his time, died at the age of 86 in the town of Messkirch, where he was born. [1:1-2.]

National

The June 8 primaries are expected to clarify the Presidential nomination races for both parties—the California contest for Republicans and the Ohio contest for Democrats. The six primaries on Tuesday did little to change the long-range outlook in either party, though President Ford cut into his Republican challenger Ronald Reagan's Southern strength, and Jimmy Carter saw further erosion of the idea of his inevitable victory among Democrats. [1:2-3.]

West Point cadets who are accused of cheating or who are critical of the United States Military Academy's honor code are compiling lists of hundreds of their classmates who they say were also involved. Their apparent intention is to confront the Academy with a difficult choice: prosecution of all whom they suspect, leading to widespread expulsions, or general acquittal and re-examination of the code. [1:6-7.]

Dorothy Schiff, editor in chief and publisher of The New York Post, says in a new biography that she had a romance with President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1936 to 1943 and that her then husband, the late George Backer, was proud of it. She also implies that Mrs. Roosevelt knew and may even have approved. [1:2-5.]

Metropolitan

Patrick J. Cunningham, the Democratic New York State chairman; his law partner, Joseph S. Kaming, and Judge Anthony J. Mercorella of Civil Court in the Bronx were indicted in what could be the state's biggest political scandal in years. Mr. Cunningham was accused of arranging to nominate Mr. Mercorella, then a City Councilman, for the bench in return for a promised payoff to him and the Bronx County Democratic Committee. The special grand jury, under the supervision of Maurice H. Nadjari, also indicted Mr. Cunningham and his partner on a separate charge of conspiracy and tampering with evidence. They allegedly tried to conceal from the jury the fact that a Bronx bank, seeking state government deposits, had paid them $50,000 in legal fees for legal work they did not perform. [1:6-8.]

In a sudden turnabout, Governor Carey said Mr. Nadjari should remain as special state prosecutor beyond a June 29 deadline to complete a backlog of trials. He carefully avoided, however, specifying that Mr. Nadjari should retain his powerful post as head of the office investigating corruption in the criminal-justice system while resolving pending indictments. Politicians believed Mr. Carey changed his mind to avoid possible charges of blocking a Republican from completing important cases affecting several prominent Democrats. [1:6-7.]

Moody's Investors Service, a leading bond-rating company, sharply downgraded its rating of Municipal Assistance Corporation bonds, saying that the state agency's recent moves to restructure its debt would adversely affect their security as investments. The action, a surprise to Wall Street, seemed certain to cast some doubt on M.A.C.'s offer to exchange its bonds for New York City notes. M.A.C. called the action irresponsible and without merit. [1:5.]

The Other News

International

Miki defies party foes in new ouster move. Page 2
Seoul officials deny likns to Moon sect. Page 2
Envoy sees U.S. "mistake" in Lebanon. Page 3
Giscard offer on Lebanon modified. Page 3
U.S. lets A.F.L.-C.I.O. veto lnionists' visit. Page 3
Shooting in Lebanon kills 70 in a day. Page 3
Xhosas to lose South African citizenship. Page 4
Israel criticized in U.N. Security Council. Page 5
Campaign a challenge to Italy's small parties. Page 9
Russian shows letters accusing U.S. newsmen. Page 10
British aide criticizes Soviet on détente. Page 11
Seven European nations yield in Nairobi talks. Page 14
Angola planning to try 13 mercenaries. Page 16
A reporter's notebook on a Kissinger tour. Page 17

Government and Politics

New York state assailed on property tax. Page 18
Elated Church presses for new victories. Page 23
Group of lawyers backed Carter in rise. Page 24
Ford encouraged by results in primaries. Page 24
Beame endorses Carter for President. Page 24
Reagan says law aids criminal defendant. Page 24
Senate switches, confirms consumer aide. Page 25
Primary voting and new delegate standing. Pgae 25
Senate actions in Albany criticized by Democrats. Page 26
Suit filed to enjoin food stamp cutbacks. Page 49

General

A city mourns students dead in crash. Page 21
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 37
Police question five more in union fight. Page 37
Collapse of U.D.C. laid to 3 wrong moves. Page 37
Hays accuses woman of $1,000 extortion. Page 41
Carey expects Cunningham to step down. Page 42

All the News
t's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITI(
Weather: Mostly sunny tod
and cool tonight. Cloudy t
Temperature range: toda
Wednesday 50-62. Details.

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California and Ohio Tests May Clarify 1976 Races

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Republicans looked to California yesterday and Democrats to Ohio for clarification of the still unresolved races for the Presidential nominations. Both states vote June 8.

In the six primaries on Tuesday, several of which were not decided until early this morning, President Ford, by cutting into Ronald Reagan's Southern strength in Kentucky nd Tennessee, put further pressure on the former Governor to win in California.

And Jimmy Carter of Georgia, a winner only in his home region, suffered a setback as the once-prevalent idea that his nomination was inevitable was further eroded.

But the results on Tuesday — three victories and three losses each for Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, the front-runners in the Republican and Democratic delegate counts — did little to change the long-range outlook in either party. Three primaries next week in small states are not considered significant.

Three months after the first balloting in New Hampshire, a period in which 24 primaries have been held, it appears likely that unless Mr. Ford can upset Mr. Reagan in his home state of California, and unless Mr. Carter can withstand his challengers in Ohio, both parties will have all-out scrambles before and at their conventions.

The President, whose pros-

Continued on Page 25, Column 1

-Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

pects seemed bleak only two weeks ago after a series of losses to the former California Governor, won on Tuesday in Oregon, where he had been expected to, and in Kentucky and Tennessee, where he had not. Although he lost in Arkansas, Nevada and Idaho, he was delighted to win half the races, rather than losing five out of six, as some of his aides had predicted he would.

Few of the six primaries—the largest number ever held on a single day—produced close contests. The tightest race, and the most gratifying victory for Mr. Ford, came in Tennessee. The President led at first, then fell far behind, then rallied, then saw his lead whittled to 123 votes before he finally sealed a victory by 1,200 votes yesterday morning.

The Tennessee success by Mr. Ford was achieved despite crossover voting rules such as those that hurt him badly elsewhere, and it constituted a personal triumph for Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., who called in every political chit in a two-week effort to produce a victory for the President.

"It was the night that Reagan had to make a big comeback," said Stuart Spencer, deputy manager of the Ford campaign, "and he didn't do it."

Significant Difference

Mr. Carter, on the other hand, had hoped to hit .667 and could make only .500—a small but significant difference. He crushed his rivals in the South, averaging better than 60 percent of the vote in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas, but he was stopped cold in the West. He lost to Senator Frank Church of Idaho in the Senator's home state and to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in Nevada.

The key defeat came, however, in Oregon, the main event of the day. Mr. Church won there as well, giving him the distinction of having entered three primaries and having won three. Mr. Brown's write-in campaign, one of the most successful in Presidential primary history, earned him 22 percent of the vote, but nonetheless left him in third place.

Mr. Church said that his success represented a "quantum jump" for his campaign. Mr. Brown, who is fond of literary images, alluded to Sisyphus. At a Sacramento news conference, he said:

"It's very easy to get that rock almost to the top of the hill, and then have it start to roll back again. I have a hunch that that's what's happening to Governor Carter."

There was common agreement that something was happening to Mr. C[illegible]er, who on the last three primary Tuesdays won only in his own region and by a mere whisker in Michigan.

He has suffered from exposure, no longer seeming the freshly minted candidate he did in March. He has suffered from having to compete with strong candidates in their regions, which he did not have to do in New England and the Middle West.

Performances Are Hurt

He has been forced, by his promise to run everywhere, to try to do in four or five days what Mr. Church, in Nebraska and Oregon, and Mr. Brown, in Maryland, devoted two weeks to doing. And th attacks of his opponents, particularly their assertions that he "waffles" on the issues, have taken a significant toll.

Mr. Carter's relatively weak primary showings have begun to hurt his performances in the caucus convention states.

In Missouri on Tuesday night, for example, he won only 28 delegates, instead of the 40 to 50 his supporters had predicted. Last Saturday, he fared less well than expected in Virginia. Unless he can get back on the trajectory that brought him from obscurity to the head of the Democratic field, the shortfalls are likely to continue when he tries to assemble at the national convention the last few hundred delegates he will need for a majority of 1,505.

But bcause he still holds such a wide lead in delegates, and continues to add to it, party leaders are not deserting him. Indeed, he is able to lure still more, as yesterday's endorsements from Mayor Beame of New York and Gov. Daniel Walker of Illinois showed. He also picked up the potentally valuable support of Herby Lerner, the Democratic leader in Essex County, N.J.

Mr. Carter gained 137 delegates Tuesday, as against 30 for Mr. Church, 17 for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, 13 for Mr. Brown and 6 for Representaive Morris K. Udall of Arizona, under proportional rules in the primaries.

An Immense Lead

The Georgian's overall lead is immense: He has 879 delegates, according to The New York Times tabulation, and Mr. Udall, next in line, has 298½. That constitutes a continuing problem for the fragmented, ill-organizeed stop-Carter forces.

On the Republican side, Mr. Reagan scored a net gain of 24 Tuesday, winning 100 delegates to Mr. Ford's 76. overall, however, the President leads, 771 to 643, with 148 undecided.

Mr. Ford could approach the number needed for nomination, 1,130, by sweeping New Jersey, where Mr. Reagan is not campaigning; Ohio, where he has made a token effort, and California on June 8.

The strategic situation among the Democrats is a good deal more complex. First, there are next Tuesday's primaries. Mr. Udall is concentrating on South Dakota, where he has the backing of both Senators and seems to have a good chance of winning his first primary.

Mr. Church's prime target is Montana, a neighbor of his own Idaho, but he is running as well in Rhode Island. Mr. Brown plans to campaign in behalf of an uncommitted slate in Rhode Island, and Mr. Carter's strategists think that he has a better chance there than in two other primaries on the list.

But the major decisions that the candidates have been pondering relate to June 8, and a reasonably clear picture began to emerge yesterday after they sifted the returns.

Mr. Udall has settled on Ohio, where he is predicting victory, and plans only a "drop-in" New Jersey and no substantial campaigning in California. Having come close in Michigan, his strategists theorize, the Arizonan should be able to win in Ohio, a similar state where he has more labor support.

But Mr. Church said today that Ohio would also be his main theater of operations, and that he would make some effort in California. That, conceded a Udall campaign planner, "would be unfortunate, because every vote he gets will be a vote taken from Mo."

Time Is a Factor

Mr. Brown will, of course, work hard to win as many members as possible of his state's 280-vote delegation. The question is how much time that will take, and where else he should make an effort.

His answer at the news conference in Sacramento was, "I'll focus most of my efforts here." The 38-year-old Governor indicated that he would campaign in no more than "a couple of districts" in Ohio. He also expressed reluctance to campaign for an uncommitted slate in New Jersey until he was sure that it was for him and not for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

"I want to know who the delegates are for," Mr. Brown said. An aide described the Jersey situation as "a mess."

In those circumstances, it is not surprising what Mr. Carter plans. According to Hamilton Jordan, his national campaign manager, the Georgian will stump in California for a healthy minority of delegates. He concedes a majority to Mr. Brown. He feels confident in New Jersey against comparatively limited opposition.

So he, too, will focus on Ohio, where he has the only meaningful organization, in the hope that Mr. Udall and Mr. Church, who have stayed out of each other's way so far, will divide the liberal vote.

The Democratic campaign has fallen so far into two parts: the period of Mr. Carter's ascendancy, which lasted through May 4 and during which he dispatched all his original rivals except Mr. Udall, and the period since, in which a new set of challengers has roughed him up. By June 9, it will be clear whether the second phase was an aberration or a decisive decline.

"I'm going to scramble," the Georgian said late Tuesday night, the skin of his face stretched tight with fatigue.

Food Inspection Drive Started for Convention

Forty Health Department officers have begun a program to inspect 6,000 food establishments in Manhattan to see that sanitary standards are observed by the start of the Democratic National Convention on July 12.

Health Commissioner Lowell E. Bellin said the special inspections were intended also to protect the expected influx of summer visitors for Bicentennial events, such as Operation Sail on July 4.

An Ebullient Church Eyes California and Ohio Tests

By LES LEDBETTER
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 26—A weary but ebullient Frank Church flew in here today for an outdoor rally at the University of California, Los Angeles, and then flew out again thre hours later on his way to Cincinnati, in a frenetic attempt to win the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The California and Ohio primaries are the next "essential" ingredients in the Idaho Senator's "late entry-high risk" strategy to capture the nomination by arriving at the July convention of his party with a record of winning primaries and of defeating former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

"I can't play the numbers game entering the primaries so late; but on the basis of my wins, I will have to be taken seriously by the convention," said Senator Church in an interview during the flight this morning from Portland, Ore.

Senator Church and his key advisers, who include his wife, Bethine, and elder son, Forrest, feel that he must win the Ohio primary on June 8 and win a "respectable" number of votes in California, perhaps 20 percent, on the same day to establish himself as a "primary tested winner" to whom his party can turn if Mr. Carter does not win the nomination on the first three ballots.

Senator Church said he was not concerned that his party might draft someone such as Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts or Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

In dismissing this possibility, he said, "The choice will almost necessarily be among those who have been out facing the voters in primaries and winning their races or there will be a real backlash against the Democrats in November by a public that feels its wishes have been ignored."

Although he is on the New Jersey ballot the same day, Senator Church said that he would not campaign actively there because he could not afford "the high cost of buying New York audiences in order to reach New Jersey voters" through advertising on New York television stations and because "New Jersey machine politics makes it harder to reach the people."

The Senator said he would need "at least" $1 million for media advertising to mount a winning campaign in all three states and "we won't even have half of that."

His son, Forrest, a Unitarailan minister working on his doctorate at Harvard University, said that the campaign would probably have close to $200,000 to spend on advertising in Ohio and California and perhaps more if the Senator's victory in Oregon "unclogged the money pipelines" and a five-minute national television appeal for funds this Friday was successful.

Level of Contributions

Mr. Church said that currently his father was receiving $10,000 to $15,000 a day in small contributions. He also said that the Oregon campaign had cost about $10,000 a day "and that cost is expected to go up in order to go into California and Ohio where air time costs more."

The Senator, upset that his Nebraska primary victory on May 11 has been "simplistically dismissed as a political accident" and that some observers were "misreading" his Oregon victory yesterday as "regional," said in the interview that victories next week in Rhode Island and Montana primaries would firmly establish him as one of the major candidates and would keep his momentum going sufficiently for a victory the following week in Ohio and perhaps gain him as much as one-quarter of the California vote.

His campaign tactics, according to aides, will essentially remain as they were in Nebraska and Oregon. He will mix at least one light light-hearted event with one serious speech each day, make as many stops as possible and depend upon question-and-answer sessions where ever he goes to get across his message that his campaign is one of "politics of substance over style."

He will also depend heavily on local television and newspaper coverage in the states where he campaigned, seeking talk shows, interviews and "picture opportunities" to get him name recognition and get his positions publicized.

In addition, the Senator plans live television shows in California on June 6 and in Ohio on June 7 in which he will answer questions phoned in by the viewers. The Senator and his staff feel this type of show on the eve of the Oregon primary was particularly successful in reaching undecided voters.

With a string of primary victories, the Senator feels that sufficient delegates will coalesced around him in Oregon and in Nebraska.

SUMMER IS FOR KIDS
HELP THE FRESH AIR FUND

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Carter Pledges Aid for City, Wins Beame Backing

By FRANK LYNN

Mayor Beame, in a significant move in state as well as national politics, officially endorsed Jimmy Carter for President yesterday and described him as "a friend" of New Yorkers.

The Mayor declared at a joint Gracie Mansion news conference with Mr. Carter that the Deocrat from Georgia had "committed himself clearly and unhesitatingly to a body of programs and policies that will brighten the face of urban America and help bring hope and prosperity to our city and its people."

Mr. Carter, whose commitment to the nation's cities has been questioned by some Democrats, responded with a detailed program of Federal aid for the cities—much of it a reiteration of his earlier proposals.

A Credibility Gain

The Beame endorsement, which had been initially reported by The New York Times 10 days ago, provided Mr. Carter with credibility as a candidate who can appeal to the cities as well as rural areas. It also gave him substantial entree into the New York Democratic Establishment, from which he has been virtually shut out.

The Beame move was also in effect a declaration of political independence from Governor Carey, who has been trying to keep the 274-member New York delegation flexible beyond the first ballot. Only 10 days ago, Mr. Carey had urged a unified delegation.

The Governor, nominally the party leader in the state, is now confronted with Mr. Beame working for Mr. Carter and at the other end of the state, Joseph F. Crangle, the Erie County Democratic chairman who was deposed as state chairman by the Governor, spearheading a national effort for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Most of the skate's 65 uncommitted district delegates — mostly upstaters — are believed to be pro-Humphrey.

Reflecting the results of the April 6 primary in New York, the New York delegation currently divided as follows: Senator Henry M. Jackson, 103; Representative Morris K. Udall, 73; Mr. Carter, 33, and uncommitted, 65. Mr. Beame was selected as a Jackson delegate at-large, but he noted yesterday that the Senator has ceased active campaigning for the nomination and that, in any event the Mayor, like any other delegate, is only bound for the first ballot.

William J. vanden Heuvel, the co-chairman of the New York Carter campaign, who negotiated the Mayor's endorsement, said yesterday that the Carter campaign would continue to seek support in the state delegation.

Harriman a Prospect

Among the prospects being ardently courted are former Gov. W. Averell Harriman; City Comptroller Harrison J. Goldin and Staten Island's Borough President, Robert T. Connor.

Mr. Beame, who is co-chairman of the New York delegation, emphasized that he was acting as an individual delegate.

He said Mr. Carter had in two face-to-face conferences in the last three weeks and in discussions between Carter and Beame aides "clearly satisfied me that he has developed an approach to the problems of our citis which is eminently worthy of a standardbearer of the Democratic Party for the office of President."

He said that Mr. Carter was the front-runner for the nomination and that it was time for the party to unite behind a candidate. Adding that Mr. Carter will probably have about 1,200 delegates when the primaries end, Mr. Beame said that "it would be very difficult for the convention to deny him the nomination."

Mr. Beame, who will be the host Mayor for the convention, brushed off efforts to halt the Carter bandwagon. "I don't believe that Democratic Party purposes are served very well by any 'stop' movement," the Mayor said.

The setting for the Beame endorsement was the formal reception room at Gracie Mansion. The Mayor and Mr. Carter sat at a French Empire desk in front of a fireplace. They faced an audience of some 50 newsmen, aides and security personnel.

Mr. Carter's quid pro quo for the Beame endorsement was a six page letter in which he detailed his urban program.

Proposals Called Consistent

He said that his proposals were "consistent" with his previously reiterated programs, and he denied that he was changing his position. However, he had earlier declared that as president he would deal with the city only as part of an overall urban program rather than as a special program.

Missouri Gain Less Than Carter Hoped

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., May 26—Missouri Democrats last night gave former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia fewer convention delegates than his backers had hoped.

But his prospects for further Missouri support by convention time were still encouraging. He was also expected to pick up a majority of the 17 at-large delgates still to be chosen.

A party official who talked this morning with uncommitted delegates elected last night said that he believed about nine of them leaned to Mr. Carter and would eventually vote for him at the Democratic National Convention.

Misouri Democrats will send 71 delegates to the national convention in New York, the largest state delegation to be chosen through the press of precinct caucuses, Congressional district conventions, and a final state conventions.

21 Are Uncommitted

In the 10 Congressional district conventions held last night, Mr. Carter won 28 of the 54 delegates chosen. But despite a sudden switch to Mr. Carter by Missouri Democratic leaders, 21 uncommitted delegates won trips to New York.

Three delegates will go committed to Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and one each to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Mrs. Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate.

The party leaders had expected that their change two weeks ago from urging an uncommitted slate to backing Mr. Carter would bring him 45 to 50 of the delegates chosen last night in the Congressional districts and most of the 17 at-large delegates who will be picked at the state convention June 22.

There appeared today to be no discernible anti-Carter sentiment among most of those who won as uncommitted delegates. Many of them had been maneuvering for election as uncommitted delegates, as their leaders originally wished, and they believed they would have to continue uncommitted in the second round of state voting if they expected to get to New York.

Resentment Stirred

Among the others, some were said to have resented the abrupt change in their leaders' position and to have refused to run pledged to Mr. Carter.

And some wanted to continue uncommitted to take a closer look at late-arriving candidates such as Gov. Edmund P. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Frank Church of Idaho.

"Our people wanted to look around at somebody else besides Carter," said State Senator Robert A. Young, who led three uncommitted delegates to victory in the Secodn District convention in St. Louis.

"We're predominantly labor in my district, and we're dubious about Mr. Carter's attitude toward labor," he said today. "I personally wanted a further look at Brown, and I insisted on running uncommitted so I could do that."

Missouri Republicans have already held their district conventions, electing 15 delegates pledged to President Ford and 12 for former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. Three others are uncommitted.

The Republicans will also choose 19 at-large delegates at their state convention on June 12. Gov. Christopher S. Bond, an ardent Ford supporter, predicted yesterday that there would be a "very, very close" race for these delegates.

Carter Viewed as Winner

In announcing their move to Mr. Carter on May 13, Senator Thomas F. Eagleton, State Treasurer James I. Spainhower and 32 other Democratic leaders who had earlier been calling for an uncommitted slate said it was no apparent that Mr. Carter had a broad base of aupport in the country and could win the Presidency.

They contended that the uncommitted movement in Missouri had never been designed to stop Mr. Carter ok anyone else and that they had talked with many Missouri Democrats who wanted now to support Mr. Carter.

"We're disappointed, of course, that we weren't able to get at least 40 delegates for Carter," Mr. Spainhower said today.

"Maybe there was a little resentment at the sudden switch to him," he went on. "But there's more Carter support among the uncommitted than that vote last night indicated. We expect at least 10 of them will be switching to Carter at the state convention, and he should also get more than half of the at-large spots."

Mr. Spainhower said that there was also some latent support for Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota among the Missouri delegation and that Mr. Humphrey would be a strong second choice if the national convention went beyond the first ballot.

"The primary objective of many of the uncommitteds was to get chosen for the New York City convention, and they thought the best way of getting there, under our new selection rules, was to run uncommitted," Mr. Spainhower said.

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Carter Carries His Campaign Into Jersey

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, May 26—Jimmy Carter began the last two weeks of primary campaigning today, saying he was confident a losing streak that has plagued him recently would not deny him the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The former Georgia Governor began his day in New York, where he formally received the endorsement of Mayor Beame, then campaigned in New Jersey, with appearances in Trenton and Newark. New Jersey votes June 8—the last day of the long primary season—as do California and Ohio.

Mr. Carter came closer today than he had previously in conceding that if a series of primary election reverses continues, he could have trouble sewing up the nomination. He stressed, however, his big lead in national convention delegates, and his impressive record of primary victories in various regions of the country.

Mr. Carter won what he called "overwhelming" victories in the Southern and Border states of Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee yesterday. But he ran second in Oregon to Senator Frank Church of Idaho and behind California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in Nevada—campaigns that had been more vigorously contested. He also lost in Senator Church's home state of Idaho.

Earlier this month Mr. Carter won by a slim margin a similar contested primary in Michigan and lost in Nebraska and Maryland.

Jersey Leader Backs Carter

He called his performance in yesterday's primaries "an adequate achievement" at his joint press conference at Gracie Mansion with Mayor Beame.

Mr. Carter received another endorsement today, that of the Essex County Democratic leader, Harry Lerner. He is considered one of the state's strongest party figures and previously supported Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. Governor Byrne also appeared at Mr. Carter's side at a speech before several hundred persons in front of the State Capital Annex here.

Mr. Carter was told at a news conference that James Dugan, the Democratic state chairman who is an architect of an uncommitted delegate slate, had said that yesterday's Western losses had "derailed" Mr. Carter's bandwagon. Asked what he had to say in response, Mr. Carter, smiling faintly, said, "Nothing."

The Georgian said that as a result of winning an estimated 137 delegates in yesterday's primaries, he now had more than 1,000 and would reach 1,200 to 1,300 by June 9, when the primaries will have ended. He will need 1,505 delegates to win the nomination.

Mr. Carter has been reluctant to conceed in recent weeks that losses to such late starters as Senator Church and Mr. Brown could significantly hurt his chances.

Carter's Count Higher

But when asked today to assess the possible "negative psychological impact" of further possible losses in California, Ohio and New Jersey, he said, "Losing obviously is a setback for the psychological momentum of a campaign." He added, that he doubted losses even in such major states as California, or Ohio would halt the "orderly and almost inexorable fashion" with which he has accumulated delegates.

Mr. Carter's delegate count is higher than those made by news organizations and does not seem to reflect relatively small setbacks he has suffered in some recent Democratic party gatherings in non-primary states.

He spoke cautiously of his chances, noting that his nomination was not absolutely assured. But at one point he said, "I will almost surely get it."

Mr. Carter said that if he were denied the nomination after winning so many primaries —17 of the first 24—and having won so many delegates, the South would "react adversely, but would still stay loyal."

He said that he would "do all I could to counteract" any regional resentment in the South if he lost the nomination and fellow southerns rebelled against Democratic kingmakers.

GALLUP SAYS G.O.P. HAS 22% OF VOTERS

A national study by the Gallup Poll shows twice as many adults classifying themselves Democrats than as Republicans.

The polling organization said yesterday it had found that only 22 percent of adult Americans called themselves Republicans, while 46 percent classied themselves as Democrats and 32 percent chose to be independents.

"For a [Republican] Presidential contender to win in November," Gallup said, "he must keep virtually all of his own party members in line, make great inroads into the ranks of independents and even win over some dissident Democrats."

The findings were based on personal interviews with 13,339 adults, 18 and older, in the March-May period. The interviews, Gallup said, were conducted in more than 300 scientifically selected location across the country.

Carter Campaign Funds Raised By a Group of Georgia Lawyers

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA—A small group of influential Georgia lawyers who recognized Jimmy Carter's political potential 10 years ago have formed the core of his financial support ever since then.

The pattern took shape in Mr. Carter's two gubernatorial campaigns in 1966 and 1970, which became the organizational base for his present front-running effort for the 1976 Democratic Presidential nomination. Mr. Carter lost in the Democratic primary in 1966; four years later he was elected Governor of Georgia.

Interviews with persons familiar with Mr. Carter's political history produced the following major points on his campaign financing in 1966 and 1970:

¶Mr. Carter's backers borrowed money from banks on their signatures to provide the "seed money," or early financing, of his 1966 and 1970 campaigns. The loans were usually repaid from later campaign contributions. At least two of Mr. Carter's key backers are in the banking business.

(In 1974, after changes in Federal and Georgia laws required the publication of names of political contributors, the present Governor, George Busbee, received widespread criticism because a group of bank officials had raised a $181,000 campaign fund for him by obtaining bank loans.)

¶Mr. Carter lent money from his family business to his own campaigns in 1966 and 1970. He took a loss in 1966, but in 1970 he recovered all the money from contributions that came in after he won the Democratic primary and was virtually assured of victory in the general election.

¶Mr. Carter collected money from political supporters on three occasions after he became Governor: First to "sell" his plan to reorganize state government to the public; later to supplement the salary of a state official, in order, he said, to attract the most qualified man for the job, and finally to seed his Presidential race.

¶After it was clear, in the late summer of 1970, that Mr. Carter would be the winner of the gubernatorial election, he began to receive contributions from special interest groups and individuals. In a news conference reported by The Atlanta Constitution on Aug. 27, 1970, Mr. Carter was asked if he had received "large" contributions from corporations. Mr. Carter told the newsmen he had, but declined to state the amounts or the names of the contributors.

Under the Federal Corrupt Practices Act in effect at the time, it was illegal for corporations to contribute to the campaigns of persons running for Federal office, but the law did not mention recipients of such gifts.

Lawyers differ on whether the act, now superseded by the new Federal elections law, covered candidates for state, county and municipal races. In the recent prosecution of such violations by Federal authorities, none has been brought in connection with state and local campaigns.

Records Held Lacking

Last March 18, Mr. Carter was asked about his 1970 contributions on NBC's "Tomorrow" television show. Mr. Carter said that "nobody ever made a report of contributors and we didn't maintain those records." He did say, however, "What we do have left of them will be made public."

In 1970 neither Georgia law nor Federal law required a candidate for state office to record financial contributions or to make them public.

This month, Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's principal press spokesman and Elizabeth Rainwater, another press spokesman, said that Carter workers and family members were hunting for the data.

David H. Gambrell, an Atlanta lawyer and one of Mr. Carter's key backers in 1970, said he had kept careful records of all contributions and expenditures that passed through the main Carter headquarters in Atlanta. He said he had turned these over to Mr. Carter after the election.

This is the second of three articles on Jimmy Carter's personal and campaign finances.

He also said that some contributions had been accepted and spent by local and county Carter organizations, and that no record would have been kept in the Atlanta office.

In addition to getting Mr. Gambrell's files, the 1970 Carter campaign set up a computerized list of supporters that became a nucleus for the lists that are now in use. Tom Lowndes, a Coca-Cola Company executive who worked on the project in 1970, said the list might give some indication of who gave money.

Richard Harden, an accountant who worked in the campaign, was quoted by the Capital Hill News Service recently as saying: "The contributions were automated. They kept them on a computer, and there were monthly printouts of all the contributions."

Five men constituted the inner circle of support that made it possible for Mr. Carter to become governor.

The first is Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer who first met Mr. Carter in 1962, and is now regarded as one of his closest confidants. Mr. Kirbo is a senior parter of King & Spalding, a law firm here whose clients include the Coca-Cola Company and the Cox Broadcasting Corporation.

In an interview, Mr. Kirbo estimated that he contributed $2,000 to $3,000 to Mr. Carter in the two gubernatorial races. He also said he had raised money in Mr. Carter's behalf and had signed notes for loans, against uncollected contributions.

Philip Alston, who was first introduced to Mr. Carter in 1966, later became finance chairman of Mr. Carter's 1970 campaign. Mr. Alston is senior partner of Alston, Miller & Gaines, another Atlanta law firm whose clients include the Chrysler Corporation, the American Oil Company, Eastman Kodak and E. I. duPont de Nemours & Co.

$10,000 From Family

Mr. Alston said in an interview that in the two races he and his family might have contributed as much as $10,000 to Mr. Carter and that he had also raised contributions from friends and associates.

Mr. Gambrell, who also met Mr. Carter in the early 1960's, was treasurer of the 1970 campaign. Mr. Gambrell and his father, E. Smythe Gambrell, are in separate, equally well-known Atlanta law firms. Smythe Gambrell, one of the early Carter backers, is a major stockholder in Eastern Airlines.

David Gambrell was appointed to the Senate seat of the late Richard Russell in 1971 by Governor Carter, whose political opponents charged that Mr. Gambrell's contributions to Mr. Carter "bought the seat."

Mr. Gambrell characterizes this attack as a "smear" and said that he and his father contributed total of about $4,500 to the Carter campaign in 1970. He gave up his Senate Seat in 1973 after losing the 1972 primary to Sam Nunn, who won the general election.

William Gunter, who in 1966 was a lawyer in Gainesville, Ga., in a firm that represented the Ralston Purina Company and Georgia poultry producers, is another major Carter supporter.

In 1972 Mr. Gunter was appointed to the Georgia Supreme Court by Mr. Carter. In an interview, he estimated that his personal contribution to Mr. Cater in the two political races totaled $2,500 to $3,000.

He said that he borrowed money for the 1966 campaign on his own signature but that the loan had been repaid from later contributions. "I would have had to stand for it had it not been paid," he said.

The fifth major backer is James B. Langford, a lawyer from Calhoun, Ga., whose firm represents major textile interests. Bert Lance, a principal with Mr. Langford in the ownership of the First National Bank of Calhouna, is another Major supporter of Mr. Carter's. Mr. Lance was later appointed by Mr. Carter as director of the Georgia Department of Transportation.

Campaigns Not Expensive

Neither the 1966 campaign nor the one in 1970 was expensive, by either Georgia or national standards. In 1966, Mr. Carter's associates estimated the campaign cost at about $200,000 and said it had produced a deficit. Mr. Carter personally lost about $20,000 in his unsuccessful bid.

In 1970 the Carter campaign spent about $400,000 through the Democratic Primary, which included a run off, and about $100,000 in the general election, according to several associates.

In September 1970, when it became clear that Mr. Carter would be the next Governor, then so-called "smart money" began to pour in, these aides said, mainly from special interest groups and business executives who hoped to win favor with the new Governor. Although Mr. Carter's associates were willing to discuss their own contributions, they were unwilling to name other donors, on the ground that when these were given the contributor had a right to expect anonymity.

Mr. Gambrell said that he did not believe anyone of these late contributions exceeded $10,000. Mr. Alston said he could recall one contribution of $7,500.

Mr. Gunter and several other Carter supporters said that even though Mr. Carter's campaign had accepted contributions from persons who did business with the state or "expected" something for their gifts, Mr. Carter had never satisfied these expectations or acted to "pay off political debts."

"In fact," Mr. Gunter said, "He did the opposite. He made several appointments of men who had supported Carl Sanders [Mr. Carter's principal rival] in the primary." Interviews with opponents of Mr. Carter in Georgia produced no concrete evidence that he took actions as Governor to favor any industry or special-interest group.

Among Mr. Carter's supporters was a colorful businessman and pilot named H. Rabhan. Mr. Rabhan had interests in several nursing homes and was involved in speculative investments in Georgia and outside the State.

Free Airplane Rides

Early in the 1970 campaign Mr. Rabhan gave Mr. Carter free rides around the state in his private plane, which Mr. Rabhan piloted. These trips enabled Mr. Carter to enlarge his campaign schedule in Georgia. Mr. Gambrell said he believed that Mr. Rabhan's contribution had been limited to air flights, but Ray Abernathy, an advertising official who also worked on the campaign, said he believed Mr. Rabhan had made cash donations as well.

While Mr. Carter was Governor, Mr. Rabhan came under Federal investigation in connection with several cases, including one that involved Federal Housing Administration loans. Mr. Rabhan has reportedly left the country; numerous attempts to locate him were unsuccessful.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is also known to have sought to interview Mr. Rabhan. According to Department of Justice sources, however, the investigation has never touched Mr. Carter or his staff.

After Mr. Carter became Governor he organized two collections of private funds, which his staff said were unconnected with his later Presidential race. He formed an ad hoc citizens group in support of his state reorganization plans that raised less than $10,000 to pay for advertising to gain public support for the plan.

Another private solicitation raised money to supplement the pay and allowances for the head of the prison system to attract a particular appointee from another state. Accounting on both projects was informal, according to several of Mr. Carter's accociates.

Tomorrows Carter's 1976 Financial effort.

Results of New Voting

Following are the latest tallies from Tuesday's Presidential primaries and new delegate-vote totals resulting from those primaries and from Democratic conventions and runoffs in Missouri and Alabama:

Arkansas

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	20,164	(63%)
Ford	11,399	(36%)
No preference	450	(1%)

Delegates: Reagan 17, Ford 10.

DEMOCRATS

Carter	311,828	(63%)
Wallace	82,110	(16%)
No preference	57,317	(11%)
Udall	37,299	(9%)
Jackson	9,776	(2%)

Delegates: Carter 17, Wallace 5, uncommitted 3, Udall 1.

Idaho

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	66,415	(74%)
Ford	22,200	(25%)

Delegates: Reagan 16, Ford 5.

DEMOCRATS

Church	58,122	(80%)
Carter	8,768	(12%)

Delegates: Church 14, Carter 2.

Kentucky

REPUBLICANS

Ford	67,868	(51%)
Reagan	62,567	(47%)

Delegates: Ford 19, Reagan 18.

DEMOCRATS

Carter	181,363	(59%)
Wallace	51,907	(17%)
Udall	33,217	(11%)
McCormack	17,021	(5%)
No preference	11,823	(4%)
Jackson	8,157	(3%)
F. Rockefeller	2,299	(1%)

Delegates: Carter 37, Wallace 7, Udall 2.

Nevada

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	31,516	(66%)
Ford	13,753	(29%)
No preference	2,362	(5%)

Delegates: Reagan 13, Ford 5.

DEMOCRATS

Brown	39,484	(53%)
Carter	17,435	(23%)
Church	6,739	(9%)
No preference	4,562	(6%)
Wallace	2,464	(3%)
Udall	2,223	(3%)
Jackson	1,883	(3%)

Delegates: Brown 6, Carter 3, Church 1, uncommitted 1.

Oregon

REPUBLICANS

Ford	146,940	(52%)
Reagan	133,198	(48%)

Delegates: Ford 16, Reagan 14.

DEMOCRATS

Church	143,096	(35%)
Carter	113,281	(28%)
Brown	86,917	(22%)
Humphrey	21,649	(6%)
Udall	11,194	(3%)
Kennedy	10,772	(3%)
Wallace	5,585	(1%)
Jackson	5,131	(1%)
McCormack	3,649	(1%)
Harris	1,362	*
Bayh	750	*

*Less than 1 percent

Delegates: Church 15, Carter 12, Brown 7.

Tennessee

REPUBLICANS

Ford	120,556	(50%)
Reagan	118,472	(49%)
No preference	2,790	(1%)

Delegates: Reagan 22, Ford 21.

DEMOCRATS

Carter	256,941	(78%)
Wallace	36,397	(11%)
Udall	12,421	(4%)
Church	7,949	(2%)
No preference	6,054	(2%)
Jackson	5,649	(2%)
McCormack	1,794	(1%)
Harris	1,674	(1%)
Shapp	509	*

*Less than 1 percent.

Delegates: Carter 36, uncommitted 9, Wallace 1.

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

	New	Total
Ford	76	771
Reagan	100	643
Uncommitted	0	148

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

	New	Total
Carter	137	879
Udall	6	298½
Jackson	1	249
Wallace	17	163
Stevenson*	0	86
Humphrey	0	67½
Church	30	48
Harris	0	18
Brown	13	17½
Shapp	0	6
McCormack	1	5
Walker	0	2
Bayh	0	1
Uncommitted	34	386½

*Favorite son in Illinois.

'Mr. Protest'

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, May 26—Racing for an Ozark Airlines plane recently, I ran into former Senator Eugene McCarthy. "What are you doing these days, Gene?" Cheerfully, he responded, "Running for President."

That was embarrassing; when a man is seriously running for President, acquaintances should be aware of his occupation. The difference between Senator McCarthy and most other, better-known candidates, is that they are running for a party nomination, while he is running directly for President.

His quest for a protest vote seems less quixotic this week, after the six-pack primaries. Governors Carter and Reagan picked up most of the delegates, President Ford and Senator Church picked up most of the publicity, and observers picked up a whiff of increasing bitterness within both parties.

Among Republicans, resentment is rising over a "dirty trick" that one of Stuart Spencer's protégés is trying to pull in California. The June 8 primary is at present winner-take-all for 167 delegates; but a Ford supporter is pushing a bill through the Legislature, with Democratic help, changing the rules at the last minute to make the results proportional—thus denying Mr. Reagan the dead heat at the convention that seems to be in the works.

Among Democrats, the flummoxed ABC movement—"Anybody But Carter"—is gnashing its teeth at the beatable unbeatability of its target. He can be defeated here and there, but the Cheshire-cat quality of his smile is ineradicable. The fury of the frustrated Democratic left is reflected in the growls of Ted Kennedy about Mr. Carter's "imprecision."

All of which means that a great many discontented voters, especially the steamrollered would-be Carter-stoppers, will soon be finding a way to call down plagues on both political houses by throwing their votes away on a man of principle.

Enter Gene McCarthy. His Presidential candidacy is on the ballot in five states now, and petitions are already being circulated in ten more states. Other states, such as New York, do not permit circulation of petitions yet, but come August, McCarthy volunteers will be out getting the necessary signatures. So far, Senator McCarthy's slow-but-steady campaign has garnered 100,000 signatures of the 500,000 he thinks are needed to get him on the ballot in 40 states.

An opponent of Federal financing, he gets no funds from Uncle Sam, nor any Secret Service protection; such emoluments are reserved to candidates for nomination to established parties. That's unfair, of course; selling 16 first-class seats to the Secret Service would make it possible for a candidate to go anywhere free on a 30-passenger plane.

Come the campaign, Mr. Carter and the Republican survivor will be topping each other in exhortations that America be No. 1 in national defense. But what of the substantial minority of voters who think we already spend too much on defense? As of now, Democrats say confidently that this decade's doves have no place to go other than to the Democratic nominee—but independent Gene McCarthy will offer an alternative.

As the leaves fall, both Mr. Carter and his Republican opponent will be standing for a vigorous, activist Presidency, shaking up the bureaucracy, slashing the chiselers off the rolls, etc. To the substantial minority who want a passive President, as well as those voters who like getting their checks from a warm bureaucracy, Mr. McCarthy offers a way to say, "No, thanks."

When backed to the wall on specific programs, Mr. Carter will go along

ESSAY

with organized labor's mix of heavy spending and conservatism. But to those who like the excitement of new ideas—anathema to a party's choice—Gene McCarthy will be there on TV, getting equal time, offering ideas like his "redistribution of work" and schemes like the federalization of welfare.

"Clean Gene" could not get elected dog catcher on his program this year, but as the only candidate who opposed the war in Vietnam, and as the only one guaranteed to be a loser, it is not crackbrained to assume he could garner 5 percent of the vote, especially if you include those voters who think he is Senator *Joe* McCarthy.

To accomplish at least this, Senator McCarthy has devised what he wryly calls his "sleet belt" strategy, between the sun belt and the snow belt: to make a decisive difference in states like New Jersey, Ohio, Maryland, Missouri, Michigan and Kentucky.

Stassenitis? Deride him if you will, but the graying poet—a devoutly religious man who has never suggested that God was his campaign manager—offers stimulating debate where there would otherwise be stultifying agreement, and provides an electoral outlet for the rage of the politically dispossessed.

And in a squeaker, "Mr. Protest" could make a difference. This year, his appeal for a liberal throwaway vote benefits conservatives; in the long run, his presence tones up and enlivens the entire political process.

That is why ideologues of all persuasions can salute the American Don Quixote as he gallantly sallies forth again, tilting at windbags.

'A Good Likelihood'

By Anthony Lewis

TRENTON, N. J., May 26—Jimmy Carter's self-assurance is expressed in softer tones these days, but it is still there: "If I am elected President—and I think there's a good likelihood that will come to pass. . . ." Or sometimes: "If I am elected President—and I intend to be. . . ." Audiences do not miss the determination in the quiet voice.

Is Mr. Carter's confidence still justified? He has now lost two primaries to Gov. Jerry Brown and three to Senator Frank Church, including Oregon, where he had made a last-minute effort. The novelty that was part of his appeal has evidently started to ade. The opposition has not collapsed, as predicted after his win in Pennsylvania.

But I think there are good reasons or the continuing air of confidence. he first is numbers. Answering a question here about losing "momentum" after Oregon, Mr. Carter said he agreed hat psychology was important; but he aid there was another thing that mattered in the race for the Presiential nomination: "Delegates."

The New York Times now gives Mr. Carter 879 of the 1,505 delegates needed for a majority at the convention in July. He claims over 1,000, including those due to emerge from caucus states still in process, and some detached observers think that figure is roughly accurate.

On June 8, New Jersey, Ohio and California elect 540 delegates. It is a 'air guess that Mr. Carter should win t least 200 of them. If so, he will ish the selection period with over 00.

In the month between June 8 and the nvention, 1,200 delegates will loom

ABROAD AT HOME

awfully large in the calculations of Democratic professionals. Mayor Beame of New York, announcing his support of Mr. Carter at a press conference, was asked whether he thought it would be difficult to get the extra 300 votes needed in that month. The Mayor replied. "I think it will be difficult for him not to get them."

There is also the truism that you can't beat somebody with nobody. The Carter opposition is divided among politicans of different personalities, policies and followings. None has more than 300 delegates now. Are Church, Brown, Udall and Jackson likely to agree on one of themselves as the stop-Carter candidate? Or would the convention really go for Hubert Humphrey, who did not enter a single primary and who on his record would be a vulnerable nominee?

Democrats have a tribal instinct for fratricide, but after the pain of 1968 and 1972 a preponderant number would like to stick together this time and win. And stopping the candidate who goes into the convention with 1,200 votes would necessarily involve much blood-letting and subsequent bitterness.

The South has particular importance in these calculations. In Arkansas and Tennessee and Kentucky this week Mr. Carter showed again how popular he is there. Asked how Southerners would feel if he were denied the nomination, he said he would support the ticket "and try to convince Southern people that it was not a sectional thing." But most observers think a ticket without Carter would have to write off the South.

President Ford's primary victories in Kentucky and Tennessee suggest that he would be a more effective candidate in Southern and border areas than has been thought—especially if he goes on raising the school bus issue. And those results could strengthen the case for Carter as the only viable Democratic candidate in those areas.

During the month before the convention Mr. Carter and his people will be making all these arguments—to individual uncommitted delegates, to other candidates and to such party leaders as Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago. Mr. Daley alone controls 86 Illinois votes listed as favoring Senator Adlai Stevenson.

Many traditional techniques are open to Mr. Carter in trying to pick up 300 or so delegates. He may try to satisfy leading figures about his views on issues of special interest to them—as Mayor Beame was said to have been satisfied on urban issues. He could talk about possible running mates—although he would much rather remain free to pick someone presumably a Northern liberal, on the basis of the strength he would add to the ticket.

But most of all the appeal will be to the hope of victory. One way or another, party leaders will be asked to consider: Is it worth the risk of disunity and defeat to try to stop Jimmy Carter?

Of course the last big primary day could still change the psychology. If Mr. Carter loses all three states on June 8, he just might be mortally wounded. If he wins New Jersey and Ohio—California is conceded to Mr. Brown—then the last promoters of this or that stop-Carter movement might give up and make it a restful month before the convention after all.

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Golda Meir, Carter Meet In New York

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

NEWARK, N.J.—In a move certain to boost his status among New Jersey's many Jewish voters, Jimmy Carter met with former Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir in New York Wednesday night.

The visit was a "courtesy call to renew the friendship they established in 1973 in Tel Aviv," a Carter aide said.

Coming on the same day that New York's Jewish mayor, Abe Beame, endorsed Carter, the session with Mrs. Meir was expected to reassure Northern Jews about the Southern Baptist from Plains.

The Carter camp arranged the meeting through the Israeli Embassy, according to Carter's national press director, Rex Granum. No reporters or photographers were permitted inside the Waldorf Hotel suite.

"That's an enormous help," Bruce Meisel, a lawyer who coordinates Carter's campaign in New Jersey's populous Bergen County, said of the Meir meeting.

"When Golda Meir says he's all right, and when he gets endorsements from Beame and other leaders, Carter will be accepted," he predicted.

New Jersey elects 108 delegates to the Democratic National Convention on June 8, the same day California picks 280 and Ohio 152. Although California Jews have contributed to Carter's campaign, many are reportedly as wary of his religious beliefs as are some Jews in New Jersey.

It is a wariness the Carter camp would like to erase. Jews are often politically active, campaigning hard as organizers and workers, turning out at the polls on primary day, and often voting Democratic as a bloc.

In Maryland, where the Jewish governor backed winning California Gov. Jerry Brown, Carter lost the Jewish vote by an estimated 3-1 margin. In Florida, Sen. Henry Jackson made a good showing thanks largely to his Jewish vote in Miami's large Dade County. In Wisconsin, Carter split the Jewish vote with Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, but lost it to him in Michigan.

As Tuesday's primaries showed, the road to the presidency is getting tougher for Jimmy Carter and the latest Harris Survey shows that the Georgian's support is "soft." Campaign '76 stories Pages 10-A and 11-A.

Although Jackson is not campaigning here, another senator who is viewed as a staunch supporter of Israel, Hubert Humphrey, reportedly has visited the state three times this month, urging voters to elect the uncommitted slate.

Carter, of course, is fighting to get his slate elected.

"Jewish people think Israel is vital to their existence," said Meisel. "So when they're asking about Israel, they're asking about their own survival," he said. "It's a code word."

Carter's New York campaign chairman, William van den Heuvel, said Beame could bring Carter 50 to 100 delegates on the second ballot.

Beame is co-chairman of the New York delegation to the Democratic National Convention. He pointed out that he was elected as a delegate for Sen. Henry Jackson and said he would honor his obligation to vote for Jackson on the first ballot.

"Gov. Carter has clearly satisfied me that he has developed an approach to the problems of our cities which is imminently worthy of a standard bearer of the Democratic party for the office of the president of the United States," Beame said as Carter joined him for a press conference in Gracie Mansion.

In New Jersey, Carter also picked up the endorsement of Harry Lerner, Essex County Democratic chairman and one of the most powerful county chairman in the state.

See ENDORSE, Page 19-A

Endorse

From Page 1-A

New Jersey's largest city, Newark, is located in Essex County.

Lerner's endorsement is expected to carry considerable weight in New Jersey, especially since he earlier supported Jackson. Lerner said he hoped his backing would influence the many Jewish voters in the state who have felt somewhat abandoned since Jackson withdrew from active campaigning.

Carter has also been endorsed by New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne.

Despite his loss in Oregon Tuesday, Carter won 135 delegates in six states.

He swept Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, lost to Idaho Sen. Frank Church in Oregon and Church's home state, and finished behind California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown in Nevada.

Later Wednesday, Carter learned that lame-duck Illinois Gov. Dan Walker also had endorsed him. "I'm grateful to have Gov. Walker's support," Carter said.

"He and I have been friends for a long time," Carter added. "We're the only two governors to have graduated from the Naval Academy."

Word of the endorsement came after Carter finished a chat with black Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson in Newark City Hall. Gibson had introduced Carter to city workers as the "front-runner" and a "talented man" for whom he had great admiration, but said he was not ready to endorse the former Georgia governor "at this time."

After the session, Carter called Gibson "a friend of mine." He said he had let the mayor know he would like his backing but did not win a promise from him.

Beame said he is "certainly going to work" to see that Carter becomes the presidential nominee.

He said that "it will be difficult for Carter not to get" the remaining 300 to 400 delegates he is expected to need after the final primaries. To be nominated by the Democratic convention, a candidate must have 1,505 delegate votes.

At the New York press conference, Carter said many cities don't have enough money to meet their obligations, and proposed again that local governments like New York's should shed their burdens of welfare payments.

Carter also said he supported a recently vetoed bill that would have given New York City $2 billion for jobs, and he proposed federal subsidies to help pay the operating costs of the city's mass transit system.

Carter said he would study the creation of a "federal municipalities security insurance corporation to help cities sell their bonds, reduce bond interest levels and provide voluntary self-control in city financial matters."

In a May 25 letter to Beame, Carter said, "We must begin our urban policy by recognizing the human needs of those who live in our cities. Gainful employment for everyone seeking a job must be a top priority."

He outlined proposals to expand public job programs and said an accelerated public works program, with federal and state bond guarantees, would also put people back to work.

Carter also issued an agenda on housing which includes federal subsidies and loans for construction of low- and middle-income housing, rehabilitating old houses, hiking federal subsidies to the elderly, and forbidding federally insured banks, savings and loan institutions, and the Federal Housing Administration to "red-line."

Red-lining refers to the practice by some lending institutions of drawing a circle around an area of town on the map and declaring that they won't extend mortgages and loans to people who want to buy or improve property there.

HELP HEAL NATION

Carter Can Set Example, Sister Says

11A

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — If Jimmy Carter weren't raising religion as an issue in the presidential campaign somebody else would be, because the nation is ready to think about religion this year, Carter's evangelist sister Ruth Carter Stapleton said Wednesday.

In an appearance at the National Press Club, Mrs. Stapleton told reporters that Watergate revealed to the nation its own internal corruption and left America empty and ready to look toward religion for healing.

"I really believe if Jimmy were not a candidate, the religious issue would be prominent," she said. "If it weren't for Jimmy it would be someone else, because the time is right."

Mrs. Stapleton, who travels around the country practicing a religious-psychological therapy technique she calls "innerhealing," likened the national experience with Watergate to the experiences people have who come to her to be healed.

The first step toward healing, she said, is for a person to reveal and confront repressed emotional traumas suffered in childhood. Once that repressed "garbage" is released, she said, the individual is ready to be healed through faith.

Watergate represented the emotional "garbage" of the nation as a whole, she said. "This is something that has been going on for years and years before, and it climaxed and all the garbage erupted," she added.

Mrs. Stapleton said the men involved in Watergate may have been legally guilty, but they were also "scapegoats for many, many generations."

"Now we have been through this and seen what the country is like," she said. "We're more or less an empty nation. We need that (religious) input, need for the healing process to begin."

Carter's sister said she doesn't believe that Carter, if elected, could start a national spiritual revival. But, she said, he could and would set an example to the people of the nation.

"I don't think there are any illusions with Jimmy, and certainly not with me, that he's going to be th savior of the country," she said. "But he will set an example of a leader with integrity and honesty."

She said that Jimmy and the other Carter children were imbued by their parents with a sense of determination and will to succeed.

All the children were taught by their parents that they could do anything they put their minds to, she said, and that "there's no person in the world you're better than, and no person in the world is better than you."

She said the "turning point" in Carter's life came on the day after their father died, when she and Carter were travelling in the area around Plains to let family friends know of the death.

They came upon person after person their father had helped financially, she said, "all with the condition that never would they ever tell anyone."

Carter was so moved by the experience, she said, that he "reviewed his life" and decided he wanted to be "a man like my father."

When Carter came home from the Navy, she told the audience, the family peanut business was virtually nonexistent.

Carter "ordered the best set of agriculture encyclopedias you could buy, went into Daddy's office and locked the doors and started studying them from A to Z. When he thought he knew enough to do the job, he opened the doors," she said.

If her brother has a handicap, she said, it is his "real quest for knowledge — almost an obsession for facts."

She said she can remember instances when Carter was governor that he stayed up into the early hours of the morning reading documents so he could be prepared for his next day's appointments.

"If this is a flaw, and it may be, it is his greatest flaw," she said.



Associated Press Photo
RELIGION'S TIME IN POLITICS
Evangelist Ruth Stapleton

Carter, Reagan Facing Tough Races in Late Primaries

By JOSEPH ALBRIGHT
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, showing persistent signs of weakness outside their home regions in the late primaries, now face tough races in all their remaining contests.

But there is a difference: Carter has three times as many delegates as his nearest opponent, while Reagan is now considerably behind President Ford in delegates.

Carter will face a tough series of single-shot opponents next Tuesday in Montana, South Dakota and Rhode Island. Reagan has given up Rhode Island for lost but hopes to do well in the other two states.

That means the Republican race could be decided on June 8 when Ford and Reagan square off in California, Ohio and New Jersey. On the Democratic side, Carter and his surviving challengers will be fighting for the same huge bloc of delegates, with an early ballot nomination for Carter squarely on the line.

Examining Tuesday's mixed results, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., said, "Governor Carter continues to be clearly the frontrunner and nothing that happened yesterday could take that away from him."

Kennedy's judgment diverged from that of Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey, who focused on Carter's loss in Oregon. "It's a crucial primary and it will hurt him," said Humphrey.

Ford's deputy campaign manager, Stuart Spencer, said, "This was the Tuesday night Mr. Reagan had to make a comeback in his campaign. . . and he didn't."

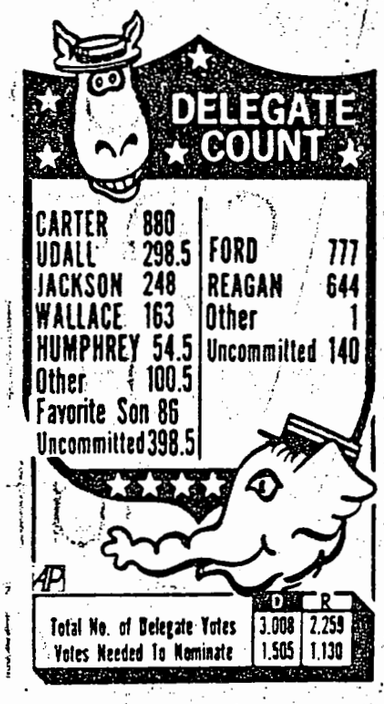
But Nevada Sen. Paul Laxalt, Reagan's campaign chairman, claimed Reagan won more delegates than the Reagan camp had anticipated. "I don't see either one being locked out before the convention in Kansas City," he said.

Carter, in need of a political lift after his jolting defeat in Oregon, won a timely endorsement Wednesday from New York Mayor Abraham Beame. Earlier, Beame had backed Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., who has stopped campaigning after losing to Carter in Pennsylvania last month.

Under party rules, Beame will be obliged to back Jackson for one ballot before switching to Carter. But the importance of the endorsement lies in its possible impact with Jewish voters, who have proven cool to Carter.

Despite his reverses in the West, the Georgian's underlying strength was evedent in the comment of a key Jackson adviser who said privately, "The flaw in any strategy to stop Carter is that there is no candidate who can attract all the non-Carter delegates."

Illinois Gov. Daniel Walker, a lame duck, also endorsed Carter. But the help that Carter really wants from Illinois is in the hands of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley and Sen. Adlai Stevenson, who



control nearly 100 delegates between them.

Reagan had hoped to win five of six primaries Tuesday, which would have propelled him toward the big California winner-take-all primary June 8, looking like a victor.

Instead, Reagan took only three out of six — Arkansas, Nevada and Idaho. Ford not only took Oregon, which borders on Reagan's home state, but also won narrow victories in Tennessee and Kentucky.

Carter, for his part, won big in Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky. But he lost by embarrassingly wide margins in the West — to California Gov. Jerry Brown in Nevada and to Idaho Sen. Frank Church in Oregon and Idaho.

In the delegate standings, according to the Associated Press, Ford emerged from this week's primaries with 777 of the 1,130 delegates he needs to win the nomination. Reagan now has 644.

Among the Democrats, Carter picked up 107 delegates in the six primary states, along with 29 others in an Alabama runoff and a Missouri state conventions. Carter now has 880 committed delegates of the 1,505 he needs for the nomination.

Carter's nearest opponent, Morris Udall, won only six delegates Tuesday, raising his total to 297.

Ford now has won 50 per cent of all delegates who have been chosen. Although he is well ahead of the field, Carter has won only 39 per cent of the committed delegates.

Here is a state-by-state breakdown of the Tuesday results:

OREGON—Church won the Democratic race with 35 per cent of the vote, capturing 15 delegates. Carter had to settle for 12 delegates and 28 per cent of the vote. Brown, with a late-starting write-in campaign, won seven delegates and 22 per cent of the vote. Ford won with 52 per cent of the vote, gaining 16 delegates to Reagan's 14.

NEVADA—Brown won 53 per cent of the Democratic vote and six delegates. Carter, with 23 per cent of the vote, won three. Reagan won with 66 per cent, gaining 13 delegates to Ford's five.

IDAHO—Native son Church picked up 14 delegates to Carter's two, while dominating the popular vote by a margin of 80-12 percent over Carter. Reagan also won by a landslide, capturing 16 delegates while Ford won five.

TENNESSEE—Carter won the Democratic popular vote by a 78-11 per cent margin over Alabama Gov. George Wallace. Carter won 36 delegates, with one for Wallace and nine uncommitted. Ford edged Reagan by 3,000 votes. But in the district-by-district delegate apportionment, Ford won 21 and Reagan won 22.

KENTUCKY—Carter, winning 59 per cent of the vote, captured 37 delegates. Ford beat Reagan by less than 6,000 votes, winning 19 delegates compared to Reagan's 18.

ARKANSAS—Carter picked up 17 delegates while piling up 63 per cent of the popular vote, with Wallace gaining five delegates and Udall one. Reagan beat Ford by a 63-36 per cent margin in the popular vote, picking up 17 delegates compared to 10 for the President.

500 Metal Objects Taken From Stomach

NEW YORK (AP) — When doctors at Metropolitan Hospital operated on a 38-year-old man, they removed more than 500 coins and metal objects from his stomach.

The man, a mental patient at Manhattan State Hospital, was not identified, but surgeons said he arrived to be treated for an abdominal mass, which they suspected was a tumor.

X-rays showed the 155-pound man's stomach was full of foreign objects. The surgeons were also told the patient had an enormous appetite and often ate double portions at meals.

During the two-hour operation on Monday, the surgical team counted more than 300 coins, including quarters, dimes, nickles, pennies and subway tokens. They said they found broken thermometers, can openers, knives, forks, spoons, nuts bolts, chains and car keys.

The surgeons reported there was no damage to the patient's esophagus or intestinal tract. The patient was reported in good condition.

5 to 10 Pct. Who Say They Back Carter Don't

By LOUIS HARRIS



Both former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and the public opinion polls share a common problem this election year. In nearly every test made of Carter's likely percentage of the vote in the primaries, the polls have overestimated his strength by between five and 10 percentage points.

In other words, five to 10 per cent of the electorate in each state tended to say they would vote for Carter, but didn't end up doing it. Unpublished polls, conducted for the candidates, have shown precisely the same phenomenon.

Should this pattern prevail, and should Jimmy Carter end up as the Democratic nominee for President, the polls will have to make adjustments in their estimates of Carter strength, or they will be wrong come next November.

In the recent Maryland primary, the Baltimore Sun poll, conducted by a reputable research firm, estimated a narrow Carter lead in its final survey of just over 600 likely-to-vote Democrats. Carter lost that primary by a thumping 49-37 per cent margin to California's Gov. Jerry Brown.

In the Harris organization's polling efforts back in the Pennsylvania Democratic primary, the "raw" results of a survey of 814 likely-to-vote Democrats indicated that Carter was the perferred choice of 44 per cent. However, a follow-up question that asked how strongly those voters felt about Carter as their choice revealed no more than 46 per cent who felt strongly about him. An adjustment was made for intensity of commitment, and the estimate for the Carter vote became 37 per cent, which jibed with the result of the primary.

The question that must be asked is why voters have said they would cast their ballots for Jimmy Carter, but have not taken the trouble to vote, or have voted and not given him their backing.

The answer can be found in the specific details of what voters thought of Carter as a candidate in the Pennsylvania primary, which made Carter the Democratic frontrunner.

—Carter was well known to the voters, with a nearly unanimous 97 per cent who said they were familiar with him, so visibility and exposure were not his problem.

—But out of 10 specific Carter attributes a majority was able to say positive things about him on only one: that "he is a man of high integrity." Even here, a substantial 37 per cent said they felt they could not make a judgment.

red, but a plurality, 46 per cent, had no opinion.

Looking at the positive side of the coin for Carter, one would have to conclude that these favorable views of him were rather thinly held and shallow in intensity. And, it should be recalled, the Harris-ABC Poll caught these voters as they made their decision to give Carter his most important primary victory in Pennsylvania.

In addition, pluralities had doubts about Carter for his statements on ethnic purity, and for "saying one thing to one group and another to get votes." There were also other objections to his "ducking taking stands on issues to avoid offending anyone," and because "underneath his smile, he is a tough and cold-blooded politician."

—A 48-22 per cent plurality felt that Carter is "the kind of new, fresh face needed in the White House," but 30 per cent could not render an opinion.

—On 'having the courage not to make promises to get votes," he scored 36-20 per cent positive, with 44 per cent uncertain.

—On being "a deeply religious man and that is appealing to me," only 38 per cent answered positively. There was a 14 per cent negative response, and the largest group, 48 per cent, was simply not sure.

—By 37-18 per cent, the public agreed about Carter's "record as governor of Georgia qualifying him to be President." There were 45 per cent who were incapable of giving a judgment.

—On Carter's "not being obligated to anyone if he gets the nomination—and that is good." 36 per cent answered favorably, 18 per cent demur-

Hal Gulliver

Can Anybody-But-Carter Folks Count?

It is remarkable. Some pundits and politicians find it cheering to write off the Jimmy Carter bandwagon with any hint of encouragement.



Sure, Carter could blunder in some incredible fashion that might derail his drive for the nomination well before Democrats gather in Madison Square Garden in New York in July. But that did not happen on Tuesday of this week or Tuesday one week ago.

One week ago Tuesday, California Gov. Jerry Brown trounced Carter in Maryland in the popular vote and Congressman Morris Udall ran a strong second to Carter in Michigan. But the bottom line of all that really was that Brown picked up a total of one and one-half Democratic delegates, Udall picked up his share in Michigan, while at the same time Jimmy Carter was gathering 100 delegates to his growing total.

On Tuesday of this week Sen. Frank Church won both his home state and in neighboring Oregon. Gov. Brown ran third in Oregon though with a surprisingly strong write-in vote and carried Nevada which borders his home state. But once again the bottom line of all this is that on the same day Carter swept three state primaries in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas with landslide margins and in combination with some caucus results (as in Missouri) picked up fully 135 new delegates to the Democratic convention.

There is clearly an Anybody-But-Carter sentiment among some elements of the Democratic party and certainly Brown's vote-getting ability in Maryland and Church's showing in Oregon were impressive. But these are late bloomers, candidates running only after Carter had eliminated all of the dozen or so Democratic hopefuls who started out running for President months and months ago. There is virtually no scenario that would lead in any reasonable projection of a Brown or a Church actually winning the Democratic presidential nomination. The Stop Carter effort relies rather on the notion that delegates for Anybody-But- Carter could hold the Georgian below the needed majority of delegates for the nomination, thus leading to a brokered convention and a compromise candidate such as Sen. Ted Kennedy or Sen. Hubert Humphrey.

Yet, pundits and politicians aside, if Carter suffers only one or two more "defeats" comparable to these past two Tuesdays, on which he picked up 100 delegates plus each time, he will comfortably have locks on the nomination well before the Democratic convention begins.

There is another factor, a kind of Southern-Border-State factor.

It is this. Carter has demonstrated vote-getting ability all over the country, from Iowa to New Hampshire, from Florida to Illinois to Pennsylvania. But at the same time he has become increasingly a regional favorite son. Alabama Gov. George Wallace's campaign lost momentum after Carter defeated Wallace in Florida. Voters in Southern and Border States have since then increasingly perceived Carter as a moderate Southerner with a real chance for the White House, and they have turned out in great numbers to support his candidacy. Consider these percentages. Carter swept Tennessee Tuesday with close to 80 per cent of the primary, Wallace trailing him with 11 per cent. Carter won Kentucky with 59 per cent of the vote, trailed again by Wallace with 17 per cent. The Georgian won 62 per cent in Arkansas, trailed by Wallace with 17 per cent.

A South Carolina state official made the comment the other day, that in his state Democrats increasingly saw Jimmy Carter as the only logical Democratic nominee. If Carter were denied the nomination in a brokered convention, the official said, he believed that his state would vote Republican in November.

That observation might well apply not only to South Carolina but to most of the Southern and Border states.

he Weather
rtly cloudy, high near 70, w 40s. Chance of rain is 40 today, 10 per cent tonight. Sunny, high in the 70s. 3 p.m. AQI, 35; Temp. 54. Details on Page C2.

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Ford Is Winning 3 States; Church Leads in Oregon

Democrats

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Frank Church (of Idaho appeared headed for victory in the critical Oregon primary last night, threatening to overshadow three predicted mid-South successes by former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter in Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee.

Church also won in Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. of California took the Nevada primary in the year's busiest primary day, a day of distinctly mixed blessings for Carter.

The outcome in Oregon was confused by the write-in campaign waged by Brown. His ballots had to be counted by hand, a procedure that was halted at about midnight, Washington time, to be resumed in the morning. The expectation was that Brown would not overcome Church's lead but conceivably might beat Carter out for second place.

An Oregon victory would send Church into the Ohio and California primaries on June 8 as the hot candidate, a label enjoyed by Carter through most of this year.

But Carter, playing a hard game of delegate-collecting toward the 1,505 needed for nomination, won or was leading for 118 of the 179 Democratic delegates selected in the six primaries.

Church, elated, said his showings yesterday "mean that my campaign is taking a quantum leap forward." His success, he said, "says that people are beginning to take a second look."

He said he did well in Oregon "because, unlike Gov. Carter, I talk about issues rather than the mathematics of delegate selection and the inevitability of my nomination."

Carter, in New York, attributed his setbacks in the West to running against regional "favorite sons" and said he still believes he will win a first-ballot nomination. "I'm going to scramble," he said, "I don't take anything for granted."

In still another state, Missouri, Carter received 23 of 54 delegates picked in 10 congressional district conventions, considerably less than the 40 state party leaders had indicated he would get with the backing of Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton.

See DEMOCRATS, A6, Col. 1

Republicans

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Ford, striving to retain his delegate lead in the race for the Republican presidential nomination, yesterday won the Kentucky primary, apparently was winning in Oregon and was holding a narrow lead in Tennessee.

CBS News early this morning estimated that President Ford would win the primaries in Oregon and Tennessee.

His Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, easily beat him in Arkansas by about 2 to 1 and trounced him in Nevada and Idaho.

The returns indicated that Mr. Ford was holding his own for the day and blunting Reagan's strong drive to close the gap in the race for delegates.

Mr. Ford's campaign strategists had felt confident of victory only in Oregon, so the chance of snatching two border states from Reagan would be counted as a victory for the President.

Until yesterday, largely on the basis of new commitments from delegates in Pennsylvania and New York, Mr. Ford led Reagan nationally in the delegate race, 574 to 519, with 294 uncommitted.

Mr. Ford won solidly in Kentucky and led by one percentage point in Tennessee. He was ahead of Reagan in Oregon, leading 3 to 2 in the state's urban areas.

Campaigning in California as the first results came in, Mr. Ford expressed delight at what he considered good news from both Kentucky and Tennessee, although his optimism about the latter may have been premature.

"So if I'm smiling, I apologize, but I just can't help but believe those are darn good victories," Mr. Ford told a rally in Walnut Creek, Calif.

Reagan conceded in Los Angeles that he had lost Kentucky, but said, "That just means the difference of one delegate."

He said that if he loses Tennessee as well, he will lose another delegate, "but we can get that back in Arkansas." Reagan said he never expected to win in Oregon, adding that the California primary on June 8 is "the most important."

See REPUBLICANS, A6, Col. 1

5

Church Leading In Oregon Race; Carter Takes 3

DEMOCRATS, From A1

Of the 54, 21 were elected uncommitted, three for Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, one for Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and one for Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate. Seventeen more delegates are to be chosen at a state convention on June 12.

Carter won Tennessee with 77 per cent of the vote, Kentucky with 59 per cent and Arkansas with 62 per cent. Church won Idaho with 81 per cent and Brown took Nevada with 52 per cent. The Southern results were a particular humiliation for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, especially in Tennessee, whose primary he won in 1972 with 68 per cent of the vote.

Carter heralded his mid-South victories and said his "national momentum" would withstand any reversals in the Far West. He said he had not counted on winning in Oregon and a loss there would pose no "strategic disadvantage" for him.

"The main thing is an ability to get strong votes all over the country," he said, emphasizing that he alone had run in all six primaries yesterday.

But psychologically, at least, the Oregon primary was the big prize, because that was the arena of keenest competition, with Church, Carter and Brown—in a write-in drive—focusing heavily on it over the last week.

Carter had been running comfortably ahead in Oregon in polls taken several weeks ago and he had the added advantage that he had enjoyed in several earlier primaries of having more than one opponent vying for the liberal—and often anti-Carter—vote.

In Oregon, Church led Carter from the beginning of the count, gaining a wide margin in the first returns from one-sixth of the Portland precincts. Church also was running ahead in Lane County, home of the University of Oregon, where he had feared serious inroads from Brown.

The delay in counting write-in votes for Brown made it impossible to judge his final position in the race. But Oregon observers said he appeared at midnight Washington time to be more of a threat to Carter's runner-up spot than to Church's lead.

The results in the five other primaries were all predictable. Carter had no serious opposition in Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, running only against a George Wallace whose star was falling fast and against Udall, who made only a spot effort to pick up a few delegates in liberal suburbs. Church's Idaho victory was a pure home-state outcome and Brown's success in Nevada was expected as a result of his high recognition as a much-publicized neighbor.

Carter strategists and the former governor himself, in the wake of recent setbacks in Nebraska and Maryland and close calls in Connecticut and Michigan, have insisted the name of the game now is winning delegates, which he continues to do.

Their stated objective in yesterday's six primaries was to gain a total of 100 delegates, and they appeared to have that goal easily within reach. But the question is what his setbacks will do to the attitude of uncommitted delegates Carter has hoped to win over after the primaries are over.

In delegates the candidates won or were leading for, this was the outlook last night.



United Press International

Sen. Frank Church, the favorite in the Idaho primary, marks his ballot in Boise.

Kentucky (46): Carter 37, Wallace 7, Udall 2.

Tennessee (46): Carter 36, Wallace 1, Uncommitted, 9.

Arkansas (26): Carter 16, Wallace 5, Udall 1, Uncommitted, 4.

Oregon (34): Church 17, Carter 12, Brown 5.

Nevada (11): Brown 6, Carter 3, Church 1, Uncommited, 1.

Idaho (16): Church 14, Carter 2.

In addition, in runoff elections in Alabama for eight delegate seats, Wallace won 4, Carter 2, and 2 were uncommitted.

Udall's objective in running in the mid-South states was to add to the 19 states in which he has already won delegates, in the hope he can go to the national conven-

But a legal battle could deprive him of any he might win in Kentucky. According to the state attorney general's office, a candidate must get a minimum of 15 per cent of the statewide vote to qualify for convention delegates. The Udall campaign operated on the understanding a candidate would qualify for delegates by winning 15 per cent in any congressional district.

Both Wallace and Udall campaigned in all three mid-South states in the final week, while Carter was occupying himself in the West. But Carter's organization was solid and Wallace was a mere shade of his former self, asking voters during his final swing only to give him a "respectable" showing. They failed to do even that.

The three mid-South victories for Carter were further vindication of his run-everywhere strategy, and with the returns from the West coming late, seemed certain to dominate Wednesday morning's news play of the Democrats around the country.

As on every previous multi-primary night this year, Carter had some success to offset defeat. Running in all primary states has been a calculated risk for him, in that the strategy often has required him to split his resources and time while his opposition has concentrated on one or another state. But it has enabled him at the same time to claim he continues to win somewhere on every primary night.

President Winning in 3 States

REPUBLICANS, From A1

In Kentucky, Mr. Ford swept most of the rural areas and won the city of Lexington.

But he lost Jefferson County and Louisville by approximately 5,000 votes to Reagan, who had been portrayed in a final-day radio campaign as "the antibusing candidate. The campaign was sponsored by the American Conservative Union, a political action group.

The busing issue had come to the fore in the campaign's final days as Mr. Ford indicated last week that Louisville might be considered as a court case to test again the use of busing for public school integration. Reagan has announced support for a constitutional amendment prohibiting busing.

Mr. Ford carried Kentucky's 5th District in the southeastern part of the state by about 7,000 votes. His campaign there had been aided by GOP Rep. Tim Lee Carter.

With the final votes still to be tabulated, it appeared that Mr. Ford would win 20 Kentucky delegates and Reagan 17. The delegates actually were chosen at a state convention in April and most of them are Reagan supporters. Mr. Ford's victory will guarantee delegate votes only on the first ballot at the August convention.

President Ford's campaign in Kentucky suffered from an absence of support from the regular Republican organization and his somewhat unpopular veto of a bill that would have raised price supports on tobacco crops.

Former Gov. Louie Nunn, the state's top Reagan supporter, said Mr. Ford was helped at the polls by good weather. "Tobbacco farmers were Reagan supporters," Nunn said, "and they were out in the fields today because the weather was good."

Reagan had previously shown substantial strength in Southern states, but a controversial statement he made about the Tennessee Valley Authority may have slowed his momentum in Tennessee and Kentucky, both served by that giant utility.

Reagan said that selling the TVA to private enterprise "would be something to look at" if he were elected President, a remark reminiscent of Barry Goldwater's outright pledge during the 1964 presidential campaign to sell the TVA. Reagan promptly declared, however, that he had no plans to sell the power utility.

In Tennessee, Reagan appeared to be running strongest in areas where Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace had been a favorite in the 1972 Democratic primary.

Reagan's supporters in that state had openly appealed to Wallace voters to cross over into the Republican primary and vote for the former California governor. Wallace won 68 per cent of the Democratic vote in Tennessee four years ago.

Reagan supporters had broadcast a snippet from a tape recording in which Democratic Gov. Ray Blanton seemingly urged Democrats to cross over. Blanton later charged that the excerpt was taken out of context and President Ford's supporters called the tactic "reprehensible."

Mr. Ford was running strongest in east Tennessee and in the congressional districts of Knoxville and Chattanooga, located in the heart of TVA country. Reagan's strength in early returns was from the Nashville area and from districts in rural middle and west Tennessee.

If the extremely close vote spread held through the final count in Tennessee, it appeared that Mr. Ford would win 22 delegates and Reagan 21.

Democratic crossovers also were thought to be a factor in Arkansas, which Wallace carried as a third-party candidate in 1968 with 39 per cent of the total vote.

Reagan, who was swamping the President in Arkansas, in early returns, made a major effort there, campaigning three times in the state within three weeks. Mr. Ford, on the other hand, abandoned his only scheduled appearance there in order to campaign in Michigan, whose May 18 primary he won.

Mr. Ford's campaign manager in Arkansas, Dorothy Webb, attributed his defeat to the Democratic crossover vote, primarily from voters who had supported Wallace and who felt that this year there was no serious contest in their own party.

However, Judy Petty, Reagan's Arkansas campaign manager, downgraded the importance of crossovers and claimed that "Republicans in Arkansas have finally found a candidate they could enthusiastically support."

Meanwhile, Republican state chairmen from the Northeast met in Hartford, Conn., yesterday and claimed that Mr. Ford had an "overwhelming" lead in their part of the country. They represented 10 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Their count showed Mr. Ford with 410 delegates, Reagan with 68, and 27 uncommitted.

Reagan had been rated a favorite in Idaho and Nevada, largely because of the conservative character of the Republican electorate and the states' proximity to California.

In Nevada, holding its first presidential primary, Reagan was leading the President 3 to 1 in early returns. He had the support there of the regular Republican organization, headed by Sen. Paul D. Laxalt, chairman of Reagan's national campaign committee. Mr. Ford made one appearance in the state.

Reagan also was leading the President by 3 to 1 in Idaho, a ratio foreshadowed by a newspaper poll there early this month. Mr. Ford made no campaign appearances there, while Reagan made a three-day swing through the southern part of the state.

Oregon's generally moderate Republicanism had made Mr. Ford the favorite there. The President also had the backing of most of the state's prominent Republicans, including its two U.S. senators. He outspent Reagan in the state by a substantial margin.

David S. Broder

The Oregon Primary: A Pause for Reflection?

PORTLAND, Ore.—For more years than anyone can remember, the Oregon primary has provided the pause for reflection in the rush to the presidential nomination. The state has not been an unfailing guide to the convention winner. Of the 32 men who have won the Democratic and Republican battles here since Oregon inaugurated the primary system in 1912, 22 have gone on to nomination and 10 have failed.

That is a high proportion of losers for a primary so late in the season, and yesterday's results may or may not improve the average.

But what is special about Oregon is the combination of seriousness and smallness. It is a well-educated state, whose voters take their responsibilities conscientiously, and they tend to bring out the best in the candidates who come here. Even more important, it is a small state, where the candidates rub shoulders with each other and an intimacy develops that is never found in the big-state primaries or in the national arena of the general election.

Only in the bar of the Benson Hotel is one likely to find a fundraiser for Sen. Frank Church having a drink with the architect of Ronald Reagan's Texas triumph. Only in its restaurant can one hear the latest views of a White House staffer and of Jimmy Cater's pollster by the simple expedient of table-hopping. Reporters treasure Oregon because it has so often been their last chance to see the men and women who comprise these campaigns—and conceivably will staff a future government—in circumstances where there is no distorting distance.

One striking impression of the past week was the feeling that the people with the greatest genuine confidence in the outcome of the nomination battle were, surprisingly, those most resigned to losing in Oregon: Ronald Reagan's aides. And the shakiest, by contrast, were those working for President Ford.

The reasons for those contrasting attitudes were much simpler than they had seemed at a distance.

A Reagan aide leaned against a wall of the Masonic Temple and said: "Look. This ain't a contest anymore between an incumbent President and an upstart challenger. This is a race between Jerry Ford and Ronald Reagan. And Reagan's going to win the last and biggest battle in California. When was the last time they didn't give the decision to the guy who hammered his opponent in the last round?"

When this view was relayed to a Ford campaigner, he nodded his head sadly and conceded, "California is it for us." And then, with some bitterness at what might have been said: "The truth of the matter is that our candidate hasn't done one blankety-blank thing of substance as President since the State of the Union speech. So how the hell do you make him presidential?"

Ironically, some Ford aides are hoping that the curtailment of travel forced by the campaign spending limit will require Mr. Ford to stay in the White House and speak and act as President, in the few days remaining before California votes on June 8.

On the Democratic side, what Oregon showed was that Jimmy Carter's staff has survived the ups and downs of his 16-month campaign with its energy and sense of humor intact—not a bad recommendation. Their courtesy and hospitality are unfailing, even to critical reporters, and they have miraculously not begun to inhale their own success.

When Carter told an Oregon audience he would not permit the growth of an arrogant, powerful White House staff, Jody Powell, his press secretary and closest aide, was quick to respond, "He just lost my vote."

By odd circumstance, Frank Church's staff shares many of the attractive qualities of the Carter entourage—a relaxed, irreverent and easy relationship with the candidate, sustained by a strong admiration for him as a man and a politician. Church's staff, like Carter's, is home-bred, and the Idahoans are no more awed by being in a presidential race than are the Georgians. One had the feeling that if Church had begun running when Carter did, they might have been well-matched.

The "different" campaign, seen up close as from a distance, is that of Jerry Brown. The California governor appeared to have learned a technique for transferring all tension to his staff. Scrambling to ignite a write-in campaign in Oregon, he was as casual as a tourist out for a stroll, chronically late, kidding everyone in sight, and always cool. His opening line to a convention of squealing high school students was, "Let's everyone take a deep breath and relax."

But Brown's headquarters was a madhouse, its phone lines constantly overloaded, a bellowing, bilingual confusion of activity, particularly after 10 p.m., when the young troops seemed to gain a second wind. The press secretary, a 26-year-old who grandly signed his handouts Llewellyn C. Werner, reminded oldsters in the press of the fabled Vic Gold, of Goldwater and Agnew campaign renown—never more endearing than when he seemed on the verge of apoplexy, which occurred about four times an hour.

Brown's staff, unlike the others, was of almost no help in explaining either the campaign or the candidate—perhaps because he excludes them from his thought-processes or perhaps because they have moved so far inside his head that they cannot find their way back.

Werner liked to wind up his explanatory lectures on the politics of Jerry Brown with a Zen aphorism: "In the mind of the beginner, the possibilities are infinite; in the mind of the expert, they are few."

That may have been the most important insight the Oregon week offered, but you will have to go elsewhere for its meaning. This reporter is too full of Oregon salmon to even try to explain.

Primary Election Summary Totals

ARKANSAS

Republicans

75% of 465 precincts

Reagan	16,316	or 63%
Ford	9,328	or 36%
Uncommitted	326	or 1%

Democrats

67% of 2,575 precincts

Carter	178,285	or 62%
Wallace	46,476	or 16%
Uncommitted	32,021	or 11%
Udall	23,807	or 9%
Jackson	6,310	or 2%

IDAHO

73% of 810 precincts

Republicans

Reagan	45,949	or 74%
Ford	15,859	or 25%
Uncommitted	507	or 1%

Democrats

Church	40,848	or 81%
Carter	6,074	or 12%

KENTUCKY

99% of 3,324 precincts

Republicans

Ford 67,096 or 51%
Reagan 61,107 or 47%

Democrats

Carter 178,704 or 59%
Wallace 50,710 or 17%
Udall 32,245 or 11%
McCormack 16,804 or 5%
Uncommitted 11,611 or 4%
Jackson 8,044 or 3%

NEVADA

64% of 444 precincts

Republicans

Reagan	18,019	or 65%
Ford	8,225	or 30%
Uncommitted	1,361	or 5%

Democrats

Brown	23,904	or 53%
Carter	10,390	or 23%
Church	4,161	or 9%
Uncommitted	2,774	or 6%
Wallace	1,610	or 3%
Udall	1,205	or 3%
Jackson	1,323	or 3%

OREGON

48% of 2,374 precincts

Republicans

Ford	39,225	or 53%
Reagan	34,898	or 47%

Democrats

Church	37,082	or 39%
Carter	28,572	or 30%
Brown	13,385	or 14%
Humphrey	5,646	or 6%

TENNESSEE

93% of 2,606 precincts

Republicans

Ford	109,624	or 50%
Reagan	106,268	or 49%
Uncommitted	2,616	or 1%

Democrats

Carter	228,296	or 77%
Wallace	32,662	or 11%
Udall	10,843	or 4%
Uncommitted	6,790	or 2%
Church	7,003	or 2%

Improving
ring today, high in
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around 50. Sunny
orrow, high in mid-
Details: B-6.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Church Wins Oregon; Brown Is Crowding Carter for 2nd Place

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — Jimmy Carter's third consecutive black Tuesday has raised a genuine doubt about his ability to capture the Democratic presidential nomination on the first ballot. And that in turn raises a doubt about his ability to win it at all.

Carter's defeat at the hands of Frank Church in Oregon yesterday far overshadowed his runaway triumphs in three Southern states — Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas — where he faced only strawman opposition from George Wallace and Morris Udall.

Those victories and his second place finish here assured Carter of exceeding his announced goal of adding more than 100 delegates to his total.

BUT OREGON WAS center stage yesterday because it was here that Church and Edmund G. Brown Jr., the two livest candidates in the field, were challenging Carter. And, as he did in Nebraska two weeks ago and in Maryland and Michigan last week, Carter failed to offer convincing proof he can convert his lead into a solid grip on the nomination.

With 87 percent of the precincts reported, Church led with 35 percent of the vote, followed by Carter with 28 percent and Brown with a startling 23 percent on write-in votes.

What was perhaps most significant about Church's victory here is that he defeated Carter with an approach that struck at the perception of the frontrunner as ambiguous on issues.

A week ago Brown won in Maryland and Udall came within a point in Michigan by picturing Carter as opportunistic and unclear in his positions on major concerns of the electorate. Church was far more gentle, but he did lay heavy stress on his own commitment to talk about issues. And the implication was clear that neither of his opponents were doing so.

CHURCH HAD OTHER ASSETS — the endorsement of Gov. Robert Straub, several major newspapers and most of labor, his local identification as a senator from a neighboring state and the fact that he spent more time campaigning here than either Carter or Brown. But Church was unable to match either of his rivals in campaign money, and he lacked the national momentum Carter brought here when he decided to make a major effort over the final week before the voting.

The damage to Carter from yesterday's result is not immediately apparent. He now has, by his count, more than 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates needed for the nomination and he can reasonably expect to arrive at the convention with 1,200 or so. But some of these are capable of defection and are legally free to do so.

The long-range question for Carter is how his string of losses will impact on his ability to hold those delegates and bring over the uncommitted he would need to become the nominee.

FOR THE SHORT TERM, the question raised by the results of the last three weeks is what they mean for the final two weeks of the primaries.

Brown's extraordinarily strong showing here as a write-in, coming on the heels of his victory in Maryland a week ago, suggests he may be able to make a score next Tuesday in Rhode Island, where he is campaigning to convert an uncommitted slate into a winner and a de facto Brown bloc.

See DEMOCRATS, A-6

FULL STORY

• Now it's President Ford who has regained the momentum and his aides are predicting a first ballot victory in Kansas City. A-1

• Jimmy Carter is a three-time loser in as many weeks, raising more doubts about his ability to win in the end. A-1

• Politics Today: How the primaries teach. A-3

• President Ford on the campaign trail gave his strongest endorsement — to Henry A. Kissinger. A-7

• Convention Countdown: Up-to-date breakdown of delegate strengths in the presidential races. A-7

• Voting Results in the Arkansas, Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada, Oregon, and Tenessee primaries, and Missouri caucuses. A-6 and 7

• Six minutes of film can show if Ford, in fact, wore a helmet while playing football. C-1

THE FORM

REPUBLICANS

PRESIDENT FORD — Surprise victories in South make him strong favorite for the nomination.

RONALD REAGAN — Losses in Tennessee and Kentucky put his back to the wall.

DEMOCRATS

JIMMY CARTER — Three bad weeks in a row put him on the defensive.

EDMUND G. BROWN JR. — Impressive write-in vote in Oregon raises his stock.

FRANK CHURCH — Second victory over Carter makes him a major figure in California.

MORRIS UDALL — His prospects in Ohio brightened.

DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

More important, the Carter losses put the final three primaries June 8 in California, Ohio and New Jersey into a different context. Brown has been favored to win his home state, but the delegates there will be divided in proportion to the total vote and Carter had been expected to get a respectable share while running second. Now there is the prospect he will be dividing with Church whatever can be wrested from Brown — and not necessarily winning most of those.

In New Jersey, Carter remains the favorite against an uncommitted slate. But Brown has been tempted to try to adopt those delegates, as well, and his showing here indicates anything may be possible for the yoiung California governor.

The critical primary for Carter two weeks from now may be that in Ohio, which Udall has staked out as the place for his final effort to be a winner. The returns from Michigan last week and those from Oregon last night mean Udall could make it close in Ohio.

WHATEVER HAPPENS in the rest of the primaries, none of the candidates who have been beating up on Carter lately — not Brown nor Church nor Udall — has any prospect of arriving at the convention with anywhere near as many delegates as the frontrunner from Georgia. The candidate most likely to be closest, with something over 400 delegates, is Udall.

What this is likely to mean is that the month between those final primaries and the Democratic convention will be devoted to frenzied campaigning by all candidates to shore up the non-Carter delegations and to enlist the uncommitted against him.

Carter's problem is that he needs a first ballot victory more than any of the others. He is a candidate who has depended upon momentum and his reputation as a winner. If it is discovered the emperor has no clothes, it may be difficult and it could be impossible for him to recover.

THE OTHER PRIMARIES yesterday followed the form charts for the Democrats.

In Arkansas, Carter won 62 percent to 17 for Wallace, 11 uncommitted and 8 for Udall, with 92 percent of the vote counted.

In Kentucky, with 99 percent of the vote counted, Carter had 59 percent to 17 for Wallace and 11 for Udall.

In Tennesee, with 99 per cent reported, Carter had 78 percent to 11 for Wallace and 4 for Udall.

In Nevada, a state which borders his own, Brown won a predicted victory with 53 percent to 23 for Carter and 9 for Church, with 98 percent of the vote counted.

In Idaho, Church's home state, the Democratic senator captured 80 percent of the vote to Carter's 12, with 99 percent of the vote tabulated.

OREGON, TENNESSEE 1972

South Dakota Sen. George S. McGovern — the 1972 Democratic presidential nominee — won the Oregon primary four years ago and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace won the Tennessee primary by a landslide.

Then-President Richard M. Nixon won the Republican primaries in both states against token competition. There were no 1972 presidential primary elections in Idaho, Nevada, Kentucky or Arkansas.

There were about 673,710 registered Democrats in Oregon in 1972 and 62 percent of them voted in the primary. McGovern received 205,328 votes, 50 percent of those cast; Wallace was second with 81,868 votes, 20 percent; Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey had 51,163 votes, 13 percent, and other candidates 70,285 votes, 17 percent.

This year, 714,917 Oregon Democrats were eligible to vote.

Sixty percent of Oregon's 439,667 registered Republicans turned out in 1972. Nixon got 231,151 votes, 82 percent. California Rep. Paul McCloskey was second with 29,365 votes, 10 percent; Ohio Rep. John Ashbrook had 16,696 votes, 6 percent, and others 4,798 votes, 2 percent.

In yesterday's primary, 462,992 Republicans were registered to vote.

Tennessee does not require voters to register by party. In 1972, 34 percent of its 1,990,126 voters cast ballots. In the Democratic primary, Wallace got 335,858 votes, 86 percent; Humphrey 78,350 votes, 16 percent; McGovern 35,551 votes, 7 percent; and others 42,962 votes, 9 percent.

Nixon received 109,696 votes, 96 percent of the turnout in Tennessee's 1972 Republican primary. Others got 4,793 votes, 4 percent.

This year, 1,899,592 voters were registered for yesterday's Tennessee primary.

In Kentucky's first presidential primary, 1,077,360 Democrats and 468,955 Republicans were registered to vote. Nevada had 125,683 registered Democrats and 72,361 registered Republicans.

There were 961,399 Arkansas voters eligible to vote. None is required to state party preference.

In Idaho, 40 percent of the state's approximately 450,000 registered voters were expected to vote yesterday according to a spokesman for the Secretary of State's office in Boise.

NEVADA PRIMARY VOTING RESULTS

CARSON CITY, Nev. (UPI) — The vote in yesterday's Nevada presidential primary, with 98 percent of the state's 444 precincts reporting:

REPUBLICANS

Reagan: 31,472 — 66%
Ford: 13,735 — 29%
No Pref.: 2,361 — 5%

DEMOCRATS

Brown: 39,286 — 53%
Carter: 17,318 — 23%
Church: 6,703 — 9%
No Pref.: 4,519 — 6%
Wallace: 2,494 — 3%
Udall: 2,215 — 3%
Jackson: 1,882 — 3%

VOTING RESULTS IN IDAHO PRIMARY

BOISE, Idaho (AP) — Here are the vote totals in Idaho's presidential primary, and the delegate allocation based on that vote, with 99 percent of the state's 810 precincts reporting.

REPUBLICANS

Reagan: 66,415 — 74%
Ford 22,200 — 25%
Uncom.: 752 — 1%

DEMOCRATS

Church: 57,770 — 81%
Carter: 8,759 — 12%
Humphrey: 1,674 — 2%
Wallace: 1,104 — 2%
Udall: 968 — 1%
Uncommitted: 1,004 — 1%
Jackson: 472 — 1%
Harris: 317 — 0%

28 Delegates In Missouri Back Carter

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. (AP) — Jimmy Carter picked up 28 Democratic national convention delegates in Missouri last night in the state's 10 congressional district conventions.

State party officials, who had switched from supporting an uncommitted slate to Carter's camp earlier this month, had said they expected the endorsement to bring Carter at least 40 national delegates.

Democrats attending the district meetings also elected 21 uncommitted delegates, three for Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, one for Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington and one for anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack.

Missouri's 71-member delegation is the largest to go to the national convention from those states not holding a primary election. The remaining 17 delegates are to be selected at the party's state convention here June 12.

Following caucuses last month, about two thirds of the delegates to the district conventions were uncommitted and Carter had only 13.4 percent of them. Subsequently, however, Sen. Thomas Eagleton and others endorsed Carter and worked to have the delegates elected last night support him.

VOTING RESULTS TENNESSEE PRIMARY

NASHVILLE, Tenn. (UPI) — The vote in the Tennessee presidential primary yesterday with 99 percent (2,270) of the state's 2,306 precincts reporting:

REPUBLICANS

Ford: 120,019 — 50%
Reagan: 118,068 — 49%
No Pref.: 2,763 — 1%

DEMOCRATS

Carter: 252,558 — 78%
Wallace: 35,807 — 11%
Udall: 12,156 — 4%
Church: 7,815 — 2%
No Pref.: 5,963 — 2%
Jackson: 5,536 — 2%
McCormack: 1,863 — 1%
Harris: 1,665 — 0%
Shapp: 501 — 0%

VOTING RESULTS IN ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (UPI) — The vote in yesterday's Arkansas presidential primary with 92 percent of the state's 465 Republican precincts and 90 percent of the state's 2,575 Democratic precincts reporting:

REPUBLICANS

Reagan: 19,156 — 63%
Ford: 10,975 — 36%
No Pref.: 431 — 1%

DEMOCRATS

Carter: 262,477 — 62%
Wallace: 70,215 — 17%
No Pref.: 47,589 — 11%
Udall: 33,286 — 8%
Jackson: 8,703 — 2%



COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Brown	Carter	Humphrey	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Ala.*	35	—	2	—	—	—	27	—	6
Alaska	10	½	—	—	—	—	—	—	9½
Ariz.	25	—	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Ark.	26	—	16	—	—	1	5	—	4
Canal Z.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Colo.*	35	1	1	—	—	2	—	1	2
Conn.*	51	—	18	—	4	16	—	—	10
D.C.	17	—	6	—	—	4	—	—	7
Fla.	81	—	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Ga.	50	—	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii*	17	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Idaho	16	—	2	—	—	—	—	14	—
Ill.	169	—	59	4	—	—	3	88	15
Ind.	75	—	49	—	—	—	4	—	22
Iowa	47	—	17	—	—	10	—	9	11
Kan.*	34	—	13	—	2	1	—	2	16
Ky.	46	—	37	—	—	2	7	—	—
La.	41	—	13	—	—	—	9	—	19
Maine	20	—	9	—	—	5	—	—	6
Md.	53	—	32	—	10	7	—	—	4
Mass.	104	—	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Mich.	133	—	69	—	—	58	2	—	4
Minn.	65	—	—	60	—	—	—	—	5
Miss.	24	—	5	—	—	—	11	4	4
Mo.*	71	—	28	—	1	3	1	—	38
Neb.	23	—	8	—	—	—	—	15	—
Nev.	11	6	3	—	—	—	—	1	1
N. H.	17	—	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
N. M.	18	—	8	—	—	6	—	—	4
N. Y.	274	—	35	—	106	68	—	—	65
N. C.	61	—	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Okla.	37	—	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Ore.	34	7	12	—	—	—	—	15	—
Penn.	178	—	64	—	19	22	3	17	53
P. R.	22	—	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
S. C.	31	—	9	—	—	—	8	1	13
Tenn.	46	—	36	—	—	—	1	—	9
Texas	130	—	94	—	—	—	—	9	27
Vt.	12	2	3	—	—	3	—	—	4
Va.*	54	—	23	—	—	7	—	—	24
V.I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Wash.	53	—	—	—	24	5	—	—	11
W. Va.	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
Wisc.	68	—	25	—	7	25	10	1	—
Wyo.	10	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	7
Totals	2,363	17½	865	64	240	289	164	200	475½

* Process incomplete

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Garry Wills

Spooky like a fox

Jerry Brown deftly uses his reputation for saying spooky things; but it can recoil on him, too. Take, for instance, the statement that "the best form of action may be non-action." Some fear this means an abdication of governing responsibility. Actually the maxim, in so far as he has put it to work, pertains less to Zen riddles than to anti-bureaucratic common sense.

The best instance of this is Brown's selection of new judges over the course of his first year in office. He came in right after the legislature had mandated the addition of more judges to the California bench, giving Brown over 50 judicial appointments to make at the outset of his term. Most politicans would relish the chance to reward friends and create obligations by handing out such a large package of goodies. But Brown was critized for delaying his choices, leaving vacant benches for almost a year.

Tony Kline, Brown's legal counsel, the founder of Public Advocates in California, thinks Brown's delay was vital to two things — the choice of outstanding new judges, and the promotion of court reform. All the obvious names popped up at once. Instead of jumping at them, Brown waited for less obvious talent to show up.

But Kline adds that, simply by saying no to the request for instant appointments, Brown set in motion a series of investigations on why California needs so many judges. Is it the backlog of cases? Studies showed that more judges in themselves would not necessarily reduce that backlog.

Kline was sent to work on efficiency and other studies to find out why California, which has more judges than any state in the union, cannot handle its court load. Kline found that there are three times as many state judges in California as there are federal judges in America. The judges in Los Angeles County alone roughly equal all the men on the bench in England. These judges were, at the time of Kline's study, the highest paid in the nation. It was clear that each new judge added would cost the state roughly a quarter of a million dollars a year (counting clerk and office costs). Yet, fast as the number of judges had grown, it could not keep up with cases filed. Kline also found that most judges worked an average of five and a half hours for 215 days in the year.

For six months, there was a war of nerves between the sitting judges and Governor Brown. Brown let them know he did not think much of their performance. The judges tried counter-pressure by way of court holidays. But some new experiements were tried — three-judge panels giving forced settlements to stalled cases.

But Kline thinks the most important thing was to raise a whole series of fundamental questions. The process suggested by sheer hypnotic momentum, that more judges would solve the traffic jam. By questioning that article of faith, Brown raised the possibility that increased judges on the present scheme just feed the problem rather than solve it. So Kline was able to conduct an investigation and begin drafting laws for court reform — something that would not have happened or would not have been as surely focused, if Brown had not refused to go along with the call for instant action. His apparent non-action led to real action.

This kind of performance is not mystical but hard-headed, even stubborn. That is what makes Fred Epstein, Brown's press secretary, contrast his man with Carter this way:

"Carter claims he reduced the number of people in Georgia's bureaucracy. But, even if he did, it was a smaller number of people doing the same thing. Brown is the only one who asks whether certain things should be done at all, or done in the old way." Brown reveres hard work fully as much as Carter. But he may see a little more clearly how much of the government's activity is make-work.

The Zen mumbo-jumbo intrigues people when they first meet Jerry Brown. But if he is going to be taken seriously as a presidential candidate, it will be because, under all the intellectual posturing, he is really a tough pol.



Politics Today

Yes, It Has Been A Learning Experience

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — They say presidential primaries are supposed to be a learning experience and heaven knows we've learned a powerful lot this year. In fact, we've learned some things two or three times.

In New Hampshire and Florida we learned it is very difficult to defeat an incumbent president, especially if he is a Republican and left-handed. But then in North Carolina and Texas and Indiana and Nebraska we learned that was wrong. It is easy. The real lesson was that Ronald Reagan was just about unbeatable in conservative states, particularly in the South.

Then last night we learned that this lesson didn't apply in Kentucky or Tennessee — no one knows why — although it was still golden in Arkansas.

IN MASSACHUSETTS we learned that Scoop Jackson was no longer the loser everyone imagined, but it turned out in Pennsylvania that he was so, after all. About that time we kept learning that Hubert Humphrey would have won the primary if he had been on the ballot. But in Nebraska and Oregon, where he was on the ballot, we learned that was wrong.

In Florida we learned that Jimmy Carter could beat George Wallace just about any old day, and that one has held up pretty solid. Then we learned in New York and Wisconsin that Carter had trouble in Northern industrial states, but that was disproved in Pennsylvania. Then last week we learned in Michigan that Carter might be shaky in those states, after all.

We learned in those early primaries that specific issues didn't matter as much as the general perception of how a candidate might fit as president. That was what explained the rise of Jimmy Carter. But the last couple of weeks we've been learning that the reputation for being vague or ambiguous on issues is pure poison this year.

CARTER AND REAGAN also taught us early in the year that running as an outsider against the old boys in Washington was the sure ticket to success. That one held up until Jerry Ford, who has been there as long as Wayne Hays, and Frank Church, who came to the Senate almost directly from the American legion oratorical contest, started beating all comers.

We learned some things about strategy, too. Ed Muskie had taught us four years ago that a candidate could not run in all the primaries and prosper, but we learned from Jimmy Carter that that wasn't so. Then lately we have been learning from Jimmy Carter that it is, too.

We learned from Jimmy Carter that outsiders have a tough time winning acceptance from the old guard regulars of the Democratic party. But then we learned from Jerry Brown that the boys in the white-on-white shirts can indeed find a place in their hearts for an ascetic who likes to drive around in a 1974 Plymouth.

We've been learning for several weeks that the Panama Canal is a lot more important to the voters than we ever imagined. But last night we learned that doesn't apply in Oregon, Kentucky or Indiana, although it still may be true in Idaho, Arkansas and Nevada. With luck, we may be able to forget about the Panama Canal before long.

WE'VE ALREADY forgotten a few things that seemed unforgettable a few months ago, such as Lloyd Bentsen, Milton Shapp, Terry Sanford, Sargent Shriver, Fred Harris and Birch Bayh. We thought we could forget Mo Udall as well, but now we're learning that persistence is more of a virtue than Harold Stassen would have led us to believe.

Most of all, we've learned about the electorate. We began the primaries with the certain knowledge from all the polls that the voters had been turned off the system by Watergate and were going to just go through the motions. But lately we've learned they are as complex and contrary as ever and perhaps more so. Who can figure a combination of hot items comprised of Jerry Ford and Jerry Brown. If we just keep learning like this every week, by convention time we will be able to teach it round or flat.

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A Topsy-Turvy Year

Gerald Ford donned white tie and tails and set off for dinner at the French Embassy as the guest of visiting President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing. But hardly anyone could blame Ford for showing slightly less interest in the *navarin de homard aux légumes de printemps* than in the primary results trickling in from Michigan. Ever good hosts, the French had arranged an elaborate relay system to inform their guest of the outcome. An embassy employee would whisper the news to the French ambassador who would whisper to Giscard who would whisper to the President. About 9 p.m., *le Président* had the President's ear. Ford, it turned out, had won his do-or-die home state primary in a 65-34 landslide. The word from Maryland was just as good. Ford swept all 43 delegates at stake there; he then picked up a solid chunk of uncommitted delegates elsewhere—and suddenly *he* seemed on top again in the topsy-turvy race for the Republican nomination.

The good news delighted Ford and his nervous supporters. "We've refloated the Titanic," said one relieved aide. Just a month ago the White House believed it was Reagan who might be going under. But then came his May 1 humiliation of the President in Texas and a string of four straight victories. The President's twin triumphs last week checked Reagan, but Ford's troubles were far from over. Although he was expected to win in Oregon on Tuesday, five other primaries this week (Arkansas, Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada and Tennessee) and two next week (Montana and South Dakota) were in Reagan country. Ford has come perilously close to the $13.1 million limitation on primary campaign spending; as a result, NEWSWEEK learned, he has scaled down expenditures in the crucial June 8 California primary and reduced campaigning for the Ohio and New Jersey primaries on the same day. Still, the President's strong showing last week buoyed his hopes and restored momentum he hopes will carry him to a first ballot victory.

The Democrats added to the week's primary puzzle with some gyrations of their own (page 16). In Maryland, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. stunned front runner Jimmy Carter by combining the old bossism of the Maryland machine with his own brand of new politics for a runaway victory. And in Michigan, Morris K. Udall—the season's most tenacious also-ran—closed a 33-point gap in his own polls and ended up within 1,821 votes of beating Carter. Carter still remains far ahead in total delegates (page 18). But his narrow escape in Michigan and his losses to Brown in Maryland—and to Frank Church in Nebraska a fortnight ago—have slowed him down and rekindled the hopes of the hold-for-Hubert movement.

Such turnabouts have come to seem standard for Campaign '76. Some bewildered analysts attribute the rapid changes of fortune to a proliferation of primaries and state caucuses: a steeplechase that runs from January to July, complicated by campaign spending laws, reforms in delegate selection and varying crossover voting regulations. By playing up the importance of relatively insignificant primaries, such as Nebraska or North Carolina, the media has also contributed to a "front-runner-of-the-week" phenomenon.

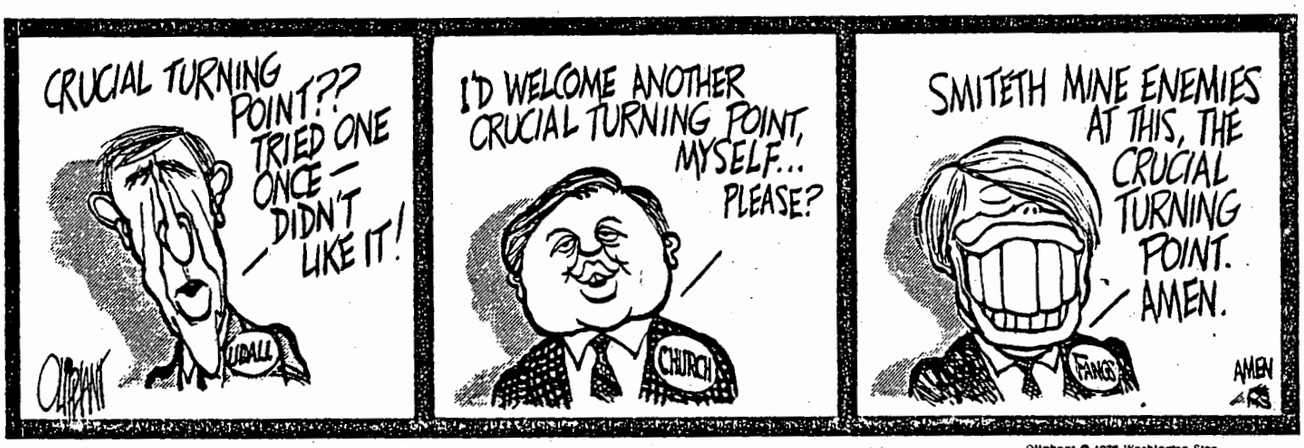
'A FEW MORE SMILES'

More significant is the widespread feeling that both major parties are leaderless now, that in what New York Times columnist Tom Wicker calls the "politics of decimation," the familiar faces of American politics have been removed from the scene by assassination, an unpopular war, Chappaquiddick and Watergate. The voters, fed up with big government and traumatized by Vietnam and Watergate, can't decide which new faces to turn to. "It's the mood of the people," says Leon Shull, national director of the Americans for Democratic Action. "They're uncertain and really don't know what they want."

In Michigan and Maryland last week, they clearly wanted Ford. After toasting his triumphs with Giscard, Ford returned to the White House, ordered up a Martini and began calling everyone he could think of to offer thanks for his Michigan victory. The next morning, he assembled aides for a pep rally. "I see a few more smiles," he allowed. Among Ford staffers, the comeback victories gave rise to heady predictions of an upset in California's winner-take-all primary and a first ballot nomination. Reagan staffers, who had privately hoped for 40

Ford gets the good news from Michigan: Buoyed





Oliphant © 1976 Washington Star

per cent of the Michigan vote, scoffed at such euphoria. "It's incredible to me that Gerald Ford gets momentum by winning his home state," said chief of staff Mike Deaver. "What Michigan really did was stop his sinking ship. But it didn't hurt us that much."

A CHANGE IN STRATEGY

The Reagan assessment seemed a bit closer to the mark. Even in Michigan, Ford's victory resulted largely from the foresight of Sen. Robert Griffin and another old Ford friend, Gov. William Milliken. After wresting control of the Michigan campaign from the President Ford Committee in a fractious Mother's Day meeting in Detroit, Griffin and Milliken then proposed the President's Trumanesque—and crowd-drawing—whistle-stop train trip across the state. They also urged a basic change in strategy: Ford was to make an open appeal for independent votes and for Democratic crossovers. A post-mortem on the primary showed just how successful the pitch had been; 15 per cent of the vote came from Democrats and a whopping 35 per cent from independents. "We learned our lesson," said one Ford insider. "It's time to stop going after Reagan's right-wing voters and start expanding the pool with moderates and independents."

One key question was whether Ford could afford to put his new strategy into effect. Although the President is not running short of funds, he is running up against the new $13.1 million primary spending limit. He has already spent close to $10 million, and his travel budget is running high. To keep within bounds, Ford has had to cancel a second campaign trip to California (he left for his first West Coast swing over the weekend). Plans to campaign in Ohio and New Jersey over the next two weekends have also been tentatively scrapped. So dire is the budget situation, NEWSWEEK learned, that a second round of firings at the President Ford Committee has been ordered effective June 1. When it's over, the PFC staff will drop to about half the size it was two months ago.

To offset Reagan's expected gains in this week's primaries, the President's men decided to play some of their major chips. At the weekend 88 of Pennsylvania's 103 uncommitted delegates came out for Ford, while state caucuses in Vermont and Kansas were also swelling his count. At White House prodding, most of New York's uncommitted delegation—controlled by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller—was due to move into the President's camp this week with about 120 delegates expected to fall in for Ford.

During a campaign blitz through Nevada and the Sun Belt states, Reagan denounced Rockefeller's action as a product of "bossism." In Tennessee, where Sen. Howard Baker has been "working my heart out for President Ford," Reagan addressed a crowd of 800 in Baker's home county, then spent the night with the senator. "I believe a man's politics ought not to get in the way of a man's friendships," explained Baker, who says he would accept a Vice-Presidential offer from either man.

This week, Reagan will begin two weeks of concentrated campaigning in California, a task that Ford made easier by reconstituting the Federal Election Commission last week. Reagan had more than $500,000 tied up in FEC matching funds that will now be available to spend in California—the state he calls the "big casino," and whose 167 delegates he must win to remain in the running for the nomination. "California is his Michigan," says one Ford man. "We can survive a loss there. He can't."

The latest California Poll puts Reagan about 10 points ahead of the President in his home state, a lead most analysts believe he can hold—if he regains his winning ways elsewhere. Officially, Ford's men proclaim that California is winnable for them, too—if they run a bruising primary similar to the Goldwater-Rockefeller contest in 1964 and portray Reagan as an extremist. "But," said one top Ford strategist, "I don't think the folks at the White House have the stomach for it." Privately, Ford is assuming a loss in California and will concentrate on winning big the same day in Ohio and New Jersey, two states where Reagan will make little effort.

GRUBBING FOR DELEGATES

Once the primary season ends, both candidates will begin scrambling for the 307 delegates to be selected in state caucuses between June 12 and July 17. "We are going to have to grub for every single loose delegate," admits one Ford staffer. Every delegate may indeed be crucial. NEWSWEEK estimates that by convention day Ford and Reagan will each be within a few dozen votes of the 1,130 needed for nomination: Ford with about 1,118, Reagan with 1,108. Ordinarily, Ford would seem to have the edge, if only because no party likes to turn out its sitting President. The question is whether Ford, who has often failed to exploit the political powers of his Presidency, can now really use the incumbency to his advantage.

—SUSAN FRAKER with THOMAS M. DeFRANK and HAL BRUNO in Washington and WILLIAM J. COOK on the Reagan campaign

hopes and new momentum—but still a hard race

David Hume Kennerly—The White House



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Can Anyone Stop Carter?

From the beginning, Jimmy Carter has been an unacquired taste for the regulars of his own party—and last week their dreams of stopping him took on the faint but unmistakable flicker of renewed life. Jerry Brown, the newest face among Carter's rivals, humiliated him in Maryland. Morris K. Udall, the oldest, scared him badly in Michigan. Frank Church, blooded in Nebraska, was looking for new worlds to conquer. Hubert Humphrey's noncandidacy was abruptly disinterred. Even Teddy Kennedy's availability was announced, with or without his encouragement. And suddenly the moribund anybody-but-Carter movement turned into what one Brown backer called an everybody-but-Carter scramble—a last, long-odds rush to check the sometime Georgia peanut farmer just short of the Democratic nomination for President.

The spark was the belated discovery that Carter is not invincible after all—that his spread-thin, run-everywhere campaign is vulnerable to one-on-one challenge by his pursuers. Church found that soft spot in Nebraska a fortnight ago. Brown, the arriviste half-term governor of California, exploited it brilliantly in Maryland, blitzing in for twenty telegenic days and prevailing by a 49-to-37 per cent landslide. Even Mo Udall, the perennial bridesmaid, made up a 33-point deficit in Michigan and ran his closest second yet—a razor's-edge 1,820 votes and three-tenths of a percentage point behind Carter. The returns in themselves were precious little and perilously late for the stop-Carter set, but gave them heart nevertheless. "There is not going to be any stampede," exulted Udall at his seventh runner-up party of the season. "There is not going to be any rush to judgment."



Carter in Tennessee: 'He's got to keep pushing'



Brown at a mock Democratic convention in Texas

The bottom-line arithmetic remained overwhelmingly in Carter's favor, and so did the handicapping even by his adversaries. He survived his worst Tuesday of the spring with a tidy 101 delegates, fattening his bag to 907 by his own count. He figured on adding 100 more this week and next, mostly in the solid Carter South, and a worst-case 200 in the three-ring grand finale in New Jersey, Ohio and California on June 8. That would bring him out of the primaries with at least 1,200 votes (for a NEWSWEEK delegate survey, see page 18)—a negotiable and possibly unstoppable 305 away from the nomination. "He's got the delegates," conceded one savvy Democratic consultant. "The chances he'll blow it now are up to 4 to 1—but he'll have to beat himself."

His premise was a widely held one in the party—that none of the currently active contenders has a serious chance at taking the nomination away from Carter. Udall's in-the-money finish in Michigan did buy him a ticket to the last round next month, but he has yet to win anything outside his native Arizona. Brown and Church splashed big but started late—too late, in the prevalent view, to win short of some We-Want-Willkie sort of miracle. The prime beneficiary of their labors was instead commonly supposed to be Hubert Humphrey, who had rather overdone his count-me-out press conference of April 29 and had come to regret it. His never-say-die admirers accordingly opened a formal draft-Humphrey shop in Washington—an enterprise begun with a broad wink from the senator and with the principal purpose of persuading Democrats to hang loose for Hubert.

TALES OF TEDDY

Their job was at once eased and complicated by the sudden resurrection of Teddy talk—a published report that, for all his previous disavowals, Kennedy was ready now to accept a genuine draft for President or for Veep on a Humphrey ticket. The tale of Kennedy's "dramatic reversal" was floated by The New York Daily News's respected James Wieghart, who talked with (but did not quote) the senator. Kennedy denied it, in terms considerably less than Shermanesque; he complained mildly to one political pal that he "can't stop these stories from being written." The news, if true, was bad for Humphrey, given the presumption that Kennedy could stampede the convention at a nod. The wider supposition was that Kennedy, while keeping his own options dry, was really doing his dutiful bit to slow the rush to Carter—and was bestowing his own oblique blessings on Humphrey as a preferable alternative.

The result of all this was that Carter, for the first time in his God-is-my-copilot campaign, was running visibly scared. The underpinning for the stop-Carter scenario remained fragile. It required his losing nearly every important primary left—to Brown and/or Church in Oregon this week, to Brown again in California, to Udall in Ohio, to an uncommitted slate in New Jersey. It further depended on his doing something wrong—not a modest blooper, one anti-Carter tactician conceded, but "some really big gaffe." Yet a frayed and fidgety look stole over Carter and his people after Maryland and Michigan. They scrubbed a weekend's R&R in Plains, Ga., stepped up the campaign to a jangling new pitch, and intensified their hunt for delegates. "Jimmy wants to play statesman," said one field man, "but there's a lot of stuff coming down, and he's got to keep pushing. I'm upset."

The pressures of the chase have been

compounded for Carter by the animus of the party, and some flaws have in fact begun cropping up in what once seemed a bug-resistant campaign. His basic strategy of running in practically all the primaries turned out to have stretched his thin resources thinner, and opened him to precisely the sort of single-shot attack that wounded him last week.

GOING RAGGED

Some party pros argued that he ought to have conceded the Maryland beauty contest to Brown, since Carter had a lock on the separate delegate voting, and concentrated on burying Udall in Michigan. Instead, he contested both races, and corroded his winner's image as a result. His handlers, chastened, decided to target him better hereafter—to budget only three days for California, for example, and husband his person and his energies for Ohio and New Jersey.

Carter's own performance—public and private—has likewise gone a bit ragged. His hair-trigger handling of some minor flaps has heightened the doubts of some party regulars about how he might field major ones. Most recently, he refused to repudiate a remark by Detroit's black Mayor Coleman Young, a Carter man, suggesting that Udall was a racist for having belonged to the Mormon Church—30 years ago. The episode went down badly with liberal voters, and with party pros. "The word I'm beginning to hear is ruthless," said one. "He's not a very gracious guy."

Carter has further offended his peers by his own slowness at putting in peacemaking calls to the party barons, and at the clumsiness of some of his surrogates at dealing with them. One Carter man outlined the ex-governor's basic positions to a Democratic senator, who questioned them. "Oh," said Carter's man, puzzled. "That's what Jimmy thought you'd want to hear." Another operative, William vanden Heuvel, was said to have offended New York's Gov. Hugh Carey with a blunt warning that "the train is leaving the station" and that Carey had better climb on board. Others leaned prematurely on Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley to deliver 101 delegates under his sway and help stem the slippage in Carter's position. "The mayor," scoffed one party man, "will be happy to take Carter from 1,400 to 1,505 later on—but not from 900 to 1,000 right now."

These lapses have inflamed Carter's relations with the princes of the Democratic church, who never much liked him or his anti-Washington style, and have heightened their pleasure at his current run of bad luck. His people doubted, plausibly enough, that the siege would seriously erode his existing convention support. "I can't imagine anyone jumping off a 900-delegate ship," said press secretary Jody Powell. But his signs of vulnerability could slow the flow of cash and uncommitted delegates into his camp, and other vital support as well.

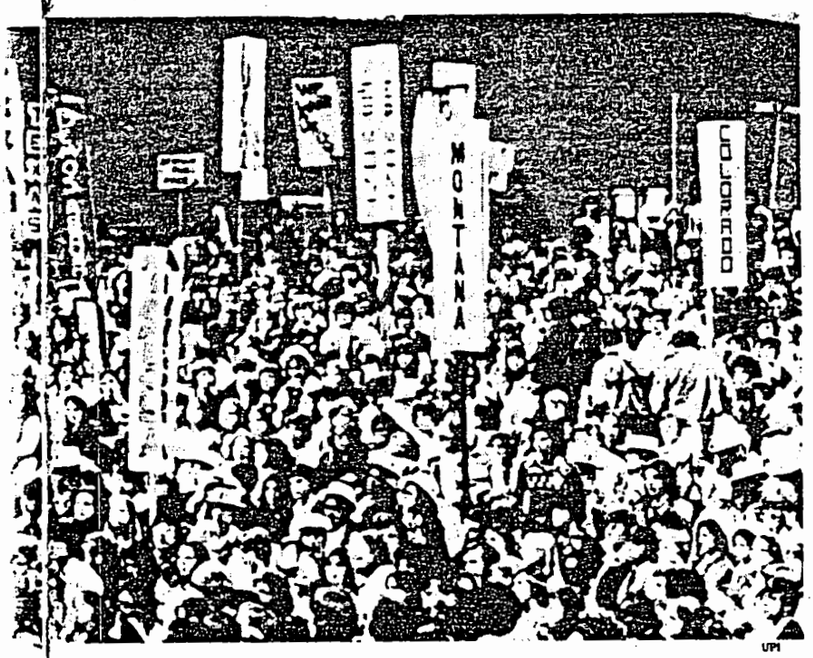
A CASE OF MISGIVINGS

A scheduled meeting this week between Carter and the heads of nine liberal trade unions was abruptly and indefinitely postponed when the labor leaders—all but Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers—broke out in a case of misgivings. Carter's single saving grace for the pros has been his success; his failures, said one, "give the anti-Carter movement a new lease on life."

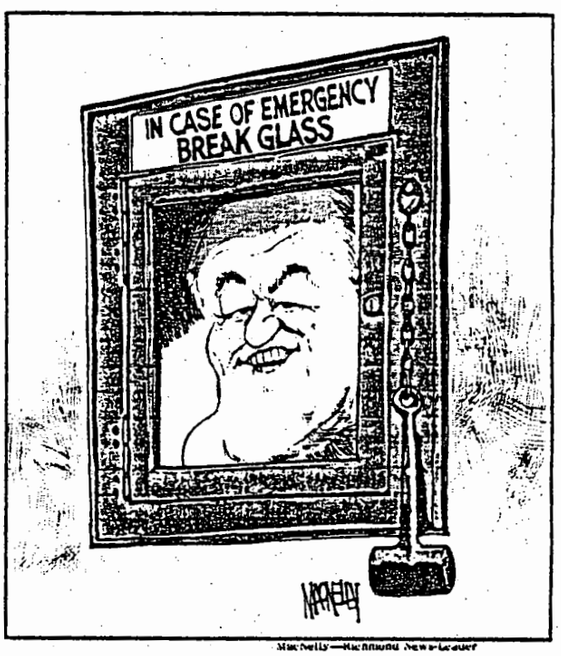
The preferred word in Washington was "non-Carterites," and their preferred candidate—given a certain disbelief in Udall and Church and a strong disaffection for Brown—was Hubert Humphrey. Even before the Michigan-Maryland returns were in, Joseph Crangle, the baron of Buffalo Democratic politics, checked into Washington's tony Hay-Adams Hotel and set to work reconstituting the splinters of the abandoned draft-Humphrey movement. Crangle had been appalled at version one—at the amateurishness of some of its Minnesota-based operators; at his own inability to persuade them that Humphrey had to get into the late primaries, and most of all at Humphrey's stagy press conference removing himself from active combat. The senator, to his chagrin, had been taken at his word, and delegates favorable to him had begun slipping away before the day was out.

This time, Crangle wanted pros with lines to every element in the party, and for a preliminary planning session, he assembled four of Washington's best—Robert Keefe, who ran Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson's imploded campaign; Jack Quinn, Udall's former manager; Mark Shields, a seasoned political consultant sitting out 1976, and Alan Baron, a staffer to Sen. George McGovern. None but Crangle himself was a committed Humphrey man. All agreed that Carter was within a hairbreadth of the nomination. But over coffee and Danish pastries in Crangle's fifth-floor suite, they counseled together toward what one participant called "an insurance policy against the extremely small odds that Carter doesn't make it."

That policy, they agreed, ought to be a



Oregon: 'I see the possibility . . . Anything can happen to anybody'



Humphrey in waiting: The word was hang loose

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THE HOME STRETCH



Despite recent stumbles, Carter's arithmetic of convention delegates still looks strong. A status report on the Democratic race, including delegates already won and projections reported by NEWSWEEK correspondents across the country (the table excludes this week's six primaries):

State	Delegate Votes	CARTER	UDALL	BROWN	CHURCH	WALLACE	Uncommitted	Others	
ALABAMA	35	3			27		5		Runoff election in eight districts will add to Wallace's total. Delegates not legally bound.
ALASKA	10		1/2	1/2		5	4		Uncommitteds could swing any way. No enthusiasm for Carter.
ARIZONA	25	5	19		1				Home state strong for Udall. If he drops out, could split between Brown and Church.
ARKANSAS	26								Primary, May 25. Carter in the lead. Wallace has canceled all appearances.
CALIFORNIA	280	100		180					Primary, June 8. Brown holds a commanding lead, but Carter may narrow gap.
COLORADO	35	7	18	4	5			1	District caucuses began last Saturday. Udall leads Church and Brown in liberal state.
CONNECTICUT	51	18	16			13	4		Delegates to be chosen June 12, apportioned according to results of May primary.
DELAWARE	12	10					2		State convention June 11 will select delegates. Carter helped by Senator Biden.
FLORIDA	81	34			26		21		Carter support solid though Governor Askew, a Carter foe, pledged to Jackson.
GEORGIA	50	50							A big winner in his home state, Carter handpicked each delegate.
HAWAII	17		1			15	1		State convention, May 28-30. Humphrey popular among uncommitteds.
IDAHO	16								Primary, May 25. Church heavily favored in home state.
ILLINOIS	169	59			3	15	92		Most delegates formally pledged to Senator Stevenson are controlled by Mayor Daley.
INDIANA	75	48			9	18			Carter backed by Senator Bayh, could get support of uncommitted delegates.
IOWA	47	20	12			9	6		Both Carter and Udall are actively courting uncommitteds.
KANSAS	34	17	2			14	1		Seven at-large delegates to be chosen in June 5 state convention.
KENTUCKY	46								Primary, May 25. No sign of stop-Carter movement in this moderate state.
LOUISIANA	41	13			9	19			Governor Edwards controls nineteen delegates who will remain uncommitted for now.
MAINE	20	9	5			6			Carter support soft. Delegates bound for first two ballots at convention.
MARYLAND	53	31	5			9	8		Brown won the primary, but was too late for delegates. May get uncommitteds.
MASSACHUSETTS	104	16	21		21	7	39		Delegate selection to be based on March primary. Winner Jackson has at least 30.
MICHIGAN	133	69	58		2	4			Under complex formula, party could swing a few additional delegates to Carter.
MINNESOTA	65					17	48		HHH, who has 48 delegates, may get up to sixteen more still to be chosen June 4-6.
MISSISSIPPI	24	7			11	3	3		Delegates bound for two ballots. Some Wallace votes then could go to Carter.
MISSOURI	71	50				21			Senator Eagleton working to swing uncommitteds behind Carter.
MONTANA	17	5		10		2			Primary, June 1. Church heavily favored to win.
NEBRASKA	23	8		15					Surprise victory by Church slowed Carter's bandwagon.
NEVADA	11								Primary, May 25. Brown, who campaigned heavily, favored in next-door state.
NEW HAMPSHIRE	17	15	2						Delegates bound by February primary until released by candidates.
NEW JERSEY	108	54					54		Primary, June 8. Party split between Carter and HHH. Some Brown support.
NEW MEXICO	18	8	6			4			Delegates elected by state convention. After first ballot, Carter votes might go to HHH.
NEW YORK	274	33	73			65	103		Jackson won 103 delegates in primary, but many ready to jump to Carter.
NORTH CAROLINA	61	36			25				Delegates handpicked by candidates, expected to stay beyond first ballot.
NORTH DAKOTA	13					10	3		Until state convention, party leaders officially uncommitted but leaning to HHH.
OHIO	152	107	28			17			Primary, June 8. Carter ahead but Udall will campaign heavily.
OKLAHOMA	37	12				18	7		Governor Boren lobbying for Carter. Uncommitteds so far holding firm.
OREGON	34								Primary, May 25. Brown running as write-in, Church as neighbor against Carter.
PENNSYLVANIA	178	65	24			45	44		Governor Shapp has freed his seventeen delegates, who are playing a waiting game.
RHODE ISLAND	22	7	3		3	9			Primary, June 1. Carter leads. Brown not on the ballot, but hoping for uncommitteds.
SOUTH CAROLINA	31	12			1	8	10		Unless Carter falters, majority of uncommitteds will go to him.
SOUTH DAKOTA	17	7	5				5		Primary, June 1. Little political activity so far. Senator McGovern favors Udall.
TENNESSEE	46								Primary, May 25. Carter in the lead, could pick up Wallace votes.
TEXAS	130	110	3	2	3		8	4	State convention June 19 to choose 32 additional delegates. Carter should get half.
UTAH	18	3	3	2	4		6		Governor Rampton still hopes for a Humphrey draft.
VERMONT	12	3	3	2			4		Brown's surge in Maryland hurt Carter.
VIRGINIA	54	23	7				24		Carter has not picked up as many uncommitteds as he had hoped.
WASHINGTON	53		1				18	34	Jackson should control majority of delegates.
WEST VIRGINIA	33						2	31	Largest bloc of delegates belongs to Senator Byrd, native son and Humphrey supporter.
WISCONSIN	68	25	25		10			8	Carter could pick up some Wallace delegates.
WYOMING	10	1	1	1			7		Uncommitteds favor Humphrey, but could accept Brown as second choice.
D.C.	17	8	5				4		Protests over ballot design may alter delegate count, reduce Carter's total.
PUERTO RICO	22						3	19	Due to caucus violence, Carter to challenge entire delegate slate at convention.
U.S. TERRITORIES*	9		1/2		3		3	2 1/2	Jackson popular with some uncommitteds. Church gets Panama.
	TOTALS	1108	347	191 1/2	44	152	439	544 1/2	Needed to nominate: 1,505

Guam, Canal Zone and Virgin Islands.

competent operation to gather intelligence on the race, keep in touch with delegates around the country and demonstrate to the 400-odd now officially uncommitted that there really was a reason to stay loose. Kennedy's name came up, though only fleetingly. Quinn for one liked the idea—he feared that a stopped Carter might well drag Humphrey down with him for revenge—and Shields and Baron agreed that Kennedy would accept a draft. But the consensus was that Humphrey was both credible and readily available, and the others—though stopping short of enlisting in any stop-Carter or start-Humphrey combine—told Crangle they would do what they could to help.

Crangle and Illinois's Rep. Paul Simon went ahead organizing their new draft committee, and were vastly cheered by that night's primary returns; the notion of a Brown landslide in Maryland and a Udall near-miss in Michigan had occurred to Crangle's braintrusters only, in one man's words, as "the most remote possibility we discussed." The scent of blood was thus palpable by the time Simon and Crangle went public two days later with their "unauthorized" and still largely improvisational hold-for-Hubert operation. "At this point, there's just the two of us," said Simon. But smiling from the wings was the necessary third, Hubert Humphrey, affecting a benign boys-will-be-boys distance from his new front—and booking himself into a candidate-size travel schedule.

'A NEW GENERATION'

But Humphrey's faded hopes depend on the success or failure of an assortment of reluctant surrogates—the latest and least probable among them Jerry Brown. The trig, taut young governor had jumped into Maryland late in the game, a reformer in odd bedfellowship with Gov. Marvin Mandel and his old-style Democratic machine. Brown, with only three weeks' campaigning time, borrowed freely from their organizational gifts; they papered his rallies, emptied row-houses and old-folks' homes to swell his crowds, put together a pyramid club of 10,000 volunteers, and activated an army of precinct captains to turn out the vote. But Brown's victory was manifestly his own. He pulled turnaway crowds everywhere, and set them clapping, cheering, clutching, stamping and jumping with his summons to "a new generation of leadership"—and his trust-me offer to lead it.

Brown's formal credentials were at least as slight as Carter's and his specificity was even slighter. "I have no goals," he acknowledged readily. "They will evolve as I go along." But he proved a masterly and magnetic campaigner, denouncing Carter as a "consumer fraud" and counterpoising his fresh face to Carter's suddenly old one. He outstayed Carter, thirteen days to five, and outspent him, $275,000 to $175,000. And in the end, he outpolled him, converting a 17-point starting deficit in April to a 12-point lead on election day. Carter carried only the black precincts and the Dixified Eastern Shore. Brown took everything else, running well in the Baltimore delivery wards—and better still in the Washington suburbs and the Jewish neighborhoods where his machine support counted for little.

Brown proclaimed his victory a "mandate" and flew West to build on it, beginning with his long-shot write-in this week in Oregon and winding up with a presumably triumphal homecoming to California next month. "I see the possibility of the nomination," he told NEWSWEEK. ". . . Anything can happen to anybody." But the pros doubted that it would happen to Jerry Brown. (His Maryland victory could net him eight uncommitted and Jackson delegates, to Carter's 31.) His standing in the party is even lower than Carter's, for roughly the same set of complaints—his ambition, his wintry cool, his standoffishness from the Democratic crowd. His chances are rated low by some of his own backers; one calculated that Maryland improved his odds only from 20-to-1 to 10-to-1, and that his real role lay in helping to open up the convention to someone other than Carter—or himself.

'A SMILE IS NOT ENOUGH'

Udall was counted only slightly more serious a prospect, despite what one aide called "the most significant in our strong list of seconds" in Michigan. His showing there was indeed impressive, given his own low recognition and lower cash reserves and Carter's backing among the

KENNEDY ON THE CAMPAIGN

Fresh talk that he might accept a draft for the Democratic Presidential nomination has thrust Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts into campaign calculations once again. Over the past two weeks, NEWSWEEK *correspondents have questioned him about his plans. Excerpts from Kennedy's replies:*

ON HIS POLITICAL INTENTIONS

My position is unchanged on [not seeking a nomination on the national ticket] and I'm realistic about the fact that there is some speculation as a result of some of the recent results in the primaries. I think generally that such speculation is a disservice to the candidates who have been campaigning and are seriously pursuing the nomination. But other than saying that [my] position is unchanged, I don't feel a responsibility to get into long, detailed comments every time there is a speculative story . . . I wouldn't accept a Presidential or a Vice Presidential draft.

ON HIS FAMILY

I still think that [my family] is the most compelling responsibility on my part, and it continues to be so.

ON JIMMY CARTER

I met him at a Law Day ceremony a few years ago, but I don't know him well. I think Mr. Carter has made an impressive showing, but his position as the front runner shouldn't discourage other candidates from making their case on both domestic issues and foreign policy.

ON HIS PARTY'S CANDIDATES

I could feel comfortable in supporting any of those [now seeking] the party's Presidential nomination. The extent of my interest or participation or enthusiasm would obviously depend to a direct extent on the degree of time and effort and commitment that they have in those areas which are most interesting to me.

ON HIS ROLE IN THE PARTY

I expect to have some input on the platform, particularly in the areas of my main interest—health care, tax reform, foreign policy, economics. And of course I expect to be a candidate in my own state and I'm ready to play a role if I'm needed.



Ira Wyman

Kennedy musing: 'My position is unchanged'

state's political, business and labor power elites. Udall's own polling placed him 52-to-19 behind at the outset. But the winnowing of the field consolidated the liberal vote behind him at last, and Udall turned it out with his sharpest attack yet on Carter—an assault keynoted by TV cartoons of the Carter grin and the accompanying message that "a smile is not enough." Carter was further hurt by the desertion of large members of Wallace voters to the Republican primary. He sat up election night in Detroit's Cadillac Hotel watching his lead dissipate to a shadow-thin 43.5 to 43.2—a "victory" that some pros considered costlier than his defeat in Maryland.

Udall was vastly heartened at the discovery that there still is a liberal Democratic vote; he hoped to parlay it into 450 to 500 convention delegates—yet another second-place showing strong enough to put him in fortune's way should Carter be stopped. But his strategy rested on what he called a series of "shared assumptions" held by him and the rest of the contenders—among them the notion that each can win a given state against Carter if the others stay out. The luck of the draw dealt him Ohio, where Carter is well organized, and the single-shot strategy dictated that running No. 2—however handsomely—would no longer be enough to sustain his or anybody else's dreams. "Udall needs a first badly," said one party strategist. "He's had more seconds than Rocky Marciano."

Still, Udall, Brown and Church in tacit combination had revealed and exploited some of the weaknesses in Carter's up-front position. They scored heavily on his reputation for equivocating on the issues; his ratings for consistency and integrity came up negative in primary-day polls in Michigan. They wore down his storied sangfroid, bringing him out snapping—accurately but uncoolly—that the others were ganging up on him. Worst of all, they succeeded in dimming his winning luster after a record run of 16 primary victories.

UNMAKING AN AURA

Carter's share of the vote this spring has tended to cluster between 34 and 48 per cent and has reached a majority only three times. The record quickened the hopes of the regulars that a 40 per cent candidacy would no longer do—not in the new one-on-one game—and that Carter's passage through the remaining primaries would unmake his aura of inevitability.

The thought occurred to Carter's people, convened for a midnight strategy session in his 25th-floor Presidential Suite in Detroit, and moved them to some anxious midcourse corrections. They laid on three extra days' campaigning in Oregon, where a second defeat to Brown or Church or both could be psychologically ruinous. They targeted New Jersey and Ohio for the last day, in effect ceding California to "native son"



Udall in Michigan, Church in Oregon: The game was one-on-one against Carter

UPI photos



Brown. They went to work on the fuzziness problem; Carter took to salting his speeches with the word "issue" and opening his press conferences with policy statements on questions as recondite as nuclear proliferation. But mostly they concluded that they had no choice now but to keep doing what they had been—the grinding quest for delegates enough to put Carter out of reach of his antagonists. "If we don't win delegates, they'll find *somebody*," said press secretary Powell. "It doesn't have to be Brown, Church or Udall. If they have to, they'll find an old yeller dog."

THE TOTAL COUNT

To collect these delegates, Carter has begun courting some of his fallen rivals—Scoop Jackson, for one, put him off—and some strategically based Vice Presidential possibles, among them Illinois's Sen. Adlai Stevenson III and New Jersey's Rep. Peter W. Rodino. He felt sure of sweeping Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas this week, and doing well next week in Rhode Island—a bag that would run his own delegate count over the 1,000 he had set as his goal for the entire primary season. He figures, not implausibly, on siphoning off perhaps 100 of California's 280 delegates even in defeat. He is the early favorite to beat Udall in Ohio and to run no worse than even with a New Jersey organization slate, formally uncommitted but flirting with Brown and hungering for Humphrey. Carter hopes for 200 delegates of 260 at stake in the two states. NEWSWEEK's projections give him a strong shot at racking up 161—and a total of more than 1,200 coming out of the primary season.

There was a powerful air of rescue fantasy about the regular party's dreams of stopping a man who has come that close—and who still has such eminently negotiable properties as the Vice Presidential nomination to trade away to a Udall, say, or a Stevenson. "There are ways to pick up 100, 200, 300 delegates," front runner Carter himself said comfortably, "if you have to have them to get the nomination."

The prospect for checkmating him so late in the game was accordingly a distant one; a Washington Democrat loosely engaged in the effort rated its chances of success at no better than 15 per cent, even after Michigan, Maryland and the revivification of Hubert Humphrey. The more likely outcome was that the opposition would scar him in the remaining primaries and bloody his path to New York's Madison Square Garden thereafter. The Catch-22 for Jimmy Carter may thus turn out to be the antipathy of his own Democratic brethren—a distaste so deep that they could spoil the nomination for him even as they award it to him.

—PETER GOLDMAN with JAMES DOYLE and HAL BRUNO in Washington, ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign, TONY FULLER with Udall and STEPHAN LESHER with Brown

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ex

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.
5/22 THRU 5/24



United Press International

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey struck a fighting pose as he visited the site of an arm-wrestling tournament in Minneapolis yesterday. One of his supporters was a contestant.

45A

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News Summary and Index

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

After they exploded grenades on the plane setting it afire, three of the six hijackers who seized the Philippines Air Lines jet Friday were killed yesterday with 10 of their 86 hostages when a gun battle broke out between the hijackers and troops in Zamboanga, 530 miles south of Manila, where the plane's captors had forced it to land. Twenty-two other passengers were wounded, and 54 escaped through emergency exits. Seventeen other hostages had previously been released by the hijackers. The three remaining hijackers were captured, but were seriously wounded. They had identified themselves as members of a Moslem separatist movement. [Page 1, Columns 1-4.]

Prominent officials of the leftist opposition in France attacked President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's proposal to send troops to Lebanon, and a national political dispute seemed to be growing. Two Cabinet members are supporting the President—Finance Minister Jean-Pierre Fourcade and Justice Minister Jean Lecanuet, but there has been no comment from the two men who were sent by the President to Lebanon over the past six months to try to mediate in a settlement of the civil war—former Prime Minister Maurice Couve de Murville, and Georges Gorse, a Middle East expert. [1:1.]

National

Jimmy Carter's poor showing in the Michigan and Maryland primaries last week cost him support over the weekend when delegates to the Democratic National Convention were selected in four states. His biggest disappointment was in Virginia, which gave him only 23 delegates instead of the expected 35 out of 54. But he got more delegates from the series of state and district conventions than any other candidate, adding 27 and making a total of 740, about three times as many as his nearest rival, Representative Morris K. Udall, who gained 17 delegates. President Ford was the victor in the four states that held Republican conventions, getting 55 delegates compared with 14 committed to Ronald Reagan. In addition, 88 members of the Pennsylvania's 103-member delegation, voting in Harrisburg, committed themselves to Mr. Ford. [1:8.]

A Government-appointed panel of lawyers and scientists sharply criticized Dr. Alexander M. Schmidt, the Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration, for "serious deficiencies" in a report he made after investigating charges of mismanagement within the agency. The panel said in a report that important accusations were left unresolved by Dr. Schmidt, that his broad conclusions favorable to the agency were unsupported by the evidence and that fundamental questions were virtually ignored. [1:5.]

Metropolitan

In June 1974, two secret police agents began negotiations to buy a Bronx discothèque, which they planned to use as a base for spying on the Mafia. But, instead of being solely an undercover mission against organized crime, that investigation put law-enforcement officials on the trail of possible major corruption scandals in the courts and the State Liquor Authority and to allegations that judgeships were sold in the Bronx. The second article on the ramifications of the initial investigation appears today. [1:6-7.]

Carmine G. De Sapio, the former leader of Tammany Hall who has been indicted on charges of jerjury, is expected to surrender at the offices of the special state prosecutor, Maurice H. Nadjari, this morning and to be formally charged. He will also make a statement, his lawyer said. Politicians offered conflicting assessments of the extent of Mr. De Sapio's present influence in the state Democratic Party, which he once ran. [1:6-7.]

The Transit Authority charged that the New York City's Bureau of Franchises repeatedly awarded the best bus routes to private bus companies, and it called on Mayor Beame to investigate. The senior executive officer of the tax-supported authority accused Morris Tarshis, the franchise bureau's director, of a discriminatory policy against the authority's applications. [1:5-7.]

Karen Anne Quinlan, who has been in a coma for 13 months, reportedly has been breathing without the aid of a mechanical respirator for more than four days at the New Jersey hospital that has been caring for her and has been moved from the intensive-care unit to a private room. Her physicians were said to have been "weaning" Miss Quinlan from the respirator for longer and longer periods for the last three weeks. However, she is still described as in a "chronic vegetative state." [1:6-8.]

The Other News

International

Soviet military still subordinate to party. Page 3
U.S. tests view on French role in Lebanon. Page 4
Egypt accuses Syria of Lebanon plot. Page 6
Divorce wins growing acceptance in India. Page 8
Giscard says he'll keep post if leftists win vote. Page 9
Reporter's notebook: Giscard aims to please. Page 10
Big civilian death toll in Eritrea feaerd. Page 15

Government and Politics

Reagan takes campaign across Oregon. Page 18
Ford urges recovery of moral quality. Page 19
New Democratic Coalition backs Reu. Abzug. Page 20
Rockefeller hailed at party dinner in Queens. Page 21
Brown seeks funds at Playboy esteate. Page 22
Brown supporters press write-in campaign. Page 22
Udall takes 'calculated risk' in South. Page 23
Hays defers trip in wake of woman's charge. Page 53

General

Trial of San Quentin 6 now in its 14th month. Page 17
Black woman believed choice for job agency. Page 32
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 33
Sutter's pastry shop closes in Greenwich Village. Page 33
New York City plans to press Arol case. Page 33
Work begins next month on Hudson bridge. Page 33
Medicare withdrawal follows hospital violations. Page 33

Industry and Labor

Municipal hospitals plan union talks today. Page 31
U.S. seeks changes in DC-10 engines. Page 32

Health and Science

Many hypertension cases still untreated. Page 17
Study finds Medicare patients are overpaying. Page 54

Religion

Synagogue Council marks 2 anniversaries. Page 25

"All the News at's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Sunny, mild tonight. Partly sunny Temperature range: Sunday 44-72. Details

CXXV....No. 43,220 — NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 24, 1976 — M 20

CARTER SETBACKS IN PRIMARIES SLOW DELEGATE QUEST

Support in the Voting in 4 States Over Weekend Is Less Than Expected

TOTAL IS STILL HIGHEST

Ford Regains Lead, Getting 576 Delegates in All to 535 for Reagan

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Jimmy Carter's poor showings in the Michigan and Maryland primaries last week cost him support over the weekend as delegates to the Democratic National Convention were selected in four states.

The former Georgia Governor emerged from a series of state and district conventions with more delegates than any other candidate, adding 27 for a total of 740, about three times as many as his nearest rival, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who gained 17 on Saturday.

But Mr. Carter did less well than predicted.

President Ford dominated the action in the four states that held Republican conventions, picking up 55 delegates to 14 for his challenger, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California. And 88 members of Pennsylvania's 103-member delegation, voting at a meeting in Harrisburg, committed themselves to the President.

Ford Back In Lead

That put Mr. Ford back into the national lead, 576 delegates to 535, for the first time since the Texas primary on May 1, and he is expected to pick up more than 100 additional delegates today when New York's Republican delegation caucuses in Albany.

That meeting is viewed by a number of state Republicans as a test of Vice President Rockefeller's control over the New York party. He and Richard M. Rosenbaum, the state chairman who is Mr. Rockefeller's close ally, are key figures in the attempt to put the delegation behind Mr. Ford. [Page 21].

For Mr. Carter, the most disappointing development came at the district conventions in Virginia. Joseph T. Fitzpatrick, the state Democratic chairman, and Andrew P. Miller, the Attorney General, had organized an uncommitted movement at mass meetings on April 3, the first step in the delegate selection process, but later endorsed Mr. Carter and had hoped to deliver at least 35 of Virginia's 54 delegates to the Georgian.

Only 23 for Carter

Instead, they produced only 23 Carter delegates. Mr. Udall won 7, mostly from the Washington suburbs, and 24 were uncommitted.

According to Mr. Fitzpatrick, however, 10 of the 24 uncommitted delegates, including himself, are actually Carter supporters who were forced to seek election on a technically uncommitted basis because of local intraparty squabbles. He said Mr. Carter was assured of at least 33 Virginia votes on the first convention ballot.

Most of the other uncommitted members of the delegation support Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, with one or two for Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

Mr. Fitzpatrick conceded that Mr. Carter's loss to Mr. Brown in Maryland and his

Continued on Page 19, Column 5

Carter Setbacks in Primaries Slow His Delegate Hunt

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

narrow victory over Mr. Udall in Michigan had "dampened" the move toward Mr. Carter.

"We had a lot of people between third base and home," he said, "but some of them scampered back to third when they saw the results from those states on television."

In Washington, 40 delegates were chosen at district conventions, 24 of them committed to Senator Henry M. Jackson, who represents that state, even though he has abandoned active campaigning for the nomination. Mr. Udall won five delegates and 11 were uncommitted. Of the uncommitteds, Mr. Carter is believed to have the backing of about four.

Washington will choose 13 more delgates on June 13. They will be elected by the district delegates.

At the Vermont state convention, Mr. Carter won three votes, Mr. Udall three and Mr. Brown two. Four are uncommitted and considered favorable to Senator Humphrey. Mr. Carter won the state's primary on March 2 by a wide margin, but it had no bearing on the delegate selection.

In Colorado, at a district convention in Denver, the first seven members of a 35-member delegation were selected. Two support Mr. Udall, one Mr. Carter, one Mr. Brown, and one Senator Frank Church of Idaho. Two are uncommitted. Other delegates will be selected later this month.

Mr. Ford won 17 of the 18 delegates picked at the Vermont Republican convention, and the 18th, State Senator Walter Kennedy, said that he supported the President even though he was officially listed as uncommitted.

In Virginia, Mr. Reagan added 11 delegates and Mr. Ford three, with on uncommitted, as district conventions continued. Of the 24 delegates chosen, out of an eventual total of 51, Mr. Reagan has 16 and Mr. Ford five, with three uncommitted. The Californian has dominated nearly every Southern test so far.

But the President trounced Mr. Reagan in Alaska, winning 17 delegates to his rival's 2, and in Kansas, he gained 17 to his rival's 1, with one uncommitted. The Kansas delegation, now complete, includes 28 Ford supporters, 4 Reaganites and 2 uncommitted delegates.

The vote in Pennsylvania was not legally binding, but it was an important psychological success for the President on the eve of Tuesday's six primaries, in five of which he appears to be trailing Mr. Reagan. Only nine members of the Pennsylvania delegation voted against Mr. Ford (they are overt Reagan backers) and five abstained. One delegate was absent.

Favor Brown for No. 2

WASHINGTON, May 23 (AP) —Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is the top choice for the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ticket among the first batch of delegates selected for the party's convention, an Associated Press survey shows.

Most of Mr. Brown's support for a Vice-Presidential bid comes from delegates pledged to Jimmy Carter, whom Mr. Brown defeated in his first primary effort last week in Maryland.

ONE MILLION KIDS
THE FRESH AIR FUND

D

Brown, Dependent on Oregon Write-ins, Presses Massive Voter-Education Drive

22.

Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 23—"My big job," said Walter McGuire, the 30-year-old manager of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr.'s campaign in Oregon, "is to convince everyone in this state that Jerry's real first name is 'write-in.' "

Mr. Brown, the victor in Maryland last Tuesday, is challenging former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the Democratic front-runner, and Senator Frank Church of neighboring Idaho in this Tuesday's Oregon primary despite the fact that their names are listed on the ballot and his is not.

So Mr. McGuire is running a massive voter-education program, the most intensive campaign of its sort in Presidential politics since Henry Cabot Lodge, then serving as the United States Ambassador to South Vietnam, defeated Nelson A. Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater on write-ins in New Hampshire in 1964.

At the Brown headquarters, they answer the phones, "write-in Brown for President." More than 350,000 handbills explaining the write-in process have already been distributed in Portland alone. More than 175,000 pieces of direct-mail advertising on the same subject have been sent to the homes of Democrats in the state's 20 largest counties, and another mailing is on the way.

Mr. Brown's television commercials conclude with a piece of chalk writing the name "Jerry Brown" on a slate. Full-page advertisements will appear tomorrow in Oregon's 10 largest newspaper, showing a ballot with the name written in. And Brown workers will be at most of the state's 2,400 polling places on Tuesday to offer technical explanations.

At one time, the Brown campaign had hoped to hand a pencil to each voter as he arrived at the polling place, but that was construed as a gift to voters and as such was illegal under the strict election laws of this unusually reform-minded state.

Reluctant Clerks

There are other problems, too. A relatively new law makes it illegal for the campign to provide stickers with the candidate's name printed on them, which would simplify things for Mr. Brown. And some county clerks are showing reluctance to explain the write-in procedure to each voter, as the Brown strategists are pressing them to do.

The ballot themselves pose difficulties. Four different systems are used in the state, including one in which a hole is punched to vote for one of the candidates listed on the ballot but not for write-ins, and another in which the name must be written on the envelope in which the ballot is enclosed, rather than on the ballot.

On some of the ballots, there is only one space for write-ins for all offices, so the voter must not only write Mr. Brown's name, but also must add the word "President" if the vote is to be valid.

The 38-year-old bachelor Governor of California has generated considerable excitement in this often politically quirky state, and he has worked it hard. He arrived here last Wednesday and will have visited nine cities by the time he leaves Oregon late tomorrow.

500 Brown Volunteers

His campaign has drawn more than 500 volunteers, and many of them were at work in the Portland headquarters today. In sharp contrast to the President Ford Committee office down the street, which was closed, the Brown office had the air of youthful intensity that characterized the 1968 campaigns of Eugene J. McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy.

Mixing with the swarms of college students were organizers from the United Farm Workers in California.

A strategy meeting this afternoon in the Global Delicatessen near the office looked like a graduate-school bull session, with the campaign manager presiding in Levi's, turtle neck sweater and work shirt.

Mr. McGuire ha shad to improvise. Arriving here 10 days ago with nothing but a short list of potential supporters, he ran the operation from a motel room with only a single telephone for the first two days. All the campaign literature has been designed and printed in Portland.

No one here doubts that, if Mr. Brown's name were on the ballot, he woul drun strongly. But he will pay a penalty for his reliance on write-ins, a penalty whose size is very difficult to estimate.

Asked for his calculation, Mr. McGuire, who is on leave from his job as chief of staff to Lieut. Gov. Mervyn M. Dymally of California, replied: "Certainly it will cost us something, but I have no idea how big the drop-off will be, absolutely no idea."

In 1968, Mr. Rockefeller won 11 percent of the vote on write-ins in Oregon, but that effort was not nearly as well-organized as Mr. Brown's, which is expected to cost nearly $125,000, with $100,000 of that going for advertising.

Mr. Brown will be unable to capitalize in Oregon on two of the groups among whom he ran strongly in Maryland, blacks and Roman Catholics. Only 2 percent of Oregonians are black, and the state is heavily Protestant.

Futhermore, there are a few tentative signs that, like Mr. Carter, Mr. Brown is beginning to generate some hostility as he becomes better known. Patrick Caddell, Mr. Carter's pollster, said last night that in his Maryland surveys fewer than 10 percent of the respondents rated Mr. Brown negatively—an exceptionally low figure—but that the number had grown substantially here in Oregon.

Udall, Taking a 'Calculated Risk,' Is Stumping for Votes in Carter Country

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

LOUISVILLE, Ky., May 23—For the last three days, Representative Morris K. Udall has been neglecting such delegate-rich states as Ohio and New Jersey to campaign here and in two other Southern states he knows he cannot do well in, making a skimpy, ad hoc effort in pursuit of what even he calls a "calculated risk."

Mr. Udall was in this state all day yesterday, flew home to Washington to fulfill a speaking engagement, and returned here today. On Friday, he divided his day between Little Rock, Ark., and Nashville—the latter in a state, Tennessee, that he had not planned to campaign in until Thursday.

His self-styled calculated risk is based on the premise that underlies all his plans for campaigning right through to the end of the primary season on June 8: that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, his momentum slowed now, will not be able to win a first-ballot nomination at the national convention in July.

'A National Campaign'

"When that day comes," Mr. Udall said Friday in explaining his strategy, "I want to be able to say that I ran a national campaign, that I have gone into half the states, that I have campaigned in the South and in the border states."

He has said repeatedly that he believes a deadlocked or even indecisive convention will turn to someone like himself, someone who has "a broad level of acceptability," a man who "will be their with 400 delegates and has entered primaries all over this country."

Mr. Udall discounted reports that Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts might agree to run, saying: "I talked to him two days ago and I didn't see any change in his position."

Mr. Udall also discounted Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, without denying that the Minnesota Democrat has "broad support and is widely beloved." He said Mr. Humphrey "drastically cut his chances" of being drafted for the nomination by "pulling out of the New Jersey contest."

Corralling Delegates

"My strategy is to grab, steal, borrow, beg, carry away every single delegate I can get between now and the 12th of July to be in a strong bargaining position, Mr. Udall said.

In Little Rock, where he was endorsed by William Becker, president of the state American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Mr. Udall said: "If we get a single delegate, if we do better than George Wallace, we will have exceeded the polls."

Mr. Udall, who has been endorsed by The Arkansas Gazette, also has the friendship and personal support of Gov. David Pryor of Arkansas. Mr. Pryor, embroiled in a primary fight of his own, has not taken an official stand on any of the candidates.

In Tennessee, Mr. Udall appeared at a dinner forum sponsored by The Nashville Tennessean, at which both he and President Ford's Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, were on the platform. It was the opportunity to give a short speech and answer questions from the audience at this event that was largely responsible for his last-minute decision to go into Tennessee, Mr. Udall said.

'Old Second-Place Mo'

The Arizona Democrat, obviously heartened by his close race with Mr. Carter in Michigan last week, now refers to himself jokingly as "Old Second-Place Mo," and tells audiences that being second has an honorable history. "Even George Washington married a widow," he says.

Mr. Udall was also relieved and encouraged by the release Friday of $312,000 in Federal matching funds. Almost all of this will go to meet the campaign's debt, but it will make further credit—and therefore campaigning—possible. He expects $127,000 more in matching money soon.

Even so, he is still campaigning on a budget. In Kentucky yesterday, a day of gentle breezes and a brilliant sunshine, Mr. Udall spent practically all day sitting in groves of plastic greenery, artificially lit and air-conditioned. As he did in Michigan, he is exploiting the potential of free television and radio time with interview after interview, using even the last few minutes at the Louisville airport for telephone radio interviews.

COUNTRY FUN FOR KIDS
GIVE FRESH AIR FUND

F

Gains Make Brown 3rd Choice Of Democrats in Gallup Survey

22

Recent gains by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California have made him the third choice among Democratic voters for the Presidential nomination, according to the latest Gallup Poll.

Jimmy Carter, the fomer Governor of Georgia, remains the first choice among Democrats for the nomination although support for him has leveled off to 35 percent of the voters surveyed, from a high of 39 percent earlier this month. The second choice is Senator Hubert H. Humphrey with 32 percent, despite his announcement that he did not plan to enter any Presidential primaries.
surveyedJcmfw mfw mf mfw

Mr. Brown, is now the choice of 14 percent of the Democrats surveyed. He was the choice of 6 percent earlier this month. However, the survey showed that if a showdown race were held new, Mr. Carter would receive 57 percent of the vote to Mr. Brown's 35 percent, with 8 percent undecided.

However, the poll showed that Senator Humphrey would beat Mr. Carter in a showdown, receiving 49 percent of the vote to Mr. Carter's 45 percent, with 6 percent undecided.

The following question was asked of Democrats nationwide:

"Suppose the choice for President in the Democratic convention this year narrows down to Jimmy Carter and Hubert Humphrey (Jimmy Carter and Edmund Brown). Which one would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?"

The results are based on the responses of 462 Democrats out of a total sample of 1,066 adults, aged 18 and older, and interviewed during the period May 21-23.

Barge Tips; 1 Dead, 3 Lost

NEW ORLEANS, May 23 (AP)—A barge capsized near the mouth of the Mississippi River early today, killing one man and leaving three persons missing. The Coast Guard said another crew member was rescued after being trapped in an air pocket for seven hours.

ONE MILLION KIDS
THE FRESH AIR FUND

Democratic Alternative

Political parties have habitually in the past put together their platforms in the week leading up to the national convention, hearing witnesses and haggling over language, while half-distracted by the fight for the Presidential nomination.

Of late, the parties have tried to make this process more rational by starting it earlier. This year the Democratic National Committee has for several weeks been holding regional hearings to receive platform testimony. The objective is to have a draft of the party program written and sent to delegates for their consideration before the convention opens on July 12 in Madison Square Garden.

At the final hearings in Washington last week, Representative Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., the House majority leader, presented to the platform committee a comprehensive legislative program on behalf of his fellow Democrats in the House of Representatives. With a little editing, it could readily serve as the Democrats' platform on domestic issues.

It is highly unlikely that either the party platform committee or a new President would accept the House leadership proposals in their entirety but, representing as they do the consensus of what Democratic members of each House legislative committee think can feasibly be enacted in their respective jurisdiction, these recommendations provide a realistic and informed basis for action.

* * *

The House Democrats assign highest importance to policies of economic stimulus, including a million public-service jobs and a possible further income tax cut to achieve a reduction of unemployment to 3 percent by 1981. Among their other major proposals are tax reform, a welfare system with uniform national standards, a comprehensive national health insurance plan, renewed emphasis on housing construction and rehabilitation of existing houses, energy conservation, more financial aid for higher education, and a balanced transportation system with a larger share for railroads and urban mass transit.

Three appendices attached to the basic, 124-page document set forth an indictment of the "incompetent, corrupt and wasteful" record of the Nixon and Ford Administrations and provide a detailed review of the vetoes and impoundments of the last eight years. There have been no fewer than 86 vetoes of Democratic measures. That review of the antagonism between Republican Presidents and the Democratic Congress sustains the intellectual motif of this document: the country is weary of conflict and stalemate. Repeatedly, the authors use the phrase "in the spirit of consensus, not veto confrontation."

Regardless of the identity of the Democratic Presidential nominee, he is likely to agree with the objectives and many of the specific proposals of his party in the House of Representatives. Congress is a far distance from accepting the strict party discipline and accountability of British parliamentary government, but the members of the majority party in the House have made clear the Democratic alternative in this election year.

G

Moths at a Dark Bulb

By Joseph Heller

Weintraub was slipped into the room at the last moment and found a place in the corner. He had read about White House press briefings, of course, but had never been near one. The man in charge began with confidence.

"I have an announcement to make. This President, as you know, is now committed to a policy of total truth. In keeping with this policy of total honesty, I have to announce that I have no announcement to make. There is no news. Nothing's happened since yesterday that's worth talking about."

"Is that true just of Washington? Or does it apply to the rest of the country?"

"Just Washington. We don't care about the rest of the country."

"You don't care about the rest of the country?"

"That is correct. Have you any questions?"

"Your announcement leaves me somewhat at a loss," said a senior correspondent down front, "so let me go back a little. Some time ago, the former head of the C.I.A. appeared to have lied under oath to a Congressional committee. Yet, he still has not been indicted or prosecuted for perjury. Can you comment on that?"

"No. This Administration does not feel it appropriate to comment on matters that are under investigation."

"Are you saying," asked a voice at the side, "that he *is* under investigation?"

"I didn't say that."

"But isn't that the implication of what you did say?"

"I don't know."

A collective gasp filled the air, followed by a flurry of excitement. These words, it appeared, had never been uttered publicly by anyone in an official position.

"What was that?" one voice rose sharply above the rest.

"I don't know."

"You don't know?"

"I really don't know."

"Skip, would you mind repeating that one again for the mike. I want to be absolutely sure I have it on tape."

"Certainly. I don't know."

"Thank you, Skip. That was swell."

"Is that reply for attribution? Are you willing to let yourself be quoted on that?"

"I don't know."

"You mean you don't know if you're willing to let yourself be quoted saying you don't know?"

"That is correct."

"Can we quote you on *that* one?"

"I don't know. May we move on?"

"You remember Henry Kissinger, don't you? What was your opinion of him?"

"Second rate."

"That was his opinion of Richard Nixon, wasn't it?"

"Make that third rate."

"That's something that's always puzzled me, Skip. If Richard Nixon was second rate, what in the world is third rate?"

"Henry Kissinger."

"You rate Henry Kissinger *below* Richard Nixon?"

"Just in brains and wit. In character and credibility they're the same."

"Skip, going back to that subject of lying under oath. You remember that a former Attorney General of the United States was accused of lying under oath during his confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Now, this is perjury. Yet, he was allowed to plead guilty to just a misdemeanor and to continue practicing law. Can you tell us why he was given such lenient treatment that normally is denied to other criminals?"

"I don't know."

"It's a little fishy, though, isn't it?"

"It's fishy as hell."

"That's not for attribution, is it?"

"Of course not. Who's next?"

"Now that so much time has passed, can you tell us the real reason Gerald Ford, when he was President, found it necessary to pardon Nixon for counterfeiting coins in the White House?"

"Did Nixon counterfeit coins?"

"I don't know. But wasn't that the effect of Ford's action when he pardoned Nixon for all crimes committed while he was President?"

"I don't know."

"This Administration has decided to fight inflation by raising prices to lower demand and reduce prices to a level that will increase demand and bring back the high prices we have now with inflation. Isn't that pretty much all your present economic policy amounts to?"

"I don't know."

"Are you sure you don't know or are you merely guessing?"

"I'm positive I don't know."

"What are you willing to predict will happen to the economy in the short-term period ahead?"

"I don't know."

"You don't know what you would predict?"

"That is correct."

"Is there anyone in the Government that does know?"

"What I would predict?"

"I withdraw the question."

"How about our present alliances in foreign policy? Are any of them based on joint interests rather than coercion or secret bribery? And if not, do they have the stability to be of use in any period of real stress?"

"I really don't know."

"Well, is there anyone in this Administration who does know?"

"What?"

"Anything."

"Would you repeat that question?"

"Anything."

"Is that a question?"

"Is that an answer?"

"I don't know."

"Well, neither do I. I forgot my question."

"I'll withdraw my answer."

"Well, how about the President himself? Doesn't he have any intelligent opinions about what's going to happen in the domestic or foreign-policy areas?"

"I don't know."

"Skip, please, pretty please. Can I have that one again for the television camera? I'd like to zoom in on you just before you answer. Hold your answer until you see us zooming in."

"Sure. I don't know."

"Thanks, Skip. That was peachy."

"Skip, I have to ask you this about the President. Is it that you really don't know or that you don't want to say?"

"I don't know."

"You mean you really don't even know if you don't know or not?"

"That is correct."

"Thank you, Skip. As one of the senior correspondents here, I want to say that this has been one of the most informative and straightforward sessions in my entire experience. You deserve congratulations."

"Oh, I don't know."

© 1976 Joseph Heller

Joseph Heller is author of "Catch-22" and "Something Happened." This "press conference" may appear in the novel on which he is now at work. Or, he says, it may not. On the other hand, it may. But we don't know.

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MINOR SETBACK

Carter Gets Only 24 Va. Delegates

6A

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore.—Virginia Democrats handed Jimmy Carter a minor setback this weekend when he fell short of the number of delegates he was counting on from party caucuses.

Carter delegate hunter Rick Hutcheson said the Democratic presidential frontrunner's claim to more than 900 delegates nationwide still holds up, even though it was based on 40 from Virginia. Carter got 24 pledged delegates.

In Virginia, state party leaders said it showed enthusiasm for Carter has dropped after his loss in the next-door Maryland primary and squeaker victory in Michigan.

But Hutcheson maintained that new switchovers and some uncommitteds in Virginia will push Carter past the 900 mark.

In late Saturday night voting, 10 Viriginia district conventions elected 54 Democratic National Convention delegates. Morris Udall picked up seven, Carter 24 and the remaining 23 were uncommitted to any candidate.

Before the Maryland primary both the leader of the Viriginia uncommitted block —State Atty. Gen. Andy Miller—and state party chairman Joe Fitzpatrick had endorsed Carter. That was a strong factor in prompting the Carter camp to claim "conservatively" that Virginia would sent 40 delegates to the convention pledged to the former Georgia governor.

Miller would swing 26 from those thought to be uncommitted, Carter staffers predicted.

For the last few days Carter has put his delegate count—the basis of his grip on the presidential nomination—at 906. It takes 1,505 to win the nomination.

Hutcheson said Sunday he believes some of those elected as uncommitted in Virginia are leaning to Carter, but that he had not been able to reach anyone to confirm that.

He said the individual delegates who have been won over in the last few days include Aaron Henry, the Mississippi state chairman, pledged to Sargent Shriver.

Carter leads every other presidential candidate by far in the race for delegates, with more than 700 pledged. The other 200 he claims are based on projections from preliminary balloting in caucus states like Virginia, and on individual switchovers.

The former Georgia governor has clung to his tally as the recent waves of campaign efforts by the late-searching candidates washed over him.

Idaho Sen. Frank Church edged Carter in Nebraska two weeks ago. Last Tuesday, California Gov. Jerry Brown tromped him in Maryland, and Udall came from 20 points behind to within a fraction of one point of Carter in Michigan.

Through it all Carter has maintained that his efforts to put together delegates would assure him of the Democratic presidential nomination in July.

But Carter admitted the Maryland primary slowed him down, and staffers did not expect a loss to show up in a caucus state.

In addition to expecting 40 delegates from Virginia, the Carter forces have been counting on another 50 fro Missouri, where Carter su porter Sen. Thomas Eagleto heads the uncommitted delc gation of 71. That state ha not caucused yet.

Carter's projected coun also includes delegate pledged to him since the earl stages of state caucuses i other states. Press secretar Jody Powell said last wee there has been a wavering a the selection process draws t a close.

"We did not elect Carte delegates at the precinct leve who are going to cut and ru on us," he said. "We migh lose one or two, but thos folks are there for the dura tion."

Carter Disputes Brown on Taxes

6A

PORTLAND, Ore. (UPI) — Jimmy Carter said Sunday he disagrees strongly with a statement by California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. that income tax reform is impossible.

"I do not believe the working people of this country are willing to give up on having a fair tax system for a change just because the job will not be easy," said Carter in a prepared statement.

"I believe we can have a tax system that shifts the burden away from low- and middle-income families toward those who are most able to pay," said Carter.

"There is no doubt that every special interest lobbyist in Washington will fight to protect special tax privileges," he said. "I believe that a strong president working with a Ways and Means Committee chairman like Al Ullman — both with the interest of the consumer at heart and both willing to face up to a tough fight — can prevail."

Ullman, an Oregon congressman, is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which writes tax laws.

Carter, who cancelled a weekend trip to his Plains, Ga., home to concentrate on next Tuesday's Oregon primary, served as starter for a Kidney Association benefit auto race and took his 8-year-old daughter Amy to the zoo Sunday. He was scheduled to finish the day answering telephoned questions on a live television show.

The former Georgia governor issued the statement in response to comment by Brown during campaign appearances in Oregon, where he has mounted a write-in challenge in Tuesday's primary.

Brown had said "85 per cent of tax revenues come from the middle class. That's where they come from today, that's where they will come from tomorrow, and that's where they will come from 10 years from now."

Carter told about 400 shoppers in Springfield that if elected he would restore the "fireside chat" of Franklin Roosevelt as a means of maintaining communication with the people.

J

POLITICS AND PEOPLE

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Carter and Congress Might Be Squabbling

The time has come to ask how well a President Jimmy Carter would get along with Congress.

The spirit in which Carter regards legislative opponents was perhaps suggested in an April 1972 speech, when Carter recalled that he sold boiled peanuts as a boy and "I was very quickly able to judge on the streets, even at that early age, who the good people were and who the bad ones were.



Merriner

"The good people were the ones who bought boiled peanuts from me and the bad ones were the ones that didn't. And I don't think I have progressed any further since then in my ability to judge other people."

There are people in Georgia who think Carter would treat Congress just as he treated the General Assembly—abrasively, humorlessly, inflexibly, scornful of those who would not buy his peanuts.

There are others who think this side of Carter has been exaggerated and that since his early days in the governor's office he has learned to flatter and conciliate other political egos.

Carter himself, who seems well on his way to winning the Democratic presidential nomination, often brings up during his campaigning the subject oi congressional relations.

He told some folks in Florida that a president, to get his bills passed, must develop "warm personal relations" with legislators, like the ones he had with some General Assembly members.

That statement astonished Georgia reporters who did not remember Carter and the state legislators spending their time tossing rose petals at each other.

Several lawmakers who worked closely with Carter—not members of the Lester Maddox clique of rabid Carter-haters—were interviewed last week about his legislative relations.

They generally agreed that Carter learned some lessons in the fine art of the care and feeding of other politicians.

Carter took office as a driving businessman and a former Naval officer who was used to barking orders and getting things done. Like the youthful peanut vendor, he tended to take disagreement as an affront to his character.

But Carter learned. "It's like dealing with your wife," one figure of the Carter years said. "You can say, 'Go out and water the grass!' Or you can say, 'I am going to be tied up this evening, can you go out and water the grass?'

I think he has learned that you do have to be careful in handling other elected officials who have their own egos."

Most of the officials—who all asked not to be identified—agreed that Carter's reputed refusal to compromise has been overblown.

"I found him to be slower in initiating compromise than most. He would hold out to the bitter end, but he would compromise," a senator said.

"He made legislators aware of the veto power," recalled another, although "he would not veto a bill just because of (political retribution)."

Of course, Congress is not the Georgia General Assembly, but congressmen could probably expect the same dealings with Carter that state lawmakers had. Carter was never part of the inner circle of the General Assembly, and he certainly was never in the inner circle of Congress.

Nor would Carter's theory of government be likely to change in Washington. He believes in strong executive action and tends to regard the legislative branch as an encumbrance.

Ted For Delegate Winner

BOSTON (AP) — Sen. Edward M. Kennedy says he thinks Jimmy Carter should be the Democratic nominee for president if he is within 150 of the number of votes needed for nomination going into the Democratic National Convention.

"I think someone coming to the convention with 1,350 votes would have demonstrated sufficiently broad appeal to justify the nomination," Kennedy said in an interview published in the Boston Sunday Globe.

"I think if a political party denied such a person the nomination, I'd question how valuable the nomination would be," he said. "I think it would be a real distortion of the expressed will of the working members of the Democratic party."

Carter now has 741 delegates committed or pledged to him. A total of 1,505 votes is required for the nomination.

Meanwhile, Kennedy told Time magazine that he has no intention of seeking the presidency at this time.

"Of course I'd like to be president, but it's just not going to happen in this period of my life," Kennedy said.

MAJORITY OF VOTERS

Minority Veep Acceptable

6A

If next November's election for president is going to be a close one, as all signs now indicate, the selection of the candidates for vice president can take on added importance. And in this unorthodox political year, it is entirely possible that a black, a woman or a person of Spanish or Italian descent may be picked to run.

A recent Harris Survey tested the extent to which voters might object to various types of potential candidates for vice president. The technique was developed in 1960 to test the extent of anti-Catholic feeling against John F. Kennedy as a potential occupant of the White House.

Instead of asking whether people favored or were opposed to a Catholic as president, the survey asked voters if they "strongly objected to, objected only somewhat or objected only a little" to a Catholic as chief executive. If the interviewee did not object, he could volunteer this information.

This polling technique was used because a number of people are ill at ease in expressing what some might feel is a prejudice based on race, sex or ethnic origin.

Here are some of the surprising results obtained in the Harris Survey applying these tests in 1976:

—Only 25 per cent of the public would object to a black candidate running for vice president. A substantial 72 per cent volunteered that they would have "no objection" to a black on the ticket. However, in the South this number shrinks to 59 per cent and in the deep South, to 49 per cent. In political terms, this means a candidate who picks a black running mate would have to write off the five states of the deep South.

For Jimmy Carter, selection of a black would hold the greatest risk, since his primary base in the electorate is in the South. Although he has built a remarkable coalition of black and white Southern backing, a real question is whether he can afford to risk his white Southern support by choosing a black running mate.

On the national level, a black vice presidential candidate would raise the Democratic margin among blacks to the record 1964 level of 95 per cent compared to the Republican's five per cent.

Because blacks are 10 per cent of the electorate, a 90 per cent or greater edge among blacks could put the Democratic ticket nine full percentage points ahead of the GOP ticket in the popular vote before the white vote was counted.

Normally, of course, the Democrats cannot count on more than 70-30 per cent margin nationally among blacks.

If President Ford named Sen. Edward Brooke, R-Mass., as his running mate, the black vote nationally would go from 70-30 per cent Democratic to 60-40 per cent Republican, according to Harris Survey tests. Instead of beginning with a four-percentage-point deficit before the white vote is counted, the GOP could count on a two-point lead. That adds up to a swing of six full percentage points, a major consideration in an election that could go 52-48 per cent either way.

—Naming a woman for vice president would be a little harder to do than nominating a black. Nationwide, 30 per cent would object to a woman running mate, although 69 per cent would have no objection. The same percentage of people object to a woman for vice president in 1976 as opposed a Catholic for president in 1960. Again, the trouble area would be the South, where 41 per cent would object to a woman, and only 56 per cent would not object.

—A Jewish vice-presidential candidate would meet with opposition from 20 per cent of the public, although 76 per cent would not object. Again, in the South, a much larger 33 per cent would object to a Jew on the ticket.

HARRIS POLL

—A Hispanic-American for vice president ends up precisely the same as a Jewish candidate—20 per cent nationwide would object to such a running mate, with a higher 27 per cent in the South and 33 per cent in the deep South. A substantial 76 per cent would not object to such a move.

—No more than 12 per cent oppose a Catholic running for vice president, although in the deep South, the opposition rises to 24 per cent—or double the national average. An Italian Catholic would have 17 per cent nationwide against him and 29 per cent against him in the South. A Polish Catholic would be only marginally more acceptable than an Italian Catholic.

The Harris Survey recently asked a cross section of 1,523 adults: "Would you strongly object, object only somewhat, or object only a little to having (READ LIST) as vice president of the United States for the next four years?"

	Strongly Object	Somewhat Object	Object a Little	Not Object	Not Sure
Woman	14%	8%	8%	69%	1%
Black	13%	6%	6%	72%	3%
Spanish	8%	5%	7%	76%	4%
Jew	9%	5%	6%	76%	4%
Italian	6%	6%	5%	79%	4%
Polish	6%	5%	6%	80%	3%
Catholic	4%	3%	5%	85%	3%

(The "not object" responses were volunteered by the interviewees.)

Given the fact that 30 per cent objected to a Catholic running for president in 1960 and that a Catholic won, the country is far more open for a minority-group vice president in 1976.

Delegates Favor Brown For Number Two Spot

WASHINGTON (AP) — California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. is the top choice for the No. 2 spot on the Democratic ticket among the first batch of delegates selected for the party's convention, an Associated Press survey shows.

Most of Brown's support for a vice presidential bid comes from delegates pledged to Jimmy Carter, whom Brown defeated in Brown's first primary effort last week in Maryland.

The AP survey found little support for Carter as a second choice among uncommitted delegates or delegates pledged to other candidates.

Most of the delegates surveyed refused at this time to name a second choice for the top spot or a choice for vice president.

Of those who did give a second choice, Sen. Hubert Humphrey is the choice of about 40 per cent, six times the number who would pick Carter.

Humphrey's support as a second choice came about evenly from Carter delegates, Jackson delegates and Illinois delegates formally committed to Sen. Adlai Stevenson III as a favorite son.

K

Udall Says He'd Be the Second-Ballot Choice

LOUISVILLE, Ky. (AP)— U. S. Rep. Morris Udall said Sunday he might not "appeal to everybody on the first ballot," but predicted it will take more than one ballot for the Democrats to choose a presidential candidate and he would be the second-ballot choice.

Udall acknowledged that former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter is the leader in delegate strength as the nationat Democratic convention nears but said Carter may be losing momentum.

The Arizona congressman made his comments while hunkered down in the aisle of his campaign bus traveling to the St. Matthews Potato Festival. That was one of many brief stops in a seven-hour day of campaigning in the Louisville area.

Udall said he couldn't predict how well he would do in Kentucky's primary on Tuesday, but said that regardless of the number of delegates he picks up, the weekend appearances in Kentucky have a "psychological, symbolic value."

"To have been seen here, to have made the visit" will serve him well at the national convention, Udall said.

Claiming he was one of only two "national" Democratic presidential hopefuls, Udall said it was important to "go where the people are, show them you don't have horns, that you're a real person."

Udall repeated his familiar theme that the first thing he would hope to do as president is to sign a full employment act.

WEEKEND SURGE

Ford Leads in Delegates

By United Press International

President Ford took the lead over Ronald Reagan in Republican convention delegates this weekend and hoped for victories in at least two of the six states. While both Ford and Reagan were in Oregon, a state Ford is given a chance to win — along with Tennessee — the President picked up 143 delegates to Reagan's 17 over the weekend.

Eighty-eight of them came from among Pennsylvania's previously uncommitted 103 delegates, but Reagan said it was "not too disturbing because in our projections we never counted on any votes from there."

In other states selecting delegates, it was Ford 18-0 in Vermont, 17-0-2 in Alaska, 18-1 in Kansas and Reagan 11-2-2 in Virginia.

On the Democratic side, 106 delegates were chosen, and frontrunner Jimmy Carter got only 27 of them — 24 out of 54 in Virginia and 3 out of 6 in Vermont.

Morris Udall got 7 in Virginia, 3 in Vermont and 5 in Washington, which gave 24 of its 40 delegates to its junior senator, Henry Jackson, and sent another 11 to the convention uncommitted along with 23 uncommitteds from Virginia and four from Vermont. Edmund G. Brown Jr., won 2 delegates in Vermont.

Carter, however, was still far ahead in delegates, approaching half the 1,505 needed to win the nomination. UPI's count showed him with 739 delegates to Udall's 291, Jackson's 236. George Wallace has 146, others have 221 and uncommitted number 350.

Ford's lead Sunday was 598-541 with 248 GOP delegates uncommitted. But as many as 124 from New York were expected to announce for Ford Monday, to give the President a margin of 181 with 176 delegates at stake Tuesday in Oregon, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Idaho and Nevada.

There are 179 Democratic delegates at stake in those states.

Oregon was the key state in the weekend of heavy campaigning on both sides, and officials predicted about two-thirds of registered voters would turn out.

Ford and Reagan campaigned in the state Saturday and Sunday, before turning their attention to neighboring California, where Reagan was governor eight years and is the favorite for 167 delegates at stake June 8.

In the Democratic race in Oregon, Carter was fighting off Brown and Frank Church. Church is the favorite in his native Idaho and Brown is considered ahead in Nevada. Carter is the favorite in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas.

Both Church and Brown claimed Sunday they are blunting Carter's drive toward the nomination.

Church said if Carter wins the nomination he would support him.

But Church emphasized Carter's star isn't rising and he has a good chance of beating the former governor of Georgia in Tuesday's Oregon primary.

The Idaho Democrat said if Carter does not arrive at the national convention close to a first-ballot win, it could create an open convention and Church could be the candidate.

Church hedged when asked if he would serve as Carter's running mate on the Democratic ticket.

But he said: "If Carter is nominated, it will be because he has earned the nomination and I would have no difficulty in supporting him."

The Idaho senator said he disagrees with those who say the Democratic convention cannot deny Carter the nomination if he comes to New York with more than 1,000 delegates.

"There is nothing so different about an open convention deciding who the nominee should be, as long as the convention turns to someone who has gone into the primaries and demonstrated he can win in primaries," Church said.

Brown urged Oregonians to "use your pencil and brains" Tuesday and said, "We can win a write-in. It never has been done before, but we can surprise the experts and pundits."

Addressing graduates of Warner Pacific College in Portland, Ford said Sunday, "Today's mounting danger is from mass government, mass education and mass technology. I am deterimined to prevent conformist pressures from smothering individual expression or stifling individual opportunity."

FOR CARTER CAMP

Second Ballot Could Be Scary

By JERRY SCHWARTZ

On a steamy night in mid-July, the chairman of the Democratic National Convention will be pounding a huge gavel attempting to quiet the thousands of people swarming the floor of Madison Square Garden.

"Ladies and gentlemen! Ladies and gentlemen! Here are the results of the roll call of delegations.

"For the nomination to the office of president of the United States, the votes were, Jimmy Carter..."

Next would come a number. Carter predicts that number will be at least 1,505. He would be the nominee for presidentes, the votes were, Jimmy Carter..."

Next would come a number. Carter predicts that number will be at least 1,505. He would be the nominee for president.

But if that number is 1,504 or lower, the party will vote again. If the convention failed to nominate by only a handful of votes, the second vote could be by voice, with the high man in the first ballot likely the winner. More likely, however, the second count will be a roll call of the state delegations, a slow, tedious process that traditionally builds emotionally as the votes climb closer and closer to the magic number needed to nominate.

"We aren't going to worry if it goes to a second ballot," says Rob Firth, Carter's assistant national delegate selection coordinator.

"If it goes four or five ballots, then I think most people agree we would get slippage," Firth added.

It's Firth's job to keep Carter delegates from "slipping" away to other candidates. Firth and the delegate experts on other candidate staffs have precious few weapons against the laws and party rules that make it wonderfully simple for delegates to defect.

The most powerful of the weapons they do have is the choice of the delegates themselves. The party rules say, "A presidential candidate shall have the right to approve any candidate for National Convention delegate identified with that person's candidacy."

From that sentence, it sounds like Carter should have no problem. Just pack the delegation with never-say-die Carter loyalists.

But as Firth explains, it doesn't work that way. Even if Carter were able — by primary, convention or caucus — to get all of a state's delegates committed to him, it's unlikely that evey delegate would be an absolute Carter loyalist.

"First of all, you've got to make sure the delegation is balanced—a certain percentage of women and blacks."

That, Firth explained, can mean trade-offs. If the delegation is not balanced, it can be challenged by other Democrats and the challenge would be fought out at the convention.

In fact, just those kinds of challenges occupied the early hours of the 1972 Democratic convention. "I think you'll see far fewer challenges this year," Firth said.

"It's harder to challenge delegates. There are only about 10 challenges filed now and half of those are incorrect," he said.

Even when there's no problem balancing the delegation, Carter's staff isn't always looking for dedicated Carterites to serve as delegates.

"Sometimes you want to get 'Delegate X' because he can deliver three or four other delegates with him," Firth said.

In those cases, Firth said, it's important to know where the delegate's other loyalties lie. "You have to know that this one used to be a Humphrey man and that one originally supported Jackson so you'll know who will be the first to slip."

Just getting the right delegates is only part of the job. In states where the largest bloc of delegates is committed to Carter, the Carter delegates probably will elect one of their own as chairman of the delegation. That also is important, Firth said.

In almost every state, whether he has a Carter man as chairman or not, Carter will have a "Carter whip" to keep the delegates loyal and report any defections to Carter's staff.

Delegates can start slipping away at almost any time. Some delegates will come to the convention uncommitted. They can vote for whomever they choose.

Other delegates come to the convention "bound." That means they're legally tied to a certain candidate. But specific legal requirements governing delegates vary from state to state.

After the first ballot, delegates in 11 states will be free to go their own way. After the second ballot, delegates in 10 more states, including Georgia, can filter off to other candidates. Two more state delegations are cut loose after ballot three.

In other states, the delegates are bound until the candidate withdraws or he fails to get a certain percentage of the total convention vote. Only in a few cases — such as in South Carolina — are delegates "bound forever" to a candidate.

Moreover, Firth explains, there are huge legal loopholes in the word "bound." "If a delegate decides to vote for somebody else while he's bound, there's nothing that can be done to him in most cases. There aren't any sanctions. Oh, there are a couple of states where the party says you can't hold any party office if you don't vote for your committed candidate, but so what?

"Your name may be Mudd in the local party, but there's nothing else they can do."

Moreover, Firth said, there's an even bigger loophole right in the party rules.

Delegate selection rule No. 10(E) says, "No delegate at any level of the delegate selection process shall be mandated by law or party rule to vote contrary to the individual's expressed presidential choice."

What that means, Firth says, is that even a committed delegate "can just up and decide between now and the convention that he or she has just had enough of the 'smile' and go over to somebody else on the first ballot."

CAMPAIGNING IN OREGON

Carter Emphasizing Issues a Little More

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore.—"If we could just have a government that's as good as our people..." presidential contender Jimmy Carter often wraps up his speeches, speaking softly of how "truthful, competent, decent, compassionate and filled with love" the American people are.

"If we could just have a government that's as good as our people," a newsman mimicked the other day, "we'd be Italy."

It was meant to be a funny line, since the Italians have been electing Communists lately, but his criticism of Carter's speech was serious.

While people may like to be told they are wonderful, they seldom act that way. And they hardly ever believe it about the people around them. They might want their president to think so highly of the public—and even to inspire them to that outlook—but they also want to know what else he thinks.

So in ecology-minded Oregon, Carter talks about conserving the beautiful mountains, water and air.

When he announced his candidacy for president and appeared before the National Press Club in 1974, Carter reminds them, he was asked how he would choose between the demands of economic development and the need for preserving the environment. If there were "an irreconcilable conflict," Carter said, he would pick the environment.

Since he has been attacked so many times for having no stands, and polls show he is considered "fuzzy," Carter himself brings up the subject of issues. He often tells his audience to write to him in Atlanta at "P.O. Box 1976, that's this year," to get his stand on a particular subject.

And he's emphasizing issues a little more. Our tax system "is a disgrace to the human race," he says, and quotes former opponent Fred Harris on how the tax structure is "a series of graduated loopholes."

Near Eugene Saturday, he lashed out at rising property taxes, promising to help hold them down by redirecting federal revenue sharing funds from state governments to city and county governments, and by allowing those funds to be used for education.

Carter's television ads are also more issue-oriented in Oregon, emphasizing the need for tax reform and bureaucratic reorganization, as well as showing Carter as a man of the earth striding through the peanut fields.

His speechwriters had hoped to put together a major address on the enviroment to be delivered in this state, but the date has been moved back to sometime before the California primary.

The environmental speech is expected to be along the scope of Carter's recent address on nuclear dangers. That speech at the United Nations Secretariat presented him as a thinker on a global and crucial issue.

A long-awaited explanation of Carter's federal reorganization plan is also reported in the works. Carter has said both tax reform and reorganization are proposals he must give much time to before he can detail them.

Carter staffers are aware his speeches are a little weak for sophisticated California audiences that have paid a hundred dollars a person and already know Carter is a farmer.

The family line hardly went over in Los Angeles last week —Including the jokes about having three sons in three different non-Southern states, "then my wife and I had an argument for 14 years, which I finally won," and daughter Amy was born eight years ago.

But especially while Carter tries to slog his way through the Oregon primary, he won't make any drastic changes.

"It's transition," said one speechwriter. "He's come a long way with the basic speech, but inevitably he'll have to do more issue-oriented stuff.

"He's still new in some places, and this speech lets people know who he is," the speechwriter added. "Besides, he's comfortable with it, and no matter what any of us try to get him to do, he does what he wants."

All the News
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The New York Times

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SECTION ONE

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Oregon Key Test in 6 Primaries Tuesday

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

NASHVILLE, May 22 — Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter, whose presidential campaigns suffered sharp setbacks this week, are expected to recoup in Tuesday's six primaries—the most ever held on a single day.

The primaries are grouped in two regions. In the South, voting will take place in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas; in the Northwest, it will take place in Nevada, Oregon and Idaho. In all, 176 Republican and 179 Democratic delegates are involved.

Oregon, whose quadrennial primaries have held national attention since Thomas E. Dewey clinched the Republican nomination in 1944 by winning there, seems likely to produce the closest contests. President Ford is favored in the Republican race. Among the Democrats, Mr. Carter is being pressed by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., of California and Senator Frank Church of Idaho.

The results in Oregon will also have the largest reverberations in the political community. The state gives Mr. Ford what may be his only chance to avert an embarrassing shutout, and it gives the candidates struggling to stop Mr. Carter a chance to demonstrate anew his vulnerability outside his own region.

A loss for Mr. Carter in Oregon, furthermore, would be likely to reduce his score for the day from a creditable four victories and two defeats to a mediocre three and three.

The former Georgia Governor is heavily favored in the three Southern states but is believed to trail Mr. Brown in Nevada and Mr. Church in Idaho. Mr. Reagan, a former California Governor, is believed to lead everywhere but in Oregon.

Missouri, the largest nonprimary state, will hold Democratic district conventions on Tuesday, with Mr. Carter expected to convert his solid backing from the party establishment into about 50 of the 54 delegates at stake.

Mr. Ford, anticipating a difficult day on Tuesday, persuaded the leaders of the big, largely uncommitted delegations in New York and Pennsylvania to swing behind him before them. As a result of meetings in Har-

Continued on Page 32, Column 5

Oregon Is Key in 6 States' Primaries on Tuesday

Continued From Page 1

risburg today, and in Albany on Monday, the President stands to gain about 200 delegates, giving him a clear national lead over Mr. Reagan.

Following is the outlook in the five states, in addition to Oregon, holding primaries Tuesday:

ARKANSAS

Republicans (27 delegates): Although the state permits crossovers, allowing Democrats and independents to vote in the Republican primary, they are not expected to hurt Mr. Ford here as they did in Texas. Important contests for state and local offices should tend to keep Democrats, in particular, from crossing over.

Despite the moderation of Arkansas's last Republican Governor, the late Winthrop A. Rockefeller, the party is controlled by conservatives. No more than 30,000 voters are expected, and Mr. Reagan appears to hold a clear edge.

However, the President's supporters are more hopeful of an upset here than in Tennessee and Kentucky. They have concentrated their efforts in Little Rock and the Ozark hills.

emocrats (26 delegates): Some polls show Mr. Carter with as much as 70 percent of the vote in Arkansas. Charles Ward, a Democratic national committeeman, predicted that Mr. Carter would get at least 20 delegates.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama has canceled some appearances, apparently convinced that they would not help. Mr. Udall has the support of Gov. David Pryor, a former Congressional colleague, but Mr. Pryor, who is seeking reelection, declined to campaign actively for the Arizonan.

Mr. Carter has campaigned in Arkansas for only one day in recent weeks, speaking in Little Rock and in Jonesboro last Tuesday. But what one of his strategists calls "a favorite-son appeal gone regional" seems to be enough.

KENTUCKY

Republicans (37 delegates): Mr. Reagan showed his muscle in Kentucky on April 24 at the state convention, which chose the delegates. Although the delegates will be bound for the first ballot by the results of the primary, 26 of them are pro-Reagan, which indicates the political mood in the state.

Harold Rogers, the President's state chairman, said Mr. Reagan "is probably ahead" because of Mr. Ford's lat estart. Mr. Ford's victories in Maryland and Michigan on Tuesday, plus a visit to Louisville last week, have helped to close the gap, Mr. Rogers said.

The Ford forces hope to counter former Gov. Louie B. Nunn, a Reagan man, with the popularity of Representative Tim Lee Carter in his southeastern Kentucky district. The Republican vote is concentrated in Louisville and in Mr. Carter's district.

Mr. Reagan is ru ng a huge advertising campaign, having spent $700 for radio commercials in four days on one station in tiny Frankfurt.

Democrats (46 delegates): Howard Hunt, the state party chairman, expects Jimmy Carter to win 35 or 36 of the delegates. Few Kentuckians would argue with him.

This is the state's first Presidential primary, and reversals of form are to be expected. But Mr. Carter has the backing of key labor unions, Gov. Julian Carroll and Mayor Harvey Sloane of Louisville, and his opponents, Mr. Udall and Mr. Wallace, appear to have little going for them.

Anti-busing sentiment in the blue-collar suburbs of Louisville and his traditional following in the western part of the state should give Mr. Wallace some delegates.

TENNESSEE

Republicans (43 delegates): Like North Carolina, where Mr. Reagan beat the President on March 23, Tennessee has a two-faction Republican Party. The faction based in the eastern mountains, where Republicanism has been a way of life since the Civil War, is for Mr. Ford; the faction that grew out of the campaign of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona in 1964, based in the suburbs and west Tennessee, is for Mr. Reagan.

Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the leader of the first faction, supports Mr. Ford; Senator William E. Brock 3d, the leader of the second, privately backs Mr. Reagan. But Mr. Baker, perhaps eager to seem attuned to his state's political climate, asked Mr. Reagan to stay at his home on Thursday night.

"Baker is playing it too cute," said one analyst of Tennessee politics, "and it's hurting the President. Everyone thinks he wants to be Everyman's Vice President."

Democrats (46 delegates): Tennessee was George Wallace's best primary state in 1972; he won more than 68 percent of the vote, pulling 80 percent in some counties.

But his appeal has faded, here as elsewhere. William Farris, the state Democratic chairman, said Mr. Carter would get 60 percent on Tuesday, and at least two-thirds of the delegates. Many uncommitted delegate candidates are pro-Carter, and Gov. Ray Blanton is reportedly ready to endorse Mr. Carter after the primary.

"The liberals and the conservatives both like Carter," said Mr. Farris. "He's a candidate they agree on."

IDAHO

Republicans (21 delegates): This state has one of the most conservative Republican elcctorates in the nation. Mr. Ford has a substantial following in populous southwestern Idaho (he has run more strongly than Mr. !Reagan in th e urban areas of many smaller states) but he is weak elsewhere.

The three Republican members of Congress are Reaganites in philosophy if not in terms of campaign activity, and the President has made little effort here. He has not visited the state and has budgeted only $7,5j0 for advertising.

A poll published by The Idaho Statesman early this month showed Mr. Reagan with 67 percent of probable Republican voters. This, too, is a crossover state, which makes Mr. Ford's outlook even glummer. But the disparity in delegates is unlikely to be large, because they will be allocated under proportional rules.

Democrats (16 delegates): The Statesman poll shows Mr. Church, the only Democrat to be re-elected to the Senate from Idaho, in a commanding position, with 54 percent of the vote. His victory in Nebraska vote. His victory in Nebraska, which followed the completion of the poll, should augment his total.

Mr. Carter provides the only opposition, and he is not organized statewide. His local supporters would be happy if they could provide him with six delegates in a state where the favorite son is a political phenomenon.

NEVADA

Republicans (18 delegates): No state chooses fewer delegates by a primary than Nevada, and in few places is Ronald Reagan a surer thing than he is here on the desert home grounds of his campaign chairman, Senatore Paul Laxalt.

"I think he should do 55 percent," said Mr. Laxalt in a telephone interview, udnerstating the expectation of state political experts by 5 or 10 percent. "Nevada is a conservative place, and Ron has been here a lot."

"This is basically Reagan country," agreed Joe Chiodo, the Ford coordinator.

Democrats (16 delegates): San Francisco newspapers and television stations make a big impact in Reno and Carson City in the north, and the Los Angeles news outlets are familiar in Las Vegas in the south. As a result, in these areas, which account for 80 percent of the Nevada population. Mr. Brown has been a familiar figure for many months.

Gov. Mike O'Callaghan, who had supported Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington before he stopped his active campaign, said that Mr. Brown would win.

"Jerry is smart," he said. "He avoided the grueling campaign. Now suddenly Carter become an old face and Jerry is the new face."

Mr. Carter's campaign is headed by John Collins, a law partner of former Gov. Grant Sawyer, the state's national committeeman. The Georgian is expected to take five or six delegates here in a continuation of his run-everywhere, win-a-little-everywhere strategy.

Survey Indicates Carter in Trouble After First Ballot

WASHINGTON, May 22 (AP) An Associated Press survey indicates that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia may face difficulty in winning the Democratic Presidential nomination if his party's national convention goes past the first ballot.

Interviews with nearly one-fourth the delegates who will pick the nominee in New York show very few supporters of other candidates identify Mr. Carter as their second choice for the nomination.

About two-thirds of the delegates decline at this point to name a second choice. But among those who do, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota is the choice of about 40 percent, more than six times the number who would pick Mr. Carter as an alternative.

The continuing survey by Associated Press bureaus across the country seeks to reach all 3,048 delegates to the convention. Only about half have been picked so far, although primary election results already have determined how some delegates yet to be selected will vote.

Forty-one percent of the delegates surveyed thus far are declared supporters of Mr. Carter on the first ballot.

Another hint of trouble for Mr. Carter if the convention goes past the first ballot is his relatively small support among elected or appointed government officials, a number of whom may be influential in back-room bargaining.

Fewer than 25 percent of the 146 delegates in that occupational category support Mr. Carter, markedly lower than his overall 41 percent standing.

By contrast, Mr. Carter has the pick of half the 220 professional persons who are delegates and of half the delegates who are homemakers, students, retired or officially unemployed. One-third of the 142 delegates who are members of labor unions are Carter supporters.

Brown Cites Differences With Carter In Quest for Oregon Write-In Victory

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 22— At an interview with editors in the university town of Eugene, Edmund G. Brown Jr. was asked the other day to describe the ways in which he differed "fundamentally" from the Democratic frontunner, Jimmy Carter.

The 38-year-old California Governor, who is making an audacious bid in next Tuesday's Presidential primary here as a write-in candidate to demonstrate that he can successfully challenge Mr. Carter without even being on t ballot, replied with his own distinctive blend of delphic banter that is never put aside for very long. "Fundamentally", Mr. Brown asked. "How about superficially? Or existentially?"

Intentionally or not, the play on words, with its undercurrent of mockry, said something important about the difference between the two candidates. Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor, is never facetions about his quest for the Presidential nomination. His young challenger's regulation indulgence in sardonic humor helps sustain a tone of improvisation and daring that seems to be part of his appeal.

But the question of how he differs from Mr. Carter persists because of apparent similarities. Neither candidate has held office in Washington or gone beyond a single term of Governor in his own state. (Nearly every Brow nstump speech contains the quip that his year and one-half as Governor in Sacramento is the equivalent of a four-year term because of the overtime he puts in.)

.USeveral Similarities

Both candidates cite their lack of Washington experience as a virtue, promising to subject the policies and procedures of the Federal Government to intensive critical review. Each also promises to restore pride in the GovernmetnGovernment.

Campaigning in Oregon and Nevada this week, Mr. Brown has attempted to draw a distinction by belittling Mr. Carter's broad pledge to reorganize and streamline the Federal bureaucracy. At nearly every campaign stop, he challenges Mr. Carter to publish the details of his reorganization plan.

"Jimmy Carter, wherever you are," he said, taunting his opponent before a delighted Reno audience, "will you tell us what your plan to reorganize the Federal Government is so we can see whether we want to buy it or not?"

The day before at the University of Oregon he compared Mr. Carter's pledge to "the secret plan to end the Vietnam War" that Richard M. Nixon appeared to hint at in the 1968 campaign. "Anytime you have a plan you ought to put it before people or admit you don't have one," Mr. Brown said.

The Californian never quite gets to the point of saying that he has no plan himself. Instead, he makes a virtue of his declared refusal to "oversell" government. Mr. Carter is doing just that, he maintains, by holding out the hope of great benefits from reorganization and the practice of so-called "zero-base budgeting."

The Candor Issue

"It raises questions about the candor of his candidacy," Governor Brown asserted im Las Vegas. "When I juxtapose the potential of the concept with the sales pitch, I find that there is a very wide discrepancy."

To re-examine all Federal programs on an annual basis, as Mr. Carter promises to do, would require, he said, "another Federal Government as large as the one we have."

Yet when Mr. Brown seeks to describe the benefits that the country would derive from a Brown rather than a Carter administration, what he promises is a "more critical scrutiny of conventional thinking." He insists that this is not offering the same thing in a different idiom. And his audiences, which obviously enjoy his idiom and his sallies against Mr. Carter, rarely press him for details.

When they do, he usually replies with analogies to his record in California, rather than specifics on his positions on national issues. For instance, asked In Eugene if he would cut the defense budget, he simply cited his success in cutting the budget for the Department of Higways in California.

The crowd then cheered when he said many of California's highway engineers were now working on air pollution controls, not noticing or not caring that he had changed the subject.

In the last few days of campaigning, gun control was the one specific issue on which he clearly distinguished his position from Mr. Carter's. In the town of Elko in conservative eastern Nevada, he was quick to point out that the Georgian favored the registration of pistols while he did not.

Ronald Reagan had been to Elko this week and had drawn greater crowds there than his successor, but Mr. Brown became the first Presidential candidate in living memory to carry his campaign to Ely, Nev., a classic Western mining town in nearly trackless sagebrush country.

It was not an especially auspicious time for a visit by a candidate running as an environmentalist. Six hundred persons in the town of 7,000 population have been laid off since February at the copper smelter and mine that are the community's major employer and orders by the Environmental Protection Agency are cited as a basis for fears that the layoffs may become permanent.

But Governor Brown was met band and was driven into town in an open 1959 Lincoln Continental convertible, which was followed by a cavalcade of Model T Fords. Small clusters of mid-day drinkers emerged from saloons along the main street to gape at the procession, while most of the pillars of the community waited in a hotel dining room to hear the candidate's luncheon speech.

"If I were running against perfection," he told the Ely luncheon, "I guess I'd have to recognize serious deficiencies. But luckily perfection isn't in this race, just other human beings."

Then, coming quickly to the point of local interest, Mr. Brown talked of his success in California in reconciling the demands of environmentalists with the production needs of the logging industry. If Ely has any problems with the E.P.A., after his election as President, he promised, "the door to the Oval Office will always be open."

Late: he explained that he was not "theological" on his comitmeto the environment. "We have not walked the last mile," he said, explaiinng that his approach was to balance interests.

Mr. Carter's huge lead in delegates enables Mr. Brown to couch his challenge in David-and-Goliath terms. His strategy appears to turn on the possibility that he can humiliate the front-runner every Tusday until the California primary on June 8. A triumph by write-in votes here, he said tLe other day, would have the impact of two or three primary victories.

"If you want to be champ, he said in Reno, "you've got to keep winning. You can't start all of a sudden losing and claim to represent the Democratic Party.' L

Church's Race Takes the Tortoise's Cue

By LES LEDBETTER
Special to The New York Times

COOS BAY, Ore., May 22—As his campaign symbol, Senator Frank Church of Idaho has adopted Aesop's tortoise, who won its race with the hare with a slow, determined effort.

The Senator's efforts in the last three days here to win this state's Democratic primary next Tuesday have certainly been determined.

But by his own estimate, Mr. Church is still behind the fleet former Georgia Governor, Jimmy Carter, and his attempt to catch up is being severely hampered by a well-financed write-in campaign by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

"I'm running against two celebrities," Senator Church said early this morning after beginning what was termed a bike-a-thon in downtown Portland.

"In any normal year I wouldn't worry about this," he said, and shrugged, having stated the obvious truth that this is not an ordinary political year.

Despite the possible futility of his effort, the Senator was cautiously optimistic about his chances for victory. And, wearing one of his three tortoise-adorned ties, he than boarded a small propeller plane and headed for this coastal community to continue his campaign of "substance over style" and hold another of the question-and-answer sessions he uses to let voters know where he stands on issues and to get their votes.

The sessions are as much a part of Senator Church's style as smiling is part of Governor Carter's or unanswered questions are part of Governor Bron's.

The sesstons are also part of the "substance" Senator Church is trying to sell to Oregon Democrats, and in a dozen of the sessions he has never changed his basic positions or tailored them to fit the obvious predilections of his audiences.

For instance, after an impassioned and detailed speech last night, on the "arrogance of power" in Federal agencies and the "omality or lack of it" in American politics and foreign policy, before 800 members of Temple Beth Israel in Portland, a question was asked about arms and aid for Israel.

After Senator Church affirmed his longstanding position in favor of arms for Israel as "an oasis of freedom in a desert of despotism," some members of the congregation raised their hands prepared to applaud.

But the Senator always gives his full position on any subject asked and thus he continued to speak, saying that the major reason for supporting Israel was that this support was in "the national interest" and that he supported "the efforts of Secretary [of State Henry A.] Kissinger' in the Middle East.

The audience, which applauded politely.

Views on Abortion

The next questioner, a young woman, asked about his position on abortion, "leaving aside the question of conscience."

As he answered that question at every stop, including one before an elderly group, Senator Church said that as President he would take anoath to uphold all the laws of the United States, including the Supreme Court's ruling in favor of abortion.

But, once again, the Senator did not stop. He said he could not ask "people to abort their beliefs in order to hely others abort their babies" and then detailed his authorship of a law that permits medical personnel in hospitals to refuse abortions as a matter of 'conscience."

And, again, the synagogue gave the candidate less than wholehearted applause.

But after Senator Church spokes about "the miracle of Nebraska," where on May 11 he won the first Democratic primary he entered, and asked the synagogue for an "Oregon miracle" in this, his second primary, the audience rose and gave him another standing ovation.

Whether his stops have been in the conservative southern part of this state, in the coastal portion where he is now or in more liberal Portland, Senator Church has consistently received friendly welcomes and enthusiastic goodbyes.

His long, detailed answers, however, have provoked disappointment among those waiting for easier, more reassuring statements, and he has sometimes failed to generate thekind of excitement that his two major opponents seem to.

When asked about clear-cutting of trees, in which all trees in an area are felled; severe restrictions on nuclear plants, gun controls, amnesty for draft evaders, crime, inflation, the Panama Canal, unemployment and national health plans, Senator Church always gives the same detailed, comprehensive answers that seem to disappoint some listeners.

Everyone Is Wooing the Desirable Uncommitteds

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

WASHINGTON—With the approach of the end of the long primary season, the Presidential candidates and their staffs are beginning to focus more of their attention on the relatively small number of uncommitted delegates who could determine the outcome in both parties.

It is impossible, of course, to forecast with precision the results of the 12 remaining primaries, six of which take place on Tuesday. But the best projections indicate that both President Ford and former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California will emerge from the final primaries and state conventions with something more than 1,000 delegates each, presuming that Mr. Ford wins in New Jersey and Ohio and Mr. Reagan wins in California. Both would be short of a convention majority of 1,130.

On the Democratic side, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia will reach the same point at the same time, with roughly 1,200 delegates, presuming that he loses in California to the state's Governor, Edmund G. Brown Jr., and wins both in New Jersey and Ohio. He too will be short of the total needed for nomination, 1,505.

The key would then lie with perhaps 150 to 200 Republican uncommitted delegates and perhaps 300 to 350 Democrats. The New York Times tally currently shows 331 Republicans as uncommitted and 312½ Democratic uncommitted votes, but the Republican figure is inflated by a large number of delegates who are uncommitted in a theoretical sense only. In that category are more than 90 in Pennsylvania, who met today, and more than 100 in New York, who will meet tomorrow in Albany, to declare their allegiance to the President.

Unbinding the Ties

In addition, some of the delegates who were counted as committed may not stay that way. Some are tied to candidates no longer in the race, who may release them. Others are tied to active candidates to whom they are likely to remain loyal only as long as their favorites seem to have a chance to win. Many are not bound by state or party rules; these "half-committed" delegates will also be the subject of pursuit by the leading candidates as they attempt to build convention majorities.

Who are the uncommitted delegates? The Democrats come from 24 states, many of them in groups of four or five, but there are also big blocs: the 84 controlled by Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago and Senator Adlai E. Stevenson 3d in Illinois, the 33 controlled by Senator Robert E. Byrd in West Virginia, the 19 controlled by Gov. Edwin Edwards in Louisiana. Among the Republicans, the uncommitteds come from 17 states, with the largest bloc, after New York's and Pennsylvania's, in West Virginia. The 28 there are controlled by Gov. Arch A. Moore Jr.

"Timing is very important in politics," says Richard M. Rosenbaum, the New York Republican chairman, in explaining why the New Yorkers are moving toward the President now. It is by delivering their blocs of votes at crucial moments—such as tomorrow, just before Ford goes into six primaries with strong prospects in only one—that political leaders hope to gain concessions. Some seek influence in choosing a Vice President or writing a particular platform plank; others seek jobs for themselves in Washington; still others seek the kind of lasting influence that Daley has enjoyed with Democratic Presidents. But the timing must be right, as James A. Rhodes, then as now the Governor of Ohio, discovered in 1968 when he held out his state's votes until Richard M. Nixon already had enough for the nomination.

The search for commitments by the candidates involves telephone calls, mailings of literature, visits from field workers to individual delegates. Flattery, cajolery and pressure from powerful local politicians are all used. "Most of all," comments a delegate-hunter for one of the Republicans, "you try to create psychological pressure. You tell them that the train's leaving the station, that if they don't get on board now they'll be remembered as enemies rather than friends in the next Administration. You try to hurry them up, and they hang back, trying to calculate which way to jump and when to do it."

Newton N. Minow, the Chicago lawyer who served as chairman of the Federal Communications Commission under President John F. Kennedy, is one of the uncommitteds. Prosperous and sophisticated, he is unlikely to be stampeded into an endorsement, but that has not prevented the candidates and their agents from trying.

"I get a telephone call or something in the mail almost every day," he said. "Calls and letters from Atlanta, telegrams from Frank Church, statements on the issues from Jerry Brown, a little stuff from Mo Udall. Next week I'm going to a seminar at the house of one of the Carter delegates—everything you ever wanted to know about Jimmy Carter, that kind of thing. I tell them all that I am pledged to Senator Stevenson and that I'm happy to hear from them."

Setting Up Shop

Both Republican candidates have set up special operations for the wooing of uncommitted delegates. Mr. Brown opened an office in New York last week to seek the support of uncommitted delegates and delegates pledged to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington in that state. Representative Paul Simon of Illinois and Joseph F. Crangle, the Erie County (Buffalo) Democratic chairman, are opening a Washington office to persuade the uncommitteds to stay that way until Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota makes his move.

Probably the most thorough effort is being made on behalf of Mr. Carter. A staff of five maintains detailed files, bombards the uncommitted delegates with issue papers and attempts to convince them that a ticket with Carter at its top would help elect local Democrats to public office.

The candidate himself seeks the backing of the key uncommitted leaders such as Mr. Daley. The former Georgia Governor has phoned the Chicago Mayor several times, and has made sure that his Illinois backers voted for Mr. Daley for chairman of the delegation so as to ruffle no feathers. Ever foresighted, Mr. Carter even thought to invite Mr. Daley to Warm Springs, Ga., at the time of his stroke, working to build goodwill two years before the first 1976 primary.

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

5

In Both Parties Attention Shifts To the Delegates

The last laps of the primary course are likely to end only at the doors of this summer's nominating conventions. That, at least, seems to be the message of last week's voting. President Ford won in Michigan by a large margin over Ronald Reagan, and thus averted disaster; Jimmy Carter almost lost Michigan to Morris Udall and did lose the beauty contest in Maryland to a fresh face, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

Though popular voting in the remaining primaries may well have an important psychological effect on candidate fortunes, the time has now come when political professionals are counting heads—delegate heads—with great care. *(See story on this page.)*

The Delegate Count

REPUBLICANS	
Needed to nominate	1,130
Reagan	522
Ford	477
Uncommitted	331
DEMOCRATS	
Needed to nominate	1,505
Carter	713
Udall	275½
Jackson	223
Wallace	145
Stevenson	86
Humphrey	67½
Church	17
Brown	1
Others	30
Uncommitted	312½

All figures are unofficial totals before weekend caucuses.

*Favorite son in Illinois.

The Republicans. In Michigan, Mr. Ford received 65 percent of the popular vote to Mr. Reagan's 34 percent. In Maryland, where neither candidate campaigned, 58 percent of the vote was for the President, 42 percent for the former California Governor.

Mr. Ford's success in Michigan was apparently due in large part to the fact that Michigan is his home state. Nevertheless, the President's men are convinced of the correctness of their new general strategy: abandon the effort to seduce Reagan conservatives, woo instead Republican centrists and independents, and emphasize things Presidential. Mr. Ford applied the three dicta with a foreign policy address last night in moderate Oregon.

Mr. Reagan's immediate plan is to consolidate his gains on the Southern and Western ground that is congenial to him. He is campaigning as he has been in the six states that vote Tuesday.

The Democrats. In Michigan, Mr. Carter took 44 percent, Representative Udall of Arizona, 43. In Maryland, Mr. Carter received only 37 percent to Mr. Brown's 49. Both results were embarrassments to the former Georgia Governor, but Maryland was especially so. Not only was it Mr. Carter's second defeat in two weeks, it was Mr. Brown's first contest.

In both states, Mr. Carter was the victim of his opponents' time and money. Both spent more of each. But in Maryland, some observers believe, he also suffered from a less tangible phenomenon, the appeal of the fresh face. It is an appeal that Mr. Carter himself exploited earlier in the political season.

In the end, last week's popular votes may not matter much. Mr. Carter has over 700 delegates; before June 8, he is almost certain to gain another 200 to 250. In California he is expected to take at least 85 more. New Jersey and Ohio elect 260 delegates between them the same day, June 8, and many will probably go to Mr. Carter. A candidate with more than 1,200 delegates, of the 1,505 needed for nomination, is considered virtually unstoppable.

But continuing popular losses could do damage to Mr. Carter's quest for the uncommitteds, already certain to be more arduous than he would have preferred because of the formation of a committee to draft Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. Mr. Carter demonstrated his concern by campaigning in Oregon last week longer than he had originally planned. Mr. Brown and Senator Frank Church of Idaho are also in the Oregon race, and their presence increases Mr. Carter's chances by splitting the vote against him.

Mr. Brown apparently believes he has a chance for the nomination, though knowledgeable observers believe he has no chance at all. Unlike Mr. Carter, however, he does not have much to lose. At the least, he has won major attention, and he may gain a position of influence at the convention and after it.

How to Lose the Election

By James Reston

PRINCETON, N.J., May 22—The Presidential campaign seems to be turning into a test of which party has the best formula for losing the election, and on this negative proposition, the Republicans are ahead, but not by much.

Their problem of how to divide the G.O.P. and minimize their chances of winning was not easy. They were weak in the Congress and the state governments, but they had the Presidency, a rising economy, and peace—not a bad foundation.

No young Republicans had appeared to challenge the conservative policy of the party. All middle-aged doubters like Senator Mack Mathias of Maryland, and old progressives like Nelson Rockefeller, had been discarded, leaving President Ford and Governor Reagan, two men in their 60's, who agree on most things except ambition.

Mr. Reagan's strategy has been to challenge the only strengths the Republicans have left. He has attacked the President, questioned the peace and the recovering economy, and raised issues about Mr. Ford's defense budget and Panama policy. This has unified Mr. Rockefeller and Barry Goldwater, of all people, against him. Nobody since George McGovern in 1972 has come up with a better plan for helping the opposition.

The Democrats have not quite been able to match this suicidal strategy, but they're trying and may even be catching up. They are, they say, the innovators in American political life,

WASHINGTON

the party of reform that has dominated our politics for most of the last fifty years, and the party of the young that welcomes new ideas and candidates.

This election campaign supports at least part of their claim. Out of the state capitals and the Congress, where they have large majorities, they have come up with new men, even if most of them are spouting old conservative Republican ideas.

It is a bewildering Democratic cast of characters, running from George Wallace and Lloyd Bentsen, through Fritz Mondale, Birch Bayh, Frank Church, Jerry Brown, then Scoop Jackson, to Mo Udall, Hubert Humphrey and old-time populists like Fred Harris and dreaming poets like Gene McCarthy on the left, with the accidents of life like Teddy Kennedy on the side. All this is confusing, but the Democrats are at least alive and diverse, and kicking for change.

So much so that they don't quite know what to do with it, and like the Republicans, they could blow their chances. Jimmy Carter has knocked the political and labor elders of the Democratic Party off balance. He has swept most of the primaries. He gives promise of restoring the South to the party, and by his moralistic and even religious approach to politics cuts across the Republican hope of creating a "new silent majority" in the North, but something about him holds the Democratic leaders back.

They say they want something new, but complain that the "new" is not familiar. Carter has entered more primaries, fought more state battles, visited more newspaper and network offices, answered more questions, and been more specific than Ford, Reagan and most of his Democratic opponents, but still he lost in Maryland to Jerry Brown, who is the fuzziest newcomer.

The next few weeks until the end of the California primary in early June are not likely to resolve the dilemmas of either party. Most of the state tests are in the West, where Messrs. Ford and Carter are at a geographical disadvantage against their opponents, so in the end nobody may have a decisive majority and the issue will have to be settled after all in private talks for the uncommitted delegates.

In the Republican Party, most of the uncommitteds will probably go to the President, with the support of both Goldwater and Rockefeller, on the ground that the Presidency, peace, and the rising economy are their best hope for victory in November.

In the Democratic Party, the issue will be more complicated. For the Democratic power centers really favor a Humphrey-Carter ticket, in the belief that Humphrey would be a better President and could hold the North, while Carter as the Vice-Presidential nominee could hold at least part of the South and cut across Republican strength in the "Bible Belt" of the Middle West.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, however, are still likely to take it all, even if they lose some of the primaries in the next few weeks. Both parties need them and their supporters, if they are not to throw away the election.

For the moment it is not clear how either party can unify itself and win, but it is fairly clear how both could split apart and lose. Reagan and Ford are cutting one another up and providing the Democrats with yards of TV film that can be used against them in the autumn.

Meanwhile the more Carter wins, the more the old Democratic "regulars" try to stop him and replace him with the old guard. Maybe they'll all close ranks after the conventions, but by then, Ford, Reagan, Carter, Brown and Humphrey are all likely to look a little weak and tarnished. It's a funny way to "win" an election, but both sides almost seem determined to throw it all away.

WEATHER
Cloudy with a chance of
in. Details on Page 6C.

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★ AND ★
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By ANDREW J. GLASS
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Democrats Jimmy Carter, Jerry Brown and Frank Church are each counting on a piece of the action when six states hold primaries Tuesday.

Carter, the former Georgia governor, seems bound to add Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky to his string of primary victories. Brown, the California governor, is an odds-on favorite in neighboring Nevada. And Church, the late-starting senator, appears unbeatable in his native Idaho.

The sixth state, Oregon, looks like the big presidential primary of the week — a three-way challenge for Carter, Brown and Church. Having lost to Church in Nebraska two weeks ago and to Brown in Maryland last week, Carter needs to add some zip to his campaign if he is to meet his often-stated goal of a first-ballot nomination.

"The smart talk is that Carter's momemtum has turned as soft as peanut butter," a top Democratic official said. "But it strikes me as pretty chunky peanut butter."

Delegate counters at the Democratic National Committee give Carter a firm 718 votes. They expect that he will gain a minimum of 100 delegates Tuesday and 200 more from three big primaries June 8 in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

Turn to Page 18A, Column 1

Oregon a Demo Toss-Up

Continued from Page 1A

If these estimates are correct — and the Carter camp says they are far too low — the Georgian can count on 1,000 pledged delegates, three times as many as his nearest rival, by June 8.

"Whatever happens Tuesday, we're still going to win," said Hamilton Jordan, Carter's campaign manager. "It could be all over by June 9."

Here is the outlook for Tuesday in each etate:

OREGON — Carter's polls show him ahead. But as campaign chief Jordan notes, "Brown is hot right now." With the well-organized Church also pressing, and with eight other presidential hopefuls on the ballot, the outcome in this three-cornered struggle remains in doubt.

Yielding to intense staff pressure, Carter has agreed to forego a three-day weekend rest at his Georgia home to campaign in Oregon. The Carter camp fears that Brown, who has mounted an extensive writein campaign, is closing fast.

A large turnout is expected — perhaps 480,000 of the state's 625,000 Democrats. The 34 Oregon delegates will be apportioned in line with the popular vote. "Jerry's write-in drive may slice into Frank Church and give it to Jimmy, who could win with less than 35 per cent of the vote," a key Democratic official said.

IDAHO — Church has encountered virtually no opposition in his home state. He is expected to win a hefty chunk of the state's 16 delegates.

Church is the first Idaho politician in decades to become a national candidate and the newly minted primary gives him a chance to display his oratorical skills before voters who have given him four Senate terms.

Unlike Brown, Church hasn't gone after Carter; he termed Carter's "ethnic purity" remark a slip of the tongue. There is talk in Idaho of a Carter-Church ticket or of Church serving as Secretary of State in a Carter Administration. But Carter sources say Church isn't being considered for the second spot on the ticket.

NEVADA — If Idaho is Church's pocket, then Nevada be longs to Brown. "Jerry Brown is a popular and familiar figure in Nevada," said Democratic State Chairman Didi Carson. "I think he's going to win."



JIMMY CARTER



JERRY BROWN



FRANK CHURCH

But Brown, who clearly relishes his new-found status as a national contender, isn't taking Nevada's 11 delegate votes for granted. He has put about two weeks of effort into the sparsely populated state, against a single day for Carter.

Earlier this month, Brown gained an endorsement from Rep. Jim Santini, D-Nev., Nevada's sole House member. Democratic Gov. Mike O'Callaghan, left in the lurch by the withdrawal of Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., still hopes to get to Madison Square Garden as a delegate if Jackson wins at least 9 per cent of the vote.

ARKANSAS — Carter appears headed for an easy victory fn this cross-over 26 delegate state. Recent polls show a marked decline in support for Alabama Gov. George Wallace and the campaign of Rep. Morris Udall is evident only in Little Rock and a few college towns.

Carter campaigned in Arkansas last week, winning his biggest laugh when he said that Sen. Bennett Johnston, D-La., had told him the other day that it would be nice to have someone in the White House who didn't have an accent.

There is little stop-Carter sentiment among top Arkansas politicians, although Gov. David Pryor is close to Udall and Sen. Dale Bumpers has criticized Carter for failing to offer constructive solutions to national problems.

TENNESSEE — When Wallace campaigned in Jackson, Tenn., four years ago, 2,000 persons cheered him. Last week, Wallace returned to Jackson to be greeted by only 150 followers.

The collapse of the Wallace campaign in Tennessee, as elsewhere in the mid-South, leaves the state's 37-member delegation safely in Carter's hands. Carter could carry each of the state's 95 counties, just as Wallace did in 1972.

"He's captured the imagination of our people," said Democratic State Chairman William Farris, a Memphis lawyer. "Carter should win by a two-to-one majority, with Wallace running second and Udall a distant third."

KENTUCKY — In addition to his advantages as a regional candidate, Carter enjoys wide backing in Kentucky from the state's Democratic leadership. With the active support of Gov. Julian Carroll, Carter should win most of the state's 46 delegates.

The failure of the Jackson campaign also rebounded to Carter's advantage. Jackson had strong support from the AFL-CIO and the United Mine Workers; the labor rank-and-file has now solidly lined up with the front-runner.

"He's likely to get 85 per cent of the vote," pridicted William Sullivan, a key Kentucky Democrat and a former state chairman. "He's got the administration on his side in this state and he's also got the people."

Thus, the Tuesday primaries hold out some hope for three active presidential candidates, Carter, Church and Brown while freezing out two others, Wallace and Udall.

Wallace, who once regarded the South as his natural base, has been reduced to pleading with Democrats not to cross the line in Arkansas and Tennessee to aid Republican Ronald Reagan in his battle against President Ford.

"You may be doing something you want to do," Wallace said last week in Tennessee. "But if you do, you won't have near as much voice in the affairs of the nation as you will if you stay in our party."

A large turnout is expected — perhaps 480,000 of the state's 625,000 Democrats.

Doctor Charged

REVERE, Mass. (UPI) — A doctor at Revere Memorial Hospital for 20 years has been charged with 41 counts of illegally dispensing drugs.

Uncommitted Delegates Courted by Carter, Foes

By JOSEPH ALBRIGHT
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Chales McDevitt, a greenskeeper t a golf course in western Pennsylvania, is now one of he 350 hottest commodities in Democratic presidential plitics. He is an uncommited delegate.

"It was the luck of he draw," he allowed. "There were 39 people on the ballot, and my name was in the first line on the voting machne. Also, I am fairly well known around here because I used to play in the softball league."

To win on the first ballo, it now appears Jimmy Carter needs to impress, cajole or bargain for about half of he 350 uncommitted delegates thus far selected.

To stop Carter at the convention, his opponents must not only whip him in several of the remaining primaries but also provide the uncommitteds some reason for postponing their ultimate decisin.

That's why two boosters of Hubert Humphrey have ust announced a draft-Humphrey organization — and probbly why someone put out a tory that Edward Kennedy was available for a draft.

That's also why Carter's old Annapolis classmate, Jack Sullivan, who is the Carter chairman in Pennsylvania, telephoned McDevitt he other day just for a chat.

A sampling of 1f states containing the bull of the uncommitted delegates, conducted by Cox Nwspapers late last week, suggests that Carter still has a reservoir of potential strength among the uncommitted delegates.

But Carter's los to California Gov. Jerry Brown in Tuesday's Maryland primary gave second thoughts to a few delegates who were tilting toward Carter a week ago.

If Brown wins in Oregon this week, Carter will have a tougher problem in attracting the uncommitteds.

The delegates survey suggests that the votes of more than half of the uncommitted delegates will be controlled and delivered by state political bosses.

If Carter needs their votes, many are prepared to deal — and their prices may be very specific.

Some hope to name the next vice president. Others want a federal promise on a local building project.

Carter is likely to have between 1,100 and 1,250 delegates after the last round of primaries on June 8. It takes 1,505 delegates to be nominated.

"We will need a fair number of the uncommitted to win on the first ballot," said Rick Hutcheson, deputy campaign manager of the Carter campaign. "There are quite a number — at least 50 — leaning toward Carter now."

for a cabinet position, although his aides deny it.

Shapp reportedly called Carter two weeks ago to congratulate him for winning the Pennsylvania primary and offered to "work with him in any way." However, Shapp can sway only about half of the uncommitted Pennsylvania delegates.

The only other big block of uncommitted delegates is New York which has 65 — nearly all of them loyal to Gov. Hugh Carey, and none of them known to favor Carter.

Even so, one source in the New York delegation speculated that Carter could win most of the New York uncommitted votes if he made a solid pledge on renewing loan guarantees to New York City. Another New York source said Carey hopes to use the uncommitted delegates to win the No. 2 spot on the ticket.

Not included in the count of 350 uncommitted delegates is the 86-member favorite son delegation pledged to Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson III and controlled by Mayor Richard Daley.

An Illinois source said Daley has two objectives in any trade: (1) Putting Stevenson on the national ticket and (2) getting a federal commitment to build a missing link in Chicago's Crosstown Expressway, over opposition to Gov. Daniel Walker.

Daley's first choice for President is understood to be Kennedy, but if that is impossible, he wouldn't mind dealing with Carter. One candidate Daley reportedly wants to block is Humphrey.

The outlook in some other states:

ALASKA — Carter has a good chance for seven of the 10 uncommitteds but only so long as he looks like a winner. If it comes down to hard bargaining, the Alaska delegation is interested in getting the next administration's support for a new natural gas pipeline.

IOWA — Carter has two leaners out of 11 uncommitted. But his losses in recent primaries have cost him the tentative support of Walt Griffin, a 33-year-old college professor. "He was for Carter until the Maryland primary, but now he is having misgivings," said Griffin's wife.

Another Iowa uncommitted delegate, Mrs. Peggy Wigen, says she would never support Carter because of his "self-righteousness" and "fuzziness on farm policy." Mrs. Wigen said she could probably support Kennedy, Humphrey or Brown.

INDIANA — Based on the primary vote, 14 uncommitted delegates will be chosen at the Indiana Democratic convention June 14. If Carter still looks like the front-runner, he could win them all.

LOUISIANA — Only three of 19 uncommitted delegates now are thought to favor Carter. After Carter's loss in Maryland, three others reportedly moved from favoring Carter to neutral. The delegation will follow the lead of Gov. Edwin Edwards.

In fact, greenskeeper McDevitt probably fits in the leaning-toward-Carter category.

"Right now, Carter's the strongest," he said. "If Humphrey wanted to try, he should have run in Pennsylvania. Brown? I think he'd a good administrator. But I don't know too much about him."

Although McDevitt ran and won without organization support, he says he isn't sure whether he will be free to make up his own mind at the convention. He is the Democratic chairman in his home town of 900 people and his $11,000-a-year job is a patronage position.

Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp, who will head the state delegation that now includes 62 uncommitted votes, is widely thought to be angling

IN CALIFORNIA

Brown Looms Big But Carter Gaining

By NANCY LEWIS
Journal Staff Writer

EUGENE, Ore. — California Gov. Jerry Brown still looms as a formidable candidate for Jimmy Carter in the June 8 primary there, but he appears much less untouchable than he did three days ago.

That was before Carter held extremely successful fund-raisers in Los Angeles and San Francisco where more than $180,000 was raised for the California primary effort —and before it was realized that many of the same people who had put Jerry Brown in the Sacramento Capitol were picking up the tab to help put Carter in the White House.

In fact, it was Leo Wyler, Brown's campaign finance director in his gubernatorial bid, who put together Thursday night's dinner at a Beverly Hills hotel, and a good chunk of Brown's political organization was among the 1,200 guests.

One correspondent for a national news magazine who has been on the road with virtually every presidential hopeful of both parties described it as the largest crowd he has seen at anyone's expensive ($125-a-plate) dinner.

Their backing isn't actually anti-Brown, several of those supporters told reporters, its just pro-Carter.

"We see Brown as California's governor and Carter as the president," several explained.

And Friday night in San Francisco a crowd of 650 was liberally sprinkled with Brown backers who favor Carter.

"The Los Angeles dinner was definitely a major break with Brown," one veteran California political observer said. And one which portends an easing of what was thought to be Brown's stranglehold on California's 280 Democratic delegates.

This apparent surge of support for Carter isn't confined to California. Carter has drawn large crowds every place he has appeared on the Western sweep into Oregon, California, Nevada and Idaho. (He will stop Monday in South Dakota.)

His wife Rosalynn found the same kind of unexpectedly strong support in her own forays into Oregon and South Dakota last week, and it was at her particular urging that Carter extended his campaigning through the weekend instead of returning to their home in Plains, Ga., as he has—as a rule—on weekends throughout his primary campaigning.

"They see Jimmy Carter as a winner," another West Coast political analyst said. "They see Jerry Brown too vague, too late and not serious in his presidential bid."

Yet, supporting a peanut farmer, a professing Christian lay Baptist speaker Southerner doesn't come easy for liberal Californians and Oregonians who comprise the Democratic party here.

Residents of these two states are considered by many to be the most issues-oriented, liberal voters in the nation and they express a generous amount of skepticism about Carter yet.

The voters here in the West want to find out for themselves about Carter and actually see the man they may be sending to replace Gerald Ford.

"They want to make certain he's not a fanatic who'll push the button . . . or take a stand that would embarass them," one former student "radical" turned-congressional candidate, turned-political columnist explained.

Wednesday in Eugene, perhaps as many as 4,000 of the town's 94,000 residents gathered im the downtown shopping area to hear the former Georgia governor. Many had arrived as much as three hours early to get a good view of Carter.

They stood in line in Portland Friday to buy $5 tickets to a noon civic luncheon. The room was set up to hold about 450 people; at least twice that many were ready with money in hand. The overflow did without the lunch and ringed the walls, spilling into the mezzanine hallway and into the downstairs lobby, just to hear the 51-year-old candidate in person.

There was a capacity crowd—about 700 —at a Thursday morning address at the University of Nevada in Las Vegas, several hundred stood outside a Sears store in Reno Friday, and a crowd of perhaps 1,500 stood to hear Carter speak Thursday from the steps of California's state Capitol—literally on the doorsteps of Brown's domain.

Polls reportedly show Carter's support growing in California and Brown's slipping. Carter now is expected to win at least 80 to 100 of the California delegates and that number is almost certain to climb.

Carter aide Jody Powell said last week that shifts in the voter sentiment in Oregon also were a reason for the extra campaigning here.

Apparently Brown—who is waging a write-in campaign for part of Oregon's 34 delegates—is drawing votes away from Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and not Carter. Church has campaigned extensively in Oregon and as late as Wednesday Carter had virtually conceded to him here.

The Oregon ballot contains the names of all those considered national possibilities —including Sens. Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy—and any changes in their availablity for the nomination may again upset the voting pattern. Carter's share of the vote is estimated now at about 30 per cent.

In each of his appearances on the West Coast Carter has put increased emphasis on his stands on various issues and fielded a large number of questions from reporters and voters.

Nuclear energy, the rights of homosexuals and his stand on Vietnam, including specifically his support of Lt. William Calley, are what will trip up Carter if anything does, several analysts agree. Yet Carter at least has taken stands on these issues they say, while Brown remains vague, saying he hasn't yet thought through his positions.

Local press reports on each of the three potentially explosive issues seem to be confusing.

In a signed editorial Thursday controversial editor Hank Greenspun of the Las Vegas Sun implied that Carter was a defender of Calley and a die-hard supporter of the Vietnam war. The question has cropped up again since then.

Carter's role and purpose in the 1971 "American Fighting Men's Day" in Georgia which he declared shortly after Calley's conviction is the main Vietnam-related controversy.

Greenspun and the New York Times say Carter designated the day to honor Calley and that in doing so condoned Calley's murder of 22 Vietnamese women and children.

Carter maintains he never considered honoring Calley and he never would. According to Atlanta Journal and Constitution files, he did proclaim the servicemen's day, but made a point of not mentioning Calley.

But it is the context of Carter's move that is important in this issue. According to the files, Georgia legislators had petitioned Carter to call a special session so they could comdemn Calley's conviction.

After Calley's conviction at a trial in Columbus, Ga., conditions in Georgia were tense and there were public demonstrations and threats of more.

It was generally agreed at the time of the Carter proclamation that it was aimed at "cooling the situation"—which it did, almost immediately.

The other two issues have also brought questions from voters and reporters here.

Carter does not support the California proposal which would ban future nuclear plant construction

Gay rights is the most volatile issue. Carter told a group in Eugene that he feels homosexuals should not be persecuted for their sexual preferences. Carter maintains this is his primary position.

But at a news conference in San Francisco Carter seemed to become rattled at the insistent questioning on the matter and "began quoting the Bible and saying homosexuality was a sin," as one West Coast reporter described the incident.

"Not five per cent of the people in the San Francisco area think homosexuality is a sin," he explained. "They don't even think in terms of sin on anything," he added.

Although his answer in the San Francisco conference is certain to haunt him in the coming weeks, political observers feel he might be able to recoup from the loss and win up to half of the 280 delegates at stake in California.



After Four Years, They'll Know Carter

BY DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

They're starting to drift back into town again, with their rumpled suits and grey portable typewriter cases, their basso radio voices and offers of free lunches, and some with suspicious smiles and a reluctance to tell you where they were coming from.

The first inquisitors were somewhat different—newspaper reporters from the big northern dailies, assigned to find out what kind of fellow Jimmy Carter really was, just in case.

The questions were different. Does he really have a peanut farm? Does he smoke? Drink? Is he a secret racist? What kind of governor did he make?

They were out to capture Carter the personality. And they weren't interested in too many details about Carter the leader or Carter the politician.

Then came the voices identifying themselves as writers of books or magazine articles for publishers they were reluctant to name, researchers for political study projects nobody ever heard of, or students who could never adequately explain how they were able to take off from some northern college campus and travel all the way to Atlanta to do a paper on Jimmy Carter.

Their numbers always seem to increase, or fall off, in direct proportion to the success or failure Carter happens to be experiencing in the spring primaries. A rush of investigators always seems to coincide with the rise of the latest leader of the "Anybody But Carter" movement.

Then Along Came Brown

So with the emergence of California Gov. Jerry Brown and U.S. Sen. Frank Church as serious threats to Carter during the past two weeks, it was to be expected that a new rash of "book writers" and scholars would hit town.

They came, and we broke a long-standing policy of ignoring them and pretended we believed they really were writing books just to see where they were coming from.

This time around they were armed with briefcases filled with unfavorable newspaper clippings on Carter. They mentioned that they had talked with Carl Sanders or Tom Murphy or even Lester Maddox to get at the truth.

They seemed more interested, this time, in writing down the bad points about the former Georgia governor than the good ones.

The legitimate newsmen who filter through Atlanta, some coming back for the second time to find out what they should have found out the first time, are changing their tack as well.

They are no longer interested in Carter's unique southern background or his quaint charm. Now they want to know, basically, "What would he be like as president?"

We're not going to waste any more lunch hours, or cocktail hours, trying to explain that nobody can know for sure. We'll write some notions we can project here, and they can cut it out—for whatever purpose.

Carter in the White House

First, Carter would surround himself in the White House with utterly dedicated staffers whose loyalty to The Man would be beyond question. A White House clique as impregnable as the one which surrounded Richard Nixon would undoubtedly spring up.

But there would be one essential difference. Carter would control his gang with an icy hand. There is no way anyone under him could have the power or control of a Haldeman or Ehrlichman.

The former governor of Georgia simply would not listen to anybody's advice to that extent. Carter is too filled with his own vision of himself to allow anyone to get out in front of him.

Blacks, whom Carter generally trusts and feels comfortable with, would probably exercise the greatest influence blacks have ever wielded in the history of the country.

A Carter administration would be single-minded in pursuit of whatever broad goals the President might outline, and entirely capable of ruthlessness should it be required.

Few instances of corruption or abuse of power would surface. If they did they would be instantly purged. Neither fits Carter's view of his role in history.

The President's relationship with Congress, based on the history of his relationship with the Georgia Legislature, would be stormy.

Carter would be outspoken and to the point and willing to denounce, by name, individuals working towards ends he felt contrary to the national good.

His administration would be goal-oriented, rather than power-oriented, with an emphasis on humanitarian results. Carter is completely uninterested in power for the sake of power. He is very much interested in power as a tool for getting what he wants done.

Dangerous in Foreign Affairs?

On foreign affairs, the Georgian could be dangerous, not because of ignorance but because of impatience and a tendency to speak out publicly when aroused. His state department might have a problem keeping him properly muzzled.

Finally, Carter would definitely set out to reform the bureaucracy. Whether he could do it is another question.

Contrary to fears expressed by many Carter watchers, there would be less secrecy in the White House.

HAL GULLIVER

Carter Contemplates His Delegates

Washington

THE NAME of the game in this 1976 presidential election year is how you count delegates.

Jimmy Carter's hard count after the Maryland and Michigan primaries Tuesday last puts the Georgian over 900 committed delegates. There is a somewhat at least soft factor in that roughly 100 or so of these counted Carter delegates are in the category of the uncommitted ones who have, individually and personally, said to Carter that they would support him. This means if the allegedly astitute national media folk are right that the uncommitted, supposed Carter votes could quickly move away if some other candidate establishes credentials or if Carter in some unforseen fashion commits a major campaign mistake.

Hal Gulliver's column appears daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

But nonetheless these figures are compelling.

Pat Caddell of Cambridge, Mass., who polled brilliantly in the 1972 George McGovern campaign, is putting the figures together this year for James Earl Carter of Plains. He deals in percentages, votes, not delegate count alone, but he is so confident that candidate Carter and his staff understood on the morning of the Michigan and Maryland primaries last week that Carter would probably lose Maryland and at best run a very close cliff-hanger race in Michigan. The Caddell advance word is a reason that Carter seemed cool and confident last Tuesday evening, as if quite prepared for the results in the two primary states. But at the same time Caddell was among those close Carter advisers keeping up with the delegate count in addition to the popular primary vote.

At a strategy session early last Tuesday, Carter insiders talked about making the theme of the campaign one of concentrating on the totals of the potential delegates to nominate Carter in the National Democratic Convention, rather than on the specific popular votes in any given primary. Carter was able to say that evening, with considerable cool, that his campaign staff's projection for the Maryland-Michigan primaries had met its goal of winning roughly 100 delegates. It is a claim that no other candidate in the Democratic sweepstakes can make; Carter has won at this stage better than three times as many delegates as any other single candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Back to Washington.

The results in Maryland and Michigan do indeed slow Carter down a bit. There are an abundant number of Democratic party power figures who would like nothing better than to see the Carter campaign derailed. However, there is another Washington view. "As long as he wins 100 delegates per primary day, he can't be doing too damn bad," said an important Washington wheeler and dealer. A number of business men and Washington types indicated a sense of not knowning Carter well, not necessarily understanding his politics, but nonetheless a sense that his nomination at the Democratic National Convention was virtually certain.

Next Tuesday is another primary day of significance.

Carter as is his custom will be running everywhere. His opponents will be taking him on in a single-shot challenge in several different states. Carter will be contending for votes and delegates in Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, where he is virtually assured of doing well. He will run also in Idaho, where Frank Church is favored; in Nevada where California Gov. Jerry Brown is favored; and in Oregon, where both Brown and Church will be attempting to undercut the Carter momentum for a first ballot nomination.

At a minimal level Carter may claim fully another 100 new delegates Tuesday, the possible projection if things should go well for the Georgian moving up the 125-150 range.

The name of the game, again, is winning delegates. Carter has won far more primaries than any other potential candidate. His orientation completely at this stage of the national political campaign is to put together the delegates necessary for a presidential nomination; especially, to put them together early enough so that a potential inhabitant of the Oval Office of the White House has the time to consider carefully and thoughtfully the issues of vice presidential nominees, or detailed policy statements and the mood of the country itself.

BB

JACK SPALDING

Jimmy Carter's Bad Week

IT WAS a hard week for Jimmy Carter. They ganged up on him. His momentum was slowed.

He barely made it in Michigan where he should have made it big with labor backing. He was sunk in Maryland by a brand new candidate, Gov. Jerry Brown of California.

Jack Spalding's column appears in The Atlanta Journal.

The Michigan vote brings up the Pennsylvania vote which went to Carter. He carried a big industrial state for the first time, a thing his critics said he couldn't do. He did this despite labor's backing of Sen. Scoop Jackson, at one stroke eliminating Jackson and discouraging Hubert Humphrey from a face to face confrontation.

Carter won over labor in Pennsylvania. He almost lost with labor in Michigan. Question. Is the membership trying to tell us something? Is labor in revolt against bossism? Are the organized as weary of the status quo as the rest of the voters? This may be. Perhaps Jimmy Carter would do better to forget the bosses and go back to where he was at the beginning, face to face with the people in the streets.

As Jimmy Carter says, you can't win them all. It is doubly difficult with his tactics. He is trying to be everywhere at once with limited staff and funds. It is a noble effort but risky. The great risk is that it allows his enemies to pick one position and fight while he is trying to hold the fort in a number of places. He is like a general with scattered forces trying to figure where the massed column of the opposition next is going to hit.

Well, it won't be long now. He's going to lose some more in the West to native sons Frank Church and Jerry Brown. But Jimmy Carter is collecting delegates and when convention time comes in July the number of delegates is what counts.

What gets me is why some of the old Democrats are trying to stop Carter. He has a good lead. The people have shown they like him. The polls show him outpointing potential Republican opposition.

But the old gang doesn't know him and therefore doesn't trust him. Obviously they would rather have an old party hack, someone they can feel easy with and can push around. Jimmy Carter is new and therefore frightening. Furthermore he is a strong personality and can be adamant.

It is odd to watch the leadership of a party which is out of the White House and wants it back suspicious of a candidate who has caught the public fancy and has a good chance of recapturing the White House for his party.

The press used to write of the suicidal instincts of the Republican party and its genius in snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

Unless the inner circles of the Democratic party act a little more brotherly toward the party's leading candidate it is likely to find itself written about in the same terms.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDI

Weather: Partly sunny tonight. Sunny, pleasa Temperature range: Friday 58-75. Details

CXXV.... No. 43,218 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1976 — 75 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. M 20

Carter Schedules Weekend Campaign For Western Votes, Mostly in Oregon

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 21—Jimmy Carter has decided to throw himself into three unscheduled days of campaigning in Western states, mostly in Oregon, where he will face all his remaining rivals for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

After his defeats in the Nebraska primary on May 11 and in Maryland Tuesday, Mr. Carter said he planned no changes in his campaign strategy or technique.

Today he conceded in a news conference on his chartered jet aircraft that his decision last night to invest "increased time on the West Coast is a strategy shift." But he discounted suggestions that he was giving up a planned long weekend at his Georgia home because he feared a psychologically crippling loss next week in the Oregon primary election.

Mr. Carter said he had decided to add time in Oregon, Idaho and possibly South Dakota to his schedule because in the last two days he had perceived "a much more likely prospect" of winning significant more delegates in the Western states than he had previously thought possible.

Indifferent on Kennedy

The former Georgia Governor also expressed indifference about a report that Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts might accept a draft by the national convention in July, saying that the prospect "doesn't scare me." Senator Kennedy has denied the report.

The fact that Mr. Carter later brought up the report about Senator Kennedy to an audience at a fund-raising luncheon here suggested that h hoped that a belief in the possible availability of Senator Kennedy, who is on the ballot here, might drain votes away from such announced candidates as Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

Mr. Carter's motivations in deciding to campaign tomorrow, Sunday and Monday in the West were difficult to assess because he and his spokesmen would only hint at, but would not disclose, the nature of the popularity poll data that helped shape the decision.

Fears Discounted

However, Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, said in conversation last night in Los Angeles that it would be inaccurate to assume that Mr. Carter was expanding his schedule because he feared a humiliating third-place finish in Oregon behind both Senator Church and Governor Brown, who is running a write-in campaign since his name is not on the ballot.

In his airplane news conference this morning, flying from Los Angeles to Portland, Mr. Carter said his own polls showed "we are in good position in Oregon" and "better in Nevada than we had thought." He had done no polling in Idaho or South Dakota, he said, but he felt he could win more delegates in both states than seemed possible before.

Since he had not previously thought he could run first in any Western state, he said, "I think now we've got a good chance possibly to win in one of the Western states, perhaps Oregon." He said he was stronger in California, which he has predicted Mr. Brown will win, and added, "We might come a close second in Nevada."

Cites Other States

He said the results next Tuesday should be judged not entirely by his showing in the West, but also by the outcome in Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee, where he is strongly favored.

On his plane, Mr. Carter was asked, in light of the report about Senator Kennedy, if he did not believe that unless he won a first-ballot victory at the national convention, other forces in the party might begin successfully to woo delegates 2r away from him and deny him the prize.

Mr. Carter said: "I don't want to talk to you about that because I don't want to be quoted on what I think or what you know. But there are ways to pick up a 100, 200, 300 delegates, if you have to have them to get the nomination; and I am trying to avoid having to do that horse trading relating to different aspects of politics, the Vice Presidency or otherdise."

When asked if he would do such "horse trading" if necessary, he said, "I'll wait and see what happens."

Church Accuses Brown

Special to The New York Times

ASHLAND, Ore., May 21—At several Oregon stops today, Senator Church accused Governor Brown of trying to "buy" a write-in victory here next Tuesday by spending large amounts for television promotion spots.

"I don't believe there's enough money in California to buy an Oregon election, however." Senator Church told an early-morning fund-raising meeting in Portland.

Later, in Medford, near the California border, he repeated this statement in response to newsmen's questions and added, "I think it [the spending] becomes an issue to be considered. It's a matter for the people of Oregon to decide."

At the Portland fund-raising event, Bernard Rappaport, a Waco, Tex., insurance man who is helping to raise funds in the West for the Church campaign, said that $100,000 was needed to buy 10,000 radio and television spots for the Senator over the next four days to counter the Brown promotions and the national attention and recognition already achieved by "the front-runner," Mr. Carter.

Brown Challenge

LAS VEGAS, Nev., May 21 (UPI)—Edmund G. Brown Jr. challenged Jimmy Carter today to disclose details of his proposal to reorganize the Federal Government.

Governor Brown said Mr. Carter had made reorganization the "centerfold of his campaign" in California.

"He should disclose what he has in mind for this overhaul of the government agencies," he told a gathering of campaign contributors.

Udall Cites Bargaining

NASHVILLE, May 2 (UPI)—Morris K. Udall said today that he would be able to bargain effectively at the Democratic convention with up to 500 delegates. The Arizona Democrat held a news conference before flying to Little Rock, Ark.

DD

Adrift 'twixt Coolidge And Hoover

By Russell Baker

If Richard Nixon was Warren Harding and Watergate was Teapot Dome, then Gerald Ford is Calvin Coolidge, which means we still have Herbert Hoover to look forward to, which makes you wonder why anybody wants to be President this year.

History doesn't really repeat itself, of course, but there is a horrible exception to every rule, and present trends suggest the bleak possibility that this time history may whimsically be planning to give us a rerun. As in the Coolidge age, Americans are tired both of politicians and of Wilsonian alls to greatness.

As in the mid-1920's, the economy ems to be coming out of a recesn in style that promises bounty for e middle class but leaves a deep yer of unaffected poverty in its ellar. It may be, as the economists ay, that the stock market crash of 1929 cannot be repeated, but another Middle East oil embargo might serve as a substitute catalyst for disaster.

■

In Calvin Coolidge, as in Gerald Ford, Americans had a President who demanded nothing but Federal parsimony, and when the time came to change in 1928, they settled for the decent and honest Hoover, whose reputation for moral rectitude had been enhanced by stainless behavior among Harding's Ohio boodlers. Elliot Richardson would be the parallel figure from the Nixon gang. Surrounded by pirates, both kept their honor.

Perhaps the most interesting parallel, however, lies in our apparent readiness to settle for so little at the top and in our corresponding distaste for active government. Then, as now, the country seemed to be coming out of

OBSERVER

a national trauma and seemed to want only easement from the nuisance of government.

This year's successful candidates are those—principally Ford and Carter—who skirt the issues government will have to face and base their appeal on their personal decency and honesty. Yet decency and honesty are very minimal qualifications to offer when applying for leadership. In normal times, these qualities are simply taken for granted.

With Ford and Carter, however, decency and honesty are celebrated as though the electorate might never have another opportunity to be free of crooks in the White House. An alien visitor hearing Carter's constantly repeated abjuring of mendacity and the political analysts' incessant tributes to Ford's decency might reasonably suppose there was a third candidate running in favor of dishonesty and indecency.

If any business corporation selected its leadership on the basis of applicants' devotion to honesty and decency, it would probably be dismantled next day by outraged stockholders. Not because stockholders don't want a modicum of honesty and decency in management, but because they are likely to take honesty and decency for granted, and to want their investments managed by people who also know how to turn a profit.

■

It may be, indeed, that many would accept a little dishonesty and indecency in return for corporate success. There have been no conspicuous instances of stockholders in the aircraft companies that engaged in bribery returning their dividends.

It may even be that the American electorate would not now be so hostile to dishonesty and indecency in the White House if the recent exercises in these vices had been less disastrous. If the Vietnam War had ended in victory by 1966, would the public rage at the deception which took us into it? If Nixon had made a clean breast of it immediately after the Watergate burglars were caught, might he not still be President today?

I make no defense of dishonesty and indecency, but merely suggest that people are apt, in the weak way of humanity, not to fuss overly much about them when they lead to success. As Adm. Ernest King observed, on his recall from the Navy's exile to become Chief of Naval Operations in World War II, "When the shooting starts they always send for the sons-of-bitches."

The shooting seems a long way from starting just now. We are in the hour of letdown and eager to settle for the minimum demand a nation can make—for honesty and decency. For Hoovers.

The political equivalent to Admiral King's "sons-of-bitches" this year are the men who have been losing primaries by talking about issues: Fred Harris, Ronald Reagan, Morris Udall, Henry Jackson. At this pass in history, they are troublesome rockers of the boat, threatening to disturb the smoothness of the drift between Coolidge and Hoover.

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CARTER GETS $437,429

3.2 Million Okayed For 9 Candidates

WASHINGTON (AP) — Presidential primary candidates received $3.2 million in federal campaign funds Friday as a whirlwind of activity ended a two-month cutoff of the matching money.

The fresh infusion of campaign dollars was certain to help candidates whose budgets had been drained by the grueling string of presidential primaries.

The money headed for campaign coffers after this accelerated string of events Friday:

—Senate confirmation of William Springer as the sixth member of the Federal Election Commission.

—A White House swearing-in ceremony of Springer and five reappointed commissioners several hours after the Senate vote.

—A meeting of the new commission less than an hour later to formally certify matching fund applications which had been processed by the FEC staff while action on a new election law was completed.

—Issuance of checks by the Treasury department, which usually takes two days to actually make the money available, but on this occasion, had checks prepared even before the formal FEC certification.

President Ford, who opposed some provisions of the new election law and declined an opportunity earlier this week to get the money flowing again, was the biggest recipient: $1.3 million.

In addition to the $3.2 million for nine candidates, the Republican and Democratic parties each received $500,000 for their national nominating conventions.

The swearing-in of the commissioners ended a period of confusion in the election law which began Jan. 30, when the Supreme Court ruled that the FEC members were unconstitutionally appointed.

The court granted two delays so Congress could rewrite the law without interrupting the flow of matching funds, but the legislation lagged due to various disputes and the court quit granting delays.

Through March 22, the FEC had certified $12.6 million in matching funds under a program financed by the $1 taxpayer checkoff on income tax returns.

Candidates, after passing a $100,000 threshold, can receive dollar-for-dollar federal matching for private contributions of up to $250 each.

By accepting the federal money, they become bound to a federal spending ceiling for the primaries of $10.91 million plus 20 per cent for fund-raising costs.

The amounts each campaign received Friday were:

President Ford, $1,330,786; Ronald Reagan, $509,217; Jimmy Carter, $437,429; Henry Jackson, $316,676; Morris Udall, $312,258; Frank Church, $120,972; Fred Harris, $120,524; Ellen McCormack, $42,620; Milton Shapp, $19,301.

George Wallace had no applications approved Friday, but has some pending. He had been the recipient of the most funds before the two-month delay. Small certifications for Birch Bayh and Sargent Shriver were held up for technical reasons.

Told of the release of funds as he campaigned in San Francisco, Carter reacted with a spontaneous but soft-spoken, "Hooray."

See FUNDS, Page 10-A

Funds

From Page 1-A

"All of us candidates have been seriously strapped" since the commission went out of business, Carter said, adding, "I've been hurt the most because I've run in so many states."

He said he would use the funding to "advertise myself," particularly in California, since news media advertising reaches so many people.

"This is a great relief to me," Carter said, obviously delighted. "I hope the report is accurate."

The five reappointed commissioners, who had been confirmed earlier this week by the Senate, are Democrats Neil Staebler, Robert Tiernan and Thomas E. Harris, and Republicans Vernon Thomson and Joan Aikens.

At the swearing-in ceremony Friday, Ford declared, "At long last, after many regrettable delays, we are finally putting the Federal Election Commission back into business."

EE

FF

DEAL FOR DELEGATES

Carter Opens Door To 'Horse-Trading'

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore.—Jimmy Carter opened the door Friday for "horse-trading" over a vice presidential nominee in order to pin down enough delegates to win the Democratic presidential nomination for himself.

But Carter said he is trying to gain the nomination without having to resort to such tactics.

"I've been trying to avoid having to do that horse-trading relating to different aspects of politics, the vice presidency or otherwise," Carter said. "I don't want to get in that position if I can avoid it."

However, Carter admitted he may fall short of the 1,505 delegates needed to win the nomination on the first ballot. "There are ways to pick up 100, 200, 300 delegates if you have to have the nomination," he noted.

Asked if he were prepared to "horse-trade" if he had to, Carter replied, "I'll have to see what happens."

The hint was a surprising one. One of Carter's main campaign points has been that he could go into the White House without any debts to anyone, that he had taken his quest for the presidency directly to the American people and bypassed backroom bosses.

This was the first time Carter hinted he might be willing to offer the vice presidency or some other major post to someone who could turn over ough delegates to him to lock up the nomination.

Flying over a California mountain range, Carter told reporters he is returning to Oregon for three days of hard campaigning because he thinks he has a "good chance" to win the Democratic presidential primary here.

Although he claimed to be encouraged by his reception in Eugene earlier this week, Carter admitted the Oregon contest is more "competitive and fluid than we had anticipated."

A Carter aide described the race here as "close."

See CARTER, Page 11-A

Carter

From Page 1-A

Carter scrapped plans to spend Saturday, Sunday and Monday in Plains in order to stump Oregon and Idaho this weekend and to stop in South Dakota Monday.

Carter claims that Oregon's importance is being tremendously overplayed, since it has only 33 delegates. But in the past the contest here has been a bellwether for the big California primary and a key to new momentum.

In campaign appearances during the day Friday, Carter continued to predict that he would have over 1,000 delegates after next Tuesday's six-state voting and would go on to capture the Democratic presidential nomination on the first ballot.

The presidential frontrunner, who has seen that position challenged by the overwhelming Maryland primary victory of California Gov. Jerry Brown, said he now believes he will get more than the 100 delegates he had earlier predicted he would win in next Tuesday's balloting.

Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Nevada, Idaho and Oregon all hold primaries May 25.

"Earlier, I thought the 100 would come from Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas," the former Georgia governor said. "Now I believe we'll have more.

"The polls show we're in a good position in Oregon and better than we thought in Nevada," he said.

Carter said he believes the New York Daily News story claiming Sen. Edward M. Kennedy would accept a presidential or vice presidential draft, to serve on a ticket with Hubert Humphrey.

Both Humphrey and Kennedy, who denies that he would accept a draft, are on the ballot in Oregon.

Carter said he is not "frightened" by the possibility of a Kennedy entry, since his strategy was originally based on the assumption that Kennedy would be in the race.

Carter denied speculation that his being an outsider, coupled with losses in late primaries going into the convention, would paint him as a loser.

"It's hard to call me a loser, compared to (Idaho Sen. Frank) Church and Brown, when I'll be going over the thousand mark (in delegates) and Church has 20 and Brown has two," he said.

Brown is a write-in candidate in Oregon, and the favorite son in his home state of California, which elects 280 delegates on June 8.

"The polls have shown we have a much stronger position in California itself" as well as in other western states, Carter said.

He said he doesn't expect to come in ahead of Brown in California. "My strength is picking up and his is dropping off," the former Georgia governor said.

Carter said his estimate was based on published polls and on a private survey by professional pollster Pat Caddell.

Carter estimated Brown's support at 40 to 45 per cent among the Californians polled.

His wife Rosalynn called him from South Dakota and told him she had gotten good reactions there, Carter said.

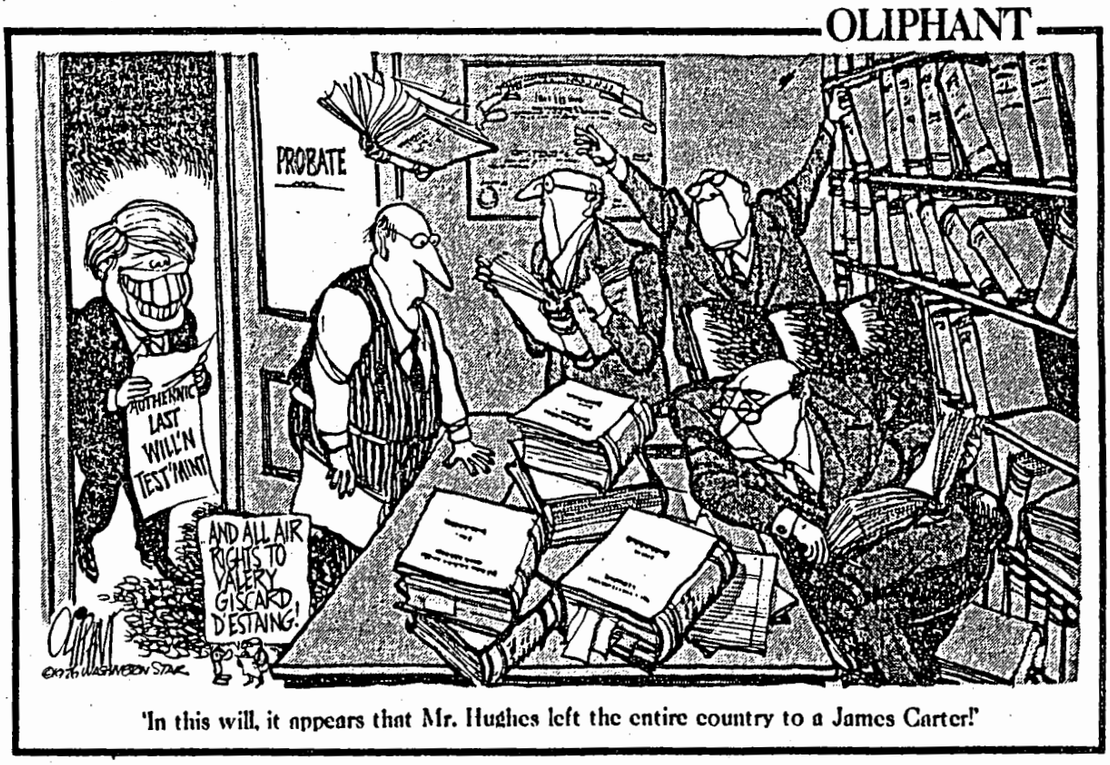
"We have a chance to pick up some delegates in Idaho, even" and his prospects are "much better in Nevada than we thought," he said.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

5/20

OLIPHANT



'In this will, it appears that Mr. Hughes left the entire country to a James Carter!'

44A

B

News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento of Angola, in a ceremony at the Cuban embassy in Luanda, said his Government's foreign policy was one of nonalignment with any bloc but preferential relations with what he called the socialist countries, particularly Cuba. He said the withdrawal of all Portuguese diplomatic representatives had been requested. Angola is clearly looking to Cuba to replace the Portuguese technicians and administrators who fled before independence. [Page 1, Column 5.]

The funeral in the Christian section of Beirut of Edouard Saab, editor of a French-language newspaper who was shot by a sniper on Sunday while crossing into the Moslem section, showed the deep human divisions caused by the civil war in Lebanon. Scores of friends of the neutral-minded Mr. Saab from the other side of the lines—Palestinians, Lebanese Moslems and left-wing Christians—could not attend because of the risks. [1:6-7.]

National

After Tuesday's primaries, the Presidential nomination campaign in both parties appears likely to remain unresolved at least until the final primaries in June. The narrowness of Jimmy Carter's victory over Morris K. Udall in Michigan and his loss to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in Maryland showed the surprising vulnerability of the Democratic front runner. President Ford, euphoric after landslide victories over his Republican challenger, Ronald Reagan, in both states, laid plans to bid strongly for the votes of moderates such as those who supported him in Michigan. [1:8.]

Mr. Udall's surprisingly strong showing in the Michigan primary may have been due primarily to the low Democratic turnout and the unexpected thinness in the attraction of Jimmy Carter. The New York Times/CBS News poll of Michigan voters indicated that Mr. Udall again drew from traditionally liberal, more highly educated and younger segments of the electorate. Endorsement of Mr. Carter by the United Automobile Workers and by Detroit's black Mayor may have provided his paper-thin margin. [1:6-7.]

The Senate voted 72 to 22 to establish a permanent committee on intelligence with exclusive authority to oversee the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency and authorize funds for its activities. It will share jurisdiction over other intelligence agencies with existing committees. The vote was seen as a vindication of the work of the temporary committee headed by Senator Frank Church that investigated abuses. [1:4.]

Secretary of the Army Martin R. Hoffmann has denied the request of 10 officers of the West Point legal staff for an investigation of the procedures the Academy is using in handling its cheating scandal. He suggested that the officers submit their allegation of widespread cheating and of bad-faith practices by the cadet honor committee to that committee, the appeals board of officers or the superintendent. [1:8.]

Metropolitan

The 17-day apartment house strike ended at most buildings following an agreement that will provide $35 in increased wages and will result in higher rents for many tenants. The president of the employees' local said strikers would return to their jobs except at apartment houses where landlords were refusing the settlement terms. One landlord group planned to delay signing at least until after a meeting tomorrow. [1:1.]

Dr. Mario E. Jascalevich, a New Jersey surgeon, was indicted by a Bergen County grand jury on charges of murdering five patients a decade ago at Riverdell Hospital in Oradell, N. J. Dr. Jascalevich, who was referred to as "Dr. X" during an inquiry into unusual or unexplained deaths ascribed to curare at the hospital, entered a plea of not guilty. [1:2-3.]

The New York State Assembly passed, 115 to 5, a bill allowing equitable distribution of property in divorces and separations, and the possibility that either party could receive alimony. Later, the prospect for Senate passage was thrown into question when it became known that several members of the Judiciary Committee felt that additional public hearings were necessary. [1:2-3.]

Mark Kleiman, a 15-year-old sophomore from Staten Island at Stuyvesant High School, received the highest score on a three-hour test of mathematical reasoning and creativity given to top students from coast to coast. The national team of eight students he will lead to an international contest in Austria will also include another from Stuyvesant and one from the Bronx High School of Science. [1:1-4.]

The Other News

International

"Scandals" offer Britons all but proof. Page 2
Tokyo aide seeking U.S. help on Lockheed. Page 3
Egypt and Syria cancel meeting. Page 5
W.H.O. threatens action against Israel. Page 6
Arabs and Israelis clash at Hebrew University. Page 7
Madrid is still the enemy for thee Basques. Page 8
U.S.-French links are hailed by Giscard. Page 9
Stalin still a hero in his home town. Page 12
South Africa to set up buffer zone. Page 14
U.S. aides differ on aid to Ethiopia. Page 14

Government and Politics

Philadelphia in serious financial condition. Page 1
Cuba accused by Puerto Rican Governor. Page 11
C.I.A. records on mail openings incomplete. Page 17
Levi to decide soon on busing test. Page 21
Senate panel backs stricter tax deductions. Page 22
Brown seeks write-in votes in Oregon. Page 28
High court limits rights before grand juries. Page 31
Ford predicts first ballot nomination. Page 30
Beame threatened with budget revolt. Page 38
Banks said to shun softening of Albany bill. Page 38
Antiloitering bill passed by State Senate. Page 38
Moreland Commission's efforts well-received. Page 65
Moreland Commission issues two final reports. Page 65

General

Houston acts to profit by oil under park. Page 16
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 39
Teamster organizer shot to death in Queens. Page 39
M.A.C. weighs aid for a convention center. Page 39
Black arts center "breaks ground." Page 39

Health and Science

Large doses of vitamin C draw warning. Page 20

"All the News hat's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Chance of showe cool tonight. Fair, milder t Temperature range: tod Wednesday 38-52. Details.

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CANDIDATES SEEM IN VOTE STANDOFF FOR NEXT 3 WEEKS

Carter Believed Vulnerable After Maryland Loss and Michigan Victory

OREGON NEXT BIG TEST

Ford, Happy After Success in Two States, to Bid for Support of Moderates

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

The Republican and Democratic Presidential campaigns, each of which seemed to be turning into a rout at different points in the last two months, now appear likely to remain unresolved at least until the completion of primary balloting three weeks from now.

Jimmy Carter pulled out a 2,004-vote victory over Morris K. Udall in the Michigan Presidential primary as the last handful of precincts reported yesterday. But Democratic leaders and Carter staff members agreed that his narrow escape in Michigan and his loss in Maryland showed that he was surprisingly vulnerable.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, the Maryland Victor with an aggressively anti-Carter campaign, and Representative Udall of Arizona, with a startling recovery in Michigan from a 33-percentage-point deficit in his own polls, demonstrated, as Mr. Udall said, that "there is no disposition in this party to stampede to Carter."

But the former Georgia Governor, aided by Mr. Brown's lack of delegate slates in Maryland, pushed his national delegate total to 713, far ahead of that of his rivals. If present expectations hold, he should have after the final primaries on June 8 at least 1,050 of the 1,505 votes needed for nomination.

Ford to Woo Moderates

President Ford, euphoric after landslide victories in Maryland and Michigan, laid plans to bid strongly for the votes of moderates such as those who enabled him to avert defeat or embarrassment at the hands of Ronald Reagan in Mr. Ford's home state of Michigan.

The next major test in both parties will come Tuesday in Oregon, the most significant of six states that will hold primaries on that day.

There were fresh signs of stop-Carter activity after the Georgian's bad day Tuesday and his loss a week earlier to Senator Frank Church of Idaho in the Nebraska primary.

Joseph F. Crangle, the Democratic chairman in the Buffalo area, said that he and Representative Paul Simon of Illinois would announce tomorrow the formation of a committee to draft Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota for President. It will solicit, without Mr. Humphrey's authorization, the support of uncommitted delegates and those backing inactive candidates.

But aides to George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, and aides to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, two of the

Continued on Page 28, Column 1

Voting Effects

Following are the final, unofficial-vote totals from Tuesday's Presidential Primary elections in Michigan and Maryland, and the latest delegate-vote totals resulting from the primaries.

Michigan

29

REPUBLICANS

Ford	689,176	(65%)
Reagan	364,244	(34%)
No preference	8,573	(1%)

DEMOCRATS

Carter	306,301	(44%)
Udall	304,297	(43%)
Wallace	49,260	(7%)
No preference	15,529	(2%)
Jackson	10,613	(2%)
McCormack	7,662	(1%)
Shriver	6,163	(1%)
Harris	4,323	(1%)

Maryland

REPUBLICANS

Ford	94,784	(58%)
Reagan	68,916	(42%)

DEMOCRATS

Brown	284,271	(49%)
Carter	217,166	(37%)
Udall	31,372	(5%)
Wallace	23,690	(4%)
Jackson	13,556	(2%)
McCormack	9,617	(2%)
Harris	6,880	(1%)

Delegate Votes

REPUBLICANS

Needed to nominate: 1,130

	Mich.	Md.	Total
Reagan	29	0	506
Ford	55	43	432
Uncommitted	0	0	392

DEMOCRATS

Needed to nominate: 1,505

	Mich.	Md.	Total
Carter	69	32	713
Udall	58	7	275½
Jackson	0	10	223
Wallace	2	0	145
Stevenson*	0	0	86
Humphrey	0	0	67½
Harris	0	0	18
Church	0	0	17
Shapp	0	0	5
McCormack	0	0	4
Walker	0	0	2
Brown	0	0	1½
Bayh	0	0	1
Uncommitted	4	4	312½

*Favorite son in Illinois.

C

Candidates Appear in a Vote Standoff

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

major figures still resisting a Carter nomination, emphasized that they would take no overt part in a coordinated stop-Carter campaign.

'On The High Road'

"I still think he's on the high road to success," said Mark Siegel, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, "but it's going to be rockier than Jimmy expected."

Mr. Ford beat Mr. Reagan by almost 2 to 1 in Michigan, gaining 55 delegates to 29 for the Californian. In Maryland, where neither man campaigned, the President took 58 percent of the popular vote and swept the 43 delegates, who were elected in separate voting.

As a result, Mr. Ford narrowed the gap between him and Mr. Reagan in the national delegate count. With 1,130 needed for nomination, The New York Times tally gives Mr. Reagan 506 and Mr. Ford 432, with 392 undecided. If the uncommitted delegates were allocated according to their present leanings, Mr. Ford would lead.

On the Democratic side, Mr. Brown approached a majority of the vote in Maryland, the first test of his Presidential campaign, pulling 49 percent of the popular vote to Mr. Carter's 37. Mr. Carter won 32 delegates, Mr. Jackson 10, several of whom said that they planned to vote for Mr. Brown, and Mr. Udall 7, with 4 uncommitted.

Mr. Carter edged past Mr. Udall in Michigan, 44 percent to 43, but took 69 delegates to the Arizonan's 58, with 2 going to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and 4 uncommitted.

The collapse of Mr. Wallace as a national political force was dramatically illustrated Tuesday. Four years ago, he won the primaries in both Maryland and Michigan, the day after an assassin's bullet left him partly paralyzed. This year, he took only 7 percent of the Michigan vote and 4 percent of the Maryland vote.

Mr. Carter leads in The Times's tally of Democratic delegates with 713, although he claims more than 900, based on his staff's projections of the outcome of incomplete selection processes in several states. Mr. Udall has 275¼ delegate votes, Mr. Jackson 223 and Mr. Wallace 145. There are 312½ uncommitted votes, and the rest are scattered.

Once their hour of trial had passed, officials of the President Ford Committee said that they had been genuinely concerned that Mr. Ford would be upset in Michigan, and they made no effort to hide their belief that a defeat would have finished him.

By campaigning vigorously, the President appeared to have aroused a sense of home-state pride and to have pulled large numbers of moderate independents into the Republican primary to support him. He carried his home town of Grand Rapids by 5 to 1 and took every county except Gogebic on the Upper Peninsula.

Mr. Ford thus revived a sickly campaign, but he remains a sorely beleaguered incumbent who has already lost six primaries. He is expected to lose more next Tuesday, possibly as many as five out of the six on the schedule—Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, Idaho, Oregon and Nevada—as attention shipts back to the South and West, Mr. Reagan's strongest areas.

Perhaps the President's best chances to demonstrate that he has turned the corner are in Tennessee, where he has broad organizational support, and in Oregon, where his appeal to moderates is in tune with the views of the Republican majority.

A Pivotal State

Oregon may also prove pivotal for the Democrats. Mr. Carter is given a substantial advantage in the three states in his area—Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky—where he has yet to lose a primary. Mr. Brown leads in Nevada, whose politics are heavily influenced by California, and Mr. Church in Idaho.

But in Oregon, Mr. Brown is waging an intensive writein campaign, using massive mailings and student volunteers from California. Three thousands people waited an hour in the rain to hear him speak in Portland yesterday. Mr. Church, who is on the ballot, is also working the state.

It will be the first time that the two late-starting candidates, who defeated Mr. Carter in Nebraska and Maryland by avoiding each other's battleground, will face each other. Mr. Udall, continuing a strategy that has led to charges of an anti-Carter conspiracy, is avoiding Oregon, but a Church-Brown duel could enable Mr. Carter to slip through for a valuable victory.

In any event, the Georgian expects to gain at least 100 delegates in the six primaries, he said Tuesday.

Beyond that, with Mr. Brown favored in his home state of California, and Mr. Carter due to be tested by a pro-Humphrey, pro-Brown uncommitted slate in New Jersey, the most important test for the smiling front-runner will be Ohio on June 8.

It will be there and in Oregon, Democratic leaders said yesterday, that they will be able to evaluate whether Mr. Udall's hard-hitting adverising, which depicted Mr. Carter as duplicitous on the issues, and Mr. Brown's attacks on him as a "consumer fraud," have permanently eroded his reputation.

If that has happened, it will imperil not only Mr. Carter's efforts to lure uncommitted delegates, but also his prospects of winning the nomination on the terms he would like. He wants to avoid a bloodbath at the cnvention so he can act as the unifier that he proclaimed himself to be after the Pennsylvania primary.

Mr. Brown, Mr. Church and Mr. Udall have scant prospects of entering the convention with more than 4,000 votes. But it is conceivable, they believe, that they can stop the Georgian and then persuade the convention to turn to one of them or to Mr. Humphrey.

What happened to Mr. Carter in Maryland and Michigan?

In Maryland, Mr. Brown combined old-line support with his message of a "changed political chemistry"—an unlikely amalgam—to carry every Congressional district bu the one on the remote Eastern Shore. He even took Representative Parren J. Mitchell's predominantly black bailiwick in Baltimore, making him the first candidate of 1976 to deny Mr. Carter a black majority.

"The answers we were getting from Brown's supporters," said Partick Caddell, Mr. Carter's jollster, "were exactly the answers we got about Carter 60 days ago. I guess our new face aged prematurely."

In Michigan, Mr. Carter held onto the black and rural votes, losing the suburbs and the small cities. Mr. Udall won overwhelmingly in Macomb County, for example. There, as elsewhere, many moderate and conservative Democrats who had seemd ready earlier to back Mr. Carter instead voted for the President.

'Never-Say-Die' Drive

Those defections, together with a reduced Democratic turnout, made the electorate in the Democratic primary somewhat more liberal than expected. It responded en never-say-die aggressiveness, which he maintained despite the defection of the United Automobile Workers and a nearly empty treasury, and almost gave the Arizonan a victory after no fewer than six second-place finishes in the primaries.

Mr. Carter still has a lot going for him. For example, he stands to pick up about 55 delegates in Missouri, the largest nonprimary state, beginning at the district conventions next Tuesday. He is also strong in other caucus states.

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Carter Gets Big Lead In Poll Held in Jersey

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J., May 19 (UPI)—Jimmy Carter holds a wide lead among Democrats competing in the New Jersey Presidential primary June 8, according to a poll released today.

The poll, conducted by the Eagleton Institute of Politics of Rutgers University, said that the former Georgia Governor was the choice of 51 percent of the Democrats questioned about their preference for the party's nominee.

The closest contender to Mr. Carter was an uncommitted delegate slate that has been portrayed as supporting either Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota or Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. The uncommitted slate was preferred by 16 percent.

A delegate slate backing Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona was preferred by 9 percent, and the slate of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington by 5 percent.

Poll Links Udall Strength To Low Vote in Michigan

By ROBERT REINHOLD

Representative Morris K. Udall's surprisingly strong showing in the Michigan Presidential primary may have been due more to the low Democratic turnout and unexpected thinness in the attraction of Jimmy Carter than to any substantial broadening of Mr. Udall's appeal to Democratic voters; according to an analysis of voting returns and a survey by The New York Times and CBS News.

As in previous primaries, the liberal Arizonan found his most reliable support came from the traditionally liberal, better educated and younger segments of the electorate, the Times/CBS News survey of 1,840 Michigan voters conducted Tuesday showed.

Still, Mr. Udall's near victory over Mr. Carter, the former Georgia Governor who has outdistanced him every time they have faced off in the primaries, was impressive in that Mr. Udall did it without two important sources of support that orthodox liberals have come to expect in this heavily industrialized and racially mixed state—the United Automobile Workers union and the blacks.

The leadership of the politically potent automobile union and Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit, a black, endorsed Mr. Carter, who has frequently said he did not need endorsements. Ironically, the Times/CBS News data suggest that these endorsements may have been critical to his paper-thin margin over Mr. Udall.

Moreover, Mr. Udall's showing was all the more surprising because it came in a state where, just four years ago, Democrats gave 51 percent of their primary votes to Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who exploited the new-dormant school busing issue.

One clue to the Udall showing may have been the reduced Democratic turnout. With most of the news publicity focused on the tense Republican duel between President Ford and

Continued on Page 29, Column 1

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Poll Links Udall Strength To Low Vote in Michigan

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

Ronald Reagan, and with voters free to pick either ballot, the Democratic vote dropped to less than half what it was in 1972, according to the still unofficial returns.

Studies have shown that better educated and more affluent voters turn out for primaries much more regularly than others. Therefore, it appeared possible that when turnout is low, as it was in Michigan, their influence is enhanced.

Hence, the Michigan Democratic voters probably included more of the higher status type likely to be sympathetic to Mr. Udall, particularly since the busing issues was not there to draw out the working-class whites who have formed the core of opposition to school integration orders.

Six weeks ago in the Wisconsin primary, where Mr. Udall also ran a very close second to Mr. Carter, the Times/CBS News survey found that his strongest support came from the better-educated liberal wing of the party—made up heavily of college graduates and those in professional and white-collar occupations.

The Michigan results differed little. About 40 percent of the Udall voters in both Wisconsin and Michigan called themselves liberal. Similarly, about half in both states said they had attended college, many more than among the Carter voters.

There was no indication in Michigan t hat Mr. Udall had expanded his appeal to the blue-collar families that have traditionally been such an important ingredient of the Democratic majority. Indeed, if anything, the Michigan survey suggests that the Udall vote has become even more white collar.

In Wisconsin about four of every 10 Carter and Udall voters came from white collar or professional families. But in Michigan nearly half of the Udall voters did, compared with only a little more than a quarter of the Carter voters.

The Michigan results suggest that the, seemingly in effectual and dormant libera wing of the party might have been more potent had the liberal field not been so divided until now. In New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and even Tuesday in Michigan, Mr. Udall l would very likely hav won had the name of former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma not been on the ballot.

The Harris Effect

Assuming he would have picked up the bulk of the 4,323 votes cast for Mr. Harris in Michigan, Mr. Udall might well have overcome the 2,000-vote gap that divided him from Mr. Carter.

At the same, there have been indications to support the notion that, to paraphrase Representative John Conyers Jr. of Michigan, Mr. Carter's support is a mile wide and an inch deep. Both the Times/CBS News, as well as private surveys conducted for both Mr. Carter and Mr. Udall, suggest that the Carter support is soft.

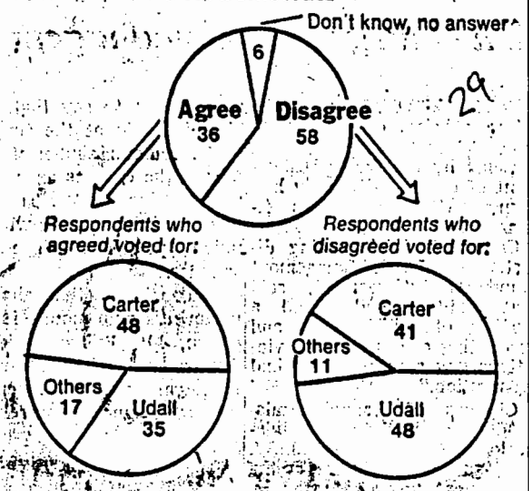
On the other hand, Mr. Carter may have ben hurt in Michigan by the cross-over provision in that state. The survey found that about half of the former Wallace backers who voted this year picked up Republican ballots, mostly to vote for Mr. Reagan. Those that stayed in the Democratic column voted heavily for Mr. Carter, suggesting that he may have done much better had the Wallace people not ben permitted to wander.

The survey also contains hints of Mr. Carter's potential strength against the Republicans in November. When asked who they would vote for in hypothetical races pitting Mr. Carter against both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan, substantial numbers of Republicans indicated they would defect to the Democrat if their candidate lost the nomination.

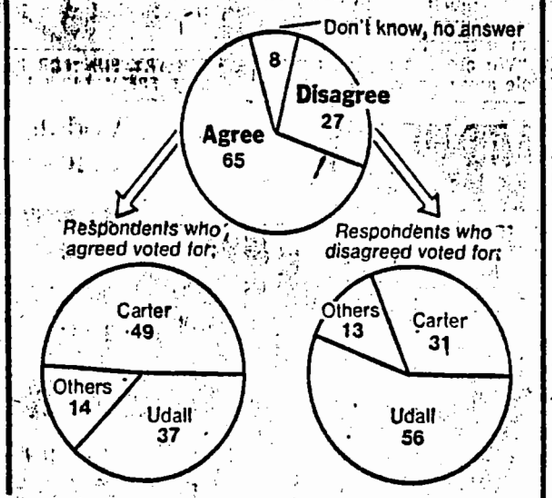
That is nearly four of every 10 Reagan voters said they would vote for Mr. Carter in a Carter-Ford race, while over a third of the Ford voters would desert to the Democrat in a Carter-Reagan race.

The Times and CBS News will continue their survey coverage of the 1976 primaries in the California, New Jersey and Ohio election on June 8. Assisting The Times is Prof. Gary R. Orren of the government department at Harvard University.

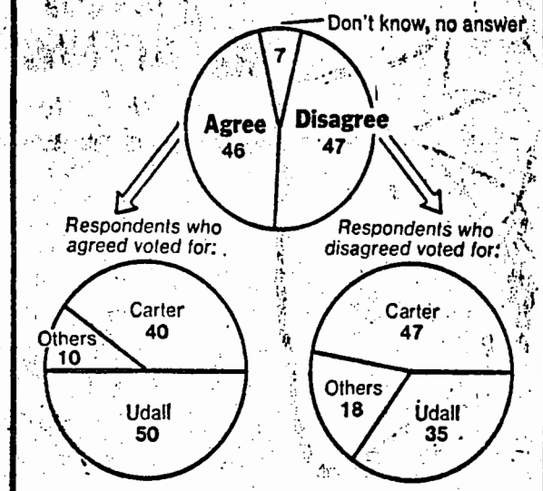
The Government should have a more balanced budget even if it means spending less on programs like health and education.



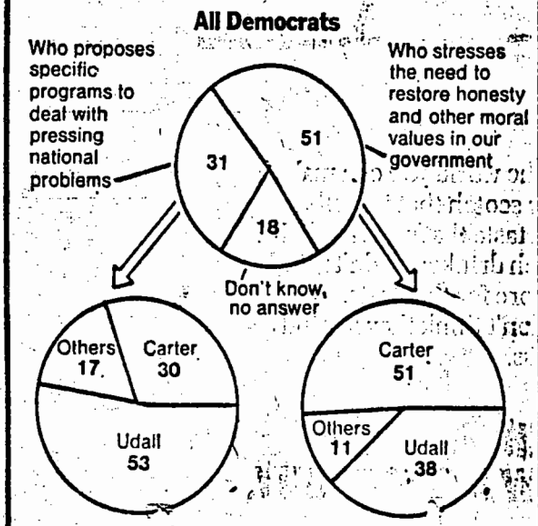
My main source of comfort and guidance in life is my faith in God.



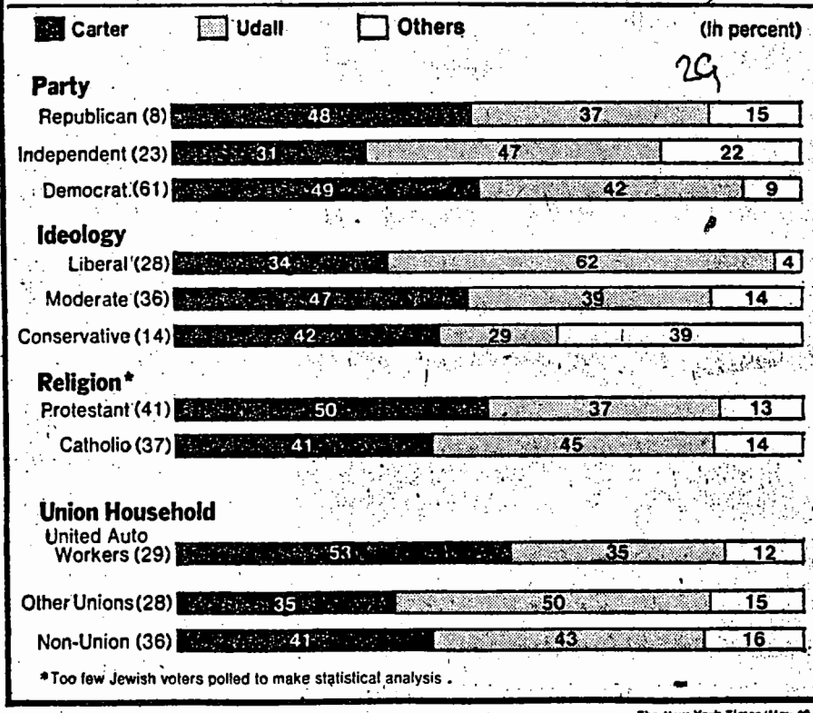
Government spending for military defense should be reduced.



Is it more important to elect a President:



How Various Groups Voted in Michigan's Democratic Primary (Based on New York Times/CBS News Poll of 838 Voters)



*Too few Jewish voters polled to make statistical analysis.

The New York Times/May 20, 1976

The figures in parentheses are the percentages of voters in the Democratic Primary from each category. Under "Party," for example, eight percent said they were Republicans. Of these, 48 percent voted for Carter, 37 percent for Udall, and 15 percent for others.

Carter, While Alert to Setbacks, Seems Confident

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 19—It might have been a triumphant procession by Jimmy Carter into the subjugated and submissive citadel of the Democratic party. But he now appears to realize that he will have to batter his way in with more siege warfare.

Mr. Carter still seems confident that he will win the Democratic Presidential nomination, probably on the first ballot. However, the former Georgia Governor has clearly been embarrassed by electoral reverses last night and last week.

Mr. Carter's clear victory in the April 27 Pennsylvania primary was accurately hailed as a "breakthrough" in his carefully planned, well-executed drive for nomination. Immediately after the Pennsylvania voting Mr. Carter said he had "virtually eliminated all my major opponents" and announced plans to spend more time and emphasis in the role of party leader while mopping up against his supposedly demoralized opposition.

However, while Pennsylvania was a turning point in the political year, the scenario Mr. Carter foresaw has not worked in the way he saw it. In Texas and Indiana on May 4 Mr. Carter seemed to be getting a strong further shift of voter loyalty to his banner. But these were not fully "contested" primaries.

Delegates Vital

In the last few weeks he has had three hard-foughti primaries and has lost two of them, in Maryland and Nebraska where Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California and Senator Frank Church of Idaho were making debuts in Presidential politics. In Michigan yesterday Mr. Carter averted only by the narrowest margin a loss at the hands of Representative Morris K. Udall.

Mr. Carter had a number of explanations to offer. But overlying those explanations was an assertion that the losses and near-losses did not much matter.

"The name of the game is delegates," Mr. Carter said last week in a no doubt unconscious, but exact, replay of a remark by Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington a few days before Mr. Carter defeated the Senator in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Carter asserted that he had won 101 more national convention delegates yesterday and that this brought his own private count of reasonably sure delegates to 907. He added that he now expects to have 1,000 such delegates even before June 8 when the last 540 delegates are selected in California, Ohio and New Jersey. For nomination, 1,505 are needed.

Seeks to Avoid Error

Mr. Carter believes and says that only a major mistake on his own part could stipp still stop him. With great care he is now trying to avoid the mistake of letting anyone else set an arbitrary standard of performance in the remaining primaries as a requirement for nomination To do so he has set unusually modest goals. Yesterday, he said he might win "half, or maybe even more" of the remaining 12 primary elections, which are held mostly in Southern and Western states. In a news conference here today he repeated that "obviously everyone would expect Governor Brown to come in first" in the June 8 California primary.

It would be "very difficult" in Oregon on May 25 because western politicians such as Senator Church and Governor Brown are very popular in those states, he said.

Behind such words there was a reality that critics might ignore. While Mr. Carter may indeed face difficult times in such spotlighted states as Oregon, California and Nevada, where he will again face Governor Brown, he was not only strong in such areas as Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas, but so strong, in fact, that only the indomitable Mr. Udall would even try to oppose the former Southern Governor in those areas.

Mr. Carter suggested that the equivocal result in Michigan and the outright loss in Maryland yesterday came about because his opponents were "now dividing up the states" to engage him in single combat, rather than dividing the anti-Carter vote and permitting him to win by modest pluralities as he had in earlier primaries.

There was, however, a more somber and perhaps significant question that Mr. Carter did not appear to find easy to answer. If he is playing the role of a winner, as he has certainly done for most of the year, does he not have to win?

If the real Presidential prospects of his opponents are no longer plausible, why can he lose elections at this stage and even promise to lose more before the primary season winds down?

Were there still doubts, he was asked today, about his own popularity and personal acceptability to large numbers of voters? "I don't think so," said Mr. Carter. "I feel very certain about the stability and continuation of the degree of support I've enjoyed already."

Brown, in Oregon, Seeks Write-in Votes

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 19—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California arrived here today from Baltimore looking for a way to turn his solid victory over Jimmy Carter in the Maryland primary into a winning streak that could alter the course of the race for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

On landing at Portland International Airport and in subsequent remarks, Mr. Brown was careful to stress the long odds against him as a write-in candidate in next Tuesday's Oregon primary. Given the fact that his name will not appear on the ballot here, victory is probably "an impossible dream," he acknowledged.

Having said this, the 38-year-old candidate was immediately confronted with evidence of strong support that obviously set him and his staff to imagining that the dream might become possible. JPublic Park, a large open plaza in downtown Portland, he found a crowd of at least 2,500 persons waiting patiently for him in a steady, cold rain.

Mr. Brown, having arrived to enthusiastic cheers, left his audience damp but not dampened after a relatively long rendition of his standard stump speech, which went on for more than 20 minutes.

Standing in the rain without any cover and gazing into a thicket of umbrellas, he said that he might have a chance to be nominate "if I can win the minds and hearts not only of all you people who don't have enough sense to come out of the rain but also of our friends at home."

When he got to the point in his speech where he normally quotes the Bible to the effect that "he who is first shall be last and he who is last shall be first," the Californian hesitated.

"Now I'm not quite sure who that is after last night," he declared. "I may have to change that."

He had told Maryland audiences that his triumph there would change the "chemistry" of the Democratic race but did not change the arithmetic, for there were no Brown delegates on the Maryland ballot. Thus, despite his surprisingly easy victory over the frontrunner from Georgia yesterday, he still has only one delegate formally pledged to support him in July at the Democratic convention where 1,505 will be needed for nomination.

Nelson A. Rockefeller was the last Presidential candidate to attempt a write-in campaign in an Oregon primary. That was in 1968 in his 11th-hour bid for the Republican nomination against Richard M Nixon. Mr. Rockefeller, who had won impressively here in 1964, got &ly about 12 per cent of the vote.

Mr. Brown preferred to recall another precedent from 1968, Eugene J. McCarthy's upset victory here that year over Robert F. Kennedy. He got a cheer from hsi youthful audience when he worked a reference to his own participation in the McCarthy campaign Into his speech.

"Be countei, not processed," urged a soggy, handmade sign that bobbed in the rain before him. "Write in Brown."

His name will be on the ballot in Nevada, which also holds a primary next Tuesday, and Mr. Brown will fly to Las Vegas tomorrow evening after appearances here and in Eugene. However, most of his campaign effort in the coming days will be devoted to Oregon, where, counting on the strong maverick tradition in the state's politic he is running without the kind of backing from Democratic regulars that he enjoyed in Maryland.

Brown's Aides Work Quietly To Win New York Delegates

By THOMAS P. RONAN

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. has embarked on a low-key campaign to win the support of delegates to the Democratic National Convention from New York state, where he now has none.

William Wardlaw, the Brown national operations director, who was reached by telephone at campaign headquarters in Los Angeles, said yesterday that the organization had written to the delegates in New York and other states offering them information on the California Governor.

"We are not asking their votes but we are trying to introduce them to the Governor," he said. He added that within the last week and a half the Brown forces had also telephoned the delegates.

Judy Balaban Quine, a Brown voluntear aide, who opened a New York office for the California at 1370 Sixth Avenue yesterday, said campaign aides here also had been in touch with New York delegates offering information about the Governor and an opportunity tomee to meet him.

Mrs. Quine said she expected Mr. Brown to visit this city after the Rhode Island primary on June 1 and that her group wanted "to expose as many people as possible to him." And she noted that some of the delegates might be looking for a candidate to support if the one to whom they are now committed dropped out.

Both Mr. Wardlaw and Mrs. Quine said the organization had also received many calls from nondelegates interested in Mr. Brown's candidacy and eager to get information about him.

Among those who received telephone calls from Mr. Brown's aides were Linda Davidoff, a Westchester delegate and Libby Moroff, a Westchester alternate, both of whom are committed to Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. Both confirmed that they had not been asked for their votes but had been offered information about the Governor and his programs.

Mr. Brown did not enter the New York primary and consequently he has no delegates among the 274 member state delegation. They are split among Mr. Udall, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia or are uncommitted.

Connecticut Group Formed

HARTFORD, May 19 (UPI)—A Connecticut group announced today the formation of a committee to help Governor Brown's candidacy for the Democratic nomination.

Former Representative Robert Oliver fo New Haven, and Dominick Squatrito, of Manchester, said they had formed a committee to seek delegates for Mr. Brown, who beat Jimmy Carter in the Maryland primary yesterday.

They said Mr. Brown would be in the state for at least one day before the June 12 Congressional District conventions at which the state's 51 national delegates will be picked.

At the six district conventions that day, delegates from the state's 169 towns who were selected during the May 11 Presidential primary will pick the national delegation. Mr. Brown was not on the primary ballot.

Worker Death Rate Drops

CHICAGO (AP) — The National Safety Council says preliminary data show that 1,000 fewer workers died in on-the-job accidents in 1975 than in 1974. The council says this resulted in a record low death rate of about 14 per 100,000 workers in the United States.

The Newer Faces Won in Maryland

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 19—The "changed political chemistry" that Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California correctly sensed might carry him to victory over Jimmy Carter in Maryland was at work, too, for other candidates here.

Unofficial returns from yesterday's voting showed that in 20 days of campaigning Mr. Brown was able to outdistance Mr. Carter in nearly every section of this demographically diverse state, among blacks and whites, in urban and suburban areas.

The same pattern also lifted a number of statewide candidates here to victories at the expense of more established figures.

Swept away was the comeback bid of former Senator Joseph D. Tydings, who was overwhelmingly defeated yesterday, even in his home county, for the Democratic senatorial nomination by a less well-known candidate, Representative Paul S. Sarbanes of Baltimore.

With all of the 1,546 precincts reporting, the tally was:

Sarbanes 299,558 (56 percent)
Tydings 187,632 (35 percent)

Man kiewicz Loses

In the Washington suburb of Montgomery County, Frank Mankiewicz, the journalist and former campaign aide to the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy and to Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, lost a bid for the Democratic nomination for the Eigth Congressional District seat to a young lawyer, Lanny Davis.

And here, the Third District, in North Baltimore, City Councilwoman Barbara A. Mikulski, who lost a senatorial race two years ago, defeated some of the city's most formidable politicians in a 10-candidate race for the Democratic nomination to succeed Mr. Sarbanes in the House.

Miss Milulski's margin was 2 to 1 over her nearest rival, State Senator Joseph Curran Jr. She is considered an instant favorite in the November election against the Republican nominee, Samuel Culotta.

Governor Brown came close, in the seven-candidate Presidential preference race, winning half the vote cast by about 45 percent of Maryland's 1.2 million registered Democrats. Left in the dust were Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona; Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama; Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington; Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candilate, and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

Mandel Helped Brown

Mr. Brown undoubtedly benefited here in the city from the stop-Carter efforts in his behalf by Gov. Marvin Mandel, long influential in Baltimore machine politics, who had quietly ordered out a pro-Brown vote. But he would have won without Mr. Mandel's help.

Mr. Brown ran well ahead not only in the city but in Maryland's three largest suburan counties, where elections in this state are usually decided. Only on the rural Maryland Eastern Shore did Mr. Carter, former Governor of Georiga, prevail.

The Brown victory gave new political lusterto two elected county executives—Theodore Venetoulis of suburban Baltimore county, who was instrumental in persuading the California Governor to come here late last month, and Winfield Kelly of Prince Georges County, a middle-income suburb of Washington, who said last night that he had "delivered" the nearly 5,000-vote Brown victory margin there.

In both Mr. Venetoulis's county, the state's largest with a suburban and industrial blue collar mix, and in Montgomery County near Washington, one of the wealthiest suburban areas in the United States, Mr. Brown's share of the vote was over 50 percent.

Carey Sets Up Unit to Aid Victims of Italian Quake

Governor Carey has announced the appointment of a special committee to coordinate the efforts of New Yorkers in providing relief for the victims of the recent earthquake in northern Italy.

Mr. Carey said that the co-chairman of the committee would be Secretary of State Mario M. Cuomo, the Social Services Commissioner, Phillip L. Tola, and Maj. Vito J. Castellano, the chief of staff to the Governor.

The Governor said that the committee would contact state agencies and charitable organizations throughout the state and identify the needed supplies and the locations to which they should be brought for transport to Italy.

Mr. Carey also proclaimed May 266 as disaster relief day for Italy and urged relief contributions or the nearest Italian consulate until the new committee announces a specific plan for statewide participation in the effort.

THE FRESH AIR FUND
1877-1977

Conventional Foolishness

ESSAY

By William Safire

WASHINGTON, May 19 — As the horses round the far turn and enter the final third of the run for the Rose Garden, some last-minute side bets can be made against conventional wisdom:

In the Democratic non-race, the word being spread is that front-runner Jimmy Carter is not invincible. His loss to Gurunor Jerry Brown in Maryland and his squeaker victory over always-the-bridesmaid Mo Udall in Michigan, we are told, give new heart to a "stop-Carter" drive.

But conventional wisdom—an amalgam of envy in the Democratic establishment and the desire for a hot race by the media—is, as usual, wrong. This week, Mr. Carter picked up most of Maryland's delegates (the Brown challenge was in the "beauty contest") and most of the Michigan delegates—despite having to campaign in both states while his opponents could each concentrate on one.

Ah, but what of the bandwagon psychology? Now that Mr. Carter has been exposed as beatable, won't potential supporters who decide their preference on the basis of sheer panic tend to withhold their bandwagon-leaping?

Not for long. If any adage carries weight, it is that you cannot beat somebody with nobody; Mr. Carter's 700 hard-won delegates make him Somebody, and his opponents' fractionalized strength make them Nobody. Mr. Udall, who keeps losing those heartbreakers, represents the minority wing of his party; and nobody can get to Senator Church on time.

That leaves Jerry Brown as the most-touted alternative. Although he is not quite the Pat Paulsen of 1976, his candidacy is not serious; he might out-fuzzy Mr. Carter in California, but his appeal is based on the honesty of his dishonesty: "A little vagueness goes a long way in this business," he says. A great attitude for an observer, but not for a participant.

Some other Democrats run to become known for a campaign years hence, as Senator Church does; or to earn a place on the ticket, as Congressman Udall does; or simply to get away from the drudgery of running a large state, as Governor Brown does. Meanwhile the only serious candidate in the field moves inexorably ahead. General discontent with Jimmy Carter will grow as his Nixonesque qualities become more apparent, but only an all-out Ted Kennedy campaign could stop him now.

The Republican race, in contrast, bids fair to be neck-and-neck into the home stretch. On my tally sheet, both candidates come into Kansas City with over a thousand delegates each, and 1,130 the magic number.

Switching to sports metaphors, more hardball is being played on the Republican side than meets the eye. In Michigan, despite a pretense of campaigning lightly in his opponent's home territory, Governor Reagan's men tried hard to turn out the Wallace vote. In direct-mail advertising, gun control was their issue: "This will be the best opportunity you'll have this year to send our message to the Washington politicians who want to take away our guns."

That's rough stuff; "send them a message" is pure Wallace, and it flopped, in the face of President Ford's whistle-stopping. (I liked the train gimmick, but where was the girl with the "Bring Us Together" sign?)

The gun-inging is not as rough as the hardball being played by the President and his allies in Congress. With the connivance of Senators Hugh Scott and Robert Griffin, the bill providing Federal funds to candidates was delayed for three weeks, effectively applying a tourniquet to the million dollars owed to Governor Reagan in Michigan.

Now the President is dragging a foot in signing the bill to further strain Mr. Reagan's finances in California's June 8 primary. No "dirty trick" by Donald Segretti could compare in effectiveness with this power abuse conceived by Senator Griffin and carried out by Candidate Ford. But they're getting away with it: The feeling seems to be that nice guys don't win nominations.

Even Henry Kissinger has felt the new toughness at the White House: He was forced to cancel two California campaign speeches, because the President has finally identified him as the albatross around his neck. Mr. Ford will soon show us if he is capable of defending his foreign policy on his own.

Conventional wisdom says the Republicans will now proceed to tear themselves apart. But the lesson of 1964 is not forgotten; it could be that this time the losers will be invited to stay.

Thus, the victory of Mr. Ford could be accompanied by the choice of John Connally or Senator Bill Brock, moving toward the right; the more likely victory of Governor Reagan would bring about a conciliation with his choice of someone from the Ford Cabinet, like Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld or Secretary of Everything Elliot Richardson.

In short, bet against conventional wisdom, because wisdom may not be a delegate to either convention this year.

. . . Brown's Debut

Governor Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown, Jr. achieved an impressive victory in Maryland in his debut as a Democratic Presidential candidate. By defeating former Governor Jimmy Carter by a margin of 49 percent to 37 percent, he established himself as a star performer against the strongest competition in this year's primaries.

But there are disturbing aspects of his victory. Mr. Brown has readily accepted support of the unsavory Maryland Democratic organization headed by Governor Marvin Mandel, who is hardly the idealistic reformer Governor Brown might be expected to ally himself with. His success in some parts of the state was more a triumph for the old bossism than for the new politics.

Although attacking his opponent for fuzziness on the issues, Governor Brown himself was hardly a model of clarity. Unlike Representative Morris K. Udall, who held Mr. Carter to a virtual standoff in the Michigan primary with an issue-oriented campaign, Mr. Brown contented himself with sloganeering, enigmatic generalities, and criticism. Aside from demonstrating his virtuosity as a campaigner, he proved nothing in Maryland about his fitness to be President.

Governor Carter's loss in Maryland and almost invisible margin of victory in Michigan showed that the risks of running in virtually every primary are beginning to catch up with him. Trying to wage a nationwide campaign, he was tripped up by Senator Frank Church in Nebraska. Trying to fend off Governor Brown's challenge in Maryland, he had to forgo campaigning in Michigan and very nearly lost a state where he had expected to score a solid victory.

Mr. Carter remains far ahead in pledged delegates; but his nomination cannot be regarded as certain unless he can decisively defeat at least one of his three pesky challengers—Senator Church, Governor Brown, and Representative Udall—in the remaining primaries. Knowing that one or another is lying in ambush for him at almost every turn, he has to devise an effective counter-ambush strategy.

Better
Partly cloudy today, high near 60. Low tonight near 40. Sunny tomorrow, high near 70. Details: B-6.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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Something Seriously Amiss in Carter Campaign

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

There is something seriously amiss in the Jimmy Carter campaign.

The returns from Maryland and Michigan yesterday represent no direct, immediate threat to his primacy in the competition for the Democratic presidential nomination. He did, after all, gain more than 100 more delegates.

But the signs of weakness in both states suggest a remarkable vulnerability in Carter's putatively dominant position. And they raise at least the possibility that he might win the nomination so tarnished that he would enter the general election campaign as badly damaged goods.

CARTER'S DEFEAT in Maryland obviously can be attributed in substantial measure to the remarkable chemistry Jerry Brown managed to develop with the electorate there in his dramatic late campaign. But a candidate with a firm hold on his electorate is not going to take that kind of a bath — he lost by 12 percentage points — at this stage, chemistry or no chemistry.

And, in a sense, Carter's narrow escape in Michigan was even more disturbing evidence of vulnerability. No one ever accused Mo Udall of any special magic with the electorate, but with 96 percent of the vote counted Carter was winning by just 1 percent, a mere 2,500 votes.

The first obvious signs of some latent weakness in Carter appeared a week ago when he lost Nebraska to Frank Church by a single point. But it was possible to chalk that off to Church's intensive campaign there, perhaps a measure of regional identification, perhaps aberrant behavior by the electorate.

There are no such plausible explanations of the results yesterday. And, as a result, Carter is now facing a genuinely critical test in the Oregon primary next Tuesday.

CARTER CAN look ahead to the six primaries next week assured of capturing most of the delegates

See DEMOCRATS, A-9

DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

available. In the Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas primaries, where George C. Wallace offers the only opposition of note, Carter is assured of winning most of the 118 delegates who will be chosen. And he can afford to cede Idaho to Church, the home state senator, and Nevada to Brown, the neighboring state governor.

But Carter no longer can afford to dismiss Oregon as just another primary. Both Church and Brown are making intensive efforts there, and the outcome is certain to take on meaning in the political community far beyond the 34 delegates involved.

As Carter's campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, conceded in a television interview Monday night, the Georgian does not want to win the nomination with everyone saying Church or Brown would have beaten him if they had started earlier. The quality of the victory has some meaning, too.

Carter originally was heavily favored in Oregon, although Church's triumph in Nebraska made it likely the contest would be close. Now Brown, although forced to rely on a write-in campaign there, has shown a capacity to menace Carter anywhere.

JUST WHY CARTER, who has been destroying opponents right and left throughout the winter and spring, should suddenly seem so vulnerable is not clear. To some extent, it may be simply a reflection of the weakness of the opposition he faced in the early primaries. This is quite obviously a better year for a Jerry Brown than a Scoop Jackson.

And Carter's late troubles also can be blamed — at least in part — on the demands of his run-everywhere strategy. As Carter himself said last night, "There's no way to win in all of them."

But the close race run by Udall in Michigan cannot be explained away so easily. On the contrary, it seems to point to the root of the Carter problem today.

Carter had everything going in Michigan. The Democratic electorate there is heavily southern and heavily black, and he had the active backing of Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit and of Leonard Woodcock and the United Auto Workers. Nor was a state that had given George McGovern only 27 percent of its vote four years ago particularly fertile for a liberal such as Udall, a candidate of steadily declining fortunes and expectations all year.

But Udall made his campaign on one issue: Carter. His advertising depicted the smiling frontrunner as duplicitous on the issues, and his personal campaigning through the final week consisted largely of "media events" designed to dramatize Carter's ambiguity on such premier Democratic concerns as jobs, right-to-work laws and the efficacy of breaking up the big oil companies.

THE MESSAGE, quite simply, was that Carter was still "fuzzy" on the issues, whatever his ascendancy in the competition for delegates.

This is the heart of the Carter weakness entering the final round of primaries. He has failed to use his dominant position in the contest for the nomination to wipe away doubts about what he really offers his party. Instead, he has made the mistake of sitting on a lead, playing it "safe" — and refusing to acknowledge he could be threatened.

In the most practical terms, Carter is still not threatened. Neither Brown nor Church nor Udall has the potential for winning even one-third as many convention delegates, and it is difficult, although not impossible, to write a scenario in which any of the three can be nominated. But a contest for a presidential nomination is a living organism, particularly in the Democratic party, and its shape can change rapidly and radically.

AND IT WAS PLAIN last night that Brown and Udall — as well as the absent Church — had been given new life by the Democrats of Michigan and Maryland.

"My sense of this process," Brown said, "is that it changes very rapidly."

"What this says," said Udall, "is the country wants to slow down. . . . What has happened, the voters of Maryland and Michigan have said there's no stampede to judgment. They said they want to hear about the issues. They said they want an open convention in Madison Square Garden in July."

Carter professed to be undismayed. His campaign, he said, had met its goal "fairly well" by winning another 100 delegates. By his figures, he said, he now has more than 900 of the 1,505 needed for the nomination and will have more than 1,000 after the results are in next Tuesday.

BUT THE CARTER estimates themselves point to the danger he faces if he continues to show weakness in the late primaries. The hard count of support for the former Georgia governor is perhaps 200 delegates below that figure, the balance being made up of those expected to come his way from uncommitted blocs and incomplete processes in several caucus states. What Carter needs to assure their delivery is a victory over Brown and Church in Oregon next Tuesday — and, more important, a revival of the winning psychology that has made him the frontrunner.

There were apparently several special factors in

VOTING RESULTS IN MARYLAND

BALTIMORE (UPI) — The complete vote in the Maryland presidential primary yesterday with all of the state's 1,546 precincts reporting:

REPUBLICANS

Ford: 94,784 — 58%
Reagan: 68,916 — 42%

DEMOCRATS

Brown: 283,956 — 49%
Carter: 216,687 — 37%
Udall: 31,360 — 5%
Wallace: 23,922 — 4%
Jackson: 13,547 — 2%
McCormack: 9,616 — 2%
Harris: 6,875 — 1%

VOTING RESULTS IN MICHIGAN

DETROIT (AP) — Here are the vote totals in Michigan's presidential primary, with 96 percent of the state's 6,331 precints reporting:

REPUBLICANS

Ford: 672,986 — 65%
Reagan: 351,734 — 34%
Uncom: 8,010 — 1%

DEMOCRATS

Carter: 292,957 — 44%
Udall: 290,493 — 43%
Wallace: 47,353 — 7%
Uncom: 14,538 — 2%
Jackson: 10,228 — 2%
McCormack: 7,468 — 1%
Shriver: 5,728 — 1%
Harris: 4,028 — 1%

Carter's showing in Michigan yesterday. One was the fact that Democrats and independents chose in huge numbers to vote instead in the Republican contest between President Ford and Ronald Reagan. It is not unreasonable to suppose that more of those voters would have preferred Carter to Udall.

Another was the remarkable success Udall had enjoyed in attracting press attention to his campaign in the state, largely because he committed himself so totally to that primary.

BUT CARTER'S own opinion polls have shown a growing number of voters reacting negatively to him where once his ratio of favorable to unfavorable had been 3 to 1 or better.

And the voters in Michigan and Maryland now have joined those in Nebraska in sending Jimmy Carter a message that it's not wrapped up quite yet.

MD. AND MICH. VINTAGE 1972

It was just four years ago that Gov. George Wallace, shot and paralyzed the day before in a Laurel shopping center, won the Maryland and Michigan primaries.

In 1972, the Alabama governor got 51 percent of the vote in Michigan and 39 percent in Maryland. Yesterday, Wallace received only 7 percent in Michigan and 4 percent in Maryland. He also had won the Maryland primray in 1964.

The eventual '72 Democratic nominee, Sen. George S. McGovern, was third in Maryland with 126,978 votes, 22 percent. Wallace received 219,687 votes and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey got 151,981 votes, 27 percent. Other Democratic candidates got 69,485 votes.

Wallace in 1972 got 809,239 votes in Michigan, which has an open primary law allowing voters to participate in either party's primary. McGovern was second with 425,694 votes, 27 percent; Humphrey, third, 249,798 votes, 16 percent; others 103,342 votes.

Incumbent President Richard M. Nixon easily swept the 1972 Maryland Republican primary with 99,308 votes, 86 percent. Rep. Paul McCloskey got 9,223 votes, 8 percent and Rep. John Ashbrook, 6,718 votes, 6 percent.

In Michigan, Nixon walked away with 96 percent of the 1972 Republican primary vote. Nixon got 321,652 votes and all other candidates got 15,091.

In Michigan 46 percent of the state's registered voters went to the polls four years ago. In Maryland, 49 percent of the 1,155,453 registered Democrats voted in the 1972 primary, and 27 percent of Maryland's 441,174 registered Republicans participated.

This year 1,240,042 Democrats and 426,461 Republicans were eligible to vote in Maryland's primary. On the GOP side, 163,700 voters, or 38 percent of those eligible, turned out. Among Democrats, 585,963, or 47 percent of those registered voted yesterday.

There were 4,575,336 persons registered and eligible for Michigan's open primary yesterday. With 96 percent of the state's precincts reporting, 1,705,523 persons had voted — 1,032,730 on the Democrats' side and 672,793 on the Republicans.

How Brown Did It

Almost Flawless Campaign With the Political Power Backing Him

By Michael Kiernan
Washington Star Staff Writer

Youthful California Gov. Edmund G. Brown put it all together in Maryland yesterday and demonstrated he can beat Democratic frontrunner Jimmy Carter among Democrats both white and black, rich and poor, conservative and liberal.

In 20 days Brown emerged from relative obscurity to beat Carter impressively, by 12 percentage points, running first everywhere in the state except in some rural areas and the Eastern Shore.

The feat was the result of an almost flawless campaign effort which featured more than $135,000 in media advertising, hundreds of volunteers from across the state, and the cooperation of nearly all of the most powerful political figures in Maryland, including Gov. Marvin Mandel.

RUNNING WELL AHEAD of Carter in the state's three largest counties and Baltimore City, Brown ended up with nearly half of the all the Democratic votes cast in Maryland's so-called beauty contest, which served as Brown's introduction to presidential politics.

With all votes tallied, Brown finished with 49 percent of the vote compared to Carter's 37 percent. Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) finished a poor third among the seven entrants with 5 percent, and Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, winner of the 1972 primary, received 4 percent.

Brown's impressive defeat of Carter brought a boast last night from Prince Georges County Executive Winfield Kelly that the party regulars had "delivered" the county to Brown yesterday.

Without question, Brown was far better organized than Carter in the Prince Georges County and across the state because of the help of politicians like Kelly and Mandel.

"We caught Carter napping. He'll never take us for granted again," shouted one jubilant party regular at Brown's campaign headquarters last night.

BUT FOR ALL their know-how, party regulars admitted they would not have been able to turn out the voters in such large numbers had Brown not proved to be such an able campaigner.

See BROWN, A-9

BROWN

Continued From A-1

"He had them so turned on in Montgomery County we had to turn away volunteers towards the end of the campaign. It was especially true for the women. They love him," an aide said.

Brown's appeal stretched across the spectrum of Democrats, and he apparently picked up votes that might otherwise have gone to such differing candidates as Wallace, Udall, Fred Harris and Henry M. Jackson.

Many voters also seemed to be turned off by Carter's recent charges that Brown was a tool of the political bosses of Maryland for accepting their support.



—Washington Star Photographer Ray Lustig

A Brown supporter, perched astride her companion's shoulders, strains for a glimpse of the California governor during his victory speech.

"I GUESS I'M a member of the stop-Carter movement," said a 23-year-old University of Maryland student after casting his ballot for Brown. "I don't like the way Carter's been acting the last few days. I don't buy the charges."

Brown beat Carter in all but one of the state's eight congressional districts as he gathered support from young housewives in Montgomery County, union laborers and blacks in Baltimore City, federal government and state workers in Prince Georges County, and even the more conservative suburbanites of Anne Arundel County.

Only in Maryland's predominantly rural areas, especially along farms and fishing villages of the Eastern Shore, did Carter show his usual strength. But the turnout among these traditionally conservative Democrats was not nearly enough to challenge Brown's powerful strength in the suburbs and the inner city.

IN PAST PRIMARIES Carter has handily defeated opponents in black city neighborhoods. Yesterday in Baltimore, the magic was suddenly gone. Results from Baltimore's seventh district, which is 74 percent black, showed Brown ahead of Carter by about 2 percent.

In Montgomery County, perhap's the nation's richest suburb, the outcome was startling even for Brown's staunchest supporters. Brown won by a better than 2-to-1 margin over Carter and by better than 4-to-1 over Udall, whose supporters continued to campaign in the county up until the final hour.

In Prince Georges County, where Kelly donated his top aide, John Lally, to coordinate the campaign, the race was somewhat closer, but Brown still won by nearly 5,000 votes.

Some 600 volunteers worked easily under Lally, who built the campaign around computer lists that pinpointed Democrats who most frequently vote in county races. Lally said the lists were the same ones that enabled Kelly to win his county post two years ago.

Lally said volunteers called personally on each of these voters, and on Monday night some 35,000 of them received Brown propoganda on their doorsteps just before the polls opened.

MEANWHILE, IN Baltimore City and county combined, Brown picked up more than 135,000 votes — about 40,000 more than Carter. This combined turnout represented almost half of the 283,956 votes Brown recieved state-wide.

The results in Baltimore City were especially gratifying to Mandel, who personally brought together 50 of the most powerful political leaders in the Baltimore area on Monday for a pep-talk.

The reason: Mandel just wanted to make sure his old friends knew how much he personally disliked Carter and that his reputation as a man who can deliver the goods was on the line.

Last night flushed with victory, Mandel stood on the rear of the platform where Brown told a screaming crowe of supporters that he would go to Oregon to continue his presidential campaign because "the nomination is still open."

Asked if he considered Brown's victory a personal one for him as well, Mandel's eyes glistened. "I'll leave that for you to say," he said.

No 'Anti-Washington' Theme at This Forum

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

While "anti-Washington" themes may do well on the hustings, Democrats sitting down to write the platform for the 1976 campaign are getting a great deal of advice about how the federal government can do more for the country.

A phalanx of labor leaders, blacks and traditional party leaders presented the platform committee yesterday with what they hope will be the meat-and-potatoes issues for 1976: more jobs, national health insurance and a "Marshall Plan" to restore the nation's cities.

The notion that Democrats should cut back and reorganize Washington's powers, being used by Jimmy Carter and Edmund G. Brown Jr. in the primaries, does not seem to have had a major impact on SEN. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., who gave the committee a wide-ranging speech on the political philosophies he would like to see in the platform.

"THE WAY TO BE popular today is to do nothing and the way to be exceedingly popular is to do less than nothing. Well, I for one don't buy it," said Humphrey. He received a standing ovation and four times the normal 10-minute time allotment from the committee.

Humphrey is an author of "The Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976," commonly known as the Humphrey-Hawkins bill because it is sponsored in the House by Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins, D-Calif.

Nearly every one of yesterday's 19 witnesses said the party should get behind Humprhey-Hawkins. As Humphrey explained it, the bill would use a variety of federal tools, including the tax rate and fiscal policies to stimulate the private sector to provide enough jobs to get the current 7.5 percent unemployment rate down to 3 percent within four years.

If indirect stimulation would not be enough to reach that level, the bill would authorize public jobs and even public work projects if necessary. At most, Humphrey said, the bill could result in a net cost to the government of $12 billion a year.

Humphrey's jobs proposal was supported by several labor leaders who appeared yesterday, including Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, and Glenn Watts, president of the Communication Workers of America.

Michael Harrington, chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee and leader of a coalition of blacks, liberal Democrats and some labor leaders, said he was so enthusiastic about Humphrey-Hawkins that he felt that state party leaders at the Democratic convention in July should use a Humphrey-Hawkins slogan to identify themselves when speaking from the floor.

THREE BLACK LEADERS, M. Carl Holman, president of the Urban Coalition, Basil Paterson, speaking for the National Caucus of Black Democrats, and Rep. Charles B. Rangle, spokesman for the Congresssional Black Caucus, stressed the need for further federal aid for the nation's major cities.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., agreed with Humphrey-Hawkins and the need for greater infusions of federal aid for the cities. He added another issue which also found widespread support among the witnesses: the need for a comprehensive national health insurance program.

He said that his proposal, currently pending before the Senate would cost no more than other proposals now being studied. Without it, he said, citizens will be paying $250 billion a year in medical costs by 1981.

IT WAS A DAY of catering to the party's traditional clientele, labor, the blacks and other urban minorities, but one labor problem gave the platform committee a great deal of trouble.

The platform meeting had to be adjourned temporarily in mid-morning after Woodcock and other labor leaders refused to cross a two-person picket line outside the Hyatt Regency Hotel where the meeting was being held.

Politics Today

Jerry Brown's Essence: Consummate Politician

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

A reporter whose consciousness had never been conspicuously raised went out to Sacramento a year ago to ask Jerry Brown about all these odd things he was doing — things such as returning gold frisbees and a version of "Peter Rabbit" in Latin to the donors. Were these things important, the insensitive reporter inquired, for their symbolic value?

"Anything you do," Brown replied with a straight face, "manifests your own essence."

That sounds pretty classy. In fact, a reasonable man can hardly quarrel with it. But it wasn't quite the whole story, either. It didn't explain, for example, why Jerry Brown found it necessary to send out press releases on all these odd things he was doing.

THE EXPLANATION, of course, is that those press releases manifested some of Jerry Brown's essence, too, because he is a devoted, consummate politician — and all the more effective at it because he has managed to persuade so many voters he is not. Just how effective was demonstrated by the shellacking he gave Jimmy Carter, who is no slouch himself, in Maryland yesterday.

Moreover, Brown did it with that extraordinary knack he seems to have of presenting himself as "different" while co-opting the news media and the conventional politicians with tactics not dissimilar to those a candidate for sewer commissioner might use in Buffalo. The job he did on Jimmy Carter is one that even Jimmy Carter himself must grudgingly if privately admire.

Brown derided Carter's devotion to "zero base" budgeting, for example, picturing it as no more than an unrealistic gimmick. What you have to do, he kept saying, is "challenge assumptions" about what the basic role of government should be. The fact that this is precisely what is involved in zero base budgeting somehow got lost in the fine print.

SIMILARLY, Brown accused Carter — with obvious effectivenes — of sloganeering on issues while simultaneously racing around Maryland himself proclaiming his devotion to the Humphrey-Hawkins bill that has become the quintessential Democratic slogan of this campaign.

He said repeatedly that he didn't know where Carter stands on the issues, that he was too vague But when someone asked him the other day about the Middle East, Brown said he couldn't see any basic difference between mediating between the Arabs and Israelis and between the Teamsters and the Farm Workers Union. (He did not mention that the latter are not known to have a nuclear weapons capability.)

What the results last night demonstrated is that all this was irrelevant to the voters' perception of this nice young man from California. They didn't see a tough, ambitious politician in Maryland; they saw a nice young man with "a lot of fresh ideas" about how things should be done.

That he defeated Carter is perhaps the most impressive thing, because Carter has been working the same side of the street for months, with heretofore stunning success. Perhaps we have reached the stage at which new faces become burnt-out cases overnight.

WHAT IS DIFFICULT to fathom is the potential of Brown in the eight weeks until the Democratic national convention opens in New York. He has made an audacious start in Maryland but how he can convert it into a genuine challenge for the nomination is still unclear. What he is asking the Democratic party to do is wipe out six months of struggle and dialectic to follow this strange new political music that proved so enchanting in Maryland yesterday. And that is even more ambitious a demand than the one he made in Maryland.

In conventional terms, there are two particular hazards facing Brown s he seeks to convert today's sensation into a solid base in the competition for the nomination.

The first of these is the antipathy of many old guard regulars who may not have the compelling special self-interest of those who supported Brown in Maryland. If they have been uneasy about Carter, and they certainly have, they are plainly appalled at the notion of Brown. Nominate some guy who eats health food and sleeps on the floor? You gotta be out of your mind.

BUT WHAT BROWN understands above all is that politicians, old regular or not, like to win, and they can forgive a great deal from someone who offers that kind of promise. So what's wrong with health food, it's nutritious. And sleeping on the floor, that's good for the back. So if Brown can win in Oregon and Nevada next week, the regulars can be expected to be as tolerant of him as they have been of the twice-born Southern Baptist in the last few weeks.

What is more imposing for Brown is the scrutiny he now can expect on issues, both from the press and from the party. He is no longer just a curiousity from California; he is a factor in the contest for the nomination and people are going to want to know how the Teamsters and Farm Workers are not much different from the Arabs and Israelis.

The heat will be on Jerry Brown to, you should pardon the expression, manifest a little more of his own essence.

5



COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Carter	Humphrey	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Alabama	35	3	—	—	—	29	—	3
Alaska	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Arizona	25	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Canal Zone	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Connecticut*	51	18	—	4	16	—	—	10
D.C.	17	6	—	—	4	—	—	7
Florida	81	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Georgia	50	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hawaii*	17	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Illinois	169	59	4	—	—	3	88	15
Indiana	75	49	—	—	—	4	—	22
Iowa	47	17	—	—	10	—	9	11
Kansas*	34	13	—	2	1	—	2	16
Louisiana	41	13	—	—	—	9	—	19
Maine	20	9	—	—	5	—	—	6
Maryland	53	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	104	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Michigan	133	69	—	—	58	2	—	4
Minnesota*	65	—	60	—	—	—	—	5
Mississippi	24	5	—	—	—	11	4	4
Missouri*	71	10	—	1	3	1	9	47
Nebraska	23	8	—	—	—	—	15	—
N. Hampshire	17	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
New Mexico	18	8	—	—	6	—	—	4
New York	274	35	—	106	68	—	—	65
N. Carolina	61	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Oklahoma	37	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Pennsylvania	178	64	—	19	22	3	17	53
Puerto Rico*	22	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
S.Carolina	31	9	—	—	—	8	1	13
Texas	130	94	—	—	—	—	9	27
Virginia*	54	14	—	—	4	—	—	36
Virgin Islands	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Washington*	53	—	—	31	4	—	—	18
W. Virginia	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	33
Wisconsin	68	25	—	7	25	10	1	—
Wyoming	10	1	—	—	1	—	1	7
Totals	**2,137**	**699**	**64**	**237**	**278**	**153**	**179**	**505**

* Process incomplete

REPUBLICANS

State	Total Delegates	Ford	Reagan	Uncommitted
Alabama	37	—	31	6
Arizona	29	2	27	—
D.C.	14	14	—	—
Florida	66	43	23	—
Georgia*	48	—	48	—
Guam*	4	4	—	—
Hawaii*	19	12	4	3
Illinois	101	77	11	13
Indiana	54	9	45	—
Iowa*	36	15	15	6
Kansas*	34	11	3	1
Louisiana*	41	—	20	4
Maine	20	16	3	1
Maryland	43	43	—	—
Massachusetts	43	28	15	—
Michigan	84	57	27	—
Minnesota*	42	15	1	2
Mississippi	30	—	—	30
Missouri*	49	9	—	—
Nebraska	25	7	18	—
Nevada	18	—	—	18
N. Hampshire	21	18	3	—
New York	154	—	18	136
N. Carolina	54	25	28	—
Oklahoma*	36	—	36	3
Pennsylvania	103	—	—	103
Puerto Rico	8	8	—	—
S. Carolina	36	4	26	6
Texas	96	—	96	
West Virginia	28	—	—	28
Wisconsin	45	45	—	
Wyoming	17	—	—	17
Totals	**1,439**	**463**	**498**	**381**

* Process incomplete

TALLY

There are 1,505 votes needed to win the Democratic presidential nomination in New York City in July, and 1,130 to win the Republican nomination in Kansas City in August. These tables show convention delegate votes accumulated so far by candidates in state primaries and party caucuses. They include some projections in caucus states where the process has not yet been completed. Coming up next Tuesday in the convention delegate countdown are primaries in Arkansas, Idaho, Kentucky, Nevada, Oregon, and Tennessee. The following week it's Montana, Rhode Island and South Dakota. And in three weeks, biggies in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

The Weather
...y—Partly cloudy and windy, near 60, low near 40. Chance ...in 20 per cent today, 10 per tonight. Thursday—Sunny, high 70. Yesterday—3 p.m. AQI, 6; ...p. range, 74-47. Details, Page B2.

The Washington Post

FIN...
96 Pages—6 S...
Amusements D 8
Classified E 9
Comics B 8
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Editorials A10
Fed. Diary B 2
Bicentennial Col...

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Carter Nomination No Longer Inevitable

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

DETROIT, May 18—Jimmy Carter, defeated in Maryland's primary and unexpectedly challenged in Michigan tonight, now moves into next week's Western primaries with the inevitability of his nomination punctured for the first time.

California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown's victory over Carter in Maryland gives Brown a strong psychological lift going into the Nevada primary as a full-fledged candidate and to Oregon as a write-in.

Though the two states will elect a total of only 45 delegates, Brown victories there would propel him into the California primary on June 8 as the clear rallying point for anti-Carter liberals in the nation's largest state.

Brown and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho were helped in the Oregon race by the withdrawal today of Rep. Morris K. Udall as an active candidate there.

News Analysis

As a result of Brown's victory the prospect is enhanced of uncommitted slates in the Ohio and New Jersey primaries, also on June 8, embracing the Brown candidacy.

A total of 540 delegates, or one-third of the 1,505 needed for the nomination, will be chosen in the three states on that date.

Still, the Carter bandwagon is far from being derailed. Even in defeat in Maryland, the former Georgia governor was picking up at least 27 of 40 delegates, and in Michigan, which selects delegates by proportional representation, the closeness of his race with Udall indicates he will probably

See DEMOCRATS, A6, Col. 3



U

Inevitability of Carter Nomination Pierced

DEMOCRATS, From A1

end up with half of the state's 133 delegates, if not more.

In advance of today's voting, Carter's campaign strategists were counting on winning 100 delegates in Michigan and Maryland to stay on course toward a total of 1,200 delegates going into the July convention. That goal seemed approachable tonight.

Although the psychological victory was Brown's in Maryland, Carter is playing a hard delegate-collecting strategy now. The Georgian said in an advance of today's balloting that he could afford to lose a primary here and there, as long as he ran close enough to pick up delegates.

Nevertheless, his efforts to build an image of inevitable nomination and thereby start a tide of uncommitted delegates his way depend on continuing to win primaries.

His narrow loss in Nebraska last week to Church not only dented that image of inevitability but also gave Church impetus in his own effort to construct a string of late primary victories in the West.

Carter now faces another defeat at Church's hands in Church's native state next Tuesday and a challenge from him in Oregon as well. While Carter may continue to accumulate delegates, a series of defeats by Church and Brown could free large amounts of uncommitted delegates up to and into the convention.

Church's victory in Nebraska had already sent backers of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota scurrying to start up the engines again for a draft Humphrey drive. Tonight's results in Maryland and Michigan seem certain to intensify that effort, as Carter's nomination on the first ballot has encountered new obstacles.

Udall's strong showing in Michigan keeps his own flickering hopes alive. He has been saying that his campaign has been hindered by the need to establish himself as the liberal candidate from the pack of early liberal contenders and that he would fare better when he was able to take on Carter "one-on-one." Michigan was his first real chance.

In advance of tonight's results, Udall told reporters he will not campaign actively in Oregon and probably not in California but will focus on Kentucky and Arkansas next Tuesday, South Dakota on June 1 and Ohio and New Jersey on June 8.

Mike Kopetski, Church's Oregon campaign manager, said, "Stewart Udall [the candidate's brother] came into the state and saw our organization and decided to spend the $50,000 somewhere else." He estimated that Church would take over at least two-thirds of the Udall vote.

Llewellyn Charles Werner, Brown's Oregon press secretary, expressed the same hope for a shift that would boost Brown's write-in bid.

Tom Mackie, state coordinator for Carter, said there might be "a backlash" against Udall's move as indicating a "planned effort to single-shot" the opposition to Carter. But he conceded that Carter would have been helped by a division of "the surburban liberal vote" if Udall had remained actively in the race.

Though all of Carter's foes have denied they are engaged in any stop-Carter plot, the fact is that by happenstance or design they have divided up the remaining primary turf so as not to compete against one another in the remaining contests with Carter.

Carter's early successes in both caucus and primary states were marked by heavy competition among liberal candidates, leaving Carter the center and sometimes also the right of the party spectrum.

Carter was able to win in many of these states because the liberals dissipated their strength. Now the surviving Democrats are trying to "single-shot" Carter, obliging him to spread his resources thin, as they concentrate their efforts in one or another state.

Carter has loudly complained that his opponents are "ganging up" on him, and he accused Church and Udall in the last week of concocting a "secret deal" to split up the anti-Carter effort in Nebraska, Michigan and future primaries.

But Carter's decision to run in every primary was made long before the 1976 campaign started, and it has been a calculated risk that on balance has been of tremendous benefit to his campaign. In state after state of the South, for example, he has run virtually unopposed and picked up delegates.

Also, his run-everywhere strategy, while straining Carter's time, energies and financial resources, has provided him with a continuing buffer against the appearance of a stall in his drive. If he has lost one week, as in Massachusetts in early March, he has won the next, as in Florida, thereby sustaining the impression of momentum.

That is his opportunity next Tuesday, when six states—Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Idaho, Oregon and Nevada—hold primaries the same day. Church must be favored over Carter in Idaho and Brown over him in Nevada, and both will be challenging him hard in Oregon. But he is expected to win easily in the 3 Southern states, which will select 118 delegates. The three in which he faces strong opposition select only 61.

It is indisputable that the Carter bandwagon is in need of a tune-up in the wake of tonight's Maryland and Michigan results. But it is still far ahead of the field in the hard-delegate count. Carter aides were claiming 805 delegates going into today's balloting, not counting those he won tonight.

The big question as Carter and the 1976 campaign head West is whether these mid-May setbacks will persuade enough uncommitted delegates already chosen—and enough voters in the remaining primaries—to resist the Carter siren song of inevitability and keep the Democratic race fluid.

Ford Wins in Michigan, Brown Is Victor in Md.

President Defeats Reagan

By Donald P. Baker and Douglas B. Feaver
Washington Post Staff Writers

California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., in his first try at presidential politics, defeated Jimmy Carter in the Maryland Democratic primary yesterday.

President Ford soundly defeated Ronald Reagan, in the Republican primary.

It was the second week in a row that the former Georgia governor, still the frontrunner for his party's nomination, was beaten by a newcomer to the race. Carter was edged last week in Nebraska by Sen. Frank Church of Idaho.

With 1427 of 1,546 precincts reporting, the vote was:

DEMOCRATS	
Brown	242,642
Carter	193,516
Harris	6,236
Jackson	10,310
McCormack	8,082
Udall	23,625
Wallace	21,646
REPUBLICANS	
Ford	83,051
Reagan	62,680

Brown, 38, drew strong support from the heavily populated Washington suburbs, trouncing Carter by 2 to 1 in Montgomery County. He also ran well in the inner city of Baltimore, which had been considered a Carter stronghold.

Because Brown entered the race too late to have delegates pledged to him on the ballot, Carter supporters won most of the 40 up for grabs. But Democratic delegates elected in Maryland are not bound to support any particular candidate, so Brown could pick up some delegates also.

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who won the Maryland primary in 1972 with 39 prcent of the vote, got only 4 per cent yesterday, and finished fourth behind Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona, who got 5 per cent.

On the GOP side, President Ford won all 43 delegates, who are required to support him through at least two ballots at the Republican convention.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands of Brown supporters crowded into the ballroom and adjacent areas of the Lord Baltimore Hotel last

See MARYLAND, A6, Col. 5



PRESIDENT FORD
. . . a shot in the arm



JIMMY CARTER
. . . focuses on delegates

Carter Ahead of Udall

By Jules Witcover and Joel D. Weisman
Washington Post Staff Writers

DETROIT, May 18—President Ford, backed to the wall by a string of May primary defeats, rebounded in his home state tonight with a resounding victory over Ronald Reagan. Jimmy Carter held a slight lead over Morris K. Udall in an unexpectedly close Democratic contest.

The President, who declared the Michigan primary a "must" for his chances to win the Republican presidential nomination, received bountiful returns for a late-hour campaign blitz that included a whistle-stop campaign tour of central Michigan Saturday. Mr. Ford used the trip to make unabashed, even plaintive pleas for support.

A feared massive crossover of Democratic voters into the GOP primary to back Reagan apparently fell short, but may have been large enough to undercut Carter and make his race against Udall close. An NBC News analysis said 12 per cent of those voting in the Republican primary were Democrats, and that they went almost 2 to 1 for Reagan.

Running far behind Carter and Udall in the Democratic race was Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who amassed 809,000 votes, or 51 per cent, in the 1972 primary here.

With 90% of the state's 6,331 precincts reporting, the results were:

REPUBLICANS	
Ford	682,892 or 67%
Reagan	329,724 or 32%
Uncommited	7,512 or 1%
DEMOCRATS	
Carter	272,195 or 44%
Udall	258,553 or 42%
Wallace	44,898 or 7%
Uncommitted	13,427 or 2%

In other results, Sen. Henry M. Jackson received 9,275 votes or 2 per cent; anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack, 6,957 or 1 per cent; Sargent Shriver, 5,429 or 1 per cent, and Fred R. Harris, 3,728 r 1 per cent.

In the delegate race, Mr. Ford received 55 and Reagan 29 in the GOP race. In the Democratic race, Carter got 67 and Udall 60, with four uncommitted and two pledged to Wallace.

The President's victory was a triumph for party or-

See MICHIGAN, A6, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST
A 6 Wednesday, May 19, 1976

President Victor in Michigan

MICHIGAN, From A1

ganization as well as his own strenuous campaigning. Republican Gov. William G. Milliken and Sen. Robert P. Griffin personally campaigned hard for Mr. Ford and exhorted the Milliken organization to do the same.

The appeals apparently struck home, because the vote in the Republican primary was more than 1 million, which would make the turnout nearly twice the previous high for the GOP primary, in the 1970 gubernatorial race.

The President's success was statewide except in the Upper Peninsula, where he was hurt by his support of Project Seafarer, an underground Navy communications network that is unpopular there.

In his hometown of Grand Rapids, which sent him to Congress for 13 straight terms, he was running ahead 6 to 1.

Mr. Ford, attending a white-tie dinner at the French Embassy, was cheered by the early news from the Michigan and Maryland primaries. During the evening phone messages with the latest returns from his campaign headquarters were carried to the President by his press secretary, Ron Nessen, and special assistant Terrence O'Donnell.

"It was a wonderful victory," Mr. Ford said. "We want to thank all the people who were so kind to us in Maryland and Michigan."

Reagan at a fund-raising dinner in Los Angeles, called the defeat "our worst day in May." But he said that he still expects to win the Republican nomination on the first ballot.

Reagan said he had not expected to get much more than 30 per cent of the Michigan vote. "The thing that had them so uptight was that they had to win by substantial amounts in that state," Reagan said of the Ford organization. "Even a close race with him on the winning side would be considered a defeat. This was vital to him, but I don't think anyone can say it was crucial to us."

In Detroit, Reagan's campaign manager, John Sears, said he was pleased with the Michigan results and noted that Reagan still holds his lead in convention delegates.

"The approximately 40 per cent of the vote which we have received tonight in Mr. Ford's home state of Michigan means we will receive over 30 of Michigan's delegates to the Republican national convention.

"We are not only pleased by this strong showing in Michigan, but it allows us to look to next week's . . . primaries, still in the lead among committed delegates."

Michigan GOP Chairman William L. McLaughlin, hailing the President's victory, said: "In my wildest dreams ever since the Indiana primary, I never dreamed we'd come anywhere close to 60 per cent. There's no more apathy in the Ford campaign."

Peter S. Fletcher, Mr. Ford's state campaign chairman, said he was "delighted to invite all of you to President Ford's inaugural in January, 1977."

In Washington, Stuart Spencer, the President's campaign director, called Michigan "a shot in the arm" but said the battle for the nomination remains "a very tough fight for us."

Spencer said Mr. Ford's "significant" victory in Michigan would provide a psychological boost for his candidacy next Tuesday against Reagan in the Republican primaries in Oregon and possibly in Kentucky and Nevada as well. The President also faces Reagan that day in Tennessee, Idaho and Arkansas, all states where Reagan is favored.

The President needed Michigan as a "stopper," not only to rally his forces after defeat in five of the last six primaries but also as a buttress against anticipated defeats in the six Southern and Western primaries next week.

The Michigan victory sets the stage for a showdown between Mr. Ford and Reagan in the California primary on June 8.

Asked how Mr. Ford would do in Reagan's home state of California, Spencer said, "We're going to give our best effort in California, but we've never put it in our column."

Ford campaign chairman Rogers C. B. Morton, asked about Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's decision to cancel two speeches in California prior to the primary there, said the cancellations were not the result of pressure from the Ford campaign committee.

"He apparently made the judgment that it would not be helpful to the campaign at this time," Morton said. Kissinger and his foreign policy have become an issue in this year's campaign, and Morton created a controversy earlier this year when he suggested that Kissinger might step down before the November election.

Carter told cheering supporters at the Detroit-Cadillac Hotel that he will have 1,000 delegates after next Tuesday's primaries. Counting Michigan as one, he said he has now won six of nine primaries this month and a total of 4 million popular votes, about three times more than any other candidate.

Carter later told reporters he still believes he will win on the first ballot. He attributed the close margin in to "extraordinary crossovers in some areas," most of which he said went to Ford.

Carter's own last-minute polling indicated that his margin over Udall had been cut in half over the weekend, but campaign aides said that as of mid-day Monday Carter was still at least 10 points ahead.

Carter praised Udall for running a "good campaign," including a neffective "negative media effort" against him.

Udall said the voters of

Michigan, in the close Democratic race, were saying, "Let's step back and take another look." He said Carter does not have a first ballot nomination wrapped up. He called again for "an open convention" and said he was tired of "being called unpatriotic" for urging that outcome.

Paul Tully, a Udall field coordinator, said: "People are starting to figure out Carter, Michigan will be for Carter what New York was for [Sen. Henry M.] Jackson —his peak."

Carter, though, he campaigned last week in Michigan, clearly relegated the state to second fiddle behind Maryland, where he devoted more time to his losing effort against California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. Udall devoted 12 days to Michigan, spent more than $100,000 and conducted a hard-hitting campaign that featured TV commercials with caricatures of Carter charging him with being changeable and fuzzy on the issues.

For Wallace, the Michigan result was only the latest confirmation that his political future is past.

He campaigned three days here but the magic was gone. In retrospect, it was clear that much of his overwhelming 1972 vote was in sympathy, on the heels of the assassination attempt against him.

In addition, Wallace was helped in 1972 by controversy over a proposed school desegregation program that would have included busing students between Detroit and its suburbs.

Once again, blacks voted heavily for Carter, especially in two congressional districts in Detroit, and they provided him the margin by which he led Udall as returns came in past midnight.

Despite the happy mood at the President's campaign headquarters in Washington, Morton was sensitive about references to a now-celebrated picture taken last week in the wake of Reagan's victory in the Nebraska primary. The picture showed a disheveled Morton attempting to explain the results with empty whiskey bottles conspicuous in the background.

At the Ford headquarters Tuesday night, Morton's office door was kept tightly shut through most of the evening and the committee's liquor was kept securely in an adjoining room that was both closed and locked.

When Morton was asked about the picture that was taken after the Nebraska primary, he replied: "It was the reporters who drank all the whiskey."

Morton was also questioned about a remark he made last Tuesday when he was asked what the President would do if he lost the Michigan primary. He replied at the time, "I'm not going to rearrange the furniture on the deck of the Titanic."

The reference was to a British ocean liner that sank in 1912 after colliding with an iceberg.

Last night Morton was asked whether he wanted to "rechristen the Titanic" after Mr. Ford's Michigan victory.

"I'm not going to rechristen anything," Morton snapped at the reporter who had asked the question.

Staff Writers Lou Cannon, Helen Dewar and Bill Richards also contributed to this article.

Brown Is Victor in Maryland

MARYLAND, From A1

night to cheer Brown. He mounted the podium, hushed the crowd, and said:

"Take a deep breath. Lets let all the vibrations settle down for a minute."

"I have tried not to oversell, or overpromote, but to encourage confidence, responsibility and reverence for the limits that we're up against in our environment, our economy and ourselves," Brown said. "This is a great country; it should not be built on guilt, but on pride.'

Brown ticked off the names of Maryland supporters. When he listed Gov. Marvin Mandel, the crowd booed. Brown responded, "The credit goes to all the people. I'll see you in the general election."

Mandel told a reporter that "Brown has won the support of all the people, not just the politicians. Look at the results in the precincts: he won in them all. It's not true that it was a machine victory."

Speaking at the Cadillac Hotel in Detroit, Carter congratulated Brown on a "good and successful campaign." He called Brown a "new face" and said, "he's exciting."

Repeating what he said last week, when he lost to Church, another new face, Carter said "obviously you can't win all primaries."

Carter noted that Brown devoted substantially more time and money to the Maryland primary than he did, and said an afternoon rain resulted in a low turnout that accentuated the heavy influence of the Democratic Party organization, which largely supported Brown.

Carter said that in Brown he had an opponent who "in voters' minds fairly well patterned his campaign after mine, or vice versa."

Brown was greeted by large and enthusiastic crowds during his many appearances in Maryland in the last four weeks.

In the city of Baltimore, where machine politics is a way of life, Brown's name appeared on the sample ballots of many candidates running for lesser offices, including that of U.S. Rep. Paul Sarbanes, who won the Democratic Senate nomination yesterday.

Even in heavily black wards, where Carter was expected to do well, Brown volunteers predominated. And where Carter did have poll workers, many of them were strangers to the neighborhood, observers said.

While Brown had the support of the so-called bosses in Maryland his best showing came in unbossed, liberal Montgomery County, where he beat Carter by 2 to 1.

Carter carried only one of the state's eight congressional districts, the conservative, rural First, which stretches along the Eastern Shore from Virginia to Pennsylvania.

In addition to his smashing success in Montgomery, Brown also captured more than half of all the votes cast in the seven-person field in two other congressional districts, the Second, (Baltimore County) and Third (the eastern and southern parts of the city of Baltimore).

The Prince George's County Democratic organization, headed by Peter O'Malley, delivered the county to Brown by a 4-to-3 margin.

Carter did better in the Seventh District (black, west Baltimore) and Western Maryland, but still lost to Brown there.

Brown's entry into the Maryland primary at a late date and the support he drew from state political leaders transformed an otherwise dull primary into important tests for both Carter and Brown.

For Brown, his very viability as a candidate outside the state of California was at stake. Maryland was his first contest outside his home state and, in fact, his first visit beyond California's borders since becoming governor 18 months ago. He was aided by skilled campaign organizers from virtually every important political organization in the party.

None of the other candidates waged vigorous personal campaigns in Maryland. George Wallace, who drew 39 per cent of the 1972 Democratic primary vote, campaigned in the state only one day—Monday—as his vote-getting capability waned nationally. Udall made a few visits to Maryland early in the campaign.

Henry Jackson slowed his campaign to a crawl after his defeat in Pennsylvania.

President Ford and Reagan concentrated their efforts on the crucial Michigan primary.

Jackson, Udall, Carter, Wallace, Fred Harris and anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack all organized delegate slates in that separate race. Many of the Jackson and Harris delegate candidates switched to other contenders later.

When Brown decided to campaign actively in Maryland last month, many of the state's top Democratic leaders—most of whom are identified with political "machines"—adopted his candidacy with startling speed.

Carter quickly seized on this support for Brown as his major theme in Maryland. He stepped up the number of personal appearances in the state, each time attacking the California governor for being a "machine" candidate, part of a stop-Jimmy Carter movement.

Brown, Carter charged throughout the campaign, was not a serious presidential candidate.

Brown, before increasingly enthusiastic crowds taken with the youthful governor's approach to politics, insisted that he was a viable presidential contender and that the campaign would, in his words, "unfold" in his direction.

In response to charges that he was a "machine" candidate, Brown said that Carter too had sought support from established politicians in the state.

The two leading contenders then launched into personal appearances and media advertising throughout the state.

Both candidates paid special attention to the black vote in Baltimore city and the suburban vote in Montgomery and Prince George's counties.

In Montgomery County, in separate appearances, they debated Carter's plan for the reorganization of the federal bureaucracy. In Baltimore, they each brought out prominent blacks—of local and national note—for endorsements.

But as in many of Maryland's other races this year, no single issue surfaced as a dominant theme and audiences seemed rather fascinated by the differing styles of the two relatively unfamiliar candidates.

Brown's election day effort was bolstered by assistance from established political organizations throughout Prince George's County and the Baltimore area, and their enormously skilled precinct organizers and canvassers.

Mandel's dislike of Carter dates back to a National Governor's Conference in 1971, when Mandel claimed Carter reneged on a pledge of support in his bid for conference chairmanship.

For Mandel, keeping to commitments and loyalty is a treasured political trait and he never forgot the incident, although he became chairman without Carter's help.

The governor supported Jackson until Jackson's candidacy fizzled after the Pennsylvania primary and then turned to Brown in order to stop Carter. With him came virtually every political boss in Baltimore city, big and small.

Lockheed Probers See 130 in Japan

TOKYO, May 18 (AP)—Justice Minister Osamu Inaba said today that public prosecutors have questioned 130 persons so far in connection with Lockheed bribery scandal.

Inaba told reporters the investigators are not overlooking the possibility of some "big names" being involved, but he declined to say if they might include government officials.

WEATHER
Fair and warm. Details on Page 13C.

The Atlanta Journal

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HOME EDITION

Vol. 94, No. 75 **** P.O. Box 4689 Atlanta, Ga. 30302, Thursday Evening, May 20, 1976 C 88 Pages, 4 Sections *

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Carter Slip at Polls Revives HHH Allies

The Associated Press

Jimmy Carter's loss in Maryland's Democratic primary election and a near miss in Michigan's contest have backers of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey on the move.

They planned to announce Thursday the formation of a committee to draft the Minnesota senator for the Democratic presidential nomination that he held eight years ago.

Behind the Humphrey draft move — said to be without the senator's authorization or encouragement — are Joseph Crangle, a Democratic leader from Erie County, N.Y., and Rep. Paul Simon, D-Ill.

Simon said Wednesday he and Crangle decided on the move because the primary results in Michigan and Maryland, coupled with those the week before, "have changed the picture somewhat."

Jerry Brown seldom affects Californians in a neutral way—Page 18A.

Humphrey has refused to enter the race for the nomination, saying only that he would accept a draft from the convention this summer.

In Ohio for a speech, Humphrey took a look at the results from the day before in Michigan and Maryland, and proclaimed the party is headed for "an open convention."

California Gov. Edmund Brown Jr., who beat Carter handily in his primary debut in Maryland, "did a great deal in the sense of opening up the convention," Humphrey said. "The so-called bandwagon theory has been slowed down, let me say, to a sensible movement and speed."

He reiterated his stance of noncandidacy, but said, "The big game has yet to be played."

Carter, meantime, was out West, looking for votes in Oregon and Nevada. The two states — and Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas and Idaho — hold their primaries Tuesday.

Brown was in Oregon, too, after telling backers his campaign is just getting started. Supporters in New York City announced the opening of an office there to serve as a base for Brown's efforts to win over uncommitted convention delegates from New York.

Arizona Rep. Morris Udall,

Turn to Page 19A, Column 7



United Press International

JIMMY CARTER HEARD BUT NOT SEEN AS HE STUMPS IN OREGON
Bullhorn Obscures Candidate's Face as He Speaks to Shipyard Workers

CARTER—HUMPHREY

Continued From Page 1A

who came within a couple thousand votes of knocking off Carter in Michigan, campaigned in Kentucky.

President Ford, who got his campaign against former California Gov. Ronald Reagan rolling again with big-margin victories in Tuesday's primaries, was in Washington, while the Republican challenger campaigned in Nevada.

Carter, in Eugene, Ore., appeared undaunted by Tuesday's developments. "I'm the only one who has run among the people, and who has enough delegates to win on the first ballot," he said.

Carter has 714 delegates to 275.5 for Udall. It takes 1,505 to win the nomination.

Udall, in Louisville, picked on the President rather than his Democratic opponents. He said Ford's delay in implementing the new federal election law was the second most irresponsible action the President had taken since assuming office.

"Next to the pardon of (former President) Nixon, the most irresponsible action Ford has taken has been the delay of federal funds," Udall said.

AA

BB

NEW STRATEGY EMERGES

'Issues' Is the Word For Carter Out West

By NANCY LEWIS
Journal Staff Writer

EUGENE, Ore.— With strong stands on nuclear power and a few subtle changes to his standard campaign speech, Jimmy Carter has introduced himself as the "issue" candidate for the primary here next Tuesday.

Actually, Carter said little Wednesday he hasn't been saying all along. But it was packaged differently, and top campaign aide Jody Powell admits it was no accident.

The former Georgia governor faces challenges here Tuesday from the governor of neighboring California and a senator from next-door Idaho, and both have been portraying Carter as weak or shifting on various issues.

Carter wants a win in this state, usually regarded as a strong indicator of voter support here on the west coast.

The new strategy emerged as soon as Carter stepped off the plane in Portland. At an airport news conference, Carter came out strongly behind Canada's decision Tuesday to end nuclear cooperation with India because of India's refusals to adopt adequate safeguards.

"The act of political leadership" fits in well with the kind of "decency in government campaign" Carter has been running.

Then, in a surprise even to his advisers, Carter said at an afternoon news conference here he supports a resolution on the ballot here Tuesday which would require the state legislature to approve safety systems of nuclear plants before they are built.

Carlton Neville of Atlanta, head of Conservationists for Carter, said the candidate's support of the Oregan initiative was a much stronger stand than he had advised the former governor to take.

"He often does that—comes out stronger than expected on an issue," Neville said.

But the change that could make the biggest difference in the Carter campaign here came in his deft modification to what has become known as "The Speech"—his standard rally-fund raiser-television appearance message.

For the last several months Carter has been using this speech to say pretty much the same thing in pretty much the same way virtually every place he has appeared. It is a tightly constructed speech, but one which seems to flow along smoothly without really getting down to basic points.

Wednesday all of the basic parts of the speech were still there, but they had been rearranged and a new emphasis put on the way each of Carter's major programs was presented.

Carter concentrated on each of four issues— federal bureaucracy, tax reforms, welfare reform and nuclear arms limitations—and used the word "issues" over and over again, in an apparent attempt to reinforce with the voters the idea that he in fact was talking about issues.

He also added brief question-and-answer sessions to the two speeches he made Wednesday, inviting members of the audience to quiz him about issues they were interested in.

Turn to Page 18A, Column 6

Carter in Oregon

Continued from Page 1A

The new strategy seemed to be working well.

Several voters in the crowd who were asked by a reporter what they thought of Carter's speeches said they liked his stands.

"Any man who would stand in the rain for 30 minutes and talk to me about how he stands on the issues certainly has my vote," one worker at a Portland shipyard said. There Carter had responded to questions from the audience which touched on grain sales to Russia and gun control.

It also seemed to be a part of the new strategy to make certain Carter has the opportunity to talk with voters about what they feel is most important locally — which often differed from the major national concerns.

At the speech here in the downtown shopping plaza where between 2,500 and 3,000 people were gathered, the questions from the audience were about his stands on gay liberation and Senate Bill 1, a recodification of the national criminal code which would make wiretaps and searches easier for law enforcement officials.

Saying "there is no way to come out good" on the homosexual question, Carter said he feels no one should be persecuted, abused or harrassed because of his sexual preference.

On the law and order criminal code, Carter said he is against it partly because it would deny to the public things, "which in my opinion the people have a right to know."

The primary here on Tuesday is one of six in the nation and one of three which make up a so-called regional primary.

Arizona Rep. Morris Udall Tuesday announced that he would not actively campaign in this state, and in effect, would allow Sen. Frank Church of Idaho to take Carter "one on one."

California Gov. Jerry Brown is also campaigning here, although his name is not on the ballot.

The only published poll on the Oregon primary was taken before Church's victory in Nebraska and Brown's entry into the presidential nomination race. Conducted by The Oregonian, a Portland newspaper, in 400 face to face interviews with voters, the poll showed Carter with 32 per cent of the vote, Humphrey with 15 per cent, Kennedy with 10 per cent and Church with 8 per cent.

Ca forr ar s Seldom Neutral on Brown

SACRAMENTO, Calif. (AP) — Jerry Brown has been a political mix of liberal and conservative in 16 months as California governor. He has made few sweeping changes in state government, but he has made an impact in areas ranging from sex laws to education spending.

Brown, who put a dent in the Jimmy Carter bandwagon by beating him in Maryland's Democratic presidential primary on Tuesday, rarely affects people in a neutral way. He is often viewed as representing the best or the worst of the "new politics" in the United States.

A leader of people, Brown says, must set a tone. He talks a lot about "lowered expectations" and limits on what government can do for people. "I see nothing wrong with a creative pause," he says.

Many columnists describe the 38-year-old governor as the most interesting politician in the country today. Provocative, flashy, bright, anti-big government, young, on the move, moving up.

But his foes say he has implemented a "politics of drift" in California since he took over from GOP presidential contender Ronald Reagan. They find him ambitious, cold, shallow, sanctimonious.

Much of debate centers on the record of this tall, thin, animated politician who often tells reporters about his 16-hour-a-day, six-day work week and calls campaigning his idea of "a perfect day."

Brown, a former seminarian who is fond of Biblical quotes and philosophical dialogue, doesn't do much to clarify his record. He says he is not a six-point program man.

Brown's stance — offering more questions than answers — gives fuel to his critics. But he has retained his unprecedented high in popularity polls.

Paul Haerle, the Republican party's California chairman, is typical of the doubters.

Haerle says: "I simply do not understand why he has the popularity rating he does, because quite frankly, he hasn't done anything. The problems that he's attempted to grapple with, once he finds that he's unable to provide an easy quick solution, he walks away from them."

A Brown record exists, though, for the son of former California Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown.

Brown has taken a conservative tack on several grounds: keeping a no-new-taxes pledge and signing bills imposing mandatory prison terms for heroin pushers and for the use of a gun in the commission of some crimes.

The state budget, now $11.8 billion, increased by 10.6 per cent in Brown's first year in office. That compares to an average annual increase of 12.2 per cent in the Reagan years. Brown worked with legislators last year to cut a proposed school finance bill from $220 to $115 million, then used his veto power to cut another $27 million. His finance department officials have testified against proposed spending increases for other social services, including Medi-Cal.

At the same time, he signed a bill sought by liberals abolishing a $40 million annual oil depletion allowance for major oil companies. He issued an executive order forbidding state-chartered savings and loan associations from redlining ghetto areas and denying loans to the poor or members of minority groups.

He also pushed for a constitutional amendment, now on the June 8 ballot, which would make it possible to increase bank and corporation taxes on a majority rather than two-thirds legislative vote. And he signed bills liberalizing marijuana penalties and repealing sex laws used against homosexuals.

In his first year, Brown negotiated a landmark compromise law creating a farm labor board to supervise farmworker union elections in the state's $6 billion agriculture industry.

But that board is almost defunct now. Its funds have been cut off by rural legislators who think Brown and the board are biased toward Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers.

On environmental issues, Brown has trod lightly, refusing so far to take a position on key coastline conservation legislation or a major nuclear safety initiative on the June 8 California ballot.

Brown has sidestepped taking a position on the initiative by saying he wants to see how three bills he has endorsed on nuclear safety proceed through the legislature. He said he prefers the legislative approach to the problem rather than an initiative which would require another vote of the people if any changes were required.

"I've been giving it a lot of study, but I haven't made up my mind yet — it's a very complicated question," he said about the initiative in an interview with Robert Scheer for New Times magazine. Pressed by Scheer for any further thoughts on the issue, Brown said: "Maybe both positions are right and maybe no one's right. Maybe they shouldn't decide — maybe they shouldn't vote on it."

The five members of the state Energy Resources and Conservation Commission, all appointed by Brown, voted three to one with one abstention to oppose the initiative which has been fought by most of the state's utilities. Brown said the board should not have taken a stand.

The labor unions in California generally have fought environmental measures in the state, harping on a loss of jobs. Conservationists say privately that Brown is afraid to anger labor.

In a recent publication, the ecology-minded Sierra Club talked about the "shallowness" of Brown's legislative program. The organization said: "For all his professed concern about finite resources, Brown has not endorsed any of the major resource bills now before the legislature."

Conservatives watch Brown with a hawk eye, suspicious that some of his liberal appointees will allow state social services to grow and gobble up much of the state's $539 million surplus.

Brown has generally named more liberals than conservatives as government agency heads and top advisers. About 40 of his 122 judgeship appointments have been blacks, Mexican-Americans or women. In a few cases, he has retained Reagan appointees, such as Ray Procunier, Reagan's prisons director, named by Brown to head the state parole agency.

Many liberals, however, are far from satisfied with Brown's performance. They had hoped for someone who would spend more money on education, old people, child care and health care.

Since Brown took office, he has left intact the bulk of the welfare reforms pushed through five years ago by Reagan. He abolished a Reagan work-for-welfare scheme that required some recipients to take public service jobs to receive their welfare checks.

GALLUP POLL

The Youth Vote Is Up for Grabs

By GEORGE GALLUP
Field Enterprises

PRINCETON, N.J. — The latest nationwide surveys show that fewer than half of young adults are registered to vote, with the proportion having changed little since the beginning of the current year.

Young voters 18 to 29 years old account for fully one-fourth of the adult population of voting age. Yet only 44 per cent are currently registered to vote.

Voter Turnout Could Be Low

Unless a presidential candidate succeeds in capturing the imagination of young voters, the voting record of this age group in November may prove to be as unimpressive as it was four years ago. Only 47 per cent of the 18 to 29-Year-old group voted in 1972. Their vote divided 52 per cent to President Nixon and 48 per cent to Sen. George McGovern.

Vote Is 'Up For Grabs'

In a sense the youth vote is "up for grabs," since an unduly large proportion in this age group are not aligned politically and prefer to describe themselves as independents. Correspondingly, they vote for the man rather than the party.

Young voters (18 to 29) are the most volatile of any age group, shifting sharply in their choices and attitudes of any short period of time. As a case in point, young voters currently lean heavily to Jimmy Carter over Ford, 57 to 39 per cent, but in a survey taken two weeks earlier their choices had been closely divided.

Impact on Presidential Races

While young adults have deprived themselves of some of their impact on primary and presidential contests due to a low registration level and to a low turnout in elections, they have had a decisive impact on the results of certain of the presidential elections of the last 25 years.

For example, if only young voters had participated in the 1968 presidential election, it would have been a shoo-in for Sen. Hubert Humphrey in his race against Nixon and Gov. George Wallace. Humphrey won the vote of 47 per cent of young adults (21 to 29 years old), to 38 per cent for Nixon and 15 per cent for Wallace.

How Do Young Vote on Key Issues?

In view of the important potential impact of the vote of young adults, it is helpful to examine their views on politically supercharged issues.

— Young adults are somewhat more in favor than are older adults of the death penalty for persons convicted of murder. They vote 52 to 38 per cent in favor.

— They are just as concerned as are older adults about a decline in morals and honesty in America. By the margin of 64 to 33 per cent they say morals and standards of behavior are not as high as they were in the past.

— Young adults are slightly less inclined to place importance on balancing the federal budget, although 63 per cent say it is "very important" to balance it.

— A greater proportion of young adults express approval of the Bartley-Fox Act, a Massachusetts gun law which requires that a person who carries a gun outside the home must have a license to do so. The vote is 81 to 17 per cent in favor.

— Young adults are slightly more likely than are older persons to oppose an amendment which would prohibit abortions. They vote 57 to 38 per cent in opposition.

Here is the question asked to measure registration levels:

"Is your name now recorded in the voter registration book in the election precinct or district where you now live?"

Here are the latest results by age group (based on two national surveys combined):

PER CENT REGISTERED

18-29 years	44 Pct.
30-49 years	75 Pct.
50 & over	83 Pct.

The above results are based on in-person interviews with a total of 3,089 persons, 18 and older, during the period April 6-May 1.

'FUN' HELPING BEAT CARTER—MANDEL

ANNAPOLIS, Md. (UPI) — Gov. Marvin Mandel says it was "fun" working behind the scenes to help California Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. defeat Jimmy Carter in the Maryland primary.

At a news conference in his office Wednesday, Mandel acknowledged that he had called a number of state Democratic leaders and urged them to back the 38-year-old governor.

"You have no idea how much fun it was," Mandel said with a smile.

"It didn't take that much (convincing)," he said. "I just called and spoke to people I knew. We just activated some people."

The governor did not say whom he contacted but said he "enjoyed" helping Brown defeat Carter. Mandel's aides say the governor has disliked Carter for several years apparently stemming from their clashes while working at the National Governors' Conference.

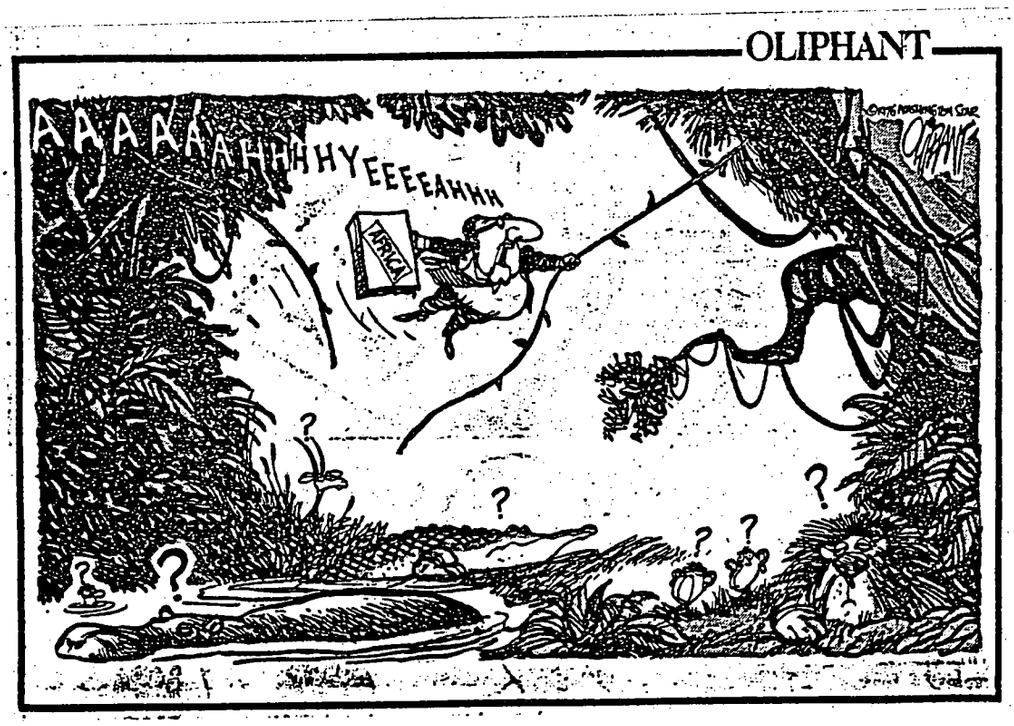
The first view of Mandel's behind-the-scenes work came Monday, the day before the primary, when he called together about 50 state Democratic leaders and urged them to get out the vote for Brown.

During Brown's whirlwind three-week campaign in Maryland, Mandel declined to publicly endorse Brown or any other Democratic candidate and refused to say if he was privately urging Democratic leaders to support Brown.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/6



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News Summary and Index

THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Egypt and the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization are reported to have reached a broad understanding for cooperation in Lebanon and elsewhere ending nine months of bitterly strained relations. The main purpose, according to sources close to Yasir Arafat, the P.L.O. leader, is to strengthen his hand against what they call "a Syrian attempt to bring the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon under the control of Damascus." Informed Arab officials said that Saudi Arabia, which has been mediating other Arab quarrels, helped smooth the Egyptian-P.L.O. relationship. [Page 1, Column 1.]

Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer and the head of the Trades Union Congress agreed on a tough new wage-control policy. Their unusual alliance has been tightened by a common anxiety over the fall of the pound and the continuing high inflation rate. The agreement restricts wage increases to 4.5 percent in the year starting Aug. 1 and sets a maximum increase of $7.32 for those earning more than $150 a week. [1:2.]

National

President Ford ordered a major review of his campaign strategy following four straight primary losses to Ronald Reagan. Proposals reportedly under consideration included dropping the public question-and-answer sessions that often put him on the defensive, and an attempt to picture his challenger as a dangerous reactionary who could not be elected. As the Republican race narrowed, Jimmy Carter took a longer lead in the Democratic contest, with his strategists predicting a pre-convention delegate count big enough to win. [1:7-8.]

A growing split between the conservative and moderate wings of the Republican Party is indicated in The New York Times/CBS News survey of voters in the Indiana Republican primary. Despite previous warnings of this danger from President Ford's backers including Senator Barry Goldwater, the voters overwhelmingly rejected the idea that Mr. Reagan was splitting the party. But their own views showed a deep split along ideological lines. [1:7.]

The Senate failed by three votes to override President Ford's veto of a $125 million bill on child day care that would have helped the centers to meen long-unenforced staffing and safety standards. Many centers are now in danger of closing. Senator Russell B. Long, the Finance Committee chairman, said that a compromise bill would be sought in a few days. [1:6.]

The stock certificates controlling the Summa Corporation, which holds title to most of the $1.5 billion estate of Howard Hughes, were in the possession of the Bank of America at his death last month. This was disclosed in a court action in which a Hughes cousin, William Lummis, was appointed ancillary administrator of the estate. [1:1.]

Gov. Arch A. Moore Jr. of West Virginia and his former top aide were acquitted by a Federal jury in Charleston of conspiring to extort $25,000 from a businessman who was seeking a state bank charter. [1:2.]

Metropolitan

Celebreties in some Manhattan apartment houses are taking their turn at chores such as removing the garbage and running the elevators during the building employees' strike. Negotiators for the union and the owners agreed to meet today to try to end their stalemate after a conference with Mayor Beame. [1:5.]

Governor Carey has asked the city's Board of Higher Education to approve a plan for the traditionally tuition-free City University including the same tuition charges as at the State University, according to a spokesman for the Governor. At City College, approximately 1,000 marched in protest from the campus on 138th Street to 125th Street. Mr. Carey's plan reportedly includes additional state aid. [1:5.]

The Englehard Minerals and Chemicals Corporation, a multinational marketer of industrial raw materials, announced plans for a major expansion of its headquarters here. While some major companies are moving their headquarters to the suburbs, its president told stockholders of the advantages it enjoyed in "this global center for international trade." [1:7-8.]

The New Jersey Superior Court ordered 11 Middlesex County communities to make plans immediately for low- and moderate-income housing by 1985, striking down their zoning ordinances as unconstitutional. The ruling rested on a case involving zoning in Mount Laurel, N. J., which the United States Supreme Court let stand. Judge David B. Furman said the 11 should provide their fair share of regional needs. [1:3-4.]

The Other News

International

World trade parley opens in Nairobi. Page 3
Rhodesia extends military service by 6 months. Page 3
U.S. analysts report strains in Angola. Page 4
Corsican nationalists set off 17 blasts. Page 5
Lisbon political plan rejected by Azores. Page 7
Senator asks Kissinger explanation on Somalia. Page 8

Government and Politics

Rockefeller criticizes Congress on defense. Page 10
Rumsfeld denies change in policy by Ford. Page 11
New York Senate votes cut in family aid. Page 21
Albany accord reported on education tax. Page 22
244 rich escaped Federal income tax in '74. Page 23
City seeks change in fiscal monitoring. Page 27
Admiral Rickover challenges, plans for Navy. Page 31
Moynihan expected to run for Senate seat. Page 34
Table of figures on primaries held Tuesday. Page 42
Alabama delegate races not fully decided. Page 43

General

Russell Means, Indian militant, is wounded. Page 24
City offering houses for $10 apiece. Page 28
Lansdowne, Pa., relaxes as fire unit closes. Page 30
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 39
Standing watch for Operation Sail. Page 39
Comrades mourn fireman who dled in crash. Page 39
Man, 75, indicted in car death of 4. Page 39
Two hospital disputes loom in New York. Page 44
Buffalo nursing-home operator sentenced. Page 49

Education and Welfare

Bus service for parochial pupils to be cut. Page 66

Amusements and the Arts

"Fort Apache," by Tom Walker, reviewed. Page 41
"Baby Blue Marine" is just too sentimental. Page 45

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Cloudy, warmer chance of rain tonight, to Temperature range: toda Wednesday 45-72. Details,

XXV.... No. 43,202 — NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 6, 1976 — M — 20 C

Indiana's Verdict

For the first time in many months, it becomes distinctly possible to envisage the Republican Party denying its nomination to President Ford. Although Ronald Reagan won narrowly in Indiana, the pattern of his victory makes the outlook ominous for the President in most of the remaining primaries.

The two rivals ran about even in normally Republican areas but Mr. Reagan did decisively better among independents and among those Democrats who consider themselves political orphans since the demise of Gov. George C. Wallace's candidacy. The same crossover voting by Wallaceite Democrats is possible in several forthcoming primary states such as Arkansas, Tennessee, and—with the greatest potential for embarrassment—in the President's home state of Michigan. A defeat there on May 18 would be a tremendous blow to Mr. Ford's prestige.

A second unfavorable omen for Mr. Ford is the geographic location of most of the remaining primaries. The Northeast and the industrialized Middle West, the two regions where the President is strongest, have already chosen most of their delegates. Aside from Michigan, only Ohio, New Jersey, and Rhode Island remain to vote. Otherwise, the candidates fight it out in a dozen Southern border, and Western states where Mr. Reagan can be expected to do well.

The climax comes in California on June 8, when 167 delegates are elected on a winner-take-all basis. Unless one candidate or the other slumps badly in the intervening weeks, the big California primary may well decide the outcome as it did in the Rockefeller-Goldwater struggle in 1964.

The intensifying battle for the nomination has high risks for the Republican Party in November. If either candidate had effectively dominated the primaries up to this point, there would be time for the winner to make peace with the loser and for emotions to subside. Instead, the clash is unresolved and beginning to turn faintly bitter.

President Ford's campaign manager attributed the Indiana verdict, in part, to Mr. Reagan's "demagogic statements." White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen accused Mr. Reagan's organization of circumventing the campaign finance law. The G.O.P. survived much worse recriminations during the Taft-Eisenhower battle of 1952 and went on to win; but neither candidate this year is in General Eisenhower's class as a political miracle-maker.

Freeing Campaign Funds

After inexcusable delays that had more to do with politics than reform, Congress has sent President Ford its revised version of the campaign finance law. It is not an ideal piece of legislation; among other deficiencies, it reduces the independence of the Federal Election Commission, restoring too much control over the regulations to Congress itself—that is, to the body least equipped to deal objectively with the elective process.

Nevertheless, it is a bill that demands speedy approval by the President. Even at best, the reconstituted commission will be unable to renew the flow of Federal funds to Presidential candidates until its members are appointed, confirmed by the Senate and sworn in. Every day's delay makes it that much more difficult for candidates—Ronald Reagan, for example—to meet the financial demands of a campaign in which they had every right to count on Federal contributions according to formulas that were approved by Congress last year only to have them cut off when the Supreme Court found a flaw in the way the commission had been appointed.

Although President Ford rightly urged Congress to confine itself to such changes as the Court required, it would be unthinkable for him now to veto the measure as revised. As the incumbent, his advantages over other candidates, especially his Republican rival, are glaring enough in any case; they become intolerable when he can leave them stranded without the matching funds they need to get around the country while he enjoys interest-free credit from the United States Government and commercial airlines for his own political barnstorming.

It is not always easy to distinguish between a President's campaigning and the travel he does in the course of official duties. The longer Mr. Ford takes to restore the flow of campaign funds to his opponents, the more vulnerable he will be to the charge, however unfounded, that he is taking unfair advantage of his position.

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HARRIS POLL

Carter Leads Both Ford and Reagan

By LOUIS HARRIS

If the election had been held last month, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter would have beaten former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California by a decisive 53-34 per cent margin. In the same survey, Carter also led President Ford, but by a much narrower 47-43 per cent.

In concentrating his run for the Republican nomination in the Deep South states where the GOP is most heavily conservative, Reagan may have become an increasingly unviable candidate in November, should he upset Gerald Ford and end up the GOP candidate.

Reagan takes only one group in his contest against Carter, the conservatives, who choose him by 46-43 per cent. Carter is ahead of him among middle-of-the-road voters by 54-35 per cent and among liberals by a lopsided 77-16 per cent.

Carter also wins every region of the country by at least a nine-point margin. Even in the Deep South, where Reagan has shown so much strength against the President, Carter beats Reagan by a clear 54-37 per cent. The Carter-Reagan race is closest in the West, where the Georgian runs ahead by 49-40 per cent. The West is dominated by California, Reagan's home state.

The big difference in showings of President Ford and Reagan against Carter can be found among the following key groups:

—In the East, a Ford-Carter contest now stands at a flat-footed 44-44 per cent tie, while Carter leads Reagan by a decisive 54-28 per cent. But it is Reagan's weakness in the East, and not Carter's strength, that makes the difference.

—In the West, Ford runs well ahead of Carter by 50-39 per cent. But Reagan trails the Georgian in that region by 49-40 per cent.

—Among the college educated, the President leads Carter by a narrow 48-43 per cent. Carter has a one-sided 57-31 per cent advantage over Reagan.

—Among business executives, the Ford lead over Carter is 51-42 per cent. However, Reagan trails Carter among the same group by 51-34 per cent.

—Among independents, who can be pivotal in any close election, President Ford and Jimmy Carter now run a dead-heat of 45-45 per cent. In contrast, Carter wins over Reagan among those who are not affiliated with either major party by a decisive 52-34 per cent.

In the middle of last month, a cross section of 1,072 registered and likely voters was asked:

"Suppose for President in November, it were between Ronald Reagan for the Republicans and Jimmy Carter for the Democrats. If you had to make up your mind right now, would you vote for Reagan the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

REAGAN VS. CARTER

	Carter	Reagan	Not Sure
NATIONWIDE	53%	34%	13%
By Region			
East	54%	28%	18%
Midwest	52%	38%	10%
South	56%	32%	12%
Border States	57%	31%	12%
Deep South	54%	37%	9%
West	49%	40%	11%
By Political Philosophy			
Conservative	43%	46%	11%
Middle road	54%	35%	11%
Liberal	77%	16%	7%
By Political Party			
Republican	27%	64%	9%
Democratic	68%	21%	11%
Independent	52%	34%	14%

The pattern now being run by Reagan against Carter is highly reminiscent of that of Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election, when he lost by a landslide to Lyndon Johnson. This pattern thus indicates that in 1976 the electorate is highly unlikely to vote for an all-out conservative for President.

Carter Picks Up 111 Delegates in Primaries

By FAY S. JOYCE

Jimmy Carter picked up 111 delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Tuesday's primaries, boosting his count to 556 with 101 uncommitted delegates the Carter camp claims are leaning toward the Georgian — still less than half the 1,505 delegates whose votes he must have to win the party's presidential nomination in July.

"We can't take any state primaries for granted," said Carter campaign manager Hamilton Jordan at a press briefing in Atlanta Wednesday. "We've got 18 to go."

But with Carter leading his nearest rival by more than 430 delegates, and with that rival—Sen. Henry Jackson—now out of the race, Jordan predicted that the former Georgia governor will have a total of 1,000 delegates by June 9, and by early in the convention will have enough delegates to win the nomination.

"I think you'll see some leaders who have influence over blocs of delegates perhaps moving to our campaign," he said.

Carter campaigners have been working on individual delegates who were elected either as uncommitted or committed to a candidate who since has withdrawn.

In states where delegates are elected by a series of party caucuses, "we have a campaign organization that continues to work the list of delegates as they go from one step to another," such as from precinct-level caucuses to county- and state-level caucuses. "We send out mailings and personally contact the delegates as they go from one level to the next," explained chief delegate hunter Rick Hutcheson.

For delegates to the national convention who have already been elected as uncommitted or committed to a candidate who has withdrawn, "we have a delegate coordinator for each region of the country to send out interesting statements, polls and to contact them personally," he said.

When the Kansas caucus ended recently, seven uncommitted delegates switched to Carter, he said, to ride with a winner. Others will do the same, Hutcheson predicted.

Looking toward two important primaries coming up May 18, Carter plans to spend $90,000 on television and radio ads that began Wednesday in Maryland and approximately $100,000 on media in Michigan.

Carter faces one main opponent in each state. Jerry Brown, the 38-year-old governor of California, is waging a tough campaign for the popular vote in Maryland, while Arizona Rep. Morris Udall is staging what may be his last major campaign effort in Michigan.

Next Tuesday there are primaries in three states.

D.C. Primary Results Snarled

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Elections officials Wednesday tried to clear up a voting snafu in Tuesday's District of Columbia primary in which Jimmy Carter surprised two warring local factions with a convincing win.

Faced with thousands of invalid ballots, plus personnel and voting machine problems, the board of elections stopped the count about 3 a.m. Wednesday with only a third of the votes tallied.

It resumed the count shortly before noon.

With Tuesday morning and early afternoon ballots counted, Carter held 40 per cent of the vote. Even Morris Udall, who did not campaign in the district, beat out the two local slates with 26 per cent.

Completed returns in each of the city's artifically created congressional districts indicated Carter would pick up eight of the 17 delegates, Udall would get five and Fauntroy's uncommitted faction four.

About 24 per cent of the 11,306 early ballots cast were declared invalid.

Carter Hits Peanut Land Sales Pitch

Jimmy Carter doesn't want to give a group of would-be millionaires an inch, for fear they'll take a mile.

The former Georgia governor, now frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination, lambasted sales of one-square-inch plots of land in his hometown of Plains as "a misleading scheme designed to bilk the public."

Seven investors from Columbus and Americus formed the Plains, Ga., Peanut Farms corporation and bought a half-acre of land near Carter's peanut warehouse.

"We hope to be millionaires," said one of the investors of a plan to sell more than 3 million square-inch plots for $5 each. Buyers would get red, white and blue certificates for their purchases.

Carter was not buying the plan, however. "I absolutely deplore this gross commercialization," he said Wednesday. "I had no prior knowlege of this plan, and I find the whole idea detestable."

Hal Gulliver

Carter Politics in a Sinful World

The sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world.

The quote above comes from Reinhold Niebuhr, and it is one of Jimmy Carter's favorite quotes, one he uses often while speaking on the campaign trail.



It is worth examining, that quote, for a couple of reasons.

The first is that at this point in a national election year James Earl Carter of Plains is a good deal more certain of winning the Democratic presidential nomination than, say, Gerald Ford of Grand Rapids is of being the Republican presidential nominee. It is a long way from May to November in national politics but at this point, right now, Carter seems very likely to be the next President of the United States. He has at the least a 50-50 chance, and the divisions of the Republican party seem to lessen the chances of the eventual Republican nominee, whether Ford or Ronald Reagan or some compromise choice.

The second reason for looking at the Niebuhr quote is that Carter believes it profoundly. It is a thought that made a great impression on him some while ago, and he uses the quote in both public and private conversation.

The line has religious impact, of course, theological overtones. There can be no sad duty to "establish justice" except from the base of an ethical or religious base. And the phrase "in a sinful world" comes clearly in religious context. It is a reminder that Carter is a Christian, one who genuinely seems to believe in his professed faith, finds it as natural as breathing for religion to be part of everyday life, including the political life which Carter has chosen as his own.

That religious side of Carter has probably been overreported, out of some sense of almost curious surprise, even shock, that here was a political man who when asked talked about his religious faith as if it really had personal meaning for him. The more traditional posture in the American political system has come to be a kind of conventional religion, a going to church and holding White House prayer breakfasts, but not, perish the thought, openly talk as if religion really meant something personally in your life.

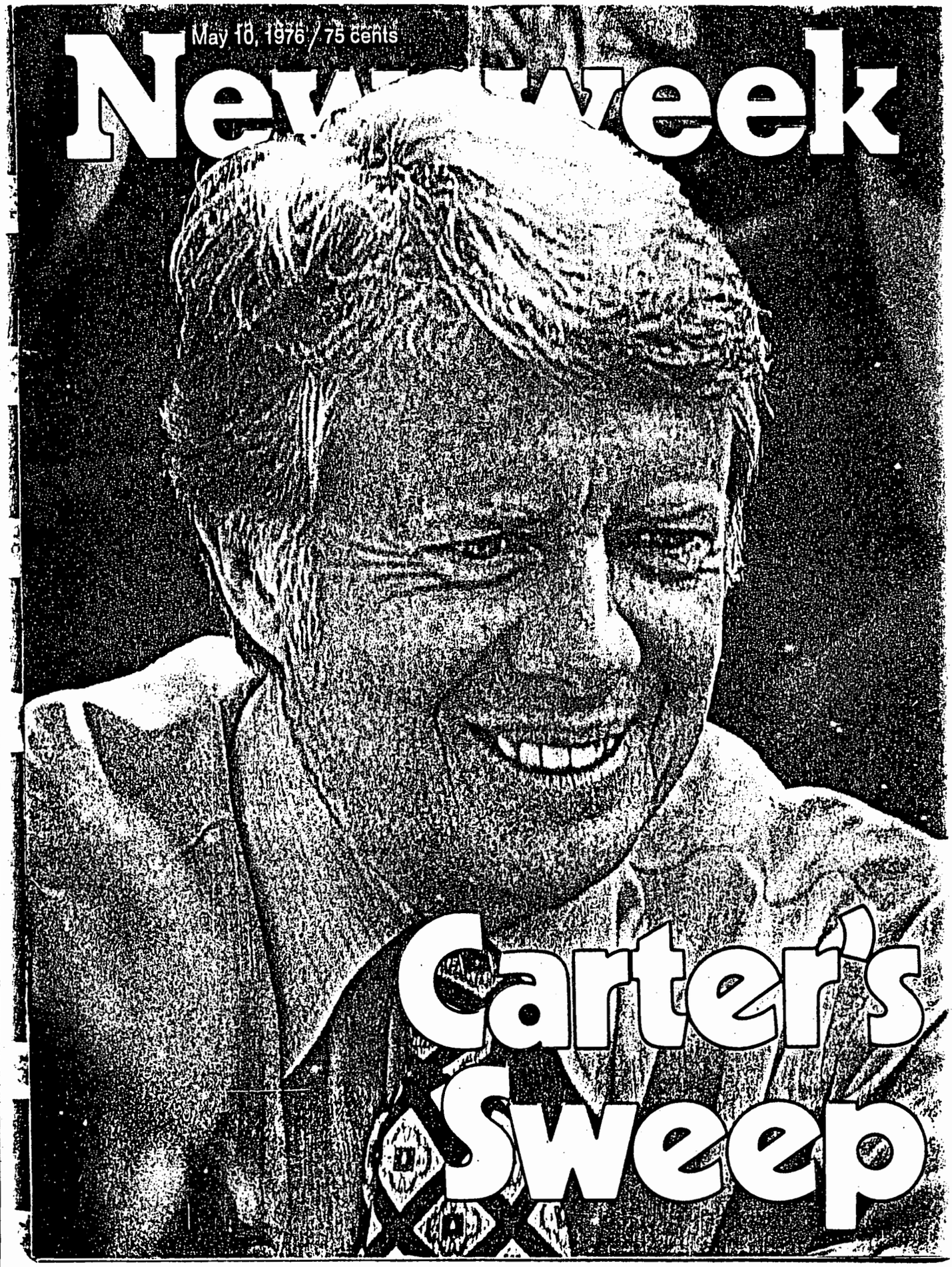
Carter is no saint, nor is he a religious fanatic, nor is he unaware (as he has taken some pains to stress) that there are lines of distinction between personal faith and conviction and public policies and the public responsibilities of a President. But he is, again, a genuinely religious man, one who believes in good and in evil and that you are measured finally at the end of life by your efforts to be on the side of the good.

What does that mean in terms of a President? Well, I think it means a profound caring about people and about what happens to them and about dealing with them honestly and being concerned about what government does or does not do as it affects individuals. It does not mean, as Carter's opponents learned in the primaries, a lack of tough-mindedness or organizational skill or plain day-after-day hard work.

There was a moment on a plane some weeks ago, in early February, when Carter had been campaigning in Florida and then was flying back from Tampa to Atlanta. The last event of a long day had been a dinner for Carter supporters, people working actively at ringing doorbells and planning for the important Florida primary. Carter talked about those people on the plane, about how hard they had worked in the campaign because they believed in him, given him their trust, and he talked about being in the White House (as he already fully expected to be) and the challenges of it.

"I'm not going to let those people down," Carter said, talking again of the Florida campaign workers and he grinned a tight, tough grin, not that expansive grin of the campaign trail, and it made you think that he meant it with every fiber of his being.

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Newsweek

A Watershed Week

Ronald Reagan cast a long political shadow in the Sun Belt last week: he thoroughly thrashed Gerald Ford in the Texas primary. Texas was conservative soil, and most Republicans had expected Reagan to do well there. But Reagan won all of the state's 96 delegates up for election, a margin of victory that demonstrated that his upset win over Ford in North Carolina six weeks ago was no flash in the pan; it came at the beginning of a series of primaries apparently favorable to Reagan; and it left the President no choice but to shore up his defenses quickly. The odds still ran against Reagan's wresting the nomination from the President, but the lopsided triumph reinvigorated a campaign that was flagging and hard pressed for funds. The challenger believed that his prospects had changed significantly. "It's do-able," he said even before the results were known. "You can sense a turn."

It was a watershed week for both political parties. Reagan reopened the Republican race while Jimmy Carter all but closed the Democratic contest. After Carter's strong victory in the Pennsylvania primary, Hubert Humphrey declared that he would not enter the fray and Sen. Henry Jackson dropped out (following story). That left the Ford people to study the embarrassing dimensions of his Texas defeat, which far surpassed the margin in any previous contested primary. Ford aides attributed the result to a heavy turnout of Wallace Democrats who crossed over to vote in the GOP race—and to the fact that the primary rules had been designed to exaggerate the winner's margin. But none of those factors obscured the humiliation of an incumbent President. Ford was at a banquet in Washington as the polls closed. "I have a great many friends down in Texas—We won't know how many friends for a few hours," he joshed. But hours earlier a state party official flashed the bad news to Ford's Austin headquarters: "You're going to be blown out of the water."

Ford had sensed his vulnerability in Texas well before the primary. For weeks he had watched in increasing anger while Reagan savaged his conservative credentials. "Ever since North Carolina we've been responding to Reagan's issues," said one nettled Ford aide. Ford tried to regain the initiative with four days of energetic campaigning on the eve of the primary. And on the quiet campus of Tyler Junior College in East Texas he delivered his toughest attack yet on Reagan, calling his challenger's proposals "superficial" and "irresponsible." He also cast Reagan as a bad actor who wasn't up to a White House role. "There are no re-takes in the Oval Office," Ford gibed.

But Ford's counteroffensive failed to carry the day with Texas's right-minded Republicans. With Watergate in mind, he avoided mentioning Richard Nixon's name. He used the words "my predecessor" and "President Johnson's successor" so often that reporters finally asked why. "I do it deliberately," he said a bit wanly. "I think it's better for all of us to forget that period." Reagan, meanwhile, hammered away at his favorite themes: the weakness of U.S. defense policy, Henry Kissinger's diplomacy and concessions on the Panama Canal. "It was the scripture according to George Wallace," one Ford aide complained. "He had everything but the accent."

Tests: Reagan's Sun Belt strategy quickly became a trendy political catch phrase. Actually, it was a fallback plan that Reagan devised after failing in his initial strategic goal of knocking Ford out of the race in the early primaries. In outline, the plan called for Reagan to tap a deep well of conservative support in the arc of Southern and Western states that loops from the Atlantic Coast of Georgia through the South and Southwest up through California. His next tests fall this week in Alabama, Georgia and Indiana. Reagan strategist John Sears predicted that Reagan could parlay his Texas victory into a Sun Belt sweep of primary and caucus states that would give him about 950 delegates going into the convention—and put him within angling reach of the 180 additional delegates he would then need to topple Ford.

The contrast between Carter's increasingly solid Democratic front and the increasingly fractious Ford-Reagan fight wasn't lost upon the White House. "The blood bath has started early and I think we are getting very damn close to the precipice where neither Republican can win in November," said one of the President's men gloomily last week. The dramatic Texas results spilled a good deal more Republican blood. It was, in short, a doubly good week for Jimmy Carter.

—TOM MATHEWS with THOMAS M. DeFRANK on the Ford campaign and GERALD C. LUBENOW with Reagan

Reagan at the Alamo; Ford busses Kilgore Rangerette: The ayes of Texas were for Ronnie

UPI

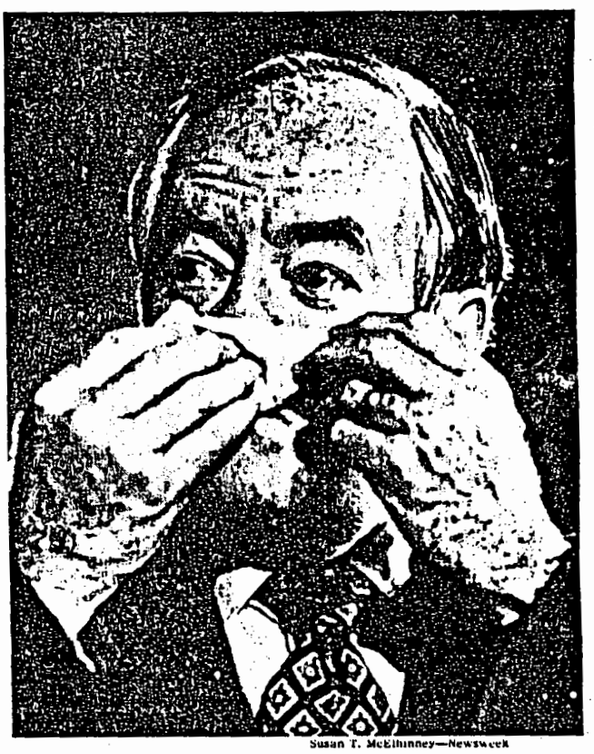


Wally McNamee—Newsweek





Shelly Katz—Black Star



Susan T. McElhinney—Newsweek

Carter campaigns in Texas, Humphrey leaves the field: The race-horse sprint had turned into a royal progress

Carter's Sweep

He came farther out of nowhere than any serious Presidential contender since Wendell Willkie in 1940. He started with few known assets beyond a Jaycee grin, a trust-me spiel, a single term as governor of Georgia, and a certain tireless gluttony for the punishments of campaigning. But last week, barely halfway through the primary season, his improbable long march through the wilds of Yankee politics took on the unmistakable glow of a victory parade. He routed his two main active competitors, checkmated Hubert Humphrey into a wet-eyed farewell to Presidential politics—and suddenly Jimmy Carter, the peanut farmer from Plains, stood within smiling distance of the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

The theater for Carter's triumph was the Pennsylvania primary, and his victory there—his seventh in nine starts—was devastatingly complete. He broke a formidable stop-Carter, start-Humphrey combine organized against him by most of the state's labor and party elite. He whipped Humphrey's unwilling surrogate, Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, by 12 percentage points (at 37-25) and drove him from the race before the week was out. He left his chief liberal rival, Morris K. Udall, a far-distant third with 19 per cent. He won 64 convention delegates—three times the bag of either of his live challengers. He swept 65 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties, outpolled Jackson even among union families, eroded Udall's hold on the liberal suburbs, won a contested industrial state for the first time ever—and left the chary elders of the Democratic Party wondering whether anyone now could stop Jimmy Carter except Jimmy Carter.

'I THINK IT'S GO'

They had reposed their hopes until last week in Humphrey, scars and all, and for 36 breathless hours after Pennsylvania, they tried to coax him into meeting Carter *mano a mano* in New Jersey's June 8 primary. They nearly did; Humphrey booked the Senate Caucus Room, invited a sizable claque of admirers, and told one of them bare hours in advance: "I think it's go." But by the time he reached the podium, voice thick and eyes tearing up under the TV lights, it was no go—no New Jersey, no authorized draft-Humphrey committee, no active candidacy of any sort. "I'm *around*," he offered, in the flickering hope that the party might yet call him. The spreading view of the party was that it would not—that Humphrey's last hurrah left the Anybody But Carter movement with nobody credible to rally round.

Carter still has not achieved quite all he claimed in the flush of victory last election night—"wiping out every possible obstacle" to his nomination. Udall hung stubbornly on, a potential spoiler in any given primary. Other, newer faces remained to be met and overcome—Frank Church, the star of the Senate CIA inquiry, (page 40), and Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., the lean, young, less-is-better governor of California. The princes of the party and the unions still feel uneasy with Carter, for his inexperience, his antifederalism, his showy godliness—and not least for his independence of them. He remains afflicted by the suspicion, warranted or not, that he is fuzzy or illiberal or both on the issues—a question on which Humphrey promised pointedly to "educate" Carter between now and convention time in July.

Yet the palpable taste of victory spread through the Georgia mafia that had mapped Carter's campaign in prescient detail four years ago (page 28), and it was matched by a mood of resignation in the party. His rivals were in disarray—Jackson quitting, Udall groping for his first real victory, Brown and Church struggling with late starts and low profiles. Carter by contrast had a nearly clear course through the coming primaries, beginning at the weekend in Texas—he beat favorite son Lloyd Bentsen decisively—and acceler-



MacNelly—Richmond News-Leader



© Herblock in The Washington Post

'Well, what do you think?'

ating through seven more heats concentrated in the South and Midwest this week and next. Gerald Ford for one, and Mayor Richard Daley for another, counted him nearly unbeatable. So did much of his party. "All he has to do now," grouched one senior Democrat, "is go around and smile."

Much more than that remains to be done. Carter's game plan requires that he come out of the primary season with at least 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates required for the nomination. He counted no more than 420 solid after Pennsylvania last week; he repaired from Philadelphia to Plains to mobilize an active mail-and-telephone courtship of labor and party leaders—Daley was among the first—and of uncommitted and wavery delegates. But it was a measure of his and his people's serenity that they have already begun thinking past the nominating process toward autumn—and beyond. They have started forming what one Carter staffer called "a shadow government" of high-watt thinkers to pit against Ford. And they are cranking up a "possibles list" for Vice President, with Senators Walter F. Mondale and John Glenn and House Judiciary chairman Peter W. Rodino in the available talent pool.

THE HHH TURKEY SHOOT

The man who might have altered the flow of events was Hubert Humphrey, and the temptations held out to him in his hour of decision last week were powerful. He was, it was argued, electably high in the polls and the favorite of the party; he could beat Carter in New Jersey; he could check the drift of delegates to Carter merely by announcing. But the tugs against running were equally strong. There was no organization or battle plan, and precious little time—44 hours between the closing of the polls in Pennsylvania and the filing deadline in New Jersey. And there was the painful suspicion that Humphrey's attraction lay partly in his distance from the fray. "It's like a turkey shoot," he told one friend recently. "As long as I keep my head down below the log, I'm the prize of the day—nobody ever saw a finer bird. But as soon as I lift my head up, some son of a bitch is going to shoot it off."

This last time, the Happy Warrior had no stomach for the game; he gambled instead on letting the nomination come to him, and in the end he lost. His long career in national politics had been a train of humiliations—three failed runs for President, four years as Lyndon Johnson's obedient servant—and his capacity for pain at 64 no longer matched his

PROPHETIC

A few days after the 1972 Presidential election, Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter was presented with a 70-page memorandum laying out a blueprint for winning the 1976 Democratic nomination. Written mostly by Hamilton Jordan, then Carter's executive secretary and now his campaign director, the memo has since been carried out with faithfulness by Carter, Jordan, 31, press secretary Jody Powell, 32, pollster Patrick Caddell, 25, and media consultant Jerry Rafshoon, 42. Last week, NEWSWEEK's *Eleanor Clift, who has been covering Carter's campaign since November, obtained a copy of the document. Her exclusive report:*

As Jordan saw it, 1976 could be a very good year for Jimmy Carter. With the end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, he reasoned, domestic problems would replace foreign affairs as America's main concern, opening the way for "a highly successful and concerned former governor of Georgia and peanut farmer." Furthermore, Richard Nixon's re-election had failed to quench the nation's "thirst for strong moral leadership." This thirst, Jordan somewhat presciently predicted, "will grow in four more years of the Nixon Administration." But to capitalize on these trends, Carter needed a public persona. At the 1972 Democratic convention, Jordan recalled, "I learned how naïve we all have been about national politics, particularly as relates to you and your image. It was my feeling that because you had appeared on the cover of Time and had been the object of favorable national press, that you were in fact a 'national political figure'." Instead, Carter had been merely "one of several bright and promising young governors."

In his favor, Carter had "the Kennedy smile" and the George Wallace populism, without Wallace's racist reputation. "What he does not have is much depth to his image," warned adman Rafshoon, who participated in the early skull sessions. "It will take more than hand-shaking and the projection of 'I understand the problems of the average man' image to put Carter over . . . He will also have to convince press, public and politicians that he knows how to run a government." Rafshoon and Jordan accordingly mapped out the next four years. In 1973, Carter was to be "projected as the heaviest of the governors in accomplishments" and in 1974 "as a leader in the Democratic Party and someone involved in bringing it back." By 1975 he was to be a

GAME PLAN

"heavyweight thinker, leader in the party who had some ideas for running the country." The plan for 1976: "Carter—a Presidential candidate."

The education of Jimmy Carter was to begin at once. Carter was to read The New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal every day, to write a book (it would be called, "Why Not the Best?") and to learn to read from a prepared text, something he still does poorly. He would study foreign affairs under former Secretary of State Dean Rusk (tainted by Vietnam, Rusk soon faded from the Carter faculty) and meet foreign leaders on trade missions to Japan, Israel, South America and Europe. Jordan also drew up a list of issues on which Carter would need task forces and briefings. "We took a Dictaphone and taped a framework on every issue from A to Z," Carter issues director Stu Eizenstadt remembered last week. "We started with A—abortion, B—busing, and went through about 40 issues."

Press: The appreciation of Jimmy Carter was also programed. "It is necessary that we begin immediately to generate favorable stories and comments in the national press," Jordan wrote. "Stories in The New York Times and Washington Post don't just happen, but have to be carefully planned and planted." The theme was to be the revitalization of state government, with "your own political plans a secondary consideration."

Carter was to "compile a list of regional and national political editors and columnists who you know or need to know. You can find ample excuse for contacting them—writing them a note complimenting them on an article or column and asking that they come to see you when convenient." Jordan suggested that Carter cultivate Times columnist Tom Wicker and Washington Post publisher Katharine Graham, among others. Such media heavies "are significant enough to spend an evening or leisurely weekend with," he observed. Luckily for Carter, Jordan noted, "a disproportionate number of these opinion-makers are Southerners by birth and tradition . . . they would be fascinated by the prospect of your candidacy."

No less important was laying the groundwork for the primaries. Studying the timetable, Jordan realized that New Hampshire and Florida offered unique opportunities for Carter to take an early lead. "Your farmer, businessman, military, religious, conservative background would be well received" in New Hampshire, Jordan wrote. "It is not too early to begin to make some contacts with people there and be looking for an appropriate opportunity to make a major speech . . . We need to begin thinking NOW about party rules vis-à-vis primary states and your own effort. It is here that the nomination will be won or lost." After a victory in a medium-size state, such as Wisconsin, Jordan advised, "select one of the large industrial and traditional Democratic states which has an early primary to confront all major opposition and establish yourself as a major candidate." Pennsylvania or Ohio, said Jordan, would do nicely.







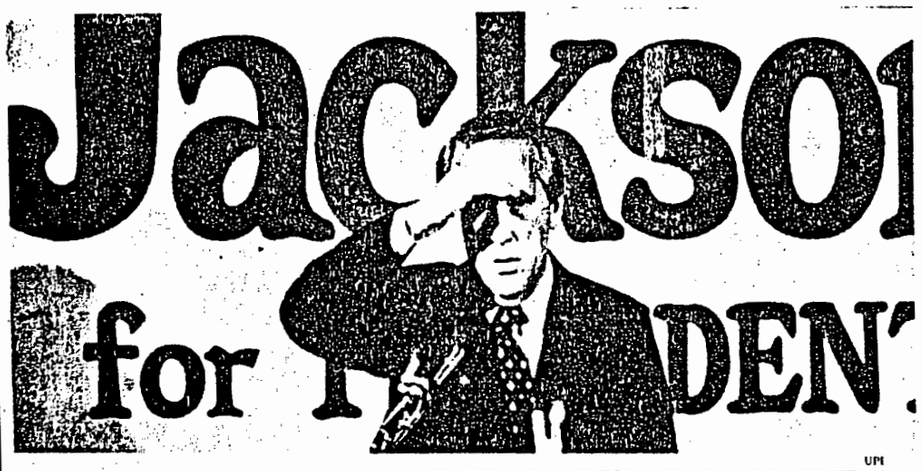
Photos by Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

Strategists Jordan (clockwise, upper left), Powell, Cadell: Blueprint for winning the nomination

Jordan also assessed his man's likely opposition. He assumed that Sen. Edward Kennedy would be Carter's most potent rival. Still, Jordan wrote, "Kennedy would like to see someone from the South other than Wallace make a national effort." Jordan's advice: an early discussion with Kennedy about his '76 intentions; Carter sat down with Teddy the day he announced. The briefing paper also warned Carter against continuing to praise Sen. Henry Jackson. "I suspect that you are very compatible and comfortable with his positions on the key issues facing this nation," Jordan said. "You should be cautious to do nothing that might encourage him to run and make it plain that you have plans yourself." As for Wallace, Jordan speculated—but was not hopeful—"that you might gain his support if he saw in your candidacy an extension and continuation of his earlier efforts."

29,000 Friends: Jordan's 1972 game plan was followed in August 1974 by another memo, outlining Carter's plans to go public—he should send letters to 14,000 "Georgia friends" and 15,000 "national friends"—and noting that they had to "learn to focus on the fund-raising aspect of our campaign." When he formally announced his candidacy, Jordan said, Carter should adopt a "learning posture . . . you don't pretend to . . . know everything and that a major aspect of your campaign will be to travel the country . . . and learn." Jordan also urged Carter to repeat his gubernatorial pledge not to compromise his principles to get elected. "Most men who seek this country's highest office are so consumed by their ambition that they will do anything to be elected," Jordan wrote. "You have to attempt to separate yourself from this stereotype of the ambitious candidate who lacks commitment to anything, and establish yourself as a man of integrity."

Jackson for P... DEN...



UPI

Jackson: Victim of grayout

appetite for power. Running meant begging, for support and money, and he told one friend early on: "I'm not going to be a supplicant ever again." It meant raking up bad memories: Chicago 1968, the war in Vietnam, the milk-fund scandal that entangled his sometime campaign manager Jack Chestnut. It meant going against his wife Muriel's wishes. "Humphrey, if you go, you go without me," she had told him some months ago, and again: "There's a lot of life left in both of us. Why do we have to use it up in a campaign?"

And still he almost allowed himself to be talked in one more time. He was at a private screening of the Woodward-Bernstein film "All the President's Men" on election night, and did not see the returns till afterward. The depth of Carter's victory caught him off guard; he had privately predicted no more than a 7-point margin for the governor in the preferential vote, and an offsetting win for Jackson in the delegate contest. The news at once intensified the pressure on him to move, and narrowed his maneuvering room. He had scheduled a contingency breakfast next morning with the prospective leaders of an uncommitted-for-Humphrey delegate movement in New Jersey, among them Rodino, Sen. Harrison Williams and state chairman James Dugan. But the papers got wind of the rendezvous, and it was called off.



Peter Marcus

Humphrey back on the farm, Udall still on the trail: It seemed only Carter could stop Carter

HAWKS AND DOVES

Humphrey instead went off to a closed-door Senate subcommittee session, plainly enjoying the suspense, the attention—and the refuge from his jangling telephone. When he emerged, an aide poked a sheaf of yellow call slips into his hand, with one from party chairman Robert Strauss at the top of the pack. Strauss, as it developed, was a dove, but the two men didn't make connections until long hours later; by then the hawks among Humphrey's people were in full flight, urging him to challenge Carter openly in New Jersey—or bid his last chance for the nomination goodbye. Rodino telephoned, full of kindnesses for Humphrey ("You know I love you, I think you're great") and forebodings about how he would look hiding behind an uncommitted slate. "After all we've been through with Watergate and all," he said, "I don't want to be a part of something that isn't what it says it is . . . Hubert, I'm going to have to resign."

The meter was running and the mood was go when Humphrey convened a late-afternoon council of ten of his trustiest advisers—among them Senator Mondale and an aide, Dick Moe; businessman Robert Short, who had been nagging Humphrey for weeks to authorize a formal draft committee; Joseph Crangle, the streety Buffalo, N.Y., political boss who was available to run it, and Max Kampelman, an old lawyer chum. As they spoke, Humphrey fingered two documents on the desk before him. One was a poll purporting to show him leading Carter by a dazzling 62-16 among New Jersey Democrats. The other was the filing form required to enter him in the primary by the 4 p.m. deadline next day; a General Electric lobbyist pal was standing by outside the door to fly it to Trenton on a signal from Humphrey.

'WHATEVER YOU DO IS FINE'

The dominant mood was bullish. The discussion came down to two questions, whether Humphrey really had a chance —and whether any of the others would seize it if they were he. Only Mondale's man Moe and Tom Kelm, an aide to Minnesota's Gov. Wendell Anderson, voted no on both scores; they argued that Humphrey had neither the money nor the organization to make the race even in New Jersey, and that he could not stop there—he would be drawn into other states as well. But the rest were positive, and Humphrey himself seemed to catch the spark when an aide passed him a note phoned in by Muriel. Humphrey unfolded it and read: "Whatever you do is fine with me."

Still, Humphrey let the talk flow on for two and a half hours, then adjourned the meeting without a decision and went home to counsel with his family. He rehearsed the pluses and minuses for Muriel at such inconclusive length that she finally protested: "Humphrey, where is the computer? You politicians are behind the times." He phoned his three sons and their wives, who were not enthusiastic, and his daugh-

Andrew Schneider



ter, who was. He finally got through at midnight to Strauss, who was in Dallas sweating out an exploratory operation on his wife. "Hubert," the chairman counseled, "I don't think my values have ever been better than they are at midnight in a hospital room . . . If I were you, I'd be exceedingly cautious before I jumped."

Humphrey turned in undecided and woke up bullish, a glow that seemed to spread as he watched himself being wanted on the morning news. "I think it's go-ahead," he told Illinois's Rep. Paul Simon, a draft-Humphrey leader in the House, and asked him to round up some of the troops for the announcement. He tried out the idea by phone on Scoop Jackson, who retorted that he would stay in the race anyway, and on Mo Udall, who reckoned that anything Humphrey did would be okay with him. He had polled chauffeur Perry Spriggs, who said go—"I guess." He sounded his son-in-law, Bruce Solomonson, who answered by asking Humphrey point-blank how much he really wanted to be President. "I want to be," replied Humphrey. "But not at any price and not at any risk."

TOO MANY SCRAMBLES

Humphrey's resolve seemed to melt away thereafter: the price of begging and the risk of humiliation were simply too high. At his office, he ordered up a transcript of a recent TV interview with Bill Moyers and read a fragment to a staffer: "I've asked too many people to help me too long. I've scrambled too many times. I don't have to do that now." Around noon, a scant hour and a half before air time, Muriel called to report that she too had been canvassing friends and that they were "pretty down on the idea—for both of us." He responded that he had about made up his mind—"I'm not going to go."

"That's just fine, Dad," Muriel told him in manifest relief. ". . . You're doing the right thing."

A last glimmer of hope seemed to take him when he put in his last call, to the AFL-CIO's George Meany, sitting in a penumbra of cigar ash in his office. "Well, Hubert, what are you going to do?" Meany rasped. The senator, noncommittal, asked what Meany would do—whether, for example, he could swing his executive board behind a Humphrey candidacy. Meany said he couldn't. They chatted for a while, then hung up. "Hubert says he hasn't made up his mind," Meany told an aide. "That means he's not going to run."

Meany was right: Humphrey had done his own totting up of the returns in his informal canvass, and had concluded that there was no percentage in taking the plunge. He was struck particularly by the number of friends who urged him to run, but turned equivocal when asked what *they* would do in his shoes. "At least half of them would say, 'Well, that's difficult'," he recounted, "or would indicate that if they were me, they wouldn't do it." He worried about his position in the Senate—he would have to give it up to run—and his chances to be Majority Leader. He was concerned for his family's misgivings. He fretted at how his late entry would look, given the odds against it. "Even if I had won New Jersey and everything went well," he said, "I would have gone in with 600 delegates, 650 maximum, and Carter would have had 900 or 1,000. It would have been 'Humphrey belatedly . . .' and 'Humphrey contentiously . . .'"

So he settled on "Humphrey gracefully . . .," composing a short statement closing down his shadow candidacy. He tried it out on a few friends—Paul Simon said it would be fine "if you would drop the word 'not' from it"—and then marched into the Caucus Room, Muriel wan and shiny-eyed at his side. The setting encouraged the belief that he would run, two Kennedys and Lyndon Johnson having announced their candidacies there, and Simon's stacked gallery sat waiting to stand up cheering. It never came. "I shall not enter the New Jersey primary," Humphrey said hoarsely, "nor shall I authorize any committee or committees to solicit funds or to work in my behalf . . . If my party should need me, or if perchance, which I think is unlikely, should nominate me, I am ready and prepared to serve."

Wally McNamee—Newsweek





AP



Susan T. McKibbney—Newsweek

Veepstakes: Potential running mates for Carter included Mondale (above), Rodino and Glenn

He did urge all the active candidates to stay active—a last, wistful invitation to the deadlock he would need to ignite a draft—and he promised to scold Carter into sharpening his stands on the issues. But he had neither time, money nor organization enough for a serious campaign, he said, and no taste for a reprise of the torments of the past. "One thing I don't need at this stage in my life," he said, "is to be ridiculous."

END OF THE ROAD

The news brought a brief flutter of hope to Scoop Jackson, who had labored in ill-tempered silence under his image as Humphrey's stalking-horse in Pennsylvania. The affiliation did bring with it the backing of the state party, most of the old-line labor leadership and the normally warring Philadelphia city machines headed by Mayor Frank Rizzo and Democratic chairman Peter Camiel. But Jackson was badly compromised by their open preference for Humphrey and his own role as front man for the stop-Carter crowd—an issue Carter exploited to brilliant advantage. The Jackson campaign, once the heavy favorite, simply grayed out in the last days, and died broke on election night. The senator had just settled into an easy chair in his Philadelphia hotel suite when the networks awarded Carter the victory minutes after the polls closed. "My God," said an astonished Jackson, "they haven't even counted any *votes* yet."

He did limp on for a day or two longer, conceding sourly through one senior aide that he had "lost the smiling contest" to Carter and announcing that he

WHERE CARTER STANDS ON THE ISSUES

From the moment Jimmy Carter claimed the Democratic lead, he has been accused of "fuzziness" on the issues. To counter that charge, Carter has lately put out a series of position papers. Below, his stands on some major issues, drawn from those papers, recent speeches and interviews:

THE ECONOMY

"Our single most important national priority must be a job for every American who wants to work," Carter says. Through various subsidies and taxes, the Federal government should encourage private industry to hire the unemployed, retain workers during cyclical downturns and provide flexible hours for working mothers. Carter wants the government to create "meaningful public jobs in the cities and neighborhoods of the unemployed"; these could include repair of the railroads, completion of mass-transit systems and caring for retarded children, alcoholics and drug addicts.

Carter maintains that a jobs program would not revive inflation, "because our economy is presently performing so far under capacity" and because the cost would not be significantly higher than current expenditures for welfare and unemployment. To hold down inflation, Carter would closely monitor the prices of raw materials; he also recommends stand-by wage-and-price controls that "the President can apply selectively."

The President should also strengthen his control over interest rates and the money supply by being able to pick "his own chairman" of the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed chairman now has a four-year term that overlaps the President's). At the same time, the President should initiate long-range economic planning through three-year budgets. "With a progressively managed economy," Carter says, "we can attain a balanced budget within the context of full employment by 1979."

TAX REFORM

Carter favors a vastly simplified tax system that eliminates most deductions and treats all personal income alike. He would also modify corporate taxes to discourage U.S. businesses from moving plants—and jobs—abroad.

FOREIGN POLICY

Carter supports détente with the Soviet Union and China, but feels that results so far "have been basically negative for this country" and that the U.S. has been "out-traded" by the Soviets in Helsinki, in Vladivostok and in the wheat deal.

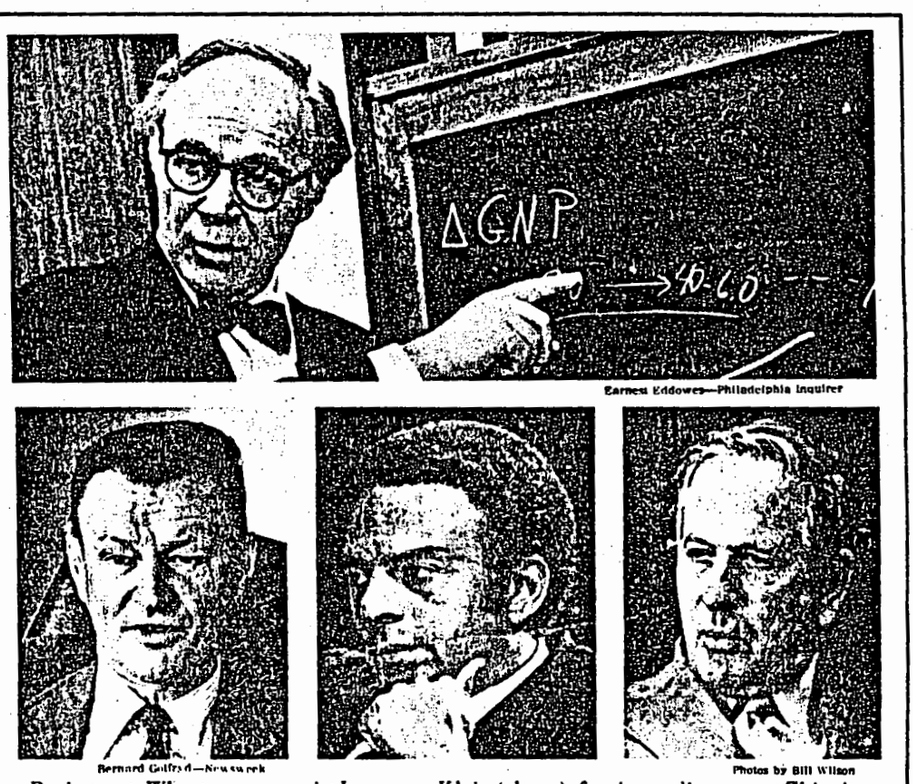
The U.S.'s first priorities, says Carter, should be "our friends and allies": Japan, Western Europe, Israel. He does not want to "close the door to Communist leaders in Italy . . . should they be successful." He believes that "ultimately the legitimate interests of the Palestinians are going to have to be recognized" and suggests that they might be resettled on the West Bank, preferably under Jordan's sovereignty. But the U.S. should recognize a Palestinian state only if the Palestinians affirm Israel's right to survive, Carter says, and Israel must retain its 1967 territories until both the Arab nations and the Soviet Union guarantee Israel's security.

Carter believes that arms sales to the world's developing nations should be "drastically" reduced, and ultimately the world's atomic powers should agree to abolish their nuclear weapons. The U.S. defense budget could be cut by $5 billion to $8 billion, Carter says, and most U.S. troops in Korea, Thailand and the Philippines should be withdrawn. Over a period of years, the NATO countries should assume more responsibility for the defense of Western Europe.

Concerning the Panama Canal, a recent campaign issue among conservative voters, Carter believes "we've got to retain that actual practical control," but could "yield part of the sovereignty" over the Canal Zone and renegotiate U.S. payments to Panama. He would use his own Spanish-speaking family as diplomats especially in Latin America. There is "no way" that he would keep Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State, Carter says, but he might call on him for specific negotiations.

ENERGY

The first priorities of a new national program to develop energy sources should be coal and solar power. Carter believes "our excessive emphasis" on atomic power "should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multinational effort." Total energy independence is "unlikely" in this century, Carter concedes, but there should be a "heavy emphasis on conservation"—unnecessary electrical power plants should not be built, rates should be restructured to help discourage consumption, automobiles and appliances should meet minimum efficiency standards. If such measures fail, Carter says, "stand-by excise taxes should be available to the President for selective imposition on petro-



Earnest Eddowes—Philadelphia Inquirer

Bernard Gotfryd—Newsweek

Photos by Bill Wilson

Brain trust: Wharton economist Lawrence Klein (above), foreign-policy expert Zbigniew Brzezinski (left); Atlanta mentors Rep. Andrew Young and lawyer Charles Kirbo

leum products," and the Administration should ration oil to the individual states.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Although he favors national health insurance as "a top priority," Carter has not endorsed any specific proposals—and he has not spelled out many details about his other social-service reforms. He does support a "major overhaul" of revenue-sharing that would allow the money to be funneled directly into cities and local communities, and to be spent for education; he would also secure more attention for education by creating a separate Department of Education within the Cabinet.

As for welfare, Carter proposes an "adequate, fairly uniform, nationwide" allocation of benefits, paid out by the Federal and the state governments—not by the cities. Benefits in some cities would probably drop under Carter's plan, as no one on welfare "should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs."

NEW YORK CITY

Washington's limited loan support for financially troubled New York City, Carter says, set "an unmanageable precedent" and encouraged urban fiscal irresponsibility. His own solution would have been to guarantee the state's "fiscal integrity," after both state and city had taken "corrective action" to ensure a balanced budget. As President, Carter vows, he would study the creation of a Federal Municipalities Securities Insurance Corp. that would help cities market their bonds at lower interest rates.

BIG GOVERNMENT

"The first piece of legislation I will send to Congress," Carter promises, "will initiate a complete overhaul of our Federal bureaucracy and budgeting systems"; the second would "initiate the reorganization of our Federal bureaucratic structure." Carter would require from-the-ground-up budgeting in each section of the bureaucracy—and would reduce the present 1,900 departments to no more than 200—"with a great savings in tax money and a streamlining of services."

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Carter proposes that the U.S. Attorney General be "removed from politics" so that the Justice Department could carry out impartially the same functions as the Watergate special prosecutor. The A.G. should be appointed for a specific period of time and be removed from office "only for malfeasance, as mutually determined by the President and designated leaders of Congress."

DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty, Carter believes, should be retained for a few specific crimes, such as murder committed by an individual who is already serving a life sentence. In each case, the death penalty must be imposed by a jury and reviewed by a three-judge panel of a state's Supreme Court.

ABORTION

His position on abortion has "been the same for the past four or five years," Carter maintains. He believes that abortion is wrong, and that the government should try to minimize it by subsidizing better sex education, family planning and adoption procedures. At the same time, Carter opposes a constitutional amendment that would return the matter to the states.

BUSING

"We have tried mandatory busing in Atlanta," says the former Georgia governor. "It did not work." Instead Carter favors a plan, implemented during his administration, under which no child is bused against his or her will, any child who wants it is bused at public expense, and black leaders are involved at all levels. But if Federal courts insist on busing, says Carter, "I will support the court. This is not the subject to be reopened with a constitutional amendment."

AMNESTY

As President, Carter says, he would issue a "blanket pardon" for all the Vietnam draft evaders. "Amnesty says what you did was right," Carter explains. "Pardon says whether what you did was right or wrong, you are forgiven for it."

would skin back to an issue-oriented media campaign. But he was "mortally wounded" even then, another Jackson man confessed, and at the weekend he flew home to Washington State to declare an end to his "active pursuit" of the Democratic nomination—a legal device for folding his hand without jeopardizing the Federal campaign subsidies still due him.

The moment was plainly a painful one for the senator, who had invested two years and $6 million in what had turned out to be a lost cause. He could not quite let go; he insisted that the race was still open, despite Carter's "commanding lead," and that he was still a candidate. But Jackson acknowledged that he is out of money—the Federal funds currently in the pipeline were said to be only just enough to pay off his Pennsylvania debts—and low on hope as well. "I gave this campaign everything I had," he said, "and I believe I ran a good campaign for a good long time. But I am a realist . . . I lost the Pennsylvania primary. I do not have the resources to continue."

The spill of dominoes thus left only Udall standing among



Andrew Schneider

Eastern debut: Brown talks 'planetary realism' in Maryland

Carter's serious adversaries, and his campaign was running on borrowed time and money. It was the mark of his situation that his band, on election night, struck up "After the Ball Was Over"; his effort in Pennsylvania was outspent by Carter, outmanned by Jackson and vastly overmatched by both of them. "I still refuse to go to the cemetery," he told reporters at a testy press conference the morning after, and a series of five-minute network fund appeals did bring in enough cash to rehire a chartered plane and keep Udall going at least as far as his next target primaries in Michigan and Maryland on May 18.

But the campaign had a doom-haunted look; some of Udall's own backers despaired of his winning there or anywhere else, and urged him on instead for whatever liberal leverage he could exert on Carter. Udall's campaign IOU's stood at $300,000, including a $30,000 personal note of his own. He was still laboring under a severe name-recognition problem; a bemused woman voter watched him gulp down several raw oysters and a Polish sausage in Baltimore's Lexington Market last week, then asked a

bystander: "U-d-a-l-l—how do you pronounce that? What's he running for?" And he desperately needed to win *something* on May 18 simply to survive. "The money will be gone," said a senior adviser, "and if we're beaten then, something will have to give."

And suddenly, Carter held the high ground alone, utterly unsurprised at his eminence—and just a shade wistful that Humphrey had decided not to challenge it after all. Carter had accurately marked off Pennsylvania as the last real proving ground for his Jimmy-come-lately dash through the Democratic primaries, and his road-based victory there was a chastening one for all the clubhouse and union-hall professionals allied against him. He had both challenged and broken their influence over the nominating process with his politics of amazing grace, and when the returns were in, he told them quite bluntly that he didn't need them. "I have not dealt with the political bosses," Carter said in the aftermath. "I've gone openly and aggressively to the people of this nation . . . I don't think anybody can come between me and the voters of this nation."



Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

The Carters: 'Nobody can come between me and the voters'

'THE SPIRIT OF '76'

There were still dragons left for St. Jimmy to slay—Church in Nebraska, Udall in Michigan, Jerry Brown in Maryland and California. Brown particularly made a splashy debut in national politics last week, stumping Maryland with his Zen-flavored summons to "planetary realism" and leaving a trail of SRO crowds, swooning coeds and impressed politicians in his wake. "He's the spirit of '76!" gushed a Republican matron who turned up at a Brown reception in Baltimore. But his position weakened perceptibly during the week when some of the closet Humphrey pols among his local sponsors began deserting after their man's withdrawal. Carter's people in any case rated none of the survivors—Brown included—as anything more than what one staffer called "minor irritants . . . People can single-shot us," he went on, "but we're in a position now where we can afford to be tripped up in one or two."

Carter has in fact already begun dialing down from a race-horse sprint to something nearer a royal progress—a phase-two mode whose principal objects are courting delegates, making peace with the party, and regearing from primary to Presidential politics. His breakneck travels accordingly will be cut down from six days a week to four and a half, freeing up time for rest, diplomacy and immersion in the issues he will need to know as the nominee apparent. His people have already begun assembling policy task forces, among them one on economics headed by the University of Pennsylvania's Lawrence Klein and another on world affairs starring such old State and Pentagon hands as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Cyrus Vance, Paul Warnke and Paul Nitze. Their purpose is partly the education of the candidate—and partly, as staff issues man Stu Eizenstadt cheerfully put it, "to begin building a government."

Carter's further task, as he put it on election night, was "tying back together all the elements of the party"—and in the process putting together the first-ballot victory he now dares hope is within his reach. The first returns after his coup in Pennsylvania and Humphrey's withdrawal were encouraging: Daley spoke kindly of him, New Jersey's Gov. Brendan Byrne endorsed him, the UAW's Leonard Woodcock edged his way, and even Philadelphia's party boss Camiel promised in defeat to pitch in. Carter himself held back from contacting Jackson or Udall just yet—"It would be in bad taste," said an aide—and was unable to get through to Humphrey immediately. Neither did he feel obliged to bargain or beg. "Politicians," said adviser William vanden Heuvel, "want to be with a winner."

But Carter did repair to the telephone to start wooing anyway, and his staff backed him up with mailings to delegates and party leaders around the nation—a packet conspicuously including three national polls suggesting that Carter could beat Gerald Ford. With the suspense largely out of the pursuit, his operatives plan for PR purposes to start publishing their once closely held delegate counts every week—"sort of like a ball game," said press secretary Jody Powell. The Veepstakes gave Carter a substantial further chip to play, for public effect and private flattery. One senior Carter hand flatly ruled out the Washington betting favorite, Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, for all his nostalgic name, his big-state base and his connection with Mayor Daley. The Carter people instead allowed the gossip to feed on names like Ohio's Glenn and New Jersey's Rodino, who could help in the last-round primaries, and on Minnesota's Mondale, whose nomination might finally propitiate Hubert Humphrey.

Carter himself was looking still further down the road toward the autumn campaign—and rehearsing for it with his sharpest assault yet on Gerald Ford. His adrenalin, suddenly quiescent after the week's victories, was set flowing again when Ford awarded him the nomination in one breath and twitted him for his inexperience in the next. Carter came into Austin, Texas, feeling stung ("He ought to lay off me") and bristling for combat. "Anything you don't like about Washington, you blame it on President Ford," he told a cheering crowd in the Statehouse. "He's slept alongside the issues. They haven't bothered him . . . At this point the country's drifting because there's no leadership. We don't need a caretaker in the White House, but that's what we've got."

'HAIL TO THE CHIEF'

Carter remains an unacquired taste for the elders of his own party. Republicans were ironically less resistant to seeing him for what he has now proven himself to be—a gifted politician with a fresh face, an anti-Establishment touch, a solid home base in the South, and a weatherman's sense of which way the winds are blowing in the politics of 1976. The Democratic power elite were rather more suspicious, given his distance from them and their disaffection for him. Carter, having moved within reach of the nomination, now must persuade his party that he is worthy of it. But the party after Pennsylvania was equally obliged to learn to live with Jimmy Carter. When he arrived at Alabama's Birmingham Southern College for a speech last week, the band struck up "Hail to the Chief"—and no one was laughing at the peanut farmer from Plains any more.

—PETER GOLDMAN with ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign and JAMES DOYLE, JOHN J. LINDSAY, HAL BRUNO and TONY FULLER in Washington

The Washington Post
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The Weather
Today—Sunny; high in the mid 70s. Tonight—Clear and cool; low in the low 50s. Chance of rain is near zero. Thursday — Sunny, high in the low 80s. Yesterday — 3 P.M.: air index: 19; temperature range: 64-44. Details are on Page C2.

David S. Broder

A Tough Struggle Ahead for Mr. Ford

DENVER—Anyone who had bet last January that the Democratic nomination battle would produce a decisive winner before the Republicans made their choice could have had any odds he wanted. But that is just one of the surprises of this astonishing political year. And there are undoubtedly more to come.

Jimmy Carter, the agent of so many of the startling occurrences of 1976, was gracious enough last week to concede that even he is amazed at the speed with which the barriers to his nomination had crumbled.

He said that he expected it to be a two-man race by now, but thought the opposition would remain intact through the last set of primaries in June.

Instead, he has routed both favorite sons and active opponents and is now left with only the oft-beaten George Wallace and Morris Udall and the untested Frank Church and Jerry Brown by way of campaign rivals.

Meantime, after the Texas massacre, President Ford knows for a fact that there is no escaping a battle to the end with his opponent, Ronald Reagan.

This unanticipated reversal of roles makes it clear that the Democrats will have a far better chance of electing a President in November than even the optimists in the party previously thought possible. The Democrats have time for conciliation and consolidation, while the much smaller GOP may see its activist ranks shattered by the sharpest civil war since the Goldwater-Rockefeller battle of 1964.

"The Democrats have time for conciliation and consolidation, while the smaller GOP may see its activist ranks shattered by the sharpest civil war since the Goldwater-Rockefeller battle of 1964."

The Republican race has been, from the beginning, a battle of incumbency vs. ideology. Mr. Ford would never have been considered a serious presidential possibility had he not already been President. And his main weapon in the primaries has been his possession of office. By selective use of patronage, by timely shifts of policy and by exploitation of the natural deference to an incumbent, Mr. Ford was able to win a series of victories by increasing margins from New Hampshire through Illinois.

But North Carolina cracked the myth of presidential invincibility, Wisconsin weakened it further and Texas smashed it to smithereens. Reagan, who for twelve years has been the most effective spokesman for the conservative ideology that prevails inside the shrunken GOP, has shown more than sufficient strength to carry the battle to the final day of primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey on June 8.

The odds still favor Mr. Ford in at least two of those three states and his victory at the convention. But it is clear that even if he finally prevails, he will need to make major concessions to the Reagan wing of the party, on both the platform and the choice of a running-mate.

What is more serious, there is growing risk that the continuing GOP civil war will leave the Republicans—who now count only one-fifth of the electorate as hard-core supporters—in a weakened position for the general election.

Early this year, Stuart Spencer, Mr. Ford's campaign director, told reporters that if the President had to fight Reagan in every major state across the country, from Florida to Illinois to Texas to California, the nomination might not be worth a nickel to either man.

That is probably an overstatement. An incumbent President running in a time of peace and with an improving economy always has a powerful claim to election.

But Mr. Ford can anticipate a tough struggle from Carter and the Democrats, if he succeeds ultimately in putting Reagan away. Carter's unexpected defeat of the active opposition allows him extra weeks to seek alliances in elements of the party where he is weak today. There are many such elements—including organized labor and the elected officials in both Washington and the state capitals. But there are signs of movement toward Carter in all those areas, and time for him to pursue his courtship in an effective fashion.

The weeks ahead are not without risk for Carter. Brown, Church or Udall might score an upset that would interrupt the tide now pulling party workers to Carter's side.

More seriously, as long as he remains a hazy figure to most voters—one about whom their feelings are friendly but unfocused, sympathetic but not substantial or strong—then he is vulnerable to a serious loss of support from any incident that casts him in a bad light. The increasing scrutiny of Carter offers him both risk and reward.

But, barring mishap, the Democrats will be running as their presidential candidate a Southerner who enjoys strong black support, a superb campaigner who has won in such diverse and vital states as Florida, Texas, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

And that is a formidable challenge to a President who is having a tough time beating a 65-year-old former movie actor.

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Marquis Childs

Jerry Brown, the Improbable Candidate

SACRAMENTO — Candidate for President of the United States. Age: 38. Experience: four years as secretary of state of California, one year and three months as governor. For Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., the antipolitician, this has an improbable sound.

Campaigning in Maryland, one of the three statewide primaries in which he is entered, is a venture that seems out of character. I talked with him just before his first sortie—actually the first time he has gone beyond the boundaries of his state—and there was a sense that he himself feels it is a bit improbable.

For he has kept a low profile, and all of us in the commentating business have made the pilgrimage to Sacramento to write columns about the governor who spurns the perks of office— the shiny black limousines, the private jets, the governor's mansion that stands empty—to live a bachelor life in a small pad near the capitol.

He liked to talk then about Zen Buddhism and its relation to the exercises of Ignatius of Loyola in the search for transcendence. His brilliant grounding in history and the law was a challenge to all debaters.

But Jerry Brown is in the campaign now, and he can speak the language of the candidate. The California poll gives him a rating of 47 per cent in his own state. He says the polls show he could defeat President Ford in California by a margin of 53 to 38.

At the same time he knows that if he should be nominated at the New York convention it would be like a sudden bolt of lightning out of a dark and troubled sky. The odds at the present moment are beyond any bookmakers in this year of almost unprecedented uncertainty.

That is not to say that Brown belittles his chances, knowing that he has been rated as the hottest new property in the Democratic Party. They want something new, he says. They're tired of these old bureaus that seems to run the government without direction from anybody.



By George Rebh for The Washington Post

The same criticism goes, in Jerry Brown's view, for America's foreign policy. For 10 years it has been repetitive, sterile. We've got to do something about raw materials that are in scarce supply, he says. This means we will have to work with other countries on a different basis, a basis that takes into account their needs as well as ours. Brown looks back to the Marshall plan and the great era of our leadership, brushing aside the doubter's observation that that was in the full flush of America's wealth and power. We're rich now if we would only use our wealth, he says.

Although this candidate looks younger than his years, with a little gray edging his black hair, there is a sense of strength in tight reserve. When he is stimulated his eyes flash and he speaks rapidly and intensely. He is like a young hawk stirred suddenly to life.

But what has he done in 15 months in the governorship? That is the question put by many Democrats in the state who are skeptical of his role-playing.

They complain, too, of his refusal to participate in party gatherings and point to his deliberate absence from a meeting of leaders in Los Angeles who were trying to get the Democratic convention there. If there aren't enough hotel rooms for all the delegates, Brown said, they can sleep in church basements. That aroused the wrath of many, who blamed him for the fact that Los Angeles lost the bid for the convention.

Gray Davis, the governor's young administrative assistant, has compiled a list of achievements ranging from slowing the growth of state government to creating an Agricultural Labor Relations Board to provide collective bargaining rights for farm workers. In his two budgets thus far there have been no tax increases.

The vice presidency? No one runs for Vice President. Not much use in talking about it. It is known, however, that Sen. Hubert Humphrey has rated Brown second or third as his choice for the No. 2 spot.

Cynics in California critical of Brown's record—or lack of a record—so far believe that he would like to move on, even if that means moving to the office that has been so belittled in the past. He would escape responsibility for the reforms being pressed on the state from left and right, they feel.

It would be a new field with unlimited opportunity to explore the bigness of government that he deplores, and at 38 he would be young enough to be a candidate for the presidency in 1980 or 1984. The maturing process could bring profound changes in this young Lochinvar out of the West.

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Politics Today

Shrum Affair Touches On Carter's Candor

A3

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Shrum affair has raised some disquieting questions for the Democrats about the future of Jimmy Carter's campaign for the presidency.

In itself, the public renunciation of Carter by Robert Shrum, a young, liberal speechwriter, is not very important. There is rarely a campaign that does not suffer defections by disgruntled or disenchanted staff members. Politics is an emotional business.

Nor is Shrum's accusation that Carter is guilty of unusual "manipulation and deception" in his handling of issues intrinsically shocking. here is a little manipulation and deception in the best of campaigns, so the argument is essentially over what level is acceptable. Shrum obviously believes Carter has gone too far. Otherwise, the speechwriter would not have made such a public cause of his dismay. As he is undoubtedly aware, campaign staff members who "go public" in such situations are not likely to be much sought after by other campaigns.

BUT THE FACT that Shrum took such a drastic step focuses attention on a continuing problem for Carter — his apparent failure to recognize that his position as the runaway favorite for the Democratic presidential nomination carries with it special responsibilities.

The Georgia Democrat is no longer a one-man roadshow, capable of prospering politically on a smile and a shoeshine. He is, instead, the very likely nominee, charged with enlisting the support and confidence of the diverse elements of his party. And to accomplish that, he is obliged to make it as comfortable as possible for other Democrats to make his case in the general election this fall.

In Carter's case, as his own opinion studies have shown, this means that he must deal directly and openly with the fears among many thoughtful Democrats that he is a shade too facile in his handling of issues, that he is too often fortuitously ambiguous on touchy questions, that he is too prone to the kind of political accidents such as "ethnic purity" that ultimately turn out to be political coups.

A DEMOCRATIC campaign worker in Indiana spoke for many liberals the other day when she said: "I'm going to support him, but I'm not sure what he's really like, so I'm uneasy about it."

This unease is exacerbated in Carter's case because he has made such a fetish of the high moral level of his candidacy. Every statement that "I am not a liar" is, in a sense, a challenge to both the press and doubters within his party to examine him closely on every particular. He is now the tough guy who has boasted he can lick any man in the saloon.

Functioning in this context, it is no longer enough for Carter to simply eschew lying. Instead, he is probably required to make a positive attempt to be demonstrably more candid than the more conventional politicians he has been eliminating from the campaign in one primary after another all year.

THE DISPUTE WITH Shrum over his views on defense spending is a case in point. The speechwriter suggested that Carter's public advocacy of a 5 to 7 percent reduction in the military budget was masking private talk of increasing spending $20 to $30 billion. Carter countered with no little heat that there is not a shred of difference between his public and private views on the Pentagon budget. And indeed, it is difficult to imagine how he could imagine he could get away with any reversal of such proportions after he reached the White House.

But even if Carter is taken at his word on this point, it is not enough for a candidate in his dominant position, who has advanced himself all along as the "different" politician who would consult and confide in the American people in an unprecedented way. Beyond this, if he is to reassure those Democrats to whom this issue is pivotal, he has an obligation to do more than talk about the fat in the Pentagon budget that has made it what he calls "the most wasteful bureaucracy" in town. What he should be doing, to meet his own criteria, is spelling out in considerable detail not only where those savings can be achieved but what he thinks about the relative merits of this or that military hardware, this or that weapons policy.

CARTER HAS ARGUED that there are many issues too complex for glib, 10-point programs thrown out along the campaign trail. He says, for example, that the details of his tax reforms must await time for a thorough study of the structure, that for now it is enough to outline principles. And there is some obvious justification for that rationale.

But those who are skeptical may be forgiven if they point out it can be politically advantageous, too, not to get too darned specific right now about whose tax preferences you intend to take away. And that is the kind of thinking that leads to Democrats such as the one in Indiana being "uneasy" about this man who will be their leader this fall.

There's nothing illegal, immoral or fattening about a candidate being cautious when he has a lead. Don't make waves is a well-established rule in such situations. But Carter is not an ordinary candidate, and for him, it may be bad politics.



COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Carter	Humphrey	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Iowa	47	17	—	—	10	—	9	11
Mississippi	24	5	—	—	—	11	4	4
Hawaii*	17	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Oklahoma	37	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Puerto R.*	22	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
N. Hampshire	17	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
Minnesota*	65	—	60	—	—	—	—	5
S.Carolina	31	9	—	—	—	8	1	13
Maine*	20	6	—	—	—	—	—	14
Massachusetts	104	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Washington*	53	—	—	31	4	—	—	18
Florida	81	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Illinois	169	59	4	—	—	3	88	15
N. Carolina	61	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Virginia*	54	14	—	—	4	—	—	36
Kansas*	34	13	—	2	1	—	2	16
Wisconsin	68	26	—	6	25	10	1	—
New York	274	35	—	106	68	—	—	65
Missouri*	71	10	—	1	3	1	9	47
Alaska	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Arizona	25	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Canal Zone	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Virgin I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Pennsylvania	178	64	—	19	22	3	17	53
Texas	130	89	—	—	—	—	9	32
Louisiana	32	10	—	—	—	7	—	15
Alabama	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	50	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indiana	75	48	—	—	—	6	—	21
D.C.	17	7	—	—	4	—	—	6
Totals	1,807	580	64	232	184	122	163	427

* Process incomplete

REPUBLICANS

State	Total Delegates	Ford	Reagan	Uncommitted
Iowa*	36	15	15	6
P.R.	8	8	—	—
N. Hamp.	21	18	3	—
Mass.	43	28	15	—
Florida	66	43	23	—
Hawaii*	19	12	4	3
Illinois	101	77	11	13
D.C.	14	14	—	—
N. Carolina	54	26	28	—
Wisconsin	45	45	—	—
Mississippi	30	—	—	30
S. Carolina	36	4	26	6
New York	154	—	3	151
Arizona	29	2	27	—
Minnesota*	65	10	3	2
Wisconsin	45	45	—	—
Oklahoma	36	—	—	3
Pennsylvania*	103	—	—	103
Maine	20	16	3	1
Texas	100	—	96	4
Alabama	37	—	31	6
Georgia	48	—	48	—
Indiana	54	9	45	—
Totals	1,164	372	381	328

* Process incomplete

TALLY

There are 1,505 votes needed to win the Democratic presidential nomination in New York City in July, and 1,130 to win the Republican nomination in Kansas City in August. These tables show convention delegate votes accumulated so far by candidates in state primaries and party caucuses. They include some projections in caucus and primary states where the process has not yet been completed. Coming up next Tuesday in the race for convention delegates are statewide primaries in Nebraska and West Virginia, and unusual town presidential primary contests in Connecticut. And in two weeks: the Maryland and Michigan primaries.

Q and A

'Non-Runner' Humphrey's View of Race

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, is a former vice president and has several times sought the presidency in his own right. Last week, Humphrey reiterated his intention to avoid active campoigning for the Democratic namination this year. He was interviewed by Washington Star Staff Writer Martha Angle.

Question: *You've spent the better part of the last 20 years seeking the presidency and it now appears likely that you will never reach that goal. Has it been worth the sacrifices you've had to make in the pursuit?*

Humphrey: I don't feel I spent the better part of 20 years seeking the presidency. I've spent the better part of 30 years in public service and one of the objectives of public service is to serve in the highest capacity, of course. But now from time to time, I have seen fit to enter presidential primaries and contests for the presidential nomination. But I do not have my eyes set on the presidency every day of my life. Maybe if I'd done so I might have succeeded. I sometimes feel that is possibly my weakness. I have preferred to be a good United States senator and a good public servant for the people that I represent and cast my votes according to my own best judgment rather than to what I thought was the most desirable political choice. That does not always add up to seeking the presidency. It may very well add up to keeping the presidency away from your reach.

Q: *How do you account for Jimmy Carter's success this year?*

A: I'm not capable of giving a real thoughtful answer to that. I can give you some observations. First of all, he is the man who is an elected public official, a former governor, and he is not a novice to politics. He comes at a time in American politics when someone from the South has, I think, even an advantage. There are times in American public life when a sense of guilt rises up and people try to correct their mistakes of the past. Just as there was a time in American politics when a man of Catholic faith would be denied the presidency regardless of his ability or talent, such as Al Smith, simply because he was a Catholic. Finally, we Americans realized that was unfair, unjust, undesirable, unnecessary. And we judge people by merit. John Kennedy, a Catholic, was made president of the United States by the votes of the American people. I think that was a

See HUMPHREY, A-22

HUMPHREY

Continued From A-1

great accomplishment and it sort of erased from our national record a period of bigotry and misunderstanding and prejudice.

Q: *How does this apply to Carter?*

A: We now see a situation where in recent years, because of the struggle over civil rights, because of the differences between the North and the South on social issues, that Southerners were denied the right, denied the opportunity to be president. For example, I think, were Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia alive today and between 55 and 60 years of age, he could well have been president of the United States. But because he was from the South, and because of the civil rights issue and the attitude which the Southern politican had in opposition to basic civil rights legislation, he was never able to be president of the United States. Well, Jimmy Carter comes along at a time when a great change is taking place. Time and events, the unknown and the unpredictable, have more to do with the fate of people than planning or organization or careful preparation. Secondly, Jimmy Carter is an attractive man. He's unique, he's different. He's new.

Q: *And that's a virtue in itself.*

A: The American media loves anything or anybody that is new. We're really gung-ho for something that is new. We always prefer the newness. I also feel that the fact that he has not been deeply involved in the tough national decisions we've had to make has been an advantage. It has not been easy these years that I've served in Congress to have to have voted on issues of censuring Joseph McCarthy, the great foreign policy issues, civil rights issues, the voting rights issue, immigration issues, tax issues.



—United Press International

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey adjusts his glasses as he speaks at a meeting of broadcasting executives here yesterday.

Q: *You're saying that Carter offers no target?*

A: I'm simply saying that because of his position, being a governor and not being a national legislator or in the national political scene, he was not compelled by the nature of his office to have to take stands on a whole series of highly controversial issues. Most everyone else has had to. Mr. Udall surely did. Mr. Jackson did. Mr. Bayh had to do so. Hubert Humphrey has obviously has been in the forefront of most of these battles. So there was an advantage in this period of time not being identified with the controversial issues of our time. And that adds up finally to having no direct relationship with what we call the 'Washington establishment.' The anti-Washington theme has been good politics in the sense that it gains votes in 1976.

Q: *Will it be good government should he be elected?*

A: If one pursues the course of being anti-Washington and all that it means, it would not be good government. But I would hope that whoever becomes president of the United States recognizes that we need a strong presidency, but we need a disciplined presidency. We need a presidency that understands the discipline of the use of power and understands that the presidency is there as the one national office to represent all of the people. The danger that we've had, that we've experienced, is the abuse of power. And what a president needs to have is a sense of personal humility on the one hand and secondly, as sense of self-discipline in the exercise of the use of power. And then add to that a sense of commitment for his country and a sense of direction for his country, and I believe you have the right kind of a person.

Q: *In retrospect, do you think you should have actively campaigned for the presidency this year?*

A: No, no, I have no regrets about that at all. I've been very comfortable in the Senate. I feel that I'm performing a useful public service here, I'm doing my job and hopefully doing it well. I like what I'm doing. I feel the country knows me. I realize that you have very little chance of being nominated to the presidency without the primary

See HUMPHREY, A-23

HUMPHREY

Continued From A-22

route, but I understood that months ago — this was not something new. I did not have an insatiable desire to become president of the United States.

Q: *Did it not become a tempting prospect as the primaries progressed and appeared for a while that it might lead to a deadlock? Were you ever tempted to abandon your position of noninvolvement?*

A: No, actually not until after the Pennsylvania primary. In fact, I had thought through when I was back in Minnesota during the congressional so-called Easter recess, the options that might fall my way after Pennsylvania. In other words, what happened if there was sort of a standoff; what would happen, what would I do if Mr. Carter had a clear-cut victory; what should I do if Mr. Jackson had a very big victory. Any of those were possibilities. And I never at any time changed my mind. In fact, I gave an interview to one of the leading reporters of the New York Times from my home in Waverly, just the weekend before the Pennsylvania primary and sat and answered to these many options, that I had no intention of changing my position. And I would let the results of the primaries speak for themselves. It was after the results of the Pennsylvania primary that a great deal of pressure was brought upon me to enter the New Jersey primary.

Q: *How did you respond to that?*

A: I thought I ought to at least listen. I thought I ought to evaluate what people had to say and I called in certain people. Others called me on the phone, but I called in some people that I would like to talk to in the most confidential and open manner. I felt that my credibility was at stake — I had said I would not enter the primaries. I said that I would not seek, in the sense of being an active candidate, the presidential nomination. I've repeated that month after month. I felt that it would look very odd for me to suddenly reverse my field. To be only interpreted in one way as a negative action to stop Mr. Carter. I had said repeatedly that I was not interested in stopping people, that Humphrey was a starter and not a stopper. And after listening to all the counsel and advice that I received, I made a judgment on my own, which is my way of doing it. That if there were mistakes, they would be my mistakes, if there were decisons that were the right decisions, they would be because I made them. This time it was going to be done my way and I did it my way.

Q: *How can an anti-Washington candidate become a president who must tap and command the loyalty of the Washington establishment?*

A: Well you see the way to be popular today, apparently, is to say you'll do nothing. And that to be more popular is to say you'll do less than nothing. I come from the state of Minnesota. I heard the governor of my state not long ago deliver a remarkable address of what his administration had done in Minnesota. And he went out to point out that we had invested in education. We are investing in housing; we're putting up $650 million of state funds for home rehabilitation. We have been investing in centers fore drug and alcohol abuse centers. We have been investing in loan programs for family farmers. In other words, an activist governor had looked upon his job and the state legisature looking upon their responsibilities by serving the people, not by neglecting the problems, not by condemning government but by enhancing the government's ability to come to grips with problems. And I am weary of candidates or spokesmen saying that government ought not to do this and ought not to do that. What I think we ought to have are candidates that define the proper role of government. And not to be negative about it, but to be positive.

Q: *Can you still do that these days, though?*

A: I don't want a government that will do everything for everybody. That only lets you draw the conclusion that that kind of government can do anything to anybody. But there is a role for government. There is a role in housing. And I have yet to hear anyone speak about the real housing problem, except we ought to build more houses. Now how are you going to finance that? How are you going to finance housing? We've got an argument about neighborhoods but nobody ever spoke about how you ever pay for a home to run into a neighborhood. You know, isn't it interesting that in an argument about ethnic purity, no one ever got around to figuring out how would anybody buy a house at what rate of interest to even come into a neighborhood. I would suggest that these are issues that need to be discussed and I intend to discuss them.

Q: *Do you think that traditional Democratic liberalism of the New Deal, the New Frontier, the Great Society variety, is passe or is it the criticism which is a fad?*

A: Well, it's a part of our life like many other things it is both present and past. The automobile of the 1940s is passe but the principles of that automobile are still here. I mean, there are still four wheels, there's still an engine, and finally we've improved it and now we have antipollution devices on the automobile. I think the argument about whether you're a New Dealer, or a New Frontiersman or a Great Society advocate, that's just for people to chew on and write articles about. Those are experiences on which you build and from whence you learn. Some of those problems and programs were directly related to the needs of their time. I don't think anybody wants to abolish Federal Deposit Insurance, which was a New Deal program. I haven't heard anybody say we ought to abolish the rural electric program, which was a New Deal program. I haven't heard anybody say we ought to abolish what we call the Voting Rights Act, which was a Great Society program.

Q: *Are there programs that should be abolished?*

A: Maybe there are. And I think they may well be. And that's why whoever becomes president of the United States ought to take that feature out of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which requires that every year at least 20 percent of all working programs be subjected to a complete review. In other works, they're stopped and either extended, renovated, or they're canceled out.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/5



Baldy is on vacation.

34 A

News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

James R. Schlesinger, the former Defense Secretary, said in a Washington speech that the Ford Administration was undermining American "moral support" for Israel by undue pressure for Israeli concessions to the Arabs. He said that Israel, like South Vietnam in 1972-73, was being blamed for failure to make progress toward a settlement. Without mentioning Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, he seemed to be criticizing his negotiating tactics. [Page 1, Columns 1-2.]

Prime Minister Ian D. Smith's bringing four African chiefs into his Cabinet appears unlikely to aid a political settlement of the Rhodesian crisis. Opposition has come from blacks, liberals, the right wing and, reportedly, from the more conservative elements of his own ruling party, the Rhodesian Front. Insofar as the chiefs oppose both guerrilla warfare and more moderate aspirations for black majority rule, their installation is seen as a sign that Mr. Smith's own position has hardened. [1:1.]

National

Ronald Reagan apparently defeated President Ford in the key Republican Presidential primary in Indiana, and also scored his expected victory in Georgia. The challenger's performance in Indiana was his best to date in a Northern state, adding momentum to his campaign against the incumbent. Jimmy Carter won the Indiana Democratic primary, a task made easier by the withdrawal of Senator Henry M. Jackson, whose name remained on the ballot. Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama was running second, but with only a threadbare reprise of his 41 percent of the Democratic vote in 1972. [1:5-8.]

Mr. Carter swept to victory in the nonbinding Presidential preference primary in his state of Georgia, and appeared to be taking all or most of the 50 delegates in a separate vote. In the Republican primary, which is binding for all 48 delegates, Mr. Reagan defeated Mr. Ford. [1:5.]

The Senate passed the measure to revive the Federal Election Commission as the backlog of primary subsidies requested by candidates rose to nearly $3.8 million. The final vote was 62 to 29. White House sources indicated the President would decide within a day or two whether to sign or veto it, with approval likely. The House of Representatives had passed the bill by 291 to 81. The chief claimants for matching funds are Mr. Ford, who said he was due $500,000, and Mr. Carter who seeks $521,000. [1:6-7.]

The Continental Grain Company was fined $500,000 by a Federal judge in New Orleans after pleading no contest to an indictment accusing it of making false declarations on the weights of foreign shipments when scales which were used to weigh the cargoes had been rigged. [1:5.]

Metropolitan

The strike of building service employees, which began primarily in Manhattan, spread to apartment houses in Brooklyn and Queens with no signs of an early settlement. The leader of the striking local said that 2,500 of the 4,000 buildings where its members worked had been struck and that the walkout would be expanded to Staten Island today. The dispute does not affect Bronx apartments, where workers are represented by a different local. [1:4.]

New Jersey's Environmental Protection Commissioner, David J. Bardin, said the state would try to block construction of the world's first floating nuclear plants, off Atlantic City, unless the Federal Government carefully analyzed the risks involved in the event of a major accident. Acknowledging that a major catastrophe was extremely unlikely, he nevertheless said the innovative technology "demands careful assessment both of benefits and of detriments, including any novel risks." [1:3.]

Eugene Hollander, the nursing-home operator who had pleaded guilty to a charge of inflating Medicare reimbursement claims by more than $100,000, was sentenced to spend nights in a Federal jail for up to six months and ordered to sever all connections with nursing homes. He was fined $10,000, and received a suspended five-year prison term and five years' probation which was contingent on his repaying all illegally obtained money and assets. [1:3-4.]

Members of the City Council's Finance Committee, prodded by parent groups at a hearing, indicated that they intended to assert their authority to change priorities in the education budget for the first time since the school system was decentralized in 1970. They said they planned a shift from the central New York City Board of Education of up to $27 million to community school districts to bolster instruction. [1:1-2.]

The Other News

International

Fear of Red rule may sway Italian voters. Page 2
U.S. indifference on Red base charged. Page 3
Lebanese quarrel with Syria is worsening. Page 3
Fast-paced Kissinger tour resembles a stampede. Page 6
South Africa plans tighter security curbs. Page 7
Kissinger cautions third world on pressure. Page 7
Former French revolutionary cleared of murder. Page 9
Portuguese Communism has deep Soviet roots. Page 18

Government and Politics

Rockefeller scores intelligence inquiries. Page 13
Savings bank checking bill to be debated today. Page 21
Alabama primary crucial for Wallace. Page 24
A Cleveland ward turns to Carter. Page 26
Incumbency aids Ford on travel bills. Page 27
Court reform is passed in Hartford. Page 31
Moratorium upheld on city note payments. Page 40

General

Bail is reduced in Peter Reilly murder case. Page 31
Press taken to task on financial news. Page 36
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 41
Empire State Building fetes 50-millionth visitor. Page 41
Changes in divorce law gain in Albany. Page 41
Seagoing restaurant is formally opened. Page 41
Louise Lasser of TV faces drug charge. Page 46

Industry and Labor

Hospital workers to vote tonight on strike. Page 30

Education and Welfare

Blacks seen losing ground in higher education. Page 47

Health and Science

Science's repute is held favorable. Page 15
Sterilization rapidly gaining favor, study finds. Page 22
House votes to override day-care veto. Page 27

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Mostly sunny tonight. Cloudy, warmer Tuesday 41-55. Details o

CXXV .... No. 43,201 — NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1976 — M 20
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KEY G.O.P. CONTEST

Challenger Keeps His Momentum From Texas Victory

By WILLIAM E. FARRELL
Special to The New York Times

INDIANAPOLIS, May 4 — Ronald Reagan took an early lead tonight over President Ford in the important Indiana Presidential primary and scored his expected victory in Georgia.

Coming on the heels of Mr. Reagan's strong sweep over the President last Saturday in Texas, the former California Governor's showing in Indiana added momentum to his campaign against Mr. Ford.

He was looking for a breakthrough victory in a Northern state like Indiana, abutting Mr. Ford's home state of Michigan, which has a primary on May 18. Mr. Ford had called the Indiana primary "crucial" to him.

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, as expected, swept the Indiana Democratic primary, a task made easier by Senator Henry M. Jackson's announcement on Saturday that he was withdrawing as an active candidate. Mr. Jackson, however, remained on the ballot.

Wallace Trailing

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who was running second in Indiana, appeared to be having a threadbare reprise of the strong showing he made here in 1972, when he got 41 percent of the Democratic primary vote.

These estimates of the candidate's showings in Indiana were based on early returns and projections from a sampling by The New York Times and CBS News of 1,440 voters after they cast their ballots. A survey of this kind is considered more broadly representative of the state's preferences than scattered early returns.

With 14 percent of 4,599 precincts reporting, the tally was:

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	40,828 (51%)
Ford	39,683 (49%)

DEMOCRATS

Carter	49,937 (66%)
Wallace	11,107 (14%)
Jackson	9,669 (13%)

The other major Democratic candidate, Represenative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, was ruled off the ballot several weeks ago for not having sufficient petition signatures.

Mr. Reagan's early showing sustained the renewed momentum his campaign received last Saturday when he captured all 96 Republican delegates in the Texas primary.

Crossover Indicated

Mr. Wallace's poor showing and Mr. Reagan's strong one seem to indicate that at least some of Mr. Wallace's conservative Democratic supporters had crossed over party lines to vote for Mr. Reagan.

As late as yesterday, Mr. Reagan was urging Indiana Democrats to do just that. A huge Democratic crossover was a key factor in Mr. Reagan's stunning victory over Mr. Ford in the Texas primary.

But The Times/CBS News voter sampling also indicated that Mr. Reagan was running well among voters who identified themselves as regular Republicans.

The sampling also indicated that Mr. Reagan was scoring

Continued on Page 24, Column 3

Reagan Takes Early Lead In Indiana G.O.P. Primary

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

well with Republican voters for his stand on such issues as the size of the Federal Government (he says it is too big) and on military and defense spending (he says it is not enough).

Today's Republican Presidential primary also marked the start of the selection process for the state's 54 delegates to the party's national convention in Kansas City, Mo., in August.

Convention Picks Delegates

The Republican delegates selection system provides for the statewide winner to get 21 at-large delegates and three from each of the state's 11 Congressional districts, providing he wins in a given distrct. The actual delegates will be chosen at a state party convention next month.

Mr. Carter seemed to have won many of his party's 75 convention delegates who will go to the Democratic convention in New York in July.

Indiana Democrats use a proportional representation system of allotting delegates but only if a loser gets 15 percent or more of the vote.

Indiana voters also took part in an important local primary contest today.

Senator Vance Hartke, seeking a fourth six-year term, was runnig against a freshman Congressman, Representative Philip H. Hayes, for the Democratic Senate nomination.

In the Republican senatorial race, former Mayor Richard G. Lugar of Indianapolis was running against former Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb.

A Key House Race

Another important Democratic Congressional race matched Representative Ray J. Madden, chairman of the House Rules Committee and, at the age of 84, the oldest member of Congress, and a former protégé, a State Senator Adam Benjamin.

Three Democrats were seeking their party's nomination in the state's primary for governor to run against the Republican incumbent, Otis R. Bowen, who is unopposed for renomination. The three Democrats are Secretary of State Larry Conrad, State Treasurer Jack L. New and State Senator Robert J. Fair.

Interest in the Indiana primary varied in intensity over the last several weeks. A good deal of it evaporated when Senator Birch Bayh, a native son, withdrew in March as an active Democratic Presidential candidate after weak showings in a series of early primaries. Yesterday Mr. Bayh endorsed Mr. Carter, calling him the only Democrat capable of winning the nomination without recourse to a divisive, brokered national convention in New York in July.

But interest was renewed over the weekend in the Republican primary after Mr. Reagan's victory in the Texas primary on Saturday.

State Republican leaders, who for weeks had been predicting a comfortable victory for Mr. Ford, adopted more cautious rhetoric in the last few days while still affirming that the President would win. Mr. Reagan's advisers asserted that his victory in Texas was sure to erode Mr. Ford's acknowledged edge.

Campaigning Started Late

Because the Indiana primary was sandwiched in among other primaries, the candidates did not campaign much in the state until the last few days.

Mr. Ford, stung by his defeat in Texas, and Mr. Reagan, buoyed by his victory there, both stumped around the state criticizing each other on their positions on foreign and domestic issues.

Mr. Reagan, taking notice of what was conceded to be the moribund Wallace effort in Indiana, invited conservative Democrats to cross over and become part of his anti-Washington "new majority."

In part, Mr. Reagan's exhortations to the Wallace Democrats were a recognition of Indiana voters' normal adherence to party political organizations and of the Californian's need to widen his base here. The Republican organization leadership was behind the President.

Most of the state's public offices are partisan, and nearly all of these officials, along with holders of patronage jobs, as a rule kick back 2 percent of their salaries to the party coffers.

Mr. Ford had predicted he would do "very well" in the state but stopped short of saying what he thoutht his margin of victory would be. The state, he said, was "crucial" to him.

Wallace Pessimestic

Yesterday, Mr. Wallace, in a brief campaign stop in the Indianapolis area, admitted that he had scant chance of doing as well as he did in Indiana in 1972.

Mr. Carter, fresh from impressive victories in Pennsylvania and Texas last week, exuded confidence.

Polls in the statewereope n for 12 hours, starting at 6 A.M., on a cool and sunny day.

For the first time in nearly half a century, Indiana voters picked party candidates for Congressional and state offices, reviving a practice that was stopped in 1928, in part to stem the political influence of the Ku Klux Klan.

During the intervening years, these candidates were picked at state party conventions. In some political quarters, more interest was generated by several hotly contested Congressional races than by the Presidential primary.

Mr. Jackson's campaign in the state never took hold. He did not make any significant inroads into the state's large labor vote and did not generate voter excitement. On Friday, the night before the withdrawal announcement by Mr. Jackson his Indianapolis staff quietly shut his campaign office and his workers left town.

That left Mr. Carter with a clear field to add to his growing number of primary victories.

GEORGIANS BACK CARTER, REAGAN

Democrats Support Former Governor — Californian Wins 48 Delegates

By WAYNE KING
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 4—Former Gov. Jimmy Carter swept to victory over two principal rivals in the nonbinding Democratic Presidential preference primary here tonight.

Mr. Carter also appeared to be winning all or almost all of Georgia's 50 delegates to the Democratic National Convention in separate balloting.

Ronald Reagan defeated President Ford in a binding vote for 48 Republican delegates.

In what was considered a light turnout, Mr. Carter held a substantial lead over Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. The three candidates were the only ones among 17 on the Democratic ballot to make any campaign effort here and to field pledged candidates for delegates.

With 182 of 2,179 precincts reporting in the Presidential preference voting, the tally was:

DEMOCRATS

Carter	26,519
Wallace	4,210
Udall	284

REPUBLICANS

Reagan	6,515
Ford	2,582

There were indications that some cross-over voting by Democrats helped Mr. Reagan, although the precise dimensions were not known because voters here are not required to register by party and can

Continued on Page 25, Column 4

Congress Clears Measure To Revive Election Panel

By WARREN WEAVER Jr
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 4 — Congress sent to President Ford today legislation to revive the Federal Election Commission as the requests of Presidential candidates for primary subsidies that the agency is powerless to approve rose to nearly $3.8 million.

The Senate approved the campaign bill, 62 to 29, today, following House approval yesterday. White House sources indicated that the President would decide within a day or two whether to sign or veto it, with approval the more likely outcome.

With a two-thirds vote required to override a veto and with nine Senators not voting today, the margin was regarded as too narrow to support a prediction as to how such a vote might go.

The House passed the campaign bill yesterday by a vote of 291 to 81, and leaders of both parties concluded that a Presidential veto would be overridden there, if the occasion should arise.

The election commission has been without most of its powers since March 22 as a result of a Supreme Court ruling in January. The commission reported today that Presidential candidates had filed for $1.4 million more in campaign subsidies this week.

The chief claimant was President Ford, who said he was due $500,000 more in matching funds, raising his total of unpaid subsidies to $1.4 million. His nearest contender, Ronald Reagan, filed for $168,000 more for a six-week total of $604,000.

The Democrat with the largest claim was Jimmy Carter, now the acknowledged favorite to win the nomination, who asked for $148,000, raising his total claim for unpaid subsidies to $521,000.

The election commission is prepared to authorize payment of most of these claims within hours after the legislation restoring its authority is signed and its members are reappointed, confirmed and sworn in.

A potential interruption in this sequence arose yesterday with the news that the commis-

Continued on Page 26, Column 4

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CARTER LEADING COLORADO RIVALS

But Most Democrats Appear Uncommitted at Caucuses

Special to The New York Times

DENVER, May 4—A plurality of Colorado Democrats appears uncommitted to any Presidential candidate, but former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia made a strong showing yesterday precinct in caucuses, according to a sampling of precincts.

There was no official count in Republican Party caucuses and results were unclear. However, Karen Zeiler, vice chairman of the Denver County Republican Party, said that President Ford had won 58 percent of the Presidential preference vote to 42 percent for former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in a sample of 175 Denver precincts. There are 500 precincts in the city and 2,350 statewide.

Polling of Republican preferences for Presidential candidates at the precinct level was optional. Also, precincts were not required to report their results to state headquarters.

Colorado will send 31 delegates to the Republican National Convention and 35 delegates to the Democratic convention.

The state Democratic Party tabulated the Presidential preference results from 129 precincts selected at random from the 2,226 precincts statewide.

Jerry Van Valkenburg, the state party's spokesman, said that 34.2 percent of the Democrats were uncommitted, according to the sampling.

Mr. Carter was supported by

Carter Wins Georgia Primary; Reagan Captures 48 Delegates

Continued From Page 1, Col. 5

select either ballot.

When Mr. Carter announced in January 1974 that he would be a candidate for President, the was greeted in Georgia with amused disbelief. Even here they called him "Jimmy Who."

But the former Governor rose rapidly in esteem among state voters this year as he captured one primary after another, and the disbelief gave way to a growing pride and the belief that a Southerner, indeed a native son, could possibly win the nation's highest office.

In that light, the timing of the Georgia primary is considered significant here. At first Democratic party officials had intended to hold the balloting early in the campaign, but Carter backers, pinning their hopes on strong early showings in other primaries, managed to get the date pushed back to May. And the "favorite son fever" mounted here as Mr. Carter succeeded elsewhere.

The challenges from Representative Udall and Governor Wallace were not considered serious. Mr. Udall made a campaign appearance in Atlanta on Sunday, his first since November. Governor Wallace did little more than hold a flurry of air-

23.1 percent; Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, 14.5 percent; Senator Frank Church of Idaho, 13.5 percent, and Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, 7 percent.

Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota each had less than 1 percent.

The caucuses were the first step in Colorado's selection of delegates to the Republican and Democratic national conventions, a four-step procedure ending with state conventions in June and July.

port news conferences at the end of last week.

On the Republican side, the tempo was more vigorous, with Mr. Reagan stumping six of the state's largest cities in two campaign trips in his chartered jet. He criticized the Ford Administration's foreign policy and what he considered inadequate military spending and preparedness.

President Ford used a more selective technique, limiting his formal campaigning to only one appearance 10 days ago in northern Atlanta and in suburban DeKalb County. But that is an area in which nearly half of the state's Republicans live, based on previous election returns. In 1974, in a non-Presidential primary, fewer than 50,000 Republicans cast votes.

Just how significant that vote was in today's balloting will not be known for some time, since registration is not by party in Georgia and it is thus difficult to accurately delineate cross-over voting.

Although Mr. Ford devoted relatively little time to the state, Rogers C. B.Morton, his campaign director, appeared in his behalf, as did Commerce Secretary Elliot L. Richardson and Representative John Buchanan of Alabama.

CONGRESS CLEARS ELECTIONS PANEL

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

sion chairman, Thomas B. Curtis, had asked President Ford not to reappoint him, largely on grounds that the pending legislation would reduce the independence of the commission.

Legal authorities were divided today on the question of whether a five-member reconstituted commssion, absent a successor to Mr. Curtis, could assume the agency's former powers and authorize the resumption of subsidy payments.

One source reported that possible candidates to replace Mr. Curtis included Fred D. Thompson of Tennessee, former minority counsel to the Senate Watergate committee, and Charles E. Goodell, former Republican Senator from New York and a longtime friend of the President.

Ford aides said the President would move quickly on the campaign bill once it reached his desk. He has been subject to some political criticism, as the best financed of the candidates, for slow progress toward reviving the commission.

In addition to reconstituting the commission and restoring its power to authorize campaign subsidies, the 30-page bill curtails the agency's independent decision-making power, restricts the right of corporate political committees to solicit contributions from employee and codifies some changes ordered by the Supreme Court.

Hints on Override Vote

Some Senate observers, studying today's vote, noted that Senators Howard H. Baker Jr. and Bill Brock, both of Tennessee, Robert P. Griffinof Michigan and John G. Tower of Texas, all close Ford associates and leadership candidates, had voted against the bill, perhaps a veto.

The Senate opposition was five votes short of the 34 needed to sustain a Presidential veto if all members are present. But some of the five Southern Democrats who voted "no" to the bill today were regarded as possible switches in event of an override vote.

President Ford has maintained that Congress should merely have reconstituted the election commission, making all its six members appointive by him, and left other more controversial changes in the campaign law for the 1977 Congress.

Subsidy claim figures made public by the commission today showed that Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who withdrew as an active Democratic candidate last week largely on financial grounds, only claimed $330,000 due his campaign in matching payments, a relatively small figure that could not have sustained his effort long if there had been no lapse in subsidies.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, now probably the most hard-pressed of the Democrats, claims a total of $386,000 due him.

Barge Captain Admits Guilt, Schemes to Steal Exxon Oil

ELIZABETH, N.J., May 4 (AP) —An oil barge captain has pleaded guilty to charges of having participated in a scheme to steal millions of gallons of fuel from Exxon's Bayway Refinery in Linden, N.J.

At the same time, the defendant, Charles Sweeney, 61 yeas old, of Elizabeth, agreed to testify at the trials of the four remaining defendants, including former State Senator Jerome Epstein.

Mr. Sweeney pleaded guilty yesterday to 25 counts of larceny and one count of conspiracy before Superior Court Judge Joseph G. Barbieri in Superior Court. The state recommended that any prison sentence be suspended because he was cooperating with the authorities.

Judge Barbieri set a tentative June 4 date for sentencing.

Mr. Epstein, his father, Frank, his uncle, Solomon, and John Taverna, owner of a Staten Island independent fuel company, are accused o participating in the conspiracy. No trial date has been set.

Crossovers Aid Reagan

Democrats or Independents in Indiana Give Him Third of 'Republican' Votes

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

Ronald Reagan owed his early lead in the Indiana primary yesterday largely to independents and Democrats who voted in the Republican contest, according to a poll by The News Analysis and CBS News.

About a third of the "Republican" votes, the poll indicated, were cast by Democrats or independents, most of whom voted in the more hotly contested Democratic primary four years ago.

Among those who described themselves as Republicans, Mr. Reagan and President Ford fought on almost equal terms, but the California conservative swept the Democratic crossover voters and beat the President by about 3 to 2 among the independents.

Mr. Reagan proved in Indiana that his devastating defeat of the President in Texas last Saturday was no fluke. He demonstrated that he could score outside the South. And he put the President in a deep political hole, from which Mr. Ford will emerge, if at all, only after much struggle.

In North Carolina, in Texas and now in Indiana, Mr. Reagan managed to reverse his early series of primary defeats by going on the attack on foreign policy questions, eschewing the tone of sweet reasonableness that had ill-served him earlier.

Although Indiana was the key test, the state that the President had described as "crucial" to his hopes in the wake of the Texas debacle, the former California Governor also won a victory of some consequence in Georgia as he continued his dominance of the primaries in the rapidly growing Sunbelt.

The Times/CBS news poll, based on interviews with voters as they left the voting booths, showed that the Indiana Republican electorate was more conservative than those in most of this year's battlegrounds. While 29 percent of Florida Republicans called themselves conservatives and 21 percent of Illinois Republicans did so, fully 43 percent of the voters who decided yesterday's Ford-Reagan contest put themselves in that category.

While Mr. Ford won narrowly among moderates in Indiana, Mr. Reagan took the votes of two-thirds of the conservatives.

In Nebraska, which votes next Tuesday, a similar pattern

Continued on Page 24, Column 3

Crossovers Aid Reagan

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

is likely. But there are more Republican moderate in Michigan and Maryland, where primaries will be held on May 18 —a hopeful omen for Mr. Ford, perhaps.

Helped By Texas

What happened in Texas apparently helped Mr. Reagan in Indiana. In the February and March primaries, he was hurt by the belief, widespread among Republican voters, that he could not win in November even if he could gain the nomination. But he is now creeping up on the President in terms of "electability"; about 38 percent of the Indiana voters thought Mr. Reagan had a "very good" chanceof election, as against 55 percent who had that view of Mr. Ford's prospects in November if nominated.

But the former California Governor was helped even more by his stand on the issues. Apparently his more aggressive posture, especially in television commercials, has turned the contest into what the Reagan forces had always hoped for—a referendum on policy questions, not a contest of personalities.

Voting on Issues

A sizable number of voters mentioned issues as the primary reasons for their vote—a sharp contrast to the experience in Florida and Wisconsin, among other states—and the challenger trounced Mr. Ford, about 70 percent to 30, among those in that category.

The two most frequently mentioned issues were the size of the Federal Government and defense spending. A majority of the Indiana voters accepted Mr. Reagan's criticisms of the Administration in those areas, the poll indicated.

The questions of detente, defense spending and, above all, the role of the United States vis-à-vis the rest of the world were among Mr. Reagan's best levers in Indiana. Mr. Ford was on the "wrong" side of all three; that is, most of his supporters disagreed with the majority view of the situation.

Two-thirds of the voters in the Republican primary, for example, opposed detente in its present form. But only 40 percent of the Ford voters did so. Only 15 percent of the voters wanted to reduce defense spending, but a majority of Ford voters did.

One question asked in the poll seemed to correlate better than any other wtih voting patterns. Has Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger made too many concessions, the voters were asked, thereby hurting the Aemrican position in the world?

About half said yes, about half said no. Among those who thought too much had been given away, a slightly larger group, Mr. Reagan got 70 percent of the vote, a reflection of his unrelenting criticism of détente and of Secretary Kissinger.

President Ford won about 60 percent of the votes of those who felt that Mr. Kissinger had not conceded too much.

Mr. Ford's best groups were those under 30 years of age and those over 65; blacks, those with less than a high school education; union members and those earning less than $8,000 a year. None is a dominant group in the Republican Party, which is another reason the President did not fare better.

1,600 VOTERS POLLED IN INDIANA SURVEY

The New York Times and CBS News polled 1,440 Indiana voters yesterday as they left the polling places. Of these, 634 were Republicans and 806 were Democrats.

Twenty voting precincts were chosen in the state, and within each precinct each voter had an equal chance of being selected.

One possible source of error in a survey such as this is sampling error. 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 voters in Indiana. For Republicans and Democrats alone, the margin of error would be 4 points.

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 Orren of Harvard University.

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Carter Suggests a Nights Plan Of 'Compensatory Opportunity'

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

CINCINNATI, May 4—Jimmy Carter said today that, in a continuing struggle to erase discrimination from American society, "compensatory opportunity," and not just equality, should be offered in some cases to blacks and to other victims of past intolerance.

The former Georgia Governor, who appears to be running well ahead of his opposition for the Democratic Presidential nomination, did not amplify his remark in great detail. However, since he seems at most times to choose his words carefully, his extemporaneous remark was taken as a signal that he had opened a new avenue in civil rights policy.

After a campaign swing through Indiana yesterday, Mr. Carter spoke to 300 Democrats at a fund-raising breakfast here this morning. He then traveled to his home in Plains, Ga., to cast a vote in his state's Presidential primary election.

Mr.Carter's statement about racial policy was made in answer to a black man in his audience who asked what he would do, if elected President, to achieve "total integration" and, specificially, if he would support busing of schoolchildren to reach that goal.

In an answer that consumed almost seven minutes and was given in a grave and earnest tone, Mr. Carter never did mention busing. However, throughout his campaign he has expressed oppoosition to "forced" busing of schoolchildren, while asserting that in Georgia other measures to achieve equality of education have been successful.

But the former Governor said that while many white Americans "tend to think our original Government was almost perfect, our nation was founded on slavery," and that for most of the countrys' history, blacks had borne a heavy burden of inequality.

While he respected and saluted the achievements of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in advancing civil rights, Mr. Carter said that "I hope you will say that Jimmy Carter did more" than they did.

"I believe," he added, "in insuring that all Americans should have not only equal opportunity, but should also have compensatory opportunity if, through my influence or yours, they have been deprived of the opportunity of fully using their talents."

At a news conference later, he said, "You can provide equality of opportunity by law but, quite often, that is not adequate."

He said that he hoped to see some day a society that had "eliminated completely the stigma of discrimination."

At the news confernce, Mr. Carter said that white America had a responsibility to "say what we have done and how we can alleviate by compensatory opportunity" the wrongs of the past.

He never used the word "quotas," which has an emotional quality, but he did not seem to shirk from the principle that underlies the word. He said that he had supported "affirmative action" programs in education in Georgia, in the Democratic Party and in the selection of his national convention delegate slates in states across the nation.

Even if applicants for a job were equally qualified, Mr. Carter said, if there had been an "identifiable" pattern of past discrimination against blacks, it would be legitimate and proper to give preference to an applicant from the harmed minority.

Goldwater Says Reagan Risks 'Military Conflict' Over Canal

By RICHARD L. MADDEN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 4—Senator Barry Goldwater charged today that Ronald Reagan's statements on the Panama Canal issue contained "gross factual errors." These, he said, "could needlessly lead this country into open military conflict."

In an heightening of the dispute between the two conservative Republicans, Mr. Goldwater said he "must assume" that Mr. Reagan's attacks on the Ford Administration's renegotiation of the canal treaty were "the result of a lack of understanding of the facts involving the Panama Canal."

"Either that", the Senator said, "or else they reflect a surprisingly dangerous state of mind, which is, that he will not seek alternatives to a military solution when dealing with complex foreign policy issues.

"I believe he has a solemn responsibility, if he expects to be taken seriously as a candidate for the Republican nomination, to state specifically what his position is concerning the canal."

Mr. Reagan's "give-away" charges against the Ford Administration and his statements that the United States "bought, paid for an owns" the Panama Canal were widely believed to have put President Ford on the defensive in the Texas Republican primary last Saturday, in which Mr. Reagan swept all 96 Republican delegates.

Exchange of Remarks

Mr. Goldwater, the Arizona Republican who was his party's 1964 Presidential nominee, has supported Mr. Ford's position of renegotiating the 1903 canal treaty and said in a television interview Sunday that Mr. Reagan also would support negotiations "if he knew more about it."

Vice President Rockefeller also disputed Mr. Reagan in a separate television interview Sunday. Mr. Reagan told reporters yesterday in Indianapolis that Mr. Rockefeller "speaks from a confused viewpoint."

After reading in the newspapers, Mr. Reagan's remark about being "confused," Mr. Goldwater went to the Senate television gallery this afternoon to read his response before the cameras.

"I must conclude that, if as Ron says, I am confused, though knowing the clear hard facts, then we has got to have a position based on ignorance," Mr. Goldwater said, of Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Goldwater told reporters he regarded his criticism of Mr. Reagan as "sort of fatherly advice" and remarked: "I think he ought to be more careful to whom he listens."

Mr. Goldwater reiterated his concern that the Presidential primary campaign could divide the Republican Party as it did in his campaign in 1964. He said he thought Mr. Ford would be the Republican nominee, though he did not plan to endorse either Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan.

The Senator maintained that the President's position was that "we should utilize diplomatic means to avoid having to choose between access to the canal or the use of troops to protect this interest."

"The United States will not surrender its interests in the canal," he added. "On the contrary, through the process of negotiation, we have embarked on the best course of action to preserve them. Obviously, we would be prepared to use military forces as a last resort, but the whole point of President Ford's policy is to avoid such a last resort alternative."

He said Mr. Reagan "has clearly presented himself in an irresponsible manner on an issue which could affect the nation's security."

Wallace's Politicl Survival at Stake in Alabama Race

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

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 4—Gov. George C. Wallace's political survivability was at stake today as Alabama Democrats and Republicans went to the polls to choose delegates for this summer's Presidential nominating conventions.

On the Democratic side, Mr. Wallace faced a strong challenge from former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, already the victor in three earlier Southern primaries.

Most Wallace watchers assumed that another Carter victory would destroy Mr. Wallace's few remaining political hopes nationally. Likewise it was also felt that another Carter victory, would raise serious doubts about the Alabama Governor's ability to run for the United States Senate in the late 1970's, should Mr. Wallace decide on such an effort after finishing his term in the Statehouse here.

In the Republican contest, in which Ronald Reagan was running against President Ford, the former California Governor aimed his campaign, in large part, at persuading disenchanted Wallace backers to cross over to the Republican side and vote for Reagan delegates.

Mr. Reagan hoped that Wallacite crossovers, important to him in the Wisconsin and Texas primaries, would provide a winning margin in a close Alabama race.

The balloting did not involve any "beauty contests"—voting for Presidential candidates by name. Rather, the ballots carried the names of prospective convention delegates, with each delegate listed as pledged to a particular candidate or "uncommitted."

Delegate Races

The Democratic ballot listed 27 delegate races. Party officials were choosing eight other Democratic delegates later, then apportioning them to candidates on the basis of primary voting results.

There were 37 delegate races on the Republican ballot, the entire convention slate.

Mr. Carter campaigned only one day in the state — a speech last weekend at Birmingham Southern College. But the Georgian's formidable showing in the earlier primaries in Florida, North Carolina and Texas was enough to make Mr. Wallace run scared.

In three previous runs for the Presidency, the Alabama Governor had taken his home state constituency for granted. It had always stuck by him.

Sense of Nostalgia

This time, however, Mr. Wallace ran a major campaign.

He poured $40,000 into an advertising blitz, twice the Carter budget and an amount his cash-short campaign could hardly afford. For the better part of last week, a week he originally planned to spend elsewhere on the national hustings, he flew about Alabama, holding news conferences and rallies from Mussel Shoals in the northern hills to Mobile on the Gulf.

His efforts frequently seemed nostalgic, almost wistful.

At every stop he thanked his supporters for staying with him through "so many past campaigns." Then he would plead with them to "vote Wallace one more time."

In Mussel Shoals he blurted out: "I don't know if I'll be making any more political speeches to people in your section of the country."

Mr. Wallace was frequently greeted with rebel yells and a twanging country band.

Mr. Carter also received rebel yells when he arrived for his single visit. But his band played "Hail to the Chief," the martial music used to announce the arrival of the President of the United States.

Mr. Carter grinned and turned to one of Mr. Wallace's favorite political tools—nostalgia.

"We've shared a lot of history, a lot of hardships, a lot of crops," he said.

UDALL IN MICHIGAN ON INTENSE DRIVE

Expecting a First Primary Victory in 'One-on-One' Contest With Carter

Special to The New York Times

DETROIT, May 4—Representative Morris K. Udall began here today what was planned as a two-week campaign blitz that he said would give him "a very good chance," as a "progressive" candidate in a state with a long liberal tradition, to defeat Jimmy Carter "one-on-one."

Mr. Udall said he planned to spend nine or 10 days of intensive campaigning in Michigan between now and the Presidential primary on May 18. That is far more time than any other candidate in either party has so far announced.

"I recognize an underdog when I see one," Mr. Udall said at a news conference. "And I am an underdog" in the two-man, Carter-Udall race in Michigan, the next big industrial state on the primary list.

But he said nevertheless that he expected to win his first primary victory here.

His hopes gained some credibility, in the view of several political observers in the state, from the peculiar nature of the primary, and bY the recent complexion of the Michigan electorate. These factors, according to one emerging scenario, could produce closer races in both parties than might have been expected.

Crossover Voting

Michigan's Presidential primary allows unlimited crossover voting. There is no party registration. There are no state or local offices on the ballot, thus making it easier for a voter to select either party he wants and vote for any candidate he wants.

Within that frame work, the large conservative vote that gave Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama a majority victory in the 1972 primarY is seen as pivotal. Mr. Wallace got nearly 810,000 votes out of 1.57 million cast that year. The big question in this primary is where those voters will now go.

Three-more-or-less conservative candidates—Mr. Carter, former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and President Ford—will be vying for those votes. Mr. Wallace is on the ballot, too, but is not generally expected to be a major factor.

According to the still-evolving scenario, Mr. Udall would therefore have much of Michigan's histroically robust liberal vote largely to himself. In the 1972 primaiy, a combined total of more than 675,000 people voted for the two liberals in that race, Senators Humbert H. Humphrey and George McGovern.

Among the Republicans this year, it is believed, Mr. Reagan would stand to gain more from Wallace crossovers than Mr. Ford.

Hart Endorses Udall

Insorar as endorsements are important, Mr. Udall received a lift today when retiring Sentor Philip A. Hart, the Michigan Democratic Party's leading liberal light, endorsed the Arizona Cong essman.

Mr. Carter's campaign headquarters in Atlanta said today that he would campaign in Detroit on Friday, but that his Michigan schedule after that was uncertain. Mr. Reagan was reported to be planning appearances in Michigan on May 13 and 14. President Ford's campaign plans have not yet been announced.

A Cleveland Ward Turns to Carter, But Commitment Seems Lukewarm

WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND—Joe Mazzeo is a tall stringbean of a plumber who lives with his wife and children upstairs over St. Rocco's Parish Ced-it Union in the middle of Cleveland's West-side Fifth Ward, in the house where he was born 48 years ago. He is also Ward Five's Democratic leader, a man who is listened to in matters political.

The other night, though, the immediate objects of Mr. Mazzeo's attention were the 10 pins at the end of a bowling alley at Brookgate Lanes in one of the city's southwestern suburbs. He rolled his first practice ball: Crash. A strike. "Nothin' to it," he grinned, puffing on a cigar, spreading his arms for emphasis, palms upward.

Almost as easily as that, Ward Five in the last six weeks appears to have become Jimmy Carter country—up to a point. "I think he's a winner," Mr. Mazzeo said between bowling turns the other night.

Mr. Mazzeo said he believed that Ward Five was the former Georgia Governor's for the taking in the Ohio Democratic Presidential primary on June 8. Since the ward is traditionally and faithfully Democratic, that makes Mr. Carter its new favorite in Presidential politics. On the ward's past form, Mr. Carter would be a sure winner here in November as well.

Lukewarm Commitments

Talks with indlivdual voters and Cleveland politics-watchers suggest that Mr. Mazzeo's assessment is right. If it is, that represents a startling shift in sentiment since mid-March—from almost total fragmentation of opinion to something approaching consensus—in this urban, industrial enclave where 22,000 people live, typically, in modest frame houses on neatly trimmed lots in neighborhoods where there seems to be a church on one corner and a bar on the next.

But if Mr. Carter has surged into the favorite's role in the ward, it does not necessarily mean he has stirred men's souls or turned them into fervent believers. His support may have broadened dramatically, but it sometimes seems to lack depth and commitment; to be lukewarm, as if there were no other really good choice.

"I'm not too crazy about any of 'em," Tony Vannello said of the candidates the other night between frames at the bowling alley. "About a year ago my man was Wallace, and I changed to Carter. I'm not really sure why."

Mr. Vannello, a 33-year-old friend of Mr. Mazzeo's who sells and services carpets for aliving, was one of a small group who gather at Brookgate Lanes once a week to bowl, drink, cuss and talk until well after midnight.

Some of the men live in the Fifth Ward; others, like Mr. Vannello, have moved from there to the suburbs, and they have thereby extended the ward's political mentality outward while retaining strong ties to the ward itself.

"It's important to beat Ford," Mr. Vannello said. "We have to have a Democrat in to pick things up. I voted for Nixon and it was a big mistake. Everything went up. Prices, everything.

"I guess you have to go with the one who can win," he said of his decision to favor Mr. Carter. "The only way a candidate can prove how good a President he would be is to get elected."

Such, perhaps, has been one effect of Mr. Carter's momentum on some rank-and-file Democrats. They, too, want a winner. Mr. Mazzeo says he thinks that the simple fact of the Carter momentum is mainly what accounts for the Georgian's surge here. Apart from that, voters' explanations as to why they favor Mr. Carter often come up vague.

This is another in a series of articles on voter attitudes in four American communities—urban, small-city, suburban and rural—that will appear from time to time during the 1976 campaign.

"I just like the way he talks," said Kenny Jablonski, another of the bowlers who said he favored Mr. Carter. "It's the smile, maybe."

Even Mr. Mazzeo, who has been an often-lonely Carter supporter since the first soundings of sentiment were made here nearly 12 weeks ago, has difficulty explaining it. "I just took to him," he says. "It might be his sincerity—how he's talking to the people."

Ward Five is a richly various urban territory stretching across the city's near West Side from the edge of Cleveland's downtown core to the industrial flats, where the rising and falling smoke-billows of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company symbolize the industrial economy on which the jobs of most of the ward's breadwinners depend.

Its ethnic mixture of Italian, German, Irish, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, Appalachian Mountain and Puerto Rican heritages make it a classic melting pot. Its Democratic political heritage has not wavered in any recent election.

Even in 1972, when many of the ward's voters expressed increasingly conservative leanings, broke away from the Democratic Party and voted for Richard M. Nixon, Senator George McGovern still won the ward by 247 votes out of 5,867 cast.

When the first 1976 soundings of opinion were made here during the deep-winter days of February, before the first primaries, ward residents were found to be basically distrustful of government, concerned primarily about making a living, deeply resentful toward people with power and money.

In retrospect it was an attitude made to order for Governor Carter, and Mr. Mazzeo said then that he favored Mr. Carter. But he seemed nearly alone, and no other candidate seemed to have attracted much interest either. Governor Wallace was the only exception.

Support Not Unanimous

Now, as spring turns the neighborhood's streets green and leafy, Mr. Carter's emergency, seems apparent. Support for him is hardly universal, however. Some diehard Wallace feeling remains, for example. An da young woman, who said she favoed Representative Morris K. Udall, also said she had "certain vibes" about Mr. Carter: negative vibes having to do with what is widely perceived as his tendency to come down on all sides of an issue.

Furthermore, there appears to be no real enthusiasm for Presidential politics generally, despite the shift in sentiment. There is political enthusiams, yes. It appeared at the bowling alley the other night, where Mr. Mazzeo was asking for help in the campaign being waged for Congress by his cousin, 30-year-old Michael Climaco, formerly a Fifth Ward Councilman.

"Gimme four signs," Kenny Jablonski told Mr. Mazzeo as the bowling match got under way.

The energy at the moment is going into local politics, the close-to-home kind that involves nuts-and-bolts help for the neighborhood. "I'm more concerned with Climaco," says Mr. Mazzeo. "The Presidency is too far away." He says he will talk Mr. Carter up between now and June 8, but thart is clealy secondary.

Funniest Show in Town

By James Reston

The funniest thing that has happened in the Presidential election so far is the emergence of Ronald Reagan as an expert on foreign and military policy. Not since Julie Andrews turned Eliza Doolittle into "My Fair Lady" has there been such an amusing and unlikely transformation.

In those far-off and forgettable days when Richard Nixon was President of the United States and presided over what used to be called "The Western White House" at San Clemente, he used to order Henry Kissinger to fly over to Sacramento and "brief" Governor Reagan on the ambiguous mysteries of foreign affairs.

Mr. Kissinger, of course, did as he was told, but testified later that seldom in his long experience as a teacher had he come across a more gullible pupil with less knowledge of the subject. Yet here is Mr. Reagan now on center stage, rushing to the rescue of the Panama Canal, protecting the Pentagon that is down to a budget of a mere $115 billion a year, condemning President Ford for losing to the Russians in the military play-offs, and tossing Kissinger overboard.

As a theatrical exercise, with Wee Jimmy out in front on the other stage, it's the only show in town, and the best role Ronnie ever had; but as a political performance, even though he has had good notices in Texas and elsewhere, it's obviously a loser, and even a laugher.

Governor Reagan, with his Panama and military budget policies and his attacks on his own party's President and Secretary of State, has achieved something the Democrats never thought possible: He has unified both Barry Goldwater and Nelson Rockefeller, of all people, in opposition to his campaign rhetoric.

Senator Goldwater, who isn't accustomed to cutting up Republican conservatives on national television, advised Mr. Reagan the other day on "Meet the Press" to stop condemning Mr. Ford's efforts to get a compromise on the Panama Canal unless he wanted to go to war on the issue.

"I have to support Ford's position on it [the Panama Canal]," Goldwater said, "and I think Reagan would too if he knew more about it." Asked about this, Governor Reagan replied: "I don't think that is the question. The people of the United States do not want to give the Panama Canal away."

Asked how far he would go to sustain his position, Reagan said, "How far would we go to stop somebody from taking the state of Alaska?" He maintained that the Canal Zone "is sovereign United States territory just the same as Alaska is and as the part of Texas that came out of the Gadsden Purchase and the states carved out of the Louisiana Purchase."

With answers like that, Reagan couldn't pass a test in freshman American history. Nelson Rockefeller, on another network program, flunked him cold. "Mr. Reagan is telling the American people things that are not true about Panama," he said. Rockefeller recalled that William Howard Taft, President and later Chief Justice, had informed President Theodore Roosevelt that "we do not have sovereignty — sovereign possession of the Panama Canal."

Mr. Rockefeller added that he thought Mr. Reagan wa a "tremendously attractive person," but inaccurate and irresponsible.

"I think he is totally deceptive in the way he is raising the issues," Rockefeller said." I think he is blaming Ford for something that is not Ford's problem. He should be blaming Congress for our military weakness at this particular point, not the President.... A man who doesn't do his homework on key issues of national security— one has to have doubts as to his capacity as President."

Mr. Goldwater, as usual, put it plain: "Unless we come to some agreement with the Panamanian Government," he said, "there is going to be guerrilla war."

What he did not say, but is well known to the leaders of both parties here, is that if we follow the Reagan line, the guerrilla war will not be by Panama alone but by volunteer fighters from all over Latin America against the United States.

Mr. Reagan could confirm this quite quickly by checking with former Secretary of Defense Schlesinger, who is supposed to be his military adviser. Schlesinger has approved negotiating a compromise with Panama. Reagan, however, is not looking for the facts but reaching for votes, and maybe the funniest thing of all is that a lot of people believe him.

But probably not for long. He looks and sounds persuasive only unless you don't think about what he says. It is absurd to take him seriously on foreign or military affairs, and ridiculous to believe, whatever his occasional successes, that the Republican Party, which has the allegiance of only 19 percent of the registered voters, would reject their own President and divide their own party for a man who would rather be on stage than on line with the truth.

Nobody can blame the old trouper for holding on to the limelight. It's the best miscast part he ever had, but it's more theater than politics and won't last for long.

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Reagan Stuns Ford in Georgia; Carter Coasts to Easy Victory

By FREDERICK ALLEN

Ronald Reagan, the beneficiary of conservative votes once belonging to George Wallace, swept to a lopsided victory over President Ford Tuesday in Georgia's Republican presidential primary.

With 85 per cent of Georgia's 2,179 precincts reporting, former California Gov. Reagan had 94,970 votes to 41,697 for Ford. Reagan had 69 per cent of the vote, and Ford had 31 per cent.

It was a stunning defeat for Ford, who had been given an outside shot at winning as recently as a week ago. Thousands of supporters of Alabama Gov. Wallace, long a darling of conservative Georgians but now out of the picture in the Democratic field, asked for Republican ballots Tuesday and voted for Reagan.

The lights went out at Ford headquarters at the Riviera Hyatt House on Atlanta's northside about 11 p.m. A dejected crowd of fewer than 100 Ford supporters began drifting away two hours earlier, when state campaign chairman Matthew Patton conceded defeat. "It's not a happy occasion to see this state back a candidate that will eventually lose," he said.

Reagan appeared headed for a three-state sweep ih Tuesday's balloting. He grabbed a slim but significant lead in Indiana, and was expected to triumph easily in Alabama.

With 80 per cent of the vote counted in Indiana, Reagan had 267,715 or 51 per cent and Ford had 255,212 or 49 per cent.

In Alabama, the vote was slow coming in. There is no beauty contest in that state, and delegate vote returns were only fragmentary. But Reagan was leading in the race for 22 delegates. No returns were available for the other 14 delegate seats.

Reagan could not win in the District of Columbia. He did not field a slate of delegates, and Ford had won the district's 14 delegates before Tuesday's balloting began.

In Georgia, Reagan was leading for 45 of the state's GOP delegates, and may end up with all 48 when the total vote is counted.

Early returns from Fulton and DeKalb counties indicated Reagan was beating Ford soundly even in the metro-

See REPUBLICANS, Page 6-A

By ROBERT LAMB

Jimmy Carter's bandwagon swept through Georgia Tuesday, picking up 50 Democratic delegates and leaving the former governor's opponents far behind in the state's first presidential primary in 40 years.

In a light turnout of voters, Carter coasted to easy victory over Alabama Gov. George Wallace and Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, neither of whom campaigned hard in Georgia.

Meantime, Carter was rolling up impressive victories in primaries in Indiana and Washington, D.C., while running behind as expected in Alabama.

With 80 per cent of the Indiana vote counted, Carter held a commanding lead over Wallace. In the nation's capital, Carter was ahead of Udall by a margin of about 19 per cent. In Alabama, Wallace was leading but returns in the state were trickling in slowly. Early Wednesday it appeared Wallace would win five delegates outright but that runoffs might be needed to determine all 20 of the remaining Alabama Democratic Convention delegates.

With 85 per cent of the vote counted in Georgia, Carter led with 84 per cent or 330,635 votes. Wallace was second with 12 per cent or 48,195 votes. Udall had 6,549 votes or 2 per cent.

In Atlanta's Fifth Congressional District, Carter won 89.9 per cent of the the vote to Udall's 4.7 per cent. Wallace followed with 3.4 per cent.

After voting in Plains earlier in the day, Carter flew to Atlanta with his family for a victory celebration at the Hyatt Regency Atlanta. Several thousand Carter supporters jammed into the hotel's huge ballroom to watch the returns on television and to see their candidate.

Carter called the victory "very gratifying" and said his job now is to "tie the Democratic party together" and gain the support of those candidates who withdrew from the race.

Carter also said the continued sweep of southern GOP primaries by former California Gov. Ronald Reagan leaves President Ford "in trouble."

Referring to Reagan's win in Georgia, Carter said, "I think this is going to put Ford on the defensive."

Carter said that if Reagan wins the GOP nomination "I think a lot of Repub-

See DEMOCRATS, Page 6-A

Democrats

From Page 1-A

licans will come to me, if I'm the nominee. A Reagan nomination, he said, would be "a very divisive factor for Republicans."

Asked if other Democratic leaders are now coming around to his candidacy, Carter said, "I believe they never had anything against me personally. They had other allegiances. But now they see me as a vote-getter."

Carter said that he did not find anti-South prejudice to be a barrier to him. "Some of the southern news media thought I'd be a regional candidate. There were some predictions I wouldn't carry Georgia, you remember," he said.

But he had not encountered the prejudice in other parts of the country that some people expected he would, the former governor said.

At the sparsely populated Wallace headquarters near Courthouse Square in Decatur, supporters quit monitoring returns early in the evening to turn to the more pleasant pursuits of eating, drinking and chatting.

"No, I'm not disillusioned," smiled state campaign director Wayne Orr, expressing the low-key atmosphere at headquarters. "I think if the primary had been held earlier, George would have done better, but I'm not disillusioned."

Orr cited low voter turnout, money problems ("We didn't even enough money for phones," he said) and crossover votes to Ronald Reagan as factors contributing to Wallace's poor showing.

Tom McCrary, state campaign organizer, added one more reason. "There was the physical factor," he said. "I think the news media showed Wallace in his wheelchair too often. Maybe George should have thrown a bowling ball or something to show how athletic he is. I don't know."

Fresh from victories in Pennsylvania and Texas, Carter entered Tuesday's primaries with 446 delegates. Up for grabs Tuesday were 177 delegate votes, with 1,505 needed for the nomination.

The past week brought other developments that made Carter's nomination appear all but certain.

Washington Sen. Henry Jackson, running out of money and hope, abandoned an active campaign, and Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey decided not to mount a last-minute bid for the nomination.

Adding still more momentum to Carter's campaign, Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh, a former candidate himself, gave Carter his endorsement Monday. Other recent key endorsements came from former Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes and New Jersey's largest public employe union.

Georgia's last presidential primary was in 1936.

Carter ran delegates in all 10 of Georgia's districts, while Wallace omitted Atlanta and Udall ran only in two metropolitan Atlanta districts. Only 38 of the state's 50 delegates were chosen. The other 12 will be selected May 22 by the state's Democratic committee.

Republicans

From Page 1-A

politan Atlanta area, which was considered the President's best section in Georgia.

Ford's Georgia public relations director, Joseph Wilkinson, said: "Reagan has been working with southern Republicans for a decade, and he's been running for president for eight years. We knew we would have a real tough time."

Wilkinson added, "What we're seeing is a combined Reagan-Wallace vote against a Ford vote.

Reagan called his Georgia campaign headquarters at 10:40 p.m. from Lincoln, Neb., where he is campaigning for next week's primary.

Over a loudspeaker, he told his supporters, "God bless you all for what has to be a magnificent job.

"I can quit whistling 'The Eyes of Texas' and start singing 'Georgia.' We were optimistic about a victory in Georgia, but we didn't expect this kind of a sweep."

Reagan's state campaign chairman, Sam Tate, claimed victory for the Californian before 9 p.m. He said some 55 to 60 per cent of the Reagan vote came from Republicans, with the rest provided by crossover voters.

However, Tate disputed the theory that most crossover voters were Wallace supporters. "We thought the Democratic crossovers would not necessarily be former Wallace supporters, but those voters that couldn't accept (former Georgia Gov. Jimmy) Carter's candidacy," he said.

Dave Nickles, Reagan's national field coordinator, labelled the President a "challenger" to Reagan in the wake of Tuesday's voting.

"With winning four primaries straight in a row, and us above Ford in the delegate count," he said, "Ford's the challenger now. We're on top. I think Ford is in trouble now."

Some 200 supporters, some in blue jeans and others in evening dress, gathered at a the Sonesta Hotel in Buckhead to celebrate at Reagan headquarters. The mood was mellow, broken only by restrained cheering when updated vote totals were flashed on the television screen.

As recently as a week ago, Ford had been given a chance to beat Reagan in Georgia. But that was before the Californian revived his flagging national candidacy with a shocking sweep of all 96 GOP delegates in Texas last Saturday.

Reagan's overwhelming victory in the Lone Star state apparently convinced Southern conservatives that Reagan, whom they have long adored, was still in the fray for the GOP nomination.

Ford had conceded his "underdog" role in Georgia's primary during a whirlwind, six-hour campaign blitz through north Atlanta two weeks ago.

Reagan devoted more time to Georgia stumping, appearing at rallies and press conferences in six cities during the past two weeks. He criticized Ford's foreign policy and called for returning federal authority to the states.

Reagan's obvious strength in the South—he had won North Carolina and Texas primaries before Tuesday's voting in Georgia and Alabama—had already been troublesome to Ford. It left the President characterizing the Indiana GOP contest as "crucial" to his defense against Reagan.

Republican balloting determined how 30 delegates already chosen will vote during the first two ballots at the GOP convention in Kansas City in August.

Three GOP convention votes were awarded to the winner in each of Georgia's 10 congressional districts. Eighteen at-large delegates, to be selected at the state GOP convention in June, will be pledged to the winner of the state's overall Republican voting.

Reagan Sweeps All Three States

Ronald Reagan smashed President Ford in a three-state sweep of Tuesday's presidential preference primaries, with victories in Indiana and Alabama as well as Georgia.

Rogers C.B. Morton, President Ford's campaign manager, conceded defeat in all three states Tuesday before midnight Atlanta time and blamed the President's losses on crossover voting by supporters of Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

With his victories Tuesday, the challenger actually passed the President in the number of committed convention delegates. An Associated Press delegate count early Wednesday, based on partial returns from all primaries, showed Reagan had 347 delegates to Ford's 321, with 295 listed as "no preference."

This report on Tuesday's voting in Alabama, Indiana and the District of Columbia was compiled by staff writer Jerry Schwartz from reports filed by David Morrison in Alabama, Claudia Townsend in Washington and Andrew J. Glass and Andrew Mollison in Indiana.

"The abrupt fall in George Wallace's fortunes, the overall lessening of competition in Democratic primaries and a coincident number of elections where crossover voting is permitted have combined to give our opponent a sudden, and I hope temporary, advantage," Morton said.

Although returns from Alabama were slow coming in, Reagan was holding a lead. Early Tuesday, United Press International called Reagan a winner in Alabama.

Frontrunning Democratic contender Jimmy Carter easily notched victories in Indiana and the District of Columbia as well as his home state.

Wallace was holding a lead in most of the delegate contests in Alabama with returns barely trickling in.

INDIANA—With 80 per cent of the Indiana vote counted, Reagan had 267,715 votes or 51 per cent while Ford had 255,212 or 49 per cent of the total.

Carter was an easy victor in Indiana with 332,261 votes and a 68 per cent share of all votes cast. His nearest rival, George Wallace, had only 15 per cent of the vote.

See PRIMARIES, Page 6-A

Primaries

From Page 1-A

CBS television projected Reagan a winner over Ford by a margin of 55 to 45 per cent. The GOP winner in each of the state's 11 congressional districts gets three delegates. Early returns showed Reagan leading in six districts.

The Ford-Reagan contest in Indiana was perhaps the most significant of all the Tuesday primary races.

Even before the voters went to the polls in Indiana, President Ford had raised the stakes in that election by calling it "crucial" to his defense against the determined insurgency of former California Gov. Reagan.

ALABAMA—With 39 per cent of the vote counted in Alabama, Wallace moved to an early lead. There was no "beauty contest," only a delegate fight in which Wallace led the voting for 15 of the state's delegates while a Carter delegate led in one district.

On the Republican side, Reagan led in 22 delegate races where delegate returns were available. No returns were available for the other 15 Alabama GOP delegates.

The Carter-Wallace struggle in Alabama had been viewed as the most interesting test yet of just how far the Alabama governor's political fortunes had slid since his 1968 presidential campaign bid and his surprising successes in 1972 until an assassination attempt paralyzed him.

A defeat for Wallace in his home state would seriously impair his ability to govern Alabama in the last two years of his term and could shatter his political future, according to Alabama political observers.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Carter grabbed an early lead in the nation's capital. Returns from 45 of the city's 137 precincts showed Carter with 1,141 votes or 45 per cent and Morris Udall with 660 votes or 26 per cent.

The primary election in Washington had been expected to be shaped by local politics—not national issues.

A battle between District of Columbia Mayor Walter Washington and congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy for control of the local Democratic party had overshadowed the national contest for the Democratic nomination.

Both men expressed a preference for Sen. Hubert Humphrey as the nominee, but the D.C. leaders split last November over the issue of how nominees for delegate slates and local party offices were to be chosen.

R

Carter Says State Backers Keys to Primary Victories

7A

By FAY S. JOYCE

Jimmy Carter thanked his supporters Tuesday night like a general thanking the troops at the end of a long and victorious war.

"You may not have heard me for a while," the landslide winner of the Georgia Democratic primary told a cheering throng of some 2,000 at the Hyatt Regency Atlanta. "I heard you today."

"Throughout this entire day and throughout this year, I had a tremendous advantage over my opponents," he said, "and that was the Georgia people who had confidence in me."

Carter highlighted his successes in the presidential primaries across the country like a commander reliving his favorite battles.

Recalling the first primary that signalled a string of stunning victories to come, Carter said that in New Hampshire, "just when I was getting most discouraged, there was a planeload of Georgians. They slipped and slid in the snow and knocked on every Democratic door, and we won because of Georgia people.

As voices in the crowd yelled "Florida," he recalled for them his victory there, where he dealt his chief southern opponent, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, a blow from which Wallace never recovered.

"Then came Wisconsin and we stayed up all night and we won, because of Georgians," Carter said.

"In Pennsylvania we had labor leaders, big politicians against us, we had everybody against us."

"No more," a woman in the crowd yelled.

"But we won because of Georgia people," the former Georgia governor continued.

Carter recalled that when he first announced his candidacy, a headline in The Atlanta Constitution asked, "Jimmy Carter's running for what?"

"I'm running for president," Carter said softly to wild cheering.

The peanut processor from Plains went on to introduce his "secret weapons," his family, "who've run campaigns of their own."

Before he left, Carter said, "I want to conduct myself as president in a way that will always make you proud of me, and I believe Rosalynn's gonna make the best first lady we've ever had."

A few moments later, Gov. George Busbee climbed on to the platform with Carter to hold the candidate's arm aloft like a champ's.

Busbee refused, however, to heed the cries of "Endorsement, endorsement" from the handsomely dressed crowd that filled two adjoining ballrooms in the hotel. Busbee has registered support for his predecessor, but so far has not formally endorsed him.

Earlier in the evening, Carter leaned back on a sofa in his hotel room and beamed into the flashes of three photographers crouched before the two TV sets reporting election returns.

"This sure beats the suites I've been in on election night for governor," his son Jack called over to him as Carter arranged his shoeless feet on the glass coffee table.

While old-time and new-time supporters of the frontrunning candidate filled the Phoenix and Falcon ballrooms below, Carter and his family joked and relaxed together on the 21st floor.

Mrs. Carter commented, "This night is a reunion, the first one we've had in a long time."

Their sons Chip, Jack and Jeff and the boys' wives were on hand to celebrate the home-state Democratic presidential primary victory, along with Carter's 8-year-old daughter Amy, who offered visitors drinks—a choice of Coke or tonic water.

"I love Georgia. Nobody knows how good it is to come home," Mrs. Carter said, "especially to have people vote overwhelmingly for you." At one time, Carter was not expected to win the primary here.

The photographers tried to persuade the former governor to pose with a hole in his shoe in the style of onetime presidential hopeful Adlai Stevenson, but Carter declined, laughing, "I might not get my medallion."

Earlier in the year a group of New York tailors named Carter the best-dressed man in politics.

In a continuation of what apparently is a running family joke, Carter turned to ask his wife if his best-dressed award medallion had come yet.

When she said no, he quipped, "I'm going to ask Pat Moynihan (the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations) if he got his."

When campaign pollster Patrick Caddell walked into the room, the joking took a new turn.

"Hello, Patrick. You bring us another speech writer?" Carter asked him.

"Jody made me personnel director," the impish Caddell replied.

Carter was referring to Robert Shrum, a friend Caddell had brought to the campaign as a speech writer and who quit last week saying Carter had modified his views. Jody is Jody Powell, a key campaign staffer.

Carter and Caddell went into another room to analyze the results of Tuesday's primary voting, and they were joined by Hamilton Jordan, Carter's campaign manager.

No Votes in Plains for Ford

Constitution State News Service

PLAINS—Gerald Ford got nary a vote in Jimmy Carter's home town of Plains Tuesday, and Ronald Reagan mustered only seven.

Plains' most famous peanut farmer himself got 368. His nearest competitor, George Wallace, received 44, Sen. Robert Byrd 25, Frank Church 2 and Morris Udall 2.

Sumter County, in which the Plains precinct is located, turned out 34.6 per cent of its registered voters, giving Carter a total of 3,187. Wallace was runner-up countywide with 539 votes. Reagan received 326 votes in all of Sumter, with President Ford getting 101.



In Bicentennial Spirit, Carter Dons Tricorn Offered Him at Airport

All 50 State Delegates Will Be Carter's

By BEAU CUTTS

Jimmy Carter swept the popular vote Tuesday in the state's Democratic primary and will have the complete backing of the 50-member Georgia delegation going to the national convention in July.

Carter won the six delegates in the Fifth Congressional District (Atlanta and north Fulton County), where U. S. Rep. Morris Udall had pinned hopes on capturing at least a few Georgia delegates. All Carter delegates won with more than 75 per cent of the vote.

Georgia Democrats will send 38 delegates to the New York City convention. They were elected Tuesday. In addition there will be 12 at-large delegates (plus alternates).

The at-large delegates will be allotted to Carter since he won all of the delegates at congressional district level.

Alabama Gov. George Wallace ran delegates in Georgia outside of Atlanta, but none of his representatives could beat the Carter machine.

Udall had delegates running in the Fifth and Fourth Congressional Districts in metro Atlanta. The liberal congressman from Arizona was unable to score, even with the backing of State Sen. Julian Bond of Atlanta.

In his race as a Udall delegate, Bond lost with 24.4 per cent of the Fifth District vote. He was beaten by Carter-pledged Herb Mabry.

Before the Georgia primary, Carter had 446 delegates nationally. He led U. S. Sen. Henry Jackson, who had 198, and Udall with 173.5 and Wallace with 115. To receive the nomination, a candidate needs 1,505 convention votes.

5

UNIFICATION TRY?

Carter Phones Sen. Humphrey

By FAY S. JOYCE

In an apparent attempt to unify factions in the Democratic party, Jimmy Carter acknowledged Tuesday night that he has been in telephone contact with Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey during the last few days.

Carter would not comment when asked if he would be content to have Sen. Humphrey on a Democratic ticket with him, but said that the nation's labor unions would be happy to have Humphrey as his vice presidential running mate.

At a press conference held Tuesday night, after the former Georgia governor has been projected as the winner in three of the four presidential primaries held earlier in the day, Carter said he has three criteria for a vice president:

—Someone who would make the best president "in case I should not be able to serve out my term."

—Someone whose political philosophy "is comparable with mine."

—Someone who would bring the ticket geographical balance.

However, Carter said it was too early to throw out any names of possible candidates for his running mate if he should win the Democratic nomination at the July convention.

Carter said he talked to Humphrey Tuesday afternoon on the telephone. Humphrey "expressed his friendship for me and his inclination not to get involved in the primaries again," he said.

The two talked about a meeting at some unspecified later time, added Carter. He said he telephoned Humphrey last week, "on Thursday or Wednesday," and that the Minnesota senator called him back Monday night in Plains but missed him.

Carter then tried to reach him again Tuesday, and Humphrey returned the call.

Expressing surprise at President Ford's loss to Republican opponent Ronald Reagan in Indiana's Tuesday primary, Carter said, "I thought Ford would beat Reagan." He described the loss as "a very severe blow to Ford."

Citing polls taken a few weeks ago, the Democratic frontruner said there were estimates that Ford would top the former California governor by as much as 25 per cent of the vote. He added that Ford released a poll last week that showed the President 10 per cent ahead of Reagan in Indiana.

Asked if he would rather face Ford or Reagan in the general election in November, Carter replied, "They have to worry about facing me."

He compared Ford's and Reagan's strengths and weaknesses, saying, "Ford would have a better chance to pull the party behind him. Reagan would be divisive like Goldwater. If Reagan were the nominee, I believe many Republicans would come to me."

Georgia Vote Counts

DEMOCRATS

85 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	330,635 (84%)
Henry Jackson	2,424 (1%)
Morris Udall	6,549 (2%)
George Wallace	48,195 (12%)
Robert Byrd	3,206 (1%)
Sargent Shriver	1,191 (0%)
Lloyd Bentsen	236 (00%)

REPUBLICANS

85 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Ronald Reagan	94,970 (69%)
Gerald Ford	41,697 (31%)

Indiana Vote Counts

DEMOCRATS

79 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	323,799 (68%)
Henry Jackson	56,767 (12%)
George Wallace	69,462 (14%)
Ellen McCormack	25,693 (6%)

REPUBLICANS

79 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Ronald Reagan	261,821 (51%)
Gerald Ford	249,647 (49%)

IGNORED BEFORE

South May Swing Both Nominations

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Tuesday's voting indicated that the South—which was virtually ignored by Democratic and Republican presidential contenders in decades past—may actually determine the nominees of both parties this year.

Southern support for Ronald Reagan may have mortally wounded the candidacy of President Ford, and Dixie continued to give a muscular boost to the campaign of its native son, Jimmy Carter.

Former California Gov. Reagan now has beaten Ford in four Southern primaries—North Carolina, Texas, Georgia and Alabama—delivering unprecedented blows to an incumbent president. And with his Southern momentum, Reagan also won his first Northern victory Tuesday in Indiana.

Meanwhile, on the Democratic ticket, Carter hammered another nail into the political coffin of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, sweeping Georgia and Indiana resoundingly and winning—early returns showed—a delegate or two in Wallace's home state.

The Georgia voting Tuesday climaxed a trend of the past several years indicating that Dixie voters have grown tired of flamboyant, colorful populists of the school of Wallace, Lester Maddox, Ronnie Thompson.

Instead, the voters are lining up solidly behind low-key, urbane former Georgia Gov. Carter, and they are looking favorably on the polished, sophisticated California conservative, Reagan.

The busiest day of the primary season so far Tuesday made more likely the prospect of a November election showdown between Carter and Reagan. Carter now has a commanding lead in national convention delegates, and Reagan is roughly neck-and-neck with the President.

Both candidates, and President Ford himself, campaigned hard in southern primary states. In previous national elections, the South seldom saw presidential candidates until after the conventions picked the nominees.

Reagan's success is based on the much-discussed crossover voters who acted out of a bundle of motivations defying precise analysis.

Wallace Democrats may have switched to Reagan because they thought Wallace was all through; Carter Democrats may have switched to Reagan because they feel Carter has the nomination locked up anyway; Democrats who don't like either Carter or Wallace may have felt they had nowhere else to go. This speculation could be continued indefinitely.

Reagan ended up, based on projected incomplete returns, with roughly 100,000 votes in Georgia. Yet in the August, 1974, GOP primary for state offices, a total of only 43,880 voters cast Republican ballots.

It is highly unlikely that 56,000 voters decided to change their party allegiance in the last two years. It is also questionable whether the Democratic crossovers would vote for Reagan as the Republican nominee against Carter in November.

And in Texas on May 1, Democratic crossovers were partly credited for Reagan's stunning shutout of Ford in the delegate race.

In Indiana Tuesday, Wallace had a threadbare reprise of his 1972 showing, when he took 41 per cent of the Democratic vote. This year he got 14 per cent.

Reagan openly appealed for Democratic and independent votes, and the Ford campaign has expressed concern about the damage that the lack of state party registration laws is doing to their campaign.

The enormity of Carter's Georgia win wiped out the idea that his home-state former constituents disliked him. And he put together his winning combination here exactly as he did in Florida, Illinois and other primaries—with a successful appeal to the black vote.

In DeKalb County's predominantly black South Kirkwood precinct, Carter took 95 per cent of the vote.

Speculators Seek Millions in Plains Plot of Land

Constitution State News Service

PLAINS—A group of south Georgia investors is literally banking on Jimmy Carter becoming president.

If he does, a half-acre plot of land they own in Carter's hometown could bring them almost $16 million.

The seven investors purchased the land several weeks ago for "less than a thousand dollars." Their company, Plains, Ga., Peanut Farms Inc., is selling the land in one-square-inch plots for $5 each.

There are more than three million square-inch plots in the half acre.

"Obviously this is an undertaking that we are having a lot of fun with," said Doug Pritchett, a Columbus marketing expert and an official of the company. But that "fun" is designed to bring instant wealth to the seven investors. "We hope to be millionaires," said J. D. Clements, an Americus investor.

The seven investors bought the land from the former governor's brother-in-law. The half-acre is located on prime peanut farm land inside the city limits of Plains, and is adjacent to the Carter family peanut warehouse.

The investors deny they re trying to take advantage of Carter's success as a presidential candidate.

"We're not using Jimmy's name," said Clements, "His name isn't on the certificate of ownership. Jimmy got well-known as a peanut farmer. He has made the peanut famous. He has promoted peanut farms. And he has put Plains on the map. We are all Carter supporters."

A person who puchases one of the tiny lots receives a deed which carries the exact location of the purchaser's square inch of land. The document is filed with the county clerk's office in the Sumter County courthouse, and the purchaser receives a red, white and blue certificate identifying his plot.

"It's all very legal," said Clements. And, he said, the document carries a stipulation: "This property is not sold for development."

"We don't want anybody building any fences around their square inch," said Clements.

Clements said Plains, Ga., Peanut Farms Inc. has already sold several hundred of the square-inch plots during its brief existence, and he said the investors expect a rush of orders in the next few weeks when ads for the land appear in newspapers in Philadelphia and New York.

"Where else but in America can you buy a square inch of land, good, producing peanut land, and it be in the hometown of a man who was relatively unknown a few months ago and now may be our next president," says a company ad.

Carter has been told about the land deal and, according to Clements, he does not object.

The candidate's sister, Mrs. Gloria Carter Spann, purchased the first square inch sold, and she stands to benefit if there is a rush for the tiny parcels.

"She will get a percentage of everything we sell over the original half-acre," said Clements.

The group of investors include Municipal Court Judge Alec Williams, state. Sen. Norwood Pierce, wrestling promoter Ralph Freed, John Simpkins, Charles Rectner and Pritchett, all of Columbus, and Clements of Americus.

In addition to the half-acre already being subdivided, the corporation has options on another 10 acres next to the Carter warehouse.

"I doubt if we need it, but we're ready," said Clements.

Hal Gulliver

White House Power in a Campaign

President Ford's economic adviser was in Atlanta on the day before the state's presidential primary, saying "We have delivered."



William Seidman made the comment in the general context of declaring that the U.S. economy was "in the best shape it's ever been in coming out of major recession."

That is encouraging talk, of course. And the Ford administration has "delivered" in some other more specific ways, too, ways that raise serious questions about the use of the power of the White House in an election year.

Seidman was only the last of a whole string of Ford spokesmen who have trekked through Georgia in the last few days.

It is coincidence no doubt that he and Interior Secretary Thomas Kleppe and Commerce Secretary Elliot Richardson and Labor Secretary William Usery all came to Georgia just before the Georgia primary. There may be those who believe it is coincidence. There are also those who believe in the Tooth Fairy and 10-cent beer.

Interior Secretary Kleppe announced only last Friday in Atlanta that his department has approved a $1,079,000 federal grant for expansion of the Chattahoochee Palisades State Park. Some people might even call the timing "political," Kleppe acknowledged. My, my, imagine that. Kleppe then went on to define the new current brand of patronage politics from the Ford administration.

"I'm not immune to trying to help the President. I serve at the pleasure of the President. I think it's a good project. I think it's a good state and I think he's a good President. If you put them all together and make it political, I accept that," he said, adding at another point in a news conference, "Anything and everything I do is political."

Well, there are pros and cons to all this. At one level, President Ford's best politics is simply that of trying to do a good job in the White House. At another, it's fair to say that any national administration used its great power in political ways.

There are generally accepted limits to such things; Kleppe is right in saying that the expansion of the Chattahoochee Palisades State Park is a good project, one that can be defended, election year or not. But the other side is that this is all taxpayers' money.

Is there no end to the approving of federal projects with a timing to help Gerald Ford in primary states? It has become quite a pattern. In Florida, there were any number of federal actions taken just before that state's primary. The most notable was the approval of millions of dollars in a federal commitment to finance a rapid transit system in Miami; none were designed to do Ford's chances in the Florida primary any harm.

The question of the proper uses of White House power in an election year has grim overtones, going back to Watergate and the uses of power in the Nixon White House. It is a question worth pondering as Ford uses that power in various ways to win votes.

Carl Rowan

Reagan Is a Dangerous Man

WASHINGTON — Some six years ago I first stuck my neck out and wrote that the President of the United States, Richard Nixon, was not to be trusted.



Nixon had called me off the tennis court to lie to me gratuitously and to make pledges which were the very opposite of actions he would take within weeks. I predicted — correctly — that the American people would one day learn about Nixon what I had learned.

The time did come when I got letters and telephone calls from people saying, as did one caller from Kansas, "I used to hate your guts for criticizing the President. Now I know you were right. Please accept my apologies."

I'm sticking my neck out again today to say that Ronald Reagan is a dangerous man. Only this time I pray that the American people will never have to find out that I am right.

When the former California governor popped out with talk of a $90 billion budget cut — it being obvious to every sane American that he had no plan for such cuts and could never make them without wrecking the economy — harsh suspicions arose that here was a man who would engage in the most irresponsible rhetoric if it offered promise of flamfloozling voters.

The feeling that Reagan is a dangerous man has been intensified by his wild rhetoric about the U.S. defense posture, Henry Kissinger's trip to Africa and Panama Canal negotiations as he has campaigned across Texas, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana.

President Ford finally sensed that Reagan might be successful in playing to the fears and prejudices of voters in the most conservative areas of the land. So Mr. Ford took off his mittens and clawed a bit:

"It is irresponsible and a disservice to the American people to lead them to believe that we are inferior when we are not, that our military strength is insufficient when it is not, or that there are pat answers and simple solutions to the complex issues of national security when there are none," he said.

So true.

Reagan frightens unknowing, unsophisticated Americans with talk about the Russians having far more men and women under arms and more people in their reserves than we do.

But he does not explain that the Soviets have manpower needs that we do not have. Russia has a neighbor, China, with 800 million people, against which the Soviets could be at war next month. When Russia masses many thousands of troops and tanks on the Sino-Soviet border it does not mean that U.S. security requires us to match the Soviet arithmetic. Would Reagan reinstate the draft or wreck the budget to match Soviet manpower levels?

Kissinger has made a long-overdue trip to Africa to try to prevent a race war in southern Africa, a war that surely would lead to a great increase in Russia's already disturbing prestige in that area. Kissinger has finally announced an African policy whose common sense and moral content produce some prospect of reviving the United States' sagging prestige in this vast continent.

But Reagan tells Georgians that Kissinger's pledge to support black rule in Rhodesia might encourage "the side that advocates bloodshed."

Has it never occurred to Reagan that the only way Ian Smith and his tiny white minority hold power in Rhodesia is through the iron-fisted use of violence and repression?

Still, Reagan would be less dangerous if he had the guts to say what's in his heart — that he prefers white rule. But he talks only in circumlocutions and later-to-be-disremembered remarks whose purpose is to discredit Kissinger and the developing U.S. policy.

Reagan is an attacker, a destroyer, but he never gets around to saying what exactly *his* policy would be toward Africa — or toward Rhodesia, South Africa, Nambia.

I have said enough previously about the disaster this country would face in Latin America if we followed Reagan's atavistic leanings regarding the Panama Canal.

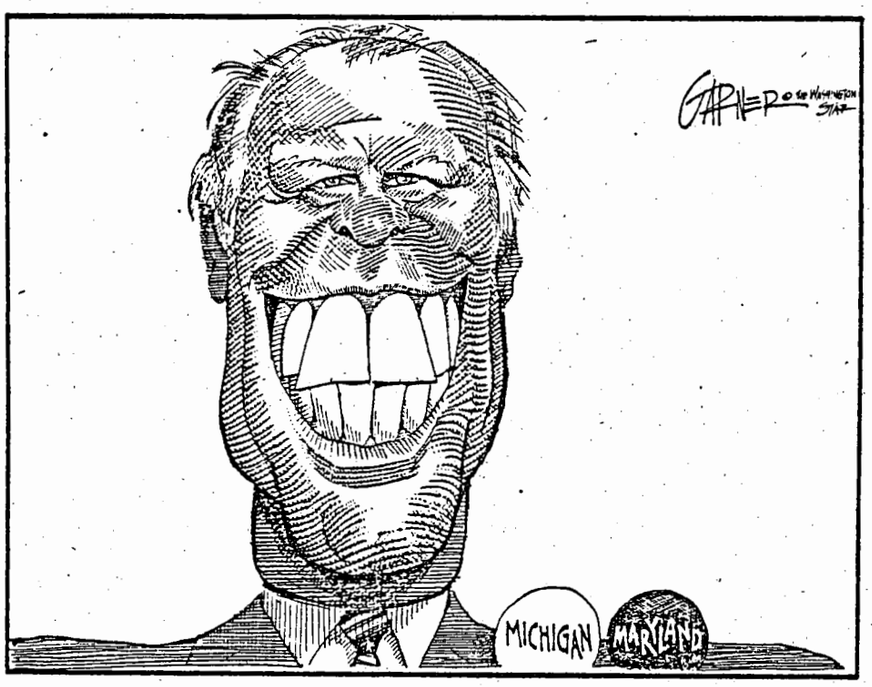
Pondering the prospect of Reagan making grave decisions of war and peace, President Ford has quipped that they don't allow any "retakes" in the White House Situation Room.

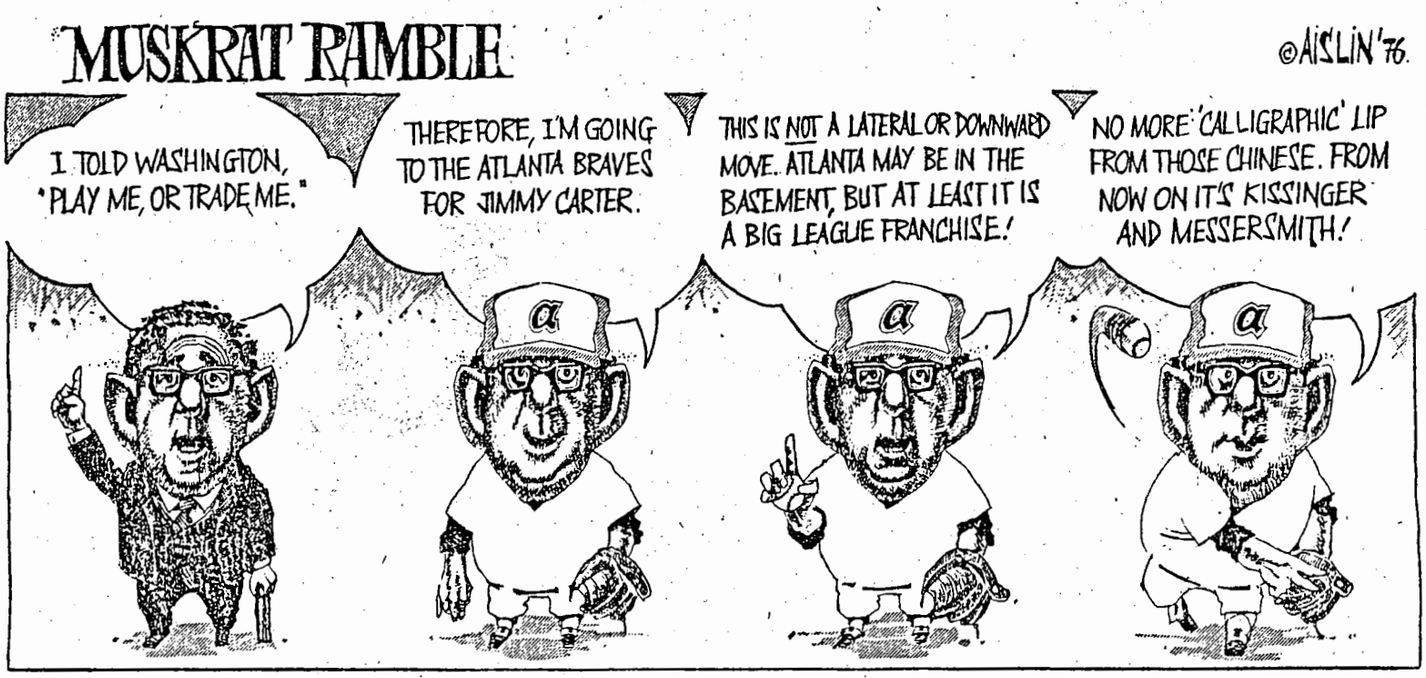
What a sobering thought!

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

5/26





47A

News Summary and Index

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger said that Prime Minister Castro of Cuba had informed Sweden's Prime Minister, Olof Palme, that Cuban withdrawal of troops from Angola at the rate of 200 a week had begun or would begin soon, and would reduce Cuban forces there by one-half by Dec. 31. Mr. Kissinger, in Luxembourg, called the development "positive" but said that the rate should be speeded up and that the Central Intelligence Agency had been asked to verify Mr. Castro's assertion. [Page 1, Columns 1-2.]

The French and British Concordes that opened trans-Atlantic supersonic service to Dulles International Airport outside Washington flew home with full passenger loads. The French plane unwittingly gave ammunition to those who would ban it by greatly exceeding on take-off the perceived sound level that would let it land in New York. An offsetting factor was that reactions from nearby communities were mild. [1:3.]

The intellectual climate in India since the Government's suspension of civil liberties 11 months ago is characterized by fear and gloom, exemplified by a New Delhi journal of opinion that reported difficulty in obtaining contributions on controversial subjects. It said the social sciences in India were dying slowly. Relatively few intellectuals and scholars are believed to be among the political prisoners except for members of a right-wing movement, but there has been a chilling effect on campus dissent. [1:1-2.]

National

President Ford upset Ronald Reagan in the Kentucky Republican primary, while Jimmy Carter won among Democrats there by a landslide. Early Tennessee returns showed both men leading. Mr. Ford's unexpectedly strong showing in a region where his challenger had dominated earlier tests extended his comeback from a series of primary defeats. In Oregon, interview by The New York Times and CBS News with primary voters who had cast their ballots showed a narrow lead for Mr. Ford. On the Democratic side, Mr. Carter was running neck-and-neck with Senator Frank Church, with their write-in rival, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, close behind. [1:8.]

Representative Wayne L. Hays acknowledged in an emotional speech before 316 colleagues in the House chamber that he had had a "personal relationship" with Elizabeth Ray, who asserted that she was paid a public salary of $14,000 to be his mistress. He said that he had erred grievously in his previous statement that "I never had a relationship" with the woman. He stood by his denial that she was hired to be his mistress. Her lawyer denied that she had tapes of conversations with men. [1:6-7.]

A Federal grand jury in San Diego has indicted 19 persons, eight of them Americans, on charges of international conspiracy to smuggle the drug Laetrile, outlawed in the United States, to thousands of cancer sufferers in this country. [1:1.]

Speculators holding almost 1,000 contracts involving 50 million pounds of Maine potatoes failed to meet the delivery deadline on the New York Mercantile Exchange, subjecting themselves to severe financial and legal penalties. Specialists said the largest recorded default in commodity trading cast doubt on the exchange's future role in potato trading and tarnished all markets where raw materials are traded. [1:6-7.]

Metropolitan

The chairman of the city's Board of Higher Education, Alfred A. Giardino, and three other members, Vincent R. FitzPatrick, Rita E. Hauser and Dr. Francis P. Kilcoyne, resigned rather than impose tuition at City University as called for in Governor Carey's proposal for finanical relief. They charged Mr. Carey with setting too high a price and offering too little in return. With the previous resignation of Sandra Lopez Bird, there are now five vacancies on the 10-member panel. The Governor countered that they were attempting to evade difficult responsibilities they should shoulder. [1:5.]

A major split has developed among strategists of the economic recovery of New York State and New York City over the wisdom, timing and fairness of a proposed tax relief program for businesses and high-salaried executives. It started with an as yet unpublished report recommending substantial cuts in the state income tax, exemption of manufacturers from the city's commercial occupancy tax and its eventual repeal, reduced corporation income taxes for small businesses and stock transfer tax relief for market-maker and specialists. [1:4.]

The Other News

International

Soviet paper links 3 U.S. newsmen to C.I.A. Page 2
Sixty reported dead in Philippine floods. Page 2
Spain acts to legalize political meeitngs. Page 3
Clashes in Athens leave one dead. Page 3
Lebanese wound Edde, Christian leader. Page 4
Bomb at Israeli airport kills two. Page 5
Ford now backs aid for black Africa. Page 7
A change at the top seen in Cambodia. Page 8
South Korea's main opposition party is split. Page 12

Government and Politics

Business operation key to Carter success. Page 1
Senate panel retains capital gains rules. Page 10
Rizzo solidifies hold on Philadelphia Democrats. Page 11
Ford leads Reagan in Oregon poll. Page 14
Kentucky-Tennessee vote buoys Ford. Page 14
Yuma, Colo., is cautious about candidates. Page 15
Albert Morano runs against Senator Weicker. Page 17
Brooklyn Democrats pick surrogate candidate. Page 17
Assembly abortion bill faces new delay. Page 34
Bill banning multiple listings fails in Albany. Page 34

General

Levi may intervene in Delaware busing case. Page 9
Conference hears views on Jewish identity. Page 18
Psychotherapist charged in Medicaid fraud. Page 28
Dr. Jascalevich to give up medical license. Page 32
Quinlan family seen ready to change hospitals. Page 32
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 35
Big Brothers get first woman president. Page 35
West sider convicted of nine murders. Page 35
Actors study plan to live in Manhattan Plaza. Page 35
Young scientists stress power in display. Page 35
New York City halts defense of market lease. Page 62

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The New York Times

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Weather: Mostly cloudy today; co
tonight. Sunny and cool tomorro
Temperature range: today 49-6
Tuesday 53-67. Details on page

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Carter's Family Business Key to Political Career

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA—On the back cover his autobiography, "Why Not The Best?" Jimmy Carter lists his accomplishments as "Former Governor of Georgia, farmer, engineer, naval officer, nuclear physicist, Christian American."

He omitted businessman. Yet it is in the field of business,

This is the first of three articles on Jimmy Carter's personal and campaign finances.

the management of a family-owned peanut warehousing and fertilizer operation, that Mr. Carter has achieved one of his major areas of success. It has also provided him with both the freedom to develop his political career and substantial amounts of cash at crucial moments in two races for the Governorship of Georgia.

In the 23 years since Mr. Carter left the United States Navy to take over his father's business interests in Plains, Ga., the Carter warehouse has grown from a value of from $20,000 to $25,000, with a drought-year income in 1954 of $254, to an agribusiness that grossed nearly $2.5 million in sales in 1975 and is now estimated to be $1.6 million.

There is no comparison between the political impact of the wealth of the Kennedys or

Continued on Page 15, Column 1

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Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

the Rockefellers and that of the Carter family, but the strong bonds between the Carter family members and their willingness to work together has made them a potent factor in Mr. Carter's rise to become front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The Carter family holdings, in which Jimmy Carter has the principal interest, include the 3,100-acre Carter Farms Inc. and a family partnership that buys and sells peanuts, gins cotton and sells fertilizer and insecticides to farmers in the Plains area.

In 1974 Mr. Carter reported his personal worth at $588,628. In a recent interview Billy Carter, the candidate's younger brother, who operates the business, said that figures now being prepared for a new financial statement indicated that 1975 was the best year in the history of the warehouse business and that it would result in substantial increases in Jimmy Carter's income and worth.

Billy Carter said he expected the financial statement to show a "tradical" increase in the worth of the business, which may put Jimmy Carter's personal worth close to $1 million. In December, 1974, Mr. Carter issued a statement placing his net worth at $588,628.20.

Comparison With Others

That figure represents greater financial assets than those reported by President Ford and two of Mr. Carter's Democratic opponents, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona. But his 1974 holdings are far smaller than those of Ronald Reagan, the former Governor of California, who is challenging Mr. Ford for the Republican Presidential nomination.

Last week, at the request of The New York Times, Mr. Carter made available additional financial data: copies of his Federal and Georgia tax returns for the 1970 through 1974. He is expected shortly to make known his 1975 tax returns.

Mr. Carter's income in the 1970-74 period raiged from a low in 1970 of $16,542 to a high in 1973 of $31,115. The fluctuation resulted largely from the varying profits of the family peanut warehouse in Plains. In 1973, for example, the warehouse earned some $220,000, of which Mr. Carter received about 60 percent.

Both President Ford and Mr. Reagan earn between $250,000 and $300,000 a year. Mr. Church about $60,000 and Mr. Udall about $70,000, based on reports they have issued. Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr. of California, another Democratic residential candidate has not issued a formal financial statement.

Figures Reviewed Twice

Mr. Carter's tax returns are prepared by the firm of Perry, Chambliss and Sutton in Americus, Ga., a respected, if small, organization of certified public accountants. The Times asked two C.P.A.'s one in Atlanta and the other in Washington, to review the figures.

They declined to be identified for professional reasons, but both said Mr. Carter's return was "not aggressive," with no apparent attempt to maximize his permissible tax writeoffs.

"Frankly, I think there are several more things he could have tried to do if he were anxious to avoid every possible tax," one of the accountants said.

In 1974, for instance, Mr. Carter paid $26,153 in Federal taxes on a gross income of $97,334, or just over 25 percent. The year before, 1973, Mr. Carter paid $51,836 on a gross income of $131,115 or about 39 percent.

A review of the returns shows that the Carters have not been very successful in their stock market investments.

Indeed, he once took a loss on a stock. They have made substantial charitable contributions, including large donations to their Baptist Church in Plains, and had relatively small medical costs over the last five years.

Among the Carters' current stock holdings are Coca-Cola, Rich's Department Store in Georgia and Advanced Investors.

Mr. Carter's charitable contributions totaled $2,397 in 1971 and $8,752 in 1974. The 1971 contributions included $1,995 to two Baptist churches and smaller amounts to Christmas Seals, Planned Parenthood, and the Naval Academy Alumni Association, among others. A much longer list of small donations was on the 1974 list.

Although Mr. Carter has said he would favor doing away with some tax deductions, such as interest payments, he has listed a variety of such deductions for several years.

Because of the close-knit relationship within the Carter family, it is hard to separate Jimmy Carter's wealth and fortunes from those of the family business.

From 1953, when he resigned from the Navy to take over the family interests until the late 1960's when he was deeply involved in his second campaign to become Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter was at the helm of the Carter enterprises.

Since 1969, the business has been supervised by Billy Carter, and it has continued to flourish. Billy Carter attributed the most recent economic leap forward, from 1974 to 1975, in part to rising prices of fertilizer and in part to the first fruits of capital improvements — the installation of peanut-shelling equipment. The Carter warehouse is now able to buy peanuts from farmers, shell them and prepare them for market, rather than just to handle payments from transhipment on a commission basis.

The Carter warehouse is a partnership among the candidate, Billy Carter and their mother, Lillian Carter. Billy Carter said it had a replacement value of $1.6 million in buildings, stock and equipment.

The ownership of Carter Farms Inc. in Sumter and Webster Counties in southwest Georgia near Plains is shared by nine members of the Carter family, including the candidate's sister and two sons.

Seed Peanuts Raised

The centerpiece of Carter Farms is a Federal peanut allotment that permits it to plant and harvest 241 acres of peanuts each year. The Carters raise seed peanuts for sale to other farmers who grow peanuts for production.

Setting a value on land in rural areas is necessarily imprecise. However, Jimmy Carter values his share of the family holdings, some 2,038 acres, at $338,742. At this rate the entire 3,100 acres is worth over $500,000. Several family members own land in the area that is not part of Carter Farms.

By Georgia standards, the farm operation and the peanut business are medium-sized operations.

Several agricultural experts familiar with the area said that the farm and warehouse were probably worth between $2 million and $3 million.

The Carters built up their business, according to Thomas J. Chandler, who heads a peanut mill in nearby Americus, Ga., through "aggressiveness." Until the Carter installed a peanut shelling machine they acted as agents for Mr. Chandler's operation, but now they are his competitors.

"I have known them 18 years and they are very reputable people," Mr. Chandler said in a telephone interview. "I'd say the key to their success was initiative. They've done better for their farmers and I can show you a lot of peanut businesses around here that have not improved, that are stagnant."

Business Aids Politics

In addition to being a profitable agribusiness, the Carter operation provided unusual advantages when Jimmy Carter decided to enter politics. When he first sought the governorship, unsuccessfully, in 1966, Mr. Carter told his close friend and political confidant, Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer, that he had amassed $80,000 from the business to use "If necessary."

Although Jimmy Carter was given little chance in the 1966 election, as the Democratic primary approached it appeared that he might win. Carter money—one former campaign aide estimated that it was as much as $65,000—was fed into the campaign, to buy last minute television and other advertising.

Mr. Carter lost in the primary but by only 20,000 votes, and he established himself as a statewide candidate.

After the election his backers arranged a fund raising dinner in Atlanta to pay some of the costs and Mr. Carter recovered a large part of his personal campaign investment.

"There's still $20,000 outstanding from that race," Billy Carter said with a grin, "and my accountant makes me carry it on the books as a bad debt."

Jimmy Carter also drew on money from the warehouse business at a crucial point in his successful gubernatorial race in 1970. Billy Carter estimated that the business provided $10,000 for Jimmy's campaign, mainly to pay for early advertising expenditures in the Democratic primary. Billy said that nearly all of this money had been paid back, from outside campaign contributions, after it became clear that this brother was going to win.

No Spending Controls

In 1966 and 1970 neither Georgia nor Federal law set any limits on the amount of money a candidate could spend on himself. Nor were there regulations on campaign loans from businesses or banks.

The family business has other political advantages. After his loss in 1966, with his younger brother on hand to take over and both of their wives involve in the business (both Roslynn, Jimmy's wife, and Sybil, Billy's wife, have served as bookkeepers), Jimmy Carter was free to spend considerable time running for the 1970 gubernatorial nomination. Jimmy Carter once estimated that he made 1,800 speeches from 1966 through 1970.

Some of his political opponents do not disguise their envy. One Atlanta lawyer with political ambitions said in an interview: "I could have been Governor too if I could have up and left my law practice to gallivant around running for office."

In his autobiography, Jimmy Carter credits his younger brother for this. "Our friendship has grown steadily with the years," he wrote, "and I realize that his willingness to operate our farms and warehouses has made it possible for me to hold public office."

Tomorrow: Carter's financial backers.

FRANCE SELLS IRAN 2 NUCLEAR PLANTS

PARIS, May 25 (Reuters)— Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveida of Iran said today that Iran had signed contracts to buy two nuclear power plants from France.

"We are going ahead with our nuclear power program," he said after luncheon talks with President Valery Giscard d'Estaing. "We have signed contracts for two nuclear power stations. Construction will begin soon, within the next few months."

Framatome, a subsidiary of the French Creusot-Loire engineering concern which specializes in building nuclear power plants; said that Iran had ordered two 900-megawatt stations similar to the Westinghouse plants build here under licence.

The value of the contracts has put at 5 billion francs, or $1.2 billion.

Mr. Hoveida arrived yesterday on a five-day official visit.

Iran has signed the treaty intended to cure a spread of nuclear weapons and has agreed to submit to controls laid down by the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency.

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FORD TOPS REAGAN IN KENTUCKY RACE; CARTER IS VICTOR

Early Returns in Tennessee Show the President and Georgian in the Lead

6 PRIMARIES ARE HELD

Poll in Oregon Finds Ford Ahead, With Carter and Church Neck and Neck

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

President Ford upset Ronald Reagan in the Kentucky Republican primary yesterday, and Jimmy Carter's regional appeal carried him to a landslide victory among Democrats there.

Early returns from Tennessee showed the President and the former Governor of Georgia holding early leads there.

The President's unexpectedly strong showing in the two states in the South, a region where Mr. Reagan had things his way in most earlier tests, extended his comeback from six primary defeats by the motion-picture star turned politician.

With 74 percent of 3,324 Kentucky precincts reporting, the tally was:

REPUBLICANS

Ford	52,315 (52%)
Reagan	45,795 (46%)

DEMOCRATS

Carter	132,260 (59%)
Wallace	36,100 (16%)
Udall	23,725 (11%)
McCormack	13,930 (6%)

But returns were still to come from four other states that voted yesterday—Arkansas, Idaho, Nevada and Oregon.

An early New York Time/CBS News sampling of Oregon voters who had just cast ballots there showed a lead for Mr. Ford. On the Democratic side, the sampling showed Mr. Carter running neck and neck with Senator Frank Church of Idaho, with Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, a write-in candidate, close behind.

Oregon Victory Needed

Mr. Carter, who lost to Mr. Mr. Church in Nebraska on May 11 and to Mr. Brown in Maryland on May 18, needed a victory in Oregon to restore the pace of his drive toward the Democratic Presidential nomination as the candidates head toward three climactic primaries June 8 in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

The Times/CBS News poll, which is designed to provide a rough sampling of statewide trends, subject to a modest margin of error, showed Mr. Carter the favorite among more conservative voters (such as those who voted for Richard M. Nixon in 1972). Mr. Brown was strong among those who considered themselves independents and Mr. Church among the Northwestern state's traditionally activist liberals.

In Kentucky, which had never held a Presidential primary before, Mr. Ford's lead was a slim one. Translating the popular vote into delegates, the President led for 20 and his challenger was ahead for 17.

Mr. Ford may have been

Continued on Page 14, Column 1

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Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

helped by word from Washington last week that the Administration was considering ways to seek a new Supreme Court review of busing. Opposition to busing has been intense in Jefferson County, which includes Louisville.

In Tennessee, the President's effort to come from behind gained last-minute help when Mr. Reagan first advanced and then retracted a suggestion that he might want to sell the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Government-owned power company.

Mr. Carter's main rival in the South was Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, whose appeal there, once overwhelming, has shriveled in the face of repeated primary defeats in 1976.

The Georgian was pulling about 58 percent of the Kentucky vote, enough to make him the leader for 36 delegates. Mr. Wallace was ahead for 7, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona for 2 and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate, for 1.

Four Time Zones Involved

A total of 176 Republican delegates and 179 Democratic delegates were at stake in yesterday's six primaries, which extended across four time zones. It was the largest number of primaries ever held on a single day.

In addition, eight Democratic delegates were at stake in Alabama, the only state that prescribes runoffs for delegate contests in which no candidate wins a majority. Mr. Carter was involved in seven of the contests, with his delegates facing supporters of Mr. Wallace in five cases and uncommitted candidates in two. In the eighth contest, an uncommitted delegate ran against a Wallace man.

Mr. Wallace won 17 delegates in the May 4 Alabama primary, the only one he has won this year, and two uncommitted delegates were chosen.

Finally, Missouri—the largest nonprimary state—held Democratic conventions in every Congressional district yesterday, choosing 54 members of its 71-member delegation. Mr. Carter's showing there was enhanced by the decision of Senator Thomas F. Eagleton and virtually the entire state party hierarchy to endorse him about two weeks ago.

Despite the dispersal of campaign events, the candidates concentrated on Oregon, whose ballot listed, in addition to active and once-active candidates, two prominent Democratic noncandidates: Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

Mr. Church, Mr. Brown and Mr. Carter were still there Monday night, making final speeches and answering questions on television call-in programs. Over the weekend, Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan campaigned in the state, always a symbolically important battleground despite its relatively small size.

Among the remaining major contenders, only Mr. Udall avoided Oregon in the final week. As he had in Maryland a week ago, the liberal Westerner decided to abandon his campaign in Oregon to avoid further splitting the anti-Carter vote and helping the front-runner.

Mr. Udall spent the last week mostly in the Southern primary states, where he had been given little chance.

Mr. Brown, exuberant as a result of his upset victory in Maryland, decided otherwise, devoting part of six days to Oregon even though his name was not on the ballot. "Write me in, don't write me off," he told big crowds.

Brown Write-In Drive

The 38-year-old Governor put together, in only 13 days, one of the best-organized and best-financed write-in campaigns in Presidential primary histor. Nothing like it—either in sophistication or in the intensity generated among a large cadre of volunteers—had been seen since the write-in effort for Henry Cabot Lodge in New Hampshire's primary in 1964.

Mr. Carter had been considered the sure winner in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas, with Mr. Brown heavily favored in Nevada and Mr. Church heavily favored in Idaho.

On the Republican side, a similar situation existed. Mr. Reagan, whose campaign was organized on the premise that he would run strongly in the Southern and Western states, went into the balloting as an odds-on favorite in Kentucky, Arkansas, Idaho and Nevada.

In Tennessee, Mr. Reagan had been given a solid early lead, but in the final days of the campaign, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., a supporter of the President, said he detected a shift to Mr. Ford.

With time limited by the intensity of the schedule, and funds limited by the unavailability of Federal matching money until the last moment, all the candidates placed considerable reliance on that mysterious political elixir known as "momentum" to provide them with victories yesterday.

Even for the losers, the exercise provided some delegates, since most of the primaries were conducted under rules requiring proportional delegate allocation.

Vote Results In Primaries

Following are the latest tallies from yesterday's Presidential primaries:

Kentucky

With 74 percent of 3,324 precincts:

REPUBLICANS

Ford	52,315	(52%)
Reagan	45,795	(46%)

DEMOCRATS

Carter	132,260	(59%)
Wallace	36,100	(16%)
Udall	23,725	(11%)
McCormack	13,930	(6%)

Tennessee

With 2 percent of 2,606 precincts:

REPUBLICANS

Ford	842	(52%)
Reagan	726	(45%)

DEMOCRATS

Carter	1,348	(66%)
Uncommitted	388	(19%)
Wallace	163	(8%)

Brown Testing His Support in California

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, May 25—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. brought his Presidential campaign home to California today with a speech to a noontime crowd that was large but noticeably less enthusiastic than the crowds he had been facing in Oregon.

With a rock band drawing in office workers on the lunch break, more than 5,000 persons eventually massed in front of a rostrum, draped with bunting, in Union Square. But many of the onlookers seemed curious and lines in the candidate's standard stump speech that have been regularly cheered by attentive out-of-state audiences evoked only polite applause here.

The setting itself may have been largly responsible for the difference in response. Casual urban bystanders are harder to arouse than an audience of highly motivated students and Governor Brown, who has become an increasingly effective speaker before student audiences, seemed to find it hard to establish the same kind of rapport with the Union Square crowd.

"California, this is the super bowl," he said as he ended a speech meant to set off his campaign for the Presidential primary here on June 8. And with that, before the television crews could depart, scores of balloons released by campaign workers, went sailing up over the victory column in honor of the capture of Manila Bay in 1898.

Opinion polls in California reflect overwhelming approval of Mr. Brown's performance in his 17 months in the Governor's office in Sacramento, but the coming campaign will be the first real test of the intensity of his support in his home state.

A better index than the perfunctory cheers that the candidate won from the crowd may have been found in the response to a young campaign worker in a Jerry Brown T-shirt who wove his way through the crowd's fringes exchanging campaign buttons for small contributions. In one small section, at least half the persons he approached dug into pocket or purse for change.

But the advantages of being on home ground were mixed with apparent drawbacks. In Oregon, when Mr. Brown spoke about his intention to sign bills establishing safeguards on the development of nuclear energy in California, he always had to pause for cheers.

Here, mixed in with scattered applause, was a cry from the crowd: "What about 15?" Proposition 15 on the June 8 ballot is designed to rule out the construction of new breeder reactors in the state. The Governor's endorsement of the bills he mentioned has been interpreted here as an attempt to head off the reenactment of Propsition 15.

Another controversy was reflected in signs in the crowd, waving near the rostrum, that demanded "Amnesty Universal and Unconditional" and "Total amnesty now." Those rolding tthe signs undoubtedl kiew that the question of what to do with Vietnam war resisters was the single issue on which their Governor regularly disappoints youthful audiences.

In response to a question shouted from the crowd, Mr. Brown said today that the resisters should be "welcome back" from overseas but repeated his position that they be required to do service in a corps of volunteers in order to qualify for amnesty.

Carter on Busing

By CHARLES MOHR

PROVIDENCE, R.I., May 25—Jimmy Carter told a new conference here that if he were President he would not ask the Attorney General to seek a Supreme Court review of busing to achieve school integration, as President Ford has done.

Other remarks today by the former Governor seemed to illustrate his persistent problem in dealing with charges that he is not wholly consistent.

He told a questioner that he believed private schools should be required to admit blacks. Earlier in the spring in Connecticut he had said he could not understand why Federal courts wanted to require "every single school" to admit every applicant on the ground of religion or race. He later adopted his present stance when in Cincinnati early in May, he said that except for a few "narrow purpose schools" such as Jewish yeshivas, all private schools should be required to have an open admissions policy whether or not the school receives Federal funds or had tax-free status.

On a radio call-in show a questioner asked Mr. Carter how long he had felt the Vietnam was was 'arcist" in character.

"Well, a long time," Mr. Carter said.

In San Francisco Friday night, when asked to comment on a New York Times account of an earlier appearance by Mr. Carter in a black church in Indianapolis, at which he was quoted as describing the conflict as racist in nature, Mr. Carter said he had never called the wr racist.

Udall Busy in Ohio

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

CINCINNATI, Ohio, May 25—Representative Morris K. Udall put in a full day of campaigning Ohio today, two weeks before the primary here that he described as "the real showdown."

Mr. Udall flew in from Louisville late in the morning. He has campaigned here in the Kentucky primary and more briefly in two others of today's primaries, in Arkansas and in Tennessee.

On ariving here, he went to a closed luncheon meeting with the executive board of the state A.F.L.-C.I.O. From there it was on to a closed editorial board meeting and then to the labor organization's convention.

At the A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention, he promised his audience "J-O-B-S, jobs."

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Ford Leads, Church and Carter Even in Oregon Poll

By WALLACE TURNER
Special to The New York Times

PORTLAND, Ore., May 25—President Ford was ahead of former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in an early sampling of voters as they left polling booths in the Oregon Presidential primary today.

The sampling, taken before the polls closed, showed Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Jimmy Carter virtually neck and neck while Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California trailed closely with his write-in campaign.

These trends emerged from interviews by The New York Times and CBS News with 365 Republicans and 529 Democratic voters. Such polling is designed to be representative of statewide trends. But because of the size of the sample, results may vary several percentage points either way from the actual results.

The voters were also choosing 30 Republican National Convention delegates and 34 Democratic delegates.

The survey showed that among the state's Democratic voters there was a limited relationship to their 1972 primary election vote. Generally, if voters were conservative, they favored Mr. Carter. Those who voted for Richard M. Nixon in the general election of 1972 heavily favored Mr. Carter, as did tohse who voted for Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama in the primary four years ago.

Senator Church led among blue-collar workers, followed closely by Mr. Carter. Young voters favored Governor Brown; the middle-aged favored Mr. Carter, and the old voted for Senator Church.

Protestants favored Mr. Carter or Mr. Church; Governor Brown, a one-time Jesuit seminarian, had a slight lead mong Roman Catholics, with Mr. Carter running second.

Non-high-school graduates favored Mr. Carter; high school graduates preferred Senator Church and the three split the college graduate vote. Union members favored Senator Church; nonunion workers voted for Mr. Carter.

The poor—those earning less than $8,000 a year—favored Senator Church, with Governor Brown a poor third. Middle and upper income groups favored Mr. Carter and Governor Brown ran third. Governor Brown led among independents and ran third among those calling themselves Democrats.

Republican voters tended to be economically better off and better educated. The higher-income Republicans supported President Ford and the less educated and lower-income Republicans, fewer in number, voted for Mr. Reagan.

Ford's Support

Republican voters calling themselves independents supported President Ford by a narrow margin; and those calling themselves Republicans supported him by a wide margin, the survey results indicated.

In their only previous encounter, in Nebraska, Mr. Church defeated Mr. Carter.

Also in the Democratic race were Senators Birch Bayh of Indiana, Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, Hubert M. Humphrey of Minnesota and Henry M. Jackson of Washington, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate, who was placed on the ballot by petition. None of these eight campaigned in Oregon.

Voters who supported Governor Brown were required to write in his name and also to write in "for President" and mark an "X" to have their votes counted. Voters could support other Presidential candidates merely by punching a hole in a card that can be counted by a computer.

While unofficial totals will be known quickly for the candidates on the ballot, handcounting of Mr. Brown's votes will not be completed until tomorrow. This may result in a delayed impact that will emphasize his showing.

On the Republican side, the vote seemed to be much closer than President Ford's backers had expected. This would mean a close division of the state's 30 Republican National Convention votes, making the Ford victory mostly psychological.

Important Test

The Oregon election emerged slowly this year as an important test on the Presidential primary trail. During the campaigns of winter and early spring it appeared that this normally important test would be submerged among five other primaries also held today.

This state's primary has been important nationally since 1948, when Thomas E. Dewey of New York defeated Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota and went ahead to win the Republican Presidential nomination.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Eugene J. McCarthy, Richard M. Nixon—all these have been winners here at times when victory was imperative.

The national impact of the Oregon primary has seldom been diminished by favorite-son candidacies. Instead, the state has generally been a battleground for nationally recognized candidates.

In 1964, when Governor Rockefeller's campaign was down and all but out, a convincing victory over Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona gave it new life. In 1968 Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York lost to then Senator McCarthy. In 1968 Mr. Nixon easily won here over then Gov. Ronald Reagan of California.

Favorite Was Expected

This year the early indications were that by Oregon's election day the first primaries would have sifted the several Democratic candidates to a favorite and established either President Ford or Mr. Reagan as the overpowering leader on the Republican side. This primary would then have been run off quietly.

Instead, nothing has proved certain in either party and for the last week five candidates for President have been touring the state.

On the Republican side, Mr. Reagan came here believing he was behind but hoping to salvage a share of the delegates by minimizing his loss in the popular vote. President Ford responded by spending the weekend in the state, a schedule change made only a few days in advance. The aim was to win as convincingly as possible to offset Reagan successes he expected elsewhere today.

It seemed a month ago that Mr. Carter had a comfortable lead for the Democratic vote here, but developments as election approached cast doubt on this assumption.

Church Triumph

Senator Church, a strong Democratic candidate because his home is in adjacent Idaho, defeated Mr. Carter in Nebraska.

Governor Brown from neighboring California, a candidate with an undefined but strong appeal, defeated Mr. Carter in Maryland. Then Mr. Brown began a whirlwind Oregon, write-in campaign.

As election neared, Mr. Carter abandoned plans to rest last weekend and instead made a swing through the state.

Secretary of State Clay Myers, a Republican, did not list Mr. Brown as a Democratic Presidential candidate because, Mr. Myers has explained, the Californian was not a nationally advocated candidate, as required by law, in mid-March when the listings were made final.

So with the majority of the ballots today being cast by voters punching their choices on cards that can be counted by computers, the Brown voters had to write his name followed by "for President" and then mark "X."

There are almost 1.3 million voters here, of whom 55 percent are Democrats and 37 percent Republican.

The Presidential primary is a part of the regular primary election in which partisan nominations are being made in this state.

The major race, outside the Presidential campaigns, was for the nonpartisan office of Mayor of Portland. It was thought by local observers that interest in this race might increase the total vote, but not by enough to shape the Presidential balloting.

Yuma, Colo., Is Appraising the Candidates Cautiously

By GRACE LICHTENSTEIN

Special to The New York Times

YUMA, Colo., May 22—"I still like Jimmy Carter," Dr. Richard Hemphill, dentist and farmer, was saying at dinner last night. "I just wish he'd tell us more."

His daughter, Mrs. Debra Roundtree, shook her head. "I heard his foreign policy the other day and I couldn't understand a word of it," she said.

Earlier, in the Wooden Spoon cafe on Main Street,

This is another in a series of articles on voter attitudes in four American communities—urban, small city, suburban and rural—that will appear from time to time during the 1976 campaign.

Mr. Carter's name provoked skeptical looks from two liberal Democrats who are teachers.

"You mean old Pepsodent?" Ernest Anderson asked.

"He's going to have to do more than just smile," his wife, Colene, added.

In Yuma, a prosperous farming community of 2,500 people in northeast Colorado, the front-running contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination has gone from obscurity to popularity to somewhere in between in the space of four months.

Nevertheless, Roger Chance, the local newspaper editor, said he now thinks the conservative, Republican town, which gave Richard M. Nixon a margin of nearly 2 to 1 over George McGovern in 1972, could vote Democratic in November if the contest is Mr. Carter versus President Ford.

The irony here is that Mr. Carter seems to appeal more to Republicans and independents than to Democrats, especially those who rate themselves liberal. By the same token, Ronald Reagan, who has many outspoken supporters here, is liked by many consevative Democrats, while younger and more progressive Republicans tend to express a lukewarm support for President Ford.

As the preconvention political season moves along, Yuma residents are appraising the candidates about the same way they look over a bull at a livestock show or a new combine in a John Deere dealer's lot—slowly, carefully and with one hand on their wallets.

President Ford started at a disadvantage because most local farmers were angry at his brief embargo on the Russian wheat sale last summer. Nothing he has done since has won them over, except the moves he has made in what most people view as a reaction to Mr. Reagan's prodding.

Candid Candidate

Thus the argument that the Ford-Reagan battle is splitting the party dangerously will not wash in Yuma.

"I think he's been more candid on some issues," Neel Leathers, a Democrat who manages the big co-op grain elevator, said of Mr. Reagan. "He's taken precise stands and he hasn't evaded the issues the way Carter has."

Sherman Blach, the Republican county chairman who will be one of Yuma County's 15 delegates to the state Republican convention in July, agreed.

"I think it's good," he said when asked about the Ford-Reagan struggle. "The President has been forced to reassess his position on some things—busing, the Panama Canal, Kissinger. I don't think that's divisive."

Mr. Carter seemed initially attractive to Yuma residents because of his farm background, his religious convictions, his non-Washington, nonurban northeast orientation and his soft-spoken television manner.

Looks Aren't Everything

That wouldn't be enough to make a Yuman pull down the Carter lever in a voting booth, however.

"He seems to be a personable man," said Phyllis Harper, the wife of a sugar beet and dairy farmer. "I like his looks. But you don't vote for a man just because he's attractive."

Presidential politics is not the only political game in town right now anyway. A move by a group called Awake to repeal the state's four-year-old equal rights amendment has stirred a small yet growing and emotional response.

A few months ago, some women began circulating petitions for the amendment's repeal at the Republican Party's County Lincoln Day Dinner. Several Yuma women have helped that effort, collecting dozens of signatures. One, who asked that her name not be used, explained:

"A woman was set up to be a homemaker and a mother. The Lord has given us the responsibility to honor our husbands and respect them and let them be the boss. The Legislature has given women equal rights on wages and things like that. Mandatory equal rights—I don't want any part of it."

The repeal drive has, in turn, spurred other women to organize a pro-E.R.A. campaign.

"This is my first try at organizing," said Sally Beach, a housewife and mother of two young children, whose husband is a trucker. "I started realizing how strong the opposition was and I think it's important that women be guaranteed their rights. The Presidential campaign hasn't touched me yet." But she said she felt she could make a difference in the E.R.A. fight.

The problem, she said, was that "when you use the word 'liberated' out here you turn a lot of people off. We have to convince them E.R.A. helps the homemaker, the woman who works, and especially the woman who is working and trying to raise a family without a husband."

The only conclusion to be drawn about Yuma's involvement so far with either the E.R.A. or the Presidential campaign is that its voters are highly suspicious of Eastern urban influence and awfully tired of being told that farm folks are backward and powerless.

At the Yuma High School commencement Thursday night, 1,500 spectators and 74 graduates listened respectfully in the new red brick gym to Dr. W. L. McDivitt, president of Otero Junior College.

Urging students to beware of smoking, alcohol, lust, drugs and profanity, he warned them, "You're going to meet some weird people pretty soon. They're going to tell you you're from the sticks. These big city people—they'll tell you you're from the country and you don't know anything."

Earl Mustain, a retired grocer who was just elected the town's part-time Mayor, put in a more philosophical context over coffee at the Wooden Spoon.

"It's not Democrats versus Republicans," he said, "it's the South, West and Midwest against the Eastern political views. It's a battle between the verbalists and the grass roots people."

Who were the verbalists? "Nonproducing bureaucrats, broadcasters, college educators," replied Mr. Mustain, a registered Republican and self-styled maverick. And who among the current candidates did he find most interesting? None other than one whom some might consider the leading California verbalist, Gov. Edmound G. Brown Jr.

Four Concerns Seek Pact For East Coast Rail Project

WASHINGTON, May 24 (AP) Four concerns will compete for the $1.75 billion Federal contract to straighten, rebuild and further improve the railroad link between Boston and Washington, Federal officials say.

They are Bechtel Inc., of San Francisco; Corridor Rail Consultants, a Philadelphia-based consortium, and two joint ventures, one headed by DeLeuw, Cather of Washington and the other by Tippetts, Abbett, McCarthy Stratton, also of Washington.

They were chosen from 19 competitors and include a total of 62 concerns, some of them among the world's most prominent design and construction companies, the United States Transportation Department says.

Humphrey's Unhappy Birthday

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 25—This is the week of Hubert Humphrey's 65th birthday. He's not celebrating it, he's hiding it. It's a reminder of the might-have-beens of a long and useful political life, but even at this late date, he keeps hoping people will forget it.

You merely have to read his book, "The Education of a Public Man" (about to be published), to understand why. He has obviously been living with the nightmare of his narrow defeat for the Presidency in 1968, meditating on his blunders in that election, almost blaming himself for the tragedies of the Nixon Administration, but ironically still thinking that, if Richard Nixon could recover from losing to John Kennedy in 1960, who knows if the spectacular accidents of life and politics may not give him another chance?

After midnight, while the votes were still being counted in the election of 1968, he wrote in his diary, "I've climbed that damned ladder of politics, and every step has been rough. I've slipped so many times and almost fallen back. . . . That top rung is never going to be mine. My fingernails are scraping it, but I don't have a grip. Yet maybe, maybe we can make it. It's so damn close. I'm so tired."

As he agonizes over that campaign and wonders what would have happened if he had defied President Johnson on the Vietnam War, if his old liberal friends had only stuck with him, if only he had had more money and more time, it is clear why he has not been able to get into this year's race or get out of it.

WASHINGTON

The one thing he couldn't deny was the calendar. His mind told him it was too late, but his heart won't let him quit. So he refused to get into the late primary elections a few weeks ago, but yet he keeps fiddling with the stop-Carter movement, darting in and out of the critical primary states, remembering the surprises of Truman in '48, Kennedy in '60, McGovern in '72, and even the upstart Carter in the primaries of '76. The "only-ifs" still seem to hound him in the night.

"I wanted to be loyal to the President [Johnson]," he writes in his book, parts of which now appear in The Saturday Review. "My guts, my heart wouldn't let me do it any other way. I just couldn't yield to his critics. . . . The President was impossible on the war. What a fury when I showed him my task-force report on Vietnam. . . . I had a choice: 'My own man' and denounced by the President as irresponsible. Or muddle through. Really no choice if I wanted to be President," he says in what seems to be a diary after the event, "And I do, how badly I do. . . . I have got to get some rest."

This is only the latest evidence that all the great personal struggles for political power in Washington—the stories of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and even of the lesser characters of Jim Forrestal, the two McCarthys, John Foster Dulles, and Henry Kissinger—are beyond journalism and are really the stuff of psychological novels.

Yet, win or lose, Hubert Humphrey will have a happy birthday. In his middle sixties, he probably shouldn't even be in the race—and looking to the future, this probably goes for Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan as well—but Humphrey is luckier than all of them. If Ford and Reagan lose, their public lives are finished, but if Hubert loses, he will still be the Senator from Minnesota, and maybe even majority leader of the Senate, which, next to the Presidency, may be the most powerful office in the Republic.

The feeling here is that Mr. Humphrey should get out of the way and let the new generation take over, even if we don't know them, risks and all. But the Democratic Party leaders are not quite willing to go with Jimmy Carter. Something holds them back. He has licked them in the primaries, but he has not convinced them, and the more they doubt Carter, the more they tend to fall back on Humphrey.

This is not just a preference for the Old Guard versus the New Boys. Mr. Humphrey has been around here for a long time. His age is a disadvantage but also an advantage. Maybe the main problem in this town is to get the White House and Capitol Hill together, and if you ask Barry Goldwater or Henry Kissinger, or even President Ford who could achieve this miracle, they would probably agree that Hubert Humphrey could do it better than anybody else.

Mr. Humhprey is clearly not everybody's first choice for the Presidency, but even at 65, he is almost everybody's second choice. For he has been in politics for over thirty years, and through all the battles of this long generation, has won the respect, if not the support, of most of the leaders of both parties, regardless of their ideology.

He knows this, and says he would be happy if somebody else gets to the top, but he worries about Jimmy Carter—and his wife Muriel worries about Carter more than he does—so he keeps trying to redeem his defeat of 1968, and keeps dreaming that he might just make it with the support of the Democratic leaders, who still believe in a Humphrey-Carter ticket more than anything else.

Repeat
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ght, low near 50.
nny tomorrow, high
ar 70. Details: B-4.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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6 States Vote But Oregon May Tell Tale

Carter Must Avoid Losses; For Reagan, an Opportunity

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — Today is the day we discover whether Jimmy Carter has big trouble.

There are six presidential primaries, but the only one likely to have any major impact in either party is the one here in Oregon, where the frontrunning Carter is facing stiff competition from both Edmund G. Brown Jr. and Frank Church.

Each of them has beaten Carter once — Church in Nebraska two weeks ago, Brown in Maryland last Tuesday — and another defeat at either of their hands would lend great credence to the doubts as to whether Carter can nail down the nomination before the Democratic convention opens July 12.

ON THE SURFACE, Brown seemed to be the hot property as this primary went through its final days, drawing consistently large and enthusiastic crowds to hear his message: "Don't write me off, write me in."

The operative question, of course, is whether Brown can convert his army of volunteers and obvious attraction for Oregon Democrats into enough write-in votes to offset the mechanical advantage Carter and Church enjoy from appearing on the printed ballot.

"The question," Brown told several hundred poll workers at Chametka Community College in Salem yesterday, "is whether when people see that blank space on the ballot, they know what it stands for."

Carter also drew some encouragement at the 11th hour — several thousand voters who crowded into Federal Plaza here yesterday at noon to applaud him as he reminded them he is a serious candidate for the nomination who is fighting it out in 30 primaries.

See PRIMARIES, A-5

PRIMARIES

Continued From A-1

BUT CARTER'S own polling continued to show him running close to even with Brown, with Church third but well within reach.

The primary is critical for Carter because it is clear now he cannot reach the convention with more than 1,250 to 1,300 assured delegates and will need to bargain his way to the required majority of 1,505. And that bargaining will be infinitely more difficult if he continues to lose each week to one of three remaining rivals in the field — meaning Morris K. Udall as well as Church and Brown.

As Brown put it in a speech to several thousand students at Oregon State University in Corvallis yesterday, "maybe as my trajectory goes up, theirs goes down."

There are only 34 Democratic delegates to be chosen here, but for Carter the stakes are obviously much higher.

OREGON ALSO is considered the most intriguing primary today in the Republican competition between President Ford and Ronald Reagan, although only 30 delegates of 1,130 needed to nominate are involved.

Reagan has yet to defeat Ford in a state with a reputation for political moderation, and Oregon offers him perhaps the only genuine opportunity outside his home state of California. Ford, however, was the favorite here as voters went to the polls this morning.

The other five primaries today seem to offer less opportunity for either surprises or significant impact on the contests for the presidential nominations. Here is the outlook in each of these:

Kentucky — Republicans will choose 37 delegates, and Reagan is expected to win another Southern state victory. The Democrats will send 46 delegates from Kentucky, and Carter is considered a shoo-in, although George Wallace is on the ballot and Udall has made some effort to cut into his strength.

Tennessee — Reagan again is favored but Ford is considered within range, and an upset by the President would give his campaign an important life. There are 43 Republican delegates. Carter is regarded as far ahead in a contest for 46 Democratic delegates.

Arkansas — The third state in the de facto "Southern regional primary" today has received little attention from any of the candidates, perhaps because the delegate prize is so small — 26 for the Democrats, 27 for the Republicans. Reagan and Carter are favored.

Idaho — This is Church's home state, and he is expected to win its 16 delegates. Idaho's reputation for hard-rock conservatism has made Reagan the choice in competing for 21 Republican delegates.

Nevada — This small state is essentially an extension of California, so both Reagan and Brown are expected to win. Nevada will have only 11 delegates at the Democratic convention and 18 at the Republican.

K

The Washington Star A-3
Tuesday, May 25, 1976

Michael Novak

'America's Illusion': The Elite's Revulsion

Mr. Novak is The Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" appear in this space every Tuesday and Thursday and in the Comment section on Sunday.

A stranger to this nation would be struck by the way certain elites speak with bitterness about our culture, our people and our system. In speeches, articles and editorials, the picture given is of a "corrupt" system, a nation that has "lost its way." Such jeremiads are intended, of course, to discipline our people to greater efforts. And yet an undertone of revulsion is unmistakable. "Fear and Loathing in Upper Circles of the Left" might be the title of a book.

One of the secrets of Jimmy Carter, by contrast, is that he tries to voice the goodness of the people and the system. (The evils lie in its managers, its old elites — including liberals.) One of the secrets of Ronald Reagan is his appeal to pride in the nation.

None of this is surprising. But what is the key to the elite's emotional revulsion? What is its source?

FOR MANY RECENT years, I have tried to understand the exact emotional complex that leads so many persons of distinguished families, reputation and stature so to loathe "the System." I had always looked to just such persons, and the institutions over which they preside, as the embodiment of the nation, its systems and its practices.

It was difficult for me to see how they, in particular, had come to such revulsion against their culture and their nation. Words like "Vietnam," "racism," "Watergate" and "multinationals" they used as code words, supposedly supplying reasons for contempt. But none of the realities behind these code words is truly new. Worse has been done in previous generations, by every generation of their ancestors and ours. Why the profound revulsion solely in this generation? Objective factors do not account for it.

Three factors have occurred to me, two minor, one perhaps at heart of the matter. The first minor reason is easiest to dismiss, although it is not without its truth. Some of those who loathe the nation most are precisely the young elite of the oldest, most powerful, and most distinguished families. Now that this elite has lost its grip upon the nation's imagination — not to say upon many of its levers of power and high position — the nation is bound to be burdened with the classic resentiment of a downwardly mobile class. (Kirkpatrick Sale, Frances Fitzgerald, Jonathan Schell, and many other writers of the new radicalism, the new counterculture, exhibit such symptoms).

THE SECOND minor factor is the widespread effect, in a still broader elite, of suburban "sensitivity." ("Sensitive" is a highly prized ecomium for political analysis these days.) A significant number of our young people, especially in our more secular elites, has been in one respect falsely educated. Many came from families, residences and enlightened schools prepared for a world of reason, innocence, and virtue such as never has existed on earth. Their parents understood them. They were invariably treated as individuals. They felt important, and potent. Their world was orderly. Some feel cheated by reality. Since they cannot blame "original sin," they blame "the system." Since they cannot change their noble expectations, they try to change the world.

As Kurt Vonnegut put it in one of his novels, the toys haven't been invented yet which prepare children for a world as stupid, cruel and irrational as the one awaiting them in adulthood.

Many among us, in a word, have been seriously miseducated. We have been led to think the world is unworthy of us.

Normally, the discovery of hard reality makes humans alter their earlier innocence. What makes many in our generation cling so fiercely to a sentimental enlightenment?

For one thing, our enlightenment is our religion. Many would rather die than apostasize. Without our faith in a better world, our lives would lack meaning. We would come to laugh at ourselves. We are serious believers.

BUT A MORE profound key was supplied me recently by a magnificent article of some months back by James Fallows in the Washington Monthly. (The Monthly, among publications, has an almost solitary sense of irony and sin.) Fallows described in lingering detail the falsehoods, the lies, the horrible deceptions to which he and many of his Harvard classmates stooped in order to avoid being drafted to serve in Vietnam.

He describes the complicity of parents, teachers, counselors, physicians, psychiatrists and other paragons of upper class liberal culture in these deceptions. Healthy young men feigned neuroses, psychoses, and every manner of physical ailment to deceive their draft examiners. Their elders collaborated.

It was all done in the name of morality, of course. They were moral. The war was immoral, and so were all who went. The system was immoral. Hence, they were right to act immorally in order to resist it.

Particularly vivid are Fallows' brave descriptions of the young men from Chelsea and South Boston who went to die so that deceivers from Harvard might succeed in their careers.

See NOVAK, E-8

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Carter Wins 3, Loses in Wes

Ford, Reagan Split Six State

From Press Dispatches

Jimmy Carter retained his solid support in the South, something Republican Ronald Reagan couldn't do, but faltered in the West during Tuesday's far-flung primary voting.

Carter, the Democratic front-runner, swept Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky as expected, but lost in Nevada, Idaho and Oregon.

Sen. Frank Church beat Carter in the Oregon primary. Added to his win two weeks ago in Nebraska and a victory in his home state of Idaho Tuesday, Church's late-starting campaign was undefeated — and he said Oregon was "a quantum leap forward to my campaign."

Reagan swept Arkansas, Idaho and Nevada, but President Ford scored major upsets in Kentucky and Tennesee as they battled for the GOP presidential nomination in border and western state primaries. Ford won Oregon.

Reagan, the conservative 65-year old former California governor, cut slightly into Ford's lead in pledged delegates in the record six primaries.

The virtual standoff virtually made it certain that Ford and Reagan would meet on almost even terms in the final primaries June 8 when California, Ohio and New Jersey could decide the Republican nominee.

Carter padded his huge lead in the number of pledged delegates but losses in Nevada to California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., and to Church in Idaho and Oregon were certain to restrain a stampede for the Georgian

Carter was reaping 132 delegates, giving him 877 of the 1,505 needed for nomination by UPI's count. Reagan was leading Ford 97-79 in delegates chosen Tuesday. In all there were 179 Democratic delegates up for grabs, 176 Republican.

At 1 a.m. EDT, here's how it shaped up:

Oregon—With 48 per cent counted, Ford won, and had 53 per cent, Reagan 47. Church won with 39 to Carter's 30, while Brown was running third with 13.

Nevada—Reagan beat Ford, and was polling 65 to 30 per cent with 64 per cent of the precincts reporting. Brown won the Democratic primary, and was polling 53, Carter 23 and Church 9.

Idaho—With 73 per cent counted, Reagan had beaten Ford and was running ahead 74 to 25 per cent. Church had a 81-12 per cent lead over Carter.

Tennessee—Ford was leading Reagan 50-49 per cent with 93 per cent of the precincts counted. Carter polled 77 per cent of the vote.

Arkansas—With 71 per cent of the precincts in, Reagan had won the election, holding a 64 to 35 per cent lead over Ford. Carter swept the field with 62 per cent.

Kentucky—Ford and Carter won.

See PRIMARIES, Page 8-A

Primary Voting at a Glance

	Ark. 67% COUNTED	Idaho 73% COUNTED	Ky. 99% COUNTED	Nev. 64% COUNTED	Ore. 48% COUNTED	Tenn. 93% COUNTED
Republican						
GERALD FORD	63% 16,316	25% 15,859	51% 67,096	30% 8,225	53% 39,225	50% 109,624
RONALD REAGAN	36% 9,328	74% 45,949	47% 61,107	65% 18,019	47% 34,898	49% 106,268
UNCOMMITTED	1% 326	1% 507	2% 1,340	5% 1,361	Not On Ballot	1% 2,616
Democrat						
JERRY BROWN	Not Entered			53% 23,904	14% 13,385	Not Entered
JIMMY CARTER	62% 178,285	12% 6,074	59% 178,704	23% 10,390	30% 28,572	77% 228,296
FRANK CHURCH	Not Entered	81% 40,848	Not Entered	9% 4,161	39% 37,082	2% 7,002
ELLEN McCORMACK	Not Entered		5% 16,804	Not Entered	1% 840	1% 1,721
MORRIS UDALL	9% 23,807	1% 675	11% 32,245	3% 1,205	3% 2,844	4% 10,843
GEORGE WALLACE	16% 46,476	2% 733	17% 50,719	3% 1,610	2% 1,391	11% 32,662
OTHERS	2% 6,310	3% 998	3% 8,044	6% 2,774	11% 10,068	3% 9,211
UNCOMMITTED	11% 32,021	1% 652	4% 11,611	3% 1,323	Not On Ballot	2% 6,790

VIET CONFLICT RACIST

Carter Statements On War Conflict

By JIM MERRINER
and FAY S. JOYCE

Jimmy Carter, who has staked his presidential campaign on the issue of his credibility, has made contradictory statements in California and Rhode Island on whether he feels the Vietnam war was racist.

Carter denied last week in San Francisco that he has called the Vietnam war racist. But he said Tuesday in Providence, R.I., that he has felt "for a long time" that racism was behind the war.

During an afternoon of campaigning Tuesday for the June 1 Rhode Island primary, Carter was asked persistently if his image of being shifty on the issues was hurting him.

Questions about Carter's feelings on the Vietnam war arose after published reports quoted him as having called it racist during a meeting in a black Indianapolis church earlier this month.

Carter was quoted as telling the black audience, "We didn't think it was racist but it was."

When a reporter asked the Democratic frontrunner about the war's alleged racism in a San Francisco press conference Friday, Carter replied, "I never said that."

He said that mistaken impression may have arisen from his remarks at the Democratic issues forum in Louisville, Ky., when he said Americans are more willing to tolerate the killing of brown and yellow people than of whites like the French and English.

At the Louisville forum, Carter denounced "an unconscious attitude of racial discrimination in international af-

See WAR, Page 18-A

Primaries

From Page 1-A

With 99 per cent of the precincts counted, Ford led Reagan 51 to 47 per cent. Carter won in a runaway with 59 per cent of the vote.

Brown, the 38-year old California governor, added Nevada to his initial triumph in Maryland last week. His write-in effort in Oregon appeared to have failed.

Reagan, superstitious about claiming victories, said it was "too early" to comment on the results but added it appeared "we are doing very well" in Arkansas, Nevada and Idaho. The former California governor said he never had expected to carry Oregon.

Despite setbacks in the West, Carter said "we still believe that we'll have a first ballot victory."

"I'd say that at the end of the primary season we'd have 1,200 to 1,300 delegates," Carter added. He said the loss the three western states "would subvert to some degree the support I've accumulated all over the nation, but I could take it."

Church said that voters are "beginning to take a second look" at Carter. Brown said that as a results of the primaries "the issue will be decided at the convention in July."

Ford went into the primaries riding new-found momentum from twin landslide victories in Michigan and Maryland last week. He also was helped by the move of large blocs of uncommitted delegates from New York and Pennsylvania into his corner.

The week's events, which gave him a solid lead in pledged delegates, appeared to have helped him to overcome Reagan's early lead in Kentucky and pull a major upset in a state where he was rated the underdog and faced the opposition of many party leaders. Ford had been expected to win Oregon.

Ford's strategists privately feared that Ford could have lost all the primaries except Oregon which would have had a devastating impact on his chances as the primaries moved into the final two weeks.

For the first time since the primaries began, Ford was out of the White House when the returns came in. He campaigned during the day in southern California and headed for San Jose for the night. Reagan was at his Los Angeles home.

After campaigning in Rhode Island, Carter headed to New York City for election eve. Church was shuttling between Boise, Idaho and Portland, Ore.; Brown was in San Francisco; and Udall in Cleveland.

The crossover vote, which has stumped political strategists, was a factor in at least the Arkansas and Tennessee primaries. Reagan managers went after the 1972 Wallace supporters, urging them to cross party lines and vote for the conservative Californian.

In Tennessee, Reagan used an election-eve spot on 75 radio stations in which Democratic Gov. Ray Blanton suggests a crossover to Reagan. Blanton charged his words were taken out of context and Ford's people termed use of the spot "reprehensible."

Reagan, whose campaign has been relatively free of blunders, may have committed one when he said turning the Tennessee Valley Authority over to private interests might be a move to be considered.

TVA has long served parts of Tennessee and Kentucky, and Ford's supporters immediately compared Reagan's statement to Sen. Barry Goldwater's statement in 1964 that the government should sell the electric power complex.

War

From Page 1-A

fairs. I don't believe, for instance, that we would have ever bombed or strafed villages in France or Germany as we did in Vietnam, and this kind of attitude, of concentrating all our emphasis in foreign policy on the white-skinned people, is felt throughout the world."

During an interview on WICE radio in Providence Tuesday, Carter was asked how long he had felt that the Vietnam conflict was racist. "For a long time," he replied.

Then he went on to refer once again to his Louisville remarks.

Asked about a report that he had favored continued funding of the war as late as 1974, Carter said, "The only time I have called for appropriations for the war is when we were withdrawing."

Carter said he backed American withdrawal of troops in 1971, shortly after he became governor of Georgia. Before that, he said, he was a peanut farmer and no one would have been interested in his opinion.

In Atlanta, close associates of Carter during his term as governor said Tuesday that he supported the war effort "very vigorously."

An associate who asked not to be named said, "His attitude was, 'As long as we are there, then let's do the job.'"

Another associate who asked not to be named said, "He just did not badmouth the U.S. involvement. He badmouthed the administration of the war but not our being there."

As early as October 1969, Carter was on record supporting President Nixon's handling of the war. "I believe that President Nixon is doing all that he possibly can to bring this war to an end," Carter told a Savannah civic club while running for governor.

But he added, "I can think of nothing that I would rather see at this moment than an end to the war."

At the National Governors Conference in Omaha, Neb. in 1971, Carter spearheaded a resolution that was interpreted both as supporting Nixon's policies and undercutting two Democratic presidential hopefuls who were making political hay of the war—Sen. Edmund Muskie and Sen. George McGovern.

Also in 1971, Carter called Lt. William Calley a "scapegoat" for the My Lai atrocities, said Calley's court-martial conviction for mass murder would "seriously demoralize our troops" and that Calley's superiors were "equally to blame."

By 1972, Carter was firmly convinced that Vietnam would be "a major defeat" for America. "Everyone knows now that it was a mistake to get involved in Vietnam," he said.

DOWNPLAYS OREGON LOSS

Carter Claims 1,000 Delegates

By FAY S. JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

NEW YORK—Jimmy Carter, claiming he had passed the 1,000 delegate mark after Tuesday's six primaries, was scheduled to hold a press conference at Gracie Mansion Wednesday morning, presumably to receive the endorsement of New York City Mayor Abe Beame.

Carter was subdued here Tuesday night as he awaited returns from the day's six state primaries and various state party caucuses.

He won three Southern primaries and lost three in the West. He was expected to finish no better than second in Oregon.

He said his projected loss in Oregon would not "mean anything particularly bad."

In Oregon, Carter trailed Idaho Sen. Frank Church but led write-in candidate Jerry Brown, the governor of California.

Earlier this month, Church edged the former Georgia governor in Nebraska. He also won his home state primary Tuesday.

Carter lost in Nevada to the California governor Tuesday, but swept Arkansas, Kentucky and Tennessee by hefty margins over Alabama Gov. George Wallace.

He said the victories proved he still has momentum.

The Oregon contest was billed as a three-way battle among the hopefuls. Church had campaigned in the state 11 days, and Carter scheduled an extra three-day foray into the Pacific Northwest state to meet the sudden challenges from Church and Brown.

"To equate strategic importance with Oregon would be a mistake," Carter said. "I think we'll probably keep building our delegate strength."

By his own unofficial tally, Carter now has over 1,000 delegates, far more than any other candidate, and less than the 500 more he needs for the winning 1,505 total.

Carter continued to predict he would on the first ballot at the Democratic National Convention. Asked if he would horse-trade for more delegates there, Carter said, "It depends on whether it's legitimate and profitable, and whether the terms of the agreement could be made public."

In answer to a question, he said he did not believe Sen. Edward M. Kennedy is behind a drive to block him from the presidential nomination in July.

He denied earlier Tuesday that his "run everywhere" strategy has made him particularly vulnerable in one-on-one primaries.

Carter said he has continued to pick up uncommitted delegates this week, but caucusing Virginia Democrats last weekend elected fewer Carter delegates than expected, and state party leaders blamed the slippage on Carter's loss to Brown in Maryland and narrow win in Michigan.

Those developments left some intended Carter delegates "stranded between third base and home," as one delegate put it.

"Obviously, I'd get more uncommitted delegates if I won every primary," Carter said earlier Tuesday at a press conference in Providence, R.I.

"When I do have a setback, that's obviously cause for uncommitted delegates to go another way," he said.

But Carter asserted his support is "nationwide." He said delegation leaders such as Adlai Stevenson, who wields an uncommitted slate of 100 in Illinois, will "consider who can best strengthen their ticket in November."

He is the presidential candidate who can best woo voters to the Democratic side, Carter said.

Pointing out he ran well in Illinois, Carter said, "That will be more of a factor than whether I lose Oregon or Maryland."

Carter faced persistent questioning about the charge that he is evasive on issues, but denied that that image is a problem to him.

P

Carter Deliberately Vague, Ted Says

NEW YORK (UPI) — Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., Tuesday charged Jimmy Carter was being "intentionally...indefinite and imprecise" on many issues, but he hedged on whether he is part of a "stop Carter" movement.

"Mr. Carter has in his appearance before the Democratic Platform Committee intentionally made his position on some issues indefinite and imprecise, as far as I was concerned," Kennedy told reporters.

But the Massachusetts senator dismissed published reports that he was part of an active "stop Carter" movement. "I cannot stop any speculation....And I suppose there will continue to be speculation until the last vote is taken at the Democratic convention," he said.

Arriving at the Americana Hotel to receive the National Father of the Year award, he reiterated his pledge not to seek the presidential nomination.

"I have taken a position—over a year ago—and my position is unchanged," Kennedy said.

He added he was too busy campaigning for reelection to the Senate.

He said Carter was vague on many issues and this was "a tactic...which has shown to be successful and which he has justified" by winning 11 primaries so far and gathering 745 out of the necessary 1,505 deglgates necessary to win the nomination in New York in July.

Kennedy said, "I think Mr. Carter has made an impressive showing during the course of the various presidential primaries...but I don't think this should silence other candidates from making their voices heard on the issues."

Published reports Tuesday quoted sources close to Kennedy as saying he was annoyed over Carter's apparent lack of commitment to various issues and that his recent hints that he may run either for president or as a vice presidential candidate with Hubert Humphrey were meant to spur Carter into being more specific.

Carter Captures Only 27 Delegates in Missouri Vote

From Press Dispatches

Jimmy Carter won more than half the 54 delegates elected in Missouri Tuesday night, but maverick Democrats were cool to their party leaders' endorsement of Carter and denied him his expected sweep.

With complete but unofficial returns, Carter won 27 pledges and 21 delegates remained uncommitted.

Three delegates were pledged to Morris Udall, one to Henry Jackson and one to antiabortion candidate Ellen McCormack. There was a dispute lnvolving the final delegate.

Carter's supporters had been confident the party leaders' endorsement would win 40 of the 54 delegates being elected from the largest state without a presidential primary. The state convention June 12 will select 17 more to round out the 71-member delegation.

In Alabama, George Wallace won four delegates, Carter took two and there were two uncommitted delegate selected in primary runoffs.

There were eight runoff races. Wallace, Carter and the uncommitted slate led in three other races and there were no returns from the fourth.

Of the 19 delegate slots decided ln the May 4 primary, Wallace won 17 and uncommitted delegates won two seats. The other eight delegates will be chosen by the State Democratic Executive Committee at a meeting June 12. They will be selected by a formula based on the number of delegates each presidential candidate won in the primary.

Sen. Thomas Eagleton led the early move to elect uncommitted delegates during township, ward and county meetings this spring. He said that primarles up to that time had been "personality contests" and that the issues had not been fully discussed.

He also said that an uncommitted Missouri delegation would give the state more bargaining power at the national convention in New York City in July.

Carter's forces in Missouri claimed "the whole state organization ganged up against us" when the delegates chosen at local meetings April 20 were largely uncommitted.

Peanuts Prove Profitable as Carter Empire Grows

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK

NEW YORK (NYT) — In the 23 years since Jimmy Carter left the Navy to take over his father's business interests in Plains, Ga., the Carter warehouse has grown from a value of from $20,000 to $25,000, with a drought-year income in 1954 of $254, to an agribusiness that grossed nearly $2.5 million in sales in 1975 and is now estimated to be worth $1.6 million.

The Carter family holdings, in which Jimmy Carter has the principal interest, include the 3,100-acre Carter Farms Inc. and a family partnership that buys and sells peanuts, gins cotton and sells fertilizer and insecticides to farmers in the Plains area.

In 1974 Carter reported his personal worth at $588,628. In a recent interview Billy Carter, the candidate's younger brother, who operates the business, said that figures now being prepared for a new financial statement indicated that 1975 was the best year in the history of the warehouse business. He said he expects the financial statement to show a "radical" increase in the worth of the business, which may put Jimmy Carter's personal worth close to $1 million.

In December 1974, Carter issued a statement placing his net worth at $558,628.20. That figure represents greater financial assets than those reported by President Ford and two of Carter's Democratic opponents, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

But Carter's 1974 holdings were far smaller than those of Ronald Reagan, the former governor of California, who is challenging Ford for the Republican presidential nomination.

Last week, at the request of The New York Times, Carter made available additional financial data: copies of his federal and Georgia tax returns for the years 1970 through 1974. He is expected shortly to make known his 1975 tax returns.

Carter's income in the period ranged from a low in 1970 of $46,542 to a high in 1973 of $131,115. The fluctuation resulted largely from the varying profits of the family peanut warehouse.

Both Ford and Reagan earn between $250,000 and $300,000 a year, Church about $60,000 and Udall about $70,000, based on reports they have issued. Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, another Democratic presidential candidate, has not issued a formal financial statement.

The Times asked two CPAs, one in Atlanta and the other in Washington, to review Carter's figures.

They declined, for professional reasons, to be identified but both said Carter's return was "not aggressive," with no apparent attempt to maximize his permissible tax writeoffs.

"Frankly, I think there are several more things he could have tried to do if he were anxious to avoid every possible tax," one of the accountants said.

In 1974, for instance, Carter paid $26,153 in federal taxes on a gross income of $97,334, or just over 25 per cent. The year before, 1973, Carter paid $51,836 on a gross income of $131,115, or about 39 per cent.

The Carters have substantial charitable contributions, including large donations to their Baptist Church in Plains, and had relatively small medical costs over the last five years.

Because of the close-knit relationship within the Carter family, it is hard to separate Jimmy Carter's wealth and fortunes from those of the family business.

Billy Carter attributed the most recent economic leap forward, from 1974 to 1975, in part to rising prices of fertilizer and in part to the first fruits of capital improvements.

The Carter warehouse is a partnership among the candidate, Billy Carter and their mother, Lillian Carter. Billy Carter said it had a replacement value of $1.6 million in buildings, stock and equipment.

The ownership of Carter Farms Inc. in Sumter and Webster counties in southwest Georgia near Plains is shared by nine members of the Carter family, including the candidate's sister and two sons.

The centerpiece of Carter Farms is a federal peanut allotment that permits it to plant and harvest 241 acres of peanuts each year. The Carters raise seed peanuts for sale to other farmers who grow peanuts for production.

Jimmy Carter values his share of the family holdings, some 2,038 acres, at $338,742. At this rate, the entire 3,100 acres is worth over $500,000.

By Georgia standards, the farm operation and the peanut business are medium-sized operations.

Several agricultural experts familiar with the area said that the farm and warehouse were probably worth between $2 million and $3 million.

Weather
...and pleasant, high in 50. Chance of rain is per cent tonight. Monigh in 70s. Yesterday ndex, 31; Temperature Details on Page B2

The Washington Post

Index 390 Pag 23 Sectio

Amusements	I, 1	Living	
Classified	D17	Metro	
Book World	I, 7	Sports	
Editorials	C 6	Style	
Financial	F 1	Travel	
Gardens	M 7	Obituaries	

Detailed Index on A2

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Carter Running Scared in Ore.

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore., May 22—The Oregon primary has upset Jimmy Carter's weekend plans. Instead of being home in Plains today, as he had planned, he was hopping from town to town in Oregon, and hoping to stave off the sudden threat of another upset at the hands of Frank Church and Jerry Brown.

As the former Georgia governor told the Portland City Club on Friday, circumstances have given Tuesday's Oregon test "an importance out of all proportion" to its 34 delegates. And a lost weekend is much more acceptable to Carter at this point than another lost primary, following upsets the past two Tuesdays, by Church in Nebraska and by Brown in Maryland.

Those two late-starting challengers, neither of whom appeared at the start of this month to be anything more than stepping-stones on Carter's march to the nomination, suddenly look as rough as the riffles of the Rogue River for the Carter bandwagon to cross.

Church, the Idaho senator, has moved in scores of volunteers from his home state and mobilized a broad-coalition of liberal and labor support—including backers of other inactive candidates—for what he believes is the making of "another Nebraska."

No sooner had that threat loomed than another—taken even more seriously by Carter and his campaign—appeared. California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. decided, with little consultation, to mount a write-in campaign to capitalize on the publicity and momentum of last Tuesday's victory over Carter in Maryland.

A horde of Californians crossed the border from the south—"vacationing" state employees, organizers for

See NORTHWEST, A6, Col. 1

NORTHWEST, From A1

Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers and other unions, and assorted friends of the governor—and quickly tapped the enthusiasm of the colleges and high schools of this highly political state. A headquarters that had been nonexistent a week ago now has more than 100 people working in it every midnight.

The results of these twin surges showed in successive days of surveys this week by Carter pollster Patrick Caddell, as the Georgian's lead melted from a comfortable 15 percentage points over the field to what western coordinator Chris Brown describes as a "fluid" situation with Carter and Brown virtually even and Church a threatening third.

It was decided that it was no time for Carter to be home shelling peanuts, and the candidate accepted the challenge to test his opponents on this historic ground.

No one was more delighted than the voters of Oregon, who feared their primary would be subordinated this year by its merger into a common day of voting with the neighboring Idaho and Nevada.

But today, President Ford and his Republican opponent, former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, Carter, Church and Brown were all campaigning for the 2 million Oregon voters—who basked in the warmth of all this attention on a fine spring day.

Altogether, this Northwest regional primary will determine the votes of 61 Democratic delegates and 69 Republicans. All three states allocate the delegates in proportion to the popular vote; Oregon and Nevada do not allow Republicans and Democrats to cross over into the opposition primary, but Idaho does.

In Idaho, which has 16 Democratic and 21 Republican delegates, Church is a solid home-state favorite and Reagan is expected to outdistance Mr. Ford.

On a one-stop trip to Idaho today, Carter praised Church and, in response to a question, said the Idaho senator is "one of many [candidates] that would be a very acceptable Vice President." Carter is trying to pick up one or two delegates in Idaho and emerge in a strong second-choice position among Idaho delegates if Church drops out before the national convention.

In Nevada, with 11 votes in the Democratic convention and 18 in the GOP, Brown and Reagan are the favorites.

Reagan captured 15 delegates last month at the state Republican convention. President Ford's state campaign chairman, Oran Gragson, predicted this week that the primary could be "reasonably close," with Mr. Ford taking eight of the state's 18 delegates. State law requires delegates to vote according to the primary results on the first two ballots in the national convention.

Brown and Carter campaigned in Nevada last week, with Brown drawing the larger crowds. The Californina governor has been helped by a strong recognition factor stemming from media overlap into Nevada from across the border in California. Brown campaign officials said they expect to outspend Carter's campaign substantially.

In the Oregon Republican contest, Mr. Ford has outspent Reagan by $175,000 to $60,000, and the ratio of phone calls, mailing and volunteers appears to be almost as great. With the state's liberal Republican tradition and the backing of virtually all the prominent elected Republicans, including both senators, the estimate from both sides that Mr. Ford should win by at least 55 to 45 per cent seem realistic, if not modest.

But no such confidence attaches to predictions on the Democratic race. Most Oregon politicians are puzzled by Brown's write-in campaign, arguing that such efforts have been futile in the past. A well-financed write-in bid by Nelson Rockefeller against Richard Nixon in 1968 netted the New Yorker only 11.6 per cent of the votes.

Many Oregon politicians doubt that Brown will get the 15 per cent minimum

needed to share in the division of delegates. But a prominent dissenter from this view is former Gov. Tom McCall, now a television news commentator, who said Friday, "Oregonians know how to write."

The Brown campaign, unrestricted by spending limits that apply to others (because Brown has not yet qualified for federal matching funds), is pouring at least $100,000 into a saturation mail, television, radio and newspaper advertising campaign—all focused on the message, "Bring a pencil to the polls." More than selling their candidate, the Brown ads are instructing people how to write in his name on the several varieties of punch-card voting machines used in the metropolitan areas.

Brown's free-spending ways have forced Carter and Church to boost their budgets, but neither will be able to match the Californian. Church, for one, makes no effort to hide his resentment at Brown's late-blooming campaign.

The Idahoan has keyed his long-shot hopes for the presidential nomination to a carefully staged and unbroken sequence of wins over Carter, and had hoped for the same kind of head-to-head match he won in Nebraska.

He carefully constructed a broad coalition of support—appealing to liberals on his early opposition to the war, and his role as an investigator of government security agencies, while wooing conservative Democrats with opposition to abortion, gun control, national health insurance and foreign aid. He also hopes to capitalize on his Nebraska win and his appeal as a regional favorite.

Church seems a serious threat here; however, he must share the anti-Carter vote, not only with Brown, but also with eight others listed on the ballot, including Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.) and Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.) and Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall.

Udall pulled out as an active contender in Oregon on Tuesday, hoping to avoid splitting the anti-Carter vote, but his organization is continuing and just yesterday he was endorsed by the Oregon Journal, the Portland afternoon paper, and a major environmental group.

Humphrey's vote was probably boosted by Thursday headlines on the formation of a national draft-Humphrey committee—news that dismayed Democratic National Committeeman Franklin Lamb, who is trying to get Humphrey supporters to vote for Church.

Carter, recognizing that the vote-splintering may be his best hope for a win, hap-

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was likely. It gave Carter 2 pily informed Oregon audiences of the speculative stories that Kennedy might be available for a draft.

The Georgian laid his groundwork early in Oregon, as elsewhere, collecting a diverse group of liberal and conservative state legislators and using his "outstanding" rating in environmental affairs and his opposition to spread of nuclear arms to woo those influential groups.

But he did not concentrate on Oregon in recent weeks, expecting to win it on the momentum of his earlier victories, as a Portland Oregonian poll taken before Nebraska showed per cent of the vote, with no one else having half that strength.

When the Church and Brown threats appeared, Carter lacked the staff and volunteer forces he has had in most states. This week has been the rare sight of Carter organizers scrambling to catch up on phones, mailings, ads and volunteer recruiting—and finding the going hard. The decision to use the campaign's most precious commodity, Carter himself, to salvage the situation was a confession that lesser measures were not working.

Whether Carter can hold Oregon and avoid another embarrassing loss is uncertain, but the latest omen is not good, his first appearance Friday was before a statewide high school mock convention, whose deliberations are widely publicized. Carter came in after the first ballot had shown him far in front, but 468 votes short of the 1,505 needed for nomination.

Carter was politely but not enthusiastically received and subjected to some skeptical questioning. And three hours later, on the fifth ballot, the convention nominated Humphrey for President and Brown for Vice President.

Staff Writer Bill Richards also contributed to this article.

The Gallup Poll

'76 Voters Tilted to The Right

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J.—The presidential year of 1976 so far has not shaped up as a year for liberal candidates.

One reason is that U.S. voters, by the ratio of about 3 to 2, place, place themselves to the right of center in terms of their own political philosophy.

Followers of Jimmy Carter closely reflect the political ideology of the total electorate, as well as of the Democratic Party. This may help to explain Carter's success to date in his race for the presidency.

By the same token, the findings shed light on the newly evidenced popularity of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in his first primary election. His political philosophy fits well the ratio of Democrats who describe themselves as left of center as against right of center.

By way of contrast, supporters of Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama place themselves on the right of the scale by a ratio of 5 to 2. Followers of Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, on the other hand, lean more to the left than to the right, 49 to 42 per cent. Of the four Democratic contenders tested, only Udall has more supporters lining up on the left side of the political spectrum than on the right.

The following table shows the findings, nationally, by political party affiliation, and in terms of the support given the four leading Democratic contenders.

	Left	Middle	Right	No Opin.
All Adults	29%	12%	47%	12%
Democrats	32	14	41	13
Republicans	21	9	61	9
Independents	32	12	45	11
Supporters of:				
Brown	39	7	50	4
Carter	26	11	51	12
Udall	49	2	42	7
Wallace	21	19	49	11

The results reported today are based on in-person interviews with more than 3,000 adults, 18 and older, taken in person in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation since the end of February.

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David S. Broder

The May Primaries: Warning Flags

PORTLAND, Ore.—With the latest round in the unending presidential primary battle, it is both tempting and dangerous to exaggerate the importance of the Republican returns and to misread or minimize the message from the Democratic results.

President Ford's handsome victories in Michigan and Maryland saved the dinner party at the French Embassy and spared Rogers Morton from filling those empty bottles on his shelf with hemlock. They also shot holes in the always shaky theory that the "crossover vote" was the source of Mr. Ford's problem. But they did not do much else.

Maryland and Michigan are states with a well-established habit of nominating moderates in Republican primaries, and the fact that Mr. Ford won there should have surprised no one—even after five losses in the previous six tries. They imply that he should survive the challenge from Ronald Reagan in Oregon this Tuesday, in Rhode Island on June 1 and in New Jersey and Ohio on June 8.

But that says nothing about the odds in the other eight states that are still to vote, including California, where the makeup of the Republican Party is more conservative and the odds for Reagon more favorable.

The promised shift of some 130 New York delegates from the uncommitted column to Mr. Ford's support on Monday will restore the President to the lead in the delegate race for the first time since the Texas sweep by Reagan on May 1. But unless he can defeat Reagan in Reagan's home state of California, he may still wind up the primary season with fewer delegates than his challenger.

And that would raise an interesting question: Would the Republican convention in which the conservative candidate has the larger number of elected delegates permit the nomination of an alternative candidate whose key support was furnished by Nelson Rockefeller and his allies?

Mr. Ford might be able to negotiate such an arrangement, but not without incurring conservative bitterness. The memory of Richard Nixon's 1960 "Treaty of Fifth Avenue" with the same Nelson Rockefeller is burned deep in the memory of those who attend Republican conventions. That agreement, which ended Rockefeller's 1960 platform rebellion and assured Nixon's nomination, was the starting point of the 1964 Goldwater movement. And the conservatives who took power in 1964 have never relinquished it. It would be surprising if they acquiesced peaceably in Rockefeller's maneuvering to dictate the 1976 ticket.

By winning Michigan and Maryland, Mr. Ford prevented his own premature extinction. But he left himself with huge political problems, so the headlines greeting his revival are probably exaggerated.

On the other hand, less attention than it deserves has been paid to what has happened in the Democratic race. The warning flags are flying for frontrunner Jimmy Carter. He has simply not been able to consolidate his position in the way a genuinely strong candidate should, and his failure suggests that a fundamental reevaluation of his position may be imminent.

When Carter came roaring out of his "breakthrough week," the week in which he won Pennsylvania, Texas, Georgia and Indiana and eliminated "Scoop" Jackson and Hubert Humphrey as active opponents in the primaries, he seemed quite literally on the verge of nomination. Since then, however, his record shows defeats by newcomers Frank Church in Nebraska and Jerry Brown in Maryland, and close escapes from Morris Udall in Connecticut and Michigan.

The lessons of May are plainly that the voters seeking a new face in the White House can be beguiled by others than Carter and those whose concerns are bread-and-butter issues still have serious doubts about him.

To this reporter, the second finding is even more significant than the first. Both the Church and Brown campaigns play off the same theme of disillusionment with big-spending, bureaucratic Washington that Carter exploited so effectively himself earlier in the spring. If the Democrates choose to nominate such a candidate, Carter, with his big delegate lead, is still likely to be their man.

But Udall stopped Carter in Connecticut and Michigan, not by aping his message, but by challenging it. Despite the strong support local political and labor leaders threw to Carter, despite the continuing fumbling of his own organization, Udall achieved unexpected success by his persistence in asking: What do you really know about Jimmy Carter that makes you so sure you want to nominate him?

That less than half the voters in those two industrial states could find satisfactory rationalizations for supporting the presumed nominee is a story as underplayed as the Ford victories in Michigan and Maryland may be exaggerated.

Joseph Kraft

The Uncommitted Majority

The dramatic ups and downs of the various candidates announces the most striking feature of the 1976 presidential campaign. No one in either party is truly stirring the electorate.

Abstentions are running at an unusually high rate. It already seems evident that the 1976 election will be much more of an interim affair than a historic watershed marking the emergence of a new national majority.

Perhaps the most cogent evidence of the uncommitted majority lies in the rate of abstentions. Because there was no contest against President Nixon on the Republican side in 1972, the bitter battle between President Ford and Ronald Reagan has produced a slight gain in GOP turnout for the 1976 primaries.

But that gain is more than wiped out by falling-off on the Democratic side. Overall, according to sources at the Library of Congress, the national turnout is about five points lower for the 1976 primaries than for the 1972 primaries. It is a foregone conclusion, as the pollster Peter Hart puts it, that "for the first time since universal suffrage took hold in 1924, less than half the American people will vote for President."

The reasons for the turning-off of the electorate are not easy to identify with confidence. But a variety of authorities —including pollsters for the three networks and the Library of Congress experts—are persuaded that persons under 30 years old are staying away in droves.

The reason for their abstention is not much in doubt. During the New Politics period of Eugene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy and George McGovern, youth interest in the political process rose very rapidly. It was driven largely by the ideal of egalitarian change—that is to say, fairer shares between rich and poor, men and women, and whites and blacks.

Those hopes have now been disappointed. For better or worse, none of the major candidates—not President Ford nor Ronald Reagan on the Republican side, nor Jimmy Carter nor Morris Udall nor Henry Jackson on the Democratic side—laid heavy emphasis on the egalitarian ideal. So young people, free of regular party ties to begin with, and disappointed in their immediate political objectives, have tended to drop out.

The exception that proves the rule is the governor of California, Jerry Brown. His campaign has combined a symbolic stand against privilege with a deliberate appeal to youth that is far more effective with young people than the old-time religion of Jimmy Carter. The result was an unusual rise in the Democratic primary turnout in Maryland last Tuesaay.

In 1972, on a brilliant day, a hotly contested primary including George Wallace and 10 other candidates, brought out 45 per cent of the potential Democratic vote. In 1976, on a miserable day, the Democratic turnout was 75 per cent. Tom Edsell, of the Baltimore Sun, who analyzed that paper's poll in detail, put the increase down almost entirely to "Brown's pulling power with young, suburban, white voters."

Another big reason for the falloff is the continuing decline in the ability of political and union organizations to turn out the vote. In Michigan, for example, the United Auto Workers, which is perhaps the most muscular union in the country politically, and the Detroit organization of the black mayor, Coleman Young, were solidly for Jimmy Carter.

But their capacity to turn out the vote was so limited that Carter almost lost the state to Morris Udall, the oft-beaten Arizona congressman who spent almost nothing in Michigan. So big was the drop that, despite an enormous effort on the Republican side, the overall turnout in Michigan fell from 1972 by about 10 per cent.

What all this says to me is that there is a very large electorate—perhaps even a majority of the total—waiting to be mobilized. No candidate and no party has yet found the right formula, and so the electorate floats from one man to another without much rhyme or reason from week to week.

Sooner or later, though, a candidate from one of the parties will probably come along with the right formula for building a new majority. For my own part I hope it is sooner rather than later.

To be sure, a certain apathy is useful. Social organzations cannot exist with everybody simultaneously pressing their claims to the utmost. But it is also not healthy for so large a portion of the country to flap about, disengaged from the parties and the system and without any sense of responsibility for what happens, or of power to affect events.

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Ditto! Sunny and pleasant again today, high in 70s. Fair tonight, low in 50s. Sunny tomorrow, high in 70s. Details: A-14.

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Carter, Udall Gain Strength in Virginia

Reagan Rolls Up a Wide Lead Over Ford As Both Parties Continue to Pick Delegates

By Brian Kelly
Washington Star Staff Writer

Jimmy Carter, the New South's first serious contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, took 24 of the state's 54 national delegates yesterday, while Rep. Morris K. Udall notched a modest gain in the Virginia Democratic party's final delegate selection process yesterday.

Republican presidential challenger Ronald Reagan rolled up a wide lead over President Ford in the state GOP's continuing delegate hunt.

Among the Democrats, Carter took the lead in delegation strength, with his gain of eight delegates over the 16 the former Georgia governor had gathered in an earlier selection round.

Udall picked up two, for a final total of seven. The uncommitteds, who earlier outnumbered Carter delegates two to one, will be represented at the national convention in New York by 23 delegates.

While the Georgian's advance was nothing to sneer at, observers felt the returns from all 10 congressional district conventions showed no real surge among uncommitted delegates to the Democratic party's apparent presidential front-runner.

At the same time, Republican challenger Reagan grabbed 11 national delegates in five GOP congressional district meetings, to Ford's three and one uncommitted. The Republican returns were no great surprise, since Reagan has been considered strong in the Old Dominion all along.

Democrat Carter entered the district meetings with 16 national delegates to Udall's four. Those were the figures that emerged in the party's first delegate round April 3, when 60 percent of the Virginia Democrats gathering in city and county mass meetings chose to remain uncommitted, to the 30 percent that went Carter's way.

Actually, Carter may have done better yesterday than his advocates were expecting. Among those working for a shift of uncommitted strength to the candidate's column,

See VIRGINIA, A-8

Oregon May Be Pivotal In Democratic Contest

NERVOUS CANDIDATES

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — "I don't know what's happening. We have to make a lot of decisions based on inadequate data."

This was Edmund G. Brown Jr., standing in the lobby of the Benson Hotel here yesterday morning and talking about his decision to spend another day campaigning for the Oregon primary Tuesday — a decison that emphasized the recognition among Democrats that this is the one that matters this week.

Indeed, the three candidates active here — Jerry Brown, Jimmy Carter and Frank Church — are rolling around in the dust flailing each other with an abandon that suggests they consider the outcome here may be pivotal in the competition for the Democratic presidential nomination.

But what no one knows because of that "inadequate data" is who is winning. The principle question is whether Brown can convert the obvious interest in his candidacy into enough write-in votes to compete with Carter and Church and their position on the printed ballot.

CARTER, already stung by Brown in Maryland, obviously thinks Brown

See DEMOCRATS, A-8

DEMOCRATS

Continued From A-1

might do it, which is why he added three days to his own schedule here to keep him in Oregon until the polls open Tuesday.

"There is more competition here in Oregon and a much more fluid situation than we anticipated a week ago," Carter said in explaining his rationale.

Church, who defeated Carter in Nebraska two weeks ago, is clearly concerned that the sudden rise of Brown will split the anti-Carter vote that he believes coalesced behind him in Nebraska. And Church recognizes that his late-blooming campaign may be nipped in the bud if he shows poorly here.

The conventional wisdom in Oregon is that Carter is the favorite, but there has not been a primary all year in which that wisdom has had less solid grounding. There are simply no precedents for measuring Brown's potential.

WHAT IS visible to the naked eye is that Carter has a lavish media campaign and a well managed if spotty campaign organization — plus the status he enjoys everywhere these days as the most likely Democratic nominee.

But Brown has evoked a popular response, as measured by crowds and their enthusiasm, greater than either of his rivals. And his army of volunteers here, many of them young people and farm workers from California and Washington, is substantial enough so he will have someone at each of the 2,381 polling places Tuesday to help voters with write-ins. His headquarters here bubbles with enthusiasm reminiscent of that for Eugene McCarthy and his antiwar campaign eight years ago.

What no one can estimate, however, is whether Brown's strength can be translated into the 150,000 votes probably required to win here. The most recent write-in in a presidential primary produced 12 percent of the Republican vote for Nelson Rockefeller in 1968. But Rockefeller did not campaign here at all that year and he had no organization. So a write-in twice that size seems within Brown's reach, and that in turn would put him in reach of both Carter and Church.

The vote is expected to be high in a state in which the educational level and the interest in politics is probably higher than anywhere in the country. Secretary of State Clay Meyers, who is usually right, has been forecasting a turnout of close to 70 percent of the 676,000 Democrats eligible to vote.

CHURCH HAS the most obvious base here. He comes from neighboring Idaho and he has more backing than either of the others from regular Democrats and organized labor. He is also being supported by some Democrats who see him as the vehicle for stopping Carter and opening the way for Hubert H. Humphrey. But Church's renown as the giant-killer, acquired in Nebraska, has been outshown by Brown's runaway victory over Carter in Maryland last Tuesday.

Carter's unease here rests on two factors.

First, he is obviously concerned about the general perception of himself as a candidate ambiguous on issues. He is seeking to counter that in the final days here by an intensive television campaign using spots of him dealing with specific questions. His headquarters is also turning out press releases detailing his positions on issues believed to have special interest here.

Secondly, Carter is aware the electorate here has little in common with those he has found most hospitable earlier in the primary season. There are few Southern transplants in Oregon, and less than 1 percent of the population is black, which could make a difference in a close contest.

MOST OF ALL, all three candidates are nervous about Oregon voters' well-established predilection for bringing down frontrunners — from Harold Stassen in 1948 to Robert F. Kennedy in 1968.

The Oregon primary will chose only 34 delegates to the Democratic convention and is only one of six Tuesday. But it is the only one that offers a genuine confrontation of live candidates.

Carter, with only George Wallace for competition, is favored in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas. Brown is expected to win Nevada and Church is favored in his native Idaho. Who's winning here is a total mystery.

Rubber Workers Talks Stopped

CLEVELAND (AP) — Negotiators for the United Rubber Workers and the Firestone Tire & Rubber Co. have stopped talking, 32 days into the union's strike against the rubber industry's Big Four.

Talks were recessed until June 1 by mutual agreement, a URW spokesman said Friday after another day-long, "no progress" session.

URW President Peter Bommarito, who spent much of the week in Washington meeting with AFL-CIO leaders, left for Akron after Friday's bargaining session.

VIRGINIA

Continued From A-1

state party chairman Joseph T. Fitzpatrick last week predicted a statewide gain increasing Carter's delegate total to 20 or 24. Carter got the 24.

FITZPATRICK last week acknowleged that Carter's undramatic showing in the Maryland and Michigan primaries Tuesday was "freezing" the fence-straddlers in the uncommitted column. Carter lost to California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in Maryland and barely edged a surprisingly strong Udall in Michigan.

Some of the Virginia uncommitteds also were deterred by the state party's "three-ballot" rule, which requires committed national convention delegates this year to stick with their presidential choice through the first three nominating ballots, Fitzpatrick said.

Some would rather be free to choose someone else after the first ballot, he explained. Thus, the uncommitteds chosen yesterday would include delegates not only favoring Carter, but Hubert Humphrey and others considered potential presidential candidates.

Fitzpatrick himself was one of three uncommitted delegates named by the 2nd District Democrats of the Norfolk area yesterday. Carter's strength there remained at two national delegates, and there was no shift to Udall, either.

SOURCES SAID Fitzpatrick, who only recently endorsed Carter's presidential bid, attempted yesterday to move into the apparent front-runner's column, but was unable to gather the required number of 50 fellow Democrats for the shift.

In the nearby 8th and 10th Congressional Districts, Northern Virginia Democrats gave Carter four national delegates, a gain of two. Udall, in turn, went from four to five. Three uncommitted delegates also were chosen.

In the 3rd District, home of Atty. Gen. Andrew P. Miller, another who recently joined the Georgian's bandwagon, it was Carter three, a gain of one, and two uncommitted

MEANWHILE, the Republicans meeting in five districts yesterday gave Reagan 11 delegates and Ford only three, with one uncommitted, the Associated Press reported. Counting returns from three district GOP meetings the week before, this gave Reagan a total of 16 to Ford's five and three uncommitted. Two districts have yet to meet and choose their delegates.

The Republicans are choosing 30 of their 51 national delegates in a series of district meetings ending this week. The remaining 21 delegates will be chosen at the GOP state convention June 4. The GOP districts meeting yesterday were the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th.

The Enigmatic Primaries

Will Border States Whistle Dixie?

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

To a stranger, it seemed like a perfectly predictable vignette in a state of the old Confederacy: Ronald Reagan beaming from the platform while a thousand people rose and clapped in rhythm to the strains of "Dixie."

But this wasn't just any small town in the South. It was Huntsville, Tenn., home of Sen. Howard H. Baker Jr., honorary chairman of President Ford's campaign in the state. And a century ago nobody was playing "Dixie" in Huntsville.

Tennessee was indeed a part of the Confederacy in the Civil War, but it was the last state to secede from the Union and the first to rejoin. And Scott County, where Huntsville is located, was so loyal to the Union that when Tennessee seceded, the county seceded from the state.

IN TENNESSEE and in neighboring Kentucky and Arkansas, where presidential primaries will also be held on Tuesday, the Republican party has maintained a foothold since its founding before the Civil War. This region is not the Deep South, where the GOP remained minuscule until a decade or so ago.

Among traditional Republicans in these border states, the old Lincoln Republicans of the mountain regions, President Ford is expected to run strongly.

But there is a new breed of Republican in the area as well — the kind who stand up and clap for "Dixie," the kind who spent most of their lives as Democrats until the party of their forefathers became identified with big government and social liberalism.

And it is these new Republicans, along with the conservative Democrats they resemble ideologically, who are likely to back Reagan on Tuesday.

WITH THE election less than 48 hours away, it is hard to find a politician willing to bet which group will predominate.

In Kentucky, only registered Republicans may vote in Tuesday's GOP primary. But in Tennessee and Arkansas, there is no registration by party affiliation, so significant numbers of Democrats may well decide to cast their ballots in the GOP primary.

George Wallace carried the Democratic primary in Tennessee four years ago by an overwhelming margin, and he carried Arkansas in the 1968 general election. Although Wallace is on the ballot again this time, his support — here as elsewhere in the nation — seems to have all but evaporated.

The Wallace voters are likely to go somewhere this time, and in Tennessee particularly — where Democrats often vote Republican in national elections — they may flock to Reagan.

"The crossover factor is the hardest thing to judge," said Brad Hayes, regional coordinator for Ford's campaign. "If you remove that element, I think most Republicans will be with us in Arkansas and Tennessee."

THERE ARE 43 GOP convention delegates to be chosen in Tennessee, 37 in Kentucky and 27 in Arkansas. Because of the formulas for apportioning delegates in each state, neither Ford nor Reagan can walk off with the whole bundle. A fairly even split is the most likely outcome, in fact.

The results of the preferential vote in the three states will still be significant, however, since both candidates are hoping for psychological momentum to carry into the crucial final primaries in California, Ohio and New Jersey.

Ford's victories last week in Michigan and Maryland have already helped in the three border states by giving new heart to the GOP traditionalists who, all other things being equal, would just as soon vote for the incumbent out of respect for the institution.

"A lot of people around here will vote for Ford, not because he's all that popular, but because they're a little bit afraid of somebody new," said Lois Hicks, of Jonesboro, Tenn., chairman of her county's GOP Women's Club.

"The oldtime Republicans do respect the presidency. There's a strong feeling for the institution, so strong it was even evident with Harry Truman."

THE DEMOCRATIC primaries in the border states are not expected to draw much national attention; Jimmy Carter is assured of carrying both the popular vote and virtually all of the delegates in the three states.

Rep. Morris K. Udall stumped the region last week, but as the Arizona Democrat admitted in Nashville on Friday, the visit was mostly for "tactical" reasons.

"When we get to the convention," Udall said, "I want to be able to say that I have been to all regions of the country and have delegates from all of them — as opposed to the late starters like Church and Brown, or a non-starter like Hubert Humphrey."

Reagan has spent considerably more time in the three states than Ford, who didn't even visit Arkansas and devoted only a single day to Tennessee and Kentucky combined, despite the pleadings of his local campaign managers.

Now the campaign is over in the border states. Both Reagan and Ford have headed west, to prepare for the climactic California primary on June 8. Neither expects to lock up the nomination on Tuesday, but they will be grateful for any small favors that come their way from Tennessee, Arkansas and Kentucky.

How Jerry Brown, the Presidential Candidate, Uses the Media

By James B. Rowland
and Michael Kiernan
Washington Star Staff Writers

Passing time at the Cumberland Airport while waiting to continue a Western Maryland primary campaign swing, California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. struck up a conversation with a local reporter.

"It looks as though the Carter bandwagon has slid off the road," Brown quipped, noting the former Georgia governor the night before conceded that Brown was ahead in Maryland.

The quip circulated among other reporters and provoked one radio network newsman to exclaim in exasperation, "Why won't he say things like that when I interview him?"

"He will, just ask him to repeat it when we land in Hagerstown," another reporter predicted.

AN HOUR LATER in Hagerstown, and with a minimum of prodding, the newsman had the same remark on his tape recorder as Brown chuckled at the humor in his own remark destined for nationwide airing.

The incident points up the cooperation and accommodation provided by Brown for the media, as much a key factor in his impressive presidential primary victory last Tuesday as support by Gov. Marvin Mandel, other political leaders and a network of grassroot volunteers.

It was a coalition of convenience for those like Mandel, out to stop or slow Carter, and those simply looking for a more attractive alternative.

Brown's concern about the coverage his campaign was receiving was evident throughout the time he was in Maryland.

He held an impromptu press conference in a meeting room in the gymnasium at Allegany Community College to field all questions pertaining to Carter's charge an hour before that the Californian was being used by "machine" politicians in Maryland.

At Bethlehem Steel near Baltimore campaign workers continually had to pull Brown away from reporters to remind him he was there to greet steel workers.

"All the governor's had today was two apples, a glass of wine and a bowl of soup," a Brown aide noted to reporters one midnight. "He spends so much time talking to you guys."

It's not that reporters always got the answers they wanted but Brown was available and tacticians are convinced it was a major catalyst in his collaring 49 percent of the vote last Tuesday. Carter got 37 percent.

BUT BROWN'S devotion to the media may well have alienated one important backer, Prince Georges Executive Winfield M. Kelly Jr. A dominant force in delivering the county for Brown by nearly 5,000 votes, Kelly was snubbed twice on election night by Brown.

Brown scratched an appearance before campaign workers in the Sheraton-Lanham, and then his aides refused to allow Kelly to see the governor at his campaign headquarters at the Lord Baltimore Hotel in Baltimore.

All Kelly wanted was to give Brown a gift from Prince Georges campaign workers, a brown tee-shirt with the words "Veni, Vidi, Vici," Latin for "I came, I saw, I conquered."

"We got him here, we did it . . . we did it for him," Kelly murmured to Brown aides in a hotel corridor. "Does he know I'm here?"

"He knows," a Brown aide reassured Kelly. "Why don't you just have some champagne."

See MEDIA, B-4

AA

BB

MEDIA

Continued From B-1

Why had Brown bypassed the Sheraton-Lanham and turned his back on Kelly? He was preparing for a CBS interview with Walter Cronkite.

Brown's courting of the media in Maryland, including spots costing more than $130,000, was a well-planned necessity provoked by his decision to enter the primary with only three weeks to campaign.

MEDIA COVERAGE was one of the predominant considerations during discussions over whether to enter the May 18 primary in Maryland or Michigan, one aide explained.

"Maryland is a smaller state, it would be easier to travel and we knew that being close to Washington and New York we'd get full media coverage by local and network TV plus magazines and papers with national or at least widespread circulation — once we got a good sendoff," he added.

This came on Brown's first night in Maryland when a crowd of 2,000 greeted him in the ballroom of the Baltimore Hilton hotel. The bulk of the crowd that jammed the room was turned out by Baltimore County Executive Ted Venetoulis and former Baltimore City Mayor Thomas A. D'Alesandro III, principal campaign managers.

Beforehand Brown strategists had carefully sounded out reporters and politicians in Maryland to assure themselves the Californian would get essential statewide coverage.

UP TO THEN it was a ho-hum presidential primary campaign, with Carter scheduled for only one brief appearance at a fundraiser and other major aspirants either going voluntarily on inactive status or concentrating their efforts elsewhere.

From the very day Brown arrived in Maryland he was the beneficiary of a free media blitz, including front page exposure in all major state newspapers plus those in Washington. Carter was forced to schedule more Maryland appearances in a futile attempt to retain his frontrunner position.

Brown was readily available for radio and television talk shows, along with quickie interviews on evening news programs. He appeared generally in large halls or auditoriums with adequate space for all television news crews.

Slated for a live interview on a WMAL-TV news program, Brown arrived an hour early, chatted with program personnel and then strolled outside up and down Connecticut Avenue until air time.

RADIO AND television spots were placed with the advice of Louis Rosenbush, one of Maryland's more astute advertizing consultants and responsible in part for Mandel's landslide election victory.

"We got television spots placed in and around the Preakness, Oriole baseball, basketball and other baseball games," Rosenbush said.

"Brown was extremely cooperative and he comes across as youthful and very sincere. He doesn't have that fixed toothy smile, and that slight curl to his lip seems attractive," Rosenbush said.

D'Alesandro, watching Brown on live television, evaluated media in the Maryland presidential primary:

"That's the big machine these days. It's TV, not any single politician or groups of politicians. It used to be that the biggest thing a political boss could offer a candidate was a large crowd to hear him speak. Now TV makes all that unnecessary. TV delivers the crowds these days."

The Stop-Carter Appeal Growing

By James R. Dickenson and Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writers

The stop-Jimmy Carter movement, which was moribund before last Tuesday's primaries in Michigan and Maryland, may have people stumbling all over each other trying to beat him in the big final primaries in California, New Jersey and Ohio on June 8.

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., of California, has opened campaign offices in New York and Rhode Island. His operatives have contacted every non-Carter delegate in the country at least twice by telephone and have sent six mailings to every delegate, including Carter's. He is intensively wooing the 241 non-Carter delegates in New York and claims to have at least 20 of the 28 uncommitted delegates in Rhode Island. In New York, Sen. Henry M. Jackson got 107 delegates, Rep. Morris K. Udall got 69, Carter got 33 and 65 are uncommitted.

Political Notebook

Udall is moving many of his Michigan troops into Ohio for a major effort there. New Jersey Democrats, led by Sen. Harrison Williams and state Sen. James Dugan, the state chairman, have a strong slate of uncommitted delegate candidates, many of whom favor Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, but both Udall and Brown are courting them.

The stop-Carter prospects appear good in all three June 8 primaries. Brown is highly popular in California and Carter's close call in Michigan had an impact in Ohio whose demographics are similar. Some polls show his popularity in Toledo, which gets Detroit television, is lower than in the rest of the state and state party officials in Ohio report they received more calls from people wanting to work for Brown or Udall last week than in all the time preceding.

In addition, Joseph Crangle, Erie County (New York) chairman, and Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois are starting a boiler room operation on Humphrey's behalf. Carter supporters contend he'll wind up the primaries with at least 1,150 of the 1,505 votes needed to nominate and that if thing go well he could have 1,250 or more.

A Mock Convention Setback

If Jimmy Carter worries about omens, he must be discouraged by the results of an elaborate mock convention of more than 3,000 Oregon high school students last week. The convention was structured to reflect the results of Democratic delegate selection so far this year, and Carter led on the first ballot. But Hubert H. Humphrey won the "nomination" on the fifth ballot, 1,637 to 1,246, when the Pennsylvania delegation swung over to him. Jerry Brown won the vice presidential nomination.

Reagan's Texas Victory Grows

Ronald Reagan's rout of President Ford in the Texas primary where he won all 96 GOP delegates is reflected in the unoffficial popular vote. One early count by the Texas election bureau showed Reagan beating Ford by about 2 to 1, 278,300 to 139,944 but a later return showed Reagan winning more than 70 percent with 344,863 to 145,307. The Texas victory triggered a string of Reagan wins that had Ford reeling until his landslide victory in Michigan last Tuesday.

On the Democratic side, Jimmy Carter, who won all 89 of the 98 Democratic delegates at stake, barely failed to win a majority of the popular vote. He got 736,161 to 343,032 for favorite son Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen. Gov. George C. Wallace got 270,798, Hubert Humphrey 333,179, Sargent Shriver 28,520, Ellen McCormack 5,700 and uncommitted delegate candidates got 129,478.

One Way to Solve an Issue

Proposals to limit the development of nuclear power plants are highly sensitive political issues in the Far West, and candidates in the presidential primaries are finding them thorny issues. Jimmy Carter seems to have come up with the best-of-possible-worlds solution by endorsing the Oregon initiative and refusing to endorse the mose stringent California measure. This put him "wrong" with labor in Oregon, where the unions are not very powerful politically, and "right" with labor in California, where they are. His chief rival in the two primaries, Jerry Brown, has refused to take a position on either.

Marginalia . . .

Joe Grandmaison, the premier Democratic campaign manager in New Hampshire, has decided to try it as a candidate himself. He will announce later this week that he is seeking the Democratic nomination to oppose Rep. James Cleveland . . . Bill Hall, press secretary to Frank Church, has proved to be one of those rare people immune to Potomac fever. He will leave Church after the California primary to return to writing editorials for a newspaper in Lewiston, Idaho . . . When David Cargo was the Republican governor of New Mexico almost a decade ago, he earned a reputation as a maverick, and he hasn't changed. Cargo is now practicing law in Oregon and he turned up the other day at a fundraiser for Church in Portland. Asked what he was doing at a Democratic function, he replied that voters "are entitled to a choice between the two best men, not between the two worst" . . . Tom McCall, the former governor of Oregon who is often Cargo's ally in rocking the Republican vote, is now a broadcaster with televison station KATU in Portland . . . .Former Sen. Eugene McCarthy, who was running as an independent candidate for president, is now on the Michigan ballot after filing more than 26,000 petition signatures, which is more than the 17,600 required by Michigan law. McCarthy is also on the ballot in Ohio, Kentucky and New Jersey and has petition drives underway in West Virginia, Maine, Missouri, Arizona, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Utah.

CC

Crosby S. Noyes

Is Carter too sure he knows the way?

Compared to his opposition, former Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter has emerged as a genuine political phenomenon. Whether you like him or not, he must be recognized as the kind of political leader who comes along in this country only at rare intervals. Which may be, in the historical perspective, all for the best.

It is not only that he has suddenly burst on the national scene out of nowhere. Any political campaign as confused as this one can thrust unknown characters into the limelight for a time. It is how they perform when they get there that makes the difference.

Like him or not, no one can deny that Carter has been performing superbly as a presidential candidate. His planning and organization have been flawless; his occasional mistakes have been quickly and adroitly neutralized; his personal impact on the electorate, both in the flesh and on the tube, has been awe-inspiring. With Hubert Humphrey wisely on the sidelines, none of his rivals for the Democratic nomination — and in all probability the presidency — has managed so far to lay a glove on him.

The stop-Carter movement, from all the evidence, is going nowhere. The hopes that are focused on California's Gov. Jerry Brown, despite his win in Maryland, seem destined to be short-lived. The Carter-Brown confrontation is a man-boy confrontation in its most dramatic form. Compared to Carter's single-minded dedication to his own political ambitions, Brown comes on as an attractive political dilettante whose main appeal is a kind of youthful earnestness and a promise to do everything differently than it has ever been done before.

There have, of course, been other phenomenal political leaders in our time. Jimmy Carter shares a number of qualities with the late John F. Kennedy. Kennedy was at least as charismatic. He was possessed of many of the same political talents — the same sense of personal destiny, the same ability to inspire people with genuine enthusiasm.

Kennedy, like Carter, had the leadership qualities that gave him the potential of being a great president — and also, possibly like Carter, a dangerous one. Again, from the historical perspective, he had the good fortune early in his tenure of blundering into the Bay of Pigs fiasco which blunted his fervor, sobered him enormously and made him one of the more conservative presidents of this century. Jimmy Carter, if he makes it to the White House, may not be so lucky.

But there is another most important difference between the two men. John Kennedy, by nature, was a cynic about the world and life in general. Carter, despite a reputation as a political conservative, gives the impression of being something of a fanatic.

Not, to be sure, one of your run-of-the-mill fanatics who go around preaching all sorts of wild-eyed ideas. Carter's essential fanaticism is one of certitude: A fixed and single-minded conviction that what he is doing is right for himself — and presumably for the country as well — and will produce the desired results.

It is both unfair and untrue to describe Jimmy Carter as any kind of religious fanatic. But there is undoubtedly a connection between his bedrock religious certitude and his political one. It is not a reassuring connection. In matters religious, bedrock certitude, combined with an evangelical temperament, can be admirable. In matters of national political leadership, the same qualities are more than a little disturbing to a good many people. And this may be a problem for Jimmy Carter — and the country — in the months to come.

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The Carter-as-Usual Issue: How 'Stubborn' Can He Be?

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore. — At a meeting of the City Club here yesterday Jimmy Carter was talking about how he intends to reduce the 1,900 or so federal agencies to about 200 after he becomes president. Or, more precisely, he was talking about his intention to do it without saying just how.

It was a totally unremarkable repetition of something Carter has been saying all along the primary trail. What made it noteworthy is the context of Carter-as-usual in the Oregon primary campaign against Edmund G. Brown Jr. and Frank Church.

CARTER AND his managers now recognize that the question of whether he is specific or deliberately ambiguous on issues is now itself a central issue in the late stages of the competition for the Democratic presidential nomination. It has accounted for the growth in negative reaction against Carter, and it is the vehicle Morris K. Udall rode to come within 2,000 votes of defeating him in Michigan this week. But, except to say he does indeed offer "specific, definitive positions," Carter hasn't budged an inch.

This raises the obvious possibility that his opponents here can cut him down Tuesday, as Brown did in Maryland earlier this week and as Udall almost did in Michigan. Indeed, both Brown and Church are relying heavily on this approach.

But, more significant, it raises a question about whether Carter is dangerously inflexible in a business in which compromise and strategic withdrawal are universally accepted tactics.

CARTER'S CLOSEST advisers call him "stubborn" once he has reached a decision on a question. And

See CARTER, A-6

Continued From A-1

throughout the campaign that quality has caused trouble for the former Georgia governor.

The reorganization issue, a prime target for Brown, is one example. Carter says his goal is about 200 agencies but that it would be unreasonable for anyone to expect him to say right now precisely how that goal would be achieved. But he refuses to satisfy his critics and blunt the issue by, for example, listing a dozen or so agencies he intends to eliminate.

Carter has seemed to borrow trouble on other issues. On right-to-work laws, for example, he takes the position that he would sign a repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act but would not lead the fight to get it through Congress. Carter believes 14b is not one of those issues he calls "vivid" with the voters, but his position has caused him trouble with union leaders, which could have been avoided if he simply had been willing to say he would go along.

Tax reform is another example. Carter has promised a drastic restructuring but insisted it is unrealistic to expect a detailed outline in the height of a campaign. This sounds reasonable, but his critics picture it as asking the voters to buy a pig in a poke.

THE ONLY ISSUE on which Carter has yielded has been in his endorsement of the Humphrey-Hawkins employment bill, and he did that only after it had been altered substantially.

There are some issues, of course, on which his positions themselves, rather than ambiguity, have set him apart from the other Democratic candidates. He opposes as too costly the federalization of welfare, for example. And he has said he favors giving revenue sharing only to the cities, not the states.

In most cases, however, Carter's trouble has grown out of his refusal to play the game. The questions, he insists, are just too complicated for 10-point programs.

That may be valid practically as well as politically. Taking such positions has, after all, made him the front-runner for the nomination. But it also has made him vulnerable to the new, new faces in the late primaries.

Carter Gets Challenge From Brown

LAS VEGAS, Nev. (UPI) — Edmund G. Brown Jr. yesterday challenged Democratic front-runner Jimmy Carter to disclose details of his proposal to reorganize the federal government.

Brown, on the ballot in Tuesday's Nevada primary as a write-in candidate in the Oregon primary the same day, said Carter had made reorganization the "centerfold of his campaign."

"He should disclose what he has in mind for this overhaul of the government agencies," Brown told a gathering of campaign contributors before leaving Las Vegas on a tour of Nevada.

Just Beachy
Sunny and warm, high near 80. Fair tonight, low near 50. Sunny tomorrow, high near 70. Details: A-9.

The Washington Star

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Carter Serves Notice: Can 'Horse-Trade,' Too

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore., May 21 — Jimmy Carter, who has accused his rivals of trying to deal him out of the Democratic presidential nomination, said today he, too, could "horse-trade" his way to the nomination if forced to do so.

Offering a glimpse of the bare knuckles under the velvet gloves he usually wears, the Democratic front-runner served notice on his opponents that he can do to them whatever they may try to do to him.

Responding to reporters' questions while flying here from Los Angeles, Carter said he's always tried to avoid backroom deals and will continue to do so. But he pointedly noted that he is aware of opportunities for horse-trading, including bargaining over the vice presidential nomination.

Asked if he would "horsetrade" for the nomination "if you have to," Carter responded: "I'll wait and see what happens."

Carter's comments came in the wake of a new effort to draft Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, the published report that Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy would accept a draft and an apparent stop-Carter strategy under which each of his challengers picks his own turf to challenge Carter while he runs in several primaries at once.

In response to what his aides described as "new opportunities" in the West, Carter gave up his planned weekend at home in Plains, Ga., for three days of campaigning for primaries in the Far West next Tuesday and in South Daktoa on June 1.

Denying that back-to-back defeats from Nebraska and Maryland and a close call in Michigan over the past two weeks were posing problems here and threatening his national momentum, Carter said he changed his plans because of recent indications that he could pick up more delegates than he anticipated in the West. He cited his own polling and crowd responses in the state as indicators of an opportunity he would lose if he did not campaign in these states.

Although independent polls showed him ahead in Oregon earlier this month, he is challenged hard by Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and by a vigorous write-in campaign for California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. A loss here to Church or Brown or conceivably both could damage his momentum as a "winner" going into the final round of big state primaries, including California's on June 8.

As for a New York Daily News report that Kennedy would accept a convention draft, Carter said, "I believe it but it doesn't scare me." He said he has always assumed Kennedy, whose name is listed on the Oregon ballot along with Humphrey's, might wind up in the race and interpreted the report as a possible effort to draw voters away from him.

Kennedy, who has insisted he is not a candidate, today said: "I have stated my position previously. It has not changed. Unfortunately, I can't avoid speculation."

The question of horse-trading arose when a reporter pressed Carter on whether his several rivals could block the first ballot nomination he has predicted for himself and stall him short of the 1,505 votes needed for the nomination.

First Carter said, "I don't want to talk to you about that because I don't want to be quoted on what I think and you know" about political horse-trading. Then he went on to say:

"But there are ways to pick up 100, 200, 300 delegates, if you have to have them to get the nomination.

"I've been trying to avoid having to do that horse-trading relating to different aspects of politics, the vice presidency or otherwise. I just don't want to get in that position if I can help it."

A reporter then asked, "Would you do it if you have to?"

Responded Carter: "I'll wait and see what happens."

Carter has repeatedly, as recently as Thursday, on the California state Capitol steps, accused his opponents of trying to "create a deadlock, get in a backroom and horse-trade in secret" for the nomination.

In Portland, Carter told an overflow crowd at the Portland City Club that he favored an Oregon referendum issue to impose legislative controls over location of new nuclear power plants, while expressing misgivings over a more stringent proposal that will be on the California ballot this fall covering existing plants as well.

Carter is scheduled to return Saturday to Oregon with a side trip to Boise, Idaho, where Church is heavily favored, but Carter says he may be able to pick up a delegate or two.

Carter's Fiscal Policy 'A Slogan,' Says Brown

A4

By Bill Richards
Washington Post Staff Writer

RENO, Nev., May 21—California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr. moved his Western campaign into high gear today, expressing optimism over his chances here and attacking Democratic rival Jimmy Carter's fiscal policy as "a slogan."

"I have a hunch the so-called Carter bandwagon is slowing," Brown told a group of supporters at a $50-a-plate Las Vegas breakfast. "It's just about the end of road."

Brown's chances of winning the bulk of Nevada's 11 delegate votes in the state's first presidential primary next Tuesday are generally rated high here.

In voting for selection of the delegates at the state's Democratic convention two weeks ago, Brown outscored Carter 228 to 175. Carter, who has been campaigning off and on here since Brown's primary victory in Maryland Tuesday, expects to spend only a little more than half the $40,000 Brown has allocated for Nevada.

In a Las Vegas campaign appearance Wednesday Carter acknowledged he would have a difficult time beating Brown here. It is the only confrontation between the two before the big June 8 California primary in which both Carter and Brown will appear on the ballot. Brown will also be running against Carter in Oregon, but only as a write-in candidate there.

Brown drew a crowd of 700 supporters at an airport rally in Elko and, tonight, another 1,200 persons showed up here to see the California governor. Several hours earlier, Jimmy Carter drew about 900 persons here at a shopping center rally.

In his day and a half long swing through Nevada, Brown concentrated on attacking Carter's "zero-based budget" plan. Carter has called for an annual total reassessment of budget priorities based on the efficiency of various governmental departments, claiming the approach worked well in his home state of Georgia while he was governor.

"I don't think the bureaucracy should be looked at like a department store—speed up production and cut frills," Brown said during an impromptu news conference this morning. "The whole question of what is efficiency is very difficult."

Brown said that rather than attempt major governmental reorganization, he favors slowing governmental growth and decentralizing the federal bureaucracy. Noting that much of federal spending is locked into fixed costs and inflation, Brown said, "It's a question of who gets the remaining cookies in the jar."

Carter's program, said Brown, is a "magical reorganization plan and the plan is never disclosed.

"I would like Mr. Carter to disclose what he has in mind in reorganizing the federal government," said Brown. "I think it's a slogan."

Brown also drew applause from a crowd of about 300 supporters Thursday night at a candidate's night at a local Jewish temple when he reiterated his support for aid to Israel and his opposition to the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

"What it is, is a pork barrel," Brown said of the federal program. "Conservatives, they're given walkie-talkies, computers and other gadgets to keep them active, and liberals are given crash pads, counseling sessions and other sociological services to keep them happy. It does everything except prevent crime."

Brown appeared relaxed and enthusiastic after his arrival here Thursday night from Oregon, where he encountered sizeable crowds of supporters. After the candidate's night appearance Thursday and a short speech to a fund-raising gathering held by Las Vegas Sun publisher Hank Greenspun, Brown slipped away with singer Helen Reddy and her husband, Jeff Wald.

The Greenspun affair was closed to the press and Brown shifted from his rented Chevrolet compact to Reddy's Cadillac limousine for a ride to the MGM Grand Hotel where he spent the night.

The California governor's strong appeal here is based in part on the fact that nearly 80 per cent of Nevada's population is located in two areas—Reno in the north and Las Vegas in the south. Both areas are within distribution range of California papers from across the border and Reno also receives television stations from Sacramento and San Francisco.

Military Building Measure Advances

United Press International

The Senate has voted 80 to 3 to authorize $3.3 billion for 488 military construction projects in the United States and abroad.

The largest single item in the bill, passed Thursday and sent to conference with the House, is $437 million for a facility to test advanced jet engines at the Arnold Engineering Development Center in Tullahoma, Tenn.

GG

Clayton Fritchey

The Shape of Things to Come in the U.S.

Like many other political writers, I complained earlier in the year about our chaotic, seemingly endless primary method of nominating presidential candidates. I take it all back, or most of it, for in an unplanned, unexpected way, the primaries are laying the groundwork for a genuine test of real issues in the Novermber general election, something we have not often had in recent presidential contests.

The 1972 test, for example, could hardly have been more irrelevant so far as a referendum on substantive programs was concerned. Richard Nixon turned the election into a referendum on McGovern's persona and that "AMA" package of abortion, marijuana and "acid." The economy and other vital federal problems were hardly mentioned, and the return of our troops from Vietnam took the steam out of that issue.

Looking back on the Nixon-Hubert Humphrey contest in 1968 and the Nixon-Kennedy race in 1960, it can be seen that they revolved mostly around synthetic issues.

Kennedy charged the Republicans with a mythical "missile gap" the year he ran, just as Nixon in 1968 exploited law-and-order, accusing the Democrats of being soft on crime.

Actually, since the era of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, our presidential elections have seldom offered the electorate a definitive choice on the fundamental economic and social structure of the country.

The last such showdown was the 1936 plebiscite on the New Deal, which resulted in FDR winning all but two states. In the 1950s, Dwight Eisenhower, a victorious general, didn't need issues; he ran as a hero.

Things are going to be different this year, for the primaries have already made certain that, regardless of who is finally nominated, the Republican standard-bearer will be either a conservative or ultra-conservative, and his Democratic challenger will be a champion of one of the most liberal platforms in the history of the party.

On the GOP side, it is obvious that the nominee will either be Gerald Ford, offering himself as Dr. Do-Little, or Ronald Reagan posing as Dr. Do-Less. Whatever their differences, they are united in believing that the path to the White House this year is to stand foursquare for government retrenchment at the federal level.

The Democrats, on the other hand, are equally united in thinking that the people are eager for action to "get the country moving again," as John F. Kennedy used to say. All the contenders for the Democratic nomination are strongly supporting positive government steps to wipe out unemployment and boost the economy.

Only the voters in November can say which is the winning wager, but at least the electorate, for a change, will have an opportunity to make a clear-cut decision. Meanwhile, in advance of the national convention, both the Democratic Platform Committee and the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives are already formulating guidelines for their party's presidential campaign and future legislative objectives.

There is little doubt that all the aspirants for the Democratic nomination will find the emerging program acceptable. The leading candidate, Jimmy Carter, has just said, "I do not intend to attempt to dictate the substance of the Democratic platform," a sentiment shared by his rivals.

The unprecedented package of congressional proposals (running to 271 pages) was prepared over the last nine months by the Speaker's Task Force on the Democratic Platform. Under the direction of Speaker Carl Albert and the majority leader, Rep. Thomas O'Neill, it was formally presented to the party's platform committee at hearing held in Washington this week.

Besides reflecting the views of the leadership, the plan includes specific ideas from all the Democratic chairmen of House committees. It is the first time there has ever been such a co-ordinated effort to influence the shape of the party's platform.

The document, which evokes memories of the early New Deal, strongly supports the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, as do all the candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Thus the "H-H Bill," as it is coming to be known, is certain to be the key domestic issue in the fall election, for the Republican leaders are adamantly opposed to it and prepared to campaign all-out against it. The outcome of this knockdown battle could very well determine the shape of things to come in the United States for a long time.

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Tom Braden

How to Succeed . . .

This is the season when commencement speakers tell graduates about how to live their lives or, to use an old-fashioned word, how to "succeed."

The old bromides are back in vogue this year. What could be more bromidic than the spectacle of Jimmy Carter, an in-the-flesh example of the man who fixed his eye upon a star?

Or, on the other hand, Gerald Ford, who has lived the life exemplifying that other standard commencement exhortation: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might."

Jimmy Carter decided upon a great goal and worked for it. Gerald Ford did his job as well as he could. Both men followed the rules of commencement orations. Look where it got them.

Life is unfair, and we don't have to quote John Kennedy to point it out. Fred Harris fixed his eye upon a star also, worked as hard as Carter and didn't make it. There are at least 200 congressmen as able as Gerald Ford and as dutiful. On them, lightning did not strike.

But granted that either Gerald Ford or Carter can stumble and that one of them must lose, what a pair to hold up against the ancient rules. They may not be the best men. Most of us can name men we think are better. But they prove that the rules still hold.

Of those two commencement rules, I like the first one—the one about the star—better. It will become apparent, I hope, that Jimmy Carter is a better man to lead us than Gerald Ford. He set himself a higher standard. He wanted to be President. Gerald Ford only wanted to be a congressman.

Mind you, I said I hope. Men with their eyes fixed on a star must be very carefully examined, as Richard Nixon was never examined. Nothing mattered to Nixon but to get to the star, and when he reached it he—and we—discovered that there really wasn't anything more he wanted, either to be or to do. And so he turned inward, wrapping himself in symbols, trying to make the office itself seem worth all the work he had done to get there.

But Nixon gave us a lot of signals along the way. From the "pink lady" to Checkers and from demagoguery to mean-spiritedness, we had warnings. Too many of us didn't pay attention.

No such signals come from Carter. But are we sure of what he wants to do with that star? We should be watching.

Gerald Ford represents the lesser virtue, but also the lesser danger. How could a man with so undistinguished a record ever become President? If he had retired from the Congress in 1974, his name would have existed only in the old congressional directories. But we know the answer. He is President because he was doing what the commencement orators tell the graduating class to do. He was doing his job, as well as he knew how, and suddenly there was a tap upon the shoulder.

We know now that Mr. Ford is a decent, honest man who leans heavily upon those around him, and who thinks of the U.S. as he thinks of his home district in Michigan. He won't do any harm, but he won't do much else.

Maybe that's what we need right now. But the only danger Mr. Ford represents is that before another administration is over, we'll need something else, like leadership.

In any event, it looks as though we shall have a choice between the two commencement virtues, which is not a bad thing, either for graduating students or for the country.

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The Weather
...Mostly sunny, high near 80. ... the 50s. Chance of rain is 10 ... tonight through tonight. Saturday ... mostly sunny, high in the 70s. Yesterday's temperatures—3 p.m. AQI, 68. Temperatures ... Details are on Page C2.

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The Washington Post

Carter Raps Rivals' 'Horse-Trading'

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

SACRAMENTO, May 20—Jimmy Carter, campaigning today in the political backyard of California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., stepped up his emphasis on issues and accused his rivals of gadging up to "horse-trade" him out of the Democratic presidential nomination.

In a speech to the California state senate, followed by remarks to about 500 people from the Capitol steps, the former Georgia governor never mentioned Brown, the strong homestate favorite to win the California primary June 8.

But his words today in both California and Nevada appear to reflect the potential risk to his front-running campaign that is posed by Brown, Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona in a series of Western primaries over the next three weeks.

While denying any change in his campaign strategy since losing to Brown in Maryland and nearly tripping over Udall in Michigan in last Tuesday's primaries, Carter has been giving substantive issues greater prominence in his standard campaign speech.

Udall in particular has been accusing Carter of soft-pedaling issues, a charge the Georgian has been repeatedly called upon by questioners to explain or deny.

In his speech at the rally he contended, as he did earlier today at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas and Wednesday during a swing through Oregon, that he is ahead because he stands for "basic issues that derive from among the people of this country." He cited in particular tax reform to close loopholes for the rich, overhaul of the welfare system, restructuring of the federal bureaucracy to consolidate many existing agencies, and controls on nuclear proliferation and testing.

The Carter campaign announced tonight that he had scrapped plans to return home to Georgia to make a three-day campaign run into Oregon this weekend. The decision was based on "our feeling that we have a chance to do fairly well up there," a spokesman said.

In his speech to the California senate, he appeared to be taking an oblique swipe at Brown's repeated skepticism about relying on governmental solutions to problems, saying people want an "aggressive" President who will "put himself in the thick of the battle for a better America."

Said Carter: "There are those who believe it is not worthwhile to try, that human nature never changes, that the human condition is fixed forever and that all struggle for human betterment is futile. I do not believe that. I believe that the essence of a worthwhile life is in the striving. I do not fear failure, but I do fear the resigned acceptance of what is mean or mediocre or wrong."

He received an attentive and polite response from the senate, as he did from the crowd outside. Brown left California earlier in the day to campaign in Orgeon.

As he has elsewhere, Carter cited his entry into all 30 primary contests, indirectly drawing a comparison with Brown whose first primary contest came last Tuesday in Maryland.

Carter also repeated his complaint that his rivals were trying to "create a deadlock, get in a back room, and horse-trade in secret" at the nominating convention in New York in July.

Meantime, in a talk to several thousand students at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Brown said, "the pundits and poobahs of the Potomac have already crowned Jimmy Carter President, but I don't think the people of the country are quite ready yet."

Brown, who is mounting a write-in campaign, told the students that "a write-in victory here would be worth two or three primaries anywhere else. Oregon can change the whole momentum and drift of the campaign."

In Portland, Church accused both Carter and Brown of avoiding the issues.

"I'm up against two governors," he said. "One deals in generalities and the other asks a lot of questions but doesn't provide any answers."

Staff Writers David S. Broder and Paul Edwards also contributed to this article.

92 Pages—4 Sec
Amusements B 9
Classified C 7
Comics D16
Editorials A24
Fed. Diary C 2
Financial D11
Garc
Metr
Obit
Polit
Spor
Style
Bicentennial Calendar

Higher Second Welcomeites area
See Sec. A2

Primary Looms Smaller Now In California

By Bill Richards
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, May 20—Four years ago voters here were treated to a primary blitz of money and campaign manpower like no other in political history when Sen. George McGovern spent more than $4 million to take the California Democratic contest from Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey.

California may still be the grand prize of the primary circuit for some this year—Rep. Morris K. Udall for example, calls the June 8 primary here "the super bowl."

But, at least among Democrats, several important factors are reducing the appeal of an all-out do-or-die strategy like the one that prevailed here four years ago.

Chief among these are a changed delegate-selection system ending the winner-take-all tradition, some strong competition for time and money from other states with primaries the same day, and a generally diminished money supply for everyone.

"We're not writing California off," said Ben Goddard, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter's Western states campaign director. "But it's no longer the big banana."

Carter's campaign outlay here this year is estimated at about $500,000, his largest state expenditure in any state during the primary season. But Goddard and other Carter political strategists are playing down the significance of the race here and attempting to picture their candidate as a party peacemaker wrapping up loose ends by the time the primary is held.

"We dont need to punch it out with [California Gov.] Jerry Brown," Goddard said. "There's nothing to be gained by a slugfest in the streets for five or six more delegates."

The financially strapped Udall campaign has slashed spending projections here from $300,000 or $400,000 to less than $100,000. "Things have clearly changed since 1972," said Rusty Mathews, Udall's Western campaign manager.

Perhaps the biggest change of all has been the entrance of Gov. Brown. Since his seemingly off-the-cuff announcement in late March that he was entering the primary, Brown has beaten Carter in Maryland's primary and has gathered a sizable volunteer force here.

Officials in the Brown campaign were happily surprised when nearly 10,000 supporters of the 38-year-old governor showed up for the state's Democratic caucus conventions April 11, only two weeks after Brown's announcement that he was running.

Even though California is the center of the national Brown campaign his campaign manager, Michael Kantor said this week that the campaign is not likely to spend more than $300,000 here.

Traditionally California has been a state requiring heavy spending for media because of its size, its lack of anything approaching a cohesive Democratic political machine and the high cost of purchasing television and radio time.

This year political strategists for several presidential candidates said they feared that the effectiveness of media campaigns might be less effective because several other races are vying for radio and television time. These include the race for the Democratic nomination for the Senate between former anti-war activist Tom Hayden and incumbent John Tunney; a bitter Los Angeles district attorney race, and a campaign over California's nuclear initiative proposal in which each side has out spent all the presidential candidates.

The alteration in the delegate-selection system this year has played an important role in the strategy of the Democratic presidential candidates. Proportional representation replaces the winner-take-all system that once made California — whose 280 delegates make up the largest of the state Democratic blocs — the major primary prize.



JERRY BROWN



JIMMY CARTER

. . . poll shows them holding 67 per cent of the vote.

Under the new system, 210 delegates will be chosen in the state's 43 congressional districts. Each candidate will get a share of each district's delegates proportionate to his popular vote in the district. Another 70 at-large delegates will be awarded in proportion to the candidates' share of the statewide vote. At both district and state level, however, a candidate must get at least 15 per cent of the vote to get any delegates.

The new delegate-selection procedure only holds for Democrats. Republicans Gerald R. Ford and Ronald Reagan, who are seeking the state's 167 delegates from their party, are still competing under the old winner-take-all system.

What the altered arrangement means for the Democrats here is that they must run harder through a broadly spread system of districts for a potentially smaller prize.

The new system has both advantages and drawbacks for a candidate like Brown. It obviously grants him the upper hand in tapping a wider spectrum of districts than his rivals. Brown campaign officials have called on those 10,000 supporters who showed up for the caucuses across the state in April and have also used local campaign machines from more than 30 state assemblymen who have declared their support for the governor.

In a state with no other broad-based Democratic machinery such support is vital. "We made the decision early that we had to tap the assembly district organizations or we'd fall flat on our face," said Brown campaign manager Kantor.

Still another factor this year is the fact that the expanded number of Democratic primaries — from 23 to 30 — means that two other big delegations will be up for grabs the same day as California—Ohio, with 152 delegates, and New Jersey, with 108.

Carter's strategists have already made their decision to spread their efforts beyond California. The former Georgia governor is well organized in both Ohio and New Jersey, and although Brown has visited New Jersey Carter officials are predicting only light opposition in those two races.

"We're expecting to get about 300 delegates on June 8 and most of those will come from Ohio and New Jersey," said Carter's Western manager Goddard.

Brown and Carter are the two strongest contenders in the California primary. Last week a Field poll showed Brown holding 45 per cent of the California Democratic vote against Carter's 22 per cent. Brown actually dropped two percentage points since the poll March 31 while Carter gained seven points.

Udall scored 7 per cent of the vote in the poll, while Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace got 5 per cent, Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington received 4 per cent and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho got 3 per cent.

Brown forces are hoping that their first-place finish in the Maryland primary Tuesday and an expected strong showing in Nevada May 25 will be coupled with the victory here June 8 to stop the Carter drive for a first-ballot victory.

Goddard said he believed Carter will have between 900 and 1,000 delegates by June 8 and will be unstoppable.

KK

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Draft-HHH Unit Formed

Despite Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's statements that he will not be an active presidential candidate, two supporters announced yesterday the formation of a committee to seek delegate support for him at the July Democratic National Convention.

With front-runner Jimmy Carter showing some weakness in recent primaries, Rep. Paul Simon (D-Ill), and New York Democratic leader Joseph F. Crangle announced a "low key" effort that will continue "all the way to the convention" even if the Minnesota Democrat asks them to stop.

"A lot of people feel Sen. Humphrey fills the needs as no one else does, and we just can't stand idly by," Simon told a news conference. Simon said he will be chairman and Crangle will be full-time staff director of an effort to raise $200,000. They will conduct a telephone campaign with delegates and political leaders asking convention support for Humphrey after the first ballot if they are committed to another candidate initially.

Crangle predicated that Humphrey would have 300 first-ballot votes.

Crangle said he had informed Humphrey that the committee was being set up whether he approved or not. He said Humphrey reiterated his position that he was as an inactive candidate but available at the convention, but didn't ask them to stop.

Humphrey assistant David Gartner said the senator considered it futile to try to stop them in view of Crangle's announcement.

—Richard L. Lyons

NOTES '76

A Kennedy Draft?

NEW YORK—The New York Daily News reported that Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) who repeatedly has said he would not seek the Democratic presidential nomination this year, would accept a genuine draft.

In a copyright story published in today's editions, the News said Kennedy also has decided he would serve as a vice presidential candidate on a ticket headed by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

Through a spokesman, Kennedy, 44, last night insisted his decision not to seek the nomination was unchanged, and called the News story "pure speculation."

The News said Kennedy would not "lift a finger to advance either possibility" and would not campaign with any other Democratic candidate.

The newspaper gave two reasons why Kennedy changed his mind in the unattributed account:

- "The apparent recovery of his 14-year-old son, Teddy, from bone cancer" and the "determination of his wife, Joan, in coping with the enormous pressure of his hectic political life."
- And "his growing concern that the sweeping legislation that he and other Senate liberals have worked on for the last seven years . . . would not get full support from[Democratic presidential front-runner Jimmy] Carter."

Rod MacLeish

Reagan Versus Carter?

It remains plausible to contemplate an autumn presidential campaign between Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. The latest primaries in Michigan and Maryland have only rescued President Ford from the ignominy of an early wipe-out; his path to the nomination in Kansas City is still uphill. Carter's sure drive toward a first-ballot victory at the Democratic convention has lurched a bit—but it is not deflected.

Should Reagan and Carter face each other, the result would surely clarify the mysterious American state of mind that has elevated two non-Washington figures to such prominence in this strange political year.

Reagan and Carter appear to have ascended from very different starting points. Reagan's is the more familiar; he is the product of an old, abiding rightist potpourri of forebodings, quasi-conspiracy theories and a fine madness over the complexity of public affairs, which the simplistic believe can and should be simple. Reagan's followers are fuelled to their devoted rage by his declarations that Kissinger is making us No. 2, that somebody is giving away the Panama Canal.

Carter, on the other hand, seems to have been propelled forward by a vague renaissance of American hope searching for its political expression. He has ceased his anti-Washington fulminations. When Carter evokes the theme of simplicity, it is in the believable context of streamlining the federal bureaucracy to the end of re-connecting government to human needs and desires. He seems to stand for benevolence, forgiveness and an infinity of American possibilities.

A Reagan-Carter campaign would, thus, pit the expression of frustration against a distinct if vaguely-stated belief in the resurrection of workable government and moral righteousness.

The result would tell this country a good deal about itself and about the evolution of our political history. In the choice between updated yahooism and evangelical promise, we would learn whether the voting majority is still imprisoned in bitterness over the past or whether Carter's symbolism is strong enough to risk a national embarkation into a new and, as yet unclear, sort of politics.

Such is the evolution of this unique season that this choice is not, as one says, beyond possibility.

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arles B. Seib

he Presidential Press: 'Too Far Too Fast'

American electorate is faced
a presidential year crisis unprece-
d in our history: The press has
d too soon.

zealous overcoverage of the pri-
and the careful nurturing of
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oo fast. We are now at the point
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next week, at the latest, and the
the week after that. But here
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off and the election in distant
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an the national fever over Pan-
kept ablaze? Can public hatred
ington be sustained?

are tough questions for the
io threat to the First Amend-
s been as challenging. As each
es, the danger grows that peo-
top reading and listening and
lia's vast political reporting
y will end up talking to itself.
y there is evidence that the
es now on the track can't run
se. Jimmy Carter's smile and
cartoonists can do with it
ed to entertain. Jerry Brown's
p and West Coast cool are
but they too are rapidly losing
rm. President Ford, bumping his head again as he boards the helicopter for yet another campaign swing, no longer either shocks or amuses.

We've exhausted the conversational possibilities of the changing hues of Ronald Reagan's hair and whether the photographers are doing right by the texture of his skin. Even the rueful humor of Morris Udall is getting hard to take, as are the earnest youthfulness of Frank Church and the geriatric youthfulness of Hubert Humphrey.

It is all becoming too familiar, like an old movie seen once too often on the late show.

Russell Baker, the New York Times' breath of life whose humor often reveals a larger reality, noted the problem the other day. Jimmy Carter is in danger, he reported, because he became a new face too soon. On seeing Carter on the cover of Time (he was on Newsweek that week too, of course), "you suddenly realized that something momentous had happened to Mr. Carter," Baker wrote. "He had become an old face."

And, he said, the press was the reason. "New faces age into old faces with astonishing speed these days because of the intensity of press absorption with presidential politics." Another astute reporter, Richard Reeves, recognized

The News Business

what was happening when he selected a title for his new book about the presidential contenders. He called it "Old Faces of 1976."

If the press is responsible for this national political crisis, it also can solve it. It must create a pair of totally new frontrunners—one for each party. Only such a heroic measure can save the campaign.

The press can do it. It proved itself earlier this year when it moved Jimmy Carter from Jimmy Who? to front-runner on the strength of the approval of some Iowa party regulars and a hysterical primary in a small, atypical state.

Ronald Reagan's rise was almost as spectacular. From an ex-actor few but Californians could take seriously, he has become a contender who forced the President to veer to the right and now threatens to push him out of the White House. The press had a hand in that, too.

Somewhere—in a governor's mansion, perhaps—there is a fresh and shining Democratic face ready for the build-up. And somewhere—maybe in the corridors of the Capitol—there is an attractive Republican, watching and waiting. The eight weeks before the Democratic convention should be enough time to launch a new front-runner for that party. And there would be an extra month to make sure the new Republican choice was free of any Washington taint.

It's a difficult job, but the First Amendment was not written for weaklings or quitters. The folks who rescued the country from Watergate surely can save it from an ennui that threatens the political process itself. But what if the media fail? Then the American people will have to meet this test as they have met the great tests of the past. They will have to, somehow, maintain enough interest in the present candidates to see the process through.

If it comes to that, maybe the press can help by pushing some new issues. We can't expect anything as gripping as Panama, of course, or as meaningful as the evils of the Washington bureaucracy. But as day follows dreary day, anything—anything at all—will look good.

Despite the grim picture, it is possible to end on a cheerful note: Election day this year is Nov. 2, the very earliest day on which a national election can be held.

Sunny
Sunny today, high near 70. Low tonight about 55. Sunny, cooler tomorrow, highs in 70s. Details: B-3.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

124th Year. No. 142 | Copyright © 1976 The Evening Star Newspaper Co | S | WASHINGTON, D.C., FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1976 | Phone (202) 484-5000 CIRCULATION 484-3000 CLASSIFIED 484-6000 | 15 Cents

Kennedy Shift on a Draft?

NEW YORK (UPI) — The New York Daily News reported today that it has learned Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) "has decided he would accept a genuine draft for the Democratic presidential nomination or would serve as vice presidential nominee on a ticket headed by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey."

The News said Kennedy "would not lift a finger," however, "to advance either of these possibilities," nor would he be willing to run for vice president on a ticket headed by any Democrat except Humphrey.

The News, which did not give a source for its report, said Kennedy had decided to change his previous position against running for national office this year because of two factors:

". . . The apparent recovery of his 14-year-old son, Teddy, from bone cancer" and the "determination of his wife, Joan, in coping with the enormous pressure of his hectic political life."

And "his growing concern that the sweeping legislation that he and other Senate liberals have worked on for the last seven years" such as national health insurance, tax reform and guaranteed full employment "would not get full support from (presidential candidate Jimmy) Carter."

The News predicted that word of Kennedy's availability "if indeed he would choose to publicly affirm it" would give a "major boost" to forces in the Democratic party which "are now seeking an alternative to Carter."

Kennedy was not available for comment last night. Spokeswoman Anne Speakman said that when told of the News report Kennedy "said his position was unchanged from his statement of September 1974 "that he would not seek the presidency" and that "the story was pure speculation."

Move Unauthorized

Committee Formed To Draft Humphrey

New York Times News Service

Political supporters of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, encouraged by setbacks to Jimmy Carter in the last 10 days, have announced the formation of a committee to "draft" the Minnesotan for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Rep. Paul Simon of Illinois and Joseph F. Crangle, a former New York State Democratic chairman, emphasized that they were proceeding without authorization from the senator. Notified of their plans, however, Humphrey did not ask them to stop.

Simon told a Capitol Hill news conference yesterday he believed that Humphrey would have 300 delegates on the first ballot at the New York City convention in July, and that Carter would fall short of the 1,505 needed for nomination. On the second or third ballot, he said, there should be a "substantial shift in the direction of Humphrey."

Of the Humphrey potential in New York — 16 delegates pledged to the senator and 49 uncommitted — the "vast majority" will support the Minnesotan, Crangle predicted.

With Crangle as its executive director, the Humphrey campaign will open a Washington headquarters and begin soliciting contributions. The money will be used to contact delegates and obtain commitments for the first or succeeding ballots at the national convention.

Three weeks ago, Humphrey announced he would not compete in the late primaries or authorize a committee to organize support for him. He said he would accept the nomination but thought it "unlikely" that the delegates would offer it to him.

Since then Carter has lost to Sen. Frank Church of Idaho in the Nebraska primary and to Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in Maryland, and barely edged out Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona in the Michigan primary. Carter had been expected to win the latter contest handily.

Greece, U.S. Sign Accord on Lockheed

Associated Press

The Justice Department and the Greek Ministry of Justice yesterday signed an agreement to share information in the investigation of alleged payoffs by the Lockheed Aircraft Corp. in Greece.

Anastos Papastephanou, general secretary of the Ministry of Justice, signed the document for the Greek government. John Keeney, deputy assistant attorney general in the criminal division, signed for the Justice Department.

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PP

Carl T. Rowan

Go at it, Democrats

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss has admonished the party's 153-member platform committee to avoid the bickering and battling that have burdened the party for eight years. Strauss might just as well burp into the eye of a hurricane in the hope of scaring it away.

There will come a time, after the convention when the candidates are selected, for Democrats to bury what Strauss calls "myopia, bitterness, pettiness," and unite to achieve victory. But it would be a travesty, at this stage, for the various factions of the party not to assert themselves in trying to influence a platform that presumably will tell the nation and world what the Democratic party now stands for.

Here is a party that seeks to embrace men with views as diverse as those of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. It seeks to offer a foreign policy palatable both to a quiet-spoken, wise old gentleman, W. Averell Harriman, and to a blustering, glib-tongued showoff, Daniel Patrick Moynihan. It is a party that wishes to hold the loyalty of whites who oppose school busing vehemently, but also of blacks who argue fervently that the party must give unwavering support to federal judges who order busing when that is the only tool with which to end generations of racial discrimination in education.

Given these kinds of issues, the platform committee will either fight furiously or reveal that Strauss or someone has stacked the deck in such a way that a handful of members can foist a sham platform upon the public.

The country deserves to know the answer to a question raised by AFL-CIO President George Meany: will the Democratic party, in this Bicentennial year, bend its sails to accommodate those politicians who have spent the year attacking "big government and social programs"?

Meany says this new breed of Democratic contender "would retreat from the 20th Century to that so-called 'simpler' time when the social ills of poverty, deprivation and discrimination were left to right themselves — the 'good old days' of sweatshops, segregation, starvation."

Jimmy Carter, the front-runner for the Democratic nomination, has pledged over and over to give this country a "government as good as its people." The implication is that Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew, Gerald Ford and Nelson Rockefeller are a cut below the normal citizen in morality and wisdom, men who achieved power through some aberration.

It has proved to be good politics for Carter to tell the people that they are better than the men they elected to power, but that is not altogether true.

Nixon and Agnew were elected because they knew how *bad* the people could be. They knew just how much they could flamfloozle the public by appealing to racial prejudices, class hatreds, greed and paranoia — by basing their campaign on slogans like "law 'n' order," opposition to "forced busing," contempt for "welfare bums," the decrying of "reverse discrimination."

A bad man, Nixon, became President because voters with bad passions and bad instincts turned out to be in the majority in 1968. There are some Democrats on that platform committee who believe, or fear, that the winner of the presidency this year will be the candidate who appeals most shrewdly to those same bad passions and instincts.

When Carter promises a government "as good as the people," perhaps he means that he is going to appeal to, and draw forth, the more decent, compassionate, loving side of the great mass of Americans. That good side of the people is there, waiting for a leader with the faith and the guts to cater to it.

The Democratic platform will give us our first clues as to which way the majority of the party wants to go — toward an appeal to the worst, or the very best, in American voters.

If it takes a brutal scrap for the committee to resolve that issue, let the fighting rage on.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/1 thru 5/3



United Press International

ADDRESSES MAINE REPUBLICANS: Rogers C. B. Morton, campaign chief for President Ford, speaking at G.O.P. convention in Augusta, Me. He predicted victory for Mr. Ford.



B

News Summary and Index

MONDAY, MAY 3, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

The first leg of the biennial international trans-Atlantic Tall Ships race began yesterday at Plymouth, England. The first ship across the starting line was the Soviet Union's Kruzenshtern, a 3,000-ton square-rigged, four-masted bark manned by a crew of 236, of whom 160 were naval cadets. The first leg will end in about 18 days in the Canary Islands, the second in Bermuda in mid-June, the third in Newport, R.I., at the end of June, and the fourth in Plymouth in August. The entire fleet will sail into New York Harbor on July 4 to celebrate the Bicentennial. [Page 1, Columns 1-3.]

Government buildings in Soviet Georgia have been struck by a series of bombings and fires that many Georgians believe to be expressions of protest by profiteering entrepreneurs whom the Government wants to put out of business. Authorities have upset well-organized and extremely profitable private business operations, and arson increases with Government pressure. [1:3.]

Sanjay Gandhi, the 29-year-old son of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, has become one of the most important figures in India though he has never held elective office and entered politics only last December. He was then named to the executive committee of the youth wing of the ruling Congress Party. He is increasingly regarded as a possible candidate to succeed his mother. On a recent political trip to Agra he was received with respectful attention of the sort usually given to a crown prince. [1:4-6.]

Iran's chief oil negotiator, Jamshid Amuzegar, said in an interview in Teheran that the issue of price differentials for differing grades of crude oil "could have grave consequences for the unity" of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. He predicted that the issue would "attract more discussion" at the OPEC ministerial meeting that will begin May 27 in Bali than would the setting of the future base price for OPEC crude. [49:8.]

National

A crossover vote by many Democrats helped Ronald Reagan capture all 96 Republican delegates in the Texas primary Saturday, setting back President Ford's campaign with victory margins of more than 2 to 1 in virtually every district. Jubilant Reagan supporters insisted, however, that he could not have won such sweeping delegate victories in both rural and urban areas without broad support from Republican regulars and independents who were believed to be safely in the Ford camp. [1:8.]

Senator Barry Goldwater appears to be increasingly concerned that Ronald Reagan's campaign for the Presidency will irreparably divide the Republican Party. He said in a television interview that Mr. Reagan did not fully understand the Panama Canal issue he was raising and suggested that he stop talking about it. "I have to support Ford's position" on renegotiating the canal treaty, Mr. Goldwater said. "I think Reagan would, too, if he knew more about it." [1:5.]

People who observed Howard R. Hughes as closely as they could in the 20 years he lived in seclusion doubt that the will found in Salt Lake City last week was written by him. Hank Greenspun, publisher of the Las Vegas Sun, said "I think it's phony." Handwriting comparisons also cast doubt on the will's genuineness. [1:7-8.]

Metropolitan

A study by a state agency has found that only about 4 percent of the juveniles arrested for violent crimes in New York City in a one-year period were sent to institutions. The Office of Children's Services of the state's Division of Criminal Justice Services, which examined 5,666 arrests, documented for the first time a widely held impression that nothing of consequence in a legal sense happens to youths as they pass through the juvenile justice system. [1:4.]

Two studies agree that New York City should substantially increase its contributions to the pension systems to keep them adequately funded. But Mayor Beame's special study panel, headed by Richard R. Shinn, president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, made a much more favorable asssessment of the pension systems than did the state's Permanent Commissioner on Public Employee Pension and Retirement Systems in earlier analyses. [23:1-8.]

Shouting "let my people go," tens of thousands of people from all over the metropolitan area marched on behalf of Soviet Jews from Fifth Avenue and 68th Street to the United Nations, where Governor Carey, one of the speakers, said it was the duty of Americans to speak out against oppression. The rally was sponsored by the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry. [57:1-5.]

The Other News

International

Foreign workers in France turning militant. Page 2
New wave of violence engulfs Beirut. Page 3
Typical Beirut day: Death begins in afternoon. Page 3
Kissinger to propose "resources bank." Page 3
Cairo making gains on political changes. Page 6
Scholars at conference critical of UNESCO. Page 7
Industrial boom in Guam begins to wane. Page 15
Thirteen die in landslide in Colombian Andes. Page 22

Government and Politics

Navy reported outpacing Soviet in big ships. Page 5
Businessmen ask veto of election fund bill. Page 11
Democrats challenged on delegation makeup. Page 12
Carter promises to appoint blacks. Page 13
Conservative Party still against Rockefeller. Page 14
Reagan says Texas result shows he's best. Page 36
Carter to stress uniting Democratic leaders. Page 36
Carter a threat to Wallace in vote tomorrow. Page 37

General

High schools lower priority on U.S. history. Page 1
New York budget cuts said to hurt children. Page 21
Newsppaper pubishers open meeting today. Page 26
Boston busing foes rally at Bunker Hill. Page 27
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 35
500 mourners at slain physician's funeral. Page 35
City brought Bronx land with clouded title. Page 35
A Bicentennial event sparks bistate rivalry. Page 35
Widespread odometer fraud cited by jury. Page 35

Religion

Religious liberty focus of Bicentennial parley. Page 9

Amusements and the Arts

Two new books about football are reviewed. Page 29
Kathe Schoenberg, mezzo, sings recital. Page 39

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Partly cl clearing tonight. Sunn Temperature ranges t Sunday 56-74. Details

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DEMOCRATIC VOTE PROPELS REAGAN TO TEXAS SWEEP

Large Crossover Is Cited as Challenger Takes All 96 Delegates From Ford

CARTER BIG WINNER, TOO

92 of His Supporters Gain Convention Seats While Bentsen's Win Only 6

By JAMES P. STERBA
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, May 2—A massive Democratic crossover vote helped Ronald Reagan capture all 96 Republican delegates in the Texas primary yesterday, stunning President Ford's campaign with victory margins of more than 2 to 1 in virtually every district.

Jubilant Reagan supporters insisted today, however, that the former California Governor could not have won such sweeping delegate victories in both rural and urban areas without broad support from Republican regulars and independents previously thought to have been safely in the Ford camp.

Jimmy Carter's steamroller victory over Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, the Texas favorite son, defied the state's Democratic Party hierarchy, which stood solidly behind Mr. Bentsen. The former Georgia Governor won 92 of the 98 Democratic convention delegates elected yesterday. Mr. Bentsen won only six —three of them in his home district.

G.O.P. Vote Tops 400,000

The Republican vote went above 400,000 as late returns were tabulated today, nearly three times the largest Republican turnout in past Texas primaries. The previous high was 142,892 in 1964, when George Bush, now Director of Central Intelligence, ran against Jack Cox for the Republican Senate nomination.

The Democratic vote was about 1.5 million. About 5.3 million voters were registered in the state.

Commenting on yesterday's results, Mr. Reagan said today that his victory showed he was the best candidate to face the Democrats in November. Mr. Ford, through a spokesman, termed himself "disappointed" but not daunted by the defeat. Meanwhile, Mr. Carter said he planned to cut down on his campaign pace to concentrate on unifying his party. [Page 36.]

The Crossover Vote

Ernest Angelo, Mr. Reagan's co-chairman in Texas, acknowledged today the importance of crossover votes by conservative Democrats who formerly supported Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama. But in analyzing returns, he said, he found that Mr. Reagan's appeal was much wider in both parties, and among independents.

Many votes, he said, appeared to have come from Democrats who usually voted in their own primary, then switched to support the Republican Presidential candidate in November. This year, he said, they

Continued on Page 36, Column 1

D

Democratic Vote Spurs Reagan

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

switched early because of the interest generated by the Ford-Reagan race.

Voters do not register by party in Texas, but based on past primaries it was assumed that at least half of the record number of Republican votes had been cast by Democrats and independents. Republicans have long been weak at the local level in Texas and most Texans have traditionally voted in the Democratic primary for such offices as sheriff, country judge and state legislator.

About 36 percent of the state's registered voters cast ballots in yesterday's primary.

There was no popularity contest as such, but analysts, totaling the vote received by the top Reagan delegates in each district, estimated that these delegates had received two-thirds of the Republican vote and the top Ford delegates, one-third.

The tabulation of the vote was completed today with the exception of a few, scattered districts.

Even in President Ford's strongest districts, Reagan delegates scored impressive victories. In the Seventh Congressional District in Houston, where 90 percent of the vote was tallied, Walter Mengden, the State Senator who was Mr. Reagan's top delegate, received 35,012 votes, compared wit 23,420 for Robert Mosbacher, the President's top delegate. Mr. Mosbacher is chairman of Mr. Ford's national finance Committee.

In the former east Texas strongholds of Governor Wallace, Mr. Reagan's delegates beat Mr. Ford's by margins greater than 3 to 1. Mr. Carter won handily there on the Democratic ballot. Mr. Wallace failed to win any delegates in the state.

The Republicans elected four delegates for Mr. Reagan in each of the state's 24 United States Congressional districts. President Ford came closest to winning in districts where Republicans were scarcest and liberals have flourished — in Austin, San Antonio and in the 18th Congressional District in Houston, represented by Barbara Jordan, a black Democrat.

Although former Gov. John B. Connally, and the state Republican chairman, Ray Hutchison, remained neutral, the President had the full resources of Senator John G. Tower's organization throughout the state. Mr. Reagan's main organizer was Ray Barnhart, Republican chairman for Harris County, which includes Houston.

On the Democratic side, Senator Bentsen had virtually all the well-known local Democrats on his slates, as well as active support from virtually all top state officials, including Gov. Dolph Briscoe. Party officials and such newspapers as The Houston Chronicle urged support of Bentsen delegates to give Texas bargaining power at the national convention in New York in July.

Jimmy Carter's momentum, helped by "a big victory in Pennsylvania last Tuesday, was unstoppable, however. Mr. Carter campaigned in Texas onl two full days.

The Republicans pick an additional four at-large delegates at their state convention June 19 in Fort Worth. The Democrats will select 32 more delegates at their state convention in Houston June 19, after county caucuses.

Senator Bentsen did win easily in his other race, for renomination to another six-year Senate term. He defeated by a margin of 2 to 1 a conservative Democratic challenger, W. Philip Gramm, a 33-year-old economics professor at Texas A & M University who was not widely known.

Senator Bentsen will face Representative Alan W. Steelman, a 34-year-old moderate Republican, in November. Representative Steelman easily won his party's Senate nominaton, getting nearly two-thirds of the vote.

Surprisingly, Jim Mattox, a liberal Democratic state legislator, beat Wes Wise, the former Dallas Mayor, for the Democratic nomination for the Fifth Congressional District seat being vacated by Representative Steelman. He faces Nancy Judy, a conservative Dallas School Board member, who ran unopposed on the Republican ballot.

Representative Richard C. White of El Paso won renomination in the Democratic contest in the 16th Congressional District after a hotly contested race against George McAlmon, a liberal. He will face Vic Shackelford, a conservative Republican, in the fall.

The 10-man race for the late Wright Patman's Congressional seat in the First District ended

A CARTER WRITER QUITS IN PROTEST

He Disagrees With 'Method and Substance' of Drive

27

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 2 — Robert M. Shrum, a speechwriter who entered Jimmy Carter's inner circle last month, jumped off the Georgia Democrat's Presidential bandwagon last week, a disillusioned man.

"I disagree with both the method and substance of your issues approach," Mr. Shrum wrote the candidate in a letter of resignation dated last Tuesday, the day of Mr. Carter's breakthrough victory in the Pennsylvania primary.

Mr. Shrum, 32 years old, was chief speechwriter in 1972 for Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine and, after the Muskie campaign collapsed, for Senator George McGovern of South Dakota.

He finally found a "winner," Mr. Shrum said two weeks ago. Today, he reflected, "In nine days with Jimmy Carter, I discovered that that wasn't the only thing I was looking for."

Mr. Shrum's letter summarized his disenchantment during the Pennsylvania campaign, when Mr. Shrum wrote a number of the candidate's statements — some delivered and some rejected.

"I was distressed to discover that you might favor a substantial increase in the defense budget," Mr. Shrum wrote, "in spite of your previous pledge to reduce that budget in the range of 5 percent to 7 percent.

"Similarly, it was disturbing that additional black-lung benefits were something you could not support because they were too radical.

"During the discussion of the fund raiser with the truckers on Monday," he went on, referring to a staff meeting with the candidate in Atlanta on April 19, "I was upset to hear first that you were willing to reassure them enough about their regulatory advantages; second, that you thought diverting highway funds to mass transit was not a good idea, and third, that you were on record as favoring such a diversion."

Mr. Shrum said that it was not disagreements on issues, but rather the candidate's ambiguity on policy questins that had provoked him to leave the campaign.

Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, said that he had not read the letter thoroughly and had not passed it on to Mr. Carter.

Mr. Powell said that Mr. Shrum had discussed, and apparently ironed out, with the candidate specific matters mentioned in the letter. On April 23, Mr. Powell said, Mr. Shrum told Mr. Carter that he felt "reassured" about his approach and apologized to others on the Carter staff for his doubts.

"At that point," Mr. Powell recalled, "Bob said he was ashamed of himself and said he hoped his immature behavior wbundn't prevent him from going back to work.

Mr. Powell maintained that Mr. Shrum in reporting private policy disputes, was confusing "banter" between the candidate and his staff with the substance of the campaign.



E

F

Carter Says He'll Trim Campaign Time And Step Up Bid to Unite Party Chiefs

36

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

EVANSVILLE, Ind., May 2—Jimmy Carter said today that would spend fewer 16-hour days on the campaign trail and more days in the reconciling role of Democratic Party leader, which he now clearly expects to become.

The Former Georgia Governor, who has never lacked self-confidence, seemed uncertain as to how to handle his success as one obstacle after another in his quest for the Democratic Presidential nomination has fallen in the last few days.

At times in the last two days he hs painted himself as an almost unstoppable political force and has even spoken of his second term as President. At most other times he has shown a cautious reluctance to crow too loudly.

'A Different Emphasis'

This morning, discussing his overwhelming victory in the Texas primary election, Mr. Carter told reporters in a hotel lobby in Charlotte, N.C., that within a few days he would "shift to a different emphasis" in his campaign, spending less time in formal public appearance.

He would try to spend two or three days a week, Mr. Carter said, telephoning and meeting with party leaders, uncommitted national convention delegates and "those who have not been for me."

He said some Democratic Party figures who had opposed or been cool to him are "now very receptive to my friendship" and that they "obviously feel that my successes lately have been increasingly impressive."

Two Major Victories

Mr. Carter has in less than a week won major victories in both Pennsylvania and Texas and seen Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota decline to contest him openly for the nomination and heard Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington withdraw from active campaigning.

Mr. Carter said he hoped to spend more time in an effort to "bind the party together" and to be "sure that there are no disharmonies." His words should not be taken, he said, as a "warning or a threatening, but as a welcoming."

However, at Evansville later in the day he promised to continue an "aggressive" campaign, suggesting that he wanted to avoid any appearance of arrogance or of "scrimping" his political attention in states that have yet to select their national convention delegates.

"It would possibly be a fatal mistake to take this nomination for granted," Mr. Carter said.

He has told audiences in the South and in the Middle West, however, "I do not intend to lose." And when reporters asked him to name a politician who stood any plausible chance of stopping the Carter bandwagon now. Mr. Carter was unwilling to name one, except to say that "if I made a major mistake," the national convention might still turn to Mr. Humphrey.

Mr. Carter showed a cool calm about the scattered resistance to his nomination that still exists. He said that some elected Democratic officials would probably support him now as an expression of the clear wishes of their own constituents, adding that the politicians "may have shown poor judgment in their original choice of a candidate."

He is not seeking a chorus of endorsements from other officeholders, however, because seeking such endorsements "is just not part of my political technique," Mr. Carter said.

He said such endorsements usually reflected, not leadership on the part of the politician receiving them, but popular support as expressed in primary election victories.

Carter Threat to Wallace In Home State Tomorrow

37

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

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 2—For Gov. George C. Wallace, the 1976 Presidential race has deteriorated to the point that he is trying to stave off political embarrassment in the state he has governed and dominated for more than a decade.

Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia who has soundly thrashed Mr. Wallace in Democratic primaries in four Southern states, now threatens the once-formidable hero of Dixie politics in Tuesday's Alabama primary.

Mr. Carter will almost certainly win some of the 27 delegates at stake in the election, perhaps a third or more. He also stands to get at least one or more of the eight other delegates to be picked later by state party officials, since those delegates will be apportioned to candidates on the basis of Tuesday's results.

Mr. Carter has campaigned only one day in Alabama — he gave a speech here this weekend — but the Carter threat has forced Mr. Wallace to mount a frenetic, last-minute campaign in a state that he mostly took for granted in three previous drives for the Presidency.

The Alabama Governor has poured $40,00 0into advertising, which is about twice Mr. Carter's budget, and has spent the better partof the last week flying about the state for news conferences and rallies.

Several telephone polls have indicated that the Carter-Wallace race could be very close. But in the judgment of most political professionals in the state, Mr. Wallace will win.

"As much as anything," Robert Vance, the State Democratic Chairman, said one day ast week, "George has nostalgia going for him in Alabama. In the end, people will say, 'Let's do it one final time forthe Governor.' But Jimmy Carteris going to surprise some people and get some votes."

A Republican primary will also be held Tuesday, with 37 delegates at stake.

Because of strong showings in North Carolina and Texas, Ronald Reagan is given at least an even chance of winning a majority of the 37. President Ford will campaign here tomorrow in a last-day effort to regain momentum.

CARTER PROMISES TO NAME BLACKS

Asks Leaders at Caucus in Charlotte, N.C., to Draw Up List of Jobs They Want

By PAUL DELANEY
Special to The New York Times

CHARLOTTE, N. C., May 2—Arriving here from his sweeping victory yesterday in the Texas primary, a confident Jimmy Carter asked black Democratic leaders today to draw up a list of positions to which they would like to see blacks appointed if he became President.

The leaders went to work immediately to put together such a list. One state representative said it would include jobs in the domestic areas of health, education, welfare and housing, as well as foreign affairs. The former Georgia Governor promised, if elected, to name a significant number of blacks to his Administration.

"We're putting together a list of those positions we think he should appoint blacks to, from Cabinet secretaries to lower-echelon jobs," the representative said.

Mr. Carter and three other Democratic candidates made a joint appearance at a meeting of the Caucus of Black Democrats, a group organized to formulate a strategy to influence the party's platform and those running for the nomination. Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona were the others.

For Black Governor

Governor Brown, who stirred more excitement at the meeting than his fellow candidates, promised the 1,000 black Democrats that his election to the Presidency would lead to the nation's first black Governor, declaring that he would name Lieut. Gov. Mervyn Dymally to succeed him.

The black leaders approved a list of black concerns that, they hope, the candidates and the party will accept as platform planks in return for black support. Most of the leaders were confident of acceptance.

Included in the list were such issues as full employment as outlined in a bill by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Representative Augustus F. Hawkins of California; the appointment of blacks to the Federal bench; a national health-care program that would include national health insurance; a domestic Marshall Plan that over the next 10 years would remake American cities and metropolitan areas; a Cabinet-level executive council on urban policy, and the creation of Federal metropolitan redevelopment agency.

"We now have a full agenda to present to the platform committee and Democratic Party delegates," remarked Basil E. Patterson of New York, vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

'Mature and Authentic'

"Charlotte represents the most mature and authentic statement of black political development," he said at a news conference. No [Democratic] candidate can win without us. That's pretty clear."

As proof of the importance of the black vote, the leaders pointed to the fact that the four Presidential contenders considered the meeting here of such importance that they chose to attend. Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, who withdrew from active campaigning yesterday, sent a telegram to the meeting declaring he was "with you in spirit" but not in person because of "a change in the status of my campaign."

The three-day meeting was put together in response to what blacks considered the failure of the candidates to address issues vital to them. The plan at first was to restrict the gathering to elected and public office Democrats, "but it was found that nonpublic officials had constituencies and we had to deal with them," a New York City official reported.

Civil Rights Leaders

Thus, besides elected and other public officials, participants include civil rights leaders such as the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, president of operation People United to Save Humanity.

At the beginning of the session, thee was expectation of a scramble to endorse Mr. Carter in light of his winning the Pennsylvania primary last Tuesday. But that did not materialize despite the efforts of a host of black Carter delegates and supporters.

When the candidates arrived, many delegates seemed impressed with Governor Brown, more out of an anti-Carter sentiment than love for the Californian.

The 38-year-old Governor got the biggest response from the delegates. He spoke over his allotted time as a moderator repeatedly tried to stop him and the audience applauded its approval as he almost shouted:

"I am unencumbered by the baggage of the last 10 years. I'm a new generation, and I'll bring this country back to where it's been. If I go to Washington, I'll bring you with me."

Reagan, Ford And Carter

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON, May 2—Remember the condescending talk about Ronald Reagan after New Hampshire and Florida? He had done Gerald Ford a favor by running, the political sages said—had given the President a chance to prove himself an effective national campaigner.

After Texas condescension has to stop. That Mr. Reagan can displace an incumbent as nominee must still be doubted. But he has found his way to the conservative heart of the Republican Party—the people who after all dominated the last few G.O.P. conventions—and he has reasonable hopes for primaries ahead in such large states as Indiana, Ohio, California.

Whatever happens to Mr. Reagan, he will have had a significant impact on the political dialogue of 1976. He has moved Mr. Ford far to the right, and that motion is likely to accelerate.

Hardly a week passes without the President adopting some vast new military spending scheme in an attempt to show himself more defense-minded than Mr. Reagan. One day it is more ships for the Navy. Another it is a decision to build the B-1 bomber without even waiting for the results of flight tests—at a cost of $1,800 to the average American family.

Diplomacy is also feeling the effects of Mr. Ford's desperate efforts to out-Reagan Reagan. The American position in the delicate Panama Canal negotiations has been turned topsy-turvy. Détente has been stripped from the official vocabulary. Henry Kissinger can hardly feel confident that his new African initiatives will have White House support for long.

If Mr. Ford does survive to be the nominee, he may well choose as his running mate someone to appeal to Mr. Reagan's right-wing, nationalist following. A likely choice would be that most dangerous of American political figures, John Connally of Texas, the man who encouraged Richard Nixon to defy the Supreme Court over the Watergate tapes.

Mr. Reagan's success also has much significance for the Democrats. The Texas vote is one more sign that the country is swinging to the conservative end of the pendulum arc. It suggests that many Americans are unhappy about their government and angry at the world.

All this adds to the belief that Jimmy Carter is the strongest candidate the Democrats could pick this year. Some liberals charge him with not having a sufficiently specific program. But the country, in its conservative mood, might not be receptive to a programmatic politician — a Hubert Humphrey, say, who would produce a new six-point program of domestic social activism every afternoon.

The widespread feeling against government and politicians that is detectable among voters is less likely to touch Mr. Carter than others. He is running as an outsider, untainted by Washington and the old policies.

The fact that Mr. Carter comes from Georgia is also an advantage. Public concern about defense is especially strong among Southerners, but they will have a chance to vote for the first Presidential candidate from the Deep South on a major-party ticket in many years. And that leads to a more profound point: the opportunity Jimmy Carter will have to offer the country a unifying theme.

The Carter campaign emphasis on love of America and faith in its essential goodness has met skepticism from the sophisticated. But that kind of appeal, if it touches old American ideals, could be extremely effective — and not just in the immediate partisan sense. It could be effective in turning back the politics of angry reaction.

But to be effective in that way, Mr. Carter will have to offer something deeper than reassuring words. He will have to convince us that he has commitments: not to detailed programs but to a vision of America.

The other day a commentator described President Ford as "slow and steady" and said those qualities would give him the advantage over Mr. Carter. Mr. Ford may be calm in personality, but he seems to me far from steady as a President. The trigger-happy response to the Mayagüez, the hysteria over Angola, the somersaults in reaction to Mr. Reagan: Those are hardly examples of steadiness. On the domestic side there are Mr. Ford's embarrassing flip-flops on antitrust and other legislation, and his panicky haste to give Mr. Nixon a pardon without any admission of wrongdoing.

If a sense of steadiness is important, as I believe it is, the Ford record would give Mr. Carter much opportunity. But his own record is scanty. In terms of knowing the man inside, the one really substantial item is his commitment, in Georgia, to racial justice. Mr. Carter will have to give voters confidence that he will be steady in a particular American sense: able to guide the foreign policy of a great power with restraint, understanding and humanity.

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Rusk Backs Carter; Young Edges Away

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk stepped forward to endorse Jimmy Carter for president Sunday, but U.S. Rep. Andrew Young—who has been instrumental in winning black votes for Carter—appeared to take a half-step backward from the former Georgia governor's campaign.

U. S. Rep. Morris Udall, the only remaining major rival of Carter for the Democratic nomination, made a campaign appearance in Atlanta Sunday and surprisingly was joined by Young, who represents Atlanta in Congress. Young did not abandon Carter, however.

Meanwhile, with Carter victories in Louisiana and Texas over the weekend, the nomination seemed so nearly within the former governor's grasp that his political high command began planning shifts in the campaign pace, cutting back Carter's personal stumping and stepping up his cultivation of the party's old-guard kingmakers.

Continuing his victorious march through the primaries, Carter unofficially picked up 10 delegates to George Wallace's seven in Louisiana Saturday. In Texas, he easily bested opponents, gaining 93 delegates.

Carter, Udall and Wallace, along with Republicans Ronald Reagan and President Ford, all made last-minute campaign efforts before the four-cornered round of primaries Tuesday in Georgia, Alabama, Indiana and the District of Columbia.

In Athens, Ga., Carter picked up another endorsement from a native son, Dean Rusk, who was secretary of state under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Rusk now teaches at the University of Georgia.

"I've been supporting him all along, I just haven't been doing any campaigning for him," Rusk announced at the Carter headquarters in Athens.

Carter has the "high intelligence," integrity and compassion demanded by the presidency, Rusk said. He also praised Carter for taking the "bold approach" in seeking the nation's highest office. "He has subjected himself directly to the people by entering all the primaries," said the former secretary of state.

In Atlanta, Arizona Congressman Udall, representing the liberal wing of the party, held a press conference along with delegates running on his behalf in the metro Atlanta area Tuesday. Appearing with Udall was Young.

Calling Udall "my friend," Rep. Young said, "Perhaps if I had not been born in Georgia and not been tied to my own particular Southern strategy, it might have been different."

Many of the Atlanta Udall delegates are liberals who helped Young win his congressional seat in 1972. And Young acknowledged that he was among the supporters who initially urged Udall to make a presidential bid.

Young said he is still sticking with the Carter campaign and noted that "I have not campaigned in places (such as Wisconsin) where I thought he (Udall) had a chance to be the winner" over Carter.

For his part, Udall insisted that he has a good chance to defeat Carter now that the race has narrowed down to a one-on-one contest. The key remaining primary is May 18 in Michigan, he said.

"I will smoke him (Carter) out," Udall vowed. "Maybe he will take some positions on some of these issues where you don't know where he stands."

Carter said he could still lose the nomination if he acts "arrogant and overconfident." He said he will not slow down his campaign.

See PRIMARY, Page 22-A



'Friends': Candidate Udall, Rep. Young in Atlanta

Primary

From Page 1-A

However, he conceded that he will devote much of the remaining time before the July 12 national convention to "forming friendships with the leadership of the Democratic party."

His aides planned to trim Carter's personal appearances, give him two days off a week instead of one at his home in Plains, Ga., and increase his telephone and personal contacts with the traditional Democratic power structure.

In Louisiana, Carter's victory drew little attention because more interest was focused on the Texas primary Saturday.

The Louisiana election was unofficial, conducted by state party volunteers. Gov. Edwin Edwards' hopes of taking a unified uncommitted delegation to the convention were dashed when 15 elected delegates were uncommitted, 10 were Carter's and seven Wallace's.

In Texas, the big story was former California Gov. Reagan's shutout of Ford, taking all 96 Republican delegates from an incumbent president who had campaigned hard.

Ford campaigned Sunday in Indiana and planned to seek votes in Alabama Monday. But the Wallace Democrats who switched over to vote for Republican Reagan appeared to be large in number. That gave Reagan supporters cheer in Georgia and Alabama, states which also allow party cross-over voting.

On the Democratic side of the Texas primary, Carter won big, taking 93 delegates to five for favorite son Lloyd Bentsen and none for Wallace.

Carter now has 451 of the 1,505 delegates required for nomination. Ford has 306 of the required 1,130 GOP delegates and Reagan has 236.

It was a stellar week for Carter, who won the Pennsylvania primary so decisively that his two major rivals, U. S. Sen. Henry Jackson and nominal non-candidate Sen. Hubert Humphrey, abandoned the race before the Texas and Louisiana voting.

Regarding the primaries Tuesday, Carter should win the Georgia primary easily but is expected to trail Wallace in the Alabama governor's home state. Carter is also expected to win in Indiana, where Udall was disqualified from the ballot on a technicality.

Reagan is expected to win the GOP race in Georgia and Alabama, boosting his momentum against Ford. The President is favored to beat Reagan in Indiana.

MARYLAND PRIMARY

Carter Aiming At Gov. Brown

By ANDREW J. GLASS
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Democrat Jimmy Carter has quietly set his sights on obliterating a new political target—fellow Democrat Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr. of Califonia.

In furtherance of this objective, it was learned Friday, Carter has decided to shift political resources—principally manpower—from Michigan, where the former Georgia governor now figures to have an easier time of it, to Maryland to meet the challenge from Brown head-on in the primary there May 18.

Brown may be the most serious obstacle remaining to a Carter sweep of the primaries.

The California governor seeks to capitalize on his popularity in the nation's most populous state by campaigning for the presidency in Maryland.

Maryland holds its primary May 18, electing 53 delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Unlike Carter, Brown has no delegates entered in Maryland, but he is running hard in the campanion popularity contest.

Michigan elects 135 delegates on the same day and, until now, it was believed that Carter would try to score a big victory there, with the help of strong support within the powerful United Auto workers union, to demonstrate anew his pulling power in a northern industrial state.

But sources within the Carter campaign said the candidate had decided to shift political resources out of the Michigan battle to mount a stronger campaign in smaller-sized Maryland.

Carter sees an opportunity in Maryland to decisively beat Brown and thus embarrass the 37-year-old governor of California.

Carter's real goal is to harvest a big haul of delegates on June 8 in California, which is sending a 280-member bloc to Madison Square Garden, the largest delegation in the hall.

A strong showing by Carter in California, combined with victories in the Ohio and New Jersey primaries on the same date, would virtually clinch the nomination for the Georgian on an early ballot and preclude a last-minute drive to draft Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota.

While still interested in a draft, Humphrey decided Thursday not to campaign actively, a move that has been widely interpreted as providing Carter with unobstructed momentum toward the nomination.

On Tuesday, Carter expects to win primaries in Indiana, the District of Columbia and in his native Georgia, as well as to make a strong showing against Gov. George Wallace in Alabama.

Brown has campaigned in Maryland for three days this week and expects to return again before the primary. So far, Carter has scheduled only one day for Maryland, but that may be increased as the Brown-Carter showdown approaches.

L

NOT NATIONAL

Primary Focus In D.C. Local

By CLAUDIA TOWNSEND
Constitution Washington Bureau

84

WASHINGTON — Local politics, not the national presidential campaign, apparently will be the focus of Tuesday's primary vote here.

A battle between District of Columbia Mayor Walter Washington and congressional delegate Walter Fauntroy for control of the local Democratic party has overshadowed the national contest for the Democratic nomination.

Three national candidates are on the ballot: Jimmy Carter, Morris Udall and Fred Harris.

But voters also will have the opportunity to choose either Washington or Fauntroy, each of whom has fielded a slate of delegates he hopes to lead to the national convention. Both Washington and Fauntroy have expressed personal preferences for Sen. Hubert Humphrey as the Democratic presidential nominee.

The mayor and the district's representative in Congress split with each other last November over the issue of how nominees for delegate slates and for local party offices were to be chosen.

Since then, the fight between the two has escalated, becoming bitter in recent weeks as Fauntroy has endeavored to turn Tuesday's vote into a referendum on the successes of the Washington city administration.

Carter has tried, vainly so far, to turn voters' attention from the local squabble to the national scene. His last day of campaigning here was April 16, and he devoted much of his time with local leaders to pleas for them to "vote for a president," not in a hometown fight.

The former Georgia governor's television and radio advertising campaign, which began here Thursday and will continue through the primary, stresses the same point, according to Peter Bourne, Carter's mid-Atlantic regional coordinator.

Bourne said the latest Carter polls, taken before the Pennsylvania primary, show the Fauntroy delegation—the "Unity 76" slate—with 30 per cent of the district vote, Carter and Udall in the low 20 per cent range, and the Washington slate with 10 per cent.

"I think even though we're clearly behind, we're in striking distance," Bourne said. "We don't really know yet what the effect of Pennsylvania (where Carter won a decisive victory) will be.

"One thing we're finding, though, is that as we become stronger nationally, more and more people see the horse race here as being between the local party people," he added.

HARRIS POLL

Two Democrats Ahead of Ford

By LOUIS HARRIS

In the latest Harris Survey, conducted just before the Pennsylvania primary, President Ford trailed both former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey in pairings for the November election. Carter led Ford by a 47-43 per cent margin, and Humphrey headed the President by a narrow 47-46 per cent edge.

For Carter, these latest results represent a major gain from his March showing in the Harris Survey, when he trailed the President by 49-42 per cent. Humphrey's one-point edge reflects no change from his 48-47 per cent margin in March. Thus, Carter has been gaining momentum as he rolled up his impressive showing in the primary contests.

In a third pairing, President Ford holds a 48-38 per cent lead over California Gov. Jerry Brown, who has now announced that he will campaign for the Democratic nomination outside his home state. Brown's showing is quite impressive in view of the fact that he is still unknown to 47 per cent of the electorate. To be sure, he is uniformly weaker against the President than Carter or Humphrey. But in the West, where he is best known, he holds a clear 53-40 per cent lead. This is particularly impressive, for Carter loses that region to President Ford by 50-39 per cent and Humphrey trails there by 51-42 per cent. Whether Brown can advance his national standing when he campaigns in the rest of the country remains to be seen.

The Carter and Humphrey patterns are different, indicating that in making their ultimate choice, the Democrats will have to decide what kind of election they want to run. Carter now holds a convincing 55-38 per cent lead over the President in the South and a closer 48-43 per cent advantage in the Midwest. But he does no better than a 44-44 per cent standoff in the East, and he loses the West by 50-39 per cent. Humphrey wins the East easily by 53-39 per cent, ends up dead even at 47-47 per cent in the Midwest, but runs behind in the South by 49-43 per cent and in the West by 51-41 per cent.

Carter holds a slim 46-45 per cent lead among white voters and adds to his total by winning the support of blacks by 59-28 per cent. Humphrey loses the white vote by 49-44 per cent, but racks up a massive 72-17 per cent margin among blacks to eke out his lead over President Ford.

Carter holds the President down to a 53-40 per cent lead among conservatives, wins the middle-of-the-road vote by 46-45 per cent and gains his winning margin by taking the liberal vote 59-35 per cent. Humphrey loses the conservative vote by 61-35 per cent and the middle-of-the-road vote by 49-45 per cent, but sweeps the liberal vote by 68-29 percent.

Carter wins the Catholic vote by a narrow 46-42 per cent and the Jewish vote by 49-31 per cent, but loses the white Protestant vote to the President by 49-45 per cent. By contrast, Humphrey loses the WASP vote by a wider 58-37 per cent, but wins the vote of Catholics by 52-39 per cent and that of Jews by an overwhelming 76-17 per cent.

It is apparent that Carter appeals much more to conservatives, independents, white Protestants and most of all the southerners than Humphrey does. On the other hand, the Minnesota senator depends on more traditional Democratic majorities among blacks, other minorities, liberals and lower-income voters.

Carter is putting together a totally new coalition for the Democrats in modern times, while Humphrey is relying on the old New Deal coalition.

Between April 9 and 15, the Harris Survey asked a cross section of 1,072 registered and likely voters:

"Suppose for President next November, it were between Gerald Ford for the Republicans and Jimmy Carter for the Democrats. If you had to make up your mind right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

FORD VS. CARTER TREND

	Ford Per Cent	Carter Per Cent	Not Sure Per Cent
April 1976	43	47	10
March	49	42	9
February	50	42	8
Januuary	49	36	15

The cross section was also asked:

"Suppose for President in November it were between Gerald Ford for the Republicans and Hubert Hubert Humphrey for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican or for Humphrey the Democrat?"

FORD VS. HUMPHREY TREND

	Ford Per Cent	Humphrey Per Cent	Not Sure Per Cent
April 1976	46	47	7
March	47	48	5
February	48	48	4
January	45	49	6

Finally, the Harris Survey asked:

"Suppose for President next November it were between Gerald Ford for the Republicans and Governor Jerry Brown for the Democrats. If you had to choose right now, would you vote for Ford the Republican or for Brown the Democrat?"

FORD VS. BROWN

	Total Voters Per cent
Ford	48
Brown	38
Not Sure	14

Bill Shipp

A Measure of Their Courage

On the same day that Hubert Humphrey announced he would not oppose Jimmy Carter in the primaries —



On the same day that Governor Byrne of New Jersey called on the nation's other 36 Democratic governors to support Jimmy Carter —

On the same day that Governor Busbee of Georgia announced he had already cast his absentee ballot for Jimmy Carter in the May 4 primary —

On the same day that most political pundits published views that Carter was all but unstoppable in his reach for the Democratic nomination for President —

On that day last week, we got a rare chance to evaluate the quality of leadership and political courage of Georgia's two members of the United States Senate.

Sens. Herman Talmadge and Sam Nunn stuck their necks out a millimeter and said they supported their fellow Georgian who is frontrunner for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Courage, friends, that is what it took. Particularly for Nunn who before the Pennsylvania primary was crowing about his friendship and indebtedness to Sen. Henry Jackson, Carter's arch rival who was favored at that point but was later to take a bath in the crucial Pennsylvania contest.

Talmadge's endorsement came as somewhat of a surprise. He broke a longstanding rule that is, help No. 1 publicly in politics and no one else.

Nunn's sign-on with the Carter camp is different. He had been in the Carter corner before, back when Carter was running for governor.

But the Carter forces split early in 1971 over the appointment of the successor to the late Sen. Richard B. Russell. When Carter appointed another old ally, David Gambrell, it left some folks bitter. Sam Nunn, of course, opposed Gambrell for election to the Senate seat and won. Gambrell blamed Carter for not helping enough, and there were recriminations here and there.

When Carter decided to run for President, most of the old Carter gang patched up their differences and went to bat for their man.

But not Sam Nunn. He was now a United States Senator in Washington, wheeling and dealing with the likes of Scoop Jackson.

Lt. Gov. Zell Miller, Atty. Gen. Arthur Bolton and Fifth District Rep. Andrew Young were among political figures who decided early to help Carter when it was far from certain that he would get beyond the first couple of primaries. Other congressmen came around later. As Carter's campaign gained momentum, Gov. Busbee, some of Carl Sanders old allies and Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson joined the push.

Before the Pennsylvania primary, there was a feeling that Carter needed all the help he could get. But none came from Nunn nor Talmadge.

As it turned out, they weren't needed. Carter wiped out the opposition in the heavily industrial unionized northern state where his critics predicted he would falter.

Now, with absolutely nothing to lose, Messrs. Nunn and Talmadge decide they will announce they are foursquare behind their brother Georgian — certainly a prudent decision especially in light of the fact that he is likely to win the nomination and could occupy the White House next year.

John Kennedy's crucial primary in 1960 was in West Virginia. He kept tabs on who was with him before West Virginia and who joined up afterward. Carter probably is keeping a similar list — the Before Pennsylvanias and the After Pennsylvanias. Too bad our Senators decided to join the AP crowd, instead of the BP group.

There is a quality to be admired in some of those Georgians who publicly have said Carter won't do and have decided to stick and sink with Udall or Wallace or Jackson. At least, they have cast their lot and did not wait until the winner's hand was about to be raised before deciding they were for the victor after all.

BAD BOO BOO: Last week we wrote a piece about religion and politics. That was mistake No. 1. Mistake No. 2: We said Al Smith was defeated by Calvin Coolige. Smith was defeated all right, but it was by Herbert Hoover. Forgive us. We sometimes know not what we do.

Carter for President

Georgia's first presidential primary in 40 years will be held tomorrow.

It comes remarkably at a time when a Georgian, James Earl Carter of Plains, has emerged as the front-running contender for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Carter has probably stunned his friends and confounded his enemies in the brilliantly successful campaign he has run for the White House. The many obstacles he had to overcome at the beginning, more than 16 months since his official announcement at the Civic Center in Atlanta, were formidable indeed.

Let us list just a few. Jimmy Carter was the outgoing governor of a Deep South state, a man from a region of the country not generally considered capable of producing candidates for the White House. Indeed, no Southerner has been seriously considered for the presidential nomination of a major party in this century. President Harry Truman once wrote of Sen. Dick Russell of Georgia that Russell would probably have been elected President of the United States. . .if Russell had only come from a border state, rather than from the South.

Carter's being out of office was in itself considered a disadvantage. So was the notion that he was a farmer and a non-Washington-based candidate. Farmers don't get elected President, do they? Not at least since Thomas Jefferson. And everyone knows that you have to be a United States senator or somehow have long Washington experience before you are regarded seriously by that band of academics, politicos, financial people and Georgetown pundits that most presidential candidates call the political world.

Other disadvantages: nationally unkown, compared to some other candidates; little chance of early substantial financing; inexperience in foreign policy; and maybe most damning, not really known or backed by the labor union leaders and Democratic movers and shakers who have typically dominated Democratic presidential politics.

Jimmy Carter took all that on when he announced for President and decided to run in every state primary and contest for delegates in every caucus state.

Clearly, many Georgians and many Southerners wondered aloud when Carter announced if the ex-governor could be a serious candidate at all.

Yet, at the same time, his first and most dedicated support came from Georgia. Roughly half the money raised for a national campaign in the first months came from Georgia. Most of his immediate staff and advisers live in Georgia. Hundreds and thousands of Georgians volunteered to pay their own expenses and go to Iowa or New Hampshire to campaign. Or to Florida or to Wisconsin or to Pennsylvania.

This Peanut Brigade, as some tagged it, became the most effective possible campaign weapon. Carter himself has always campaigned hard, worked hard at it, and so have the members of his immediate family. But the Georgians on the road for their native son took on the aspects of an extended family and made a good impression wherever they went.

Jimmy Carter was a most excellent governor of this state. He made some mistakes no doubt, but his record of excellence and competence and achievement. . .and, yes, perhaps most important of all, integrity. . .bear close examination. He reorganized state government in ways to improve efficiency, to save taxpayers' dollars, and expanded services in any number of areas. He was good on environmental concerns, on consumer matters, on prison reform, on drug treatment programs, on state budgeting practices, and on promoting judicial reform.

Carter as governor of Georgia for four years certainly did not solve all the problems of this state. Or of any other state. But he worked hard and persistently and stubbornly on all the difficult problems of government that concern people. He has, despite great obstacles, demonstrated an appeal to voters form one end of the country to another, from New Hampshire to Oklahoma, from Florida to Wisconsin.

Georgians will have a chance tomorrow to indicate their own feelings in their own presidential primary.

The Atlanta Constitution proudly endorses Jimmy Carter for President of the United States.

Boared

The finest in Chinese culinary art in Peking, of French gastronomic masterpieces in Paris, and the tempting repasts to be found in Vienna, in Germany and even, perhaps, in Washington.

On the other hand, sometimes these banquets get to be more a duty than a pleasure. That may have been the situation in Zaire when Henry Kissinger sat down manfully to a feast of wild boar and something called manioc plants—and got up with a mild case of what the TV pitchmen call "stomach distress."

We would console the secretary with this. Wild boar may be tough—but its better than eating crow. All politicians and diplomats are agreed on that.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Occasional show
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TEXANS CAST VOTE AS REAGAN FACES FORD IN KEY TEST

First Presidential Primary Is Held by State Following Heavy Campaiging

G.O.P. TURNOUT IS LARGE

Carter, Momentum Rolling, Opposed by Favorite-Son Candidacy of Bentsen

By JAMES P. STERBA
Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, May 1—In a crucial challenge by Ronald Reagan to President Ford, Texas voters cast ballots today in their state's first Presidential primary.

Voting was reported heavy at Republican polling places in Houston and Dallas, while Democrats reported a moderate turnout early in the day.

Temperatures ranged in the 60's and skies were partly cloudy over most of the state as voters cast ballots to pick 96 Republican and 98 Democratic National Convention delegates.

Mr. Reagan needed a big victory in Texas to start what he hoped would be a string of primary victories across the Sun belt states. Mr. Ford engaged in four days of heavy campaigning here, however, in an effort to trim what was widely thought to be Mr. Reagan's lead in the early part of the campaign and to cripple Mr. Reagan's candidacy.

Republicans sought to persuade independents to choose their ballot and to get many Democrats to cross party lines to decide the Ford-Reagan contest.



Associated Press
Senator Henry M. Jackson leaving the capital yesterday for Seattle.

Only Viable Candidate

The Democrats sought to get their party faithful to follow long-standing patterns and go to Democratic polling places to choose local officials and pick delegates for Jimmy Carter, former Governor of Georgia; Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, or Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, who is running as a favorite son of Texas.

The Texas Presidential primary had been planned to spur Senator Bentsen's bid for the White House. But he dropped out of active campaigning, assuming a favorite-son status, in February, leaving Mr. Carter as the only viable candidate on the Democratic ballot, and turning the Ford-Reagan battle into the key contest.

Mr. Carter, his momentum rolling, sought to win a big share of the Democratic delegates, even though virtually all the state's top Democratic officals backed Mr. Bentsen to represent "Texas interests" at the convention. The Houston

Continued on Page 45, Column 1

JACKSON GIVES UP 'ACTIVE PURSUIT' OF NOMINATION

Senator Won't Endorse Any Candidate and Concedes Carter's Long Lead

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

SEATTLE, May 1.—Senator Henry M. Jackson announced today that he was "ending my active pursuit" of the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Returning to the state he has served for 35 years on Capitol Hill, Senator Jackson said he did not "intend to endorse any other candidate at this time."

Appearing at a news conference in the Washington Plaza Hotel, the 63-year-old Senator said that, while he believed the nomination was still open, former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia "quite clearly has a commanding lead."

Indeed, to most political observers Senator Jackson's decision appeared to leave Mr. Carter in a strong position to put together a first-ballot nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York City in July.

Bright Outlook for Carter

In New York, Borough President Donald R. Manes of Queens, chairman of the Jackson campaign in New York State, said he was "saddened" by Mr. Jackson's move. Leaders of the state forces backing Mr. Carter, Morris K. Udall and Hubert H. Humphrey all said the Jackson decision would help their candidates. [Page 47.]

The chairman of the Jackson organization in New Jersey, Harry Lerner, the Essex County Democratic leader, released convention delegates pledged to the Washington Senator, and several of them immediately moved into the Carter camp. [Page 46.]

Senator Jackson said that he would "support wholeheartedly the Democratic nominee for President this November."

Although in his statement he

Continued on Page 46, Column 5

Jackson Gives Up Pursuit of Nomination

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

said that he would "remain a candidate" the extent of his withdrawal appeared obvious from the simultaneous announcement that he would seek re-election to the Senae this fall. He served six terms in the House of Representatives and is nearing the end of his fourth in the Senate.

Earlier indications from his staff were that while he would end virtually all his active campaigning, he might make some appearances in Connecticut on behalf of his delegate candidates there. Gov. Ella T. Grasso of that state has been a staunch Jackson supporter and has devoted many days to campaigning in his behalf.

In explaining his decision, he said the reasons were "obvious."

No Resources

"I lost the Pennsylvania primary, a primary I had to win if my candidacy would remain viable," he said. "I do not have the financial resources to continue an active campaign. I do not have a personal fortune to enable me to go further, and it would be unfair of me to ask my supporters to give more.

"I am a realist. I gave this campaign everything I had and I believe I ran a good campaign for a good long time."

Mr. Jackson's decision came only two days after Senator Humphrey announced that he would not enter the June 8 primary in New Jersey and would not authorize any efforts on his behalf to raise money or woo delegate support before the convention.

The Jackson announcement came as the Carter camp was feeling confident that the former Georgia Governor's fresh face and evangelical style had captured the party's coveted middle ground.

Political observers felt the major active candidate remaining who might be the beneficiary of any renewed efforts to build a stop-Carter movement was Representative Udall of Arizona, who represents the liberel or, as he prefers to call it these days, "progressive" wing of the party.

The results of the Democratic primaries to date, in which Mr. Udall has never finished better than second, seem to have indicated that a majority of party members, perhaps as a reaction to the overwhelming defeat of Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, the liberal 1972 candidate, are looking for a moderate this time.

Senator Frank Church of Idaho, a late entry in the race whose first primary test will be in Nebraska on May 11, has been given little chance by political handicappers, and Senator Jackson's move would not seem to change that much.

Wait and See on Brown

Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who stretched his "native son" horizons to include the Maryland primary on May 18, has aroused curiosity, but most politics-watchers have adopted a wait-and-see attitude toward him.

Senator Jackson's whole long-range strategy was based on the conviction that whoever won the nomination and the election in the fall would "have to be able to win in the big Northern industrial states."

With his long record of support for labor, civil rights legislation and massive government program, including those to assist the troubled cities. he had been sure he could do this. He had been just as certain that Mr. Carter, a Southerner who had shown little sympathy to either labor or the cities, could not.

Since Mr. Carter demonstrated by his decisive victory in Pennsylvania this week that he could carry a Northern industrial state with a heavy labor orientation. he Carter camp had been insisting just as strongly that the Democratic Party cannot win in November unless it can recapture the old Solid South of Franklin D.

Mr. Carter's advisers, buoyed by an increasingly enthusiastic reception on Southern campaign stops, do not think there is anyone else in sight who can do that.

Although Senator Jackson and his advisers were attributing most of his problems to lack of money, it was obvious to those who had followed his campaign for months that they were deeper than that. The Senator has raised and spent more money than any Democratic hopeful except Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

But his avowed effort to rebuild the old Rooseveltian coalition of labor, blacks and and other minorities, ethnic groups and other urban interests just never seemed to work.

For one thing, he left the South out of that coalition. For another, his voting results showed, his appeal to blacks was slight and he received little backing from white-collar liberals, probably because of his long support of the Vietnam War, his commitment to a strong military establishment and his hard-line attitude toward the Soviet Union.

Although he has been running for the nomination for well over a year, his Presidential dream went back to at least late 1971, when he decided to seek the 1972 nomination. That effort, underfinanced and generally considered to have been poorly managed, failed badly.

This time, he built what was usually portrayed as a good national organization and started his fund-raising early.

His advisers were convinced he had to do two things to have a chance for the nomination: Prove that he could be a winner by capturing an early primary and somehow overcome his recognized lack of charisma.

The Senator's campaigning style was vastly improved over 1972 as he tried to project "the charisma of competence."

He got his early triumph in Massachusetts, an important primary state. That was expected to give him momentum to carry New York, which was considered by most as his best state because of its large Jewish population, which appreciated his long support of Israel.

Too Enthusiastic

He won New York handily, but the impact of his victory was diminished by his own overly enthusiastic prediction after Massachusetts that he would carry the state by a landslide.

Despite the victory, he remained near the bottom in the national polls, even dropping slightly. Mt. Carter eked out a victory over Mr. Udall in Wisconsin on the same day.

Going into Pennsylvania, Senator Jackson found himself short of money to make a massive effort and, perhaps more importantly, without a rolling bandwagon.

Texas Has First Primary On Presidential Candidates

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

Chronicle this morning, in a front-page editorial, endorsed Mr. Bentsen over all the other Democratic and Republican candidates.

With separate ballots and separate polling places, splitting votes between parties was impossible. Within each party, however, voters were able to split votes for delegates, making it possible for one candidate to win the indirect popular vote and another candidate to win the most delegates.

Federal Poll Watchers

The United States Department of Justice, meanwhile, dispatched 124 Federal attorneys and poll watchers to six Texas countries with heavy Mexican-American populations to watch for discrimination and vote fraud.

Under the Voting Rights Act, which was extended last summer to include Texas, 112 observers wearing armbands watched balloting in four central and south Texas counties, and attorneys were stationed in two additional counties to hear complaints.

Mexican-Americans are estimated to make up 15 to 18 percent of the state's 12.5 million people. About half live in rural areas, mostly in south Texas, where their employers have in the past often instructed them how to vote and have driven them to the polls.

In Duval County, notorious for fixing elections, state officials have ordered ballots to be confiscated and held to ensure against manipulation in accounting. Ballot-stuffing in Duval was alleged to have elected Lyndon B. Johnson to the Senate in 1948.

In today's vote, Republicans elected 96 national convention delegates — four each in 24 Congressional Districts. Since the districts were not apportioned according to the prior Republican vote, as few as 700 voters could determine delegate winners in rural districts where Republicans are weak.

In the heavy Republican voting districts in Dallas and Houston, where nearly half the Republican vote has been cast in previous primaries, tens of thousands of Republican ballots determined the four convention delegates.

Popularity of Delegates

By adding votes for delegates pledged to President Ford or Mr. Reagan statewide, political observers measure each candidate's popularity. However, the election was such that one candidate could receive the most popular votes — that is, votes for his delegates — and still lose in the race for total delegates.

who wanted to help decide the Ford-Reagan contest had to go to a new, unfamiliar polling place. And once they cast a Republican ballot, they were prohibited from voting in Democratic runoff elections, predicted in several races, for local and state officials.

With no contest this year for governor or other top state officials, the most important state Democratic contest was between the incumbent, Senator Bentsen, and the challenger, W. Philip Gramm, a conservative Democrat, along with eight Democrats vying for a seat on the three-man Texas Railroad Commission, which regulates the state's powerful oil and natural gas industry.

There were serious Democratic primary contests in three Congressional races. Ten Democrats vied for the nomination for the late Representative Wright Patman's seat in the First Congressional District in northeast Texas.

In the Fifth District in Dallas, Democratic voters chose between two contenders for the nomination to run against Nancy Judy, a conservative Republican, for the seat being vacated by Representative Alan W. Steelman, a Republican. Mr. Steelman is running for the Republican Senate nomination to challenge Senator Bentsen in

The Republicans choose an additional four at-large delegates at their June 19 state convention in Fort Worth.

Voters choosing the Democratic ballot elected 98 convention delegates in the state's 31 state senatorial districts. In 26 of them, they selected three convention delegates. In five others, they were selected four delegates. An additional 32 convention delegates will be selected at the state Democratic convention on June 19 in Houston.

Senator Bentsen, Mr. Carter and Mr. Wallace had delegate slates in all 31 districts. Uncommitted liberal slates were represented in 22 of those districts. Fred R. Harris, who dropped out of the race, was represented in 14 districts, and Ellen McCormack, running primarily against abortion, fielded slates in five districts.

Because most local contests for sheriff, county judge and other offices were concentrated on the Democratic ballot, Democrats were torn between choosing party ballots. Those

JERSEY BACKERS OF JACKSON FREE

State Campaign Chairman Voids Delegate Pledges

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

NEWARK, May —The chairman of Senator Henry M. Jackson's Presidential campaign organization in New Jersey released pledged delegates from their commitment to the Washington Democrat today and several of them immediately jumped aboard Jimmy Carter's bandwagon.

At the same time, the chairman, Harry Lerner, the Essex County Democratic leader, said it was "entirely possible" that he would support Mr. Carter "at some future date."

The prospective shift from Senator Jackson to Mr. Carter was perceived as highly significant by Carter forces in the state today because Mr. Lerner and his Democratic organization are regarded as a major prize among the contending candidates.

Furthermore, Mr. Lerner's remarks were interpreted by other Democrats as clear evidence that old-line Democratic leaders who were determined to stop Mr. Carter now regard the former Georgia Governor as unstoppable and are prepared to supoprt his candidacy.

While Mr. Jackson's chances for the nomination were regarded by Democratic leaders here to have vanished with his defeat in Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary, his supporters were locked into his candidcy unless hep ulled out of the race

Only yesterday, the New Jersey organization of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, which was supporting Mr. Jackson, was conciliatory toward Mr. Carter, who now appears assured of amajor political victory in New JerseY in the primary on June 8.

The various delegates pledged in district races and on statewide slates were filed with the Secretary of State on Thursday. However, the law allows a short grace period for withdrawal and at least two pledged Jackson delegates said they would pull out on Monday and endorse Mr. Carter.

State Senator Alene S. Ammond, a Camden County Democrat who is a statewide delegate candidate pledged to Mr. Jackson, said today from her home in Cherry Hill that she would probably withdraw as a candidate on Monday "and throw my support to Jimmy Carter."

"I don't want to look like a rat deserting a sinking ship," she said, "but the ship has already sunk and the smart thing is to go for Carter."

As for the other delegates pledged to Mr. Jackson, Mr. Lerner said today that they were released from any political obligations to him. "Those who want to pull out will have no quarrel with me, God bless them. I won't try to influence anyone."

As for his own plans, he said he now regarded himself as a "free agent" but that he had no intention of supporting anyone else immediately. However, Mr. Lerner is a close ally of Governor Byrne, who gave Mr. Carter a strong endorsement on Thursday, and their mutual political interests in the state would seem to include their mutual support of Mr. Carter, too.

For Mr. Carter, the support of Mr. Lerner's highly potent Essex County organization would represent a major political advance. It also would exert new pressure on other old-line organizations, most of which backed Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, to follow suit.

Ford and Carter Favored In Indiana Race Tuesday

Absence of Issues and Lack of Voter Interest Make Presidential Primary More Like a Personality Contest

By WILLIAM E. FARRELL

Special to The New York Times

INDIANAPOLIS, May 1 — President Ford and Jimmy Carter are favored to win the Indiana Presidential primary on Tuesday in personality contests marked by an absence of issues and a lack of strong voter interest.

The Indiana primary is one of four taking place on Tuesday. Voters in the District of Columbia, Georgia and Alabama will also be picking the man they prefer as their party's Presidential nominee.

The contest in the nation's 11th largest state lost a good deal of its momentum, according to state political leaders in both parties, when Senator Birch Bayh, a native son, withdrew as an active Democratic Presidential contender.

Mr. Ford and Ronald Reagan are the Republican entries in the primary. Besides Mr. Carter, the Democrats are Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington. Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate, is also on the ballot.

Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona had sought to run in Indiana but was ruled off the ballot because he was short 35 signatures on his nominating petition in the state's Sixth Congressional District. He has an appeal pending before the United States Supreme Court challenging the Indiana law that requires a candidate to qualify in all Congressional districts in order to run in any one of them.

Weekend Stumping

Because the Indiand primary is sandwiched in among other primaries, the candidates have not had much time to campaign here. Most of them scheduled wekend stumping forays about the state in last-minute efforts to woo the Hoosiers.

For the last several days, the Indiana Republican state chairman, Thomas S. Milligan has been predicting that Mr. Ford would get at least 55 percent of the primary vote, a figure that the Prsident's state campaign chairman, Donald Cox, says might be a conservative one.

In a campaign stop the other day, Mr. Reagan conceded that he was the underdog. He told a local reporter that "this is a very uphill fight because I think the party establishment here is with the incumbent. Mine is a case of going to the grassroots."

Democratic leaders feel that Mr. Carter's chances were enhanced by his sweep last Tuesday in the Pennsylvania primary against major opposition from labor and political organizations.

The Indiana state Democratic chairman, William Trisler, predicted an Indiana victory for Mr. Carter after his Pennsylvania performance, saying, "I think he'll probably be the top man here." Mr. Trisler, who had urged Mr. Jackson to enter the primary, has maintained a public posture of neutrality in the Democratic primary.

"I just have a feeling that Jackson's campaign has simply not taken hold," said one longtime Democratic activist. "He's not been a candidate who's created excitement. And he was badly crippled in Pennsylvania."

Most politicians and political observers detect an erosion in voter support for Mr. Wallace whose campaign has faltered as a result of one primary defeat after another. In 1972, Mr. Wallace received 41 percent of the Indiana primary vote and he ran second to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

Some politicians fel that a portion of the Wallace vote could go to Mr. Reagan this year.

In the primary, the Republicans will begin the selection process of the 54 delegates they will send to their national convention in Kansas City in August.

They will pick 33 delegates to the Republican state convention on June 17 at which time 21 at-large delegates wil be selected. The Indiana Republican Party picks its delegates on a winner-take-all system. Mr. Milligan says he expects Mr. Ford to carry all of the state's 11 Congressional districts, which would entitle him to all 54 delegates picked at the Republican state meeting.

The Democrats will send 75 delegates to their national convention in New York City in July. The delegates will be selected at caucuses held by Congressional districts at a state Democratic convention on June 15. The delegates will be picked based on the proportion of votes the party's candidates received in the primary.

For the first time in nearly half a century, Indianans will be picking party candidates for Congressional and state offices in a primary. Since 1928, candidates for these offices had been picked at the state party conventions.

These local contests have engendered the most interest on the part of regulars in both parties in a state where party organizations are still potent forces.

Practically all public offices in the state are partisan and nearly all of these officials, as well as cadres of those holding patronage jobs, traditionally kick back 2 percent of their salaries to the party coffers.

On the Democratic side, Senator Vance Hartke is seeking to run for a fourth term and is involved in an acrimonious primary campaign against Representative Philip H. Hayes, a freshman Congressman from Evansville who unseated a Republican in 1974 in the state's Eighth Congressional District.

Mr. Hartke, according to professional politicians, will probably squeak by although some feel that Mr. Hayes, who has been running an under-financed but intense campaign, has a chance of upsetting him.

There are two Republicans running for the Republican senatorial nomination. They are Richard Lugar, the former Mayor of Indianapolis, who unsuccessfully ran against Senator Bayh in 1974, and former Gov. Edgar D. Whitcomb.

Mr. Lugar, who has state party backing and is running a well-financed campaign, is expected to defeat Mr. Whitcomb, who nevertheless retains popularity with conservative Republican voters because he fulfilled his pledge as Governor not to raise taxes.

Washington politicians are also keeping an eye on the Democratic contest in Indiana's First Congressional District, which takes in the heavily industrialized area around Gary.

There Representative Ray J. Madden, the 84-year-old chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, is facing a serious challenge from state Senator Adam Benjamin, a 40-year-old politician who nearly defeated Mr. Madden in 1972.

Mr. Benjamin has been running a strenuous campaign against Mr. Madden, the oldest member of Congress, contending that the incumbent's age has left him incapable of serving his district and that it is time he stepped aside.

Indiana has usually been regarded as a conservative Republican state, but that situation has changed in recent years as it became more industrial and less agricultural. At present, nine of the state's 11 Congressmen are Democrats; both its Senators are Democrats, and one house of the legislature is under Democratic control, while the Republican margin in the state Senate has been cut to four.

In the fall general election the Republicans are expected to mount a major effort to win back several of the Congressional seats that they lost in the 1974 post-Watergate elections.

Louisiana Democrats Elect Convention Delegates

46

Special to The New York Times

NEW ORLEANS, May 1—A small percentage of Louisiana's Democratic voters turned out today to elect 32 of the state's 41 national convention delegates.

Results of the contests in each of the eight Congressional districts may not be available until late tomorrow or Monday, because the state party organization was forced by lack of public financing to use paper ballots instead of voting machines.

The election turned into a three-way contest among candidates supporting former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, and Gov. Edwin W. Edwards of Louisiana, who is seeking to lead an uncommitted delegation to the convention. Carter supporters appeared in recent weeks to have the most organized campaign.

Voters, however, seemed confused about the unusual election system, which was instituted for the first time this year.

Shift in Philosophy

It was devised last year as a way of avoiding the much criticized system of district caucuses used in 1972—producing for this conservative state a delegation dominated by liberal supporters of Senator George McGovern of South Dakota and by black supporters of Representative Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn.

The election procedure was also intended as a way to sidestep pressures by Wallace supporters, who tried unsuccessfully last year to have the Louisiana legislature create a regular Presidential primary, paid for by the state. Mr. Wallace still has much popular support in Louisiana, which he carried in the 1968 Presidential election.

Opposition by Mr. Edwards and the largely anti-Wallace party leadership was instrumental in defeating the primary proposal.

Without public financing the Democratic State Central Committee could not use the voting machines that have been part of statewide elections since 1952. The committee decided to use only 204 polling places, compared with the normal total of 2,727.

Most of the polling places used today were specially created for the delegate election and were not familiar to voters.

The Wallace organization complained about the particularly limited number of polling places in rural areas, where their candidate has shown strength in the past. Many rural parishes (counties) have only one polling place.

Governor Edwards earlier took the public position that Mr. Carter's campaign would fall apart before the convention. Mr. Edwards announced that he would campaign to elect delegates not committed to any candidate, in order to give him and the state some bargaining power at the convention.

Despite the lack of organized campaigning for the Governor's slates, they had the advantage of including the recognizable names of public officials. Organized labor and the Democratic Party hierarchy endorsed the Edwards candidates.

The Democratic State Central Committee is scheduled to meet next Saturday to name the nine remaining delegates. Under party rules, this process must refect the proportionate strength the delegates show in today's election.

In addition to the Carter, Wallace, and Edwards supporters, others competing in the election represent former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma: Ellen McCormack of Long Island, the anti-abortion candidate, and a variety of individual viewpoints.

Brown Suggests a Debate With Carter

By BEN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 1—Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California suggested today that "at some point" in the Democratic Presidential nomination campaign he and Jimmy Carter "are going to have to have a public debate."

"I am not challenging him to it," the 38-year-old Californian told a luncheon group of about 30 senior Washington correspondents. He appeared before them after completing his first three days of campaigning in Maryland for the May 18 Presidential primary.

Mr. Brown is making a late-starting bid for what he calls a "change in the chemistry" of Democratic politics that would give him the nomination over Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia and the current front-runner.

His crowds in Maryland, including seevral in a downpour today, have been, as he has said, "turned on"—large, excited, almost adoring, and responsive to his theme that "we need a new geenration of leadership, a President who is young, will work hard and will not oversell what Government, alone, can do in solving our very serious problems."

However, the Californian entered the Maryland primary too late tohave convention delegates pledged to him on the ballot.

Reason For Delay

He waited, he said at lunch today, until he felt that Mr. Carter's proposals for only "superficial adjustments" in government had not "caught the imagination of the American people."

The difficulty of translating his apparent popularity into practical support for his candidacy has raised doubts about his sincerity, and they occupied much of the luncheon questioning today.

Mr. Brown said that his Presidential candidacy and his disagreements with Mr. Carter's "emphasis" would not rule out his willingness to run as the Georgian's Vice-Presidential nominee. He also said that he had talked to Mr. Carter by telephone last week "just to tell him I was running."

"He said he'd like to have me working with him," Mr. Brown said today.

Asked if his 1976 candidacy "is really pointed at 1980," the next Presidential election year, Mr. Brown replied: "My equation is sufficiently complex to admit of various outcomes. But I think there is a serious chance that I can win the nomination now or I would not be running."

4

It's All Breaking Carter's Way

Jimmy Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, won a major victory in the Pennsylvania primary last week, and now seems near the top of an extraordinary political ascent. What began only months ago as simply his ambition is likely to end a few months from now in the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

Senator Henry M. Jackson, the "frontrunner" until the race actually began, has now suspended his campaign, which has been anemic in both votes and finances. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who has been seeking his party's nomination



Jimmy Carter

for almost two decades, announced he would not actively try to stop Mr. Carter by getting into primary races or pursuing uncommitted delegates. Only Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona remains of what was once a small army of aspirants, and there is no sign he can do the job Senator Humphrey declined. On the contrary; labor forces in New Jersey, where Mr. Humphrey might have contested Mr. Carter, have already turned to the southerner.

Most political analysts now believe that the former Governor of Georgia can accumulate without great difficulty the 1,505 delegates needed for the nomination. He now has over 300; roughly 950 is generally calculated to put a contender within easy trading distance of 1,505 either before the convention or at it.

Texas voted yesterday—complete results may not be known until tomorrow—and Mr. Carter's prospects and strategy there are instructive. Though the state elects 130 delegates, Mr. Carter has not been noticeably present, presumably so as not to antagonize Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen, Texas's favorite son. Mr. Carter nevertheless may do as well as Mr. Bentsen, because some voters are expected to prefer to vote for a winner rather than for a Texan. The one state Mr. Carter is not contesting is West Virginia, whose favorite son is Robert C. Byrd, Senate majority whip.

What's Next. Though prospects of party unity are now as good as they have been at a comparable stage since 1964, Mr. Carter still has some differences to reconcile. His campaign rhetoric—designed to show his separation from traditional Washington politics and policies—encouraged both labor and the national Democratic hierarchy to regard him as an outsider. Bringing all factions together in his camp is expected to require some delicacy. And since he will not now meet Senator Humphrey in New Jersey, he must attract any lingering Humphrey supporters by persuasion rather than demonstration.

The Results. Mr. Carter's achievement in Pennsylvania was all the more remarkable because his opposition was not limited to the official contenders, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall. In endorsing Mr. Jackson's candidacy, the coalition of labor and local party organizations had in effect endorsed the undeclared candidacy of Mr. Humphrey.

That fact appears to have benefited Mr. Carter, and perhaps Mr. Udall as well, and that is presumably what dispirited Mr. Humphrey, and later Mr. Jackson. The latter effectively resigned from contention after Mr. Humphrey's statement that he was not an active candidate failed to rally the financial support Mr. Jackson needed to continue. In the Pennsylvania popular vote, Mr. Carter received 37 percent; Mr. Jackson, 25 percent and Mr. Udall, 19 percent. The results of the delegate selection were even more telling: Mr. Jackson placed third, with 19 of the state's 178 delegates. Mr. Udall took 22, and Mr. Carter 64.

Mr. Carter's well-publicized remarks on "ethnic purity" in neighborhoods appeared not to have damaged his campaign at all. He ran better among black voters than either Mr. Udall or Mr. Jackson.

The Republicans. Both President Ford and Ronald Reagan, former Governor of California and challenger from the purist right for the Republican nomination, have been banking a great deal on Texas, their first meeting since Mr. Reagan took 52 percent of the popular vote in North Carolina's primary March 28.

Week of Decision . . .

The dramatic political events of the last week brought the Democratic Party's Presidential picture into sharp focus. By winning the Pennsylvania primary, former Gov. Jimmy Carter reached a dominant position in the struggle for the nomination and forced Senator Henry M. Jackson to suspend his campaign.

When Senator Hubert H. Humphrey announced two days later his refusal to become an active candidate, Governor Carter's best-known potential opponent suddenly disappeared. Mr. Humphrey recognized realistically that a contest with Mr. Carter would be a hard bruising fight that might seriously divide the party and lessen the value of the nomination. Moreover, having served as Vice President and as the Presidential nominee, Mr. Humphrey quite understandably did not want to risk ending his national career with a defeat that might be seen as a humiliation.

• • •

Despite the absence of a vigorous Humphrey challenge, Governor Carter's progress toward the nomination still has obstacles to overcome. Representative Morris K. Udall remains an active candidate. Since only ten of the thirty primaries have yet been held, it remains distinctly possible that Representative Udall—who ran Mr. Carter a close second in New Hampshire and Wisconsin—could upset the front-runner in one or more of the remaining states. The odds are against such a comeback; but as long as Mr. Udall remains in the campaign and on the ballot, he cannot be ruled out.

In Nebraska on May 11, Senator Frank Church has the first opportunity to match himself against Mr. Carter. Other candidates are leaving them a clear field. The conventional political wisdom downgrades Senator Church's chances but until they have been tested, Governor Carter can take nothing for granted.

. . . Challenge to Carter

Perhaps the most dangerous threat to a Carter nomination is the candidacy of Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California. In Governor Brown's appearances in Maryland last week, his first political swing outside his own state, the handsome young California Governor drew sizable crowds and a lot of enthusiasm. Since he, too, is a non-Washington outsider with a fresh, unorthodox style, Governor Brown competes with Mr. Carter on his own ground.

It is probable that Governor Brown made his move too late. The Maryland primary is not until May 18 by which time Mr. Carter may have won several additional primaries and have acquired an unassailable lead in pledged delegates. Nevertheless, the Brown candidacy adds the yeast of uncertainty into what would otherwise be a fairly predictable outcome.

• • •

Four years ago, the results of the Pennsylvania primary completed the destruction of Senator Edmund S. Muskie's candidacy and converted the Democratic contest into a two-man race between Senator Humphrey and Senator George McGovern, with the latter established as the favorite. The primary in Pennsylvania last week appears to have been equally significant. Since Governor Carter is now as strong as Senator McGovern was then and his assorted rivals offer considerably weaker opposition than Mr. Humphrey did, the pattern of the future seems evident.

Probably the only man who can deprive Mr. Carter of the nomination now is Mr. Carter. The coming weeks will test his ability not only to continue his winning ways in the primaries but also to reconcile and knit together the many factions, interest groups and significant personalities of the complex coalition that is the Democratic Party.

Politics And Religion

By James Reston

FIERY RUN, Va., May 1—With Hubert Humphrey and now Scoop Jackson on the sidelines, the attention of the nation is turning to Governor Carter. He has overwhelmed his opponents and the labor leaders and political leaders of his own party.

So far, Jimmy Carter's success has been a triumph of hard work, but probably *more* important, it has been the result of something quiet, courteous and philosophical in a noisy, unmannerly, and cynical age.

Here in the foothills of the Blue Ridge, he has transformed the attitudes of the voters along our winding roads.

Fauquier County, Va., is conservative Harry Byrd country. Once solidly Democratic, it has been sliding toward the Republicans for a generation, but Mr. Carter seems to be swinging it back. The fact that he has prevailed in the primaries against the Democratic Party and labor organizations changed the mood of voters along these roads. They like his independence. They say that maybe a Southerner is finally going to have an honest shot at the Presidency, and they are impressed by his religious faith. Accordingly, this little community may help explain one aspect of Mr. Carter's success. It is divided on political issues, but it pays attention to its churches—of whatever denomination. The churches are not only the philosophical but the social centers of this county. Church and state are separate here too, but in the early days of the Republic the Leeds Church in our community was Mr. Justice Marshall's church, and people talk here, as in Louisiana, about how the people of the "parish" voted.

Only twice in the last fifty years has the "religious issue" been important in our Presidential elections. The Democratic Party's national convention in 1924 was hopelessly divided, with urban Catholics and Jews favoring Alfred E. Smith and rural Protestants voting for William Gibbs McAdoo—and John W. Davis emerging as the compromise.

The issue came up again in 1960 when Jack Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, finally won the nomination and the Presidency after proclaiming: "I do not speak for my church on public matters, and the church does not speak for me." The issue is not so prominent now, but it has been raised, not by Mr. Carter but by the questions of the press, and Mr. Carter has not hesitated to give witness to a deep religious faith.

This has encouraged many voters and troubled many others. So far it is a peripheral issue, and it will probably not emerge as dramatically as it did at Houston in the Kennedy campaign, but Mr. Carter, unlike Mr. Kennedy, is a "true believer," and for the rest of the campaign, many voters will undoubtedly be asking what he truly believes.

It is a fair enough question. Already some of his opponents are suggesting privately that he is a "religious fanatic," who thinks he is an important instrument of "the Lord's work," but there is no evidence to support this thesis.

He is said to be a great admirer of the late Reinhold Niebuhr, former professor of Christian ethics at the Union Theological Seminary of New York, and Niebuhr, far from being a "religious fanatic," was one of the most eloquent critics both of American theology and politics, and of the challenge of Communist ideology.

Few Americans of the postwar world have kept a better balance between our ethical and political dilemmas than Niebuhr.

In his book "The Irony of American History," Niebuhr stated his philosophy in two revealing statements:

First, he said, "Our idealists are divided between those who would renounce the responsibilities of power for the sake of preserving the purity of our soul and those who are ready to cover every ambiguity of good and evil in our actions by the frantic insistence that any measure taken in a good cause must be unequivocally virtuous. We take, and must continue to take, morally hazardous actions to preserve our civilization. We must exercise our power. But we ought neither to believe that a nation is capable of perfect disinterestedness in its exercise. . . . Communism is a vivid object lesson in the monstrous consequences of moral complacency about the relation of dubious means to supposedly good ends."

Second, Niebuhr observed: "Nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in our lifetime; therefore we must be saved by hope. Nothing which is true or beautiful or good makes *complete* sense in any immediate context of history; therefore we must be saved by faith. Nothing we do, however virtuous, can be accomplished alone; therefore we are saved by love. No virtuous act is quite as virtuous from the standpoint of our friend or foe as it is from our standpoint. Therefore we must be saved by the final form of love which is forgiveness."

If this also represents Governor Carter's connection between his ethical and political philosophy, the chances are that he will gain more support by his faith than he will lose.

WASHINGTON

A Wise Choice For H. H.

By Tom Wicker

DALLAS—Texas provides a better example than most states of how difficult it would have been for Hubert Humphrey to have wrested the Democratic Presidential nomination from Jimmy Carter of Georgia in a late-starting campaign in the last few primaries and for the "uncommitted" delegates.

In the first place, given the crushing victory Mr. Carter won in Pennsylvania, when the vote count is completed in Texas's complicated primary he may well have grabbed off a big percentage of this state's 130 delegates, too—even against the favorite-son slate of Senator Lloyd Bentsen. As John White, the Texas Secretary of Agriculture and the chairman of the Bentsen campaign put it the other day: "It all depends on how Walter Cronkite tells it after Pennsylvania. If he seems to think Carter has the nomination locked up, that'll have a big impact in Texas." Mr. Cronkite, like other television commentators, seemed mightily impressed with Mr. Carter's Pennsylvania performance.

Now Mr. Humphrey's withdrawal from such contention as he had permitted so far can only increase the Carter "momentum" here and in Indiana and other primaries Tuesday.

But even a victory for the Bentsen slate in Texas would not necessarily be more than a temporary setback for Mr. Carter and it might not have been much of a plus for a Humphrey candidacy, if there were one. While many of the backers of the Bentsen slate, including Mr. White, are favorable to Mr. Humphrey, theirs was by no means a "holding for Hubert" operation but was, indeed, a ticket unusually balanced among conservatives regulars and liberals, white, blacks and Mexican Americans, women and young people.

That the delegates it elected would not automatically have been available to a Humphrey campaign is suggested by several factors other than Mr. White's disclaimers. One is what the Carter chairman—Land Commissioner Bob Armstrong—calls "the Baptist bridge, the agrarian bridge." That is, a Georgia farmer whose religious leanings are widely shared in Texas, would be a strong campaigner here in November—probably stronger than Mr. Humphrey, who barely carried the state in 1968 with a healthy George Wallace on the ballot to split the conservative vote with Richard Nixon.

Since the Bentsen slate included many elected officials who must run with the Presidential nominee in November, they clearly would have thought twice before jumping into a last ditch "stop Carter" movement on behalf of the liberal Mr. Humphrey. Even Senator Bentsen, who faces a hard re-election campaign against Representative Alan Steelman of Dallas, might consider Mr. Carter preferable to his Senate clubmate at the top of the Texas ticket.

Gov. Dolph Brisco, moreover, nominally the head of the Bentsen slate, is sympathetic to Mr. Carter from the latter's days as a fellow Democratic governor—so much so that his praise for Mr. Carter has confused some Texans as to whom their Governor really supports.

In other states, of course, uncommitted and favorite son slates obviously would have been more readily available to a Humphrey campaign. But Texas will have the third largest Democratic delegation and will be a battleground state against either Gerald Ford or Ronald Reagan; its likely strength for Mr. Carter would have been a major problem for Mr. Humphrey.

Since Mr. Carter, barring unforeseen goofs, should walk off with most of the rest of the primary states—save possibly California, if the Jerry Brown campaign develops from its good beginning in Maryland—Mr. Humphrey also would have had a hard time keeping uncommitted delegates off the Carter bandwagon until July; and in New Jersey, the one state, after Pennsylvania, where he might have mounted a major campaign, he faced the problem of Gov. Brendan Byrne's preference for Mr. Carter—and even a victory there might have been too little and too late to stop Mr. Carter.

With his undiminished self-confidence. Mr. Humphrey might well have thought he had a good chance to overcome these difficulties—and maybe, with some luck, he did. Even so, a stop-Carter campaign would have been, at best, devisive; a Humphrey victory would have risked reopening old party wounds and painful political charges; and a Humphrey defeat, in New Jersey or at the convention, would have put an inglorious period to a career that deserves better.

So in the end Hubert Humphrey had the personal courage and discipline to make the wisest choice for his party and for himself. Much depends, now, on whether he can stand by that decision against selfish and divisive party pressures still to come; and on whether Jimmy Carter is willing to seek a gracious and constructive peace with the man who still could make or break a party unity unseen among Democrats since 1964.

IN THE NATION

WEATHER
Sunny and mild through Monday. Details on Page 19B.

The Atlanta Journal

★ AND ★

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Reagan Winner in Texas; Carter Tops Democrats

Carter Landslide Ahead in Georgia

By BEAU CUTTS

On Tuesday, Georgia Democrats will give Jimmy Carter a landslide victory exceeding 70 per cent of the vote, a poll by The Atlanta Journal-Constitution indicates.

The opinion survey also shows Ronald Reagan holding an edge over President Ford in the Republican presidential primary in Georgia.

The Journal-Consitution poll, which sampled voter sentiment in metro Atlanta and 54 cities and towns throughout Georgia, actually measured an astounding pro-Carter support of 88.5 per cent among likely Democratic voters.

However, factoring the raw data to include sampling errors yields a projection with plus or minus 5 per cent accuracy that Carter will win between 72.3 and 78.8 per cent of the Democratic vote, a smashing victory over Carter's two main rivals on the Georgia ballot, Alabama Gov. George Wallace and U.S. Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona.

In the delegate race, Carter's projected win would likely mean close to a sweep of the 50 Georgia delegates going to the Democratic convention in July.

Turn to Page 22A, Column 4

Landslide Win Seen for Carter

Continued from Page 1A

Of the 50 delegates, 38 will be chosen by voters Tuesday and the remaining 12 by party leaders based on the votes cast for delegates in the primary.

Among Republican voters who said they had reached a decision for the Tuesday primary, former California Gov. Reagan held a 56 to 44 per cent lead over President Ford.

However, Ford stands to gain a large portion of the undecided Republican vote. When a poll respondent could not initially state a preference, he was asked: "If President Ford were running against Ronald Reagan, who would you favor (or lean toward)?"

Responses to this question gave Ford a 62.5 to 37.5 per cent lead over Reagan among Georgia Republicans who were not committed.

The Journal-Constitution conducted the survey Monday through Thursday last week with telephone interviews of 612 Georgians who said they were likely to vote Tuesday in the first presidential primary for the state in modern times.

Based on past voting patterns, the poll used a random sampling procedure in the five-county metro Atlanta area and in 54 other areas. Male respondents totalled 309 and females, 303.

A whopping 78 per cent of the interviewees said they would vote in the Democratic primary and 22 per cent in the GOP primary.

In response to the key question in the poll—"Which of the candidates do you favor at this time?"—88.5 per cent of the Democratic respondents named Carter, 9.1 per cent Wallace and less than 1 per cent Udall.

Also getting less than 1 per cent each were Sens. Henry Jackson of Washington, Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Frank Church of Idaho and Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. None of these men is on the Georgia ballot, which does not permit write-ins.

Home-state pride in Carter's increasingly successful presidential drive was a significant reason for his support by fellow Georgians.

"One of the main things why I'm supporting him," said S. C. Parker, a 42-year-old bookkeeper in Sylvania, "is the fact he's a Southerner. He's from Georgia."

Even respondents who gave Carter only a "fair" rating as governor said they were voting for the Plains, Ga., candidate "I'm voting for him, mostly I guess, because he's a native," said a 59-year-old rural mail carrier in north Georgia who asked not to be identified by name.

In the five-county metro Atlanta area, Carter's support was more than 5 to 1 over Wallace's. Surprisingly, this ratio was similar in sparsely populated areas as well. Wallace was strongest in southwest Georgia and weakest in the southeastern part of the state.

Reagan showed his highest lead over Ford in southeast Georgia, which included Macon and Savannah in the survey. Republican respondents in that section favored Reagan 59.1 to 40.9 per cent over Ford.

In southwest Georgia, including Columbus and Albany, Reagan led 58.3 to 41.7 per cent. In both metro Atlanta and northeast Georgia, Reagan beat Ford with approximately 10 percentage points.

Only in northwest Georgia did Ford top Reagan, 58.3 to 41.7 per cent.

An analysis based on the poll's error band that is least favorable to Carter still showed nearly two of three Democratic voters favoring the former governor. This interpretation, designed to demonstrate Carter's weakest showing—although unlikely to occur— gave these figures:

Carter 63.7 per cent
Wallace 21.3 per cent
Udall 10 per cent
Others 5 per cent

When the poll results were analyzed in the other extremely highly improbable—he could take more than 90 per cent of the "beauty contest" or preference portion of the Democratic ballot.

In addition to the cities already named, the Journal-Constitution poll surveyed voters in Rome, Dalton, Carrollton, Cedartown, LaFayette, Calhoun, Blue Ridge and Bremen in northwest Georgia;

Augusta, Athens, Gainesville, Milledgeville, Toccoa, Elberton, Thomson, Millen, Clayton, Sparta, Dahlonega, Monroe and Hartwell in northeast Georgia;

Valdosta, Brunswick, Waycross, Statesboro, Dublin, Douglas, Jesup, McRae, Perry, Vidalia, Reidsville, Hinesville, Alma, Folkston and Cochran in southeast Georgia;

And LaGrange, Griffin, Moultrie, Americus, Thomaston, Newnan, Bainbridge, Tifton, Cordele, Quitman, Camilla, West Point and Thomasville in southwest Georgia.

AA

BB

DALLAS (AP). — Ronald Reagan won the Texas presidential primary election Saturday night, defeating President Ford by rolling up a runaway margin in delegate strength in the state he needed to fuel his challenge for the Republican nomination.

Reagan led for 96 Texas votes at the Republican national convention, Ford led for none. Votes had been counted from 50 per cent of the 5,565 Texas precincts.

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter was the winner in the Democratic primary. With 60 per cent of the vote in, delegates pledged to support his nomination led for 90 national convention seats, those committed to favorite son Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen for only eight.

It was Reagan's second presidential primary victory, and it was a crucial one. He had said he could beat Ford in the South and the Southwest, and he had to prove that to keep his White House challenge credible — and financially viable.

Carter's campaign already had received a shot in the arm earlier Saturday when Sen. Henry M. Jackson withdrew from active campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Jackson told a news conference in his home state of Washington that his campaign had run out of money and had failed to stop the Carter bandwagon.

"I believe the nomination is still open, although Gov. Carter quite clearly has a commanding lead," Jackson

Turn to Page 11A, Column 1

Texas Vote Turnout Big For Primary

Continued from Page 1A

said. In both parties the competition was among would-be delegates, not among the presidential candidates themselves. The ballot listed delegates with the name of the candidate they favored.

Republicans were electing 96 delegates to their national convention, with four to be chosen later.

The Democratic primary awarded 98 of the 130 Texas delegates to the national convention. The others will be chosen by caucus and convention, a process in which the first step came at meetings Saturday night, just 15 minutes after the polls close.

In Louisiana, uncommitted delegates running under the banner of Gov. Edwin Edwards and those of Carter were locked in a head-to-head duel in the Democratic primary. With about half the vote counted, Carter delegates led for 13 spots, Edwards' uncommitted delegates for 12 and Alabama Gov. George Wallace had 7 delegates.

It was Reagan's second presidential primary victory, and it was a crucial one. He had said he could beat Ford in the South and the Southwest, and he had to prove that to keep his White House challenge credible — and financially viable.

Ford has won seven times, in two cases without opposition on the ballot. But the Saturday outcome virtually guarantees that he will have to reckon with Reagan's opposition through the balance of the primary election season, and probably all the way to the Republican convention.

While Bentsen ran delegates, his major campaign effort was for renomination to the Senate where he won easily over a field led by W. Philip Gramm, 33, a conservative Democrat who teaches economics at Texas A&M University.

Rep. Alan Steelman, 34, of Dallas, won over two lesser known rivals for the Republican Senate nomination.

There are about 5.4 million registered voters in Texas, but they are not listed by party. While Texas has been a swing state in national campaigns, the primary election competition usually is Democratic.

Secretary of State Mark White forecast a turnout of 2.5 million voters, about 300,000 of them in the Republican primary.

Voters can choose either primary ballot, and crossover voting was a major imponderable. The theory went that conservative Democrats might take Republican ballots to vote for Reagan, particularly with Wallace virtually eliminated as a significant Democratic candidate.

Without precedent or party registration, proving that is going to be some trick. "The unanswered item is the crossover," said Laxalt. "You're at sea there."

In Maine, Republicans selected 20 supposedly uncommitted delegates to the GOP National Convention on Saturday, but 13 of those selected said they were solid supporters of President Ford.

Two delegates said they were uncommitted, but leaning toward Ford. Supporters of Ronald Reagan won four seats and one delegate said he was truly uncommitted.

And in Kansas, Carter picked up 13 delegates Saturday at the state's five congressional district conventions. Eleven of 27 delegates elected were uncommitted.

Two delegates were committed to Arizona Rep. Morris Udall, while one supports Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington.

Seven more Democratic delegates will be chosen at the Kansas party convention on June 5, rounding out the state's 34-member national delegation.

Reagan, who has won one presidential primary to Ford's seven, targeted Texas long ago as part of the Southern and Southwestern region in which he claimed he would be strong. Indeed, Reagan strategists said weeks ago that the former California governor had to win to maintain a meaningful campaign.

"If it is a very close contest with an even sharing of delegates, it could hardly be called a loss for anyone," Reagan said on election eve in Texas. But a tie would go to the President. Reagan needs the victory.

He moved on Saturday to the campaign for Indiana's primary, one of four that will be held next Tuesday. Ford was back in Washington, due to take the road again Sunday for Indiana and Alabama.

Carter Thinks Biggest Task Keeping Trust

By BILL MONTGOMERY
Journal Staff Writer

COLUMBUS, Ga.—Jimmy Carter, campaigning here for votes in Tuesday's Georgia presidential primary, said Saturday the biggest task remaining before him is to maintain the public's confidence in him and build bridges to Democratic party leaders.

He said Washington Sen. Henry "Scoop" Jackson's formal withdrawal from active campaigning moments before was "a step toward my ultimate nomination."

Carter said he hopes to accumulate support of Jackson delegates to the July Democratic National Convention.

"I consider his delegates fair game," Carter said after learning of Jackson's withdrawal .

Asked whether he could still lose the Democratic nomination, the former Georgia governor said: "Oh, yes, if I make a serious mistake, betray the trust of my supporters, act arrogant or overconfident."

At an earlier news conference in Macon during a rapid run through Georgia, the Democratic frontrunner said he expects to have 1,000 delegates by the end of the primaries June 8. The votes of 1,505 delegates are needed for nomination.

Carter said the weeks remaining until the Democratic convention in New York will be devoted to building up his delegate total and "forming friendships with the leadership of the Democratic party."

The candidate turned aside reporters' attempts to have him admit he is virtually the only candidate left with a shot at the nomination.

And he declined to name any choices for a vice presidential running mate.

He did say that his Pennsylvania primary victory last week squelched a "Stop Carter" movement.

Carter, a heavy favorite in next Tuesday's Democratic balloting in Georgia, exuded confidence as he flew to five cities Saturday across the state.

Beginning with a $50-a-plate fund raising breakfast in Augusta for some 400 supporters, Carter laced his standard speech promising to restore trust between government and the people with praise for his home state backers.

He would not be the Democratic frontrunner in May without the Georgians who stumped the nation's primaries for him from New Hampshire to Pennsylvania, Carter told the breakfast crowd.

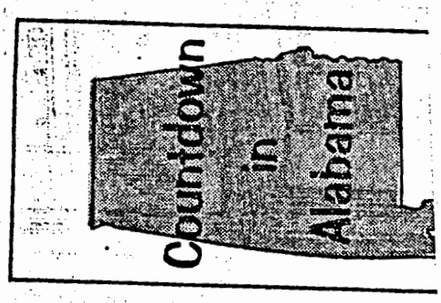
Largely white crowds in Augusta and Warner Robins applauded Carter's statement that the civil rights movements liberated the South from a preoccupation with the race issue. Their applause was almost as fervent as that earlier of more than 200 predominantly black union members in Savannah.

At each stop, Carter told his listeners that preceding administrations mired the nation in Vietnam and Watergate. He promised to set higher standards of government morality.

Throughout the campaign tour, Carter followed up speeches with handshaking among his supporters.

At a Boy Scout Jamboree in Columbus, where Carter was proclaimed an honorary member of the Order of the Arrow, the peanut farmer from Plains paused to munch roasted peanuts and fried chicken.

CC



Can Carter Do Unthinkable on Wallace Turf?

Journal-Constitution
Washington Bureau

BIRMINGHAM — Above all others, the question being asked here these days is "Can Jimmy Carter Do It?"

The question pertains not to Carter's chances of capturing the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, which are nearing 100 per cent with every passing primary, but whether Carter can ice the cake Tuesday with a heretofore unthinkable victory over Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace on his home turf.

The spectacle of Wallace struggling to save face, if not his political future, has overshadowed the other half of Tuesday's Alabama primary.

In the Republican sweepstakes, President Gerald R. Ford appears to be locked in a close race with conservative challenger Ronald Reagan, the former California governor. Most oddsmakers say Reagan now enjoys a slight advantage, but Ford will bring the trappings of the presidency to Birmingham Monday in a primary eve appearance that his Alabama supporters believe could tip the scales.

Political insiders here say that if Wallace escapes the ultimate humiliation Tuesday, it will be more because of the peculiarities of the Alabama primary than because of his strength in the state vis-a-vis Carter.

Alabama does not have a so-called "beauty contest." Voters will cast ballots for delegates pledged to candidates or for uncommitted delegates.

Carter would be a real threat to Wallace in head-to-head competition, observers agree.

But lacking that, Wallace should be able to finish in front of the one-time Georgia governor in the competition for convention delegates—at least in the first round of a two-step process, they say.

There will be a popular vote tabulation of the totals for Wallace, Carter, uncommitted and other delegates.

It will be obscured, however, by the fact that many of the delegates running are names in Alabama politics who will attract votes on their own.

At stake in the Democratic primary will be 27 of Alabama's 35 delegates to the New York nominating convention.

Uniquely, the state will hold a run-off election May 25 to decide contests where no delegate receives a majority Tuesday.

The other eight delegates will be picked by the state party apparatus next month.

Carter is the only candidate with a delegate slate entered in all 27 districts.

Wallace delegates are on the ballot in 25 districts, Morris Udall delegates in three, and Frank Church and Jerry Brown delegates in one apiece.

There are also delegates pledged to inactive candidates Fred Harris and Hubert Humphrey—10 and one, respectively.

Uncommitted delegates are competing in all but one district, which means a direct confrontation between Carter and Wallace is restricted to a single district in extreme southwest Alabama.

For that reason, the 22nd District race between Carter's Joe McCorquodale III, the son of the speaker of the Alabama House, has attracted considerable attention.

Many of the uncommitteds have been advanced by the Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC), the establishment organization for black Alabama Democrats run by longtime national party stalwart Joe Reed.

Some people here say Reed's reputation as a force in Alabama politics is on the line every bit as much as Wallace's in districts where blacks pledged to Carter are taking on the ADC slate.

In Birmingham, for example, state Rep. Tony Harrison and state Sen. Jay Richmond of the ADC are facing Carter's state Reps. Jerome Tucker and Ron Jackson, a pair of successful anti-ADC mavericks. Humphrey's decision last week to stay out of the fray can only help the Carter cause against the uncommitteds.

As for Gov. Wallace, Carter's stunning victory in Pennsylvania last Tuesday spurred him to do something that was unprecedented in his long quest for the White House. He began campaigning in Alabama prior to the primary here.

Several times he crisscrossed the state in a hectic, whistle-stop campaign that was reminescent of his many gubernatorial races. Fascinated Alabama observers were even more shocked at the media blitz the Wallace camp launched. At a cost of an estimated $40,000, it was twice as extensive as Carter's.

Wallace's future after his bleak showing in the primaries this year, including those in the South, is very much a matter for speculation.

The governor has stated this is his last bid for elective office, but few people here believe him.

They construe his 11th hour Alabama frenzy as an effort to stave off a defeat that would not only cripple his capacity to govern in the last two years of his term (he is barred from seeking re-election), but would effectively close the option of running for the U.S. Senate in 1978 when John Sparkman's retirement is held likely.

To this end, Wallace has been pulling out all the stops, seeking support from everybody from Alabama football Coach Paul "Bear" Bryant (who did) to Sparkman and junior Sen. James B. Allen (who issued a joint statement praising Wallace for his "courage," but stopping short of an outright endorsement).

Carter's support is founded on the old line Wallace opposition establishment and blacks who are not members of the Reed organization.

It is such that state Sen. Bill King of Huntsville, chairman of Carter's Alabama campaign, foresees a victory Tuesday in perhaps four delegate districts and another four to six in the run-off three weeks later.

This prediction generally coincides with the feeling expressed by state party leaders who expect Carter to control about a third of the popular-lyelected delegates. They predicted Wallace will have slightly more, with the balance uncommitted.

Carter campaigned in Alaswing through the state this weekend.

Less than one half million of Alabama's 1.8 million registered voters are expected to take part in the Democratic and Republican primaries Tuesday, of which only about 75,000 will chose GOP ballots. The polls will close as late as 8 p.m. EDT, and so it will be well into the evening before the complicated voting pro cesses will be sorted out.

On the Republican side, Reagan campaigned in Alabama on parts of three days over the past two weeks. Reagan forces are hoping to capitalize on the sentiment that a vote for Wallace is a wasted vote now.

They hope that sizeable numbers of old line Wallaceites will cross over to the Republican side Tuesday to vote for the other most-conservative figure in the presidential sweepstakes, Reagan.

Ford's campaign here does not anticipate that this will happen, though. The President's Alabama coordinators believe nostalgia and loyalty for Wallace and the presence of numerous hot congressional and local races in the Alabama Democratic primary will preclude a large scale desertion of Democrats to the Reagan side.

Reagan's Alabama campaign manager, Birmingham Probate Judge Guy Hunt, said Friday he will be "very disappointed" if his candidate loses more than two or three of the 37 GOP delegates to be decided Tuesday.

"We have a reasonable chance to win them all," especially if Reagan defeats Ford in the Texas primary Saturday, Hunt said.

John Davis, brought in to Alabama from North Carolina by the President Ford Committee, admitted that the Ford campaign has been late starting here.

But he predicted that the President's visit to Birmingham Monday will bring about a "photo-finsh" on Tuesday.

The Ford campaign has undertaken only a limited media campaign in Alabama, while the 30-minute message which preceded Reagan's victory in the North Carolina primary has been shown in almost every market in the state. Judge Hunt said the Reagan campaign will have cost about $50,000 by election day, $30,000 of which went to buy time and space in the media.

In the Republican primary, three delegates will be picked from each of the state's seven congressional districts, and 16 more will be elected statewide. The presence of well-known Alabama Republicans on the Ford slate will be an asset to him.

HAL GULLIVER

Georgia Is Carter's Next Big One

Meriden, Conn.

JIMMY CARTER of Plains, Ga., stood one afternoon last week in front of the town hall here and talked briefly about how he had gotten to know the country during the long months of his national presidential campaign.

It was only one campaign stop in a day that started in New Jersey, was spent mostly in Connecticut, a state scheduled in caucus selection of Democratic campaign delegates to the national convention that evening, and then ended up in Philadelphia where Carter would see his wife for the first time in some days and watch the Pennsylvania primary vote count. He stood on the town hall steps, waited for the high school band to finish playing, said his few words, and then shook hands in the crowd outside before going inside to talk again briefly to local city employes.

Hal Gulliver's column appears daily in The Atlanta Constitution.

People here seemed impressed. "This is one of the greatest honors that falls to a mayor once in a lifetime," said Meriden's Mayor Abraham Grossman in introducing Carter.

There is a plaque on the side of the Meriden Town Hall commemorating a campaign visit to the town on March 6, 1860. Another presidential hopeful, Abraham Lincoln, came by that day and went on to win a Republican nomination and the Presidency. Lincoln received 43,702 votes to carry the state of Connecticut that year, swamping both of his opponents and receiving nearly 60 per cent of the votes.

Maybe Jimmy Carter is not Honest Abe, but he is certainly regarded as a most serious contender for the White House wherever he campaigns these days. People crowd around him on public streets and seek eagerly to shake his hands, whether in Meriden or Philadelphia or Pittsburgh or Newark or Hartford.

Carter's campaign strategy from the beginning was to run in all primaries and caucus states. It seemed a near foolish strategy at the beginning, but his very success has given it a snowballing impact. Carter was the only major Democratic candidate (one given even a remote chance at the nomination) who had campaigned in Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Louisiana and Texas, all four states which had primaries or caucus selections last week.

The next two days include fully five primaries with Carter a contender for delegates in all five.

Colorado selects delegates Monday. Carter's home state of Georgia has its very first presidential primary on Tuesday, on the same day that there is a primary in governor George Wallace's home state of Alabama, plus primaries in Indiana and the District of Columbia.

The most important of these in a real sense would be Georgia.

It is Carter's home state. His showing in Georgia will have significant national effect on his campaign. The expectation is that Carter should do very well, but in saying this it is interesting to note how rapidly such things can change.

Only a few months ago the conventional wisdom held that Carter might have serious political problems in his home state. Alabama Gov. George Wallace carried the state in the 1968 presidential election. Many believed Wallace might conceivably carry the state again this year even against a former Georgia governor from Plains. Moreover, Carter has made his share of political enemies and many of these would probably be willing to embarrass him in his home state.

Another factor was that there seemed at first no rush of Georgia Democrats to offer words of support for Carter. That has changed dramatically in the past several weeks. At this point, Wallace does not seem to be making a serious effort in Georgia. A good turnout should give Carter an impressive Georgia victory on Tuesday.

But, it should be added, a low turnout or a poor Carter showing (for instance, in the selection of a good many uncommitted delegates) could tarnish the strong momentum of Carter's White House bid.

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY ED

Weather: Cooler, likely today, ton: Temperature rang: Friday 49-72. Deta:

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25 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air-delivery cities.

...KSON EXPECTED BY AIDES TO QUIT CAMPAIGN TODAY

Colleague Declares Effort Was Hurt by Timing of Humphrey Statement

MONEY SHORTAGE CITED

Senator Will Fly to Home State of Washington to Announce His Plans

By LINDA CHARLTON
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 30—Senator Henry M. Jackson is expected to announce tomorrow that he is abandoning his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, according to key members of his campaign staff.

Officially, all that was being said today was that the Senator would fly to his home state of Washington tomorrow to "make a statement concerning his plans."

"There was absolutely no money left," said one adviser. "We thought that the Humphrey withdrawal might send some people our way, but it didn't. Scoop wanted to go on, but he didn't have a single weapon left."

Hurt Campaign

A Congressional colleague and old friend of Senator Jackson said that the timing of Hubert H. Humphrey's announcement hurt the Jackson campaign.

"If he had made his withdrawal statement three weeks ago, we would have had a clear shot at [former Georgia Governor] Carter in Pennsylvania," the colleague said. "Instead, everywhere we went, Jackson was described as a stalking horse."

Senator Jackson's announcement will come on the day when Texas will hold its Presidential primary, where he is not a contender. On the Republican side, political leaders in Texas believe that heavy campaigning by President Ford has cut into the early strength of his opponent, Ronald Reagan. [Page 10.]

Intense Meetings

The late-afternoon announcement of Senator Jackson's planned flight to Seattle followed two days of intense meetings with staff and advisers "relative to those [Mr. Jackson's] plans," according to Brian Corcoran, the Senator's press secretary. It also followed an announcement in Indianapolis that his campaign headquarters there would be closed by tomorrow, three days before the Indiana primary, in which he was entered.

Rumors of impending with-

Continued on Page 9, Column 3

Jackson Is Expected to Quit Campaign

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

drawal from active candiddacy had been circulating widely since Senator Jackson's disappointing second-place finish Tuesday in the Pennsylvania primary and his apparent third place in the contest for convention delegates. He had counted on heavy labor support there to increase his chances, and the results were an undeniable blow to his hopes.

No Confirmation

Mr. Corcoran refused to confirm or deny the rumors that tomorrow's statement in Seattle would be a withdrawal statement, saying trat the situation was too complicated. All he would say was that the Senator "will make a statement concerning his plans for the period leading up to the July 12 Democratic National Convention."

He will make his announcement at a news conference at 4:30 P.M. New York Time in a Seattle hotel, remain in Seattle overnight and return to Washington Sunday, Mr. Corcoran said. All scheduled campaign appearances for this weekend have ben canceled.

The equivocal nature of the description of the Senator's planned statement led to speculation that he might be planning to "suspend" campaigning, a device used by other withdrawing candidates to insure Federal matching funds to pay campaign debts.

In a post-primary news conference in Pennsylvania, Mr. Jackson said he was restructuring his campaign and would be avoiding what he called the "gimmickry" of campaigning—eating ethnic foods, wearing funny hats.

Even Senator Jackson, the first Democrat to announce his candidacy and start collecting campaign money, has found that the present freeze of matching funds has pinched his campaigning style.

Earlier this month, Mr. Jackson won the New York primary, but his victory was less than the landslide he had predicted. A little more than a month before that, he won the Massachusetts primary. He came in third in Wisconsin, Florida and North Carolina.

His wife, Helen, had reportedly been urging him for several days to get out of the race. Asked to comment on these rumors, Mrs. Jackson said. "Well, I'll neither confirm nor deny" the report.

The 63-year-old Mr. Jackson, making his second try for his party's nomination, has been an indefatigable campaigner. A typical day's campaigning in February, for example, started in Boston, continued with two hours in New York City, and finished late that night in Tampa, fla., after several evening appearances there.

He was the first candidate to make foreign policy a major issue, denouncing detente as a "one-way street" that benefited the Soviet Union far more than the United States and promising a hard-line approach to the Russians.

He wooed labor support assiduosuly — "Jackson means jobs," said one of his campaign buttons—and with considerable success in some states. In Massachusetts, some part of his victory was attributed to his position on school busing, which some busing opponents saw as supportive of their position. Although often described as the "conservative" in the field of Democratic aspiranst, Mr. Jackson himself pointed to his long record of liberalism in domestic affairs.

Well aware of his less than magnetic presence and, despite professional coaching, somewhat monotonous speaking style, Senator Jackson tried to project an air of competence and experience, of solid and sensible hard work.

He was electe dt othe Senate in 1952. In 1960, he was disappointed in his hopes of being John F. Kennedy's runningmate. In 1972 he made his first try for the Presidential nomination and was defeated by Senator George McGovern.

GG

LATIN SUPPORTERS OF CARTER VEXED

They Say Candidate Ignores Mexican-Americans

By PAUL DELANEY
Special to The New York Times

SAN ANTONIO—There is no evidence of it, but the small, white frame house at 2106 El Paso Street is the campaign headquarters for Jimmy Carter in the west side barrio of San Antonio.

The office and Mr. Carter's campaign in the barrio are run by Dario Chapa, director of the local of the San Antonio League of United Latin American Citizens, and Dario R. Aguilar, a portly, friendly community organizer.

They have little equipment, few posters and no signs outside to indicate that the house is a political office rather than a residence. Moreover, the two complained that Mr. Carter's national office in Atlanta not only had failed to reimburse them $500 for translating and printing a bulletin into Spanish but had also asked them for contributions.

Both men said they were disappointed, indeed embarrassed, that their candidate had not made more of an effort to attract Mexican-American voters, who they feel could be crucial in a close race. But they and others in this predominantly Latin-American town of 750,000 people said it was typical, that the Mexican community felt just as ignored as other minorities by the Presidential candidates so far in the 1976 primary campaign.

More Barrio Time Urged

"We are very disappointed he won't spend enough time in the barrio. It would help make him better known among Mexican-Americans," said Mr. Chapa, who supported Senator George McGovern in 1972.

Mr. Chapa and others said they were turned off by the "ethnic purity" remarks made by their candidate three weeks ago but they still believed that the former Georgia Governor could have cut some of the support for Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen in the Latin community.

As in other ethnic sectors of the state, the established political leadership in the Mexican-American community has thrown its support to Senator Bentsen and the Carter supporters except the favorite-son candidate will defeat their man among their constituents.

As a result, in the Mexican-American community Mr. Carter finds himself inadvertently involved in an intense local fight, similar to one in the District of Columbia. Mr. Chapa and his supporters and Carter delegates in today's primary are attempting to establish a political base in San Antonio. If Mr. Carter's delegates win, the Chapa Democrats will have scored an important upset over the Democratic establishment.

Mr. Carter found himself in a similar situation two weeks ago in the District of Columbia. He criticized opposing slates for control of the local party machinery, urging voters to ignore the infighting and to concentrate on the Presidential primary.

Mr. Chapa noted that there was much more of a battle for the Latin vote four years ago. At that time, there was a strong effort by President Nixon to attract Hispanic support.

The Senate Watergate committee in its report said that much of that effort involved illegal activity, such as rewarding supporters and their organizations with government contracts and grants. And after he was re-elected, Mr. Nixon named numerous Hispanic-Americans to positions in his Administration.

Jersey Labor Chief Hails Carter In First Hint of Shift by Unions

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, April 30 —The New Jersey A.F.L.-C.I.O. had its first kind words today for Jimmy Carter.

Charles Marciante, the state federation president, said he had "the greatest" admiration for Mr. Carter's primary performance to date." The labor leader also said: "Believe me, there is no other group more intent on defeating President Ford in November, than organized labor. If Mr. Carter can accomplish that, then we're all for it."

Mr. Marciante's remarks were the first public evidence that he or any other top labor leaders in New Jersey were prepared to support the former Georgia Governor who now seems headed for another major primary victory in New Jersey next month.

However, Mr. Marciante said that Mr. Carter had only proved he could win 30 percent of the Democratic delegates in the primaries held thus far and that "it's not the kind of mandate that will get him very far in November."

Top Candidates Lagging

Organized labor in New Jersey was counting on two candidates: Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. However, Senator Jackson has suffered a series of defeats and Senator Humphrey refused yesterday to become an active candidate and enter the New Jersey primary.

As a consequence, labor leaders in New Jersey face the prospect of going into the June 8 primary here without a viable candidate. Few, if any, of the leaders have expressed any interest in Mr. Carter until the brief, conciliatory remark today by the state head of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In the same statement, however, Mr. Marciante charged that Dan Gaby, the New Jersey campaign manager for Mr. Carter, was creating a rift in the party by attacking State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman who has been leading the Humphrey drive in New Jersey.

Mr. Gaby accused Mr. Dugan of bossism yesterday and Mr. Marciante said today that the accusation "represented the same type of splendid arrogance that led to George McGovern's post-convention collapse in 1972."

Finally, the Carter campaign announced that former Georgia Governor would appear here next Thursday at a fund-raising dinner on the same night Mr. Humphrey is scheduled to appear at a Congressional fund-raising dinner for Representative Andrew Maguire of Bergen County.

While Carter officials refused any comment, the scheduling of the Georgian's appearance in East Brunswick was interpreted by Democratic leaders as a campaign gambit calculated to deprive Mr. Humphrey of the political impact his appearance was expected to create.

Carter, in Texas, Asserts Ford Has Failed to Give Leadership

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

AUSTIN, Tex., April 30—Jimmy Carter, on his final campaign swing through Texas before the Democratic Presidential primary tomorrow, accused President Ford today of failing to provide the necessary leadership for the country in either domestic or foreign affairs.

In one of his sharpest attacks on the Republican President in his long months of running for the Democratic nomination, the former Georgia Governor said:

"At this point the country's drifting because there's no leadership. We don't need a caretaker in the White House, but that's what we've got."

Aides conceded that Mr. Carter was beginning to focus his aim on the President because his two principal active rivals for the nomination, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, had obviously been weakened by the decisive Carter victory over them in Pennsylvania on Tuesday.

Decreased Interest

With Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's announced decision yesterday not to run in the New Jersey primary June 8, Mr. Carter was faced with the possibility of diminished interest in his campaign if he had little more than scattered opposition from his badly wounded earlier opponents or from favorite sons, such as Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen here in Texas and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in California.

Shifting his attacks to Mr. Ford, his advisers acknowledge, could sustain interest in his candidacy and also help him gain more support from members of regular Democratic organizations who expect the President to be their party's opponent in the fall.

Mr. Carter's criticism of the President, both at a news conference in Dallas and after a speech to a crowd of about 300 persons in the House of Representatives chambers here, came in answer to questions about his reaction to Mr. Ford's remarks yesterday that he thought he could defeat the Georgian in a general election because of his "inexperience."

"President Ford has a great deal of experience," he said here with a smile, "35 or 40 years, I don't recall. Anything you don't like about Washington, I suggest you blame on him."

He then accused the President of having gailed to put forth any programs to deal with such problems as recession, inflation or the energy shortage.

At the earlier news conference, in an attack reminiscent of those frequently made by Ronald Reagan, the former Governor of California who is opposing Mr. Ford in the Republican primary here, Mr. Carter declared:

"He has turned over foreign affairs to Mr. Kissinger and has very little role to play in the evolution or consummation of those affairs."

Asked about Mr. Humphrey's suggestion yesterday that he would help "educate" him on some of the issues of the day, Mr. Carter replied:

"I don't find fault with that. I think of all the people I've known in politics, he's probably my favorite. I consider him my friend. I look forward to his advice and counsel and eventually his open support."

As he was about to leave Austin for San Antonio, the almost obsessively punctual Mr. Carter lost 20 minutes off his schedule when a small electrical fire in a light fixture forced the evacuation of his charter jet.

But he perched on the hood of a car on a runway as firemen swarmed over the plane smiling amiably as television cameras played on him, the fire trucks, police cars and men rushing about with hoses.

What Might Have Been

When political historians take the long look at this year's Presidential campaign, they may well conclude that Congressional fumbling of the campaign finance law played a major role in the result.

The Supreme Court decided at the end of January that the Federal Election Commission had been unconstitutionally selected. To avoid chaos in a campaign already under way, it gave Congress until March 22 to reconstitute that body so that it could legally continue to issue Federal funds to the qualified candidates in the field. Congress decided, while it was about it, to patch up the entire law—some of its members genuinely bent on reform, others as genuinely bent on political advantage and all too few concerned with either the dangers of delay or the impropriety of changing rules in the middle of a race.

Only now, five weeks after the deadline, has a conference committee of the two houses reached agreement on a revised law—which still has to be approved by each chamber and then signed by a reluctant President. Meanwhile, the commission's inability to pay out Federal funds, which the candidates had a right to count on, virtually emptied the campaign chests of Senator Jackson and Representative Udall, leaving them without the resources to stand up to the better-financed Governor Carter in the vitally important Pennsylvania campaign.

It is possible, even likely, that Mr. Carter would have won that primary, last Tuesday, in any case—but it is most unlikely that without that financial advantage he would have won it by the overwhelming margin that he did. While he flew a chartered plane around the state, Senator Jackson had to rely on scheduled flights and endless car trips—and Representative Udall could hardly afford even the telephones that he needed.

It was not the fact of Mr. Carter's victory but its magnitude that just about eliminated his opponents from the race. At the same time, their virtual elimination served to discourage the one off-stage figure who might in the end have headed off the Georgian. Before Pennsylvania, it was touch-and-go as to whether Senator Hubert Humphrey would make himself a candidate by entering the New Jersey primary. If he was of two minds before the Pennsylvania primary, there is no doubt that the dimensions of the Carter triumph in that state dictated which mind he would follow.

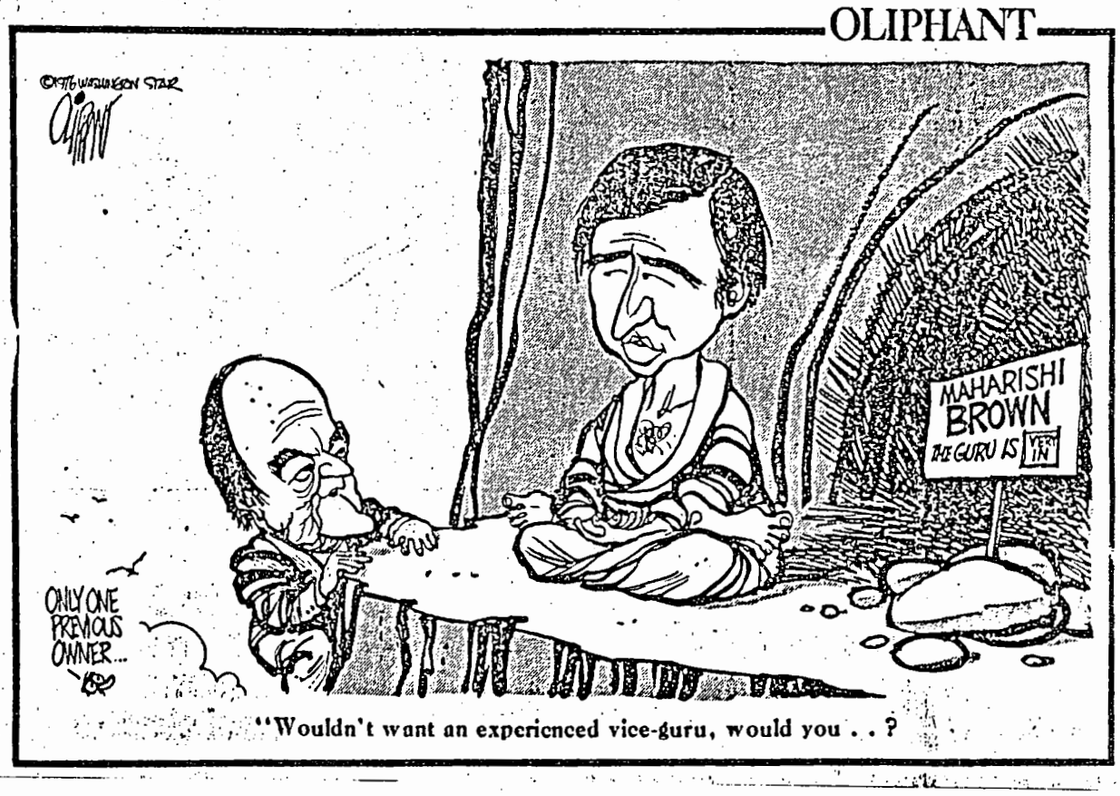
It will be one of the great ironies of politics if the Minnesota reformer turns out in fact to have been unintentionally deprived of his best chance at the nomination by some of his friends in Congress in the name of campaign reform.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

What The Press Had To Say.

5/11

OLIPHANT



"Wouldn't want an experienced vice-guru, would you . . ?

37A

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News Summary and Index

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Israel is planning to establish numerous additional settlements in occupied Arab territory over the next several years, Government officials said yesterday. The new settlements—some will be small agricultural villages and others industrial towns—will be in the Golan Heights, Jordan Valley, West Bank of the Jordan, and the Rafah area of the Gaza Strip. Since the 1967 war Israel has established 68 settlements in Arab territory. The Government announcement followed a Cabinet vote of 17 to 2 approving a resolution banning illegal Israeli settlements in the West Bank, but emphasizing that the Government would continue to establish settlements in areas of its own choice. One of the illegal settlements is occupied by a group of extreme Israeli nationalists in an army camp at Kadum, near Nablus. The Cabinet authorized the removal of the camp's inhabitants. [Page 1, Col. 8.]

Jeremy Thorpe resigned as leader of Britain's Liberal Party following several months of newspaper reports about his financial affairs and private life—he was alleged to have had a homosexual relationship with a former stable boy whom he had befriended. He accused some British newspapers of a "sustained witch hunt" and denied strongly that he had had a homosexual affair. He said he was resigning because the controversy could wreck the Liberal Party. He was the party's leader for nine years. He will remain a member of Parliament. [1:6-7.]

National

With increasing stridency the primary contest between Ronald Reagan and President Ford has developed into an unfocused — and perhaps irrelevant — debate over whether the United States is the number one military power. Two primaries today, in Nebraska and West Virginia, will give further evidence of the success of Mr. Reagan's tactic of making defense an issue in his campaign. [1:1-4.]

Capt. Arthur Lincoln, an Army lawer at West Point who has criticized the alleged abuse of the West Point honor code by officers and cadets, has been asked to leave the United States Military Academy. The Pentagon asked him to submit choices for reassignment even though his request to remain at West Point for a fourth year had been granted two months ago. Captain Lincoln, a West Point graduate, has defended a cadet against an apparent harassment campaign following the reversal of charges that the cadet, Steven Verr, had violated the honor code. [1:1-2.]

Metropolitan

For the first time since the fiscal crisis began more than a year ago, New York State went into the bond market, successfully selling $59 million of its long-term bonds to a group of underwriters headed by the Chase Manhattan Bank. But the interest rate of 7.30 percent indicated how seriously the state's financial standing had eroded. The last time the state sold its own bonds, in November 1974, it had paid a rate of only 5.725 percent. [1:5.]

The Realty Advisory Board, representing owners of apartment houses struck by maintenance men, rejected a counterproposal by Local 32B of the Service Employees International Union. Vincent D. McDonnell, chairman of the State Mediation Board, who took part in the negotiations to hasten the strike's end, said there was an "absolute impasse." The owners' group last week offered a $25 package over a three-year period, including payments for health and pension benefits. The union proposed a two-year contract with $25 raises in each year in addition to benefit payments. [1:6.]

A new contract that would add an hour to the work day of New York city's school principals and other supervisors is nearing approval by the Board of Education and the school supervisors' union. The board will forgo in this contract one of its major demands, which would have required the school system's 4,000 supervisors to work during one of their two summer vacation months. [1:2.]

New York State housing officials won a court fight to foreclose the $436 million mortgage on Co-op City in the Bronx, whose residents have refused to pay a 25 percent monthly increase in their maintenance charges, now retroactive to April 1975. The decision by Justice Nathaniel T. Holman of State Supreme Court in the Bronx gave the Housing Finance Agency, which provided the mortgage money, the right to sell the assets of the 15,000-family cooperative in a foreclosure sale. [1:1.]

The Other News

International

Soviet, in U.N., charges Israeli "genocide." Page 3.
Palestinians in Lebanon accuse Syria. Page 3
Lockheed agent had contacts among top Japanese. Page 6
Kodama secluded after new indictment. Page 7
Strikes in Spain protest shootings. Page 8
Soviet clerics, including rabbi, here on visit. Page 8
Castro attacks "Yankee imperialism." Page 9
Superficial normality returns to quake area. Page 12

Government and Politics

Justice agency may not defend 3 in F.B.I. Page 13
New York State project cuts power costs. Page 15
Security held lax at computer centers. Page 16
Study critical of Federal anti-crime project. Page 18
Vote bill may benefit Ford by million. Page 21
'72 Wallace voters lean to Reagan. Page 22
Connecticut Democrats to select delegates. Page 24
Rivals press moves to stop Carter. Page 24
City Council screens 1977 budget requests. Page 55
Former military meat inspectors tell of bribes. Page 57

General

Cadet defender being shifted from West Point. Page 1
Times editor sues Nixon over wiretap. Page 14
Smithsonian recaptures Centennial of 1876. Page 14
House unit backs New River plan. Page 15
Appeals court denies appeal of Ray. Page 16
Women's group accuses two states of bias. Page 19
Congressional Record bars words of 7 writers. Page 20
U.S. immigrants record memories of holocaust. Page 25
Publishing of jury reports brings inquiry. Page 30
Shalom Aleichim "lives" again. Page 34
Metropolitan Briefs. Page 35
Fifth Ave. residents ask parade curbs. Page 35

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITION

Weather: Chance of rain late today and tonight. Fair, cooler tomorrow. Temperature range, today 51-75. Details on page 20

Monday 51-75. Details on p

XXV ....No. 43,207

— NEW YORK, TUESDAY, MAY 11, 1976 —

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The Stop-Carter Drive: A Series of Upsets Is Sought

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

HASTINGS, Neb., May 10—The outlines of a new theory of how to deny the Democratic Presidential nomination to Jimmy Carter have emerged during the two weeks since the Georgian's decisive victory in Pennsylvania—a victory that drove to the sidelines his principal declared opponent, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, and principal undeclared opponent, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. Few party leaders expect Mr. Carter to be stopped; most agree with the candidate's own assessment, delivered in Nebraska last week, that "it's too late" to head him off. But this has been a year of startling reversals of farm, and yet another remains possible if quite improbable.

News Analysis

Success for Mr. Carter's opposition now depends on victories by Senator Frank Church of Idaho in Nebraska tomorrow and by Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona in Michigan and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California in Maryland, both on May 18.

A series of upsets in those states would change the character of the last three clusters of primaries. In Idaho, Nevada and Oregon on May 25, Montana on June 1 and California, Ohio and New Jersey on May 8, Mr. Carter would face opponents who had proved that they could win, rather than a collection of diehard losers. And his own impetus toward nomination, now seemingly irrestible, would appear more open to question.

Stress on Uncommitted

In that situation, Mr. Brown's "native son" candidacy in California and his campaign next door in Nevada would seem more credible. Mr. Church would be strengthened in his home region (Idaho and Montana) as well as in traditionally liberal Oregon. Mr. Udall might find some running room in Ohio, and the uncommitted slates in New Jersey might come to life.

Success for one or more of the long-shot candidates in the late primaries would make it harder, in turn, for Mr. Carter to attract the hundreds of uncommitted delegates he will need to reach the 1,505 needed for nomination. Rounding up the uncommitteds depends upon a psychology of invincibility that must be sustained through the closing primaries.

The problems with the scenario are obvious. Mr. Carter has demonstrated a broad appeal in winning 11 of the first 14 primaries. His dramatic breakthrough has earned him intense coverage by the news media, including cover stories in both Time and Newsweek last week. His fund-raising capacity exceeds that of his rivals.

But Mr. Carter, as the leader, is the target for all the challengers, and he is running almost everywhere while they pick their spots. Having spent several days campaigning in the Platte River Valley, the root of the Oregon Trail, Mr. Church chose Western terms to describe Mr. Carter's present situation.

"He's trying to lead a wagon train through a series of mountain passes," said the Idaho Senator, "and there's a different candidate waiting to ambush him at each one."

Although all three of the Georgian's active rivals disclaim participation in a stop-Carter movement, they are utilizing similar tactics.

Mr. Udall calls Mr. Carte "the waffler." Mr. Brown asked on television yesterday, "Who is the real Jimmy Carter? What's behind the smile?" Mr. Church stood this morning on the steps of Nebraska's skyscraper capitol in Lincoln and asserted that Mr. Carter was waging a "campaign of generalities calculated not to offend people who may disagree with him."

The three have been at pains to stay out of each other's way. Mr. Udall, for example, decided to forego active campaigning here, despite an established organization, lest he split the anti-Carter vote with Mr. Church.

And all three have attempted to rally traditional party elements that remain somewhat suspicious of Mr. Carter without looking as manipulative as Mr. Jackson was made to look in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Udall has been the least successful in doing so, and he appears to have the poorest chance of the three of bringing off a victory. As he has elsewhere, he lacks a base in Michigan, where Mr. Carter is well established among the big black population and enjoys the support of key labor leaders, including Leonard Woodcock of the United Automobile Workers and Tom Turner of the Detroit metropolitan labor federation.

According to Patrick Caddell, Mr. Carter's pollster, Mr. Brown holds a narrow lead in Maryland. His big crowds have astonished local politicians, and he has managed, despite his anti-establishment politics, to win the support of the old-line organizations in Baltimore and Prince Georges counties.

His problem is that he can afflict only a psychological blow; even if he wins the preferential primary, he can elect no delegate candidates because he filed none.

Mr. Church, as he said in an interview last night, has "surged from nowhere in four short weeks." Intensive local press coverage has enabled him to establish himself, within Nebraska, as a believable alternative to Mr. Carter.

A poll two weeks ago by The Omaha World-Herald showed him trailing Mr. Carter by 10 percentage points, but his growing crowds and the observations of prominent Democrats here attest to accelerating momentum. He has attracted, moreover, large numbers of erstwhile supporters of Mr. Udall, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Humphrey to his cause.

His success in portraying himself as the only ralistic anti-Carter candidate here was symbolized yesterday in Hastings. In a classically Middle Western setting—an old wooden ChaUTAUQUA PAVILION, WHERE HEROES OF nebraska's political past such as William Jennings Bryan and Senator George W. Norris once captivated audiences—he won a ringing endorsement from Lieut. Gov. Gerald Whelan, a Jackson backer, as a man in the Norris tradion of progressivism.

GIVE REAL GRASS
GIVE FRESH AIR FUND

Connecticut Democrats Vote Today in Delegate Selection Process

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Special to The New York Times

HARTFORD, May 10—Connecticut has been turned into a quaint and confusing battleground for the voting tomorrow in the delegate selection process for Democratic Presidential candidates.

Those of the state's 575,000 enrolled Democrats who turn out between noon and 8 P.M. to vote will be choosing from among the familiar names of candidates for the party's Presidential nomination. A couple of the candidates, however, have already faded somewhat from the picture.

In all but 48 of Connecticut's 169 towns, the voting will be done on paper ballots rather than by machine. Paper-ballot towns include Bridgeport, Stamford, Waterbury, New Haven and other places of substantial size. Paper ballots have not been used much in Connecticut for nearly half a century. The purpose in allowing them at this one-time one-party affair was to keep expenses down.

The first place on the ballot in each town and on the first box on the machines is reserved not for a candidate but for the uncommitted slate the party organization in each town put together for voters who would like to see Connecticut's options kept open at the national convention in New York in July.

In order, as was determined by lot, the candidates who remain on the Connecticut ballots are Ellen McCormack of New York, the anti-abortion candidate; former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia; Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona; Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington; and former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma.

Right in the middle of them, crossed out on the paper ballots and pasted over on the machines, is the name of Senator Frank Church of Idaho, who last week dropped out of the running in Connecticut.

Mr. Harris said in a talk at Wesleyan University in Middletown last Thursday that he was staying in the race only in the hopes of having some influence in shaping the party platform.

In Seattle on May 1, after a resounding defeat at the hands of Mr. Carter in the Pennsylvania voting the Tuesday before, Senator Jackson said he was ending his "active pursuit" of the nomination.

But last Thursday he was back in Connecticut for three days of campaigning heavier than that undertaken by any of the others.

Gov. Ella T. Grasso of Connecticut had been on the telephone to him a few times. She had come out strongly for him a month ago and campaigned for him in New York and Pennsylvania.

Although she professed not to be, Mrs. Grasso was left politically vulnerable when Senator Jackson dropped out.

He stepped back into the race again, at least in Connecticut, and said he would campaign in Maryland for the voting there a week after the Connecticut voting.

If he does well, the Senator said, he will crank up his campaign again.

"We would have gone on if we had had the funds," he said. "We're out of money. We don't have any money. It's that simple."

No sooner had Senator Jackson arrived and started out on the hustings than Mrs. Grasso left for Ireland. She and other governors and representatives of the states that had been the 13 original colonies are the guests of the Irish Government. She will be back in time to vote on tomorrow.

But the voting on that day represents neither the beginning nor the end of the rather complicated process in Connecticut. The names on the ballots and the voting machines tomorrow merely identify slates of delegates committed to them.

The delegates were picked at separate caucuses held for each candidate in each of Connecticut's 169 towns two weeks ago.

Depending on how each candidate does in each town tomorrow, delegates will be taken proportionately from the top of each slate to make up the list of delegates to six district conventions in Connecticut on June 12.

Any candidate who fails to get 15 percent of the vote in a town will lose everything there. His votes will be poured in with the uncommitted.

Where he wins any delegates, he will be given a last chance to go over the names and throw out the ones he suspects are really an enemy in disguise.

Mr. Carter may want to exercise this option in the muddled case of Bridgeport, where a group of his supporters contended that their caucus on April 27 their caucus was raided by Mayor John C. Mandanici and others from the Jackson caucus who allegedly took over the meeting and installed a 47-man slate of their own to run behind Mr. Carter's name tomorrow.

A grievance panel at Democratic state headquarters ruled last Jackson's state coordinator, Stanley Weinberg of Manchester, to name one of his own. Charles Corviello, who headed the slate that was thrown out on Saturday, went to Superior Court in Bridgeport today seeking an injunction, still protesting his loyalty to Mr. Carter.

Mr. Corviello complained that his slate, picked by nearly 400 Democrats, was far more democratic than the new slate handpicked by one man from Manchester. The complicated new rules of the voting in Connecticut were meant to get more people to participate, he said.

The Face Game

By Russell Baker

It was an ominous development for Jimmy Carter last week when his face appeared on the cover of Time. Looking at the newsstand, you suddenly realized that something momentous had happened to Mr. Carter. He had become an old face.

Since early January he has been a face constantly gazing out of newspapers, magazines and television screens, and the reason for that was clear enough. He had been a new face in a nation half mad with the yearning to be ruled by new faces.

Now here he was again on the cover of Time, one of the nation's great old-face repositories. An unhappy development surely for the Carter campaign. The political wizards say his great problem during the next two months will be to consolidate the Democratic Party, but the wizards have been wrong consistently this year. Perhaps his truly great problem between now and the convention will be renewing his face.

Richard Nixon, who understood politics, if not himself, used to say that front-runners who lost at the goal line had "peaked too soon." Politics is no longer what it was in Mr. Nixon's day. The danger for Mr. Carter may lie in the possibility that he has faced too soon.

The danger is underlined by the arrival out of the West last week of Governor Brown, bearing the newest new face on the continent through the harsh Atlantic East. The jolly receptions accorded this dewy California face by Hubert Humphrey and Maryland's Governor Mandel suggest all too clearly that these ancient faces see it as a face sufficiently new to assist their hopes of stopping the aging face from Georgia.

There is no business like show business, Irving Berlin once proclaimed, and thirty years ago he may have been right, but not any more. Nowadays almost every business is like show business, including politics, which has become more like show business than show business is.

Both parties suffer from a dearth of stars who can pack them in the way Gable and Roosevelt, Monroe and Eisenhower, Gary Cooper and Kennedy used to do. And so we have this search for new stars. The Democratic campaign could be set to music and called "New Faces of 1976," and while Ronald Reagan is not exactly a new face, it is easy to see why stagestruck Republicans might prefer him —he could be passably cast as Jimmy Stewart's best pal—to Gerald Ford, whose best performances were played as second banana to Everett Dirksen.

Jimmy Carter's danger lies in his triumph of becoming a new face too soon. New faces age into old faces with astonishing speed these days because of the intensity of press absorption with Presidential politics, and Mr. Carter's early successes have kept his face before the public almost constantly since deep winter.

By July it will have been on magazine covers so long that the party could find itself yearning for a glimpse of Hubert Humphrey, if only for a change of face. Newness is a powerful selling point among Americans, but its defect is that it wears off very quickly. Last year's new improved laundry soap has to be replaced by this year's newer and more improved washday product.

Celebrities—people who are "new and exciting," who are famous for

OBSERVER

being famous as the old definition goes—get consumed just as fast as new improved soaps, new clothing fashions and new ideas. One of the true American horrors is to become "famous," because it almost certainly means being discarded shortly afterwards as outmoded, tiresome and old. We live in the land of total and instant consumption, and its prototypical figure is the instant has-been.

Mr. Carter may now be in danger of this fate. He seemed to sense the peril the other day when he spoke with uncustomary asperity of Mr. Humphrey's oddly enthusiastic embrace of Governor Brown's new face and suggested there was foul play being plotted among the old faces.

The difficulty with this aggressive defense against the old faces is that it suggests unpleasant old-face politics, with the shivs working at close quarters, which jars with the sweetness and love we have so far associated with Carter of the new face.

It may be that political necessity now requires Mr. Carter to go after the old faces in the old style. If so, he has powerful ammunition, particularly in the threat that the Democratic Party, if it rejects him now, risks handing a miffed Dixie over to the Republicans. Tough stuff, but very old-face politics. The prospect of an outraged South determined to punish the Democratic Party would do wonders for Mr. Reagan, who goes down in Dixie like french fries in adolescents.

It is a dangerous moment for all hands when a new face begins to age.

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IN THE NATION

A Campaign That's Still Wide Open

By Tom Wicker

'Maybe the political process...is not quite such a closed game as some have supposed.'

The Presidential campaign of 1976 has turned into the most volatile and wide-open race since that of 1952—or maybe even further back into political antiquity. With two months to go until the Democratic convention and the primary season half-over, nothing is clear and nothing is settled, despite all claims to the contrary.

The volatility of the electorate has been demonstrated most dramatically on the Republican side. Last winter, following Ronald Reagan's announcement of his campaign, Gerald Ford looked as if he might be the first incumbent in this century who would lose a nomination he had sought. But Mr. Ford whipped Mr. Reagan in New Hampshire and Florida, two states in which the Reagan managers had predicted a quick knockout, and Mr. Reagan was widely urged to put an end to his hopeless candidacy.

Then he pulled out a victory in North Carolina—probably influenced by local Republican rivalries as much as by national issues—and smashed Mr. Ford in Texas and three other primaries, for the best comeback since George Burns won the Oscar. Now it is Mr. Ford who is gamely pledging not to withdraw.

But the Democrats have in a sense been as unpredictable. Starting with a big field and new rules, they have eliminated candidates on the left (Harris, Bayh, Shriver, Shapp) and candidates on the right (Wallace, Jackson), and produced a centrist frontrunner (Carter) who has not quite shaken off his most persistent challenger (Udall) or been able to head off the emergence of new ones (Church, Brown). And even Hubert Humphrey, who was never officially in, but tearfully took himself out, now says he may be in after all, when the primaries are over.

All this leaves a truly wide-open race. Neither of the nominations can be said to be locked up, despite Jimmy Carter's clear lead on the Democratic side. And no one can reasonably predict the general election campaign until he knows the identity of the candidates, and what party contortions were required to produce them.

You have to go back at least to 1952 for anything remotely comparable; that year, Dwight Eisenhower and Robert Taft fought right down to the Republican convention, with the issue decided by first-ballot shifts. The Democrats went three ballots before nominating Adlai Stevenson. And even in 1952, it was widely believed that General Eisenhower could win over any Democrat, if the Republicans would only nominate him.

In no other year since then has there been such a degree of uncertainty about so many elements of the campaign. John Kennedy and Richard Nixon had their nominations locked up relatively early in 1960, as did Mr. Nixon in 1968, despite Nelson Rockefeller's fruitless challenge; the Johnson and Nixon victories of 1964 and 1972 were foregone conclusions. But it now appears likely that the Republican nomination for 1976 will be contested all the way to the first ballot—a prospect that, in itself, raises at least the shadow of the possibility of some late entries, maybe by John Connally or Mr. Rockefeller.

At least two problems still confront Mr. Carter on the Democratic side. Obviously, the main one is Governor Brown of California—not just because he, too, is a new face with something other than the customary kind of Democratic line but, ironically, also because regular party leaders like James P. Dugan of New Jersey clearly would like to use his candidacy as another means of stopping Mr. Carter. If Mr. Brown wins a big victory in California, moreover, it could put a late tarnish on the Carter campaign.

The other problem for Mr. Carter is Mr. Udall's dogged campaign, which has finally produced a one-on-one match between them in a major industrial state, Michigan (although George Wallace, rather pathetically, remains on the ballot). Mr. Carter will still be favored to win in Michigan but in a year like this—and with Mr. Carter simultaneously trying to fend off Governor Brown and Senator Frank Church in other states—an upset could occur. If it were augmented by Brown victories in Maryland and California, Mr. Humphrey would certainly come charging into the arena again—or at last.

Now maybe all this comes about mostly because Gerald Ford is a weak candidate and Jimmy Carter is a smart one and Jerry Brown is cool. But maybe, too, the political process in the United States is not quite such a closed game as some have supposed; and while 31 primaries and two conventions are a long grind for candidates and voters alike, maybe the end products will be two candidates who deserve what they've fairly won.

Jerry-Come-Lately

The belated entrance of California's Governor, Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., is a dramatic event in the Democratic Presidential contest. Because he delayed making his move for so long, Governor Brown can only run in three of the remaining primaries—Maryland on May 18, Nevada on May 25, and his native California on June 8.

If Mr. Brown wins decisively in all three primaries, the political effect would be to slow the rush to former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and perhaps impel many delegates to re-examine their tentative pro-Carter inclinations. Such a re-examination would not necessarily lead to Mr. Brown's own nomination. Many, though not all, of those now expressing interest in him were originally backers of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and would like to see a Humphrey-Brown ticket. The fear that the Californian is a front man for the Humphrey forces is one of the biggest obstacles he faces.

* * *

Other obstacles are the relative lack of clarity in his views on national and international problems and his youthfulness and inexperience. Governor Brown at 38 has served only sixteen months as Governor. With impressive skill, he is seeking to turn these obstacles into advantages.

Like Mr. Carter, Governor Brown is a newcomer on the national scene who benefits from the public mood of disenchantment with Washington. Unlike his rival, however, he offers himself as a spokesman of a new generation which grew up in the 1960's with the civil rights movement and the protest against the Vietnam War. Whether the country wants a new President who is both a newcomer to the Federal Government and an embodiment of a shift in generational leadership is the great imponderable of the Brown candidacy.

* * *

Governor Brown is young, handsome, and intellectually provocative. But is he a serious political phenomenon or only a media event cast up by a society that thrives on novelty? The answer to this question has to be sought in Mr. Brown's position on issues.

He strikes a refreshing note when he stresses that what the nation most needs in the making of foreign policy is "a moral base." He also candidly confronts the prospect of limited economic growth that may well lie ahead for this nation. He is squarely in the Democratic Party's progressive tradition in emphasizing the importance of full employment based on compassion as well as dollars-and-cents.

But beyond these broad generalizations, Governor Brown is disturbingly vague. Representative Morris K. Udall, the third active candidate in the Democratic field, remains the man with the most specific program. Given the unusual popular mood of apathy mingled with discontent, Governor Brown's combination of personal attractiveness and programmatic vagueness is probably a bigger threat to Mr. Carter than Representative Udall's steadfast candor. Specifics seem not to be in demand this year.

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THE SUN

K 4 BALTIMORE, SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1976

WILLIAM F SCHMICK, JR., Publisher • PAUL A. BANKER, Managing Editor • J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor

Presidential Choices and Decisions

The Sun strongly recommends that Maryland Republicans vote for President Ford in the May 18 primary. His opponent, former Governor Ronald Reagan of California, has shown himself to be unsuited for the presidency through his reckless handling of foreign policy issues. Voters must ask themselves what would be the repercussions of sending Mr. Reagan to the White House. Latin American leftists would exploit Mr. Reagan's vow to perpetuate a U.S. "sovereignty" over the Panama Canal that has never existed. Black Africans would consider the U. S. government committed to Mr. Reagan's clear preference for the white minority regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. The world's perception of the U. S. government would be distressingly close to the caricature its enemies like to draw: a jingoistic, imperialist, domineering country tainted by white racism.

We do not believe the American people want to be seen in so unfair and unfavorable a light. The United States is still sorting out the lessons of Vietnam, still trying to find means of protecting itself and its allies from an expansionist Soviet Union while establishing ties of friendship and mutual interest with Third World nations. This task is not easy In the best of circumstances, considering how intense is the competition for the world's resources. It would be impossible if the United States adopted the narrow, selfish, counter-productive nationalism preached by Mr. Reagan.

Unfortunately for the Republican party and the nation, President Ford has failed to cope with the Reagan challenge. The result has been a burst of primary election reverses for the President that threatens a 1964-style battle between rightwingers and moderates at the GOP national convention in Kansas City.

We believe Mr. Ford deserves the nomination not just because he has been a healing influence in the country but because his handling of the government, particularly in the field of domestic economics, has become steadily surer with the passage of time. A resounding Maryland vote for Mr. Ford on May 18 would be useful in keeping the Republican party in a position to offer leadership rather than divisiveness.

While the Republican choice is stark and compelling, a more subtle decision must be made by Maryland Democrats. Ours is the first primary in which former Governor James E. Carter of Georgia, a formidable frontrunner, is being opposed by Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., of California. Because of organization support for Mr. Brown from Governor Mandel, Baltimore County Executive Venetoulis, the O'Malley-Hoyer combine in Prince Georges county and various political bosses in Baltimore city, the Maryland primary is very much a contest.

It is a contest, however, only because Governor Brown is using Maryland politicians, and being used by them, for separate purposes. His purpose is to cause a late-primary sensation in Maryland, Nevada and California and become a leading figure in a stop-Carter movement at the Madison Square Garden convention. He would like the nomination, to be sure, but his more realistic goal is a quick national reputation.

This newspaper does not consider Governor Brown a credible presidential candidate at this time. He has a certain brilliance and an intriguing personality, but he is too brittle, too unformed. Strong Maryland support for Mr. Brown could, however, serve the useful purpose of keeping pressure on Governor Carter in the run-up to the convention.

The former Georgia governor has campaigned indefatigably for two years. He has been to virtually every state, has contested every primary and caucus. In comparison with other candidates, he has not been reticent or particularly ambiguous in discussing many hard issues. Indeed he has been willing to challenge his party's fealty to the power and wisdom of big government in Washington. Governor Carter's mastery over the complex machinery of choosing a nominee reflects a shrewdness and coolness that would serve him well in the White House. The fact that he would be the first President from the South in modern times adds to his potential to lend some of the unity for which many Americans yearn. Yet his political magic has derived mainly from his stated belief in the goodness of the American people. In the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate and the bribery scandals, Mr. Carter has touched an evangelical yearning for reassurance and renewal.

The selection of a President may be essentially an act of faith—a faith Mr. Carter has expressed and evoked more pointedly than any other politician of our generation. But there is no denying that many citizens remain uneasy about him. And because we share that uneasiness we do not endorse Governor Carter—although his nomination may be assured. Maryland Republicans have a clear choice in the May 18 voting; Maryland Democrats must make a decision not so much on the candidate as on the circumstances of his nomination.

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The Washington Post

FINAL
72 Pages—4 Sections

Amusements C6 Financial
Classified C9 Metro
Comics B8 Obituaries
Crossword B9 Sports
Editorials A22 Style
Fed. Diary B2 TV-Radio

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HHH Agrees Brown Could Stall Carter

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. agreed yesterday that Jimmy Carter does not have a stranglehold on the Democratic presidential nomination and that Brown's own late-starting candidacy could disrupt Carter's drive for the nomination.

Brown, who is running in the May 18 Maryland primary and the June 8 California primary, said he will also campaign in New Jersey before that state's primary June 8.

"Some people think the campaign is locked up," Brown said on "Face the Nation" (CBS-WTOP). "I think it's wide open."

"The chemistry of this campaign can change in Maryland and as we spread across the country you are going to see some real surprises," he added.

Calling Brown "a stalking horse for no one," Humphrey said on "Issues and Answers" (ABC-WMAL) that "this thing isn't all over."

"If Jerry Brown defeats Mr. Carter in Maryland, even though he doesn't have a single delegate, I'll bet you'll see in every newspaper in the United States (that) you men in the media will suddenly have discovered an entirely new, brilliant force in American political life."

Humphrey, who has made good on his pledge not to enter any of the Democratic primaries, also left open the possiblity that he will become an active candidate after the primaries if Carter's campaign should falter.

He said he will "assess the situation" after the final primaries on June 8 and might make "an active effort to round up delegates" should no other candidate appear certain of winning the nomination.

"I'm very much alive, let's put it that way," Humphrey said.

The Minnesota Democrat added, however, that if Carter or any other candidate goes to the July 12 Democratic Convention in New York with 1,100 or 1,200 delegates (1,505 are needed for the nomination) "that person is going to get that nomination, and I surely would have no hand in trying to stop it."

"I want my party to win," he said. "I want to be a healer in my party. But I do not want someone to feel that just because they are the front-runner that they own the party."

On the Republican side, Humphrey said the eventual Democratic nominee could defeat either President Ford or former California Gov. Ronald Reagan and that he thinks the President deserves the GOP nomination.

"If I had my choice, and the Republicans usually don't give me that, I think Mr. Ford has earned the right to defend his record," he said. "One thing he has done is to bring decency back into government."

While Humphrey mildly criticized Carter for vagueness, saying he wasn't sure of the former Georgia governor's stands on several major issues, Brown accused Carter of "not leveling with the American people about the difficulty and the magnitude of the challenge before this country. We're in for some tough times."

Brown said he has not tried "to sugar coat this," while with Carter "I get the sense that it's all just smiles, it's going to be easy, a little executive reorganization and it will all be fine again."

Meanwhile, on a separate interview program, "Meet the Press" (NBC-WRC), House Minority Leader John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.) said the President "probably" will win the nomination at the GOP convention despite Reagan's recent surge.

The Ford-Reagan contest should not split the Republican Party, Rhodes added, and, if it does, "Republicans will deserve the fate they get, which will be a resounding defeat."

Stigma of Washington Felt in Neb. Campaign

By Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

OMAHA — Lorraine and Andy Huff agreed that Sen. Frank Church, who is campaigning vigorously for the Democratic nomination for President in Tuesday's primary here, delivered "a very fine speech" at the Jefferson-Jackson dinner here Friday night.

"He surely is well-informed," said Huff, an insurance agent from Norfolk, Neb.

Then why, they were asked, were they sipping champagne and munching peanuts in Jimmy Carter's hospitality suite at the Hilton Hotel here.

"Because he's our man," said Mrs. Huff, a mother of five.

"My wife keeps up on the issues," said Huff, "and she sold me on Carter. Church and Humphrey and Ford and all the rest. They've been in Washington 20 years or more. If they understand the problems so well, then why haven't they solved them?"

Those sentiments, repeated in different forms by dozens of Nebraska voters interviewed here over the past two weeks, must be discouraging to President Ford and Church, the Idahoan who picked this state as the starting point for his mini-campaign.

Carter said at a $100-a-

See NEBRASKA, A3, Col. 1

NEBRASKA, From A1

plate breakfast here Saturday that a private poll conducted for him a week ago showed he was leading Church slightly. There are 11 Democrats on the ballot here, including Sens. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota and Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, and Carter said those two non-candidates and Church were closely bunched behind him in his poll.

The state's popular Democratic governor, J. James Exon, is a delegate candidate committed to Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, "which probably means I won't get elected," Exon laughed. Exon is trying to walk a neutral path between Carter and Church. He appeared on the platform at Friday's dinner with Church, and accompanied Carter Saturday to a speech in Crete.

But the governor predicted that Carter would win the primary "quite handily."

On the Republican side, Ronald Reagan and President Ford — at a concert here Wednesday singer Frank Sinatra called them "the Gipper and the Tripper" — are in a contest that state Republican Party executive director Lloyd Herbener said is "too close to call."

Mr. Ford, Carter and Church campaigned in Nebraska Saturday, and Reagan was here earlier last week.

Carter and Reagan clearly got better responses from the crowds than the President and Church. The President received polite and perfunctory receptions at several appearances last Friday, including a stop at a memorial being constructed at the site of his birth. Church won applause for his thoughtful, if sometimes ponderous, exposition of the issues.

But Reagan and Carter turned on the crowds in Nebraska, often without having to talk about issues. In fact, Carter sometimes responded to questions by saying, "I don't know the answer to that."

One of his most popular lines was, "I'm certainly not the best qualified person to run for President — I'm sure there are people in this room more intelligent — and I want to express my thanks to them for not running. I've got enough competition already."

Carter's campaign, and to a lesser degree Reagan's, have an ingredient that was missing in the Ford and Church appearances here — humor.

Carter supporters had planned to march a cow through the streets of Omaha Saturday touting a Cows for Carter auction later this month in Georgia, but Carter told some young admirers outside his hotel that the "cow went berserk and had to be taken to the stockyards. It was not a committed cow," he said.

The President cracked a joke here but no one laughed. "It's great to be in Omaha," he said and then with a reference to the city's famous insurance company, he added, "And I hope the feeling is mutual."

Carter's position is so secure that he made no attempt to steal the spotlight from Church at Friday's banquet. Carter arrived at the civic auditorium in the middle of the senator's speech, but remained in a VIP lounge until after Church finished. Then Carter made a few conciliatory remarks and left, permitting Church to keep the spotlight before the 1,500 diners.

But Carter didn't pass up the chance to campaign. He marched across the street to the Hilton, where he greeted many of the same Democrats as they entered a post-dinner dance.

On several occasions, Carter displayed a retentive memory. One man recalled riding on an airplane with him between Denver and Kansas City "about three years ago." Carter said, "It wasn't three years ago, it was December 3, 1974. I was on my way to the mini-convention."

At Saturday's breakfast, Carter said his supporters "hunger" for someone who will restore confidence in a government that lately "has been an obstacle to the realization of their dreams."

Noting that he has entered every primary, he said the campaign "has not been a sacrifice or an ordeal. It's rewarding to me. I feel better now than at the start . . . I'll be a better President because of it."

Lest his listeners think that remark was a swipe at Church, Carter said Church entered the Nebraska primary "with a genuine desire to be President—not as a stop--Carter candidate and not trying to be Vice President."

Mr. Ford was accompanied here by Nebraska's two GOP senators, Roman Hruska and Carl Curtis, and Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz.

Earlier last week, in the western part of Nebraska, Reagan had attacked Butz and the administration's ban of grain exports last year.

At a farm forum Friday night, Mr. Ford said he has proposed legislation to increase the estate tax exemption from $60,000 to $150,000, in an effort to prevent farmers from having to sell their land to pay inheritance taxes. But the President had been out-promised in that same Holiday Inn three days earlier by Reagan, who, like Church, would increase the exemption to $250,000.

In such Democratic strongholds as union meetings or a black bar on the city's north side, and at such Republican bastions as the Rotary Club, some Nebraskans were talking this week about the need for a change in leadership in faraway Washington.

Omaha City Council President Bob Cunningham said that while his brother, former seven-term GOP Rep. Glenn Cunningham, is a Ford delegate, he is undecided.

"Ford will do well here because this is his home town, but Reagan appeals to the basic Americanism that is so badly needed," Cunningham said.

Carter Falls Short Of Maine Prediction

Jimmy Carter fell short yesterday of his supporters' predictions that he would win half of Maine's 20 delegates to the Democratic National Convention.

At the state convention in Augusta, Maine Democrats gave Carter 9 delegates and Rep. Morris Udall 5. Six delegates were uncommitted.

Supporters of the former Georgia governor had predicted that Maine would be the first state to give Carter a clear majority of delegates selected at convention.

NOTES '76

Udall's supporters termed the election of five delegates for the Arizona congressman a major upset.

Martin Rigoff, Carter's Maine coordinator, said Carter's supporters were not active during the three-day convention because of their desire to have a unified meeting.

Carter Favored

Democratic presidential contender Jimmy Carter has opened a comfortable lead over President Ford in the latest nationwide Gallup Poll.

Carter leads 52 per cent to 43 per cent in the poll of registered voters which was released yesterday. In the April survey, Carter won the support of 49 per cent to Mr. Ford's 43 per cent.

Young voters (18 to 29) lean 3 to 2 in favor of Carter, the first time the Gallup Poll has found a majority of them clearly in Carter's camp.

The same survey showed Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota leading Mr. Ford 50 to 45 per cent.

Louisiana GOP

Republican presidential challenger Ronald Reagan captured three more Louisiana delegates to the Republican National Convention, bringing his clean-sweep total for the weekend to nine.

The three delegates were chosen at a Monroe caucus. The state's 32 other delegates will be chosen later.

Minn. Delegates

Three supporters of President Ford were chosen as delegates to the Republican National Convention at the 5th Congressional District convention. The district is made up of the city of Minneapolis.

The delegates may indicate whom they support, but they are not legally bound to vote for that candidate at the national party convention.

The Independent-Republican Party of Minneosta will send 42 delegates to the national convention. Those chosen so far include 15 Ford supporters, one delegate favoring Reagan and two uncommitted. Six other delegates will be chosen next weekend at district conventions in St. Paul and Duluth. The other 18 are to be chosen at the state convention next month.

From staff reports and news dispatches

Carter's Lead Is No Fluke

A3 Post

His Primary Vote Totals Outpace Those of Past Candidates

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

Analysis of votes cast in the Democratic presidential primaries held so far this year shows that Jimmy Carter's burst to the front of the pack is no fluke.

The voices of a tiny minority of a party's voters in a primary election historically have often carried disproportionate weight. But Carter, the one-term Georgia governor, has been drawing more votes than any primary candidate in recent elections.

The eventual nominee of 1972, South Dakota Sen. George McGovern, received a total of 4,053,451 votes in all the Democratic primaries that year. That was 9.6 per cent of the "normal" Democratic vote in the nation.

Carter already has received 3,872,976 votes this year, or 8.6 per cent of the "normal" Democratic vote. Less than half the primaries (14 of 31) have been held.

The "normal" Democratic vote, for this statistical purpose, was ascertained by totaling registered Democrats in those states where voters enroll by party, and adding it to the highest recent Democratic vote total in the other 24 states where registration is not by party or where statewide figures are not available. For 1976, the normal Democratic vote totals 44,844,753.

Carter already has won 11 primaries. McGovern won eight in 1972. Hubert H. Humphrey, the 1968 Democratic nominee, won none. John F. Kennedy, the 1960 nominee, won 10.

(Lyndon B. Johnson ran as an incumbent President in 1964 and had no substantial opposition.)

Four years ago, four candidates were bunched—in numbers and percentages of the total Democratic vote—by late April.

Through the Pennsylvania primary then, held on April 25, 1972, the leading Democratic vote-getter was Maine Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (with 25.4 per cent), and he folded his campaign after Pennsylvania.

Second at that point was Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, with 19.7 per cent. Third was McGovern, with 18.5 per cent, and fourth was Humphrey, with 17.6 per cent.

Pennsylvania's results this year clearly lifted Carter from the bunch. Through Pennsylvania, which voted on April 27, Carter had won 37.6 per cent of all the Democratic votes cast in the primaries.

(These statistics exclude New York, which had no statewide vote totals and which voted before Pennsylvania this year, but after it in 1972.)

Through the Pennsylvania vote, Carter's 2,302,423 votes amounted to 5.1 per cent of the normal Democratic vote in the nation.

Carter's totals this year are particularly impressive when weighed against the totals of previous candidates.

His total to date compares favorably with that of two leading vote-getters in the 1968 primaries, Sens. Eugene McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy.

McCarthy won six primaries that year, gaining 2,914,133 votes, while Kennedy won five, pulling 2,304,502. Before the final four primaries in June, McCarthy had only 1,557,935 votes and Kennedy 791,947.

(The influence of a small minority's votes is especially evident with the 1968 election in mind. President Johnson's decision not to seek re-election came from polls and the message cast by only 55,464 primary voters in New Hampshire, where Johnson won by 52 to 48 per cent over McCarthy. Those Democratic votes were fewer than 2/10th of 1 per cent of all the normal Democratic vote then.)

In 1960, when John Kennedy's candidacy generated so much excitement, his vote in the 16 primaries totaled 1,847,259, or less than half of Carter's total from the 14 primaries held so far this year.

Whether the apathy that was widely noted after the 1972 general election — when only 55 per cent of the voting age population cast ballots — might recur this year is not predictable from this year's primary turnouts.

Turnout frequently depends on non-comparable factors, such as local or regional candidates or issues, or how much is spent.

The turnout in North Carolina this year, for instance — 20.6 per cent of the voting age population—is far below than 28.2 per cent turnout in the 1972 primary. But in 1972, that state's former governor, Terry Sanford, was an active candidate for the presidency at the time of the primary vote.

Illinois' turnout this year was huge (26.5 per cent) compared to 1972, when only 16.7 per cent of the voters came out. But in 1972, then-President Nixon had almost no opposition, and the only Democrats on the ballot were Muskie and McCarthy.

The turnout in Wisconsin (40.9 per cent) was far lower than 1972's (47.3) but spending may be the key factor. Spending this year was far lower than in 1972, when Muskie and McGovern together spent about $1 million there, former New York Mayor John V. Lindsay spent $234,000, Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson spent $183,000, and Humphrey and Wallace each spent about $100,000.

The reverse is likely true in Massachusetts, where the 1972 candidates spent far less than this year's. In 1972, when the turnout was 18.6 per cent, the highest spender was McGovern, at about $316,000. All the Democrats together spent about $557,500.

This year, one candidate alone (Jackson) outspent that figure, with about $600,000, and the total of three others (Carter, Wallace and Morris Udall) added another $891,000. This year's turnout was 22.5 per cent.

In two of the most recent primaries, those in the District of Columbia and Indiana last Tuesday, turnouts were almost exactly the same as 1972's.

In the District, 5 per cent turned out, as they did in 1972. In Indiana, 33.8 per cent voted; it was 33.4 per cent four years ago.

Washington Post research assistant Sunday Orme contributed to this article.

Bigger Indian Rockets

Agence France-Presse

NEW DEHLI, May 9—India plans to manufacture large rockets capable of launching communications satellites, according to the Department of Space. The Indian new agency Samachar reported today that studies had already been made.

4

Garry Wills

Politics as spiritual quest

SACRAMENTO — Donald Burns heads California's Transportation Department, and is a close friend of Governor Jerry Brown. Like Brown, he spent time in a Jesuit seminary; and the two attended Yale Law School together in the early sixties. But Burns is as candid as Brown is guarded.

Brown has to say he is hoping to win the presidency this year, though some think he is laying the groundwork for 1980. Burns does not have to say it — but say it he does: "The Eastern press doesn't think Brown can believe he has a chance. They know he does not. They are intelligent men. He is an intelligent man. So he must know what they know. But Brown says in private what he says in public. He has told me, 'I think I have a chance to make it this year.' "

Brown and Carter sat together recently at the Black Delegates' Congress in North Carolina. Brown had looked nervous at first, and gave lackluster answers to the questions being directed at all four candidates. (Frank Church and Mo Udall were also there.)

But then a transformation took place. The candidates had been limited, toward the end, to one-minute answers. Each was asked why people should vote for him. Brown said, "In one minute?" and looked disgusted. Then he launched into a harangue:

"I represent the opportunity for a change of power in Washington. I represent the generation that came of age in the civil rights movement, in the anti-Vietnam war movement . . . I am unencumbered by the baggage of the last ten years. I'm a new generation, and I'll bring this country back to where it's been. If I go to Washington, I'll bring you with me."

Suddenly, he was the Zeitgeist. The moderator kept saying, "Time, governor." But Brown just shouted louder. Like Carter, he was preaching against sin — but against the sins of his elders.

All the rest of that day, Brown was charged-up. I asked him, hours later, why he had exploded so. He answered: "We were all saying the same thing. And then we were asked to show how we differed. It was a challenge to me. I wasn't getting through as myself, not communicating my essence.

"I felt I should be president, rather than those three, and I felt they (the audience) would feel that I should be, if I could get through to them. How was I to distill what I am? All right; I tried to let them know where I'm coming from. I wasn't going to be stopped until I finished. I told them what I am, and they felt it. They are on my wave length."

Many politicians feel called, but few so intensely called as Carter and Brown. For each, politics is a spiritual vocation. One preaches against Washington, and the other against age — which makes Hubert Humphrey the devil of our newest politics. It's enough to give one sympathy for the devil.

The Washington Star

JOE L. ALLBRITTON, *Publisher*

JAMES G. BELLOWS, *Editor* SIDNEY EPSTEIN, *Managing Editor* EDWIN M. YODER JR., *Associate Editor*

MONDAY, MAY 10, 1976

Carter Short of Goal In Maine Delegates

From News Services

Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter has won 9 of Maine's 20 delegate seats to the Democratic National Convention, but Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona got 5.

Six uncommitted delegates were also elected in voting yesterday at the Democratic state convention.

All but the uncommitted delegates are morally bound to stick with their candidate for the first two votes at the national convention, but they are not bound by law or state party regulations.

ALTHOUGH UDALL finished last in the race for delegates, his campaign coordinator in Maine, Steven Stycos, called the election of five Udall delegates "a major upset."

In February, when delegates were elected at municipal caucuses to attend the state convention, only 4 percent of those chosen were Udall supporters. In contrast, 26 percent of the delegates sent to the state convention were Carter backers and 64 percent were uncommitted.

Martin Rogoff, Carter's state campaign coordinator, said his organization had been working to achieve party unity at the state convention rather than win the maximum number of seats in the national convention.

RONALD REAGAN, meanwhile, won all three delegates elected yesterday in a congressional district caucus at Monroe, La. He had won six others in Louisiana from two district caucuses held Saturday.

President Ford won three delegates from Missouri on Saturday in a district caucus.

And in Minnesota, three Ford supporters were chosen Saturday as delegates by the convention for the congressional district covering Minneapolis. The state's Independent-Republican party has so far chosen 15 Ford delegates, one favoring Reagan and two uncommitted, with 24 more to be named.

Wyoming's state convention chose 17 delegates Saturday, all officially uncommitted. However, a Reagan spokesman contended that 14 were in fact committed to or leaning to the Californian. A Ford spokesman said that at least seven could be persuaded to remain uncommitted or to support Ford.

LOUISIANA'S state Democratic central committee Saturday approved 32 delegates elected a week before in the state's first presidential primary, and appointed nine more. Of the 41, 19 were uncommitted, 13 pledged to Carter and nine to Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace.

Rep. Morris Udall won 15 delegates in his home state Saturday, with four going to Carter and one to Wallace, in caucuses that followed the April 24 preferential primary.

Wyoming Democrats voted Saturday to pledge one full vote each to Carter, Udall and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., leaving seven votes uncommitted. This was Brown's first official delegate.

FORD'S CAUSE was pressed over the weekend by Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona in strongly phrased one-minute radio commercials in Nebraska, whose primary is tomorrow. Goldwater charged that Reagan's "statements on the Panama issue could needlessly lead this country into open military conflict."

Ford's concern over recent developments was evidenced by his summoning his political advisers to another strategy meeting in Washington today. He was to confer with Rogers C.B. Morton, his campaign manager, and Stuart Spencer, the deputy manager, and Richard Cheney, White House chief of staff.

In addition to Nebraska's primary, there will be balloting tomorrow in West Virginia. Ford campaigned Friday and Saturday in Nebraska. He is to campaign Wednesday in the Detroit area. Michigan's primary is May 18.

BROWN SAID on CBS's "Face the Nation" yesterday that he was not interested in the vice presidency, and that Carter, while attacking him (Brown) as "machine-backed" in Maryland, is "himself seeking endorsements of big labor leaders, of old-time organizations" and of Maryland state officials. Maryland's primary is also May 18.

Sen. Hubert Humphrey, meanwhile, on ABC's "Issues and Anwers," yesterday, said Carter was vague on such issues as the cities, foreign policy, the Middle East, full employment and national health care insurance.

Humphrey said "I am very much alive" as a potential nominee if the convention turns to him, but he denied that Brown was a stalking horse for him in New Jersey and Maryland, where Democratic leaders are longtime Humphrey supporters.

Mary McGrory

A3

An Uninvited Guest Gets 'Idaho Peanuts'

OMAHA, Neb. — Some Nebraska Democrats thought that what Jimmy Carter did to Frank Church at the Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner was pretty small potatoes.

The frontrunner was not expected in the drafty banquet hall. He was going to the dance afterward, across the street at the Hilton Hotel. His state campaign coordinator, Joan Masuck, said in the late afternoon that Carter didn't want to upstage Church or "be a spoiler" for the earnest Idaho senator, who is making his first, last-minute bid for the nomination here.

"If Church has left, then he will come in," said Mrs. Masuck. "That's the way Jimmy is."

But just as Church was winding up an old-fashioned 40-minute declamation on the issues that Carter glides by, like the CIA, the FBI and the future of freedom in America, the television crews and Secret Servicemen began to file in, and the toastmaster, Lt. Gov. Gerald Whelan, announced, with obvious irritation, that although he had "understood" that Carter was not coming to the dinner, he was in fact in the hall.

EVEN CARTER'S partisans were a little taken aback by the thunder-stealing attempt and could only raise a tentative cheer.

Carter proceeded to call Church "a fine young man," even though they are the same age, 51.

He also allowed that his "very good friend" had made "a remarkably fine speech" — "I could tell from the applause." Since he had been standing in the wings for a good part of it and Church's voice was trained in boyhood in platform oratory, Carter could hardly have helped hearing it himself.

Church, who has learned that Carter would not give any competitor so much as an empty peanut shell, had prepared for the eventuality, and was provided with a plastic bucket of potatoes. When Carter had finished patronizing him, Church gave him the bucket of "Idaho peanuts."

The next day in Lincoln, Carter said he hadn't changed his mind about coming to the feast. He had always planned to come in after Church had finished.

Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, explained that Church had ruined his chances for a solo by making a crack about Carter's $100-a-plate breakfast the next morning, in contrast to a free lunch being offered by the Church forces.

"THAT'S WHEN I decided Jimmy ought to come," Powell said.

Regular Democrats, some of whom are going for Church, in the absence of their real favorites, Humphrey and Kennedy, on the ballot but not campaigning, were infuriated. They were guarded, however, in distribution of "cheap shot" comments, because as one said morosely, "I think Carter will be the nominee."

Carter noted approvingly in his brief remarks that "this is the kind of primary that has not created wounds or divisions that can't be quickly healed." That was his way of saying that Church is giving him no problems. Church's natural gentility, reinforced by 20 years of Senate etiquette, has prevented him from attacking Carter, although he sometimes complains that the race is "really a personality parade." He says he will be content to come in second, which is lucky because some local polls have him trailing Carter and Humphrey.

He is, in any event, having the time of his life. Running for the presidency represents a life-long dream come true, and he and his wife, Bethine, seem enchanted by all aspects of the effort.

NEBRASKA is probably one of the last states Church should have entered first. It is a state where conformity and mediocrity, a quality once praised by its senior senator, Roman Hruska, are more prized than early dissent to the Vietnam war. Nor are Church's exertions as chairman of the CIA committee especially appreciated. He gets hostile questions from local interviewers about damaging the CIA and the FBI, "who are protecting us from Communism." They also accuse him of revealing the names of agents, something Church scrupulously refrained from doing.

Church prides himself on the consistency of his positions, something which doesn't worry Jimmy Carter at all. Elsewhere Carter announced that he would kill the controversial B1 bomber program. But in Omaha, the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command, he announced that he would continue research and development, because "it might be after I become President, I would change my mind."

He was asked if this did not represent "a refinement of his position" and he stoutly denied it.

Jimmy Carter does not change his mind about banquets or bombers. He just does or says what is necessary to get votes. And that is why Frank Church, who truly believes that "it doesn't matter if you win or lose but how you play the game," is not really a match for him.

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JOE L. ALLBRITTON, *Publisher*

JAMES G. BELLOWS, *Editor* SIDNEY EPSTEIN, *Managing Editor* EDWIN M. YODER JR., *Associate Editor*

SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1976

Quotation, truth and votes

Can any politician stand quotation? *Real* quotation, of what's said when there's no microphone and no TV camera and the reporters aren't around?

We've seen plenty who couldn't. Once the prepared text isn't there with its calculated phrasing, the cleanest, most intelligent public servant has a way of sounding like a foulmouthed Boss Tweed, except without the Boss's brains.

Now it's Jimmy Carter's turn to meet the test. Here comes Robert Shrum, the McGovern speechwriter who got started with Carter only to quit in disillusionment when he heard what Mr. Sincerity, the candidate who wouldn't lie to the people, had to say after he got off the platform and back to campaign headquarters.

The revelations had to do with such touchy public issues as defense spending and mass transit, on which Jimmy Carter's public position would appear to be an uncompromising yes-no-maybe.

Meanwhile, back at the enclave, the Georgia governor who wants to be president of the United States was making such statements as, "We don't want to offend the Nixon voters," and, "We don't want to lose white votes." Even, "I don't get over 4 per cent of the Jewish vote anyway so forget it. We get the Christians." Very rhetorically indeed, Gov. Carter asked why he should please a labor leader who wouldn't endorse him.

It goes without saying that such pronouncements would sound like the height — or depth — of cynical hypocrisy to a true-believing McGovernite. Even people with a less good-guys-against-bad-guys approach to politics than Mr. Shrum might feel a visceral unease at the seeming difference between praying Jimmy and vote-counting Jimmy.

Is it fair? Even more important, should it matter in sizing up a presidential candidate?

Everybody knows the first business of a politician is to get elected, which means making himself attractive to people who want contradictory things. Sometimes it can be done by offering one desideratum in place of another. Sometimes appeals to a higher good will do it. Sometimes a blurring of the issues keeps people from blaming the pol for choices they might not like if they understood what they were.

Such softening of unpalatable facts can slither over the edge into dishonesty. But it doesn't have to, and when it doesn't, it can be no worse than a civic version of social politeness — the selective truth-telling that helps people feel good about themselves and each other. Call it an orchestration of emphases.

A politician away from the voters needs a rest from being so careful. He's likely to say things that sound a little indiscreet in quotation marks later on, like what people say on the way home from a party after the gracious farewells.

A politician in campaign headquarters also has a great need to talk about who's for and who's against and can anything be done to make the balance more favorable. It's a context that makes objects and ciphers of the constituents so warmly courted from the platform and the TV screen. It doesn't necessarily make a hypocrite of the person trying to get elected.

With all that admitted, however, there's still a Jimmy Carter sincerity issue. A politican must, indeed, consider some positions negotiable. But they must have more than bargaining value. They must have some relationship to a core of non-negotiable principles.

One of the paradoxes of plebiscitory democracy is that however eager people are to have their representatives follow public opinion, there's a desire for leadership too. Voters mistrust total flexibility in relation to the popular mood as much as they dislike intransigence.

And there are hints that Gov. Carter's reluctance to alienate anybody and his readiness to say whatever a given audience wants to hear — never mind what he said last time — go beyond good strategic reflexes. Is it the shallow opportunism of a person who doesn't think past immediate success?

It will take more than the departure of a disgruntled speechwriter to prove it. But it's up to Gov. Carter to show us it's not true.

Michael Novak

Why Blacks Take to Jimmy Carter

The Washington Star
Comment
• Editorials • Finance
SECTION G SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1976

Mr. Novak is the Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" appear in this space on Sundays, and on Page A-3 on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

A great many black leaders in America seem to have taken to Jimmy Carter in a fascinating way. Some of them speak of "the Southern experience." Black or white, Southerners have known a kind of unitary culture. There is an almost "ethnic" bond between them — a bond of memory, symbol and association, a kinship of spirit.

It is very different in the North. The North is pluralistic, the South monocultural. In the North, race is a competitive symbol. In the South, race is almost mystical.

In addition to their affective unity with him, Southern blacks also have Jimmy Carter over a barrel, as they could not have any Northern white. Were they to brand Carter as "racist," they could destroy his reputation on the national stage. They could not do that to Humphrey, Jackson, Muskie, Udall, Bayh, or other Northern candidates, with anything like the same effect.

Again, blacks have a symbolic role in Carter's vision of America, such as they do not quite have in Northern views. From James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* to Martin Luther King's preaching, blacks have acquired a highly symbolic role in American consciousness. Blacks are supposed to "redeem" whites, to be the means of "saving" white America. In a Southern context, steeped both in the general mysticism of evangelical guilt, and in the more specific mysticism of guilt for the untold desires, fears, and acts of slavery and its aftermath, such language has emotional resonance. Carter recreates it when he talks to blacks, this mystical closeness.

Blacks can be expected to play this theme to the hilt with Jimmy Carter. His emotional ties to them in public are quite visible and moving, especially when compared with those of George Wallace. Carter has asked the Black Caucus to submit lists of the positions they would like to fill in his administration.

To watch Jimmy Carter speaking to a black audience is to watch the myth of redemption acted out in reality. He speaks intimately, softly, respectfully, even lovingly. The civil rights revolution, he says, is the best thing that's happened in his lifetime. He wants to help blacks, to honor them, to earn their trust. An observer must consider that where Carter — the South's candidate — stands, four years ago George Wallace stood. Not only are Carter's quiet sentiments couched in an insider's idiom, an idiom evocative to Southern white and black alike; they capture the highest religious striving of that idiom: gentleness and love. In Carter, blacks *have* redeemed the soul of America. There is hardly a dry eye in the house.. Not even Carter's. It is real, not fake. A great American drama.

And this myth is shared also, in their fashion, by many Northern liberals. They feel guilty, too, about having excluded Southerners. It is time to make amends. If blacks will vouch for a Southerner — as they would not, could not, even for a Fulbright — the liberal objection falls. The rush to embrace Jimmy Carter, were this the only mythic current, would be — would already have been — a stampede.

Carter has contrasted the "closeness" of blacks and whites in the South with the "quite different traditions of separateness you have in the North." Other Southern whites have chided Northerners about the busing strife in "liberal" Boston, and written mockingly, now, of "Northern liberals."

In a certain sense, such Southerners — white or black — misapprehend a crucial symbolic truth about Northern cities. There are two senses of the word "liberal" in the North. There are the "Northern liberals" of the upper classes, the universities, the foundations and the media — the educated class. There are also the "liberals" of the lunch-bucket brigades, the union men and women, chiefly (but not solely) Catholic and Jewish, in the urban ethnic wards and working-class suburbs. These two camps of "liberals" sometimes work in coalition; they are also, classically, historical opponents.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan once wrote incisively of their differences in an essay on "reformers" and "regulars" in New York. Jimmy Carter in Pennsylvania simultaneously attacked the "regulars" by calling their leaders "bosses" (the generations-old slur), and wooed them ineptly, in a kind of Wallace-ite appeal, by promising them what they have never had nor wanted, "ethnic purity" in their neighborhoods. (Most neighborhoods are proud of descriptions like "a league of nations, a mix").

In Boston, the upper-class liberals have decreed — through a court system they have "educated" on this issue; through foundation funding of the NAACP legal apparatus; through political support in Congress; and through cultural support in the *Boston Globe* — that the two worst school systems in the state should bus their children back and forth. Classically, upper-class liberals have chosen the lower classes — in this case, the white working-class liberals of South Boston, and the largely poor black underclass of Roxbury (many working- and middle-class blacks live elsewhere) — to pay all the costs of reform. An old story.

Southern "rednecks" should feel a certain kinship with Northern "ethnics." Both play football with analogous passion. (Joe Namath went from Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, to Tuscaloosa, and felt he was stepping up in the world.) Both come from the ranks of the white underclass. Their "betters" appear more liberal in public esteem, but not so often in actual voting patterns. (Professional people and academics voted for Nixon in 1972 at 69 per cent and 62 per cent, respectively; union workers at 53 per cent.)

See NOVAK, G-3

NOVAK

Continued from G-1

But Southern and Northern blacks should also feel a certain kinship with Northern ethnics. In the North, who else lives on the same streets, in the same neighborhoods? Northern ethnics don't share the same mysticism about blacks as white Southerners tend to do. They have no feelings of guilt about slavery. Mutual dislike often runs deep; racism is present. Yet in Northern schools, factories, bars and neighborhoods, conflict between whites and blacks today is not enormously different from the inter-ethnic conflicts of the Northern past. (Northern whites have fought with other whites; they don't need race for a motive.) The competition is for real goods, and in that sense is more "rational," less mystical. In that sense, too, it gives rise to decent hopes for the future.

In 1900, fewer than a million blacks lived in the North. The black migrations northward began in earnest in 1915. The greatest migration of all took place after World War II. Like other migrants into the pluralistic North, blacks have moved to the poorest sections (then still white ethnic), have been at first highly concentrated, and have been shocked and devastated by urban, industrial mores. On some indices — percentage of youths 18-24 in college; number of households earning $15,000 a year — they have moved upwards faster than some of the white ethnic groups.

Northern whites fear blacks as serious competitors. This fear, for all its potential and actual ugliness, is a form of respect. Many have decent relations with the blacks they work with, study with, play with. Many believe that blacks are now receiving, with government assistance, unfair competitive advantage. (No Slavs have yet received court awards for past discrimination in the mills and factories.) Many think that, given a choice, upper-class liberals will always choose blacks over them.

Unfortunately, the Black Caucus often contributes to this perception. Instead of calling forth, and forming coalition with, a white ethnic caucus in Congress, black leaders court upper-class liberals. The word "honkey" is too close to the traditional "hunky." (A prominent black leader recently defended Jimmy Carter on national television, saying that "ethnic purity" was a pitch "for the polack vote." That "polack" lashes like "nigger" seemed unaccountably outside his consciousness. Poles voted 53 per cent for McGovern in 1972.)

At the recent black caucus in North Carolina, one would have expected that black leaders would try to avoid isolating blacks, and would try to identify issues that would unite white ethnics and blacks. In fact, in the Northern cities, white ethnic wards and black wards usually end up voting for the same type of liberal candidates, and the same type of liberal politics. Their needs, after all, are pretty much the same: jobs, decent wages, good schools, safe neighborhoods, health care, opportunity for advancement, etc.

Instead, many at the Black Caucus seem to revel in the mysticism of blackness. They want to hold onto a special symbolic role. In part, they are rational to do so — it gives them motivation for their own troops. It also gives them symbolic power over certain white leaders. (I mentioned Carter earlier, but one should also include those liberals who are guilt-prone, and who seek in politics some spiritual salvation.) Why should blacks give up these symbolic advantages?

One answer is: Mysticism will carry one only so far: Ultimately, the basic problem of blacks is economic. It is jobs. And in that respect, and others like it, the basic problem of blacks is that of all working-class whites. Here there is hope of a tough coalition, based not on love but on hard goods. Based on economics. Respectful of each other's special symbolic needs. But concentrating on goods that can be delivered, and that make life better for hard-working people.

One further aspect of racial mysticism deserves comment. More than anything else, some leaders seem to wish to be loved, to be accepted. This is a reasonable emotion. But it does not always lead to creative politics. In order to become successful in America, in order to acquire position and power, it is not necesssary to be loved.

Among the top ethnic groups in America in per capita income are to be found such groups as the following: West Indian blacks, Chinese, Syrian-Lebanese, Greeks, Jews, Koreans and Japanese. For none of these has love or acceptance been a prerequisite for success. Indeed, truth lies the other way around. Position and power have marvelous efficacy in arousing love, acceptance and respect in others.

Racial politics in our day stands at a major turning point. It may be expressed simply: Either a black coalition with working-class whites, especially the liberal white ethnics in Northern cities; or a continued black coalition with upper-class liberals. Either a hard-headed economic coalition based on mutual needs for jobs, etc.; or a symbolic coalition based on mutual psychic needs and a mutual exchange of favors.

I hope that blacks can overcome their prejudices against working-class liberal whites. The latter cannot go forward without blacks going forward with them. Divided against each other, neither has a chance to go forward. Together, they are very strong.

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SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1976
G-5

Eliot Janeway

Carter's Trip Here No Gamble

By Eliot Janeway
Special to The Washington Star

Jimmy Carter is coming to town Tuesday. He made the decision at lunch in Austin, the most power-minded and patronage-oriented of state capitals, the day of the Texas primary.

He knew then that by evening the world would see that Reagan had immobilized the presidency for the balance of the year; and that he had performed a transplant operation on the creaky and crippled Democratic power structure.

Only the size of the anti-establishment tide, not its direction, remained to be reckoned with when Carter resolved that the time had come to change his country-boy stance toward Washington.

As all gridiron buffs know, West Point added a new dimension to football by improvising the tactic of the lonely end. Annapolis has now retaliated in the person of its charismatic alumnus, Jimmy Carter; he's adding a new dimension to politics, playing the lonely ball carrier who relies on no blockers to clear the way for him. His blitz has left the barons of the political power structure feeling like refugees in their own city. They're suffering from an acute case of Peanuts envy. The Secret Service has been making preparations all week long for his surprise descent on the Democratic congressional dinner.

RETIRED JUSTICE William O. Douglas, not for the first time, found a common denominator on both side of the political spectrum in his farewell statement. Asked what he thought his mission had been, he replied, "To get the government off the backs of the people."

During the 1940 campaign, Wendell Willkie, who was a rank amateur, a bumbling self-intoxicator, scared FDR out of his skin. It was all very well for Harold Ickes, Roosevelt's hatchet man, and the master of invective in his own right, to deride Willkie as "the barefoot boy from Wall Street." But when Willkie shouted himself hoarse on radio — campaigning then was still aural rather than visual — promising to "ship the bureaucrats out of Washington by the train load," he came within a hair's breadth of dislodging "the champ."

The bureaucrats were just a band of fledgling locusts then. Willkie was gambling on picking a fight with them while they were still enjoying the benefit of the doubt, before the country had turned against them.

In the world of 1940, when Roosevelt was pointing with pride to his achievement in having brought the country back from a full-fledged depression to a permanent peace-time recession, the country still felt dependent on the bureaucrats. The age of affluence has invited them to declare its independence.

Jimmy Carter hasn't been gambling in sighting in Washington as the target of his torpedo fire. The time is right to take up Douglas' battle-stained banner. The weaker the presidency is left by its loss of political control, the stronger the bureaucrats become and the more irresistible Carter's own "anti-Washington" appeal becomes. Carter acts as if he senses this.

Curiously, it was an old Capitol hand who advised Carter to temper his barnstorming against the Washington establishment with a spot of politicking inside. Carter's sense of timing — specifically his decision to select the Democratic congressional dinner as the occasion for playing a benign Attila the Hun within the gates of Rome — is projecting a clear new focus on the political economy of 1977, and thereafter.

The most celebrated of the gags about LBJ, in the role of river boat gambler in which Kennedy caricatured him, has him playing cards with his partner along the Pedernales River.

See JANEWAY, G-6

JANEWAY

Continued From G-5

"YOU'D BETTER PLAY by the rules," the story has Johnson saying, "because I know what I dealt you."

Even gamblers who play with marked cards know they are taking chances. No speculator can ever be sure of selling at the top or buying at the bottom. The surest way to miss market moves to to overstay them in either direction.

Wall Street, its denizens say, is inhabited by four breeds: Bulls, bears, chickens and hogs.

The first three have a fighting chance; but the hogs go fro broke, and that's exactly where they end up. Carter's decision to go public at the congressional dinner represents a calculated risk on his part that the stock of the congressional Democrats has fallen enough to be worth a fling. This is not the calculation of a hog.

The problem of negotiating a viable peace between the President and the Congress is central to the American political condition. The first axiom of American politics, even before the political system assumed managerial responsibility for the entire economic society, is that Congress cannot govern; yet the President cannot govern without it.

THE POLITICALIZATION of economic management started out with a promise to iron out the boom-and-bust erraticism of the business cycle. It has ended by sharpening it. The polarization of the presidential position and that of his natural adversaries on the congressional side of the iron curtain dividing Washington has been at the root of the trouble.

War games between the President and Congress can be fought with a variety of weapons. Watergate has just reminded us that impeachment is the political equivalent of the ultimate weapon. The terms of conventional combat involve money. Both belligerents are using more of it than ever, and are nevertheless shorter of it than ever. But the way fiscal politics is played on both sides of the Washington trenches, appropriations are as habit-forming as heroin.

Desperate though both the executive agencies and the congress committees are to release follow-on funds to meet their various commitments, neither can write checks for good money without the cooperation, and indeed the connivance, of the other.

trap sprung on the congressional Democrats by the phenomenon of recovery without the stimulus of spending; and on the White House by the sudden resurgence of troublesome inflation.

CONSEQUENTLY, Carter is the only Democratic spokesman not scrambling to find an alibi for having insisted that still more inflationary spending was an urgent necessity. The vocal majority seems to be giving Ford no credit for recovery, and his full share of the blame for inflation. Carter is benefiting from this state of general disgruntlement.

The question about him is whether he could govern as well as he can run. The critics of his Georgia administration, notably Reg Murphy (formerly editor of the San Francisco Chronicle but now editor of the San Francisco Examiner) dispute this. Gene McCarthy, always a practical and perceptive critic with a sure instinct for his quarry's weakness, used to sneer that the Kennedys have perfected the surefire technique for winning primaries, which fostered the illusion that governing might be their game, too.

CARTER'S RESOLVE to beard the limping congressional lions in their den reflects a recognition that the problem of governing involves working with Congress as it is instead of working against Congress because it is what it is.

Back on Wall Street philosphic practitioners of the speculative art have been discounting the market's dislike of Carter by recalling that it liked not only Ford but Nixon, and taking heart from the axiom that the market always does well with any president who does well with Congress.

BOTH PARTIES to the fiscal feud are under constant pressure to state their preferences: Whether to fight or to spend. The country has had a bellyful of the feuding. But it's an ill wind that blows no good. Just as the rationalization about drug addicts is that they are not likely to become alcoholics, so the corresponding panglossism about the chaos inherent in permanent warfare between the President and the Congress is that at least it limits the spending hemmorhage to proportions that hurt, but don't kill.

Witness the 1976 baby recovery, and the considerably more robust recovery in consumer confidence; and ponder its political consequences for Carter's two-front campaign against Democrats of various establishmentarian persuasions and whichever Republican runs up with the receivership.

Before Carter's campaign caught fire, the recession had provoked a stereotyped confrontation across party lines.

THE WHITE HOUSE line was to hold fast against Democratic pressure to push the panic button by unleashing massive governmental spending against the recession. The White House insisted on assigning a priority to the fight against inflation.

The congressional counterpush was to bet that playing the recovery in the economy as a lost cause would work out as winning politics; its calculation underplayed the inflation issue.

Both sides to the argument were playing a can't-win hand, though neither side knew it.

Caesar once remarked that the distinctive characteristic of great generals is luck.

Carter has it. In the first place, his guiding star has led him along the high road on which he has kept carefully above this line of fire. Moreover, he has had the good sense to insulate himself from any need to be briefed on position papers by his economic advisers. But finally, his native hill-country shrewdness has prompted him to avoid the

5

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CARTER ON THE STUMP

No Political Promises...

By WALTER R. MEARS
Associated Press Writer

It is part sermon, part stump speech, and all Jimmy Carter.

He speaks it in the soft accents of the South, but the words sometimes spill together. Now and again he pauses, for long moments.

That is The Speech, Jimmy Carter style. From the days when few noticed, through the primary election states that have made him the leader among Democrats who would be president, it has changed little.

It is not the blueprint of a future government. The message is as soothing as the style. There are no hard proposals here. Carter maintains that isn't what motivates voters anyhow, saying they want a feeling of trust and an intensely personal relationship with the man they send to the White House.

Carter has been stung by critics who point out that his emphasis has sometimes been altered to fit his audience. He denies it. But he seems careful now to guard against the accusation.

Thus, to an almost all-white audience at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, he says the civil rights movement liberated all Southerners. "And I could not be here as an ex-governor of Georgia, having won almost all the primaries, had it not been for Martin Luther King Jr. It's a strange thought. But the point I'm making is that we ought not to accept a defect with equanimity or with timidity or cowardice in this country."

From a platform in New Hampshire, a pulpit in Reading, Pa., the university stage in Dallas, Carter's ending is the same:

" ... My strength, my courage, my support, my advice, my criticism comes from people like you all over the country who don't want anything selfish out of government but just want to see us once again have a nation with a government that's as good and honest and and decent and truthful and fair and competent and idealistic — compassionate and as filled with love as are the American people.

"If we can just have a government as good as our people are that will be a tremendous achievement."

Carter speaks softly for a campaigning politician, but intensely, fervently. At times, he blends the language of religion and politics. He asks for a sacrificial effort. He says American government is immaculate.

He quotes a theologian:

"One of my favorite teachers — whom I've never met — who died a couple of years ago — is named Reinhold Niebuhr ... One of the things that Niebuhr said is that the sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world.

"That's always been the thrust of our country, I thought, and still is or at least can be ... We're still struggling to be better — correct our mistakes, to learn, to probe for a better existence."

The summons to spiritual revival is not Carter's alone. In one way or another, it is sounded by almost every would-be president.

Ronald Reagan, for example: "I believe the people of this country are hungry for a spiritual revival. I think they want to believe in themselves and their government again."

And Carter: " ... There's a time for soul-searching and a time for the establishment of standards that can make us proud once again. I want to see a government the source of inspiration and not shame. And it's within us to do it ..."

Yet Reagan men do not suggest that kind of message has been central to his campaign successes.

Carter does: "I think my own campaign techniques, which come naturally to me, have filled a need ...

"There's been kind of a welding of intimacy between myself as a candidate and the voters. In Pennsylvania and Wisconsin and New Hampshire and Florida we had literally thousands of people who came to those states to work for me. They took their vacation time ... and paid their own bills, walked in the snow just because they wanted to be part of change."

That change is not charted in any specific terms in the Carter speech. When he does discuss issues in the set speech, it is in terms with which few could argue. For example:

—Government reorganization. "I don't want anybody in this room to vote for me ... unless you want to see the executive branch of the government completely reorganized and made efficient." Carter has declined to say which agencies would be overhauled and which eliminated in an overhaul of the bureaucracy.

—Welfare. Carter says there are about 1.2 million welfare recipients who are fully able to work, and should. "If they're offered a job and don't take it, I wouldn't pay them any more benefits," he said.

—Tax reform. "Our income tax laws are a disgrace. The surest income to be taxed is the income earned from manual labor ... I believe the American people are fairer and more competent than that."

'FIRM AND STRONG'

Brown Rules Out Vice Presidency

United Press International

Democratic presidential contender Edmund G. Brown Jr., "about as firm and as strong as a person can say," Sunday ruled out accepting the vice presidential nomination, and both he and Hubert Humphrey took shots at frontrunner Jimmy Carter.

Humphrey said he doesn't know where Carter stands on major issues, and Brown castigated the former Georgia governor for calling him a candidate of the "bosses" — while he himself sought support from labor and political leaders.

Humphrey said in a television interview "there is still a scramble on" for the Democratic nomination. Brown also appeared on television. Carter was off the campaign trail at his Plains, Ga., home.

In the Republican contest, both President Ford and Ronald Reagan stayed close to home Sunday. Ford planned a strategy meeting with his top political advisers Monday and scheduled a campaign trip to Detroit, in his native Michigan Wednesday.

Democrats in Connecticut, West Virginia and Nebraska vote in primaries Tuesday to select a total of 107 convention delegates, and Republicans in West Virginia and Nebraska vote to select 53 delegates.

The West Virginia Democratic race is between favorite son Sen. Robert Byrd and George Wallace, while the Nebraska contest is the first outing for Sen. Frank Church and the first time Humphrey and Sen. Edward Kennedy appear on a ballot. Connecticut may be Henry Jackson's last stand in a race also involving Carter and Morris Udall.

Reagan widened his margin over Ford in weekend delegate selection in six states, gaining 38 new delegates to Ford's 18. The new totals show Reagan 397 and Ford 336, with 298 uncommitted. It takes 1,130 to nominate at the GOP convention in Kansas City in August.

In Democratic delegate selection, there were 39 delegates chosen this weekend in Louisiana, Wyoming and Maine. Carter picked up 13 delegates for a total of 574, but most of the new delegates were uncommitted. The Democratic nominee will have to have 1,505 delegates.

Brown picked up his first delegate in Wyoming, ar said although he has no del gate slates in Maryland where is contesting Carter i the May 18 preferential pr mary — delegates pledge originally to Henry Jackso and Fred Harris, are behin him.

The California governo saying his is "a serious effo to obtain the Democrati nomination," said he woul campaign for uncommitte delegates all over the countr and focus on New Jerse which with California an Ohio, holds the last primar June 8.

Brown appeared on CBS Face the Nation and Hum phrey was on ABC's Issue and Answers.

The California governor immediately after saying h like Carter, would not lie, wa asked if he would accept th vice presidential nomination "No," Brown replied. "I'm no going to say absolutely, in a Sherman-like statement, bu about as firm and as strong as a person can say, I'm no interested in the vice presi dency."

Brown attacked Carter fo tarring him with a "machine backed" label while "at th same time .... he himself i seeking endorsements of bi labor leaders, of old time organizations, the (Maryland secretary of state, the comp troller of the state of Mary land . . . At the very time h says he's not seeking endorse ments, he's on the telephone to the president of the United Auto Workers and Birch Bayh trying to get the endorse ments."

He also said Carter "is no leveling with the American people on the magnitude o the challenge to this country. He characterized Carter's ap proach as "all just smiles and easy and a little executive reorganization and it will all be fine again."

Humphrey was blunter. Asked if he knew where Carter stood on the major issues, he said, "No." Pressed further, he said Carter was vague on the cities, foreign policy, the Middle East, how to achieve full employment and national health care insurance.

He said "I am very much alive" as a potential nominee if the convention turns to him but denied Brown is a stalking horse for him in Maryland and New Jersey, where the political leaders are longtime Humphrey backers.

HARRIS POLL

Most See 'Quality Of Life' as Issue

By LOUIS HARRIS

Political rhetoric based on left versus right or conservative versus liberal divisions is out of date. Just how much was amply documented in a recent Harris survey.

A cross section of 1,529 adults nationwide was asked which of four candidates they would vote for next November:

—A "conservative who pledged to cut back on social programs in the federal government" received no more than 15 per cent backing.

—A "liberal who pledged to start a big program to provide government jobs for the unemployed" fared only a little better, as the choice of 17 per cent.

—A "moderate who pledged not to cut government social programs, but would not expand them, either" could attract only a meager 13 per cent.

—A fourth candidate who "said he could not promise more of anything from government, but would pledge to improve the quality of life the country now has" swept the field and took home 43 per cent of the vote.

The startling result is that a "quality-of-life" candidate could receive the backing of nearly as many potential voters as all of the conservative, moderate and liberal candidates combined.

The reasons people volunteered for their choice of candidates are revealing:

—The "quality of life" candidate evoked three main responses. First, in the view of 15 per cent, "he sounds honest, obviously isn't lying, and he is not overpromising." Simply being frank and not promising too much around election time has high appeal in 1976. Indeed, it is an essential ingredient for a candidate who wants credibility.

—Among those backing the liberal candidate, 14 per cent believe that "unemployment is the pressing issue, and getting people back to work is what this election is all about."

—The dominant note struck by supporters of the conservative is that "we have spent too much on wasteful social programs and it is time to stop runaway spending," a view held by 13 per cent.

Just as startling as the sizable victory of this "quality of life" candidate is that he wins this hypothetical race for President among conservatives, moderates and liberals:

—Among conservative voters, the "quality of life" candidate wins by 40-32 per cent over the conservative candidate.

—Among liberals, the "quality of life" candidate edges out the liberal candidate by 41-38 per cent.

—Among moderates, the "quality of life" candidate easily defeats the moderate candidate by 47-19 per cent.

These results not only indicate how out of date the old labels of conservative, moderate and liberal are, but also how little real drawing power they have left with the voters themselves.

The Harris Survey recently asked a cross section of 1,529 adults:

"Suppose there were four candidates running for President this year. One was a conservative who pledged to cut back on social programs in the federal government. One was a liberal who pledged to start a big program to provide government jobs for the unemployed. Another was a moderate, who pledged not to cut government social programs but would not expand them, either. A fourth candidate said he was none of these, but said he could not promise more of anything from government, but would pledge to improve the quality of life the country now has. Who would you vote for President, if you had to choose—the conservative, the liberal, the moderate or the candidate pledged to improve the quality of life?"

CONNECTICUT

Udall Says He Can Halt Carter

NEW HAVEN, Conn. (UPI) — Morris Udall, two days before Connecticut's Democratic primary, drove almost the length of the state telling liberals he could halt Jimmy Carter's bandwagon.

"I believe we can put something together here in Connecticut," he said at a news conference at Yale University with former Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox at his side.

Carter, considered the frontrunner in the race for Connecticut's 51 convention delegates, was home, apparently confident of victory. Henry Jackson wound up a three-day tour Saturday.

"Jimmy Carter can be out picking his Cabinet, or writing his inaugural address, but I'm here in Connecticut," Udall said. "We may pull off one of the big surprises of '76 here."

Carter's campaign relied on media advertising in the final days, while Udall's financially strapped campaign poured $11,000 into advertising and hoped to add a final flurry of broadcast spots with additional money Monday.

Jackson has said his campaign is broke and had no commercials.

Udall told a breakfast gathering in Enfield he is the only alternative for liberals.

"There are four people who have a chance at taking the oath of office in January, and three of them are conservatives," Udall said. "Ronald Reagan is ultra-conservative, Ford is pretty conservative and Carter—you don't know where he stands."

Udall, whose emphasis on cutting military spending has cost him support in ship-building areas of Connecticut, said, "I frankly think we can win this thing."



Associated Press Photo

STUMPS CONNECTICUT
Morris Udall

The first primary in state history has sparked only mild interest. State party leaders said perhaps only 20 per cent of the nearly 574,000 registered Democrats would vote.

Udall was hoping for as small a turnout as possible, banking on the assumption his supporters would vote while Carter's might not.

In his drive Sunday, which began on the state's northern border and included five of Connecticut's six congressional districts, Udall told supporters he hoped that after the voting, "People can look and say Connecticut is where we turned it around."

CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT

	Quality of Life	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal	Not Sure
NATIONWIDE	43%	15%	13%	17%	12%
REGION					
East	45%	11%	12%	22%	10%
Midwest	44%	15%	15%	16%	10%
South	38%	20%	12%	13%	17%
West	44%	14%	13%	18%	11%
BY AGE					
18-29	46%	10%	12%	21%	11%
30-49	41%	16%	13%	16%	14%
50 and over	43%	18%	14%	14%	11%
BY PARTY					
Republican	38%	23%	17%	10%	12%
Democrat	44%	11%	11%	22%	12%
Independent	44%	17%	14%	16%	9%
BY POLITICAL PHILOSPHY					
Conservative	40%	32%	11%	9%	8%
Middle of the Road	47%	9%	19%	14%	11%
Liberal	41%	5%	10%	38%	6%

Reagan Passes One-Third Mark on Delegate Trail

From Press Dispatcher

Ronald Reagan has pushed past the one-third mark in his quest for the 1,130 national convention delegates that would give him the Republican presidential nomination.

After weekend GOP caucuses and conventions in five states, the former California governor had 396 delegates to 309 for President Ford. In addition, 347 uncommitted delegates had been selected.

Reagan went into the weekend with 366 delegates and picked up 18 in Oklahoma, 9 in Louisiana and 3 in Kansas.

Ford had 292 delegates before the weekend sessions. He picked up 11 delegates in Kansas, three in Missouri and three in Minnesota.

Seventeen GOP delegates were also elected in Wyoming on Saturday. State rules do not require them to make their presidential preference known, but GOP leaders said Reagan would get most of their votes.

A Newsweek survey of the 50 states and U.S. territories indicates that Ronald Reagan will go into the August GOP convention with 975 delegates, Ford with 778 and another 453 uncommitted.

On the Democratic side, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter — already past the one-third mark — picked up 9 delegates Sunday at the state Democratic convention in Maine. Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall won 4 delegates, and 6 uncommitted delegates were elected.

Carter supporters had predicted Maine would be the first state in which the former governor of Georgia would capture a clear majority of a delegation elected by the convention method.

The Democratic front-runner visited Maine five times, had the support of former Gov. Kenneth Curtis — and went into the convention with 26 per cent of delegates from local caucuses nominally committed to vote for him.

But 21-year-old Udall organizer Steven Stycos, who had to rely on telephones and makeshift transportation because he did not have a car, did better than he said he thought he would in denying Carter a majority.

Martin Rogoff, Carter coordinator for Maine, said he was disappointed at not getting a majority but said, "We fought a good campaign and we may pick up some of the uncommitteds. We really tried."

Democrats in Wyoming on Saturday gave Carter, Udall and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown one vote each. The state's three other votes at the national convention will be uncommitted.

Brown, a late entry in the Democratic ranks, now has 1.5 national convention votes. He has half a vote from the Alaska delegation.

With the Maine and Wyoming delegates included, Carter had 569 delegates, Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson had 199 delegates and Udall 187.5 delegate votes.

In addition, 281.5 uncommitted Democratic delegates have been elected.

A total of 1,505 delegates will be needed to win the Democratic nomination.

On the Republican side, a total of 1,130 delegates is needed to nominate, and more than half the party's delegate total — 1,219 — remains to be chosen.

The House Republican leader, John J. Rhodes of Arizona, said Sunday on the NBC "Meet the Press" program that he believed President Ford would "probably win the nomination."

Delegate choices — whether in primary or other selections — frequently reflect local or special political interests. Nationwide polls have indicated stronger support for Ford than for Reagan. Last month, Ford won a 3 to 2 margin in a sampling of 1,464 persons of all political persuasions by The New York Times and CBS News.

See DELEGATES, Page 14-A

Delegates

From Page 1-A

Party conventions are usually dominated by political workers. Primary turnouts tend to be low, and this year's turnouts have been complicated in some states by apparent Democratic crossovers.

Nevertheless, President Ford's concern over recent developments was evidenced by his summoning his political advisers to another strategy meeting in Washington Monday. He is to confer with Rogers C. B. Morton, his campaign manager, and Stuart Spencer, the deputy manager, and Richard Cheney, White House chief of staff.

In addition to Nebraska's primary, there will be balloting Tuesday in West Virginia. Ford campaigned Friday and Saturday in Nebraska. He is to campaign Wednesday in the Detroit area, with Michigan's primary due May 18.

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:

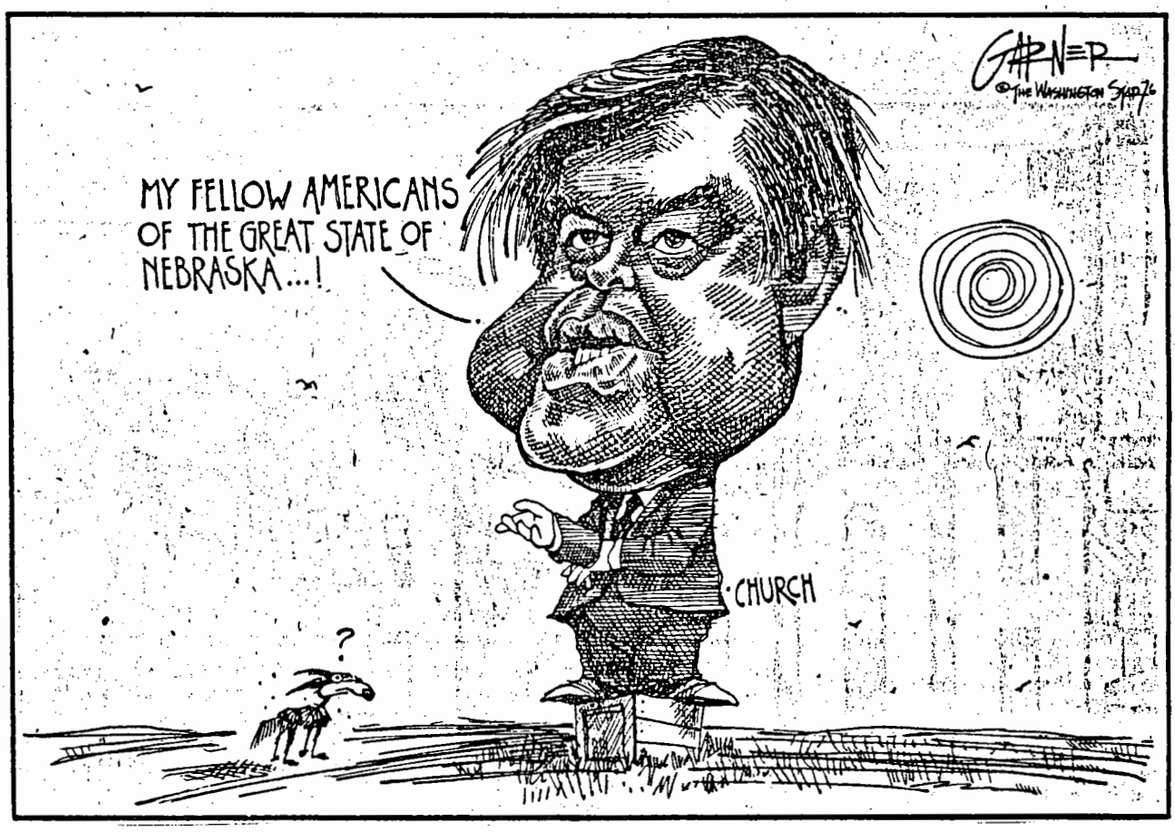
Reagan	396
Ford	309
Uncommitted	347
Total chosen to date	1,052
Yet to be chosen	1,207
Needed to nominate:	1,130

Democratic:

Carter	569
Jackson	199
Udall	187.5
Wallace	138
Humphrey	49.5
Shapp	18
Harris	17
Favorite Son	86
Other	9.5
Uncommitted	281.5
Total chosen to date	1,555
Yet to be chosen	1,453
Needed to nominate:	1,505

Republican totals are based on completed delegate selection in Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Wyoming, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, and partial delegate selection in Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Minnesota, Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas.

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in Alaska, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Canal Zone and Virgin Islands, and partial delegate selection in Alabama, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Texas, District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.


MY FELLOW AMERICANS OF THE GREAT STATE OF NEBRASKA...!
CHURCH
?
GARNER
©THE WASHINGTON STAR '76

PAGE A-1
WASH STAR 5/27/76

Udall Dropping 'Nice Guy' Image In Battling Carter

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

It's no more Mr. Nice Guy for Mo Udall, not with Jimmy Carter on the run and the crucial Ohio primary looming less than two weeks away.

In a tactical shift that has evolved since his surprisingly close second-place finish in Michigan nine days ago, Udall is going on the offensive — attacking Carter head-on in a new media campaign aimed at capitalizing on voter uneasiness over the frontrunner's "fuzziness" on the issues.

No longer will the Arizona Democrat concentrate primarily on explaining his own positions on issues to the voters. The setbacks Carter has suffered in the last two weeks

See UDALL, A-8

UDALL

Continued From A-1

have convinced Udall that it's time to capitalize on his opponent's growing vulnerability.

UDALL'S campaign staff in Washington scheduled a press conference today to unveil some tough new radio spots that will be put on the air tomorrow in Ohio — the scene of the Arizona Democrat's last major showdown against the former Georgia governor.

An equally pointed new television spot is in the works, and Udall himself took to the tube last night for a five-minute speech directly attacking Carter which was broadcast nationwide on CBS.

"Who is Jimmy Carter?" Udall asked in last night's address. "What does he believe?

"You have the right to ask those questions of him, just as you have a right to ask them of me. That is what this campaign is all about, and that is why this campaign is not over."

Udall's strategists are convinced that Carter's close squeak in Michigan and his losses to Sen. Frank Church and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in Nebraska, Idaho, Oregon, Maryland and Nevada demonstrate the shine is off the Georgia peach.

VOTERS ARE increasingly aware of, and disturbed by, Carter's evasiveness on some issues and outright shifts on others, the Udall managers believe.

In Michigan, Udall for the first time used an "attack" ad on television, an animated cartoon portraying an alternately smiling and serious Carter while an announcer's voice recounted the inconsistencies of the Georgian's statements on a series of issues.

This commercial proved extremely effective and will be used again in Ohio — along with a new spot with a similar theme.

According to John Gabusi, director of the Udall campaign, a poll taken in Ohio the weekend before the Michigan primary showed support for Carter in the Toledo area — where voters had been seeing Detroit television programming, including the "two-face" commercial — was running 20 points below Carter's strength statewide.

THE UDALL campaign has budgeted about $101,000 for radio and television advertising in Ohio, and Gabusi said there is "room for expansion" in that figure.

With Udall making only a "very minimal" effort in New Jersey and California, which will also be holding primaries on June 8, the Ohio election offers the Arizona congressman his last significant chance to prove he can come in first, instead of second, in a major primary.

Udall is also campaigning in South Dakota, where voters go to the polls Tuesday, but the state is too small to carry much weight even if he should defeat Carter there.

The radio spots played for reporters at this morning's press conference were produced by Joseph White & Associates, a small Washington firm that had previously worked for Udall in congressional campaigns.

TWO OF THE three do not even mention Carter by name, but leave little doubt that he is their target. Both open with noisy calliope music; one evokes the old carnival "shell game" while the other talks of the circus "bandwagon" of yesteryear and the political "bandwagon" of today.

A third spot opens by asking, "Do you know where Jimmy Carter stands on the issue of oil company monopolies? Are you sure Jimmy Carter knows where he stands?"

All three are so-called "voiceover" spots, where the candidate himself is not heard but only the voice of an announcer speaking above the background music.

The "shell game" and "bandwagon" spots are especially pointed, unmistakably "negative" or "attack" ads, as they are known in the trade.

WHITE DEFENDED the spots, saying, "Michigan showed that Carter's one real weakness is his fuzziness on the issues. We're just trying to hammer that in."

Noting Carter is not even mentioned in the two spots, White said, "If the voters react by thinking 'Jimmy Carter' when they hear these spots, it indicates the impression is already there in their minds. So if Carter complains, it's his problem — not ours."

Gabusi said Udall has cleared the new spots, just as he approved the "two faces" TV commercial which proved so effective in Michigan.

The candidate, Gabusi admitted, was initially "hesitant" about "the method" of attacking Carter for his evasiveness on issues, but not about the theme itself.

"We made sure the ads contained nothing he hasn't said before himself during the campaign, and nothing that hasn't been thoroughly documented," Gabusi said.

THE UDALL campaign director conceded the new advertising is unlikely to sit well with Carter, saying, "We know he's kind of upset with us."

49A

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Wash. Star
5/27/76 — Page A-6

Carter Gets Endorsement Of Beame

From News Services

New York Mayor Abraham Beame has announced that he will support Jimmy Carter for the Democratic nomination for president even though he is committed to vote for Sen. Henry M. Jackson on the first ballot.

Beame said he would honor the Jackson commitment, then support Carter. "I'm doing what I think is best for my country, my state and my city," Beame told a news conference.

In return for Beame's support, Carter, who was in New York yesterday, said he supported a federal takeover of welfare costs and assured Beame that, as president, he would work to "assure New York City of needed financing."

CARTER ALSO got the endorsement yesterday of Illinois' Gov. Daniel Walker and of the chairman of the Democratic party organization in Essex County, N.J., which customarily casts that state's largest Democratic vote.

Walker announced his endorement while visiting friends in California. The Illinois governor, who recently lost his bid for renomination, said that Carter — a fellow graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy — "has the capacity to make America believe in itself again."

The Essex County endorsement came during a visit by Carter with New Jersey Gov. Brendan Byrne, also a Carter supporter. Essex Chairman Harry Lerner, who had backed Jackson, announced his support after a private meeting with Carter and Byrne yesterday.

NEW JERSEY elects 91 convention delegates June 8, the final day for primaries this year and same day as the California and Ohio primaries. Next week's primaries are in Rhode Island, South Dakota and Montana. Another 17 New Jersey delegates will be selected June 21 by those elected June 8.

The Carter Family Plan

Sister Says President Should Be Man of God

By Ruth Dean
Washington Star Staff Writer

"It was like having a double helping of Georgia pecan pie. Dulcet-voiced Ruth Carter Stapleton was describing how being "born again" has transformed her family into a spiritual powerhouse that can attain whatever goal it sets out to achieve.

The 46-year-old evangelist sister of Democratic presidential aspirant Jimmy Carter offered a recipe for individual fulfillment in the private and public sector that went down smoothly with her National Press Club luncheon audience yesterday.

But, judging by their perplexed reactions and questions, it didn't digest too well.

If he's successful in his drive for the presidency, would there be prayer meetings in the White House? Or, as one questioner put it, "will he start going to church once he finds a vice president?" Did she think the president of the United States should be a man of God? And to what extent did she think easy reference to God would return to political discussions as it did in the nation's early history? Would his election presage a religious revival in this country? And where does she stand on equal rights and women's liberation?

RELIGION FOR so many people, Stapleton said, represents living under a formal set of moral judgments for good and bad, formal attendance at Sunday services and taking a pious judgmental attitude toward others. But for herself, and she felt sure her brother Jimmy, she said "religion to me means being a follower of whatever you choose as your leader and my leader is Jesus Christ. The whole country is based on the motto 'In God We Trust.' So I think the greatest need in our country today is to understand the true meaning of religion."

She said she thought the time has come for a religious revival regardless of whether Jimmy was running for the presidency. He wouldn't "be the type to force his moral opinions on others," Stapleton said, "but he could be an example." Yes, she thought the president "should be a man of God" if that term embraces the qualities of love, understanding, fairness, integrity, and honesty she thinks are inherent in that meaning.

AND WHAT could her brother do for the country that other presidential candidates could not offer? "Jimmy will be the savior of the country if elected president," she said stoutly. "Washington will be straightened out completely, with the example of his leadership, integrity and honesty."

Stapleton's answer to the ERA question didn't go over too well with the largely feminine audience, judging from remarks afterward. "Well, I think she was sincere," said one. But it didn't satisfy the puzzled frowns that met her as to what Stapleton actually meant.

"I HAVE definite opinions on ERA and women's lib; I don't see it," she said. "My feeling about it stems from my work. I believe women come into true femininity as a natural job, just as men come into their masculinity, not by waving a flag, but by inner appeal. What could be a truer meaning of femininity than that she becomes exalted even before man?"



Ruth Carter Stapleton

And how exalted are she and her sister Gloria before brother Jimmy? Well, their relationship has always been close, she said; "I've always looked up to him with admiration." And he has a "high regard for my work," she said.

Since John Kennedy made his brother Bobby his attorney general, does brother Jimmy have similar plans for her?

She answered with an anecdote. "I have four children, the oldest 26. One day I came in and said, 'I have the most exciting news for you.' And my oldest daughter piped up, 'Oh my God, Mother, you aren't running against Uncle Jimmy for president, are you?'"

Politics Today

Let Rookies Beware In This Ball Game

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

Ted Kennedy dismissed the idea that he is part of an " active" movement to stop Jimmy Carter from winning the Democratic presidential nominatiion as sheer "newspaper speculation," but that may just be a matter of semantics.

Certain people don't have to get real strenuous to put their points across. A simple thumbs up or thumbs down by a Roman emperor had a remarkable influence on the life-style and future prospects of even the best gladiator, and Kennedy doesn't have to go out and act like he is running for sheriff — or sound like George Wallace — in order to send a political message.

When Kennedy makes it known that one of the multitude of this year's Democratic presidential candidates is "indefinite and imprecise" on the issues and is "intentionally" so, anyone with an IQ on the north side of about 85 or 90 doesn't need to have a roof fall in on him.

" I CANNOT stop speculation," Kennedy said Tuesday in New York where he received the National Father-of-the-Year Award. "I suppose there will continue to be speculation until the last vote is taken at the Democratic national convention."

He might not be able to stop it, but he sure can start it. The speculation started last week with a story in the New York Daily News by Washington Bureau Chief Jim Wieghart that Kennedy would accept a presidential draft. The story also said Kennedy would run as vice president on a Hubert Humphrey ticket and that he was uneasy about the fate of all the liberal programs he has worked for so long if Carter is the next president.

Kennedy never really denied the story, partly on the grounds he didn't want to embarrass Wieghart, whom he considers a good reporter. The fact is, of course, that no one, including Humphrey, entertains any doubt about where Wieghart got the story. "Right from the horse's mouth," says one Democratic senator who is intimately involved.

KENNEDY IS STILL foursquare in his insistence that he will make absolutely no effort to win the nomination, and there is no reason not to believe him. Workers in the stop-Carter movement, however, insist that Kennedy would accept a true draft.

What is a true draft? "Like if the Alabama delegation stands up and says something like, 'The great state of Alabama casts its vote for a great Democrat, the distinguished senator from Massachusetts,' " says one Capitol hill staffer.

The fact is that the enlistment of Kennedy in a stop-Carter effort is the Democrats' equivalent of the Royal Seal. Let the word out that Ted Kennedy is involved, then Democrats from Tennessee to Ohio to California will know that the heavy artillery is being moved up.

Link his name with Humphrey's, even as a vice presidential candidate — particularly as Humphrey's running mate — and you're on to something. What could give the concept greater credibility?

KENNEDY WAS CRITICAL of Carter's appearance before the Democratic platform committee but conceded that what he considered to be Carter's vagueness on the issue "is a tactic. . ." which has shown to be successful and which he has justified by winning 11 primaries and 865 national delegates.

Kennedy also reportedly was upset by Carter's failure to repudiate Detroit Mayor Coleman Young's attack on Morris Udall's Mormon religion as being racist. Kennedy's refusal to meet in Washington recently with Carter was interpreted as proof that he was determined to remain aloof, but now it is seen as something else.

"I think Mr. Carter has made an impressive showing during the course of the various presidential primaries," Kennedy said. "But I don't think this should silence other candidates from making their voices heard on the issues."

This sounds remarkably similar to Humphrey's cheerful laissez faire approach to the presidential nomination.

DOES HUMPHREY, the old party war-horse, fear that a brokered convention could harm the Democrats' chances in the fall? Not on your tintype, not if it means that political lightning might strike him.

It is always difficult to imagine Hubert Humphrey enjoying the role of onlooker, but if his performance on the Martin Agronsky show the other night wasn't convincing, Humphrey has missed his calling. "I haven't enjoyed anything so much in a long time, as watching this," the happy warrior enthused.

He suggested he might be at a disadvantage against such new faces as Carter and California Gov. Jerry Brown. He said maybe he had been around too long and people knew too much about what he stood for, but if he was devastated by this possibility, it didn't shine through.

Humphrey and Kennedy are like two old ball players who have never won the Super Bowl but have played the game long enough to know how tough it is.

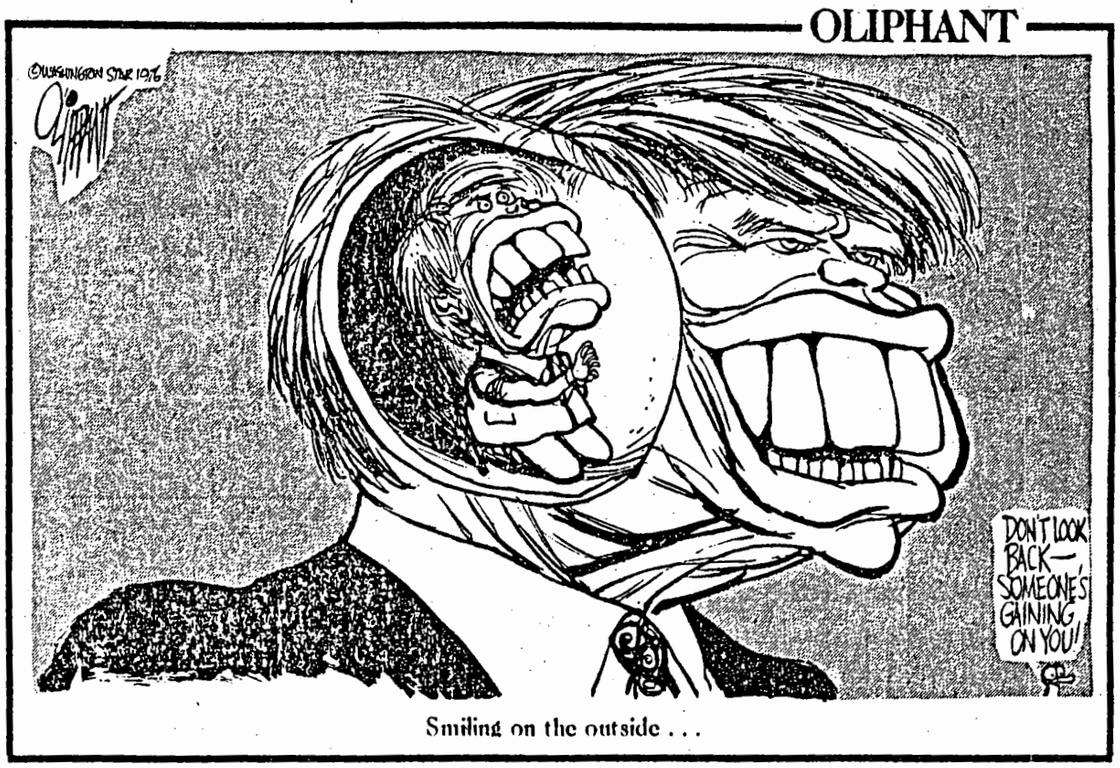
One of the favorite mythologies of sports is that the seasoned veterans are generous of their aid to eager and talented rookies who are out to take their jobs. This is generally so much bullbleep in sports, and it is no less so in politics.

Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

WHAT THE PRESS HAD TO SAY.

5/28

OLIPHANT



Smiling on the outside . . .

E

News Summary and Index

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1976

The Major Events of the Day

International

Secretary General Kurt Waldheim said in Damascus yesterday that Syria had agreed to extend the United Nations observer force on the Golan Heights for another six months. When asked whether President Hafez al-Assad had attached any conditions to his fourth renewal of the buffer force, Mr. Waldheim said: "The President has put a number of questions to me in the course of our long conversations, but otherwise the matter did not come up." [Page A1, Column 1.]

The murder in Beirut of Linda Atrash, the sister of Kamal Jumblat, leader of the alliance of leftists and Moslems in the Lebanese civil war, brought fears of an upsurge of violence and set back attempts by President-elect Elias Sarkis to bring the opposing factions together. [A1:2-3.]

The most thorough and technically sophisticated search for the Loch Ness monster in the Scottish lake from which it got its name will be made this summer by a team of American, British and Canadian scientists and engineers. The expedition was organized by Dr. Robert H. Rines, a Boston lawyer and educator, and is sponsored by the Academy of Applied Science of Boston and The New York Times. Zoologists from Harvard and Cambridge Universities the Smithsonian Institution and the British Museum of Natural History are advisers. [A1:4-7.]

National

The Senate Finance Committee voted to make permanent all but one aspect of the individual income tax cuts that have been in effect since March 1975. Withholding taxes and individual income tax liabilities will be unchanged through the rest of this year and at least through the middle of 1977. The special $35-per-person tax credit was the only element of the 1975 tax reduction that would not be made permanent. It would expire June 30, 1977. [A1:8.]

At this stage of the 1976 campaign, voter support for the leading Presidential candidates appears to be divided more sharply along regional lines than on political or ideological issues, according to a survey by The New York Times and CBS News. The regional divisions were not as apparent in the 1972 and 1968 campaigns. [A1:6-7.]

Stung by the public outcry over the Elizabeth Ray disclosures, members of the House began a quiet but determined drive to divest Representative Wayne L. Hays of his three committee chairmanships. The move has the tacit approval of the Democratic leadership. Mr. Hays is a Democrat. [A1:2-3.]

A Federal court of appeals ruled that the nuclear power industry could not use plutonium in commercial nuclear reactors until a thorough study of health and safety factors had been completed. The United States Court of Appeals in New York reversed an order of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission that permitted the interim commercial licensing of plutonium before the completion of the complex study and public hearings. [A1:1-3.]

Metropolitan

New York City will stop financing 49 day-care centers on July 1, J. Henry Smith, the Human Resources Administrator announced. He said the closings were forced by "severe financial stringencies." In addition to the removal of 3,500 children, nearly 1,500 employees at the 49 centers will be dismissed. The closings were protested by day-care consultants, Representative Bella S. Abzug and State Senator Franz S. Leichter. [A1:6-7.]

The City University's $15 million payroll due today for 12,000 faculty members will not be met on time, Mayor Beame said, because of university overspending and continuing uncertainty over the Legislature's resolution of the university's future. The decision was announced following a tense day in which city officials hoped for word of progress on the issue from Albany. This would be the first payroll actually missed in the numerous budget deadlines that New York City has had in its fiscal crisis. [A1:5.]

Patrick J. Cunningham, the indicted Democratic state chairman, will be asked to testify about any possible role he may have had in Governor Carey's attempt to dismiss Maurice H. Nadjari. Jacob B. Grumet, a deputy state attorney general, said he would also request that Mr. Cunningham's co-defendant, Civil Court Judge Anthony J. Mercorella agree to be questioned. [A1:4.]

The State Assembly gave final approval to the repeal of a stiff increase voted last fall in New York City's estate tax even though it will put a $35 million "hole" in the city's financial recovery plan. The tax was to take effect June 1. [A1:8.]

The Other News

International

Rhodesian fighting takes innocent toll. Page A1
Tokyo continues to rely on U.S. for defense. Page A2
Singapore uncovers subversive acivities. Page A2
British "resignation honors" under attack. Page A3
Wider cultural curbs expected in Rumania. Page A5
Arabs plan Against Israel Chess Olympics. Page A6
Cuba pullout from Angola seen in 1977. Page A6

Government and Politics

Nessen says Ford erred on a school case. Page A11
Election funds law found aiding Carter. Page A12
Betty Ford campaigns in New Jersey. Page A13
Poll finds voter support by region. Page A13
Caso to run in Nassau despite warning. Page A16
Plan on state aid to City University founders. Page B11
Carey and Cunningham play outwaiting game. Page B14

General

250 cadets held involved in cheating scandal. Page A14
Dorothy Schiff biography stirs controversy. Page A14
Three international drug dealers arrested. Page A14
Group seeks to bar Miss Quinlan's death. Page A16
Real Estate: Apartment building amid adversity. Page A16
Metropolitan Briefs. Page B2
Legislature votes delay in impact statements. Page B2
Rutgers honors experts on the Revolution. Page B2
New paint helps fight subway graffiti. Page B3

Industry and Labor

Dissident teamsters ask leadership reform. Page A8
Garment strike ended by 3-year pact. Page A14

Education and Welfare

Proposed tuition rise clouds Rutgers graduation. Page B2

Health and Science

Combined viruses cause cancer in animals. Page A14

"All the News
it's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITI
Weather: Mostly sunny
tonight. Showers likely
Temperature range: to
Thursday 49-75. Details.

XXV .... No. 43,224 © 1976 The New York Times Company — NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1976 — 35 cents beyond 50-mile zone from New York City, except Long Island. Higher in air delivery cities. M 20 C

Contests in Both Parties Turning on Regional Lines

By ROBERT REINHOLD

At this stage of the 1976 campaign, voter support for the leading candidates for the Democratic and Republican nominations appears to divide more sharply along regional lines than on issues or on matters of political ideology.

This trend, which differs from the patterns of 1972 and 1968, emerges from the latest national survey of American voters conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.

This pattern has been most apparent in the developing campaign of former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the Democratic front-runner. Just as the results of recent primaries have shown, the new national survey finds that Mr. Carter's support is very strong in the South, moderate in the Middle West and East and very weak in the West.

Similarly in the Republican Party, President Ford shows his best strength in the East and Midwest, has a slimmer advantage over Ronald Reagan in the South and trails badly in the West.

Despite some indications in the poll that growing numbers of voters express unfavorable opinions about Mr. Carter, he still runs about neck and neck with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey as the favorites among Democratic voters for their party's nomination.

Mr. Carter is also the only Democrat favored by voters as a whole over both President Ford and his Republican rival, Mr. Reagan. Mr. Carter's margin over both Republicans is quite narrow.

Among Republicans polled, Mr. Ford continues to lead Mr. Reagan by a 3-to-2 margin.

These were among the results of the new survey, compiled from telephone interviews with 1,501 adults living in small and large communities from coast to coast.

Up to now, national attention has been focused on the comparatively small number of voters in the primary states, where certain issues and other electoral idiosyncrasies may have played important roles in the voting patterns.

In the new survey—based on a broad sample designed to rep-

Continued on Page A13, Col. 1

Continued From Page A1, Col. 7

resent all voters in the 48 contiguous states — the regional differences dividing the supporters of the leading candidates in both parties generally seem to be greater than the differences in the political ideology or their stands on the major issues of the day.

And if the delegates attending the two national conventions this summer reflect the rank and file of their parties, then sectional concerns may play an unusually large role in the nominations for President and Vice President.

The regional factor helps to explain the patterns seen in the Democratic primaries so far. Mr. Carter, a Southerner, has performed very well in the Southern and Border states. Where he has had significant opposition elsewhere, however, he has done less well.

Competition for Carter

Except for his stunning victory in Pennsylvania, Mr. Carter has had sharp competition from Representative Morris K. Udall in the Northern states. And he has been blocked out West by Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

The Times/CBS News survey found that the major remaining Democratic candidates fall roughly into three groups: Mr. Carter and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama draw disproportionately Southern support; Governor Brown and Senator Church have heavy Western backing; Mr. Udall, even though he represents Arizona, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota draw backing disportionately from Northern and Eastern voters. Mr. Humphrey was included in the survey even though he has declared he will not actively seek the nomination.

The survey found that Mr. Carter, the front-runner, draws more than half his considerable popular support from Southern voters, even though they represented only 37 percent of the sample. By contrast, only about a quarter of the Humphrey support came from the South.

And Senator Church and Governor Brown, much less well known nationally, got about a third of their support from Western voters, who were 12 percent of the sample.

Or, to put it another way, over 50 percent of the Southerners said they preferred Mr. Carter, while only about a fourth to a third of Easterners and Midwesterners did. Mr. Humphrey was preferred by about four of every 10 in the East and Middle West.

The Carter support was not found to be rooted in political ideology. In every region, he won about equal support from liberals, moderates and conservatives. Mr. Udall and Mr. Brown did better among liberals in each region than they did among moderates and conservatives. Mr. Udall and Mr. Brown did better among liberals in each region than they did among moderates and conservative.

When the race was limited to Mr. Humphrey and Mr. Carter, there were almost no ideological differences. In no region did either receive exceptionally heavy support from one ideological group or the other. Neither did the stands of voters on the issues seem to make much difference between the Humphrey and Carter backers. Similarly, in terms of occupational status, the Humphrey and Carter people seemed very much the same.

Humphrey Support Holds

Despite Mr. Carter's heavy lead in delegates to the national convention, the survey found evidence that he was vulnerable in terms of popular support among Democrats. Even though Mr. Humphrey has opted out of running in the primaries, he remains extremely popular, according to the survey.

Mr. Humphrey's public announcement that he would not run was made last month after the Pennsylvania primary and after the last New York Times/CBS News national survey. In the new survey, he has declined somewhat but still runs just about even with Mr. Carter as the choice of Democrats. Howeverm, as before Mr. Carter is better liked among those who identify themselves as independents and Republicans.

How Election Poll Was Conducted

The New York Times/CBS News survey is based on telephone interviews conducted from May 19 to May 23 with 1,501 adult men and women across the continental United States.

The phone numbers called were selected by a computer from a complete list of United States phone numbers. They were chosen at random in such a way as to insure that each region of the country was represented in proportion to its numbers in the population. Each residential phone in the country had an equal chance of being called.

The results shown have been weighted by household size, race, sex, religion, age and education. This weighting procedure safeguards against possible distortion caused by the fact that certain groups are harder to reach than others in surveys of this type.

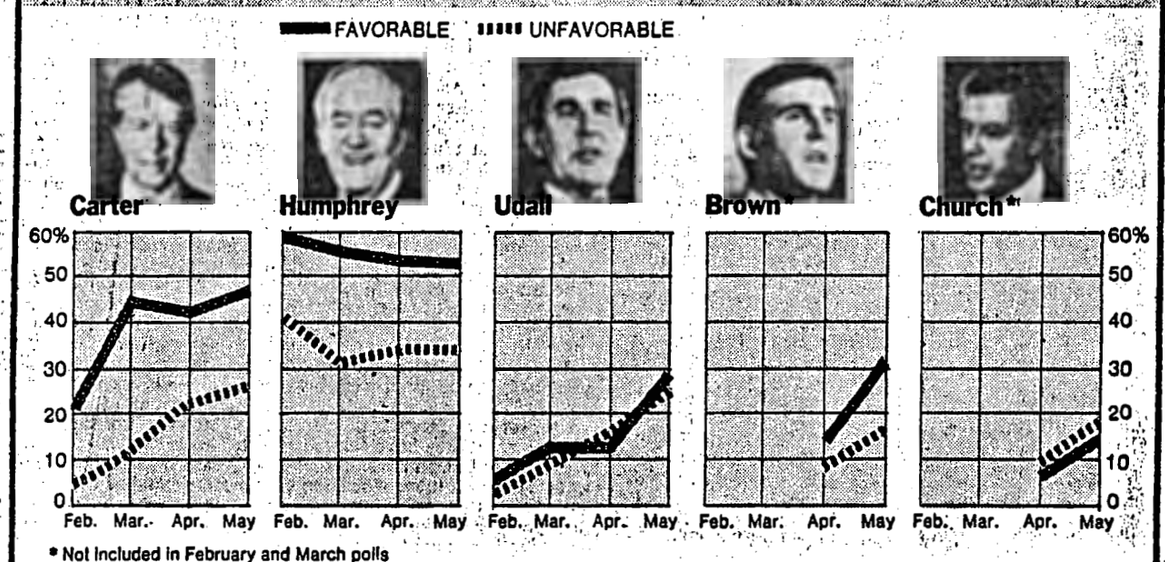
In theory, a sample of this size is large enough to say with 95 percent certainty that the overall results differ by no more than 3 percent in either direction from what would have been obtained by interviewing all Americans of voting age. The results for Democrats or Republicans alone may err by 5 percent. However, the margin of error is probably somewhat larger because of various practical difficulties inherent in taking any survey of public opinion.

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

Contests in Both Parties Evolving by Regions

How the Favorable/Unfavorable Ratings of the Democratic Candidates Have Changed During the Campaign

(Based on New York Times/CBS News national polls of Democrats in Feb., March, April and May)



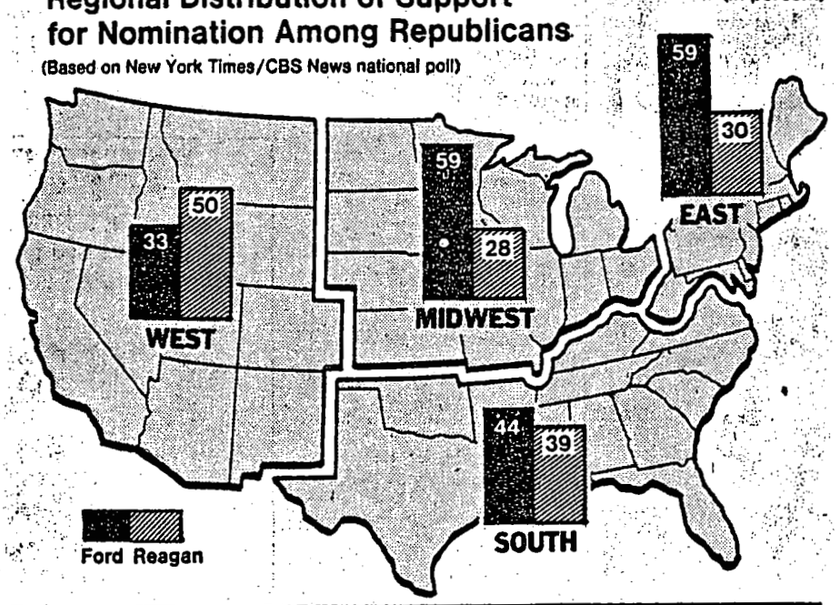
* Not included in February and March polls

The New York Times/May 28, 1976

Regional Distribution of Support for Nomination Among Republicans

(in percent)

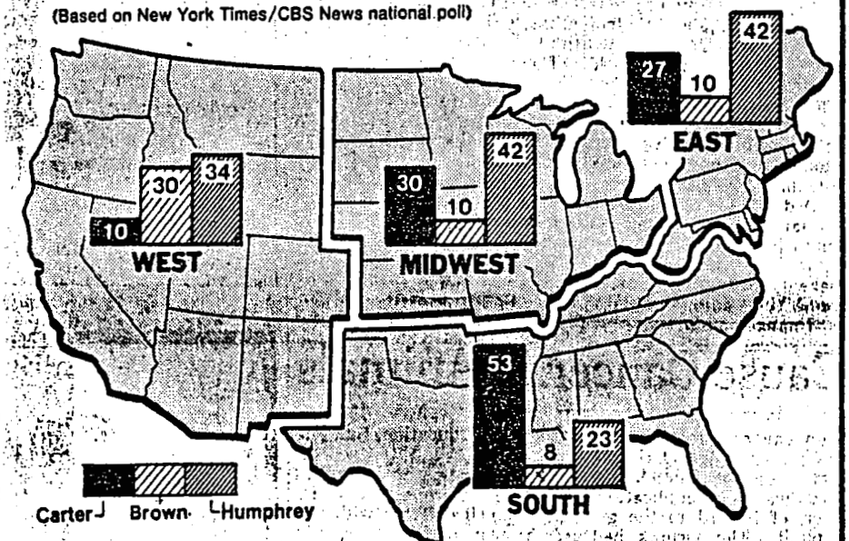
(Based on New York Times/CBS News national poll)



Regional Distribution of Support* for Nomination Among Democrats

(in percent)

(Based on New York Times/CBS News national poll)



* Other Democratic candidates were not included because their national support was too small to allow significant regional breakdowns.

The New York Times/May 28, 1976

HUMPHREY DRAFT PUSHED IN JERSEY

Crangle Hoping Minnesotan Backers Will Not Bolt

By RONALD SULLIVAN

Special to The New York Times

EAST BRUNSWICK, N.J., May 27—Joseph F. Crangle, a New York State Democratic leader who is head of an effort to draft Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota for President, was carrying an appeal to New Jersey's uncommitted delegate candidates this evening to reaffirm thier support of Mr. Humphrey in the Democratic Presidential primary election here June 8.

Mr. Crangle, the Erie County (Buffalo) Democratic leader, is the executive director of the organization to draft Mr. Humphrey for President that was organized last month in Washington. He was coming here this evening to explain to the delegates how his organization in Buffalo succeeded in electing uncommitted slates supporting Senator Humphrey last month in the New York primary.

Shortly before Mr. Humphrey refused to enter the New Jersey primary as an active candidate, the 91 uncommitted statewide and district delegates gave him their unanimous endorsement. Since then, however, many of them have expressed disappointment that he did not become a candidate and some have come out for Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

Brown Popular

Mr. Brown campaigned here last week, and he generated considerable enthusiasm for his candidacy when he appeared before the delegates and asked them for their support.

However, State Senator James P. Dugan, the New Jersey Democratic chairman who is the principal architect of the party's uncommitted strategy behind Mr. Humphrey, contends that the party organizations are essentially still united in their support of the Minnesotan. In fact, he said, the uncommitted slates are the only ones in any state that are offering a complete national ticket: Senator Humphrey for President with Governor Brown as his running mate.

In previous statements, Mr. Dugan has said that there would be no doubt in any voter's mind on June 8 as to whom the uncommitted groups supported. But according to regular party officials today in some districts an uncommitted slate will be for Mr. Brown; in others it will be clearly for Mr. Humphrey, and in still others it will be for both men.

For example, state Senator Frank J. Dodd is leading the uncommitted slate in an Essex County district; he has announced his support for Governor Brown. So has Assemblyman Richard Van Wagner in the 12th District in Monmouth and Middlesex Counties.

Looks to Humphrey

However, Mr. Van Wagner said today that he was fully prepared to reaffirm his support for Mr. Humphrey in the event the Senator emerged as a contender. Like a number of other uncommitted candidates, Mr. Van Wagner said he perceived Mr. Brown as much a Vice-Presidential candidate as a presidential one.

For the most part, the consolidation of Humphrey and Brown support among the uncommitted delegates and within the regular party organizations was achieved through necessity and a mutual conviction that former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia must be stopped if either was to have any chance at the convention. Thus, the party and the delegate candidates found it comparatively easy to support Mr. Brown with one hand while they were holding out the other for Mr. Humphrey.

And while some officials wondered how such a strategy could prevail when Democrats could ot be sure exactly what voting for the uncommitted slate would mean on June 8, other officials said that the campaign was essentially directed at party-oriented Democratic loyalists who had little difficulty in understanding the overall objective and that Humphrey support was easily transferable Mr. Brown, despite their differences in styles, ages, backgrounds and positions on the major issues.

As of this evening, approximately a score of the 91 delegate candidates were supporting Mr. Brown. There had been speculation that the Brown supporters would force a new vote within the delegation. But Democratic officials were attempting to forestall one in the interest of maintaining the cooperation and unanimity that has thus far marked the party's uncommitted strategy since Governor Byrne joined the Carter and Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr. dropped off as the leader of the group's statewide slate.

Tonight's meeting also is calculated to initiate a $200,000 fund-raising effort for the final week of the campaign. Toward that end, party officials stress the importance of Mr. Humphrey's capacity to generate financial support. With this in mind, he is scheduled to make another appearance in the state next Wednesday.

Shrunken Draft Unit Gets Smaller Space

WASHINGTON, May 27 (AP)—The Selective Service System, reduced to a house-will move its headquarters keeping and planning force, this weekend from a six-floor building of its own to a single floor in a new building.

Byron V. Pepitone, the director, said that his force of fewer than 100 persons would occupy the seventh floor of the Bicentennial Building, a few blocks from the Capitol.

Mr. Pepitone, at President Ford's direction, halted the requirement that those reaching the age of 18 years register for the draft on Jan. 27 and canceled further lotteries to assign call-up sequence numbers.

Carter Assails Opponents Who Seek to Block Drive

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

CINCINNATI, May 27—Jimmy Carter, speaking with more than usual force, said today that those critical of him wished to thwart his dreams for a "better America" and "to maintain at all costs their own entrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power."

The former Georgia Governor, who holds the commanding but perhaps not unshakable lead for the Democratic Presidential nomination, was speaking to several hundred delegates at the annual convention of the Ohio A.F.L.-C.I.O. Most who listened to Mr. Carter believed he was speaking of figures within the Democratic Party hierarchy who are attempting to prevent his nomination.

Later in the day, however, Mr. Carter exempted by name most major Democratic Presidential possibilities from his accusations and said his remarks had been directed in large part at such Republicans as President Ford and Ronald Reagan.

Democrats Included

Still later, Mr. Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, said it was fair to infer that Democrats were part of the "stop Carter" movement to which the former governor had alluded. But he said that Mr. Carter does not think it's proper to call by name or single out other Democrats."

The main thrust of Mr. Carter's remarks, which were read from a prepared text, was that the main motive of those who wished to block him was to prevent the better government for which he asserted he stands.

"We have seen this campaign come full circle from 'Jimmy Who?' 166 months ago to 'Stop Carter,'" he said. "The people who ignored me then are opposing me now."

Saying that his campaign had been "closely and intimately tied to working people, he added, "I have gone to the people with my positions on every basic issue facing the nation—tax reform, health, welfare reform, the environment, jobs, government reorganization, honesty in government—and in state after state the people have endorsed my positions with their votes."

"My critics don't want to stop Carter" he said, with a noticeable bite in his voice. "They want to stop the reforms I am committed to. They want to stop the people of this country from regaining control of their government. They want to preserve the status quo, to preserve politics as usual."

Mr. Carter said that what he called his own "vision" of a different and better nation "is not shared by those who are trying so hard to stop my campaign."

It was not th efirst time in a long campaign that Mr. Carter has shown anger or attempted rhetorically to denounce opponents and critics. Earlier in the year he several times advanced, and then softened, barbed criticisms of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. He has also shown growing annoyance with Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, a rival candidate, called Maryland campaign, suggested that Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California was not "really running for President" but was perhaps the unwitting tool of "powerful bosses."

At most times, however, he takes a more moderate stance and usually tells audiences, "I have not run against anyone" but has run for the office of the Presidency. Thus his words today aroused more interest than usual.

They also came at a critical juncture of the campaign, with the crucial June 8 primary elections in Ohio, California and New Jersey approaching. Mr. Carter has had an equivocal record in recent primaries, winning impressively in many and gaining more and more delegates but losing three closely watched races to Governor Brown and to another late starter, Senator Frank Church of Idaho.

At the Cleveland airport later in the day, Mr. Carter was asked if Representative Udall, Gvoernor Brown and Senator Church were part of the Stop Carter movement of which he had spoken in Cincinnati.

Exempts Brown and Church

"I don't attribute that kind of motivation to Jerry Brown or Frank Church," he said, adding that both of them were "very good men and very worthy candidates." He said, "I think they are legitimately running for President" and thus not part of a stop movement. He made no response to shouted questions of "What about Udall?"—but may not have heard or have understood the question.

Mr. Carter also specifically excluded Senator Humphrey and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts from his criticism, but told one reporter he was talking about "the general establishment" and also mentioned unnamed persons who benefit from "special privileges" in government.

He said that Republicans such as President Ford and Mr. Reagan represented the sort of forces who opposed change toward a more just society.

Mr. Powell later said that the omission of Representative Udall's name did not have special significance and that Mr. Carter was not trying to criticize any Democrat by name "by direction or indirection.

Regionalism and the G.O.P. Race

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

News Analysis

Since the start of the Presidential campaign, there has been a remarkable constancy in the views of Republican voters. In four national surveys by The New York Times and CBS News, taken in February, March, April and May, President Ford has consistently been the choice of at least half the Republicans queried, and Ronald Reagan has consistently been the choice of less than a third.

Why, then, has the President lost nine primaries to Mr. Reagan, and why does his nomination remain in such doubt?

Why has Mr. Reagan come so close in a number of primaries he lost, such as New Hampshire, where he was beaten by only 1,587 votes, and Tennessee, where he was beaten by 2,170?

Why have there been at least three phases to the Republican contest, with Mr. Ford up, then down, now up again?

One of the explanations that has been advanced has been the phenomenon of crossovers —Democrats of conservative persuasion choosing to vote in the Republican primaries in a number of states. The Times/CBS News poll offers support for that theory; the conservative Mr. Reagan is favored by a larger percentage of Democrats, ironically enough, than of Republicans.

But crossovers are permitted in only a few states.

Effect of Regionalism

The principal explanation suggested by the Times/CBS News poll as regionalism—a new regionalism that has evidently supplanted within the Republican Party the usual pattern of East versus Middle West, as exemplified in the antagonisms of the 1950's between the Eisenhower and Taft wings of the party.

According to the poll, Mr. Ford's highest popularity index —that is, the difference between the percentage that views him favorably and the percentage that views him unfavorably—is 63, in the Middle West, his home area. In the Northeast, his index is 46; in the South, it declines to 32, and in the West it drops further to 25.

Mr. Reagan's regional profile is a mirror image of the President's. He, too, is the most popular in his home region, the West, where his popularity index is 63; he is also strong in the South, where it is 40. But in Mr. Ford's best area, the Middle West, it drops to 26, and in the Northeast, it falls to 23.

The South and West, in other words, are Reagan country, as the candidate himself has always insisted. Most of the former Governor's primary victories have come in those areas—in North Carolina, Texas, Alabama, Georgia and Arkansas; in Idaho and Nevada. Nebraska, where he also won, is one of the most Western of Middle Western states; Indiana, in its voting behavior, is the most Southern of Middle Western industrial states.

Some Exceptions

There are, of course, exceptions. In some states, a powerful political figure can make the difference, as Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. apparently did last Tuesday in Tennessee.

It could be argued that regionalism is but a mask for ideological variations around the country, but the survey tends to refute that view. In the West, for example, Mr. Reagan is equally popular among Republican liberals, moderates and conservatives. And in the Middle West, there is no great variation in the President's leadership among the three groups.

While it is true that, on a national basis, Mr. Reagan runs best among conservatives, the Times/CBS-News poll indicates that regionalism is a more powerful determinant of voting.

Given that fact, President Ford's struggle to overtake Mr. Reagan in California and thereby guarantee his nomination on the first ballot appears to be a long shot at best.

Reagan Backed on Détente

The poll also shows that the main issue on which the majority of Republicans agree with Mr. Reagan is opposition to détente, and he has succeeded best in those states where he has, by one device or another, made that the most salient issue.

In North Carolina, for example, he saturated the state in the final week with a 30-minute television commercial that dwelled on defense and détente. In Texas, he was able to play on the symbolic issue of the Panama Canal in a state that has always been concerned with Latin American policy. In Indiana, he chose the locally sensitive question of grain sales as a metaphor for the détente issue.

Mr. Ford would prefer that voters focus on the economy, and he has succeeded in making them do so in most areas.

The national figures from the May Times/CBS-News poll show how a pro-détente President survives in an anti-détente party. Even among those who oppose détente, Mr. Ford holds a plurality of those who think the economy is improving and those who think it about the same; he loses only among those who think it worse.

Experts Say New Election Funds Law Saved Carter From a Blitz by Rivals

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA — Jimmy Carter has probably been the principal beneficiary of the new Federal legislation that controls the use of money in Presidential campaigns.

Campaign financing experts and political aides inside and outside Mr. Carter's campaign agree that the new law, which

This is the last of three articles on Jimmy Carter's personal and campaign finances.

limits both total spending and the size of individual contributions, protected Mr. Carter's early effort from a money blitz by Democrats with connections in traditional political-financing pools.

The new Federal election law thus sharply reduced the built-in advantage that might have gone to Senator Henry M. Jackson, Democrat of Washington, and that helped Representative Wilbur D. Mills, Democrat of Arkansas, in his Presidential effort in 1972.

Both these men embarked on Presidential campaigns as chairman of powerful Congressional committees, offices that normally insure financial support from interest groups eager to gain favor on legislation. Such favor is useful even if the chairman being helped does not attain the White House.

Key Man in Campaign

Mr. Carter, the former Governor of Georgia, has conducted an effective and imaginative drive for money that has provided his Presidential bid with adequate, if not luxurious, financing.

Most sources in the political financing field attribute the success of the Carter financial effort to Morris Dees, an Alabama lawyer and former book publisher who raised millions by mail for Senator George McGovern in 1972.

Although Mr. Dees gained his national reputation raising money by mail, he centered Mr. Carter's effort on direct, personal solicitation by finance committees set up in various cities around the country. In an interview, Mr. Dees said that direct mail was less valuable to a "centrist" candidate such as Mr. Carter or in a campaign that lacked a single compelling issue such as the war in Vietnam.

Another asset has been Mr. Carter's personal habit of frugality and his background of running tight, low-budget campaigns, which have stretched his Presidential dollars further than those of several of his opponents.

end nl pu graf starting the history of Mr. Carter:s campaign financing....

The history of Mr. Carter's campaign financing falls in three stages. In late 1974, while still Governor of Georgia, Mr. Carter and his aides raised some $47,000 to be the "nest egg" of his Presidential campaign. It paid for the maintenance of early office space and a small staff.

In 1975, Carter supporters raised some $700,000 from January to November. The money, mainly from Georgia, paid for the nationwide campaigning Mr. Carter was undertaking at the time.

The Third Stage

Finally, Mr. Dees joined Mr. Carter in November 1975 after first being attracted to him in 1972, when he suggested Mr. Carter as a running mate for Senator McGovern. Several weeks after Mr. McGowern was defeated, Mr. Dees met with Mr. Carter in Atlanta and told him that if he ever ran for President, Mr. Dees would like to help him.

Mr. Dees said he had been unable to join Mr. Carter's campaign until last November because of several lawsuits he was trying and because he had promised to advise all Democrats on how to raise money by direct mail.

He said that aides to Senator Jackson and Gov. George C. Wallace had expressed an interest in the program. "I gave them the $2 short course in direct mail," he said.

By the time Mr. Dees joined Mr. Carter's campaign he had become convinced that direct mail solicitation would not be as successful in 1976 for Mr. Carter as it was in 1972 for Senator McGovern.

"Direct mail requires heavy front money," he said. "It costs 25 cents per letter and before the new law you could borrow this from major contributors. Now, however, you can't borrow more than a thousand dollars from any single person and the banks won't loan you that kind of money."

What Mr. Dees devised was a regional system of finance committees that would make direct, personal solicitations for money in their areas and that would be oriented to collecting money through "events."

$100 Cocktail Parties

The most successful events have been $100-a-person cocktail parties in which the guests meet the candidate. Breakfast sessions have also been productive.

Mr. Dees said that under the new restriction—no person may give more than $1,000 a candidate in a year—the campaign dinner has become a less valuable tool because the cost of arranging it often erodes the profits.

Before 1972, even though a dinner might have been priced at $100 a plate, many participants often gave more money, or the tickets were bought in blocks by large contributors.

Using lists of known Democratic contributors, the Carter campaign workers sent out carefully worded invitations to various functions around the country. For example, earlier this year several thousand New Yorkers received a richly appointed invitation to breakfast with Mr. Carter in the grand ballroom of the Plaza Hotel.

Among the hosts listed on the invitation were C. Douglas Dillon, Henry Luce 3d and Cyprus R. Vance. Mr. Dees said the breakfast had cost the Carter campaign $5,000 and "raised $75,000."

Mr. Dees said that the finance committee system was patterned on sales techniques often used by insurance companies. Like certain insurance salesmen, many finance committee members may be able to get money only from their friends. "Some people will get contributions from 15 friends and that's all they can raise," he said. At that point, he said, the finance committee must look for "new blood" and expand its circle of potential contributors.

$328,000 From Telethon

The campaign has used telethons and rock-band concerts, among other events, to raise money. Mr. Dees said that rock concerts were difficult because it is necessary to get a signed ticket or receipt from each person who attends to apply for Federal matching funds.

Telethons are more effective, he said. A telethon in Georgia, called "Spend Valentine's Day With Jimmy Carter (and some of his famous friends)" yielded the campaign $328,000.

The new election law has affected many of the fund-raising tactics in 1976. The Federal Government, for instance, will match only the first $250 contributed by each donor. So if a man wants to give $1,000 to the Carter campaign, the finance committee members urge that the donation be made in the names of the man and his wife, so that the Government will match $250 for each. (This technique is used in the campaigns of all contenders.)

Thus the total receipts to the Carter campaign would be $1,500 for a husband-wife contribution instead of $1,250 for the same gift if made by one individual.

In the Carter campaign, Mr. Dees has used direct mail mainly to solicit additional contributions from persons who had already given to Mr. Carter or had been identified as his supporters.

A personal letter sent out in December 1975, for instance, urged contributors to "double up" on the original donation. Mr. Dees said the mailing cost was $3,500 and the solicitation brought in about $225,000.

Fund-Raising Awareness

Mr. Dees said he had found Mr. Carter and his family more "oriented" to fund raising than other candidates and that Mr. Carter had been more willing than Senator McGovern to solicit funds personally. He said that the entire central group of Mr. Carter's campaign staff was alert to fund-raising possibilities.

There appears to be a basic theme of frugality in both Mr. Carter's private life and his earlier political campaigns. Money is carefully allocated by the Carter campaign treasurer, Robert J. Lipchutz, an Atlanta lawyer, and a committee of the key Carter aides. Mr. Lipchutz, Mr. Dees and several other senior campaign officials are volunteering their time. Expenses, particularly the use of the air travel card and telephone credit cards, are scrupulously monitored.

Even the highest paid staff members, W. Hamilton Jordan, the campaign manager, and Jody Powell, the press secretary, come at bargain rates. Mr. Jordan, for instance, earns less than $16,000 a year as Mr. Carter's campaign manager, while his counterpart in Senator Jackson's campaign was receiving $45,000.

Senator Jackson's press aide, Brian Corcoran, earned $34,000 a year, while Mr. Powell is paid slightly less than $17,000. Several adult professionals on Mr. Dees's finance staff are paid only $150 a week plus expenses.

As a result, the Carter campaign has faced no severe financial crisis. Mr. Carter signed a note to continue salaries and costs at one point, and Mr. Lipschutz said there had been several instances in which he had to rush cashiers' checks to an airline before the planes would take off. But the Carter campaign has not suffered the difficulties faced, for instance, by Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Nevertheless, Mr. Dees and several others involved in political financing criticize the limits imposed by the new election law. Mr. Dees says it results in "running a Presidential race on a mayor's race budget."

But in overall terms, most veteran political financial experts agree Mr. Carter's candidacy could have been snuffed out had the new law not existed. They argue that its regulations are of enormous benefit to a new candidate who is largely unknown and who seeks general support without connections among major political finance sources.

Does It Really Matter?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, May 27—It's fairly obvious now that nobody in the Presidential race is going to sweep into the White House as a popular hero of the Republic, and people are asking: "Does it really matter?" All the candidates are stumbling for the moment and over two-thirds of the eligible voters haven't even bothered to go to the polls in the primary elections. So maybe the main question is not personal but rather how to get a team together in the White House, the Cabinet and the Congress on a sensible program for the last years of the Seventies.

These are obviously going to be years of turbulent change at home and abroad, certainly requiring American leadership in the world, and innovative minds and policies at home. These years are not likely to be handled effectively by some genius at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue or by a divided Government passing bills on the Hill and vetoing them downtown. Our problem is to elect a *Government*, not a man.

If this is a reasonable proposition, the present political struggle in the primaries is a little baffling. How can voters be serious about Ronald Reagan, who is challenging his own President, dividing his own minority party, condemning the Congress he would have to deal with if he won, shaking his fist at the Russians, inviting a crisis over Panama and the rest of the Western Hemisphere, and selling the T.V.A. to the power companies? How do you put the country together on a proposition like this?

President Ford, at least, has the respect and even the affection of the Congress. He has fought the Democratic majority, and vetoed more bills than any Chief Executive in the history of the Republic, but he has peace, a reviving economy, and the prestige of the White House; and if he won, it is possible, but not likely, that he could lead the Government successfully into the Eighties.

On the Democratic side the ABC movement—"Anybody But Carter"—is quite as selfish and even vicious as it sounds. It is not merely that he is an "outsider" or that the party and labor union elders don't know what he'd do as President; they are concerned about his inexperience in foreign affairs, astonished by his energy, worried about his criticisms of Washington and the Congress, and baffled by his religious faith.

But the Democrats don't know quite what to do with him because nobody but the people seem to be for him. The leaders say, "Anybody But Carter," but don't have anybody to put in his place, except Hubert Humphrey and/or Ted Kennedy, and this raises even more awkward questions about how to win and how to govern.

The serious party argument for Humphrey is that, more than anybody else, including Carter, he could probably bring the White House, the Congress, the labor unions and the universities to his side. But he is 65 and vulnerable to old feuds and charges of corruption in the past.

Accordingly, the Democrats are now thinking, not merely about Presidential candidates but about "teams" that might not only win in November but work together with the Congress on the problems and policies of the next four years.

One of these potential teams they talk about is Jimmy Carter as President, Senator Fritz Mondale of Minnesota as Vice President, and Hubert Humphrey as majority leader of the Senate, along with new Democratic leadership in the House of Representatives, hopefully with Speaker Carl Albert of Oklahoma retired (long overdue), and Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts in his place.

Things are clearly changing on Capitol Hill. Senator Mike Mansfield, the majority leader and our last resident saint, and Hugh Scott, the Senate minority leader, are both retiring. So the capital is open if not ready for new men and new ideas.

This is also true in other capitals. It is an astonishing and maybe even a fortuitous accident of history that the political leadership of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, Japan, and other strategic countries like Italy, Spain, Portugal and Yugoslavia are all coming to the point of political decision at about the same time.

In such a world, the unity of the American Government is critical. It is not just a question of which Presidential candidate will be nominated, or even who will win, but what the world will think about the combinations of men and institutions that are governing the United States with the support of the American people.

Does it really matter between Ford and Reagan, or between Carter and Humphrey, Udall, Church, and Brown? All of them would be bound by the commitments of the past at home and abroad, but it does matter about getting the White House and the Congress together on policies the American people can respect and support.

Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, in spite of all the speculation about the last primaries, are almost certain to come out of the struggle and be nominated, but the big issue is not who can be nominated or even who can win but who can put together a Cabinet that can work with the Congress and govern the country and help deal with the political, economic and philosophical anarchy of the world. Nobody is thinking much about this now, but they will probably have to deal with it before the parties nominate their candidates in New York and Kansas City.

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Carter Blasts 'Stop Carter' Movement

By FAY JOYCE
Constitution Staff Writer

ELYRIA, Ohio—Jimmy Carter delivered a blistering attack on the "stop Carter" movement in Cincinnati Thursday, but did not say which other candidates he considered part of that movement.

Departing from his usually restrained, conciliatory campaign style, Carter said, "My critics don't want to stop Carter. They want to stop the reforms I am committed to. They want to stop the people of this country from regaining control of this government.

"They want to preserve the status quo, to preserve politics as usual, to maintain at all costs their own intrenched, unresponsive, bankrupt, irresponsible political power."

Addressing the 10th annual convention of the Ohio AFL-CIO, the former Georgia governor said, "We have seen this campaign come full circle now from 'Jimmy who?' to 'stop Carter.' The people who ignored me then are opposing me now."

Carter and press secretary Jody Powell issued conflicting versions of Carter's meaning.

In response to a question posed in Elyria, Carter said he was talking about Republicans Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan.

However, Powell said later that Carter felt it would be improper to "call by name or single out other Democrats," and that "the implication is clear that he's talking about Democrats as well as Reagan and Ford."

But under questioning, Carter specifically ruled out the Democrats who have beaten him in recent primaries as well as Democrats who might benefit if his campaign is stalled — Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Sen. Frank Church, and California Gov. Jerry Brown.

And Powell said later that although Arizona U.S. Rep. Morris Udall was not mentioned, Carter did not mean to imply he was talking about Udall as part of the "stop Carter" movement.

Carter flew Thursday to Ohio, a state where he is expected to get most of the delegates in the presidential primary June 8.

Both California and Ohio also vote on June 8, "superbowl Tuesday," the last day of the primaries. Carter is concentrating his remaining days of the primary season on Ohio, with side trips to California and a return to New Jersey the weekend before the triple-header balloting.

In Ohio Thursday, Carter was scheduled to speak at three fundraising receptions and rallies at a church and a high school, all in the Cleveland area.

To the AFL-CIO, Carter said his critics "know I do not believe in business as usual or politics as usual, or a blind acceptance of the status quo. I am running for president because I have a vision of a new America, a better America, and it is not a vision shared by those who are trying so hard to stop my campaign.

"I have a vision of an America that is, in Bob Dylan's phrase, busy being born — not dying.

"I see an America that is poised not only at the brink of a new century, but at the dawn of a new era of responsive, responsible government.

"I see an America that has turned her back on scandals and corruption and official cynicism and has finally demanded a government that deserves the trust and respect of her people."

When he arrived to address the labor group, Carter encountered Sen. Church, the latecomer to the presidential race who defeated him in the Nebraska, Oregon and Idaho primaries. The Idaho senator walked over to a room where Carter was waiting and the two men shook hands briefly.

Voters prefer Jimmy Carter by slim margins over both President Ford and Ronald Reagan, the latest New York Times-CBS survey reports, Page 19-A.

Candidates' Support Now Falls Along Regional Lines, Poll Finds

By ROBERT REINHOLD

NEW YORK (NYT) — At this stage of the 1976 campaign, voter support for the leading candidates for the Democratic and Republican nominations appears to divide more sharply along regional lines than on issues or on matters of political ideology.

This trend, which differs from the patterns of 1972 and 1968, emerges from the latest national survey of American voters conducted by The New York Times and CBS News.

This pattern has been most apparent in the developing campaign of former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, the Democratic front-runner. Just as the results of recent primaries have shown, the new national survey finds that Carter's support is strong in the South, moderate in the middle West and East and weak in the West.

Similarly in the Republican party, President Ford shows his best strength in the East and Midwest, has a slimmer advantage over Ronald Reagan in the South and trails badly in the West.

Despite some indications in the poll that growing numbers of voters express unfavorable opinions about Carter, he still runs about neck and neck with Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey as the favorite among Democratic voters, for their party's nomination.

Carter also is the only Democrat favored by voters as a whole over both Ford and his Republican rival, Reagan. Carter's margin over both Republicans is quite narrow.

Among Republicans polled, Ford continues to lead Reagan, by a 3-to-2 margin.

These were among the results of the new survey, compiled from telephone interviews with 1,501 adults living in small and large communities from coast to coast.

Up to now, national attention has been focused on the comparatively small number of voters in the primary states, where certain issues and other electory idiosyncrasies may have played important roles in the voting patterns.

In the new survey — based on a broad sample designed to represent all voters in the 48 continguous states — the regional differences dividing the supporters of the leading candidates in both parties generally seem to be greater than the differences in the political ideology or their stands on the major issues of the day.

And if the delegates attending the two national conventions this summer reflect the rank and file of their parties, then sectional concerns may play an unusually large role in the nominations for President and Vice President.

The regional factor helps to explain the patterns seen in the Democratic primaries so far. Carter, a Southerner, has performed well in the Southern and Border states. Where he has had significant opposition elsewhere, however, he has done less well.

Except for his stunning victory in Pennsylvania, Carter has had sharp competition from Rep. Morris K. Udall in the Northern states. And he has been blocked out West by Sen. Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

The Times-CBS News survey found that the major remaining Democratic candidates fall roughly into three groups: Carter and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama draw disproportionately Southern support; Brown and Church have heavy Western backing; Udall, even though he represents Arizona, and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, draw backing disproportionately from Northern and Eastern voters. Humphrey was included in the survey even though he has declared he will not actively seek the nomination.

The survey found that Carter, the frontrunner, draws more than half his considerable popular support from Southern voters, even though they represented only 37 per cent of the sample. By contrast, only about a quarter of the Humphrey support came from the South.

And Church and Brown, much less well known nationally, got about a third of their support from Western voters, who were 12 per cent of the sample.

Or, to put it another way, over 50 per cent of the Southerners said they preferred Carter, while only about a fourth to a third of Easterners and Midwesterners did. Humphrey was preferred by about 4 of every 10 in the East and Middle West.

The Carter support was not found to be rooted in political ideology. In every region, he won about equal support from liberals, moderates and conservatives. Udall and Brown did better among liberals in each region than they did among moderates and conservatives.

When the race was limited to Humphrey and Carter, there were almost no ideological differences.

HOPE TO RAISE $5,000

30 Georgians for Brown Gather Here

By DAVID MORRISON

About 30 Georgians gathered in a northwest Atlanta office building Thursday night to inaugurate what could become a grass roots vice presidential campaign for California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr.

Ostensibly, the group met to begin efforts to raise at least $5,000 in Georgia to help Brown qualify for federal campaign funds in his 11th hour bid for the Democratic presidential nomination. And the Brown supporters also will collect petition signatures to create some support for the 38-year-old Californian among the Georgia delegation to the Democratic National Convention.

But Brown's Georgia coordinator, lawyer Edwin Marger, said he would not rule out a vice presidential push on Brown's behalf, although he insisted the thrust of the campaign is to win the presidential nomination at the July convention.

"I could support a Carter-Brown ticket," Marger joked. "I think Gov. Carter would make an excellent vice president."

"Seriously," he added, "I think Carter would be excellent in any position in government. It would not matter to me if it were a Carter-Brown ticket either way.

"But Jerry Brown has made it clear he does not want to be the Democratic vice presidential nominee. I think if this was Hubert Humphrey or Frank Church you could say the vice presidency was a motive. And I can only go on what people who said they would not accept the vice presidency have done in the past. But then Jerry Brown is an unusual politician."

Brown's Georgia effort actually began on Wednesday, the day after about 90,000 pencil-toting Oregonians scratched Brown's name on the Democratic primary ballot. The write-in campaign gave Brown 25 per cent of the vote and a third place finish behind Idaho Sen. Church and Carter.

Marger said such support is almost "unbelievable" and he thinks it may represent a groundswell that could erupt by convention time.

The campaign in Georgia thus far is a shoe-string effort, comprising 11 Brown for President campaign buttons, and no campaign literature other than newspaper and magazine clippings Marger has scrounged and copied on an office machine.

The petitions the group is collecting will be addressed to Georgia's 50 convention delegates. All are committed to vote for Carter on at least the first two convention ballots because of Carter's showing in Georgia's May 4 presidential preference primary.

The petitions ask the delegates to "transfer your vote and support to Jerry Brown in the event it appears that Jimmy Carter is not going to be the Democratic nominee."

Carter already has close to 1,000 delegates either committed to him or due to be apportioned to him because of primary showings. And most politicians are speculating the 51-year-old Georgian will have at least 1,300 by convention time. It takes 1,505 to nominate.

While Brown has won two primaries and scored well in Oregon, he has only 19.5 delegates. Still to come, however, is Brown's home state primary on June 8 where 280 delegates are at stake.

Even the most generous projections show Brown going to the convention with fewer than 300 delegates.

Marger said the idea to petition committed delegates originated in Georgia, but will be employed by the Brown campaign in other states as well.

"I think it's interesting," Marger said. "To get into a national campaign when all the delegates already have been elected."

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The Washington Post

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Carter Is Slowed but Delegates Grow

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Is Jimmy Carter, who has either lost or been a narrow winner in seven of the last 10 primaries, merely suffering psychological setbacks on his way to the Democratic presidential nomination? Or is that nomination really in jeopardy now?

These are the questions raised by his Tuesday defeats by Sen. Frank Church in Oregon and Idaho and by Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. in Nevada, inflicted while Carter was winning largely uncontested primaries in Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas.

Undeniably, Carter's winner image has been deflated as he heads for the final seven primaries, climaxed by "Super Bowl Tuesday" when a total of 540 delegates—one-third of those needed to nominate—are chosen in California, Ohio and New Jersey on June 8.

In what has come to be known as the psychological contest—the struggle for public perception as the candidate with "momentum" and the nationwide publicity that perception brings—Carter clearly has given way to Church.

To a lesser extent, Brown too, on the strength of his Nevada victory and a strong write-in showing in Oregon, has stolen some of Carter's thunder.

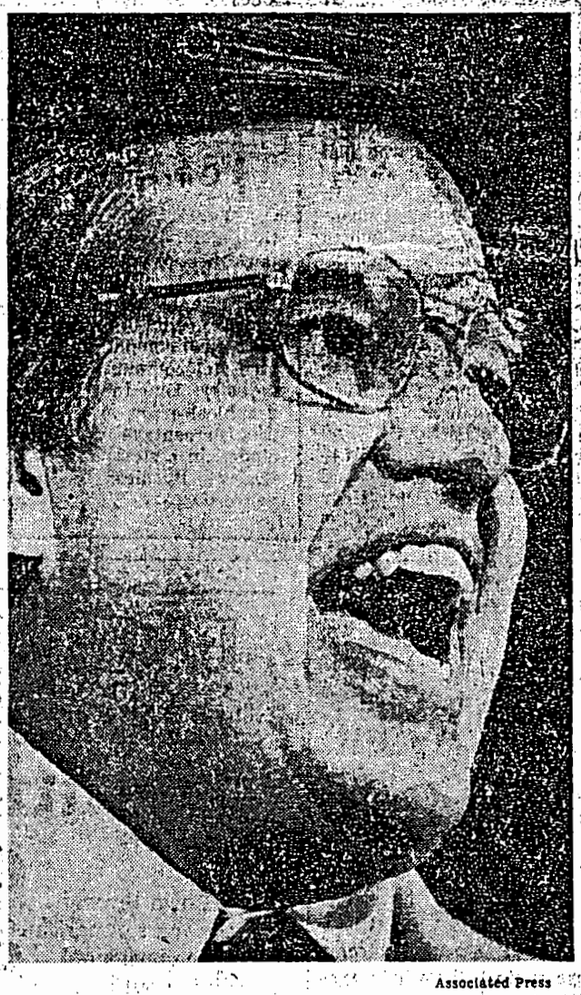
But Carter's accumulation of delegates moves relentlessly forward in spite of the losses. He picked up 137 on Tuesday, 107 in the six primaries, 28 in 10 congressional district conventions in Missouri and two in an Alabama runoff, bringing his own delegate claim to 1,004.

This figure puts him 501 short of the majority needed for the nomination. Landon Butler, Carter's political director, said yesterday it was reasonable to expect Carter will win at least 200 more delegates on June 8 plus a fair share of the 68 remaining delegates to be picked in Montana, Rhode Island and South Dakota (June 1) and Delaware (June 5).

Thus, Butler said, the Carter campaign expects to come out of the primaries with between 1,200 and 1,300 delegates, or between 200 and 300 short of the nomination. From June 9 until the convention opens on July 12, he said, Carter will be busy trying to win the votes needed in caucus states that have not completed delegate selection, and by wooing uncommitted delegates and those supporting inactive candidates.

The Carter campaign delegate claim of 1,004 is more than the total accred-

See DEMOCRATS, A8, Col. 6



Associated Press

Sen. Church celebrates Oregon victory at Portland party.

Accumulation of Delegates Is Moving Carter Onward

DEMOCRATS, From A1

ted to him in the Democratic National Committee count (911) and The Washington Post count (865). But neither of these reflects delegates won in preliminary steps in states selecting by caucus, which the Carter camp counts.

Bob Russell, an aide to Mark Siegel, executive director of the Democratic National Committee, said yesterday the Carter figure of 1,004 with caucus-state projection, plus some unannounced switches of previously uncommitted delegates, appears to be a realistic one.

"It's a very confusing picture right now," Russell said. "It's hard to decide at this point which is more important, psychological momentum or accumulation of delegates. It's probably a combination of the two."

For the candidates, reality dictates whether to focus on the psychology or the hard numbers. Church, Brown and the third serious active contender, Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall, all must deal heavily in the business of public perception because they are hopelessly outdistanced by Carter in the numbers game.

In the next two weeks and on up to the convention, they must hope for successes that will persuade the approximately 400 uncommitted delegates already selected to stay uncommitted, and to induce the voters to back them as a holding action against the Carter tide.

Church, Brown and Udall insist they are not running, individually or collectively, to stop Carter but rather to advance themselves. But Carter's closing in on the magic figure of 1,505 delegates requires that they block a first-ballot nomination to keep their own chances alive.

Church went into California yesterday, telling reporters en route that he anticipates more trouble winning in big states like California and Ohio, because of limited resources. "I do not know that we can do it in California and Ohio," he said. "Maybe we can't, but certainly we can't just skip these states because they are big, and ask the convention to remember what we did in Nebraska [his first victory over Carter] and the Northwest."

Brown, in Sacramento, said the results in Oregon and Nevada indicated the Carter campaign was faltering. "The Carter bandwagon is finding difficulty going that last extra "mile," he told a press conference. "It's easy to come almost to the top of the hill, and then the rock starts to roll back on you. I have a hunch that's going to happen to Carter."

Brown said recent comments by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) that Carter was "intentionally . . . indefinite and imprecise" in presenting his views to the Democratic Platform Committee might serve to slow Carter.

"His criticism of Carter seemed to me to be a new ingredient in this already complicated mix." Brown said. "It gave me indications that something is going on in the East."

But Kennedy said yesterday, "I'm not involved in any stop-Carter effort and I haven't changed my position about endorsing anyone else." He did say, however, that "I'd like to see everybody be more specific" and while he intended to support and campaign for the nominee if asked, the degree of his campaigning would depend how closely he could identify with issues taken by the nominee.

Kennedy categorically dismissed speculation that he might accept a draft or take the vice presidential nomination on a ticket with Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. "I said I wouldn't run for first [the presidential nomination]; I wouldn't take it for second," he said.

In response to a question, Kennedy said flatly he has not and would not talk to Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago to urge him to resist committing 85 Illinois delegates pledged to Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson to Carter. The Stevenson delegates are an obvious target of Carter in his drive for a majority.

Brown said he will campaign next week in Rhode Island, New Jersey and also New York, in the hope of picking up uncommitted delegates and defections from the camp of Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson, who has become inactive. But he emphasized that his home state of California remained the most important to him.

Udall was in South Dakota yesterday, trying to build on endorsements from Sens. George McGovern and James G. Abourezk to win his first primary. He reiterated that there is "no conspiracy to try to stop Carter" but said he intended to ask Church to stay out of Ohio, lest the presence of both Udall and Church in the state split the liberal vote and deliver Ohio to Carter.

Carter, meanwhile, was adding a touch of psychological warfare to his hard-numbers game, picking up the endorsements of Mayor Abraham D. Beame of New York and Gov. Dan Walker of Illinois.

Carter said he will "fight for every delegate" against Brown in California but did not think he could beat the governor in his own state. For the next two weeks, he said, he will concentrate on Ohio and New Jersey.

Washington Post staff writers Helen Dewar, Paul Edwards, Bill Richards, Warren Brown and William Claiborne contributed to this story.

Baltimore Vote Probed by FBI

BALTIMORE, May 26 (AP) — The FBI is investigating charges that City Councilman John A. Schaefer was deprived of election as a delegate to the Democratic National convention By a "name's-the-same" candidate.

A spokesman for George Quinn, special agent in charge of the bureau's office here, confirmed that an investigation of Schaefer's complaint of election fraud is under way.

The councilman contends he was deprived of votes in the delegate race by John S. Schaffer, another of the 55 contenders for the five delegate slots from the city's third Congressional District. John S. Schaffer received 7,761 votes while the councilman received 8,077 votes, 613 fewer than the N. 5—and last — winning vote-getter in the district.

Carter Finding It Difficult To Win Undecided Voters

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

PORTLAND, Ore., May 26 —Jimmy Carter is narrowing the margin between himself and the Democratic presidential nomination, but not solving the one problem that could still block him from that prize.

Tuesday's Oregon primary brought fresh evidence—atop the warning signs from the previous two weeks in Nebraska, Michigan and Maryland—that the Georgian's once-powerful personal campaigning may be sputtering to a stop.

As in those other states, Carter's last-minute stumping failed to turn the undecided voters in his direction. And unless he can find the formula to restart his engine, his campaign may be dead in its tracks by June 8 —when, by Carter's own estimates—he will still be about 300 votes short of the 1,505 needed for nomination.

The problem is acutely recognized in his own campaign. Sorting through the canvassing results and the vote totals from Oregon this morning, Carter's state coordinator, Tom Mackie, said, "We got exactly what we had identified as the committed Carter vote, and nothing else."

Final canvass results over the last weekend had showed Carter with 28 per cent of the Oregon vote—exactly what he received on Tuesday.

But with an exceptionally high 35 per cent still undecided as the voting neared, Mackie had hoped that Carter's decision to return to Oregon from Saturday through Monday noon would "break" the undecideds in his favor, and give him a narrow win over Frank Church.

That did not happen. Carter was able to firm up his own support and halt a slide that might have seen him beaten not only by Church but by write-in candidate Edmund G. Brown Jr.

But the undecideds broke in Church's favor and gave the Idaho senator a win over Carter by as big a margin as Brown had achieved in beating Carter in Maryland a week ago.

Under similar circumstances—where Carter tried at the last minute to halt an adverse trend—he lost narrowly to Church in Nebraska two weeks ago and barely held on to beat Morris K. Udall by two points in a Michigan race where massive labor and party support had made Carter a runaway favorite. Those results caused some raised eyebrows among uncommitted Democrats.

News Analysis

On the next two Tuesdays, Carter faces those same three rivals—singly or in pairs — in the last six primary states, Montana, South Dakota and Rhode Island on June 1 and California, New Jersey and Ohio on June 8.

If the pattern of the past three weeks continues, the thrust of the Carter campaign would be spent, even though he seems certain to have a commanding lead over anyone else in committed delegates.

Why the Carter campaign is sputtering is a matter of some debate. After 16 months of nonstop campaigning, Carter is understandably tired, and the 16 primaries in May have made it impossible for him to get back to his Plains, Ga., home for needed rest.

Leaving Portland Monday after an outdoor rally that was notably lacking in spirit, Carter looked a little like a prizefighter waiting anxiously for the final bell.

But his advisers also believe that the attacks on his credibility launched by all three rivals in the past three weeks have found their mark. Udall's decision to switch his Michigan television ads to an anti-Carter theme, depicting the Georgian as one who gives contradictory answers to policy questions, reversed the vote trend toward Carter in that state.

Brown in Maryland, and Church in Nebraska, and both men here, hammered Carter as a candidate selling style, not substance.

Carter has attempted to respond by being extremely specific on issues—even those, like the question of nuclear power development in Oregon, where his clear-cut stand against the power companies cost him both contributions and votes.

But as both Mackie and campaign press aide Jody Powell commented, only a limited number of voters get to hear Carter personally answering questions in detail, and "there just isn't enough time" to overcome the effect of a reiterated charge from opponents that he is being "vague" or "fuzzy" on issues.

Mackie called it "the big-lie technique," but however one views it, it has slowed Carter's progress significantly. The most worrisome thing is the evidence from Oregon, Nebraska, Michigan and Maryland that Carter is losing his expected majorities in blue-collar and labor precincts.

Unless he can regain his ability to sway those hard-core Democratic voters, as he did in Illinois, Pennsylvania and Indiana earlier this year, Carter could be not just limping but crippled in the remaining primaries.

★ Delegate Totals ★

DEMOCRATS:

Carter	865
Udall	296
Jackson	240
Wallace	157
Stevenson	86
Humphrey	56
Church	47
Brown	17
Harris	15
McCormack	3
Walker	2
Bayh	1
Uncommitted	413
Total chosen to date	2,198
Needed to nominate	1,505

Democratic totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Mississippi, Massachusetts, Florida, Illinois, Oklahoma, North and South Carolina, Canal Zone, Wisconsin, New York, Arizona, Alaska, Virgin Islands, Pennsylvania, Wyoming, Louisiana, Georgia, Indiana, Maine, Nebraska, New Mexico, Michigan, Maryland, Virginia, Vermont, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Idaho, Nevada and Oregon and partial selection in Puerto Rico, Iowa, Texas, Kansas, Minnesota, Alabama, D.C., West Virginia, Connecticut, Colorado, Washington, and Missouri.

REPUBLICANS:

Ford	769
Reagan	616
Uncommitted	174
Total chosen to date	1,559
Needed to nominate	1,130

GOP totals are based on completed delegate selection in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Florida, Puerto Rico, D.C., North Carolina, Wisconsin, Mississippi, Guam, South Carolina, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Maine, Alabama, Georgia, Indiana, Oklahoma, Wyoming, Nebraska, West Virginia, Virgin Islands, Hawaii, New York, Michigan, Maryland, Kansas, Alaska, Vermont, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, Idaho, Nevada and Oregon and partial selection in Illinois, Texas, Minnesota, Louisiana, Missouri, and Virginia.

Coming up June 1: Primaries in Rhode Island, with 22 Democratic delegates and 19 Republican delegates; South Dakota with 17 Democratic delegates and 20 Republican delegates; and Montana, with 17 Democratic delegates and 20 Republican delegates.

The Washington Post

Northwest Vote Gave Ford Victory in Oregon

Church Wins With 35 Per Cent, Losing Only in the State's Mostly Rural Southwest

Ronald Reagan was the winner Tuesday in every part of Oregon except the very northwest tip—but that southwest tip is where most of the people are, so Reagan lost to President Ford.

But the President's margin of victory was smaller than expected.

Mr. Ford took 52 per cent of the vote and 16 of the state's 30 Republican delegates, to 48 per cent and 14 delegates for Reagan.

Reagan carried two of the state's four congressional districts—the second, which comprises the entire eastern three-fourths of the state, and the fourth, which is the southwest corner.

But the President carried Multnomah County (Portland) and the other populous northwest coastal areas.

In the two counties outside Multnomah where both Mr. Ford and Reagan made airport stops last weekend—Jackson and Umatilla—the Californian was the victor.

On the Democratic side, Sen. Frank Church, the winner with 35 per cent of the vote and 15 of the 34 delegates, lost only the mostly rural fourth congressional district to the southwest, where former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter beat him by 76 votes.

Though Carter "lost" the state, however, he captured 28 per cent of the vote and 12 delegates.

The other seven delegates went to California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., who received more than 95,000 votes—23 per cent of the total—as a write-in candidate.

Brown's write-in total was almost three times the size of the previous presidential primary high, achieved by Vice President Rockefeller in the 1968 Republican primary.

Brown beat both Church and Carter in the counties where the University of Oregon and Oregon State University are located, verifying his appeal to students and younger voters.

Here is what happened in the other states Tuesday:

ARKANSAS

Carter romped to victory on the Democratic side with 63 per cent of the vote and 17 of the 26 delegates. He ran well all across the state, with more than 60 per cent of the vote in each of the four congressional districts.

Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace was a distant second in the balloting, with 16 per cent of the vote and five delegates. Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, with 8 per cent and one delegate, came in fourth behind "uncommitted," which was the choice of 11 per cent of the voters, who will be represented by three delegates. Gov. David Pryor easily won nomination.

On the Republican side, Reagan apparently was the beneficiary of a substantial crossover vote, presumably Wallace voters looking for another home.

The Californian crushed President Ford by a ratio of almost 2 to 1 in what was a heavy turnout for a Republican primary. He won in 72 of the state's 75 counties and will have 17 delegates versus 10 for the President.

IDAHO

Church won his home state easily, as expected, with 80 per cent of the vote to 12 per cent for nearest-rival Carter. But that 12 per cent gave the ubiquitous Carter two of the state's 16 Democratic delegates. Church got the rest.

The Republican primary was also an uneventful runaway, with Reagan overwhelming the President 3 to 1 and, in delegates, 16 to 5.

KENTUCKY

Mr. Ford pulled an upset in this border state where Reagan had been generally favored. The President won 51 per cent of the vote, which entitles him to the first-ballot loyalty of 19 of Kentucky's 37 delegates at the Republican convention, to 18 for Reagan.

On any subsequent ballots, however, delegates would be free to vote as they choose, and at least 27 of the 37 who will go to a convention are Reaganites.

The close primary left the GOP divided. For example, former Gov. Louie Nunn, a Reagan man, accused the President on election night of having stirred up the busing issue in the Louisville area to win votes. "I've known candidates for governor who played it on a higher plane than that," Nunn said. Even so, Mr. Ford lost both Louisville and suburban Jefferson County.

Among the Democrats, Carter was an effortless victor with 59 per cent of the vote and 37 of the 46 delegates. Wallace again was a far-off second, with 17 per cent and seven delegates. Udall limped home third with 11 per cent, only five percentage points ahead of anti-abortion candidate Ellen McCormack. Udall will probably get two delegates for his showing, but that is being challenged in court in a suit involving party rules.

NEVADA

Past and present governors of neighboring California were the winners in this state, both as expected. Reagan walked away from the President, 66 per cent to 29 per cent and 13 delegates to five. Reagan had the support of Sen. Paul D. Laxalt, one of his earliest and most enthusiastic backers nationwide.

In the Democratic column, Brown won six of the state's 11 delegates by capturing 53 per cent of the vote. Carter came in second with 23 per cent and three delegates. Church's third-place finish, with 9 per cent of the vote, was worth one delegate, and another delegate will be uncommitted.

The expected Nevada victory was Brown's second. The first was in Maryland last week. Brown won in 14 of Nevada's 17 counties.

TENNESSEE

In the closest race of the day, the President eked out a victory over Reagan by 2,170 votes out of nearly a quarter million cast, but because delegates were apportioned on a congressional district basis, Reagan emerged with 22 to Mr. Ford's 21.

The Ford forces cited their showing in Tennessee, together with that in Kentucky, as proof they held the favored Reagan to a draw on Tuesday.

Carter, meanwhile, chalked up his biggest victory of the day in Tennessee, with 78 per cent of the vote, a figure unmatched in recent Tennessee history, and 36 of the 46 delegates. One delegate will go to Wallace, who finished with 11 per cent of the vote, and the rest will be uncommitted.

In other developments Tuesday, Carter picked up 28 delegates in district conventions in Missouri and two in primary runoffs in Alabama. Of the other 26 Missouri delegates chosen at the conventions, 21 were uncommitted.

Staff writer David S. Broder and special correspondents Bill Rutherford, Bill Billiter, Jim Barrows and Keel Hunt contributed to this story.

Tuesday's Primaries Summary

Here are the final, unofficial vote totals in Tuesday's six presidential primaries, and the delegate allocations. The Oregon totals do not include complete reports on the Brown write-in in some counties, which will not be available until today:

KENTUCKY

Republicans

Ford 67,868 or 51%.
Reagan 62,567 or 47%.
Klein 1,117 or 1%.
Uncommitted 1,816 or 1%.
Delegates (37): Ford 19; Reagan 18.

Democrats

Carter 181,291 or 59%.
Wallace 51,504 or 17%.
Udall 33,188 or 11%.
McCormack 17,258 or 5%.
Uncommitted 11,852 or 4%.
Jackson 8,163 or 3%.
F. Rockefeller 2,310 or 1%.
Delegates (46): Carter 37; Wallace 7; Udall 2.

TENNESSEE

Republicans

Ford 120,564 or 50%.
Reagan 118,394 or 49%.
Uncommitted 2,818 or 1%.
Delegates (43): Reagan 22; Ford 21.

Democrats

Carter 256,901 or 78%.
Wallace 36,372 or 11%.
Udall 12,417 or 4%.
Church 7,951 or 2%.
Uncommitted 6,111 or 2%.
Jackson 5,643 or 2%.
McCormack 1,798 or 1%.
Harris 1,673 or 0%.
Shapp 508 or 0%.
Delegates (46): Carter 36; Uncommitted 9, Wallace 1.

ARKANSAS

Republicans

Reagan 20,209 or 63%.
Ford 11,449 or 36%.
Uncommitted 465 or 1%.
Delegates (27): Reagan 17; Ford 10.

Democrats

Carter 315,553 or 63%.
Wallace 81,704 or 16%.
Uncommitted 57,507 or 11%.
Udall 37,661 or 8%.
Jackson 9,726 or 2%.
Delegates (26): Carter 17; Wallace 5, Uncommitted 3, Udall 1.

IDAHO

Republicans

Reagan 66,583 or 74%.
Ford 22,240 or 25%.
Uncommitted 760 or 1%.
Delegates (21): Reagan 16; Ford 5.

Democrats

Church 58,334 or 80%.
Carter 8,782 or 12%.
Humphrey 1,684 or 2%.
Wallace 1,114 or 2%.
Uncommitted 1,004 or 1%.
Udall 974 or 1%.
Jackson 479 or 1%.
Harris 319 or 1%.
Delegates (16): Church 14, Carter 2.

NEVADA

Republicans

Reagan 31,616 or 66%.
Ford 13,767 or 29%.
Uncommitted 2,365 or 5%.
Delegates (18): Reagan 13, Ford 5.

Democrats

Brown 39,649 or 53%.
Carter 17,538 or 23%.
Church 6,775 or 9%.
Uncommitted 4,595 or 6%.
Wallace 2,486 or 3%.
Udall 2,235 or 3%.
Jackson 1,895 or 3%.
Delegates (11): Brown 6; Carter 3; Church 1; Uncommitted 1.

OREGON

Republicans

Ford 146,911 or 52%.
Reagan 133,242 or 48%.
Delegates (30): Ford 16; Reagan 14.

Democrats

Church 143,174 or 35%.
Carter 113,564 or 28%.
Brown 95,445 or 23%.
Humphrey 21,927 or 5%.
Udall 11,368 or 3%.
Kennedy 10,944 or 3%.
Wallace 5,700 or 1%.
Jackson 5,198 or 1%.
McCormack 3,693 or 1%.
Harris 1,332 or 0%.
Bayh 722 or 0%.
Delegates (34): Church 15; Carter 12; Brown 7.

Joseph Kraft

Ford and Carter: Limping Frontrunners

PORTLAND, Ore.—In the six primaries held on Tuesday, President Ford and Jimmy Carter both made great leaps forward in their quest for the presidential nomination. But in the process they both also stumbled. Especially here in Oregon, they emerge from the latest primaries as limping front-runners.

President Ford's big progress came with the upset victories he achieved in Kentucky and Tennessee. He demonstrated that he had pulling power in the border states supposed to lie at the heart of the Reagan appeal. The Reagan bandwagon, which Mr. Ford slowed in Michigan and Maryland on May 18, was further mired in Kentucky and Tennessee on May 25.

But the President also suffered three more losses to the California governor—in Arkansas, Idaho and Nevada. He has now lost more primaries than any previous incumbent President. He clearly does not make a hit in highly conservative states looking for strong leadership. Indeed it seems that a large part of the country does not really consider Mr. Ford the true incumbent.

That impression was particularly vivid here in Oregon. This is a moderate state, partial to progressive Republicans. Its most famous Republican leader—the late Sen. Wayne Morse—became a Democrat in mid-career. Its two present senators—Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood are progressive Republicans.

Its most recent Republican governor, Tom McCall, has been the most enlightened of Republican state leaders and an avowed foe of Ronald Reagan.

Mr. Reagan ran very poorly here in the 1968 primary, with less than a quarter of the vote, and was deemed to be highly unpopular because of his fights with Gov. McCall who has a mouth as big as his heart. Before last Tuesday's primary, the betting was that Ford would score a 60 to 40 victory over Reagan.

Instead he slipped through by 52 to 48 per cent. He did poorly in the wheatlands of eastern Oregon, and equally in the southern regions of the state. His weak showing here is a poor augury for the California primary on June 8 when 167 delegates come up for grabs. Unless Mr. Ford wins that, it is hard to see how he can down Gov. Reagan except by some sharp trading on the convention floor.

On the Democratic side, Jimmy Carter added to his enormous delegate lead by lopsided wins in Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas. He now has nearly 900 delegates, and there is every reason to believe that he will go into the convention with something like 1,200 of the 1,505 votes necessary for nomination.

But the three victories underline the regional character of Gov. Carter's support. That was given further expression by losses to Sen. Frank Church of Idaho in that state and in Oregon, and to Gov. Jerry Brown of California in Nevada.

Except for Pennsylvania, Mr. Carter has yet to take a contested northern state by a solid majority. He lost New York and Massachusetts and only eked out bare victories in Wisconsin, Michigan and Connecticut.

The voting here in Oregon, moreover, tended to suggest that much of his past success was due to the weakness of the competition. Sen. Church, for example, beat Mr. Carter in rural areas which the former Georgia governor had previously won in all past primaries. Gov. Brown was the new face, and he took the youth vote away from Carter, carrying in an extraordinary write-in campaign the county seats of both Oregon and Oregon State universities.

My guess is that Gov. Carter still has enough momentum and enough delegates to win the nomination on a second or third ballot. Certainly I do not see Gov. Brown making it. For all his vitality as a campaigner, and despite the interest he arouses as the first product of the Jesuitical Zen, he is too young and too eccentric to capture the Democratic Party.

But Sen. Church is something else. He is far more experienced than Gov. Carter, and rivals him in ambition and lack of humor. He has the special gift—that is the word—that comes from having been a boy orator. He has shown a capacity to capture voters previously committed to Humphrey or Udall or Kennedy or Jackson.

He has beaten Mr. Carter three times straight—in Nebraska, Idaho and Oregon. He will probably beat him again next week in Montana and maybe in Rhode Island.

But these are small states and Sen. Church's delegation has a distinctly northwestern regional flavor. Moreover, he next faces Gov. Carter in California where Gov. Brown is almost a sure winner; in New Jersey where there is a favorite-son ticket; and in Ohio where Congressman Udall is also in the race.

Unless Sen. Church can overcome the handicap of these many-sided races, Sen. Hubert Humphrey will be the residuary legatee of those who feel doubts about Gov. Carter. But if Humphrey were to win the nomination, without participating in any primary, it would look like the rawest of raw deals.

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Jimmy Carter Presidential Campaign

ex.

What The Press Had To Say.

May 3rd thru May 9th.

See Enclosed:

Newsweek, May 10th

Time, May 10th

Fortune, May 1976

Rolling Stone, June 3rd, 1976

The New Republic, May 1st, 1976



United Press International

At a dinner in Omaha, Friday night, Senator Frank Church presented Jimmy Carter with a basket of potatoes. "Here's a basket of Idaho peanuts," he told Mr. Carter.

32A

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

THE WEAT
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cool tonight. Fair, mil
Temperature range:
Saturday 42-62. Detail
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Brown, on Stump, Reveals Style Marked by Paradox

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 8—On his latest campaign swing across Maryland, Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California faced a question at a packed and excited student rally, on the future of the space program. The question touched on one of his enthusiasms and the apostle of lowered expectations in government was suddenly speaking about the prospects for space colonization.

"I think we have to keep reaching, keep experimenting," he said. "That's part of what being a human being is all about."

That also seems to be part of what being a Presidential candidate is all about for the 38-year-old bachelor who is now characterized by Jimmy Carter, his front-running opponent for the Democratic nomination, as the favorite to win the Maryland primary on May 18.

Mr. Brown, who ended his second campaign visit to the state with appearances here today, often sounds casual to the point of insouciance when he tells audiences why he got into the race.

"I decided after a year and a half of sitting behind a desk in California," he told an overflow audience at Johns Hopkins University, "to get into a plane and fly East. So here I am."

In private conversations he regularly remarks how "interesting" it is to be a Presidential candidate, leaving an impression that the experience of the race itself is as important to him just now as his calculations about the results. Often, when he is standing on a platform waiting to be introduced or making his way down a reception line, a quizzical expression comes over his lean, slightly wan face, as if he were trying to view the scene through the eyes of a detached onlooker.

Explains Why He Runs

He entered the race, he said yesterday in an interview because "I really couldn't think of a good reason not to."

Such responses lead many observers to assume Governor Brown isn't wholly serious about his quest for the Democratic nomination, that he is looking for the second place on the ticket or to enhance his national standing. But the indications are that he rates his chances higher than his advisers or supporters do; that, having decided he cannot be humiliated here, he is gambling on the chance that a series of long-shot victories will put him in the White House next year.

"You can set the stage, he told an audience yesterday in a talk from the steps of a county courthouse in Hagerstown. "You have the power to change the chemistry of this campaign."

It was a variation on a standard theme and it pointed to one of several paradoxes prominent in Mr. Brown's campaign. He tells his audiences that he seeks to "demystify" the Presidency, that the President is not "a supergenius," that he is just "one human being." But if the chemical reaction he seeks were to occur, the mystique of Jerry Brown would gather force in Maryland and spread across the country.

His basic justification for entering the race, repetted at nearly every campaign stop, is that neither Mr. Carter nor any other candidate has succeeded in "capturing the imagination of the Democratic Party or the American people." It is the premise of his whole campaign, not just on implication that he has t chance to do just that.

Applauded by Humphrey

The paradox that can be seen in his candidacy can also be seen in his view of the office he seeks. Speaking to Congressional Democrats on Capitol Hill the other morning, he won applause from Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, who was standing to his side within range of the cameras, when he implicitly criticized Mr. Carter for belittling the leadership potential of Congress and offering a return to "the imperial Presidency."

"No one person is wise enough, or bright enough or authorized by the people of this country to make all the decisions," Mr. Brown declared.

Yet he sounds at least as mystical about the Presidency as Mr. Carter when he speaks to audiences of voters about its leadership role. It is the function of the man in the White House, he says, "to sketch out a vision and describe the future." And so he promises "a new vision of America" "and, in conscious imitation of John F Kennedy's 1960 campaign, "a new generation of American leadership."

His view of the American role in the world also echoes Mr. Kennedy's. "We've been the country people have looked to," he said yesterday in Frederick, contending that his election would "put the other side off balance" and enable the United States to 'regain the influence that is rightly hers all around the world."

The other side was obviously the Soviet Union. "People say I don't know enough about Brezhnev," he told an audience in Pikesville. "I say, does he know enough about me?"

In essence, Mr. Brown is seeking to do to Jimmy Carter what the Georgian has done to the other Democratic candidates by positioning himself as a new face and an outsider in the race running against an establisent bent on foreclosing the nomination.

"Jerry Brown is the real Jimmy Carter," quipped former Representative Allard K. Lowenstein who is functioning as a campaign strategist and adviser.

It is a premise of Governor Brown's campaign that there is a large and latent uneasiness about Mr. Carter that he can tap simply by offering a plausible alternative. His only consistent criticism is that Mr. Carter is exaggerating the benefits that could flow from a reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy.

It is not where you put the boxes on the organization charts that matters, he tells audiences, but who is put in those boxes. Asked in an interview whom he would bring into government, Mr. Brown replied:

"If this thing goes along, if things keep picking up, I'm going to have to give that some thought."

Similarly, he was tentative in his answers when asked if he favored covert operations by the Central Intelligence Agency or believed that military spending should be cut or raised. "I'd like to take a look at that," he said in both cases, arguing that as a new entry into the race he was in a "grace period" in which he did not have to take stands.

"A little vagueness goes a long way in this business," he said from the podium at Johns Hopkins.

Offers 'Clarity of Mind'

What he offers audiences is his "clarity of mind" and ability to question old assumptions. If the audiences are at colleges or in suburbs, he talks about ecological limitations on growth and what he calls "planetary realism." Usually he gets an enthusiastic response by mentioning the bills he signed in California making it illega to sell toiets that flush more than three and one-half gallons.

But last night, speaking at Steelworkers Hall in East Baltimore to a large crowd of blue collar workers, he touched on none of those accustomed themes. Instead, he tried his hand at rollicking old-style campaign rhetoric, evoking Gov. George C. Wallace by saying, "Let's send them a message," and the late Robert F. Kennedy by pleading, "Give me your hand."

Nebraska to Test Candidates With Midwestern Farm Vote

By SETH S. KING
Special to The New York Times

LINCOLN, Neb., May 8—In Nebraska's primary election on Tuesday, the first in a Middle Western state that is almost solely agriculture, President Ford is facing another challenge by Ronald Reagan in a contest that has suddenly become dangerously close for Mr. Ford.

For the Democrats, the voting in Nebraska offers Senator Frank Church of Idaho his first test as a Presidential candidate against former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, who is expected to add another state to his string of primary victories.

In terms of delegates, the benefits to the winners will be small. Nebraska's Republicans will send 25 to their national convention in Kansas City, Mo., and the Democrats choose 23 for their convention in New York City.

But Nebraska, in its political and geographic makeup, is typical of the trans-Mississippi River farm states from Kansas through the Dakotas. A victory Tuesday will indicate a candidate's strength throughout the western half of the middle West.

A loss to Mr. Reagan in this conservative Republican region would be a serious blow to President Ford, after Mr. Texas, Indiana, Georgia and Alabama.

Crossover voting by conservative Democrats was viewed by many political observers as a major factor in Mr. Reagan's victories in those states. But Nebraska voters are registered by party, which prevents crossover voting.

Nebraska's primary consists of a Presidential preference vote and a separate race for convention delegates.

Delegates pledged to each candidate will be chosen in the state's three Congressional districts. The Republicans will elect eight from two districts and nine from the third. The Democrats will choose eight from two districts and seven from the third.

Under that system, President Ford coud win the preference contest but lose most of the delegates to the former California Governor, which political observers here think may very well happen.

From the beginning, Mr. Reagan's campaign managers have assumed that the incumbent President woud have the edge in the preference voting, so they have concentrated on electing Reagan delegates and on this front they apear to have outmaneuvered Mr. Ford's supporters.

Delegate Slates

There are 672 Republcans running as delegates on multiple slates, either uncommitted or pledged to Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan. One delegates is committed to former President Richard M. Nixon.

But among the 109 Reagan delegates conditions on the ballot, slates of eight have been "targeted" by the Reagan forces in the two districts and a slate of nine has been chosen in the third.

Earlier this week, Mr. Reagan's campaign managers placed advertisements in newspapers and mailed circulars to thousands of Republicans listing the targeted slates and telling Reagan supporters to vote only for those slated delgates.

Mr. Ford's campaign directors, who at first denounced those tactics as being undemocratic, scrambled at the end of the week to do the same thing. But it was too late to circulate their slates very widely, and Ford votes may be too scattered among the hundreds of candidates to stop a concentrated Reagan vote.

Mr. Reagan hopes to defeat Mr. Ford by appealing to farmers who are dissatisfied with the Ford Administration's agricultural policies and to the merchants in the hundreds of small communities throughout the state who sell to those farmers.

Polls conducted last month throughout the state for The Omaha World-Herald and The Lincoln Journal showed President Ford running well ahead of Mr. Reagan in the preference vote. Among the Democrats, Jimmy Carter led with more than a quarter of those polled. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey was second with 20 percent and Senator Church was third with 15 percent.

But those polls were taken before Mr. Reagan won in Texas and Indiana. They were also before Senator Humphrey announced again that he would not become an active candidate and before Senator Church began campaigning in Nebraska.

11 Democrats on Ballot

Candidates are placed on the preference ballot at the discretion of the Nebraska Secretary of State, who is a Republican, and he has entered every Democrat who either announced his candidacy or is considered a potential candidate.

There are 11 Democrats on the preference ballot, including Senator Humphrey and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, who also is not running.

Only Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, who announced his candidacy too late to make the list, has been left off.

But under Democratic rules, each candidate chooses the slate of delegates committed to him in each district, and the confusion over that party's delegate ballot has been eliminated.

Among the Democrats, Mr. Carter and Senator Church have done the only campaigning in Nebraska. Mr. Church has made two short but wide-ranging swings through this large and thinly populated state, while Mr. Carter was here only last night and part of today.

Nebraska political forecasters now believe the Renublican preferential race will be very close. Thy expect Mr. Carter to win the Democratic preferential primary, though with a relatively low percentage of the total vote.

Sandy Huffaker

Remembering '64 Is No Elephant Joke

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON—Ronald Reagan once was the leading apostle of an Eleventh Commandment—"Thou shalt not speak ill of a fellow Republican"—and a poster on an office wall in President Ford's campaign headquarters facetiously proclaims a Twelfth: "Thou shalt not hassle."

Ominously for the Republican Party that claims the fealty of barely 18 percent of the electorate, the tablets bearing both revisionist commandments have been shattered. The former California Governor's success in sweeping all but 9 of 219 delegates in Presidential primaries in Texas, Indiana, Georgia and Alabama is attributed by Mr. Reagan's agents to his sharp denunciations of the President's national security policies and leadership. In trying unsuccessfully to rally Republicans to his own cause, the unelected President belittled Mr. Reagan as "irresponsible," "glib" and ill-informed on defense, and even compared his rival to the proverbial "donkey" who can kick down a barn door but not erect one.

Bitter and divisive as those thrusts and parries already are, they are bound to intensify in the 17 primary campaigns that remain. Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, the Reagan campaign chairman, fretted a few weeks ago that Mr. Reagan had erred in raising the issue of the President's pardon of former President Nixon. The other day, Mr. Laxalt unhesitatingly warned that the pardon would be heavy baggage for Mr. Ford to carry as the party nominee. For their part, Mr. Ford's managers are searching for a surrogate willing to dredge up various "bellicose" remarks by Mr. Reagan—that Angola was a perfect place to "eyeball it with Russia" or that Navy cruisers should accompany tuna boats off Ecuador—and make a public case that the former Governor would be a dangerous Dr. Strangelove if permitted near the Oval Office buttons.

The escalation in rhetoric alone is itself bound to weaken further an already woefully weak party. It has already raised the specter of a repetition of the party's 1964 disaster, presided over by Senator Barry Goldwater.

By the time the Republicans convene in Kansas City in August, unless one or the other combatant has enough first-ballot votes to secure the nomination—now an unlikely prospect—"you can look for the awfullest bloodletting you've seen at a Republican convention for years and years and decades and decades," predicted Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., Republican of Tennessee. For the survivor, the victory could well be Pyrrhic.

Republicans never have mastered the knack, as Democrats seem to have, of winking while knifing an opponent's jugular. Even after their brutal debacle in Chicago in 1968, the Democrats regrouped behind Hubert H. Humphrey enough to nearly overcome Richard M. Nixon. Four years later, the Democrats lost badly, not because of internal dissent but because their nominee, Senator George McGovern, became identified with a narrow, "leftist" base.

And this year, despite a profusion of candidates and ideologies, they already have begun coalescing around the candidacy of Jimmy Carter. Indeed, the early emergence of the former Georgia Governor as the prospective Democratic nominee and the consequent unleashing of George Wallace's conservative partisans to cross over, where state primaries permit, to vote for Mr. Reagan has exacerbated the Republican struggle.

Republicans have always been apocalyptic in their intramural contests. The 1912 fight between William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt led to a temporary spin-off, the Bull Moose party, and set an historic pattern for self-defeating factiousness. The Nebraska Republican organization still is rent in two as a result of the 1952 contest between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Robert A. Taft. Resentment over Nelson A. Rockefeller's 1964 opposition to Barry Goldwater remained strong enough last fall to persuade Vice President Rockefeller to renounce a spot on this year's ticket. Now there is growing Republican concern over the "Goldwater specter," a thorough thrashing by the Democrats in November, because of the enmity of the Ford-Reagan competition.

The extent of the alarm was best illustrated by Senator Goldwater's own attack last week, alongside Mr. Rockefeller's, on Mr. Reagan's threat to use armed might if necessary to preserve American control of the Panama Canal in perpetuity. Ironically, Mr. Reagan became a hero of the Republican right, by crusading for Mr. Goldwater 12 years ago. But the Senator said his protégé either misunderstood the facts about the Panama Canal or possessed a "surprisingly dangerous state of mind" about the use of brute force to resolve complex diplomatic issues.

Seizing on Mr. Goldwater's statements ("They gave us a hole big enough to drive a truck through," said one Ford aide), the President and his operatives are now gambling that they can muddle through to the nomination by persuading Republicans a Reagan nomination would mean 1964 all over again. "Do Americans really want to go to war over the Panama Canal?" they ask dubiously. "Do machinists in Detroit or farmers in Nebraska want their sons to fight another jungle war?"

Simultaneously, Mr. Reagan and his men are warning that it is Mr. Ford who would be the sure loser in November. They reason that Mr. Reagan's success in Southern primaries, four of which he has won, prove that Mr. Ford would be of little value in the South against Georgian Jimmy Carter. They contend, moreover, that, after 28 years in Washington, Mr. Ford represents the very establishment against which the 1976 electorate seems everywhere to be rebelling. And even though Mr. Reagan applauded the Nixon pardon, his aides theorize that he would not be blamed for it as, "rest assured," Mr. Ford would be.

Given the increasingly strident rhetoric and the growing evidence, as in a survey of Indiana voters last week taken by The New York Times and CBS-News, of a deepening ideological cleavage in the Grand Old Party, it is not inconceivable that the Ford and Reagan camps were forging self-fulfilling prophecies. Whichever side wins, the other has already made a plausible case that it would stand a slim chance Nov. 2.

James M. Naughton is a White House correspondent for The New York Times.

The Jackson Campaign: An Exercise in How to Undo It

By DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND

In the political handicappers' early line, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, though hardly an odds-on favorite, was almost a sure thing to make it through all the primaries and show up at the finish line, the July 12th Democratic convention in New York. He was a rock, colorless but stubborn and well-financed.

When the end came recently with his withdrawal from "active pursuit" of the nomination, Scoop Jackson was still a rock. He sank fast in the unpredictable political waters of 1976 and scarcely left a ripple.

It was one thing for Terry Sanford, Lloyd Bentsen, Milton Shapp, Sargent Shriver, Fred Harris, or even Birch Bayh to get out. But Scoop Jackson, the dogged and recognized peer of such Senate warhorses as Hubert H. Humphrey and Edmund S. Muskie?

What went wrong for the man who seemed to have learned his lessons from a bungled, amateurish campaign in 1972 and to have taken great pains over the last four years to avoid the worst mistakes of that disappointing effort? For one thing, as the cliché goes, just as generals always seem to be fighting the last war, politicians have a way of rerunning the last campaign, as if nothing much had changed in the nation's mood or desires in four years. That was certainly true of Scoop Jackson.

Having watched Senator George McGovern's long, arduous effort and meticulous organization in the primaries pay off with the 1972 nomination, Mr. Jackson set out early and put together a strong national staff well over a year ago. But he also recalled Senator Muskie's 1972 difficulties as an early front-runner, and consequently took great care not to peak too soon. He shunned the Muskie strategy of seeking endorsements and concentrated his extra-Senatorial activities on fundraising. By the beginning of the political year, he had built a bank balance that was larger than any other Democratic candidate's.

In January, Scoop Jackson, better known than any of his rivals except Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama—never given a real chance at the nomination by the experts in any case—was considered the man to beat among the active candidates.

Mr. Jackson and his advisers were sure they had a clear view of the path through the minefield of primaries that would lead to the nomination. Convinced that no one would have the 1,505 delegates needed for a first ballot nomination, they planned a campaign they considered "cost-effective" in terms of money and of time, ignoring states with small delegate yields in which, they thought, the other contenders would fight it out, and quickly reduce their number to a liberal opponent on the left and Governor Wallace on the right, leaving Senator Jackson as the only logical compromise nominee in the broad middle of the party.

"The name of the game is delegates," they said over and over, discounting the cosmetic value of popularity contests in smaller states. "No Democratic candidate can be nominated or elected who can't carry the big industrial states," they argued. Mr. Wallace, they thought, would accumulate a block of 500 or 600 delegates, making brokering almost inevitable. But, they believed, fear of disruption by the Wallace delegates would make it easier to rally others quickly around their man.

Under a Shadow

The lively shadow of Hubert Humphrey was always there, and a good deal of Jackson support would obviously have to come from people who had had a long love affair with Mr. Humphrey. The Jackson forces were convinced they had to do two things to overshadow the shadow: win a couple of big ones early to prove their candidate was not the loser he appeared to be in 1972; and demonstrate that his acknowledged lack of charisma was not an insurmountable handicap. "The charisma of confidence" became a Jackson slogan.

They avoided New Hampshire like the plague; another lesson learned from Senator Muskie's 1972 debacle. Mr. Muskie had demonstrated a strong candidate could win in New Hampshire and still lose in the long run if he did not win by enough. The Jackson camp figured their Senator would risk too much by finishing second, or worse, there. So they put their efforts in the season's second primary, Massachusetts.

The Jackson people had not paid a lot of attention to Jimmy Carter, even after others began doing so when he won in early caucuses, such as the one in Iowa. When he won New Hampshire, they still didn't worry too much. They would get him in Massachusetts and presumably George Wallace would destroy him in the South. They did, but Governor Wallace didn't.

There was, after all, always the big-state strategy. New York, Scoop Jackson's trump card, would open up a string of victories, in Pennsylvania, Indiana, Michigan, and finally, on super-Tuesday, June 8, in California, Ohio and New Jersey. Scoop Jackson won New York. And nothing happened. He went down in the polls. Jimmy Carter went up. Second-guessing preconvention polls is always risky, but at least part of the reason was that Mr. Jackson's New York win wasn't the landslide he'd predicted and Mr. Carter's wins, particularly that in Wisconsin the same day, appeared more dramatic.

The Jackson staff started bickering over strategy. The cash on hand was running low because of the failure of Congress to act to restore matching funds. An improving economy was making academic Mr. Jackson's New Deal-like promises to pull the nation out of recession.

In what seemed to be almost a panic, the Senator won the endorsement of Pennsylvania labor forces by conceding, in effect, that he was a stand-in for Senator Humphrey.

In one respect, Senator Jackson was right. But the candidate on the left, Representative Morris Udall of Arizona, struggled without much success, and George Wallace barely created the semblance of a campaign on the right. Scoop Jackson, along with just about everyone else, had not seen Jimmy Carter coming and coming. His smile and broad-brush attacks on the Washington establishment were rapidly capturing Scoop Jackson's middle ground.

The center was the one place where Jackson's forces had not looked for a serious rival. With his smashing win in Pennsylvania, Jimmy Carter almost casually elbowed Scoop Jackson, the rock, right off the raft.



Alex Webb/Magnum

Douglas E. Kneeland is a national correspondent for The New York Times based in San Francisco.

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Bumper Crops Mean Lower Prices, and Farmers Blame Ford

Midwest's Politics of Weather

By SETH S. KING

As the Presidential primaries move through the western half of Middle America, the Republican candidates are contending with a particular kind of politics, that of rain and the Russians.

Rain at the right times in the Middle West will mean another year of enormous crops and falling income for grain farmers and small town merchants, many of whom blame the Ford Administration for their plight. And if it rains, only another round of large Russian grain purchases will prevent a price depressing surplus of wheat and corn this fall.

After one of the driest winters in recorded memory, it has started to rain again. So much fell over the wheat and corn belt states in the last three weeks that the drought threatening the winter wheat crop was checked, and what is expected to be the largest corn planting in 25 years has begun. Its potential is a record six billion bushel crop this fall.

Only a month remains before the winter wheat harvest begins in southwest Oklahoma and moves north into Kansas and Nebraska. The wheat still alive in these areas is nearing the point where little that is bad can happen to it. Although this year's crop will not be as large as last year's record breaker, it could still reach a bumper 2 billion bushels.

There have been some predictions, based on the 20-year sunspot cycle, of a drought in the Middle West this year. It has been 20 years since the drought of the mid-1950's and 40 years since the worst drought, in the mid-1930's. But if it rains when it should this summer, the Russians would have to buy even more than the six million tons of wheat and corn (about 228 million bushels) they have promised to take each year to strengthen the market.

Each day that the weather conditions have held good has meant another decline in wheat and corn prices. The signs of abundant supplies have increased the restiveness of Middle West grain farmers and the small town merchants who sell to them, intensifying their resentment of President Ford for stopping grain sales to the Russians last August. In the last decade the size of the farm vote has shrunk. But there are still many merchants and farm suppliers who tend to vote the way the farmers do, and in a close contest in the farm states this combined vote often decides the outcome.

The politics of the farm states have changed in recent years. The trans-Mississippi states of Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas were once solidly Republican. But lately the Republican dominance of the statehouses has eroded, and the party has had increasing difficulty in winning Congressional elections. The states of Missouri and Minnesota have always been more Democratically inclined. This seven-state region now has four Democrats and three Republicans in its governors' mansions. It sends nine Democrats and five Republicans to the Senate, and divides its 35 seats in the House of Representatives among 20 Democrats and 15 Republicans. Most of the latter are conservatives.

From the perspective of farm voters in these states, there is little apparent difference between President Ford and Ronald Reagan on free agricultural markets, although Mr. Reagan, taking a harder line toward the Soviet Union, has said he would not shrink from using food as a diplomatic weapon against the Russians. Nevertheless, Mr. Reagan's strongest support in Missouri, Kansas and Iowa, where delegate caucuses are in progress, has come from the rural areas. In last week's Indiana primary, he got some of his largest majorities in the rural counties, and in next week's primary in Nebraska, an even larger agricultural state, the former California Governor's chances in that winner-take-all voting may well rest with the farmers.

Looking beyond the primaries, the rain and the Russians could also have an effect on the November voting. In 1948, a year of rising grain surpluses and falling prices, the farm states overturned the political odds and elected Harry S. Truman. In 1958, another year of good weather and mountainous surpluses, the Middle West expressed its resentment of President Eisenhower's Agriculture Secretary by electing many Democrats to Congress. What happened in those years supports the political assumption in the Middle West that farmers usually vote Republican when they are satisfied and Democratic when they are mad.

Seth S. King is chief of The New York Times bureau in Chicago.

The Republican Dilemma

By James Reston

WASHINGTON — The Republican Party is in trouble these days because it is playing its worst cards. Its strengths are that it has the Presidency, the economy is recovering and the nation is at peace for the first time in many years, but the G.O.P. seems determined to attack its own strengths.

Just when the economy of the country began to turn up, Governor Reagan, instead of dramatizing the recovery, implied that it was a political trick that would probably decline into another recession after the election, and he also diverted attention from that issue to an attack on the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy.

This may help Mr. Reagan in the short run, as we have seen in the Texas and Indiana primaries, but it hurts and divides a minority party that needs all the strength it has left. Look at the G.O.P.'s basic problems:

They now have the allegiance of only 19 percent of the registered voters of the country. They are a minority of 38 to 62 in the United States Senate, and behind one-to-two in the House of Representatives.

They have only 13 of the 50 governors of the states, and only two of the 10 largest—Ohio and Michigan—and in the state legislatures their problem is even worse. The Democrats control both houses in 37 states, and the Republicans control both houses in only four states, all of them small.

These figures are important in a Presidential election where the governors and legislative majorities tend to control political patronage and the political organizations, so a minority party needs all the power it can get.

The office of the Presidency is probably the most powerful political engine there is. Mr. Ford will have the power of decision throughout the coming months of the campaign. He will have the immense advantage of publicity during the symbolic ceremonies of the 200th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence on the Fourth of July.

Also Mr. Ford himself, though an accidental and unelected chief executive, has a personal power in his own right. Agree with him and his policies or not, but he has restored a sense of decency and respect to this troubled city.

Henry Kissinger also has power, more among the voters and more influence and respect in the world than in the universities, the press, or even among the leading politicians of the Republican Party. This is not a power to be trifled with, for if Governor Reagan were to get the nomination by attacking Mr. Kissinger's foreign policy, Mr. Kissinger might very well stump the country against him at the end.

Nevertheless the strengths that the G.O.P. has left are precisely the powers under most severe attack by Governor Reagan and his extreme conservative supporters of both parties.

The President is at least partly to blame for the troubles of his party. More than any other candidate for the Presidency, he had the information and authority to define the priorities and dominate the subjects for debate but he allowed Governor Reagan to take the offensive and he has lost four straight primary elections as a result.

Mr. Ford could have avoided the primaries altogether, and stuck to his work in the White House, but he chose to get into the pit, as if he were still a Congressman running for election in Grand Rapids, and then he put together a bush-league team of political advisers headed originally by Bo Calloway, who couldn't even save himself.

In Mr. Ford's struggle for the Republican nomination, it probably won't matter in the end. He has spent most of his political life talking to the extreme conservatives of his party, and reacting as a minority leader in the House to Democratic Party Presidents, but he is beginning to change his tune.

The conservatives who dominate Republican nominating conventions may favor Mr. Reagan, but the guess here is that they don't have the courage of their convictions, and want to win badly enough to go with Gerald Ford and the White House rather than switch to Ronald Reagan and Hollywood.

Both parties are now pretending that the race is still wide open, that maybe by some accident or contrivance Messrs. Ford and Carter will be dumped in the end, but the consequences of ditching them are too serious, particularly on the Republican side, for to reject the President is to repudiate the peace and the developing economic recovery, and these, plus Gerald Ford's obvious decency, are the main strengths of the Republicans.

The Wallace cross-overs in the Reagan victories in Texas and Indiana have confused this issue, and made Mr. Reagan appear to be a genuine threat to Mr. Ford for the nomination, but when the Republicans add up their strengths and weaknesses, they will undoubtedly settle for Mr. Ford.

The President has clearly shifted tactics since his loss in Indiana, and has been emphasizing the old peace and prosperity issues in Nebraska and Missouri this weekend, but Mr. Reagan has broken the President's momentum, just when Governor Carter is gaining speed and even winning the support of Leonard Woodcock of the United Automobile Workers as well as Henry Ford for the Michigan primary.

WASHINGTON

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The Atlanta Journal
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Carter Considers No. 2 As Ford, Reagan Spar

INDEPENDENCE, Mo. (AP) — President Ford said Saturday that Ronald Reagan would be "a babe in the woods" in dealing with Congress if the former California governor were elected president.

Before paying homage to a Democratic predecessor, Harry S. Truman, in Missouri, Ford told the editorial board of the Omaha World-Herald how the Senate failed to override his veto of a child care bill last week.

Ford said his personal knowledge of congressmen and senators, and "their faith and trust in me," enabled him to win a three-vote victory.

"Reagan just couldn't do that," the newspaper quoted him as saying. "He's just a babe in the woods."

Ford said he would not select Reagan as a vice presidential candidate because Reagan has said he wouldn't want the post.

"Nelson Rockefeller has taken himself out" and "the field is pretty wide open after that," Ford told the editors.

Later, in his speech at Independence, Ford attacked Reagan indirectly, declaring that America's foreign policy "should not be demagogued, damaged or derailed" in election-year debate because the country's enemies are watching and listening.

As thousands jammed a public square in Truman's home town, Ford took part with Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and Stuart Symington of Missouri in the unveiling of the full-length statue of the 33rd president, a fervent Democrat.

In Independence, Ford made no direct mention of Reagan, who leads Ford in the committed delegate count for the Republican national convention 366 to 292.

Turn to Page 6A, Column 3

As Ford, Reagan Battle Carter Considers No. 2

Continued from Page 1A

But the President alluded to Reagan's strong attacks on administration foreign policy.

"It is not too much to expect of a mature 200-year-old nation that its free political debate be conducted responsibly and rationally in the sensitive areas of national security and our relations with other countries," the President said.

And he quoted Truman: "I have never felt that popularity and glamor are fundamentals on which the chief executive of the government should operate ... A man who is influenced by the polls or is afraid to make decisions which may make him unpopular is not a man to represent the welfare of the country."

Ford stopped off in Missouri, which has no primary, after two days in Nebraska, where he sought his native state's 25 convention delegate votes next Tuesday. Ford has made no appearances in West Virginia, which has 28 Republican delegate seats at stake next Tuesday.

Neither Nebraska nor West Virginia permits crossover voting. Ford's spokesmen blamed Democratic voting in some of his last four primary losses.

Former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia was in Nebraska at the same time as Ford, telling a breakfast meeting in Omaha he has begun accumulating names of possible vice-presidential running mates. But Carter said he won't "cast out" names until the Democratic convention in New York.

He said he wants a vice president "who would be best if something happened to me." He also said his vice president should be compatible on basic philosophies and issues. A lesser factor he said, is balancing the ticket geographically and with his own experience.

California Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., who is trying to stop Carter, spoke to a labor meeting in Washington as he tried to pick up steam for the nearby Maryland primary May. 18.

And Rep. Morris Udall, DAriz., who is making a stand against Carter in Michigan's May 18 primary, accused Carter of "trying to be all things to all people" during a day of handshaking and interviews at several Detroit-area shopping centers.

Udall repeated that he would remain in the race whatever the outcome in Michigan, but added that he has not rule out the possibility of accepting the second spot on the party ticket if it were offered him.

Meanwhile, 59 Republican National Convention delegates were being chosen Saturday at GOP state conventions and caucuses in Oklahoma, Wyoming, Kansas, Louisiana and Missouri.

The President, who went out of his way to stop in Independence, is an admirer of Truman, a Democrat who had few good words for Republicans. At the dedication, Ford credited that fact with helping him make his first successful run for Congress.

At the Democratic National Convention at Atlantic City in 1948, Truman announced he would call the Republicandominated Congress back into session before the election to give it a chance to make good on GOP platform promises.

He called the session for mid-September on what is known as "Turnip Day" in Missouri.

Reagan Gaining on Ford in Nebraska

By ANDREW MOLLISON
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

OMAHA — Ronald Reagan is creeping up on President Gerald Ford in Nebraska, and Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, is trying to do the same thing to former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

As the campaigns for next Tuesday's suddenly important Nebraska primaries surge exuberantly into their final stages, it looked like Reagan's come-from-behind effort in the Republican race was more successful that Church's attempt in the Democratic. Reagan trailed 15 to 18 percentage points behind Ford in separate statewide polls taken a few days apart by Lincoln and Omaha newspapers just before Reagan's Texas triumph was followed by victories over Ford in Georgia, Alabama and Indiana.

Talk of "momentum" and "credibility," common in both camps in previous primaries, has been replaced by talk of winning enough delegates to impress the uncommitted delegates from Pennsylvania, New York and upcoming caucus states if tne GOP convention turns out to be a real selection process rather than a display of pageantry for a winner determined in the primaries.

The former California governor stands on the verge of victory over Ford in Ford's state of birth. A win in Nebraska would avenge Ford's 55 to 45 per cent victory over Reagan in Reagan's birth state, Illinois.

Such a win — inconceivable to Cornhuskers three weeks ago by admission of backers of both men —would give Reagan's candidacy a boost just before relatively unpublicized caucuses decide upon delegates in a half dozen states.

Each side predicts a narrow victory in Nebraska.

"It's not panic," said Ford state chairman William Barrett of Lexington, Neb. "There is a concern, naturally, but no panic."

"We'll just keep plugging and see what happens," said Reagan campaign manager Milan Bish of Grand Island, Neb.

A loss would not kill Reagan's presidential dreams. But a win, which would be his fifth in a row, would be significant politically because Nebraska is the most Republican state in the Union. A ban on cross-over voting also eliminates any claim by Ford that the GOP primary could really be decided by supporters of Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace who were really Democrats.

A win could also lead to the first wide-open Republican convention since the Taft-Eisenhower battle of 1952 and the Wendell Willkie onslaught of 1940.

Reagan used his Texas charges against Ford in Nebraska, traveling across the state with his criticisms of Ford's foreign, farm and defense policies. He concentrated on the western 66 of the state's 93 counties, the part generally seen as the most conservative.

Ford showed as he started a 21-hour blitz Friday and Saturday that he still draws the crowds of an incumbent. He stressed that, although taken to Michigan when he was a year and a half old, he was born in Omaha in a house that has since burned down.

He is backed by the state party establishment, with significant defections among non-elected GOP leaders, and by Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, who tried to spread some of his personal popularity to Ford through attacks on Reagan's non-interference policy for farming.

Turn to Page 14A, Column 2

Carter opens comfortable lead over Ford, Gallup Poll shows — Page 6A; Two fresh new types of politicians are pitted in Maryland — Page 6A; Journal Political Editor David Nordan sees Carter going into convention with enough delegates to win on first ballot — Page 5A



Church Aims at Carter

Continued from Page 1A

But Ford's campaign — its sails slacked by indecisive Washington leadership, and its momentum slowed by bumbling — has wallowed for two weeks while Reagan drew closer to Ford.

Phone canvassers still report that a majority of Nebraska Republicans support Ford, but the trend favors Reagan.

Nebraska voters, as in most recent years, will vote twice in the presidential race. One vote is cast in a popularity contest, called the "all-star" primary, where there are two Republican or 11 Democratic candidates.

Ford and Reagan were the only candidates listed on the GOP ballot by the Republican secretary of state.

On the Democratic side, he listed front-runner Carter, newcomer Church, Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, George Wallace and Henry Jackson, non-candidates Ted Kennedy and Hubert Humphrey, anti-abortionist Ellen McCormack, Fred Harris and Birch Bayh.

Nebraskans also vote directly for delegates. The cancellation this year of filing-fee requirements led to an explosion of delegate candidates in all three of the state's congressional districts. The list is so long that in some cases delegate candidates, already hard to find because ballot position varies in each precinct, are listed on both sides of the primary paper ballot, one of four to six ballots (depending upon the number of local contests) handed to each voter.

Around Omaha, voters will also for the first time be confronted by machine paper ballots, marked like college entrance examinations with special pencils in slots instead of the more customary "X".

Several weeks ago Reagan candidates for the convention delegate positions caucused in the state's cattle-raising western half, Lincoln-dominated central corn country, and in the urban-suburban district that includes Omaha, across from Council Bluffs, Iowa.

From among their numbers they selected 25 "target delegates," and united behind them. Money used in other states for TV time was used by Reagan in Nebraska to send blue postcards to each of the state's 376,095 registered Republicans, listing the "target delegates" for Reagan.

To make sure they arrived before election day, Reagan workers drove a van across the state Thursday, mailing the cards in each zip code area.

About the time Reagan's last postcards, addressed in Omaha and mailed in a rural post office 550 miles west of Omaha, were finally all on their way, the Ford campaign decided that it, too, should select "target delegates," rather than have its votes dispersed among the dozens of people who filed as Ford delegate candidates.

Friday morning, a Ford worker in Lincoln cashed a $3,900 campaign check in a Lincoln, Neb., bank, and went to the post office. Just as he was going to buy postcards, he noticed that, instead of getting 39 hundred-dollar bills, he had gotten 390.

"I realized that I had been walking around with $39,000 in a paper grocery bag," said 25-year-old Larry Brennfoerder. "I just went back to the bank, of course, because I figured you could never take anything like that for long."

He finally got the correct amount of money, but it was after noon Friday before he returned to the Ford office with the cards.

"It didn't really hurt us," said Ford field representative Lloyd Hooper. "The computerized address labels still haven't arrived."

The zany last-minute maneuvering by Ford's campaign, compounded when his decision to speak at the University of Nebraska's commencement meant that tickets for relatives of graduates had to be rationed out in a move hardly designed to win votes, helped the GOP race overshadow the Democratic contest.

But Carter and Church were campaigning very seriously in that contest, with both men knowing that a serious loss in Nebraska would add Church to the long Democratic casualty list.

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THE GALLUP POLL

Carter Widens Lead Over Ford

By GEORGE GALLUP

c1976 Field Enterprises, Inc.

PRINCETON, N.J. — Democratic contender Jimmy Carter has opened a comfortable lead over President Gerald Ford in the latest nationwide test election, with young voters shifting sharply to Carter's side.

Carter leads 52 to 43 per cent among registered voters in the latest survey, which was completed Monday. In the previous (early April) survey, he won the support of 49 per cent to Ford's 43 per cent.

Young voters (18 to 29) lean 3 to 2 in favor of Carter, marking the first time they have been clearly in his camp. In the previous survey their vote was closely divided between Carter and Ford.

Analysis of Carter's image shows those with negative views are inclined to regard the former Georgia governor as lacking the national experience to be president. Others feel that he is a political opportunist and he sometimes fits his remarks to his audiences — that he is a "political chameleon."

Those who view his candidacy favorable cite his folksy, down-to-earth approach, while others admire what they perceive to be a non-political, supra-politics stance.

Carter's frequent references to his religious beliefs are not likely to lose him votes. Some evidence of the importance of the religious factor is seen in an analysis of the choices of regular churchgoers. Carter leads 47 to 41 per cent among regular churchgoers. Among non-regular churchgoers, on the other hand, Humphrey has a 48 to 41 per cent lead.

The same survey shows Sen. Hubert Humphrey with a lead over Ford, 50 to 45 per cent. Although the latest survey was taken after Humphrey's announcement that he would not enter any primaries, his support level, as seen from the trend, shows no decline.

A key to Ford's current problems is seen in the vote of the rank and file of the Republican party. The President is suffering from a record defection in terms of the vote of Republicans, with fully one-fourth choosing Carter in the latest test election.

The current GOP defection level even exceeds that found in the vote for Sen. Barry Goldwater in the 1964 election when many Republicans (20 per cent) deserted the party ranks to vote for President Lyndon Johnson.

In the 1972 presidential election, only 5 per cent of Republicans voted for the Democratic presidential candidate, Sen. George McGovern.

Historically, a GOP candidate, in order to win the presidency, has had to hold his own party members in line as well as win a large share of independent voters and at least some dissident Democrats.

Here is the question asked:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Gerald Ford were the Republican candidate and Jimmy Carter were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?" (The same question was asked posing Humphrey as the Democratic candidate.)

Here are the latest results for both races as well as the trend for this year, based on the choices of registered voters:

FORD vs. CARTER

	Carter	Ford	Undecided
April 30-May 3	52%	43%	5%
April 9-12	49	43	8
March 26-29	45	48	7
March 19-21	47	46	7
March 10-13	47	42	11

FORD vs. HUMPHREY

	Humphrey	Ford	Undecided
April 30-May 3	50%	45%	5%
April 9-12	48	46	
March 26-29	45	51	4
March 19-21	44	50	6
March 10-13	43	48	9
Feb. 27-March 1	42	51	7
Jan. 23-26	47	47	6
Jan. 2-5	46	48	

The results reported today are based on personal interviews with 864 registered voters out of a total sample of 1,205 adults, 18 and older, taken in more than 300 scientifically selected localities across the nation during the period April 30-May 3.

QUIET JABS IN MARYLAND

Carter, Brown Alike in Style

By ANDREW J. GLASS
Journal-Constitution Washington Bureau

BALTIMORE — What can a former Jesuit seminarian from California possibly have in common with a Baptist peanut farmer from Georgia — other than a mutual desire to be president of the United States?

The answer is that both have coined fresh political styles with a broad popular appeal at a time when polls show voters are turning away from politics-as-usual.

California Gov. Edmund "Jerry" Brown Jr., 38, the ex-seminarian, has challenged former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, 51, the odds-on favorite for the Democratic presidential nomination, in the Maryland primary.

For Brown, the primary is the key that could unlock the nomination from Carter's grasp. But as Jerry and Jimmy toured the Free State last week, the underlying similarities of their political styles often shone through the smoke of a campaign battle to be decided May 18.

Brown seeks to develop an intense personal relationship with his audiences. So does Carter. Usually, they both succeed.

"I get my vibes from the people," says Brown, his head cocked in a shy half-smile, his hands thrust deeply into the pockets of his expensive conservatively cut suit. Brown speaks in a sing-song lilt; it is rather like a chant.

"I've learned a lot about our country — how great it is, what it is now, what it ought to be," says Carter in soft Southern tones tinged with a quiet fervor that elicits rapt attention.

"We've built the presidency into some kind of imperial presence," says Brown disapprovingly. "It's time to scale back. I'm an ordinary person. I have some of the same frailities as you do."

The theme touches a responsive chord in a skeptical age. Audiences respond well, just as they do when Carter tells them: "I want you to know my character, my strengths and weaknesses. Many of you are undoubtedly more qualified than I am to be the president and I want to take this opportunity to thank each and everyone of you for not running this year."

There are other similarities as well. For example, both Carter and Brown enjoy tackling a difficult question from an elliptical angle, floating around a bit, before finally landing on a specific answer.

The marked resemblance in style is matched by a marked resemblance on the issues: Both Brown and Carter are, at heart, comfortable with conventional "liberal" positions, but not the rhetoric that often accompanies them.

Both favor "full employment" legislation and cite the need to get America back to work as their foremost priority. Both favor national health insurance, although Brown snipes at doctors as "a priesthood from on high." Both talk of the necessity for a "strong defense."

In some ways, Carter the Southerner is more "liberal" on the issues than Brown, the young Westerner who professes to represent "a new generation of leadership."

For instance, Carter endorses registration of all handguns; Brown does not. Carter promises to wipe away the last vestiges of the Vietnam War by giving pardons to resisters and deserters. Brown says amnesty must be earned through public service, a position in line with President Ford's views.

The amnesty issue arose one night last week when Brown dined with composer-actress Ronee Blakely, star of the hit film "Nashville." Blakely, who warms up college crowds at Brown rallies, sought to persuade the governor to adopt a more compassionate approach. But Brown cited the "guilt" of the draft resisters which, he said, must be atoned for in "unselfish deeds."

This exchange reflected yet another similarity between Carter and Brown: Their inner toughness.

"Hurry up, hurry up!" Carter said, without a trace of a smile, to two women reporters who were walking in front of him in a narrow passageway at a radio station. The candidate runs his campaign on time.

"I've never been a presidential candidate before. I find it . . . . interesting," Brown said in an interview. His tone was so detached that he might have been speaking of never having sailed a boat before.

Carter displays an unerring skill in sticking verbal knives into Brown — and others political rivals — masking the viciousness of the thrust with his gracious, self-effacing manner.

"I do not know Gov. Brown's position on the issues," Carter says, speaking slowly and evenly. "My ideas have been spelled out for 16 months. He has no experience in any of the management techniques I will bring to Washington. I do. He's not as qualified as I am to be president."

Brown is not to be outdone. "I place emphasis on people running the government," he says softly. "He places emphasis on organization charts."

At times, Carter will say that he admires Brown, calling him "a fine young man." But he adds quickly that Brown can't possibly be nominated and is letting himself be used as a tool of unnamed but easily identified "powerful political bosses."

Brown shows little respect for Carter's credentials to lead the Democrats and preside in the White House. "I am chief executive of the nation's largest state," he notes. "I work with a $12 billion budget and with 200,000 state employes. How can you compare that against a state with five million people?"

Both Carter, a "born-again" Christian, and Brown, the Jesuit-trained scholar, are quite familiar with the Scriptures — although it is Brown who is more apt to quote the Bible.

Naturally, Brown's favorite biblical quotation is: "The first shall be last and the last shall be first."



GOV. EDMUND BROWN
'Vibes from the People'

MOCK CONVENTION

Carter Wins On First Ballot

By MAURICE FLIESS
Journal Washington Bureau

LEXINGTON, Va. — Jimmy Carter was nominated for President Saturday on the second ballot of a Washington and Lee Univeristy mock convention.

For Carter, it was a good omen. The students have an unparalleled record for accuracy in predicting, two or more months in advance, who will emerge as the presidential nominee of the party not controlling the White House — 10 correct selections in 15 conventions dating back to 1908.

The former Georgia governor, speaking to the Democratic convention by telephone from the campaign trail in Grand Island, Neb., accepted the nomination by saying: "This development is very encouraging to me indeed. I'm going to try to live up to your expectations and may exceed them by winning on the first ballot at the convention in New York" in mid-July.

If the W & L extravaganza is an accurate barometer of what will happen in Madison Square Garden on the first ballot Carter will come within 135 votes of the 1,505 needed for nomination.

On the second ballot, Alabama — first in the alphabetical roll call of the states — will touch off a Carter avalanche when the 25 delegates from that state shift from Gov. George C. Wallace to the Georgian.

Mock convention leaders have been in touch with party officials in the 50 states as well as with the organizations of the shrinking crop of 1976 Democratic hopefuls. The convention leaders told reporters their latest information is that Wallace may bow out, throwing his support to fellow Sourtherner Carter, on the night before balloting actually begins in New York.

The landslide assumed momentous proportions a while later when the 137 California delegates pledged on the first ballot to California Gov. Jerry Brown swung to the Carter camp.

The 100 Illinois delegates who voted for favorite son Sen. Adlai Stevenson III on the first ballot followed. Then came the entire Minnesota delegation. Of its 65 votes, 61 had been cast for Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey in the first round.

It was New York which actually put Carter over the top one and a half hours after balloting began.

When Carter's second ballot total leaped to 1,628—123 more than a majority—the student delegates erupted into a wild, noisy, peanut-throwing celebration in the the campus gymnasium.

On a motion by the Georgia delegation, Carter was given the nomination by accalamation.

Since its inception 68 years ago, the Washington and Lee extravaganza has grown into something much more than a practical laboratory where students can learn the inner workings of the political process.

It is also an ernest attempt by the student body, divided into state delegations, to reflect how the presidential voting will occur at the actual convention.

The students spend months attempting to gauge political sentiment in the states they represent, and the results over the years have been impressive. As a result, party pros each spring pay heed to this Shenandoah Valley campus and town.

In the 1950's and 1960's, W & L picked nothing but nomination winners: Eisenhower in 1952, Stevenson in 1956, Kennedy in 1960, Goldwater in 1964 and Nixon in 1968. Several of the mock conventions took place before the most decisive primaries had been held. Kennedy was nominated prior to West Virginia, for example.

But four years ago, even though the California delegation properly forecast that George McGovern would capture that state's all-important June primary, the South Dakota liberal fell a a handful of votes short of a majority on each of the first three ballots. He began fading on the fourth, and on the seventh, the convention turned to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass.

"We don't take as much pride in 1972 as we think we will in 1976," mock convention official Phillip Hatchett commented Saturday.

A first-ballot victory seemed within Carter's grasp early Saturday when he piled up 1,370.5 votes, with the big Illinois delegation having passed and still holding out.

According to mock convention insiders, the forces of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley were dangling a bloc of votes as bait for Carter if he would designate Stevenson as his choice for a running mate.

Carter's mock campaign here spurned the deal.

Carter, who by the way was keynoter of the 1972 W & L Convention, finally got Sen. Walter F. Mondale, D-Minn., as the vice presidential nominee. The mock convention, however, makes no pretense at accuracy in the vice presidential balloting. In fact, it has never made a correct prediction in that race.

JACK SPALDING

Rocks and Shoals Ahead

THIS IS more on the Jimmy Carter phenomenon. There has been nothing like it in the history of our country. A man makes up his mind that he is going to run for the presidency. He has no national status. He is practically unknown. He is the Democratic ex-governor of Georgia.

He announces and starts working for the Democratic nomination. At first people laugh. Then they look twice. Now with an impressive series of primary victories he is within touching distance of the prize. He has defeated such standard brand names as Jackson, Bayh and Udall and his success has fended off the redoubtable and famous Hubert Humphrey.

Jack Spalding's column appears in The Atlanta Journal.

These actions have fascinated the country. They have stunned his own party whose titular leaders were against him. But these leaders now must make peace with Jimmy Carter on his terms for he has shown the voters are with him, not them.

From here he should go on to the nomination, barring acts of God. From the nomination the way shouldn't be too difficult, barring the miraculous emergence of a Carter-like candidate on the Republican side whose existence so far is unsuspected.

How did it happen? Much of it is due to the candidate himself who is farsighted, orderly, in control and tenacious. He set up his goals and methods to arrive at this point a long time ago. The result should be a lesson to those who complain things never work out.

There are other factors. Jimmy Carter is new. He promises a new approach and the response speaks for itself. He means new leadership for the Democratic party. The response to this has been tremendous.

His zoom to the heights may mean something deeper. It could mean the traditional voting patterns are broken and party bosses dead for a time. It shows a new independence in the way we vote, a lessening of party loyalties.

There are fewer Republicans than ever for instance, but Richard Nixon went in by a landslide. Obviously a lot of Democrats crossed over.

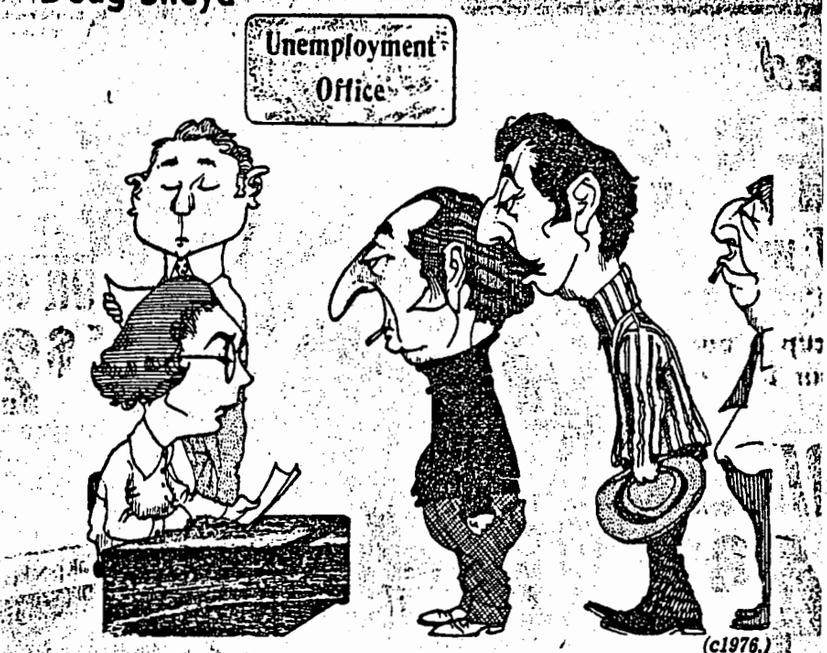
The Democratic party is still dominant, but the flock is no longer faithful to the shepherds. The dissaffected blocs put together years ago by Franklin D. Rooseveit have come apart. There aren't many yellow-dog Democrats left, very few who are willing to die for a hack nominee manipulated by party bosses or invisible interests behind these bosses.

The voters of this nation have had a hard time since the last Nixon inaugural. It has been rough and disillusioning. We have lost faith in our political leaders and the exposure of business leaders ready, willing and eager to corrupt the politicians hasn't been particularly invigorating

Much of the response to Jimmy Carter has been the result of this. He is new and clean. He is a Democrat but not a big city one and cannot be identified with bossism and the powers behind the bosses. He is his own man.

His success is phenomenal. So far it is a case of the right man at the right time, the sort the country wants to redeem the sordid and sinful past, and a man with sense enough to feel this. So far so good. Tomorrow? The law of averages says there have to be setbacks, but the past suggests Jimmy Carter will survive them.

Doug Sneyd



(c1976.)

"And what's gonna happen to us when they're laid off?"



Has Carter Really Wrapped It Up?

By DAVID NORDAN
Journal Political Editor

Anyone who has been following the presidential race—and who can count up to 1,505—might reasonably wonder why, with nearly half of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention yet to be selected, they keep hearing that Jimmy Carter has the party's presidential nomination all but wrapped up.

After all, 1,492 delegates still have to be chosen from 23 states. It takes 1,505 delegate votes to win the Democratic nomination, and Carter has only 555 votes nailed down. And lastly, there still are other candidates in the race, though the Georgian has so far decimated all his most serious opposition.

Even so, what you've been hearing about Carter and how close he is to winning the Democratic nomination at the party convention in New York this summer is true.

The fact is that unless Carter's peanut brigade allows the man to do something extraordinarily stupid between now and the July convention, he should easily win on the first ballot.

He Actually Has More

Carter actually has far more than the 555 delegates officially committed to him in the primary election box score. Realistically, he has between 600 and 700, the bonus being supplied from the ranks of favorite sons and uncommitted delegate brokers who thought they would be convention wheeler-dealers but who have already rushed to jump on the Carter bandwagon to keep it from trundling over them.

For example, in Texas, Carter has for all practical purposes picked up most of the 32 delegates claimed by favorite son Lloyd Bentsen, giving the Georgian nearly all of the Lone Star State's 130 Democratic votes.

In South Carolina, former Gov. Robert McNair is being forced by pressure from National Democratic Chairman Robert Strauss and others to turn over to Carter 13 uncommitted delegate votes McNair had hoped to use as poker chips in New York. In Oklahoma, an endorsement by Gov. David Boren guarantees Carter an additional 15 to 17 delegates—and so on in state after state.

These added delegates, none of which are included in the official 555 Carter count—are guaranteed to the Georgian unless he makes an unconscionable botch of things in the next two months.

There are other votes which, even by conservative reckoning, have to be viewed as "highly probables" for Carter. For example, he probably will pick up 36 in Virginia, 16 in Kansas, 20 in Pennsylvania, 15 in Louisiana, 18 in Indiana, five in the District of Columbia and so forth.

Carter also seems pretty sure to claim 15 previously uncommitted delegates in Illinois. To dramatize the thesis, I'll ignore for the moment the 85 delegates controlled by Chicago Mayor Richard Daley through the favorite-son candidacy of U.S. Sen. Adlai Stevenson.

Over 800 by May 18?

The next big series of primaries will take place between now and May 18 in Maryland, Michigan and Nebraska, which, combined, will select 209 convention delegates.

Even if Carter does conservatively well in these states—and even if he loses to California Gov. Jerry Brown in Maryland, where Brown can get no delegates because of passed deadlines, Carter stands an excellent chance of winding up after the 18th with well over 800 solid convention votes.

Give him automatically the bulk, maybe all, of 98 delegates that will chosen on the same day in the last of the Southern primaries—Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas. Then allow Carter a reasonable share of more than 100 delegates to be selected in small Midwestern and Western states, where he stands to run well, and his delegate count could top 1,000.

Then come the biggies, the last round of primaries in Ohio, New Jersey and California, which will elect a total of 530 convention delegates.

Carter's people say their man appears to be in good shape in Ohio and is shaping up in New Jersey. California, as usual, remains a mystery.

But assuming the peanut man holds his own in New Jersey, where he faces only Morris Udall for the state's 108 votes, runs well in Ohio, where he will be virtually uncontested for another 152, and shows respectably against Brown in California, Carter stands to pick up another 200 to 300 delegates.

The end result, then, is very likely to be Jimmy Carter walking onto the convention floor July 8 in Madison Square Garden with 1,300 *committed* delegates even if Henry Jackson, Udall, George Wallace and all the others continue to insist they are candidates and refuse to release any of their delegates.

The Daley Factor

Now include in the formula the factor of Chicago's Mayor Daley—humiliated in his home town at the 1968 convention and ignored four years later in Miami Beach—with his 85 Stevenson votes and an urge to play the kingmaker role once again.

Dare Daley let the first ballot go by, with the possibility of an immediate Carter victory, without playing his 85 trump cards? I think not.

Put Carter, then, barely 100 votes shy of the nomination before a convention ballot is taken.

How then can the couple of hundred of still uncommitted delegates resist the last opportunity to climb on the bandwagon? How, indeed, can the likes of Jackson, Udall, or even Wallace hold back their committed delegates for the sake of one last hollow hurrah?

It could be the last chance any of them would have to buy a bit of good will from the man who may be the next president.

Were I the betting type, I'd lay odds on a first-ballot nomination—no, coronation—of Jimmy Carter, recently of Plains, Ga., in New York in July.

10-TON CHERRY PIE

CHARLEVOIX, Mich. (UPI) — If you like cherry pie, you'll love the northern Michigan resort community of Charlevoix.

Town fathers have announced plans to bake a 10-ton cherry pie for the community's Bicentennial centerpiece to celebrate Michigan Week festivities, which begin May 15.

The pie, 14 feet in diameter and two feet thick, will be baked in a gigantic cement oven at the Medusa Cement Co., four miles from town.

The dough will be prepared in a cement mixer and the filling will be stirred in a dump truck.

Townspeople will spread the dough with lawn rollers and work the filling around with shovels before laying it out on a stainless steel pie tin, which will be transported by a crane.

The pie will be cooked for three hours at 350 degrees and then cooled.

It'll take 2,000 pounds of flour to make the crust and lots of cherries — relatively easy to get because the town is in the heart of the state's cherry-growing country.

"All the News at's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDITIO

Weather: Partly sunny tod tonight. Fair and warmer to Temperature ranges toda Friday 60-75. Details on

CXXV.... No. 43,204 — NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 8, 1976 — M 20 C

BROWN CANDIDACY SCORED BY CARTER

He Says Maryland 'Bosses' Are Using Californian to Broker Convention

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

BALTIMORE, May 7—Repeating the tactics he used in the Pennsylvania Democratic Presidential primary, Jimmy Carter asserted today that "powerful political bosses" and "machine politicians" in Maryland—and perhaps in the city of Washington not far away—were using the "attractive" young Governor of California, Edmund G. Brown Jr., to stop Mr. Carter and achieve a brokered, "backroom" nomination at Madison Square Garden in July.

The usually soft-spoken former Governor of Georgia wore an air of indignation, and even used sarcasm, which he seldom employs, at a news conference here this morning. He asserted that Governor Brown was "not really running for President" because Mr. Brown was entered only in the popularity, preferential contest in Maryland's May 18 primary and did not have slates entered in the separate election for national convention delegates.

At the news conference, and in subsequent speeches, Mr. Carter, who is now far ahead of any rival for the nomination, made a wide variety of comments but they all had a central theme: "They" are trying to stop him again.

Reason for Theme

The theme was effective in Pennsylvania but another reason for using it now is that Mr. Brown appears to have a real chance of inflicting at least political embarrassment on the front-running Mr. Carter.

Although he declined to release details of the survey, Mr. Carter said that a poll taken by his opinion sampler, Patrick Caddell, showed Governor Brown ahead in Maryland as of last week. However, Mr. Carter said, "I don't intend to run second in this state."

Mr. Carter asserted that there were Democratic party leaders who would be "willing to lose the [general] election rather than turn the Federal Government over to a candidate deeply committed to reorganizing the executive branch of government" and who oppose other Carter programs. He declined, however, to name any such party leader.

When asked to comment on a remark yesterday by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota that Governor Brown might win the Maryland primary, Mr. Carter made no attempt to spare the Senator, who is the probable beneficiary of a deadlocked convention.

Remarks on Humphrey

He said Senator Humphrey had been "ostentatiously present" at a Washington reception for Governor Brown organized by members of the House of Representatives. He said that Mr. Humphrey's praise and encouragement for Governor Brown were "his prerogative and privilege—obviously he would like to be President and has made no attempt to conceal it."

Mr. Carter drew attention to Senator Humphrey's age and appeared to want to paint him as a shopworn political commodity. Mr. Carter pointedly remarked that he believed Mr. Humphrey had been working since 1952 to try to be elected President.

Mr. Carter also made barbed remarks about Gov. Marvin Mandel of Maryland, who has shown a strong political friendship for Mr. Brown.

Mr. Carter said that Mr. Mandel, who has been indicted in a case involving alleged irregularities in the Maryland Racing Commission, had long shown "disapproval" of Mr. Carter and his candidacy.

Carter Backed by Auto Union Chief and Wins Praise of Henry Ford

By WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

DEARBORN, Mich., May 7—Jimmy Carter won today the praise of two top-level figures from opposite sides of the automobile industry.

Leonard Woodcock, head of the United Automobile Workers union, formally endorsed Mr. Carter for President, and Henry Ford 2d, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, said he was "very impressed" after meeting with the former Georgia Governor here.

Mr. Woodcock delivered his endorsement in ringing terms, declaring that Mr. carter's "heart, head and chemistry are right."

He said he had "sort of a gut reaction" in favor of Mr. Carter "as I did with Jack Kennedy in 1959 and 1960."

"I'm not going to come out yet and make any kind of a decision," said & Ford, "but I certainly think he [Mr. Carter] deserves to be the Democratic nominee." Mr. Ford described himself as an independent and said he would "wait and see what happens" before making an endorsement.

"I'll be trying to convince you all summer," a smiling Mr. Woodcock told Mr. Ford.

"We'll be trying to convince each other on a lot of things this summer," Mr. Ford replied with a laugh.



Associated Press

Leonard Woodcock, auto workers' leader, endorses Jimmy Carter in Detroit.

The U.A.W. and the auto companies will begin negotiating new contracts in July.

Both men attended a fund-raising reception here for Mr. Carter, who spent part of his campaign day in Michigan, where he faces Repersentative Morris K. Udall on the May 18 primary ballot.

Mr. Udall, campaigning in Flint, Saginaw and Detroit, said his reaction to Mr. Woodcock's endorsement of his opponent was one of "sorrow more than anger."

"It saddens me that they're [the union] giving up and running to the bandwagon," he said. "Obviously, I'm disappointed."

Mr. Woodcock had been known for some time as a Carter admier, and today he said that he had decided in early February to support him. He said he had delayed his personal endorsement until "a consensus" had formed within the union leadership. For a time, various U.A.W. officilas had attached themselves to other Democratic candidates.

Now all six of the union's regional directors in Michigan have come out for Mr. Carter, as have two of its vice presidents. Yesterday, the union authorized the use of its political-action funds by the regional directors in putting across their views to the membership.

In announcing his endorsement, Mr. Woodcock said he liked Mr. Carter's stand on issues, including national health insurance, tax reform, welfare reform and unemployment.

"I believe the crucial issue in the 1976 Presidential campaign must be jobs," he said, "we need a President who will get America back to work. Jimmy Carter will be that President."

'Political Nonsense'

He said he had not found Mr. Carter a waffler on the issues, and described as "sheer political nonsense" a comment, attributed to Mr. Udall, that Mr. Carter was almost as conservative as President Ford and former Governor Ronald Reagan of California.

Henry Ford and Mr. Carter talked for about 20 minutes in what was said to have been a meeting sought by both men. Mr. Ford said afterward that "general subjects" were discussed.

Both Mr. Woodcock and Mr. Carter attempted to discourage "cross-over" voting in the Michigan primary, in which voters cross party lines. There is no party registration in the state, and a voter may cast his ballot for any candidate regardless of the voter's party registration.

Aided by crossover voting, Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama won 51 percent of the vote in Michigan's 1972 primary. Wallace voters are expected to support four candidates this time—Mr. Carter, Mr. Reagan, President Ford and Mr. Wallace.

"I would be absolutely opposed to crossover votes," Mr. Woodcock said. "People should stay on the other side of the fence."

"I agree with Mr. Woodcock," Mr. Carter said. "I think it [crossover voting] is a bad practice."

Also endorsing Mr. Carter today was Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit area A.F.L.-C.I.O Council. Mr. Turner previously had supported Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington.

Black Student Leader Killed

BETHUNE, S. C., May 7 (UPI) — Reginald Ricardo Howard, the first black president of the Duke University student body, was killed in an automobile accident near here yesterday. The 19-year-old sophomore apparently fell asleep at the wheel, the coroner's office said.

North Carolina Town Is Proud of Carter

By WAYNE KING
Special to The New York Times

SANFORD, N. C.—Just after Jimmy Carter won the Democratic primary in Pennsylvania, Mayor Roy Stewart of Sanford was quick to say he was very pleased, but the victory was not so important to him that he did not talk first about the weather, the plight of the state's farmers, the 27 days without a drop of rain.

The Mayor maintains two acres of crop land for the employees of his paving company, and the vegetables were probing deep into the earth for moisture.

"The radishes have roots this long" — the Mayor held his fingers three inches apart —"they're hard, and they're hot."

He conceded that after the Pennsylvania primary he did not stay up for the count the night before, and did not know Mr. Carter had won until the next morning.

This is another in a series of articles on voter attitudes in four American communities—urban, small-city, suburban and rural—that will appear from time to time during the 1976 election campaign.

"Happy?" he said. "Yes sir. Being from the South myself, I'm really happy to see a Southerner running so well."

A week later, Jimmy Carter won in Indiana, Georgia and the District of Columbia and Mr. Stewart was even happier.

"Oh, he's strong here now, and the people now think a Southerner can really become President," he said.

The Mayor's view seems fairly typical of the prevailing mood in Sanford midway in the political season—politics has become a leading topic of conversation in the town, and the talk revolves almost wholly around Jimmy Carter, a Southerner born and bred.

Shift From Wallace

Sanford and surrounding Lee County have in recent years been regarded as "Wallace country." This year that changed, albeit by a slim margin. Mr. Carter carried the county by a vote of 1,757 to Mr. Wallace's 1,635 in the state primary March 23, with no more than a scattering of votes for other candidates. Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California defeated President Ford in the Republican balloting in the county, 351 to 306.

The startling rise of the Georgia peanut farmer and former Governor as the front-running Democratic candidate has lifted the area out of the political doldrums apparent in two previous visits to Sanford, an industrial town lying in almost the exact geographic center of the state.

But the pride is tinged with wariness, as if there is something ephemeral about the Carter success, as if the nation will suddenly realize that Mr. Carter represents the last minority that can be rejected with impunity, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant male Southerner.

Even the Mayor, normally a hearty, frank man, seemed to dance around the edges of the subject. "I think it's time," he said, "it's time that the South . . . what would you say . . . it's time Mr. Carter should be in the White House I don't want to say anything that would hurt him."

The Mayor was reminded of the reported statement of a Northern liberal to an American Civil Liberties Union official that the liberal could not vote for "a man with a Southern accent."

"I don't see how anybody can be against a man because of his Southern brogue," the Mayor said. "The people of the South have voted for men for President from the North, the Midwest, across the country. Now, I've talked to Yankees that talk so fast I couldn't keep up with them. But I don't hold the way they speak against them. I don't think anybody should, whether it's a Southern drawl or whatever. Mr. Carter wouldn't be a regional President, I'm convinced of that. But at the same time, you always like to see one of your own do well."

The Mayor also said he took some offense at what he considered disparaging remarks by Senator Henry M. Jackson about Mr. Carter's business as a peanut farmer.

"I don't think you should be critical of a man because of the way he makes his living," the Mayor said, "as long as it's honorable, whether he's a pig farmer or . . . a lawyer."

Mayor Stewart, who is a strong supporter of Sanford as a site for industry and tourism, said as he was about to leave for a meeting to prepare for the annexation of 4,000 new residents into the city on June 2, "Tell the people in New York to come down here and play golf and tennis. And to vote for Jimmy Carter."

Across town, at the Sights and Sounds record store in a black section, 23-year-old Tilda Johnson was considerably less favorably disposed to Mr. Carter. After one of the Carter victories, she said, "These people are half crazy."

"He makes me feel ill at ease," she said, "like he's hiding something. I don't trust him."

"It wasn't the 'ethnic purity' remark. That just stat started me thinking, caused me to start watching Mr. Carter when he was on TV. I have not been impressed."

But such comments are generally out of step in Sanford, a town that seems almost overnight to have moved steadfastly into the Carter camp. "If we had the primary now instead of a month ago," said a politically knowledgeable Sanford resident, "Wallace wouldn't do a thing. It would be all Carter. He's really moving."

A Winning Image

At the same time, the Carter fever here seems based not on the issues, but on his image as a winner—and, more important, as a winning Southerner.

"It strikes me as pretty thrilling to have a Southern fellow like Carter win," said a Sanford barber, listening to the radio and presiding for the moment over empty chairs.

"Especially in an election out of this section. It surprised me to see a Southern guy step up there in Northern country and have people put a lot of trust in him. We'd like to see a Southrner be President of the United States, and Carter would do a job as good as any candidate that's out running."

Gordon Wicker, a grocer who is chairman of the Lee County Commissioners, said, as did most others interviewed in Sanford, that politics was not among his leading considerations — the worst county budget deficit in years and the prospect of a substantial tax increase head his list. But he, also like most others, said he was "tickled to death" at Mr. Carter's success.

"I think they've got a winner in Carter. People are looking for somebody to lead them, and I think this is the man. I'm real impressed with him. I like his remarks about his church, and his church work. And of course he's a Southerner and this is one of the greatest things that can come out of it, a man that has come out of the South that has got the whole nation looking at him."

TODAY AND EVERY FRIDAY: WEEKEND, A NEW ENTERTAINMENT SECTION

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

CITY EDIT

Weather: Rain endi
Partly sunny, seasonabl
Temperature range: t
Thursday 50-70. Detail

CXXV.... No. 43,203 — NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1976 — 20

Union Backers of Carter Ask A.F.L.-C.I.O. Support

By A. H. RASKIN

Union supporters of Jimmy Carter, encouraged by a major breakthrough yesterday in the Michigan base of the independent United Automobile Workers, say they will seek to push the A.F.L. - C.I.O. into some expression of sympathy for the Carter candidacy at the May 19 meeting of its executive council in Washington.

The pressure to abandon the official policy of A.F.L.-C.I.O. neutrality in preconvention maneuvering for the Democratic Presidential nomination is not expected to prevail. But it reflects a growing disposition among leaders of some large unions to climb aboard the Georgian's bandwagon and thus dissipate the impression left by Mr. Carter's primary sweep in heavily unionized Pennsylvania last week that union officialdom is out of step with its rank and file.

The most dramatic reflection of the pro-Carter trend thus far came with an announcement in Detroit yesterday that all six Michigan regional directors of the U.A.W. and two international vice presidents, Odessa Komer and Marc Stepp, had endorsed the former Georgia Governor.

There was no formal endorsement by the U.A.W. or by its political action arm, but Leonard Woodcock, president of the 1.4 million-member auto union, said he was keeping his personal options open on whether to make an endorsement before the Michigan primary May 18.

In a sense, formal union endorsement was made almost academic because the oragnization did authorize release to the six pro-Carter regional directors of funds to be used in getting out the vote and in acquainting the U.A.W. membership with the merits of their favored candidate.

The U.A.W. swing was of extra significance because just last Monday at a secret meeting in Washington a liberal coalition made up of the auto union and eight other unions—six in the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and two independent—voted not to make any overall endorsement in the Democratic race but to continue concentrating on the election of delegates to the con-

Continued on Page B 4, Col. 5

Union Backers of Carter to Ask A.F.L.-C.I.O. Chiefs' Support

Continued From Page 1A, Col. 3

vention at Madison Square Garden in July.

The coalition was set up late last year as a counterweight to the domination long exrcised over labor's political action by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organibations.

The stand taken by the coalition last week left the group in much the same position now occupied by Mr. Meany and his executive council.

Their position is that any Democratic candidate, except Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, is acceptable to labor but that no formal endorsemnt will be given until after both major parties have held their nominating convention.

The argument now being made to have the A.F.L.-C.I.O. depart from this hands-off posture is that some of its old-line unions, especially in Pennsylvania ,translated the official policy into a "stop Carter" movement, a tack repudiated by large sections of the members. With the Georgian steadily gaining ground, his supporters see a danger that the federation will wind up with no real leverage at the convention.

That would duplicate its ineffectuality at the 1972 Democratic convention, when Senator George McGovern won the nomination over the undisguised hostility of the Meany forces. The federation expressed its resentment by staying neutral through the campaign, though the unions now enrolled in the liberal coalition backed Mr. McGovern as infinitely preferable to Richard M. Nixon. Most of the unions in the building and maritime trades supported Mr. Nixon in his successful bid for re-election to the Presidency.

This year there is almost no top-level support for either of the Republican contenders, President Ford and Ronald Reagan. However, many union chiefs remain skeptical about Mr. Carter's capacity to be President.

One of the most outspoken is John H. Lyons, president of the Ironworkers Union, who is an A.F.L.-C.I.O. vice president. He says: "I'm no admirer of Ford's abilities and Reagan absolutely scares me to death, but I've seen nothing so far that gives me any reason to have confidence in Carter. I think the news media have given him to us as a candidate, just as they gave us McGovern. The only brilliant analysis I've seen him make was on where to put his money. He went for broke in the early primaries, but in the election you can't duck the issues. If you do you're dead."

Another nonadmirer of the Democratic front-runner is George Hardy, president of the Service Employees International Union and a member of the Democratic National Committee.

Carter's Latest Problem

By James Reston

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And meanwhile he has to make peace with George Meany of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the Democratic National Committee, the state party leaders, the writers of the party like Ken Galbraith, Arthur Schlesinger, et al.

If somebody can invent the 48-hour day, maybe he can do it, but it'll be no daisy. The Democrats are a contentious bunch, who would rather fight than unite, and their main consolation at the moment is that Governor Reagan is fighting President Ford and dividing the Republicans more effectively than anybody else.

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

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

Michael Novak

'America's Illusion': Great White Whale

Mr. Novak is The Star's current writer in residence. His columns on "America's Illusion" will appear in this space every Tuesday and Thursday and in the Comment section on Sunday.

A new ontological entity has been created in journalism; the "trend." The trend is like a white whale, and both editors and advertisers hire watchers to sit high in the fo'castle to scan the shimmering seas. "Th'ar she blows!" — still the most exciting cry in the American experience. A thin white jet of water, a long sleek body, beckoning toward adventure in the unknown deeps.

Reporting on "trends" was one of the reforms of journalism just a few years ago. An attempt to gain greater "depth." An attempt to help prepare readers and viewers for the later emergence of events. To supply a context.

The problem is that to spot a "trend" is to reify it. To declare its existence is to strengthen it. To add to its mythic power, and to guarantee its growth in the public mind.

WHEN THE WHALING boats get a little closer, of course, there may be nothing substantial enough to stick with a harpoon. The Great White Beast disappears into the murky deep. Did it exist at all?

There is, they say, a conservative tide today. What ever happened to the Silent Majority? Is the new tide the Son of the Silent Majority?

Then there was the one about the "greening" of the nation. A "counter" culture.

Short hair is back? And also vests?

The three major political candidates in 1976 are Ford, Reagan and Carter. Say it isn't so.

The more "informed" our nation becomes, and the more we live by "news" — then the more locked we seem to be in myths, in symbols, and in shadowy entities. Those "trends."

Being "with it" turns out to be an expensive exercise. Writing "trends" is more difficult than riding waves. Staying "well informed" is like being insulated from those parts of the population outside the news, for whom life just goes on as always. For whom "the more it changes, the more it stays the same."

ADDICTION TO "news" yields a kind of steady high. Excitement, hype, fantasy, exhilaration, fear — with the certain knowledge, underneath, that not much really changes. Delicious roller coaster. Horror show. Fun house. Carnival of our adulthood: the evening news. Action news. Entertainment news. Ringling Brothers in the living room.

Who can forget the long season of the Watergate? The Greatest Show on Earth. The center ring, the side shows, the awesome revelations. It was the happiest time in many lives.

We keep forgetting how recent is our present way of life. In 1960, John F. Kennedy ran the first television campaign. The age of "media consultants" is scarcely a decade old. The panic in newspapers about the rise of television journalism hardly goes back a decade earlier.

So we are only learning now how to take it with a grain of salt. Distinguished addicts of the news have moved to Colorado, Vermont and Arizona. They report back, from time to time, that it is actually possible to live for weeks without the daily papers. Their television sets, they say, are snowy and they get only a single station. Sometimes, when the weather's good, they pick up WGBH. Some say they have never felt healthier, or more alive.

PACING ONE'S SOUL to accept the news with realism is a skill devoutly needed in our time. And yet the news *is* powerful. Makes or breaks careers. Makes or breaks a president. "How much momentum Jimmy Carter gets from Pennsylvania depends on Walter Cronkite," a Texas politician says.

Our Captain Ahab! Will the Great White Whale kill him, as well?

Poring over the daily entrails, our seers predict and by their advisories help to shape our time. Sad Caesar, who depended, not on "trends," but on the innards of mere birds.

James J. Kilpatrick

Down from 30,000 feet comes Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter to his credit, has begun to respond to demands that he come out of the clouds and get down to earth. In his first position paper, on economic policy, he descends from about thirty thousand feet to maybe five or ten. He has a way yet to go.

The paper is a reasonably good effort. It contains some baloney, but not a vast deal of baloney. As a moderately liberal Democrat, Carter reflects his party's traditional faith in the wonder-working powers of the federal government. Carter adopts and embraces Gerald Ford's program of incentives within the private sector, but he proposes various stimulative programs within the public sector also. There is nothing in this paper that is shrill, or doctrinaire — or very original, either.

In Carter's view, the major economic problem is not the risk of renewed inflation; it is "unacceptably high unemployment." He views the present situation in the worst possible light, which is fair enough in a political campaign. With a flourish of italic trumpets, he states his own goal:

"We must give *highest priority to achieving a steady reduction of unemployment and achieving full employment* — a job for everyone who wishes one — as rapidly as possible, *while reducing inflation.*"

The comment may reasonably be ventured that this is not Jimmy Carter's goal alone. It is everyone's goal. It is the trick of the week. Surely it is the goal of the Ford administration. The problem is how to put more people to work without incurring the monstrous deficits that would send the cost of living up again.

Carter's idea is to pursue "an expansionary fiscal and monetary policy in the near future, with some budget deficits if necessary." (Comment: A little baloney here. Carter knows deficits will be necessary under his program; there is no "if" about it.) Carter says that with a progressively managed economy, "we can attain a balanced budget within the context of full employment by 1979."

The foregoing sentence contains the gimmickry that Carter elsewhere shuns. What he is talking about is the mythical "full employment budget." This is a lengendary creature, like the unicorn; it exists solely in the imagination of economists who observe that we could balance the budget if we had the revenues that we would have if everyone had a job. This is the dream of the two hungry hoboes: If they had some bread, they could make a ham sandwich, if they had some ham.

Carter would achieve his rapid reduction in unemployment, without reviving double-digit inflation, by first expanding the money supply, then creating incentives for private industry to hire the unemployed, and then enlarging the role of government. He says: "The federal government has an obligation to provide funds for useful and productive public employment of those whom private business cannot or will not hire."

Pause: The federal government can provide such funds in three ways only — by taxing people, by borrowing money outright, or by printing money. How would he obtain these funds? Over what period of years would he provide these "meaningful public jobs"? What additional bureaucracy does he envision?

The entire statement can be obtained from Carter headquarters, P.O. Box 1976, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Those who are interested in examining Carter's ideas will want to obtain a copy and make up their own minds. As the probable presidential nominee of his party, he has an obligation to speak deliberately and explicitly; and the rest of us have an obligation to listen to what he has to say

The Weather
--Partly cloudy, high near 80 [illegible] mid 50s. Chance of rain 10 per cent today, 40 per cent tonight. [illegible]—Chance of rain, high in low [illegible] yesterday — 3 p.m. AQI: 37 range: 70-87. Details on B2.

The Washington Post

FINA
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UAW Set to Work For Carter in Mich.

MICHIGAN, From A1

other UAW officials decided to keep the union officially neutral in the Michigan primary. The decision came during the height of discussion of Carter's "ethnic purity" remark.

Subsequently, however, five of the six UAW regional directors in Michigan endorsed Carter and the sixth—a backer of Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota—now is reported ready to join the bandwagon.

Fraser, probably Udall's greatest sympathizer in the UAW leadership, told a reporter Tuesday, "I'm almost at the point where, no matter what my personal preference is, it would be a mistake to deny this man [Carter] the nomination. Our main goal is to get a new President."

Fraser said today's meeting would authorize "increased activity" on Carter's behalf. Other union sources said that informal plans are already under way to set up telephone banks to call UAW families on behalf of Carter.

Udall conceded yesterday that would be "a minus" for his efforts to delay what he called "the rush to judgment" that Carter has the nomination cinched.

But the Arizonan has brought virtually all 75 to 80 remaining members of his staff to Michigan, has launched a media campaign and says he is prepared to spend "$80,000 for sure, $160,000 if possible, or as much more as we can get our hands on" in the state.

Arthur Cullers of Battle Creek, head of the Wallace campaign, said in a telephone interview that he had 3,000 volunteers working around the state and "I still believe we can win."

But no other observers think Wallace can come close to the 51 per cent victory he achieved here in 1972, and many think his supporters will take advantage of the crossover provision to support Ronald Reagan in the Republican primary this year.

With the active backing of the UAW, Carter has become for the first time in a Northern industrial state the "establishment" candidate, and is therefore strongly favored.

Sander Levin, the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in the last two elections, has led an effort to enlist dozens of county and district Democratic leaders on Carter's behalf. He predicted Carter would win at least 60 per cent of the 133 Michigan delegates.

The state AFL-CIO, less influential here than the UAW, was left without a candidate when Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington ended his active candidacy last Saturday.

William Marshall, the state labor federation president, has not switched to Carter, but his wife is a Carter contributor and his brother, Richard, the mayor of Taylor, a Detroit suburb, has endorsed the Georgian.

Nonetheless, David Olmstead, the 33-year-old Carter campaign director, professed to be worried about achieving a solid majority for his candidate. "It's like coming in to coach after Vince Lombardi," he said. "If you win, they say, 'So what?' And if you come up short, they say, 'How come you screwed up?'"

The UAW decision makes it less likely Olmstead will have to search for an alibi.

UAW Ready To Aid Carter

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United Auto Workers, linchpin of the so-called liberal labor alliance, is expected to announce today that it will work actively for Jimmy Carter in the May 18 Michigan primary.

The decision is a heavy blow to Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who is committing 10 days and virtually all his available funds to an effort to slow Carter's momentum in Michigan.

Calling himself the last progressive candidate in the Democratic race, Udall told a kickoff press conference in Detroit Tuesday morning, "I'm a fighter, not a quitter, and I want to give the people of Michigan a choice."

But later Tuesday, in a telephone conversation with UAW vice president Douglas Fraser, Udall was given strong indications that the union, a dominant force in Michigan Democratic politics, would gear up its machinery on behalf of the former Georgia governor.

"I'm kind of caught up in events outside my control," Udall said yesterday, "but I'll just say what Carter said in Pennsylvania—I don't care about the leaders, I just want the rank and file."

UAW president Leonard Woodcock campaigned for Carter in the Florida primary in March, but made it clear at the time that he was interested chiefly in stopping Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, who won the Michigan primary in 1972 over the opposition of the UAW.

When Carter beat Wallace in Florida, some UAW officials wanted to back the Georgian in the Wisconsin primary on April 6. But the UAW finally split its endorsements between Udall and Carter, backing the Arizonan in six districts and Carter in two.

The reason, according to one key participant in the UAW's decision, was that UAW leaders "didn't want to take the responsibility for knifing the liberal candidate while he still had a chance."

As it turned out, Udall lost to Carter by 1 per cent of the Wisconsin vote, with the margin coming in the districts where the UAW had aided Carter.

Three days after Wisconsin, Woodcock, Fraser, who heads the Michigan political education operation, and

See MICHIGAN, A32, Col. 1

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HARRIS POLL

Carter Leads Both Ford and Reagan

By LOUIS HARRIS

If the election had been held last month, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter would have beaten former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California by a decisive 53-34 per cent margin. In the same survey, Carter also led President Ford, but by a much narrower 47-43 per cent.

In concentrating his run for the Republican nomination in the Deep South states where the GOP is most heavily conservative, Reagan may have become an increasingly unviable candidate in November, should he upset Gerald Ford and end up the GOP candidate.

Reagan takes only one group in his contest against Carter, the conservatives, who choose him by 46-43 per cent. Carter is ahead of him among middle-of-the-road voters by 54-35 per cent and among liberals by a lopsided 77-16 per cent.

Carter also wins every region of the country by at least a nine-point margin. Even in the Deep South, where Reagan has shown so much strength against the President, Carter beats Reagan by a clear 54-37 per cent. The Carter-Reagan race is closest in the West, where the Georgian runs ahead by 49-40 per cent. The West is dominated by California, Reagan's home state.

The big difference in showings of President Ford and Reagan against Carter can be found among the following key groups:

—In the East, a Ford-Carter contest now stands at a flat-footed 44-44 per cent tie, while Carter leads Reagan by a decisive 54-28 per cent. But it is Reagan's weakness in the East, and not Carter's strength, that makes the difference.

—In the West, Ford runs well ahead of Carter by 50-39 per cent. But Reagan trails the Georgian in that region by 49-40 per cent.

—Among the college educated, the President leads Carter by a narrow 48-43 per cent. Carter has a one-sided 57-31 per cent advantage over Reagan.

—Among business executives, the Ford lead over Carter is 51-42 per cent. However, Reagan trails Carter among the same group by 51-34 per cent.

—Among independents, who can be pivotal in any close election, President Ford and Jimmy Carter now run a dead-heat of 45-45 per cent. In contrast, Carter wins over Reagan among those who are not affiliated with either major party by a decisive 52-34 per cent.

In the middle of last month, a cross section of 1,072 registered and likely voters was asked:

"Suppose for President in November, it were between Ronald Reagan for the Republicans and Jimmy Carter for the Democrats. If you had to make up your mind right now, would you vote for Reagan the Republican or for Carter the Democrat?"

REAGAN VS. CARTER

	Carter	Reagan	Not Sure
NATIONWIDE	53%	34%	13%
By Region			
East	54%	28%	18%
Midwest	52%	38%	10%
South	56%	32%	12%
Border States	57%	31%	12%
Deep South	54%	37%	9%
West	49%	40%	11%
By Political Philosophy			
Conservative	43%	46%	11%
Middle road	54%	35%	11%
Liberal	77%	16%	7%
By Political Party			
Republican	27%	64%	9%
Democratic	68%	21%	11%
Independent	52%	34%	14%

The pattern now being run by Reagan against Carter is highly reminiscent of that of Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election, when he lost by a landslide to Lyndon Johnson. This pattern thus indicates that in 1976 the electorate is highly unlikely to vote for an all-out conservative for President.

Marquis Childs

Post 5/5

Jerry Brown, the Improbable Candidate

SACRAMENTO — Candidate for President of the United States. Age: 38. Experience: four years as secretary of state of California, one year and three months as governor. For Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., the antipolitician, this has an improbable sound.

Campaigning in Maryland, one of the three statewide primaries in which he is entered, is a venture that seems out of character. I talked with him just before his first sortie—actually the first time he has gone beyond the boundaries of his state—and there was a sense that he himself feels it is a bit improbable.

For he has kept a low profile, and all of us in the commentating business have made the pilgrimage to Sacramento to write columns about the governor who spurns the perks of office— the shiny black limousines, the private jets, the governor's mansion that stands empty—to live a bachelor life in a small pad near the capitol.

He liked to talk then about Zen Buddhism and its relation to the exercises of Ignatius of Loyola in the search for transcendence. His brilliant grounding in history and the law was a challenge to all debaters.

But Jerry Brown is in the campaign now, and he can speak the language of the candidate. The California poll gives him a rating of 47 percent in his own state. He says the polls show he could defeat President Ford in California by a margin of 53 to 38.

At the same time he knows that if he should be nominated at the New York convention it would be like a sudden bolt of lightning out of a dark and troubled sky. The odds at the present moment are beyond any bookmakers in this year of almost unprecedented uncertainty.

That is not to say that Brown belittles his chances, knowing that he has been rated as the hottest new property in the Democratic Party. They want something new, he says. They're tired of these old bureaus that seems to run the government without direction from anybody.



By George Rebh for The Washington Post

The same criticism goes, in Jerry Brown's view, for America's foreign policy. For 10 years it has been repetitive, sterile. We've got to do something about raw materials that are in scarce supply, he says. This means we will have to work with other countries on a different basis, a basis that takes into account their needs as well as ours. Brown looks back to the Marshall plan and the great era of our leadership, brushing aside the doubter's observation that that was in the full flush of America's wealth and power. We're rich now if we would only use our wealth, he says.

Although this candidate looks younger than his years, with a little gray edging his black hair, there is a sense of strength in tight reserve. When he is stimulated his eyes flash and he speaks rapidly and intensely. He is like a young hawk stirred suddenly to life.

But what has he done in 15 months in the governorship? That is the question put by many Democrats in the state who are skeptical of his role-playing.

They complain, too, of his refusal to participate in party gatherings and point to his deliberate absence from a meeting of leaders in Los Angeles who were trying to get the Democratic convention there. If there aren't enough hotel rooms for all the delegates, Brown said, they can sleep in church basements. That aroused the wrath of many, who blamed him for the fact that Los Angeles lost the bid for the convention.

Gray Davis, the governor's young administrative assistant, has compiled a list of achievements ranging from slowing the growth of state government to creating an Agricultural Labor Relations Board to provide collective bargaining rights for farm workers. In his two budgets thus far there have been no tax increases.

The vice presidency? No one runs for Vice President. Not much use in talking about it. It is known, however, that Sen. Hubert Humphrey has rated Brown second or third as his choice for the No. 2 spot.

Cynics in California critical of Brown's record—or lack of a record—so far believe that he would like to move on, even if that means moving to the office that has been so belittled in the past. He would escape responsibility for the reforms being pressed on the state from left and right, they feel.

It would be a new field with unlimited opportunity to explore the bigness of government that he deplores, and at 38 he would be young enough to be a candidate for the presidency in 1980 or 1984. The maturing process could bring profound changes in this young Lochinvar out of the West.

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Politics Today

Shrum Affair Touches On Carter's Candor

A3

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

The Shrum affair has raised some disquieting questions for the Democrats about the future of Jimmy Carter's campaign for the presidency.

In itself, the public renunciation of Carter by Robert Shrum, a young, liberal speechwriter, is not very important. There is rarely a campaign that does not suffer defections by disgruntled or disenchanted staff members. Politics is an emotional business.

Nor is Shrum's accusation that Carter is guilty of unusual "manipulation and deception" in his handling of issues intrinsically shocking. here is a little manipulation and deception in the best of campaigns, so the argument is essentially over what level is acceptable. Shrum obviously believes Carter has gone too far. Otherwise, the speechwriter would not have made such a public cause of his dismay. As he is undoubtedly aware, campaign staff members who "go public" in such situations are not likely to be much sought after by other campaigns.

BUT THE FACT that Shrum took such a drastic step focuses attention on a continuing problem for Carter — his apparent failure to recognize that his position as the runaway favorite for the Democratic presidential nomination carries with it special responsibilities.

The Georgia Democrat is no longer a one-man roadshow, capable of prospering politically on a smile and a shoeshine. He is, instead, the very likely nominee, charged with enlisting the support and confidence of the diverse elements of his party. And to accomplish that, he is obliged to make it as comfortable as possible for other Democrats to make his case in the general election this fall.

In Carter's case, as his own opinion studies have shown, this means that he must deal directly and openly with the fears among many thoughtful Democrats that he is a shade too facile in his handling of issues, that he is too often fortuitously ambiguous on touchy questions, that he is too prone to the kind of political accidents such as "ethnic purity" that ultimately turn out to be political coups.

A DEMOCRATIC campaign worker in Indiana spoke for many liberals the other day when she said: "I'm going to support him, but I'm not sure what he's really like, so I'm uneasy about it."

This unease is exacerbated in Carter's case because he has made such a fetish of the high moral level of his candidacy. Every statement that "I am not a liar" is, in a sense, a challenge to both the press and doubters within his party to examine him closely on every particular. He is now the tough guy who has boasted he can lick any man in the saloon.

Functioning in this context, it is no longer enough for Carter to simply eschew lying. Instead, he is probably required to make a positive attempt to be demonstrably more candid than the more conventional politicians he has been eliminating from the campaign in one primary after another all year.

THE DISPUTE WITH Shrum over his views on defense spending is a case in point. The speechwriter suggested that Carter's public advocacy of a 5 to 7 percent reduction in the military budget was masking private talk of increasing spending $20 to $30 billion. Carter countered with no little heat that there is not a shred of difference between his public and private views on the Pentagon budget. And indeed, it is difficult to imagine how he could imagine he could get away with any reversal of such proportions after he reached the White House.

But even if Carter is taken at his word on this point, it is not enough for a candidate in his dominant position, who has advanced himself all along as the "different" politician who would consult and confide in the American people in an unprecedented way. Beyond this, if he is to reassure those Democrats to whom this issue is pivotal, he has an obligation to do more than talk about the fat in the Pentagon budget that has made it what he calls "the most wasteful bureaucracy" in town. What he should be doing, to meet his own criteria, is spelling out in considerable detail not only where those savings can be achieved but what he thinks about the relative merits of this or that military hardware, this or that weapons policy.

CARTER HAS ARGUED that there are many issues too complex for glib, 10-point programs thrown out along the campaign trail. He says, for example, that the details of his tax reforms must await time for a thorough study of the structure, that for now it is enough to outline principles. And there is some obvious justification for that rationale.

But those who are skeptical may be forgiven if they point out it can be politically advantageous, too, not to get too darned specific right now about whose tax preferences you intend to take away. And that is the kind of thinking that leads to Democrats such as the one in Indiana being "uneasy" about this man who will be their leader this fall.

There's nothing illegal, immoral or fattening about a candidate being cautious when he has a lead. Don't make waves is a well-established rule in such situations. But Carter is not an ordinary candidate, and for him, it may be bad politics.

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COUNTING THE 1976 DELEGATES



DEMOCRATS

State	Total Delegates	Carter	Humphrey	Jackson	Udall	Wallace	Others	Uncommitted
Iowa	47	17	—	—	10	—	9	11
Mississippi	24	5	—	—	—	11	4	4
Hawaii*	17	—	—	1	1	—	—	15
Oklahoma	37	12	—	—	—	—	7	18
Puerto R.*	22	—	—	15	—	—	—	7
N. Hampshire	17	15	—	—	2	—	—	—
Minnesota*	65	—	60	—	—	—	—	5
S.Carolina	31	9	—	—	—	8	1	13
Maine*	20	6	—	—	—	—	—	14
Massachusetts	104	16	—	30	21	21	16	—
Washington*	53	—	—	31	4	—	—	18
Florida	81	34	—	21	—	26	—	—
Illinois	169	59	4	—	—	3	88	15
N. Carolina	61	36	—	—	—	25	—	—
Virginia*	54	14	—	—	4	—	—	36
Kansas*	34	13	—	2	1	—	2	16
Wisconsin	68	26	—	6	25	10	1	—
New York	274	35	—	106	68	—	—	65
Missouri*	71	10	—	1	3	1	9	47
Alaska	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Arizona	25	5	—	—	19	1	—	—
Canal Zone	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Virgin I.	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Pennsylvania	178	64	—	19	22	3	17	53
Texas	130	89	—	—	—	—	9	32
Louisiana	32	10	—	—	—	7	—	15
Alabama	35	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	50	50	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indiana	75	48	—	—	—	6	—	21
D.C.	17	7	—	—	4	—	—	6
Totals	1,807	580	64	232	184	122	163	427

* Process incomplete

REPUBLICANS

State	Total Delegates	Ford	Reagan	Uncommitted
Iowa*	36	15	15	6
P. R.	8	8	—	—
N. Hamp.	21	18	3	—
Mass.	43	28	15	—
Florida	66	43	23	—
Hawaii*	19	12	4	3
Illinois	101	77	11	13
D.C.	14	14	—	—
N. Carolina	54	26	28	—
Wisconsin	45	45	—	—
Mississippi	30	—	—	30
S. Carolina	36	4	26	6
New York	154	—	3	151
Arizona	29	2	27	—
Minnesota*	65	10	3	2
Wisconsin	45	45	—	—
Oklahoma	36	—	—	3
Pennsylvania*	103	—	—	103
Maine	20	16	3	1
Texas	100	—	96	4
Alabama	37	—	31	6
Georgia	48	—	48	—
Indiana	54	9	45	—
Totals	1,164	372	381	328

* Process incomplete

TALLY

There are 1,505 votes needed to win the Democratic presidential nomination in New York City in July, and 1,130 to win the Republican nomination in Kansas City in August. These tables show convention delegate votes accumulated so far by candidates in state primaries and party caucuses. They include some projections in caucus and primary states where the process has not yet been completed. Coming up next Tuesday in the race for convention delegates are statewide primaries in Nebraska and West Virginia, and unusual town presidential primary contests in Connecticut. And in two weeks: the Maryland and Michigan primaries.

NYT <5

Carter Suggests a Nights Plan Of 'Compensatory Opportunity'

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

CINCINNATI, May 4—Jimmy Carter said today that, in a continuing struggle to erase discrimination from American society, "compensatory opportunity," and not just equality, should be offered in some cases to blacks and to other victims of past intolerance.

The former Georgia Governor, who appears to be running well ahead of his opposition for the Democratic Presidential nomination, did not amplify his remark in great detail. However, since he seems at most times to choose his words carefully, his extemporaneous remark was taken as a signal that he had opened a new avenue in civil rights policy.

After a campaign swing through Indiana yesterday, Mr. Carter spoke to 300 Democrats at a fund-raising breakfast here this morning. He then traveled to his home in Plains, Ga., to cast a vote in his state's Presidential primary election.

Mr.Carter's statement about racial policy was made in answer to a black man in his audience who asked what he would do, if elected President, to achieve "total integration" and, specificially, if he would support busing of schoolchildren to reach that goal.

In an answer that consumed almost seven minutes and was given in a grave and earnest tone, Mr. Carter never did mention busing. However, throughout his campaign he has expressed oppoosition to "forced" busing of schoolchildren, while asserting that in Georgia other measures to achieve equality of education have been successful.

But the former Governor said that while many white Americans "tend to think our original Government was almost perfect, our nation was founded on slavery," and that for most of the countrys' history, blacks had borne a heavy burden of inequality.

While he respected and saluted the achievements of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in advancing civil rights, Mr. Carter said that "I hope you will say that Jimmy Carter did more" than they did.

"I believe," he added, "in insuring that all Americans should have not only equal opportunity, but should also have compensatory opportunity if, through my influence or yours, they have been deprived of the opportunity of fully using their talents."

At a news conference later, he said, "You can provide equality of opportunity by law but, quite often, that is not adequate."

He said that he hoped to see some day a society that had "eliminated completely the stigma of discrimination."

At the news confernce, Mr. Carter said that white America had a responsibility to "say what we have done and how we can alleviate by compensatory opportunity" the wrongs of the past.

He never used the word "quotas," which has an emotional quality, but he did not seem to shirk from the principle that underlies the word. He said that he had supported "affirmative action" programs in education in Georgia, in the Democratic Party and in the selection of his national convention delegate slates in states across the nation.

Even if applicants for a job were equally qualified, Mr. Carter said, if there had been an "identifiable" pattern of past discrimination against blacks, it would be legitimate and proper to give preference to an applicant from the harmed minority.

EE

A Cleveland Ward Turns to Carter, But Commitment Seems Lukewarm

WILLIAM K. STEVENS
Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND—Joe Mazzeo is a tall stringbean of a plumber who lives with his wife and children upstairs over St. Rocco's Parish Cedit Union in the middle of Cleveland's West-side Fifth Ward, in the house where he was born 48 years ago. He is also Ward Five's Democratic leader, a man who is listened to in matters political.

The other night, though, the immediate objects of Mr. Mazzeo's attention were the 10 pins at the end of a bowling alley at Brookgate Lanes in one of the city's southwestern suburbs. He rolled his first practice ball: Crash. A strike. "Nothin' to it," he grinned, puffing on a cigar, spreading his arms for emphasis, palms upward.

Almost as easily as that, Ward Five in the last six weeks appears to have become Jimmy Carter country—up to a point. "I think he's a winner," Mr. Mazzeo said between bowling turns the other night.

Mr. Mazzeo said he believed that Ward Five was the former Georgia Governor's for the taking in the Ohio Democratic Presidential primary on June 8. Since the ward is traditionally and faithfully Democratic, that makes Mr. Carter its new favorite in Presidential politics. On the ward's past form, Mr. Carter would be a sure winner here in November as well.

Lukewarm Commitments

Talks with indlivdual voters and Cleveland politics-watchers suggest that Mr. Mazzeo's assessment is right. If it is, that represents a startling shift in sentiment since mid-March—from almost total fragmentation of opinion to something approaching consensus—in this urban, industrial enclave where 22,000 people live, typically, in modest frame houses on neatly trimmed lots in neighborhoods where there seems to be a church on one corner and a bar on the next.

But if Mr. Carter has surged into the favorite's role in the ward, it does not necessarily mean he has stirred men's souls or turned them into fervent believers. His support may have broadened dramatically, but it sometimes seems to lack depth and commitment; to be lukewarm, as if there were no other really good choice.

"I'm not too crazy about any of 'em," Tony Vannello said of the candidates the other night between frames at the bowling alley. "About a year ago my man was Wallace, and I changed to Carter. I'm not really sure why."

Mr. Vannello, a 33-year-old friend of Mr. Mazzeo's who sells and services carpets for aliving, was one of a small group who gather at Brookgate Lanes once a week to bowl, drink, cuss and talk until well after midnight.

Some of the men live in the Fifth Ward; others, like Mr. Vannello, have moved from there to the suburbs, and they have thereby extended the ward's political mentality outward while retaining strong ties to the ward itself.

"It's important to beat Ford," Mr. Vannello said. "We have to have a Democrat in to pick things up. I voted for Nixon and it was a big mistake. Everything went up. Prices, everything.

"I guess you have to go with the one who can win," he said of his decision to favor Mr. Carter. "The only way a candidate can prove how good a President he would be is to get elected."

Such, perhaps, has been one effect of Mr. Carter's momentum on some rank-and-file Democrats. They, too, want a winner. Mr. Mazzeo says he thinks that the simple fact of the Carter momentum is mainly what accounts for the Georgian's surge here. Apart from that, voters' explanations as to why they favor Mr. Carter often come up vague.

This is another in a series of articles on voter attitudes in four American communities—urban, small-city, suburban and rural—that will appear from time to time during the 1976 campaign.

"I just like the way he talks," said Kenny Jablonski, another of the bowlers who said he favored Mr. Carter. "It's the smile, maybe."

Even Mr. Mazzeo, who has been an often-lonely Carter supporter since the first soundings of sentiment were made here nearly 12 weeks ago, has difficulty explaining it. "I just took to him," he says. "It might be his sincerity—how he's talking to the people."

Ward Five is a richly various urban territory stretching across the city's near West Side from the edge of Cleveland's downtown core to the industrial flats, where the rising and falling smoke-billows of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company symbolize the industrial economy on which the jobs of most of the ward's breadwinners depend.

Its ethnic mixture of Italian, German, Irish, Polish, Ukrainian, Czech, Appalachian Mountain and Puerto Rican heritages make it a classic melting pot. Its Democratic political heritage has not wavered in any recent election.

Even in 1972, when many of the ward's voters expressed increasingly conservative leanings, broke away from the Democratic Party and voted for Richard M. Nixon, Senator George McGovern still won the ward by 247 votes out of 5,867 cast.

When the first 1976 soundings of opinion were made here during the deep-winter days of February, before the first primaries, ward residents were found to be basically distrustful of government, concerned primarily about making a living, deeply resentful toward people with power and money.

In retrospect it was an attitude made to order for Governor Carter, and Mr. Mazzeo said then that he favored Mr. Carter. But he seemed nearly alone, and no other candidate seemed to have attracted much interest either. Governor Wallace was the only exception.

Support Not Unanimous

Now, as spring turns the neighborhood's streets green and leafy, Mr. Carter's emergency, seems apparent. Support for him is hardly universal, however. Some diehard Wallace feeling remains, for example. An da young woman, who said she favoed Representative Morris K. Udall, also said she had "certain vibes" about Mr. Carter: negative vibes having to do with what is widely perceived as his tendency to come down on all sides of an issue.

Furthermore, there appears to be no real enthusiasm for Presidential politics generally, despite the shift in sentiment. There is political enthusiams, yes. It appeared at the bowling alley the other night, where Mr. Mazzeo was asking for help in the campaign being waged for Congress by his cousin, 30-year-old Michael Climaco, formerly a Fifth Ward Councilman.

"Gimme four signs," Kenny Jablonski told Mr. Mazzeo as the bowling match got under way.

The energy at the moment is going into local politics, the close-to-home kind that involves nuts-and-bolts help for the neighborhood. "I'm more concerned with Climaco," says Mr. Mazzeo. "The Presidency is too far away." He says he will talk Mr. Carter up between now and June 8, but thart is clealy secondary.

IGNORED BEFORE

South May Swing Both Nominations

By JIM MERRINER
Constitution Political Editor

Tuesday's voting indicated that the South—which was virtually ignored by Democratic and Republican presidential contenders in decades past—may actually determine the nominees of both parties this year.

Southern support for Ronald Reagan may have mortally wounded the candidacy of President Ford, and Dixie continued to give a muscular boost to the campaign of its native son, Jimmy Carter.

Former California Gov. Reagan now has beaten Ford in four Southern primaries—North Carolina, Texas, Georgia and Alabama—delivering unprecedented blows to an incumbent president. And with his Southern momentum, Reagan also won his first Northern victory Tuesday in Indiana.

Meanwhile, on the Democratic ticket, Carter hammered another nail into the political coffin of Alabama Gov. George Wallace, sweeping Georgia and Indiana resoundingly and winning—early returns showed—a delegate or two in Wallace's home state.

The Georgia voting Tuesday climaxed a trend of the past several years indicating that Dixie voters have grown tired of flamboyant, colorful populists of the school of Wallace, Lester Maddox, Ronnie Thompson.

Instead, the voters are lining up solidly behind low-key, urbane former Georgia Gov. Carter, and they are looking favorably on the polished, sophisticated California conservative, Reagan.

The busiest day of the primary season so far Tuesday made more likely the prospect of a November election showdown between Carter and Reagan. Carter now has a commanding lead in national convention delegates, and Reagan is roughly neck-and-neck with the President.

Both candidates, and President Ford himself, campaigned hard in southern primary states. In previous national elections, the South seldom saw presidential candidates until after the conventions picked the nominees.

Reagan's success is based on the much-discussed crossover voters who acted out of a bundle of motivations defying precise analysis.

Wallace Democrats may have switched to Reagan because they thought Wallace was all through; Carter Democrats may have switched to Reagan because they feel Carter has the nomination locked up anyway; Democrats who don't like either Carter or Wallace may have felt they had nowhere else to go. This speculation could be continued indefinitely.

Reagan ended up, based on projected incomplete returns, with roughly 100,000 votes in Georgia. Yet in the August, 1974, GOP primary for state offices, a total of only 43,880 voters cast Republican ballots.

It is highly unlikely that 56,000 voters decided to change their party allegiance in the last two years. It is also questionable whether the Democratic crossovers would vote for Reagan as the Republican nominee against Carter in November.

And in Texas on May 1, Democratic crossovers were partly credited for Reagan's stunning shutout of Ford in the delegate race.

In Indiana Tuesday, Wallace had a threadbare reprise of his 1972 showing, when he took 41 per cent of the Democratic vote. This year he got 14 per cent.

Reagan openly appealed for Democratic and independent votes, and the Ford campaign has expressed concern about the damage that the lack of state party registration laws is doing to their campaign.

The enormity of Carter's Georgia win wiped out the idea that his home-state former constituents disliked him. And he put together his winning combination here exactly as he did in Florida, Illinois and other primaries—with a successful appeal to the black vote.

In DeKalb County's predominantly black South Kirkwood precinct, Carter took 95 per cent of the vote.

UNIFICATION TRY?

Carter Phones Sen. Humphrey

By FAY S. JOYCE

In an apparent attempt to unify factions in the Democratic party, Jimmy Carter acknowledged Tuesday night that he has been in telephone contact with Minnesota Sen. Hubert Humphrey during the last few days.

Carter would not comment when asked if he would be content to have Sen. Humphrey on a Democratic ticket with him, but said that the nation's labor unions would be happy to have Humphrey as his vice presidential running mate.

At a press conference held Tuesday night, after the former Georgia governor has been projected as the winner in three of the four presidential primaries held earlier in the day, Carter said he has three criteria for a vice president:

—Someone who would make the best president "in case I should not be able to serve out my term."

—Someone whose political philosophy "is comparable with mine."

—Someone who would bring the ticket geographical balance.

However, Carter said it was too early to throw out any names of possible candidates for his running mate if he should win the Democratic nomination at the July convention.

Carter said he talked to Humphrey Tuesday afternoon on the telephone. Humphrey "expressed his friendship for me and his inclination not to get involved in the primaries again," he said.

The two talked about a meeting at some unspecified later time, added Carter. He said he telephoned Humphrey last week, "on Thursday or Wednesday," and that the Minnesota senator called him back Monday night in Plains but missed him.

Carter then tried to reach him again Tuesday, and Humphrey returned the call.

Expressing surprise at President Ford's loss to Republican opponent Ronald Reagan in Indiana's Tuesday primary, Carter said, "I thought Ford would beat Reagan." He described the loss as "a very severe blow to Ford."

Citing polls taken a few weeks ago, the Democratic frontruner said there were estimates that Ford would top the former California governor by as much as 25 per cent of the vote. He added that Ford released a poll last week that showed the President 10 per cent ahead of Reagan in Indiana.

Asked if he would rather face Ford or Reagan in the general election in November, Carter replied, "They have to worry about facing me."

He compared Ford's and Reagan's strengths and weaknesses saying, "Ford would have a better chance to pull the party behind him. Reagan would be divisive like Goldwater. If Reagan were the nominee, I believe many Republicans would come to me."

Georgia Vote Counts

DEMOCRATS

85 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	330,635 (84%)
Henry Jackson	2,424 (1%)
Morris Udall	6,549 (2%)
George Wallace	48,195 (12%)
Robert Byrd	3,206 (1%)
Sargent Shriver	1,191 (0%)
Lloyd Bentsen	236 (00%)

REPUBLICANS

85 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Ronald Reagan	94,970 (69%)
Gerald Ford	41,697 (31%)

Indiana Vote Counts

DEMOCRATS

79 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Jimmy Carter	323,799 (68%)
Henry Jackson	56,767 (12%)
George Wallace	69,462 (14%)
Ellen McCormack	25,693 (6%)

REPUBLICANS

79 Per Cent Of Precincts Counted

Ronald Reagan	261,321 (51%)
Gerald Ford	249,647 (49%)

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

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Reagan Nears Fund Crisis Over Lack of Federal Aid

By JON NORDHEIMER
Special to The New York Times

SOUTH BEND, Ind., May 3—Ronald Reagan's campaign is nearing a financial crisis unless Federal matching funds are freed for his Presidential effort, top Reagan aides said today.

The Republican challenger's cash flow is reaching a point of desperation, the aides reported.

The former Governor of California campaigned through Indiana today on the eve of Republican primaries in this state, Georgia and Alabama in which he hopes he can continue the momentum generated by his landslide victory in Texas on Saturday.

But even as he campaigned in Fort Wayne and South Bend before leaving for appearances in West Virginia, his staff was preoccupied with the problems of developing new sources of income for a campaign that is nearly $1 million in debt.

While in South Bend for a rally at the University of Notre Dame, the candidate also issued a terse report on taxes he had paid in 1975 on an adjusted gross income of $252,405. The report stated that the millionaire former screen actor had paid a combined total of $106,507 for the year. The breakdown was: $65,756 in Federal income taxes; $16,371 in state income taxes; $21,492 in local property taxes, and $2,888 in combined miscellaneous taxes.

There was no mention of the candidate's total income in 1975, which includes income from certain types of investments that have the effect of reducing rather than increasing adjusted gross income.

Last year, Mr. Reagan earned

Continued on Page 28, Column 5

DEMOCRATS BEGIN TO CLOSE RANKS FOR CARTER DRIVE

Chiefs, Feeling Georgian's Nomination Is Assured, Offer Aid for Unity

G.O.P. IN CONTEST TODAY

Ford Is Narrowly Favored in Indiana, but Reagan May Have Cut Lead

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

WASHINGTON, May 3—Leaders of the Democratic Party establishment have begun to rally around Jimmy Carter, a candidate whom they scorned until recently, in the belief that the Georgian's nomination for President is virtually assured.

On the eve of primaries in his state and three others, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, whose own Presidential campaign collapsed early in March, endorsed and campaigned with Mr. Carter today. The Hoosier was the first of Mr. Carter's erstwhile rivals to back him.

Offers to Work

More important than announcements of support, however, were the expressions of willingness to work for party unity behind Mr. Carter that were exchanged in hundreds of telephone calls this weekend among labor leaders, governors, mayors, members of Congress and local and state party officials.

"I am now convinced that we will have our most united effort since 1964 this November," said Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman. "Carter will not cause the kinds of antagonisms that George McGovern did in 1972."

But the bright light of public attention will fall tomorrow on the Republicans rather than the Democrats as primaries take place in Georgia, Alabama, Indiana and the District of Columbia. For President Ford, especially, it will be a momentus day; he badly needs a victory in Indiana to avenge his crushing defeat by former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California in the Texas primary on Saturday.

Ford Narrowly Favored

Mr. Ford is narrowly favored in Indiana, his lead having been trimmed, in the view of local politicians, by Mr. Reagan's success in re-establishing the credibility of his challenge. Mr. Ford is unopposed in the District of Columbia but is a decided underdog, by the admission of his campaign staff, in Georgia and Alabama.

Former Governor Carter seems to be threatened only in

Continued on Page 28, Column 4

11

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Reagan Drive Nearing a Fund Crisis

Continued From Page 1, Col. 7

large sums of money for personal speaking engagements before becoming a candidate in November, and also from syndicated radio broadcasts and newspaper columns.

In February, Mr. Reagan released a financial statement that placed his net worth at $1,455,571 and in which he estimated his 1975 income at $282,253. This income figure was for the period after he left the governor's office in January through his official entry into the Presidential race last Nov. 20.

John P. Sears 3d, the candidate's national campaign manager, described the campaign's financial condition as "a serious problem that will worsen in coming weeks" unless the matching funds are forthcoming.

"It is a problem that may be resolved within a week if Congress approves the new bill and it is signed by the President," Mr. Sears said this afternoon, "but if it isn't we're in for very tough sledding."

Although the candidate has avoided allegations in public that the White House has deliberately helped delay the allocation of matching Federal campaign funds, his aides complain that President Ford's campaign strategists have engineered a situation that has helped to put the Californian nearly $1 million in debt.

At the same time, Reagan aides who have studied Ford campaign reports available in Washington marvel at how the President has managed to outspend Mr. Reagan in the primaries and yet remain solvent.

One answer, they have suggested, is that the Ford campaign has drawn heavily on the resources of the White House, from the use of Air Force I to the deployment of Federal employees in campaign activities.

One highly placed campaign aide said that an examination of these reports indicated that the airlines had extended credit for 60 to 90 days to the Ford campaign committee, but have demanded payment in advance from the Reagan forces—and from the Democratic candidates as well.

In addition, the Reagan aides asserted that the records showed President Ford's use of Air Force I had originally been charged to the Republican National Committee, ostensibly for purposes in his role as leader of the party, only to have the trip described later "political" and the bill charged to the President Ford Committee for payment.

This maneuver, they said, enabled the President to delay payments of his campaign trips, which the challenger cannot do.

While Mr. Reagan has had to pay, in advance, about $600,000 to charter campaign jets, the records indicated that the President's campaign treasury had so far paid out only a small fraction of this figure for campaign travel, according to the Reagan aides.

Mr. Reagan, the aides said, was owed an estimated $2 million in matching Federal funds, but his campaign is being "crippled" by an inability to borrow against this sum. The contender raised an estimated $1.1 million alone last month from a nationally televised appeal, they said.

"If the President, in good faith, would announce he would sign an appropriate law, I could pick up the phone and get a half-million bucks in credit from the bankers today," one top Reagan staff member said. "As it is we are pressed against the wall to come up with day-to-day expenses."

Consequently, this aide said, he was spending most of his time on the phone attempting to get from private sources the $167,000 needed today to meet creditors' demands. He said that the staff, which is much smaller than the President's, as well as the candidate himself, had to divert attention from campaigning and planning to raise funds.

"We don't have any evidence of intent on the President's part to deliberately deprive us of the matching funds," he went on, "but the result has been devastating to us."

DEMOCRATS RALLY TO CARTER BANNER

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

Alabama, where he must face a local hero, Gov. George C. Wallace. Elsewhere, as the Georgian's Texas manager, Bob Armstrong, said yesterday, "we're on a big, fast horse, and all you have to do is hold on tight and wave your hat."

Mr. Carter's only serious opponent in Indiana, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, closed his headquarters there last week. The endorsement by Mr. Bayh, who described Mr. Carter as "the one candidate who has the opportunity to . . . avaid the division and bitterness which results from a brokered convention," should guarantee him a sweeping victory in the state.

Although Mr. Carter's schedule is more or less set through the Michigan and Maryland primaries on May 18, he said yesterday that he intended to begin devoting more time to winning the support of party leaders and less to primary campaigning.

"The one thing we have to be careful of," said Hamilton Jordan, his national campaign manager, "is to walk the tightrope between seeming presumptuous by ignoring the remaining primaries, on the one hand, and failing to respond to the perceptions that it's time for us to make our peace with all the elements in the party, on the other."

Memories of 1972, as well as a sense of the seeming inevitability of Mr. Carter's nomination, Democratic leaders said, have contributed to the widespread willingness to rally behind him at an early date, despite his attack on Washington insiders.

"This time we have no excuse," said Dr. Mark Siegel, the party's executive director. "There's no need for patching a platform together or choosing a Vice-Presidential candidate at the last minute. We have a long time to plan our national campaign."

Mr. Carter's effort to mend his fences on Capitol Hill, it was learned, will begin in earnest on May 11 when he attends a Democratic Congressional dinner in Washington. He agreed to do so this weekend.

If all goes well, according to sources close to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the Minnesotan, who was once regarded as Mr. Carter's most formidable rival, is prepared to endorse him some time between the final primaries on June 8 and the convention.

The former Georgia Governor also hopes to confer with leaders of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations on May 11.

He is likely to find an open-minded if not a warm reception. One senior official of the federation, pressed by Mr. Strauss in a weekend telephone conversation to accept Mr. Carter, replied: "You don't need to sell me. I'm prepared to find virtues in him that even his mother wouldn't recognize."

Perhaps Mr. Carter's most serious problems lie with the governors, his former colleagues, among whom he has never been popular. But one key figure, Gov. Reubin Askew of Florida, told friends this weekend that while he still had "difficulties" with Mr. Carter, he was ready, once released from his commitment to Mr. Jackson, to "help put it together for Jimmy."

Dizzy Dean Won 30 in '34

Dizzy Dean compiled a 30-7 won-lost record for the 1934 St. Louis Cardinals.

CARTER IS QUERIED ON SPEECHWRITER

Candidate's View of Incident Is Somewhat Different From Earlier Stand

By CHARLES MAHR
Special to The New York Times

FORT WAYNE, Ind., May 3—Jimmy Carter was smiling, not scowling, when he was questioned today about the case of the disillusioned speechwriter. But there still seemed to be questions and uncertainties about the incident.

The former Georgia Governor, who is now the clear front-runner for the Democratic Presidential nomination, began a day of campaigning in Indiana with a news conference in Indianapolis at which he was again questioned about Robert M. Shrum, a young liberal who tried out as a Carter speechwriter and then denounced Mr. Carter as "manipulative and deceptive."

When asked yesterday to comment on Mr. Shrum's complaints that Mr. Carter had tailored public positions on issues in some cases to conform to privately held opinions or political commitments, Mr. Carter had attempted to cut short the questioning and seemed to show annoyance. Saying he had not seen a letter from the 32-year-old speechwriter, Mr. Carter also left the impression that he had little or no knowledge of Mr. Shrum's criticism of of Mr. Shrum himself.

Not on Payroll

Mr. Carter also said that Mr. Shrum had never formally been placed on the Carter payroll, and asserted that "we did not use his speeches."

This morning, in Indianapolis and in Gary, Mr. Carter urged reporters to continue their questioning to their satisfaction.

The picture that emerged today of this relatively minor controversy was somewhat different from that painted yesterday.

Mr. Carter again disagreed with Mr. Shrum's criticism, but added, "I have nothing but admiration for Mr. Shrum," who wrote speeches for Senator George McGovern and Senator Edmund S. Muskie in the 1972 Presidential campaign.

Mr. Carter repeated that Mr. Shrum had never been formally employed, but added, "I believed on my part he had accepted a post" in the Carter campaign staff.

Mr. Carter also said that, in the Pennsylvania primary campaign, he had used a "couple of brief press releases" written in part by Mr. Shrum. Other sources continued to say that Mr. Shrum had contributed to several speeches and statements by Mr. Carter.

Criticism Denied

At one point the Georgian said that Mr. Shrum "never expressed any criticism of me or my philosophy on the issues." Mr. Carter added that he and Mr. Shrum had never had a "private" discussion of Mr. Shrum's disagreement with Mr. Carter's political style and substance.

However, at a later point, the former Governor said, "a pretty good discussion" took place between himself, Mr. Shrum and Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press secretary, aboard an airplane late last month, and that Mr. Shrum "was quite upset."

Mr. Carter attributed Mr. Shrum's unhappiness to the fact that, despite Mr. Shrum's "superlative speech-writing ability," he had refused to use a speech by Mr. Shrum on coal mine legislation.

Mr. Carter's remarks also seem to indicate that an effort has been made by his associates to dissuade Mr. Shrum from leaving. Mr. Carter had not seen Mr. Shrum's letter of complaint until today because Patrick Caddell, a pollster associated with Mr. Carter, had hoped that Mr. Shrum would relent and stay on the staff, thus making it unnecessary to confront Mr. Carter with such a letter.

Endorsed by Bayh

Mr. Carter was endorsed this morning by Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, one of the many Democratic Presidential candidates whom Mr. Carter had defeated earlier this year and driven from the field. Senator Bayh said he believed that Mr. Carter was "the one candidate candidate" who had a chance to win the nomination in open primary contests rather than in a "brokered" convention that he said would cause "divisiveness and bitterness."

But even Mr. Bayh's endorsement led to further questioning of Mr. Carter's credibility, a quality that the former Governor has himself stressed as a central campaign issue.

Mr. Bayh disclosed that Mr. Carter had telephoned him last Tuesday, saying: "I need your help. I'd like for you to join in our campaign."

Reporters then noted that Wednesday a day after the telephone call to Senator Bayh, Mr. Carter had said he had "never gone to anyone yet and asked them to endorse me."

"My point," Mr. Carter said in answer, "was that I have never depend on endorsements to put me in office." He added that he had asked Senator Bayh "for his support and confidence—we did not talk about endorsement at that time."

(see next page 2)

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Sen. Bayh Endorses Carter

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

INDIANAPOLIS, May 3—Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.) gave more pulling power to Jimmy Carter's band wagon today by endorsing the former Georgia governor's candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The endorsement by Bayh, who joined Carter in a day of campaigning across Indiana, is the first to come from one of Carter's former primary opponents. Bayh became an inactive candidate March 4.

Carter, obviously cheered by his new-found support, said he hopes Bayh's endorsement would help him gain backing from other presidential candiates who have abandoned their campaigns.

The announcement also was expected to boost Carter's chances of winning all or most of the 75 convention delegates at stake in Tuesday's Indiana Democratic presidential primary. With the withdrawal of Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington from active campaigning last Saturday, Carter faces active opposition in Indiana only from Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

Bayh said Carter approached him last Tuesday, on the afternoon of the Pennsylvania primary, and solicicted his support.

Bayh said his decision to support Carter was made before Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota dropped out of the Democratic race last Thursday. However, he said he delayed announcing that decision until he had a chance to "sit down and talk" with Carter about differences on issues.

"When I came to the decision, the only question was when and how" to announce it, Bayh said.

The senator said he had expressed concern "about Gov. Carter's position on several important national issues" when he was an active opponent of Carter.

Most of his misgivings over those issues—such as general revenue sharing for the cities and labor relations—have been erased as a result of his conversations with Carter, Bayh said.

Bayh acknowledged that he is "philosophically closer" to positions held by another active candidate, Sen. Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

"But one thing I learned a long time ago is how to count," Bayh said. "Anybody who has taken his (Carter's) candidacy to the country as long and as effectively as he has deserves support."

The senator said he was "not particularly interested" in becoming Carter's running mate. "The role of the Vice President is one in which there is little area for disagreement, and the Senate affords me lots of room for that," Bayh said.

However, he added: "I don't believe that anybody would turn down a request" to become Vice President.

The disclosure that Carter solicited support from Bayh seemed to contradict the Georgian's contention that he would not actively seek endorsements. But Carter said his actions were not contradictory.

"I think I have made it clear that I want the support of everyone ... My point was that I have never depended upon endorsements to win an election," Carter said.

On Sunday, Carter became angry when reporters pressed him on the details involving the departure from his campaign of speech writer Robert Shrum. The former governor seemed to have regained his composure today.

Carter apologized to reporters for his terse remarks and said he thought he was being forced to answer questions on a matter he knew little about.

He said he was able to see Shrum's letter of protest—in which the speech writer accused Carter of being manipulative and deceptive—only after receiving a copy this morning from an ABC television correspondent.

Carter said Shrum placed the letter in a hotel mail box where it was picked up by Patrick Caddell, a pollster for the Carter campaign. He said Caddell never gave the letter to him.

Carter said Shrum was "quite mistaken about two or three statements he made about me in his letter." One of those statements alleged that Carter had changed his position on several issues on which he had agreed with Shrum.

Carter said Shrum is a "superlative writer, and I think he felt when he came to work for us that because of his superlative speech-writing ability I would just accept his speeches and parrot them to the public." Carter said he likes to write his own speeches.

Blacks Faced Sharp Dilemma At Convention

By Austin Scott
Washington Post Staff Writer

Never before had 1,000 black Democratic politicians and political activists come together to write their own party platform. And the dilemma they faced when they gathered for three days in Charlotte, N.C., last weekend was sharp and agonizing.

They had planned the conference two months before, when there were almost a dozen Democratic candidates, as a means of bringing to the forefront in this election year the issues of full employment, equal educational opportunity, and other matters of great concern to blacks.

A dozen members of the 43-person steering committee of the Caucus of Black Democrats had met three times earlier to discuss how to stop what they saw as a dangerous trend toward dismantling the gains so many blacks had given so much to win the late 1950s and 1960s.

There was a desperate need they felt to stop the now-widening gap between black and white incomes, to close the gap between black unemployment and white unemployment, to get the nation discussing once again what government can do to ensure equal opportunity, not what it can't do.

Programs for better housing, better education, better health care, and more jobs help everyone, speaker after speaker emphasized.

The more than 100 influential black Democrats who prepared most of the conference's working papers appeared, from the position papers they drafted, to want the candidates to continue in the social programs tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Mayor Thomas Bradley of Los Angeles summed it up in his speech:

"There emerged during the 1960s a movement in this country which transcended the concern of race and gave hope to the aspirations of people irrespective of race, creed, color, or economic circumstances," he said. "It was, in fact, a coalition of conscience. Let it live again."

But by the time April 30, the first day of the conference, rolled around, Hubert H. Humphrey, the choice of many older blacks, had ruled himself out of the primaries. Other liberals—Milton Shapp, Birch Bayh, Fred Harris—had dropped into inactive status. And Jimmy Carter, the front-runner, was getting a consistently larger proportion of the black vote than any other candidate.

How, under those circumstances, could they hope to force the candidates to really compete for the black vote, some delegates wondered.

Was the conference being held two months too late, as Georgia state Sen. Julian Bond said when he refused to come.

Was it true, as Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who did come as a committed Carter supporter, said when he announced at the beginning of his keynote speech, "the train done left the station . . . but there are still some tickets left if you want to get on board."

The conference organizers had no certain answers to those questions. They could only forge ahead as planned, and see as the months went by whether what they did had made a difference.

The conference did put together, in a series of workshops and all-night drafting sessions, a set of "official" positions on 12 major issues that its leaders hope black voters everywhere will use as a yardstick to rate the remaining candidates on their commitment to helping blacks.

It also went ahead on two hidden agendas: the desire of some of its leaders to get personal commitments from the presidential candidates on what they would deliver to blacks, and try to raise the level of black interest in the November election.

All spring, black elected officials have been expressing concern over the low level of black voter turnout in most primaries. The fact that whites are not turning out in large proportions either has not been a source of comfort to black leaders, who want the black vote to be a well-defined and effective power bloc.

Rep. Yvonne B. Burke (D-Calif.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, laid out that issue in a major speech:

". . . Our goals and demands will be no more than articulate rhetoric of the past . . .," she said, "unless we go from here into our communities and develop a black voter registration plan which will get our brothers and sisters to vote, and see to it that they go to the polls at election time.

"Our barber and beauty shops, entertainment spots, athletic events, and in fact, every social and business meeting of blacks ought to begin with information on how to register, so that our numbers at the polls more closely resemble our numbers in the population.

"We know how to turn out a crowd for 'Earth, Wind and Fire' or for 'The Temptations.' We need to be able to turn out a crowd like that at the polls."

The conference did accomplish something else, with the candidates, its organizers felt. Four active Democratic candidates appeared Sunday to be quizzed about their stands on the issues in the caucus platform.

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Carter Aide Quits in Protest

Post A6 5/3

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Robert Shrum, a former McGovern speechwriter who joined the speechwriting team of Jimmy Carter only two weeks ago, has quit in protest, accusing Carter of "a degree of manipulation and deception" he had not previously encountered in any campaign.

Shrum, in an interview yesterday, charged that Carter resisted attempts to bring more specificity to his speeches and position on issues out of fear of making a damaging mistake, and that he was motivated solely by what would help him politically.

"You say you wish to keep your options open," Shrum wrote in his letter of resignation to Carter made available by Shrum yesterday. "Within reason that is understandable. But an election is the only option the people have. After carefully reflecting on what I have seen and heard here, I do not know what you would do as President.

"I share the perception that simple measures will not answer our problems; but it seems to me that your issues strategy is not a response to that complexity, but an attempt to conceal your true positions. I am not sure what you truly believe in other than yourself.

"I have examined my reactions closely. I have attempted to justify a different conclusion. But I cannot rationalize one. Therefore I must resign."

Advised of Shrum's statement, Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, said most of the issues about which Shrum expressed concern had been discussed with him at length before his resignation. In fact, Powell said, Shrum had "apologized for being childish" about raising some of the questions.

"I think what he is doing now is childish and hurtful," Powell said. "I don't question his sincerity . . . He, like anyone else, has said things about people and things that would be embarassing if quoted back to him."

Powell insisted that Shrum was not on the payroll during his nine-day stint with the Carter campaign and also denied Shrum's claim that he was to be paid $23,000.

In Terre Haute, Ind., Carter, visibly angry when pressed by reporters, said, "Shrum has never been on my payroll. I don't feel inclined to comment on this young man's statement."

But he added that Shrum "obviously wrote the letter for the news media. . . . I'm not a liar and I don't make any statements in private contrary to those I make in public."

Shrum, 32, was staff director of Sen. George McGovern's Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs before joining the Carter campaign. A former speechwriter for John V. Lindsay when he was mayor of New York, and for Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine), Shrum said he agreed to talk about his resignation because of his strong feelings about Carter.

He decided to quit, Shrum said, "because the candidate and the campaign seemed to me to be the opposite once I was there from what they seemed to be before I was there, and what I took to be perceived about them by the public.

"What made it hard," he said, "was to listen to the stump speech—'I will never lie to you, I will never mislead you,' said with fervor and passion—and seeing people believe."

Specifically, Shrum charged in the resignation letter that he was told that Carter, after having publicly pledged to reduce the defense budget 5 to 7 per cent, actually "might favor a substantial increase." He also complained that Carter had said he could not support automatic eligibility for black-lung benefits for miners after 30 years as "too radical" because there was no political quid pro quo involved.

Shrum said Carter told him on a campaign plane trip that this and other mine safety provisions "are too controversial and expensive." He said Carter added: "It would offend the operators. And why should I do this for Arnold Miller (head of the United Mine Workers) if he won't come and endorse me? . . . I don't think the benefits should be automatic. They chose to be miners."

Shrum also protested in his letter that Carter had said concerning a demand from trucking executives, potential campaign contributors, for changes in trucking regulations: "I want to give them enough reassurance to satisfy them, but give them as little as I have to."

Shrum said Carter proposed to tell the truckers "that I oppose the diversion of the highway trust fund to mass transit" though an aide reminded him "you're already on record as favoring it."

A discussion about specificity on issues, Shrum said, came after polls by Patrick Caddell of the Carter staff showed that a perception of Carter as fuzzy was "his single most serious problem." Shrum said, "There was a question of concern within the campaign that if it ever reached a question of Carter's honesty or integrity, it would be more difficult to deal with."

It became clear, Shrum said, that Carter only wanted "the minimum necessary appearance of specificity." on issues.

In preparation of his economic policy statement released with some fanfare several days before the Pennsylvania primary, for example, Carter emphasized that care be taken that the statement not "commit me too much."

Shrum quoted Carter as saying: "We have to be cautious. We don't want to offend anybody . . . I don't want any more statements on the Middle East or Lebanon. (Sen. Henry M.) Jackson has all the Jews anyway. It doesn't matter how far I go. I don't get over 4% of the Jewish vote anyway, so forget it. We get the Christians." Shrum added that he did not believe Carter intended this latter remark as anti-Semitic, but rather as a comment of political pragmatism.

The speechwriter in the interview painted Carter as a hard-nosed political operative. Shrum recalled one conversation he said he heard in which Carter's issues chief, Stu Eisenstadt, told Carter a certain Southern political leader would endorse him in return for "one last thing." Carter was said to have replied that the leader "can kiss my . . . and you tell him that. I'm through callimg him." The endorsement ultimately came, Shrum said.

Shrum said Carter often used mild profanity in talking privately with the staff.

Concerning the defense budget, Shrum said Carter aides in Atlanta told him that although Carter continued to say in general the defense budget could be cut, he had ordered no references to specific military cuts because an adviser, Paul Nitze, former deputy secretary of defense, had told Carter the military budget might have to be raised $20 billion or $30 billion.

Shrum said he protested, and in a speech in New Kensington, Pa., the Sunday night before the primary, Carter did give a speech that "wasn't specific but he was tough." Later, Shrum said, after he had quit, Carter aides called him, referred to the speech and said it was "Jimmy's way of showing you where he stood."

Concerning Carter's pledge to reorganize the federal bureaucracy by reducing 1,900 agencies to 200, Shrum said, he asked: "Don't we have any examples we can use?" In reply, he said, he was given a magazine article that listed "a number of silly, minor federal enterprises" that could be scratched, including something called the Tea Board. Shrum said he decided it was better to say nothing.

Comparing Carter to McGovern, Shrum said: "If somoene asked George McGovern to be for the Vietnam war, he'd say no. I think if somebody told Jimmy Carter there should be 4,000 agencies rather than 2,000, and it would help him get elected, he'd say, 'Fine.'"

Last Tuesday, the day of the Pennsylvania primary, Shrum said, he wrote Carter's victory statement. "I decided it was good, and that I didn't believe it," he said, and that was when he resigned.

Panel Won't Bar Lotion Containers

United Press International

The Consumer Proudct Safety Commission said yesterday it will not forbid aftershave lotion and similar cosmetics from being packaged in bottles shaped like cars or other toys.

The agency had been petitioned to do so on grounds that children playing with such containers might drink the contents or spill them creating a fire hazard if the liquid were flammable. Cosmetics in such containers have been marketed chiefly by Avon.

William F. Buckley Jr.

God and man in Carter's campaign

The poll tells us that if Senator Humphrey had run in Pennsylvania, he would have achieved one half the vote, well ahead of Carter. Yawn.

In the first place we can't know whether that is true. In the process of running in behalf of oneself, inevitably one runs against somebody else. What Humphrey would have achieved if he had hypothetically run can be very different from what he would have achieved had he actually run.

Senator Humphrey in recent days has all but taken a blood oath to the labor unions, tonsured himself, donned coveralls and lunchbox, and said: "Tell me what to do." It is altogether conceivable that if he had run in his present posture, even in a state as heavily unionized as Pennsylvania, he'd have been rejected. After all, we are talking about the man who lost to McGovern in California, who in turn lost to Nixon in the biggest landslide in history.

An unexamined aspect of the success of McGovern is that his mystery reflects nicely the difficulties Democrats have in being concrete. When a typical Democrat promises full employment without inflation; or full and "free" medical care, the public begins, finally, to sense that it is being trafficked with.

Jimmy Carter is not only less than concrete, he seems to take the position that it is somehow vulgar to be concrete. When he is forced to take a direct stand on an issue — forced, for instance, in front of labor union tribunals to drink to the repeal of 14B — then he appears to be doing so less out of conviction than out of good nature. A matter of indulgence. "If you want to go to the World Series that bad, sonny, why I'll just dig into mah savings and get you a ticket."

Thus, to a black audience, Jimmy Carter announces that he is for school integration. And to a white audience, he says he is against forced busing. In fact the two positions are not always incompatible. In fact, Jimmy Carter hasn't said what is his position in such parts of the United States where the two positions are indeed incompatible. South Boston, for instance.

He would prefer to urge his listeners to believe that under his leadership tensions would dissolve: Why should anybody be mad at anybody else, when Jimmy Carter isn't mad at anybody, and loves us all equally?

I tell you, brothers and sisters, it is a formidable posture. And it is in my judgment, and in the judgment of men more practiced in cynicism (the sharp-eyed, sharp-tongued Richard Reeves, for just one example) entirely sincere, even if it is amorphous.

I happen myself to believe in the coming of the Lord, but I do not believe that the Lord takes an emphatic moral position on 14B, even if I believe that if Jimmy Carter wanted to exclude all but theological arguments, I could make a monkey out of him in a debate on 14B.

It is most commonly assumed that religion is mere incantation. A nice ritual, suitable for baptisms, weddings and funerals, and best delivered by Hallmark. Carter says it in an entirely different context. "In 1967, I had a profound religious experience that changed my life. I accepted Christ into my life."

That, really, is a terrifying statement. And I do not doubt that it is the source of the awe and horror some people are experiencing as Carter heads for the nomination, all but secured by his victory in Pennsylvania. The prospect of a president who would attempt to rule according to the Word is not only anticosmopolitan, it is in the nature of heresy against the commandments of the secular state. Could it be that a President Carter would come out against a particular measure on the grounds that he thought it wrong?

That is the nature of the Carter problem. It is likelier that the system will break him, rather than that he will break the system. It is also quite possible that the general temper of his indulgence would bring him to stress good nature to the breaking point of discipline.

It has been calculated that, while governor, the whole of his administrative indulgences was equal to more than the sum of its parsimonious parts. Promise them simplicity, and a decent austerity, and give them Macy's window.

He will be pressed to the wall in the coming months. but my own guess is that he's going to make it.

THE SUNDAY SUN
BALTIMORE, MD.
MAY 2, 1976
SECTION K •

After Pennsylvania Carter's in the clear

By ADAM CLYMER

Washington.

Eight years ago Tuesday Hubert H. Humphrey was talking about the "politics of joy" and announcing his second run for the White House. Last Tuesday the smile—as it has been almost all year long—was on the face of Jimmy Carter, who drubbed his opponents in Pennsylvania and proved that no one could stop Carter for Humphrey, let alone for Henry M. Jackson.

The former Georgia governor still has some problems, but comparing them to the other candidates' difficulties is like complaining of a hangnail in a cancer ward. That is more or less what Mr. Humphrey, a tear glistening on his cheek, conceded Thursday when he said there was too little time for him to organize a credible run in late primaries. "One thing I don't need at this time in my life is to look ridiculous," he said.

And Morris K. Udall is still running, saying the choice is down to Mr. Carter and himself. But last week he had less than half as many delegates as the Georgian. And if Mr. Udall gets 10 delegates in Texas, Georgia, Alabama, Indiana and the District of Columbia (in primaries yesterday and Tuesday), he will be doing well. Mr. Carter should win well over 100 in those states. All through May Mr. Udall will be trying for only a fraction of the delegates Mr. Carter will seek, and he will be trying without anything like the organization, money, or popular support that Mr. Carter can bring to bear.

Senator Jackson of Washington has withdrawn as an active candidate. Hxs friends in labor could not deliver for him in Pennsylvania. His campaign treasury seems more busted than Mr. Udall's. His earlier talk about using the "open microphone" to get the issues to the people suggested that he planned to seek the presidency by soundtrack.

There are two candidates who haven't lost yet—Senator Frank Church of Idaho and Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr., of California.

Mr. Church's first caucus effort will come tomorrow night in Colorado, and his first primary May 11 in Nebraska. He waited a long time, and his hopes that his intelligence committee's investigation would be a springboard to success don't look very promising.

Mr. Brown's effort is even later and less organized than Mr. Church's, and his youth and inexperience—less than two years as Governor and less in the way of policy stands than Mr. Carter—make him an improbable candidate, however good his first few crowds in Maryland are.

But the big problem for Mr. Church and Mr. Brown is that even if they could bring off an upset victory or two, they got in so late they cannot win many delegates.

And it is delegates, not victories in beauty contest primaries, that win nominations. That is why April 6 was a bad day for Mr. Carter. He got far fewer delegates than either Mr. Udall or Mr. Jackson in the Wisconsin and New York primaries. But last Tuesday, he got 64 to their combined total of 41, and then got more last night in Texas.

His campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, predicts that Mr. Carter will have at least 1,000 delegates after the primaries are completed June 8, That almost certainly means that Mr. Jordan expects at least 1,100. And while Udall aides dispute that estimate, saying the Georgian won't have more than 850 or 900, other key delegate counters in Washington think the expectation quite reasonable.

And getting from 1,000 to 1,505 now may not be as difficult as it seemed even a few days ago. Mr. Humphrey's press conference Thursday really disclosed no change in plans. But by announcing on national television that he was staying out he drew far more attention to the move than he would have if he had simply issued a press release saying he had not changed his plans. And that publicity reduces the hope for Mr. Humphrey as a factor in the campaign, a reason to hold back. It should be easier for Mr. Carter to win over Humphrey-leaning delegates, harder for Humphrey supporters in states yet to vote to get elected.

One of Mr. Carter's main activities in coming weeks will be to telephone delegates. The impact of having a presidential front-runner calling up the Cedar Rapids druggist who was elected as a Shriver backer or the Charleston lawyer who made the delegation uncommitted is yet to be tested, but anyone who has watched Mr. Carter when he wants to be persuasive and charming would not underestimate it.

Still, Mr. Carter is not without problems. He identifies his only real risk as the one of getting overconfident and arrogant, but there are others.

Uncommitted delegates elected from recent caucuses, even in states where he ought to have considerable appeal like Virginia and Missouri, have seemed to be against him, the only candidate actively seeking their support. In both states he did worse than George McGovern did four years ago, and the South Dakotan anti-war candidate certainly fitted neither of those states as well as Mr. Carter does.

Mr. Jordan argues that gradual attrition in caucus states has increased Mr. Carter's share of support from precinct to county to state level. But the attrition, according to Mr. Jordan's own figures, has come more from other candidates than from the uncommitted blocs. In states like South Carolina and Oklahoma the uncommitteds have stayed nearly constant.

Another problem is the softness of support from his voters—something various polls have been regularly reporting. But while those indices give his enemies hope, it should not make them ecstatic. First of all, his support in Pennsylvania was firmer than it had been earlier. Second, even if the voters may be soft, the true believers who signed up as Carter delegates in January when he was still an unknown are going to be firm at the convention.

The image of Mr. Carter as a politician fuzzy on issues may be more of a lingering problem than the others. Concerned by polling data that showed it as a problem, Mr. Carter sought to cope by hiring a traveling speechwriter and issuing more statements. The slow effort to develop position papers is being accelerated, although he still promises full details on tax reform no sooner than January, 1978.

He has really had no bad luck at all in the campaign, unless it was the snowstorm in Massachusetts on primary day: Even the congressional dilly-dallying over reconstituting the Federal Election Commission, which his chief fund-raiser, Morris Dees, Jr., insists is a Washington plot against Mr. Carter, has certainly hurt him less than it hurt Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson.

The general impression at the end of the week here was that only some monumental verbal blunder could trip Mr. Carter. It may well be that voters who were concerned about his waffling on abortion, or bothered by his gaffe on home mortgage interest deductions or his 15 hour turnaround on strip-mine controls, even those angered by "ethnic purity" remark, will be less ready to forgive yet another controversial utterance.

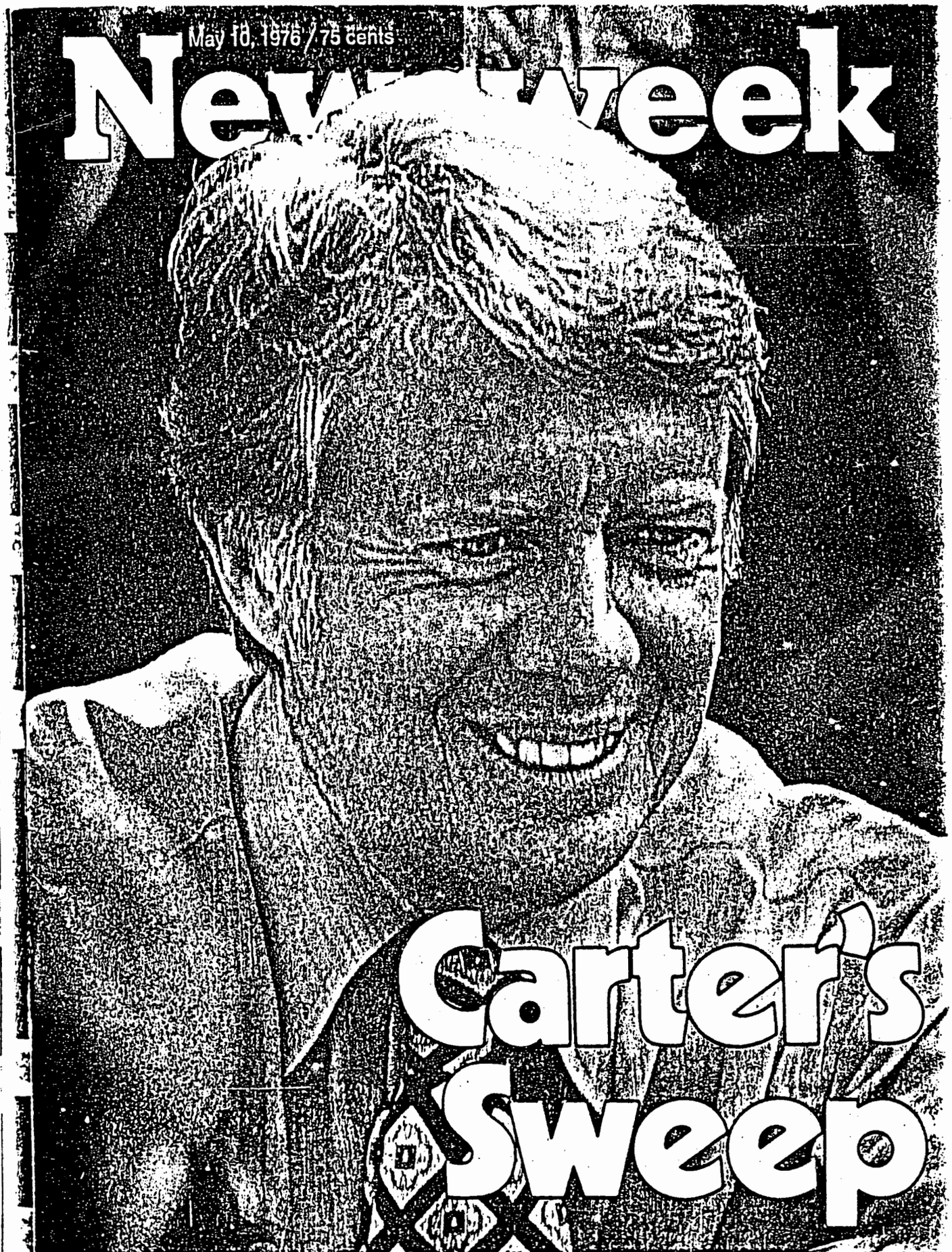
But even if he does say something that many voters dislike, it does not seem that any of the others is in much of a position to take advantage.

As Mr. Jordan put it at a Philadelphia press conference Wednesday:

"It's a long way from 1,000 to 1,500.

"It's a real long way from 500 to 1,500"

Adam Clymer reports on national politics from The Sun's Washington Bureau.



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Newsweek

A Watershed Week

Ronald Reagan cast a long political shadow in the Sun Belt last week: he thoroughly thrashed Gerald Ford in the Texas primary. Texas was conservative soil, and most Republicans had expected Reagan to do well there. But Reagan won all of the state's 96 delegates up for election, a margin of victory that demonstrated that his upset win over Ford in North Carolina six weeks ago was no flash in the pan; it came at the beginning of a series of primaries apparently favorable to Reagan; and it left the President no choice but to shore up his defenses quickly. The odds still ran against Reagan's wresting the nomination from the President, but the lopsided triumph reinvigorated a campaign that was flagging and hard pressed for funds. The challenger believed that his prospects had changed significantly. "It's do-able," he said even before the results were known. "You can sense a turn."

It was a watershed week for both political parties. Reagan reopened the Republican race while Jimmy Carter all but closed the Democratic contest. After Carter's strong victory in the Pennsylvania primary, Hubert Humphrey declared that he would not enter the fray and Sen. Henry Jackson dropped out (following story). That left the Ford people to study the embarrassing dimensions of his Texas defeat, which far surpassed the margin in any previous contested primary. Ford aides attributed the result to a heavy turnout of Wallace Democrats who crossed over to vote in the GOP race—and to the fact that the primary rules had been designed to exaggerate the winner's margin. But none of those factors obscured the humiliation of an incumbent President. Ford was at a banquet in Washington as the polls closed. "I have a great many friends down in Texas—We won't know how many friends for a few hours," he joshed. But hours earlier a state party official flashed the bad news to Ford's Austin headquarters: "You're going to be blown out of the water."

Ford had sensed his vulnerability in Texas well before the primary. For weeks he had watched in increasing anger while Reagan savaged his conservative credentials. "Ever since North Carolina we've been responding to Reagan's issues," said one nettled Ford aide. Ford tried to regain the initiative with four days of energetic campaigning on the eve of the primary. And on the quiet campus of Tyler Junior College in East Texas he delivered his toughest attack yet on Reagan, calling his challenger's proposals "superficial" and "irresponsible." He also cast Reagan as a bad actor who wasn't up to a White House role. "There are no re-takes in the Oval Office," Ford gibed.

But Ford's counteroffensive failed to carry the day with Texas's right-minded Republicans. With Watergate in mind, he avoided mentioning Richard Nixon's name. He used the words "my predecessor" and "President Johnson's successor" so often that reporters finally asked why. "I do it deliberately," he said a bit wanly. "I think it's better for all of us to forget that period." Reagan, meanwhile, hammered away at his favorite themes: the weakness of U.S. defense policy, Henry Kissinger's diplomacy and concessions on the Panama Canal. "It was the scripture according to George Wallace," one Ford aide complained. "He had everything but the accent."

Tests: Reagan's Sun Belt strategy quickly became a trendy political catch phrase. Actually, it was a fallback plan that Reagan devised after failing in his initial strategic goal of knocking Ford out of the race in the early primaries. In outline, the plan called for Reagan to tap a deep well of conservative support in the arc of Southern and Western states that loops from the Atlantic Coast of Georgia through the South and Southwest up through California. His next tests fall this week in Alabama, Georgia and Indiana. Reagan strategist John Sears predicted that Reagan could parlay his Texas victory into a Sun Belt sweep of primary and caucus states that would give him about 950 delegates going into the convention—and put him within angling reach of the 180 additional delegates he would then need to topple Ford.

The contrast between Carter's increasingly solid Democratic front and the increasingly fractious Ford-Reagan fight wasn't lost upon the White House. "The blood bath has started early and I think we are getting very damn close to the precipice where neither Republican can win in November," said one of the President's men gloomily last week. The dramatic Texas results spilled a good deal more Republican blood. It was, in short, a doubly good week for Jimmy Carter.

—TOM MATHEWS with THOMAS M. DeFRANK on the Ford campaign and GERALD C. LUBENOW with Reagan

Reagan at the Alamo; Ford busses Kilgore Rangerette: The ayes of Texas were for Ronnie

UPI

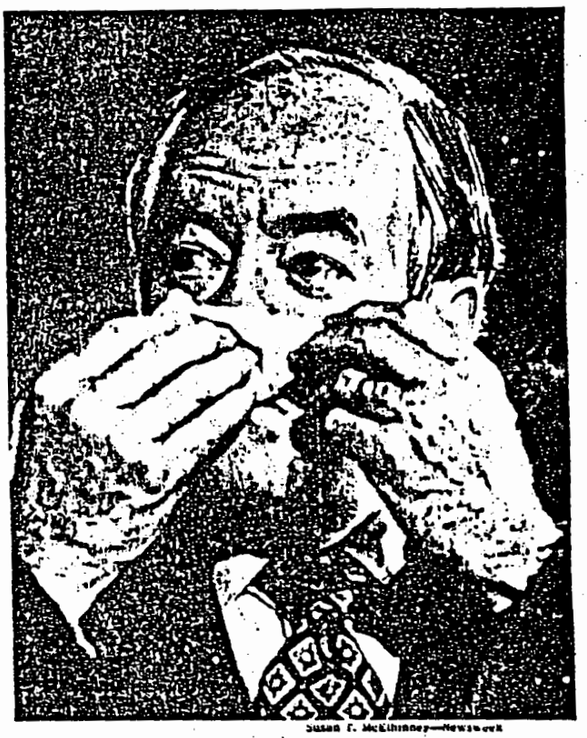


Wally McNamee—Newsweek





Shelly Katz—Black Star



Susan F. McKinney—Newsweek

Carter campaigns in Texas, Humphrey leaves the field: The race-horse sprint had turned into a royal progress

Carter's Sweep

He came farther out of nowhere than any serious Presidential contender since Wendell Willkie in 1940. He started with few known assets beyond a Jaycee grin, a trust-me spiel, a single term as governor of Georgia, and a certain tireless gluttony for the punishments of campaigning. But last week, barely halfway through the primary season, his improbable long march through the wilds of Yankee politics took on the unmistakable glow of a victory parade. He routed his two main active competitors, checkmated Hubert Humphrey into a wet-eyed farewell to Presidential politics—and suddenly Jimmy Carter, the peanut farmer from Plains, stood within smiling distance of the Democratic nomination for President of the United States.

The theater for Carter's triumph was the Pennsylvania primary, and his victory there—his seventh in nine starts—was devastatingly complete. He broke a formidable stop-Carter, start-Humphrey combine organized against him by most of the state's labor and party elite. He whipped Humphrey's unwilling surrogate, Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson, by 12 percentage points (at 37-25) and drove him from the race before the week was out. He left his chief liberal rival, Morris K. Udall, a far-distant third with 19 per cent. He won 64 convention delegates—three times the bag of either of his live challengers. He swept 65 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties, outpolled Jackson even among union families, eroded Udall's hold on the liberal suburbs, won a contested industrial state for the first time ever—and left the chary elders of the Democratic Party wondering whether anyone now could stop Jimmy Carter except Jimmy Carter.

'I THINK IT'S GO'

They had reposed their hopes until last week in Humphrey, scars and all, and for 36 breathless hours after Pennsylvania, they tried to coax him into meeting Carter *mano a mano* in New Jersey's June 8 primary. They nearly did; Humphrey booked the Senate Caucus Room, invited a sizable claque of admirers, and told one of them bare hours in advance: "I think it's go." But by the time he reached the podium, voice thick and eyes tearing up under the TV lights, it was no go—no New Jersey, no authorized draft-Humphrey committee, no active candidacy of any sort. "I'm *around*," he offered, in the flickering hope that the party might yet call him. The spreading view of the party was that it would not—that Humphrey's last hurrah left the Anybody But Carter movement with nobody credible to rally round.

Carter still has not achieved quite all he claimed in the flush of victory last election night—"wiping out every possible obstacle" to his nomination. Udall hung stubbornly on, a potential spoiler in any given primary. Other, newer faces remained to be met and overcome—Frank Church, the star of the Senate CIA inquiry, (page 40), and Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., the lean, young, less-is-better governor of California. The princes of the party and the unions still feel uneasy with Carter, for his inexperience, his antifederalism, his showy godliness—and not least for his independence of them. He remains afflicted by the suspicion, warranted or not, that he is fuzzy or illiberal or both on the issues—a question on which Humphrey promised pointedly to "educate" Carter between now and convention time in July.

Yet the palpable taste of victory spread through the Georgia mafia that had mapped Carter's campaign in prescient detail four years ago (page 28), and it was matched by a mood of resignation in the party. His rivals were in disarray—Jackson quitting, Udall groping for his first real victory, Brown and Church struggling with late starts and low profiles. Carter by contrast had a nearly clear course through the coming primaries, beginning at the weekend in Texas—he beat favorite son Lloyd Bentsen decisively—and acceler-

55



MacKelly—Richmond News-Leader



© Herblock in The Washington Post

'Well, what do you think?'

ating through seven more heats concentrated in the South and Midwest this week and next. Gerald Ford for one, and Mayor Richard Daley for another, counted him nearly unbeatable. So did much of his party. "All he has to do now," grouched one senior Democrat, "is go around and smile."

Much more than that remains to be done. Carter's game plan requires that he come out of the primary season with at least 1,000 of the 1,505 delegates required for the nomination. He counted no more than 420 solid after Pennsylvania last week; he repaired from Philadelphia to Plains to mobilize an active mail-and-telephone courtship of labor and party leaders—Daley was among the first—and of uncommitted and wavery delegates. But it was a measure of his and his people's serenity that they have already begun thinking past the nominating process toward autumn—and beyond. They have started forming what one Carter staffer called "a shadow government" of high-watt thinkers to pit against Ford. And they are cranking up a "possibles list" for Vice President, with Senators Walter F. Mondale and John Glenn and House Judiciary chairman Peter W. Rodino in the available talent pool.

THE HHH TURKEY SHOOT

The man who might have altered the flow of events was Hubert Humphrey, and the temptations held out to him in his hour of decision last week were powerful. He was, it was argued, electably high in the polls and the favorite of the party; he could beat Carter in New Jersey; he could check the drift of delegates to Carter merely by announcing. But the tugs against running were equally strong. There was no organization or battle plan, and precious little time—44 hours between the closing of the polls in Pennsylvania and the filing deadline in New Jersey. And there was the painful suspicion that Humphrey's attraction lay partly in his distance from the fray. "It's like a turkey shoot," he told one friend recently. "As long as I keep my head down below the log, I'm the prize of the day—nobody ever saw a finer bird. But as soon as I lift my head up, some son of a bitch is going to shoot it off."

This last time, the Happy Warrior had no stomach for the game; he gambled instead on letting the nomination come to him, and in the end he lost. His long career in national politics had been a train of humiliations—three failed runs for President, four years as Lyndon Johnson's obedient servant—and his capacity for pain at 64 no longer matched his

PROPHETIC

A few days after the 1972 Presidential election, Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter was presented with a 70-page memorandum laying out a blueprint for winning the 1976 Democratic nomination. Written mostly by Hamilton Jordan, then Carter's executive secretary and now his campaign director, the memo has since been carried out with faithfulness by Carter, Jordan, 31, press secretary Jody Powell, 32, pollster Patrick Caddell, 25, and media consultant Jerry Rafshoon, 42. Last week, NEWSWEEK'S *Eleanor Clift, who has been covering Carter's campaign since November, obtained a copy of the document. Her exclusive report:*

As Jordan saw it, 1976 could be a very good year for Jimmy Carter. With the end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, he reasoned, domestic problems would replace foreign affairs as America's main concern, opening the way for "a highly successful and concerned former governor of Georgia and peanut farmer." Furthermore, Richard Nixon's re-election had failed to quench the nation's "thirst for strong moral leadership." This thirst, Jordan somewhat presciently predicted, "will grow in four more years of the Nixon Administration." But to capitalize on these trends, Carter needed a public persona. At the 1972 Democratic convention, Jordan recalled, "I learned how naïve we all have been about national politics, particularly as relates to you and your image. It was my feeling that because you had appeared on the cover of Time and had been the object of favorable national press, that you were in fact a 'national political figure'." Instead, Carter had been merely "one of several bright and promising young governors."

In his favor, Carter had "the Kennedy smile" and the George Wallace populism, without Wallace's racist reputation. "What he does not have is much depth to his image," warned adman Rafshoon, who participated in the early skull sessions. "It will take more than hand-shaking and the projection of 'I understand the problems of the average man' image to put Carter over . . . He will also have to convince press, public and politicians that he knows how to run a government." Rafshoon and Jordan accordingly mapped out the next four years. In 1973, Carter was to be "projected as the heaviest of the governors in accomplishments" and in 1974 "as a leader in the Democratic Party and someone involved in bringing it back." By 1975 he was to be a

GAME PLAN

"heavyweight thinker, leader in the party who had some ideas for running the country." The plan for 1976: "Carter—a Presidential candidate."

The education of Jimmy Carter was to begin at once. Carter was to read The New York Times, Washington Post and Wall Street Journal every day, to write a book (it would be called, "Why Not the Best?") and to learn to read from a prepared text, something he still does poorly. He would study foreign affairs under former Secretary of State Dean Rusk (tainted by Vietnam, Rusk soon faded from the Carter faculty) and meet foreign leaders on trade missions to Japan, Israel, South America and Europe. Jordan also drew up a list of issues on which Carter would need task forces and briefings. "We took a Dictaphone and taped a framework on every issue from A to Z," Carter issues director Stu Eizenstadt remembered last week. "We started with A—abortion, B—busing, and went through about 40 issues."

Press: The appreciation of Jimmy Carter was also programmed. "It is necessary that we begin immediately to generate favorable stories and comments in the national press," Jordan wrote. "Stories in The New York Times and Washington Post don't just happen, but have to be carefully planned and planted." The theme was to be the revitalization of state government, with "your own political plans a secondary consideration."

Carter was to "compile a list of regional and national political editors and columnists who you know or need to know. You can find ample excuse for contacting them—writing them a note complimenting them on an article or column and asking that they come to see you when convenient." Jordan suggested that Carter cultivate Times columnist Tom Wicker and Washington Post publisher Katharine Graham, among others. Such media heavies "are significant enough to spend an evening or leisurely weekend with," he observed. Luckily for Carter, Jordan noted, "a disproportionate number of these opinion-makers are Southerners by birth and tradition . . . they would be fascinated by the prospect of your candidacy."

No less important was laying the groundwork for the primaries. Studying the timetable, Jordan realized that New Hampshire and Florida offered unique opportunities for Carter to take an early lead. "Your farmer, businessman, military, religious, conservative background would be well received" in New Hampshire, Jordan wrote. "It is not too early to begin to make some contacts with people there and be looking for an appropriate opportunity to make a major speech . . . We need to begin thinking NOW about party rules vis-à-vis primary states and your own effort. It is here that the nomination will be won or lost." After a victory in a medium-size state, such as Wisconsin, Jordan advised, "select one of the large industrial and traditional Democratic states which has an early primary to confront all major opposition and establish yourself as a major candidate." Pennsylvania or Ohio, said Jordan, would do nicely.





Jordan also assessed his man's likely opposition. He assumed that Sen. Edward Kennedy would be Carter's most potent rival. Still, Jordan wrote, "Kennedy would like to see someone from the South other than Wallace make a national effort." Jordan's advice: an early discussion with Kennedy about his '76 intentions; Carter sat down with Teddy the day he announced. The briefing paper also warned Carter against continuing to praise Sen. Henry Jackson. "I suspect that you are very compatible and comfortable with his positions on the key issues facing this nation," Jordan said. "You should be cautious to do nothing that might encourage him to run and make it plain that you have plans yourself." As for Wallace, Jordan speculated—but was not hopeful—"that you might gain his support if he saw in your candidacy an extension and continuation of his earlier efforts."

29,000 Friends: Jordan's 1972 game plan was followed in August 1974 by another memo, outlining Carter's plans to go public—he should send letters to 14,000 "Georgia friends" and 15,000 "national friends"—and noting that they had to "learn to focus on the fund-raising aspect of our campaign." When he formally announced his candidacy, Jordan said, Carter should adopt a "learning posture . . . you don't pretend to . . . know everything and that a major aspect of your campaign will be to travel the country . . . and learn." Jordan also urged Carter to repeat his gubernatorial pledge not to compromise his principles to get elected. "Most men who seek this country's highest office are so consumed by their ambition that they will do anything to be elected," Jordan wrote. "You have to attempt to separate yourself from this stereotype of the ambitious candidate who lacks commitment to anything, and establish yourself as a man of integrity."

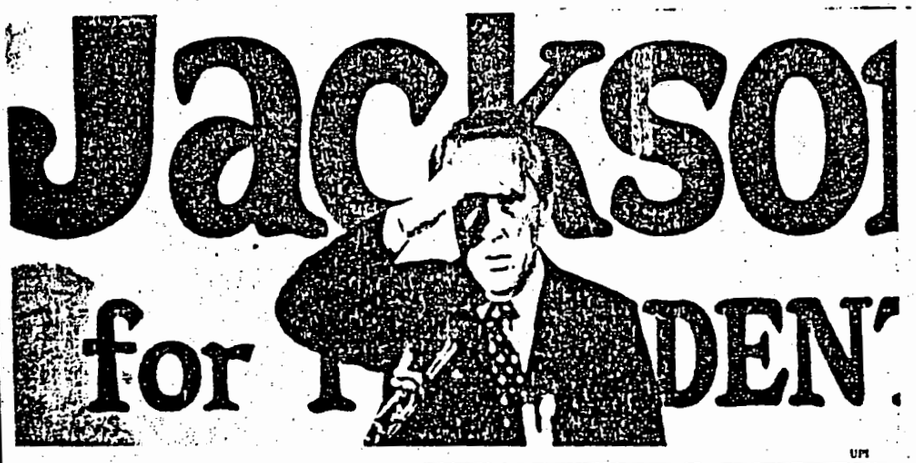


Photos by Hubert B. McElroy—Newsweek

Strategists Jordan (clockwise, upper left), Powell, Cadell: Blueprint for winning the nomination

44

Jackson for PRESIDEN



UPI

Jackson: Victim of grayout

appetite for power. Running meant begging, for support and money, and he told one friend early on: "I'm not going to be a supplicant ever again." It meant raking up bad memories: Chicago 1968, the war in Vietnam, the milk-fund scandal that entangled his sometime campaign manager Jack Chestnut. It meant going against his wife Muriel's wishes. "Humphrey, if you go, you go without me," she had told him some months ago, and again: "There's a lot of life left in both of us. Why do we have to use it up in a campaign?"

And still he almost allowed himself to be talked in one more time. He was at a private screening of the Woodward-Bernstein film "All the President's Men" on election night, and did not see the returns till afterward. The depth of Carter's victory caught him off guard; he had privately predicted no more than a 7-point margin for the governor in the preferential vote, and an offsetting win for Jackson in the delegate contest. The news at once intensified the pressure on him to move, and narrowed his maneuvering room. He had scheduled a contingency breakfast next morning with the prospective leaders of an uncommitted-for-Humphrey delegate movement in New Jersey, among them Rodino, Sen. Harrison Williams and state chairman James Dugan. But the papers got wind of the rendezvous, and it was called off.



Peter Marcus

Humphrey back on the farm, Udall still on the trail: It seemed only Carter could stop Carter

HAWKS AND DOVES

Humphrey instead went off to a closed-door Senate subcommittee session, plainly enjoying the suspense, the attention—and the refuge from his jangling telephone. When he emerged, an aide poked a sheaf of yellow call slips into his hand, with one from party chairman Robert Strauss at the top of the pack. Strauss, as it developed, was a dove, but the two men didn't make connections until long hours later; by then the hawks among Humphrey's people were in full flight, urging him to challenge Carter openly in New Jersey—or bid his last chance for the nomination goodbye. Rodino telephoned, full of kindnesses for Humphrey ("You know I love you, I think you're great") and forebodings about how he would look hiding behind an uncommitted slate. "After all we've been through with Watergate and all," he said, "I don't want to be a part of something that isn't what it says it is . . . Hubert, I'm going to have to resign."

The meter was running and the mood was go when Humphrey convened a late-afternoon council of ten of his trustiest advisers—among them Senator Mondale and an aide, Dick Moe; businessman Robert Short, who had been nagging Humphrey for weeks to authorize a formal draft committee; Joseph Crangle, the streety Buffalo, N.Y., political boss who was available to run it, and Max Kampelman, an old lawyer chum. As they spoke, Humphrey fingered two documents on the desk before him. One was a poll purporting to show him leading Carter by a dazzling 62-16 among New Jersey Democrats. The other was the filing form required to enter him in the primary by the 4 p.m. deadline next day; a General Electric lobbyist pal was standing by outside the door to fly it to Trenton on a signal from Humphrey.

'WHATEVER YOU DO IS FINE'

The dominant mood was bullish. The discussion came down to two questions, whether Humphrey really had a chance—and whether any of the others would seize it if they were he. Only Mondale's man Moe and Tom Kelm, an aide to Minnesota's Gov. Wendell Anderson, voted no on both scores; they argued that Humphrey had neither the money nor the organization to make the race even in New Jersey, and that he could not stop there—he would be drawn into other states as well. But the rest were positive, and Humphrey himself seemed to catch the spark when an aide passed him a note phoned in by Muriel. Humphrey unfolded it and read: "Whatever you do is fine with me."

Still, Humphrey let the talk flow on for two and a half hours, then adjourned the meeting without a decision and went home to counsel with his family. He rehearsed the pluses and minuses for Muriel at such inconclusive length that she finally protested: "Humphrey!! where is the computer?! You politicians are behind the times." He phoned his three sons and their wives, who were not enthusiastic, and his daugh-

Andrew Schneider



ter, who was. He finally got through at midnight to Strauss, who was in Dallas sweating out an exploratory operation on his wife. "Hubert," the chairman counseled, "I don't think my values have ever been better than they are at midnight in a hospital room . . . If I were you, I'd be exceedingly cautious before I jumped."

Humphrey turned in undecided and woke up bullish, a glow that seemed to spread as he watched himself being wanted on the morning news. "I think it's go-ahead," he told Illinois's Rep. Paul Simon, a draft-Humphrey leader in the House, and asked him to round up some of the troops for the announcement. He tried out the idea by phone on Scoop Jackson, who retorted that he would stay in the race anyway, and on Mo Udall, who reckoned that anything Humphrey did would be okay with him. He had polled chauffeur Perry Spriggs, who said go—"I guess." He sounded his son-in-law, Bruce Solomonson, who answered by asking Humphrey point-blank how much he really wanted to be President. "I want to be," replied Humphrey. "But not at any price and not at any risk."

TOO MANY SCRAMBLES

Humphrey's resolve seemed to melt away thereafter: the price of begging and the risk of humiliation were simply too high. At his office, he ordered up a transcript of a recent TV interview with Bill Moyers and read a fragment to a staffer: "I've asked too many people to help me too long. I've scrambled too many times. I don't have to do that now." Around noon, a scant hour and a half before air time, Muriel called to report that she too had been canvassing friends and that they were "pretty down on the idea—for both of us." He responded that he had about made up his mind—"I'm not going to go."

"That's just fine, Dad," Muriel told him in manifest relief. ". . . You're doing the right thing."

A last glimmer of hope seemed to take him when he put in his last call, to the AFL-CIO's George Meany, sitting in a penumbra of cigar ash in his office. "Well, Hubert, what are you going to do?" Meany rasped. The senator, noncommittal, asked what Meany would do—whether, for example, he could swing his executive board behind a Humphrey candidacy. Meany said he couldn't. They chatted for a while, then hung up. "Hubert says he hasn't made up his mind," Meany told an aide. "That means he's not going to run."

Meany was right: Humphrey had done his own totting up of the returns in his informal canvass, and had concluded that there was no percentage in taking the plunge. He was struck particularly by the number of friends who urged him to run, but turned equivocal when asked what *they* would do in his shoes. "At least half of them would say, 'Well, that's difficult'," he recounted, "or would indicate that if they were me, they wouldn't do it." He worried about his position in the Senate—he would have to give it up to run—and his chances to be Majority Leader. He was concerned for his family's misgivings. He fretted at how his late entry would look, given the odds against it. "Even if I had won New Jersey and everything went well," he said, "I would have gone in with 600 delegates, 650 maximum, and Carter would have had 900 or 1,000. It would have been 'Humphrey belatedly . . .' and 'Humphrey contentiously . . .'"

So he settled on "Humphrey gracefully . . .," composing a short statement closing down his shadow candidacy. He tried it out on a few friends—Paul Simon said it would be fine "if you would drop the word 'not' from it"—and then marched into the Caucus Room, Muriel wan and shiny-eyed at his side. The setting encouraged the belief that he would run, two Kennedys and Lyndon Johnson having announced their candidacies there, and Simon's stacked gallery sat waiting to stand up cheering. It never came. "I shall not enter the New Jersey primary," Humphrey said hoarsely, "nor shall I authorize any committee or committees to solicit funds or to work in my behalf. . . If my party should need me, or if perchance, which I think is unlikely, should nominate me, I am ready and prepared to serve."

He did urge all the active candidates to stay active—a last, wistful invitation to the deadlock he would need to ignite a draft—and he promised to scold Carter into sharpening his stands on the issues. But he had neither time, money nor organization enough for a serious campaign, he said, and no taste for a reprise of the torments of the past. "One thing I don't need at this stage in my life," he said, "is to be ridiculous."

END OF THE ROAD

The news brought a brief flutter of hope to Scoop Jackson, who had labored in ill-tempered silence under his image as Humphrey's stalking-horse in Pennsylvania. The affiliation did bring with it the backing of the state party, most of the old-line labor leadership and the normally warring Philadelphia city machines headed by Mayor Frank Rizzo and Democratic chairman Peter Camiel. But Jackson was badly compromised by their open preference for Humphrey and his own role as front man for the stop-Carter crowd—an issue Carter exploited to brilliant advantage. The Jackson campaign, once the heavy favorite, simply grayed out in the last days, and died broke on election night. The senator had just settled into an easy chair in his Philadelphia hotel suite when the networks awarded Carter the victory minutes after the polls closed. "My God," said an astonished Jackson, "they haven't even counted any *votes* yet."

He did limp on for a day or two longer, conceding sourly through one senior aide that he had "lost the smiling contest" to Carter and announcing that he



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Susan T. McKibbney—Newsweek

Veepstakes: Potential running mates for Carter included Mondale (above), Rodino and Glenn

WHERE CARTER STANDS ON THE ISSUES

From the moment Jimmy Carter claimed the Democratic lead, he has been accused of "fuzziness" on the issues. To counter that charge, Carter has lately put out a series of position papers. Below, his stands on some major issues, drawn from those papers, recent speeches and interviews:

THE ECONOMY

"Our single most important national priority must be a job for every American who wants to work," Carter says. Through various subsidies and taxes, the Federal government should encourage private industry to hire the unemployed, retain workers during cyclical downturns and provide flexible hours for working mothers. Carter wants the government to create "meaningful public jobs in the cities and neighborhoods of the unemployed"; these could include repair of the railroads, completion of mass-transit systems and caring for retarded children, alcoholics and drug addicts.

Carter maintains that a jobs program would not revive inflation, "because our economy is presently performing so far under capacity" and because the cost would not be significantly higher than current expenditures for welfare and unemployment. To hold down inflation, Carter would closely monitor the prices of raw materials; he also recommends stand-by wage-and-price controls that "the President can apply selectively."

The President should also strengthen his control over interest rates and the money supply by being able to pick "his own chairman" of the Federal Reserve Board (the Fed chairman now has a four-year term that overlaps the President's). At the same time, the President should initiate long-range economic planning through three-year budgets. "With a progressively managed economy," Carter says, "we can attain a balanced budget within the context of full employment by 1979."

TAX REFORM

Carter favors a vastly simplified tax system that eliminates most deductions and treats all personal income alike. He would also modify corporate taxes to discourage U.S. businesses from moving plants—and jobs—abroad.

FOREIGN POLICY

Carter supports détente with the Soviet Union and China, but feels that results so far "have been basically negative for this country" and that the U.S. has been "out-traded" by the Soviets in Helsinki, in Vladivostok and in the wheat deal.

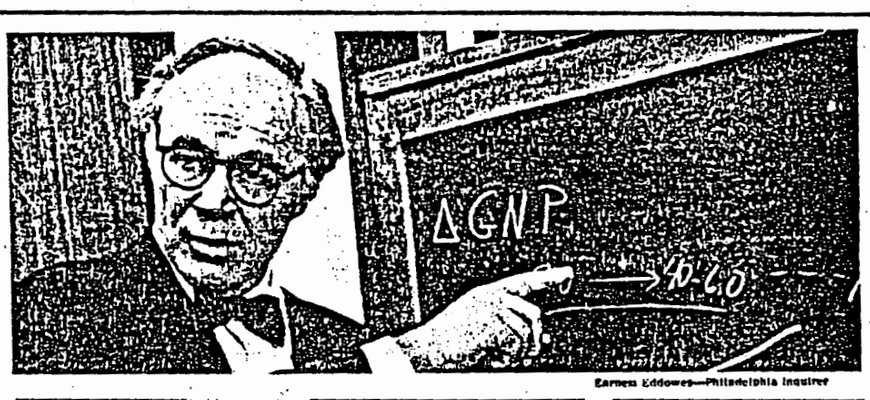
The U.S.'s first priorities, says Carter, should be "our friends and allies": Japan, Western Europe, Israel. He does not want to "close the door to Communist leaders in Italy . . . should they be successful." He believes that "ultimately the legitimate interests of the Palestinians are going to have to be recognized" and suggests that they might be resettled on the West Bank, preferably under Jordan's sovereignty. But the U.S. should recognize a Palestinian state only if the Palestinians affirm Israel's right to survive, Carter says, and Israel must retain its 1967 territories until both the Arab nations and the Soviet Union guarantee Israel's security.

Carter believes that arms sales to the world's developing nations should be "drastically" reduced, and ultimately the world's atomic powers should agree to abolish their nuclear weapons. The U.S. defense budget could be cut by $5 billion to $8 billion, Carter says, and most U.S. troops in Korea, Thailand and the Philippines should be withdrawn. Over a period of years, the NATO countries should assume more responsibility for the defense of Western Europe.

Concerning the Panama Canal, a recent campaign issue among conservative voters, Carter believes "we've got to retain that actual practical control," but could "yield part of the sovereignty" over the Canal Zone and renegotiate U.S. payments to Panama. He would use his own Spanish-speaking family as diplomats especially in Latin America. There is "no way" that he would keep Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State, Carter says, but he might call on him for specific negotiations.

ENERGY

The first priorities of a new national program to develop energy sources should be coal and solar power. Carter believes "our excessive emphasis" on atomic power "should be severely reduced and converted to a long-term, possibly multinational effort." Total energy independence is "unlikely" in this century, Carter concedes, but there should be a "heavy emphasis on conservation"—unnecessary electrical power plants should not be built, rates should be restructured to help discourage consumption, automobiles and appliances should meet minimum efficiency standards. If such measures fail, Carter says, "stand-by excise taxes should be available to the President for selective imposition on petro-









Bernard Gotfryd—Newsweek

Photos by Bill Wilson

Brain trust: Wharton economist Lawrence Klein (above), foreign-policy expert Zbigniew Brzezinski (left); Atlanta mentors Rep. Andrew Young and lawyer Charles Kirbo

leum products," and the Administration should ration oil to the individual states.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Although he favors national health insurance as "a top priority," Carter has not endorsed any specific proposals—and he has not spelled out many details about his other social-service reforms. He does support a "major overhaul" of revenue-sharing that would allow the money to be funneled directly into cities and local communities, and to be spent for education; he would also secure more attention for education by creating a separate Department of Education within the Cabinet.

As for welfare, Carter proposes an "adequate, fairly uniform, nationwide" allocation of benefits, paid out by the Federal and the state governments—not by the cities. Benefits in some cities would probably drop under Carter's plan, as no one on welfare "should receive more than the working poor can earn at their jobs."

NEW YORK CITY

Washington's limited loan support for financially troubled New York City, Carter says, set "an unmanageable precedent" and encouraged urban fiscal irresponsibility. His own solution would have been to guarantee the state's "fiscal integrity," after both state and city had taken "corrective action" to ensure a balanced budget. As President, Carter vows, he would study the creation of a Federal Municipalities Securities Insurance Corp. that would help cities market their bonds at lower interest rates.

BIG GOVERNMENT

"The first piece of legislation I will send to Congress," Carter promises, "will initiate a complete overhaul of our Federal bureaucracy and budgeting systems"; the second would "initiate the reorganization of our Federal bureaucratic structure." Carter would require from-the-ground-up budgeting in each section of the bureaucracy—and would reduce the present 1,900 departments to no more than 200—"with a great savings in tax money and a streamlining of services."

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Carter proposes that the U.S. Attorney General be "removed from politics" so that the Justice Department could carry out impartially the same functions as the Watergate special prosecutor. The A.G. should be appointed for a specific period of time and be removed from office "only for malfeasance, as mutually determined by the President and designated leaders of Congress."

DEATH PENALTY

The death penalty, Carter believes, should be retained for a few specific crimes, such as murder committed by an individual who is already serving a life sentence. In each case, the death penalty must be imposed by a jury and reviewed by a three-judge panel of a state's Supreme Court.

ABORTION

His position on abortion has "been the same for the past four or five years," Carter maintains. He believes that abortion is wrong, and that the government should try to minimize it by subsidizing better sex education, family planning and adoption procedures. At the same time, Carter opposes a constitutional amendment that would return the matter to the states.

BUSING

"We have tried mandatory busing in Atlanta," says the former Georgia governor. "It did not work." Instead Carter favors a plan, implemented during his administration, under which no child is bused against his or her will, any child who wants it is bused at public expense, and black leaders are involved at all levels. But if Federal courts insist on busing, says Carter, "I will support the court. This is not the subject to be reopened with a constitutional amendment."

AMNESTY

As President, Carter says, he would issue a "blanket pardon" for all the Vietnam draft evaders. "Amnesty says what you did was right," Carter explains. "Pardon says whether what you did was right or wrong, you are forgiven for it."

would skin back to an issue-oriented media campaign. But he was "mortally wounded" even then, another Jackson man confessed, and at the weekend he flew home to Washington State to declare an end to his "active pursuit" of the Democratic nomination—a legal device for folding his hand without jeopardizing the Federal campaign subsidies still due him.

The moment was plainly a painful one for the senator, who had invested two years and $6 million in what had turned out to be a lost cause. He could not quite let go; he insisted that the race was still open, despite Carter's "commanding lead," and that he was still a candidate. But Jackson acknowledged that he is out of money—the Federal funds currently in the pipeline were said to be only just enough to pay off his Pennsylvania debts—and low on hope as well. "I gave this campaign everything I had," he said, "and I believe I ran a good campaign for a good long time. But I am a realist . . . I lost the Pennsylvania primary. I do not have the resources to continue."

The spill of dominoes thus left only Udall standing among



Andrew Schneider

Eastern debut: Brown talks 'planetary realism' in Maryland

Carter's serious adversaries, and his campaign was running on borrowed time and money. It was the mark of his situation that his band, on election night, struck up "After the Ball Was Over"; his effort in Pennsylvania was outspent by Carter, outmanned by Jackson and vastly overmatched by both of them. "I still refuse to go to the cemetery," he told reporters at a testy press conference the morning after, and a series of five-minute network fund appeals did bring in enough cash to rehire a chartered plane and keep Udall going at least as far as his next target primaries in Michigan and Maryland on May 18.

But the campaign had a doom-haunted look; some of Udall's own backers despaired of his winning there or anywhere else, and urged him on instead for whatever liberal leverage he could exert on Carter. Udall's campaign IOU's stood at $300,000, including a $30,000 personal note of his own. He was still laboring under a severe name-recognition problem; a bemused woman voter watched him gulp down several raw oysters and a Polish sausage in Baltimore's Lexington Market last week, then asked a

bystander: "U-d-a-l-l—how do you pronounce that? What's he running for?" And he desperately needed to win *something* on May 18 simply to survive. "The money will be gone," said a senior adviser, "and if we're beaten then, something will have to give."

And suddenly, Carter held the high ground alone, utterly unsurprised at his eminence—and just a shade wistful that Humphrey had decided not to challenge it after all. Carter had accurately marked off Pennsylvania as the last real proving ground for his Jimmy-come-lately dash through the Democratic primaries, and his road-based victory there was a chastening one for all the clubhouse and union-hall professionals allied against him. He had both challenged and broken their influence over the nominating process with his politics of amazing grace, and when the returns were in, he told them quite bluntly that he didn't need them. "I have not dealt with the political bosses," Carter said in the aftermath. "I've gone openly and aggressively to the people of this nation . . . I don't think anybody can come between me and the voters of this nation."

'THE SPIRIT OF '76'

There were still dragons left for St. Jimmy to slay—Church in Nebraska, Udall in Michigan, Jerry Brown in Maryland and California. Brown particularly made a splashy debut in national politics last week, stumping Maryland with his Zen-flavored summons to "planetary realism" and leaving a trail of SRO crowds, swooning coeds and impressed politicians in his wake. "He's the spirit of '76!" gushed a Republican matron who turned up at a Brown reception in Baltimore. But his position weakened perceptibly during the week when some of the closet Humphrey pols among his local sponsors began deserting after their man's withdrawal. Carter's people in any case rated none of the survivors—Brown included—as anything more than what one staffer called "minor irritants . . . People can single-shot us," he went on, "but we're in a position now where we can afford to be tripped up in one or two."

Carter has in fact already begun dialing down from a race-horse sprint to something nearer a royal progress—a phase-two mode whose principal objects are courting delegates, making peace with the party, and regearing from primary to Presidential politics. His breakneck travels accordingly will be cut down from six days a week to four and a half, freeing up time for rest, diplomacy and immersion in the issues he will need to know as the nominee apparent. His people have already begun assembling policy task forces, among them one on economics headed by the University of Pennsylvania's Lawrence Klein and another on world affairs starring such old State and Pentagon hands as Zbigniew Brzezinski, Cyrus Vance, Paul Warnke and Paul Nitze. Their purpose is partly the education of the candidate—and partly, as staff issues man Stu Eizenstadt cheerfully put it, "to begin building a government."

Carter's further task, as he put it on election night, was "tying back together all the elements of the party"—and in the process putting together the first-ballot victory he now dares hope is within his reach. The first returns after his coup in Pennsylvania and Humphrey's withdrawal were encouraging: Daley spoke kindly of him, New Jersey's Gov. Brendan Byrne endorsed him, the UAW's Leonard Woodcock edged his way, and even Philadelphia's party boss Camiel promised in defeat to pitch in. Carter himself held back from contacting Jackson or Udall just yet—"It would be in bad taste," said an aide—and was unable to get through to Humphrey immediately. Neither did he feel obliged to bargain or beg. "Politicians," said adviser William vanden Heuvel, "want to be with a winner."

But Carter did repair to the telephone to start wooing anyway, and his staff backed him up with mailings to delegates and party leaders around the nation—a packet conspicuously including three national polls suggesting that Carter could beat Gerald Ford. With the suspense largely out of the pursuit, his operatives plan for PR purposes to start publishing their once closely held delegate counts every week—"sort of like a ball game," said press secretary Jody Powell. The Veepstakes gave Carter a substantial further chip to play, for public effect and private flattery. One senior Carter hand flatly ruled out the Washington betting favorite, Illinois Sen. Adlai Stevenson III, for all his nostalgic name, his big-state base and his connection with Mayor Daley. The Carter people instead allowed the gossip to feed on names like Ohio's Glenn and New Jersey's Rodino, who could help in the last-round primaries, and on Minnesota's Mondale, whose nomination might finally propitiate Hubert Humphrey.

Carter himself was looking still further down the road toward the autumn campaign—and rehearsing for it with his sharpest assault yet on Gerald Ford. His adrenalin, suddenly quiescent after the week's victories, was set flowing again when Ford awarded him the nomination in one breath and twitted him for his inexperience in the next. Carter came into Austin, Texas, feeling stung ("He ought to lay off me") and bristling for combat. "Anything you don't like about Washington, you blame it on President Ford," he told a cheering crowd in the Statehouse. "He's slept alongside the issues. They haven't bothered him. . . . At this point the country's drifting because there's no leadership. We don't need a caretaker in the White House, but that's what we've got."



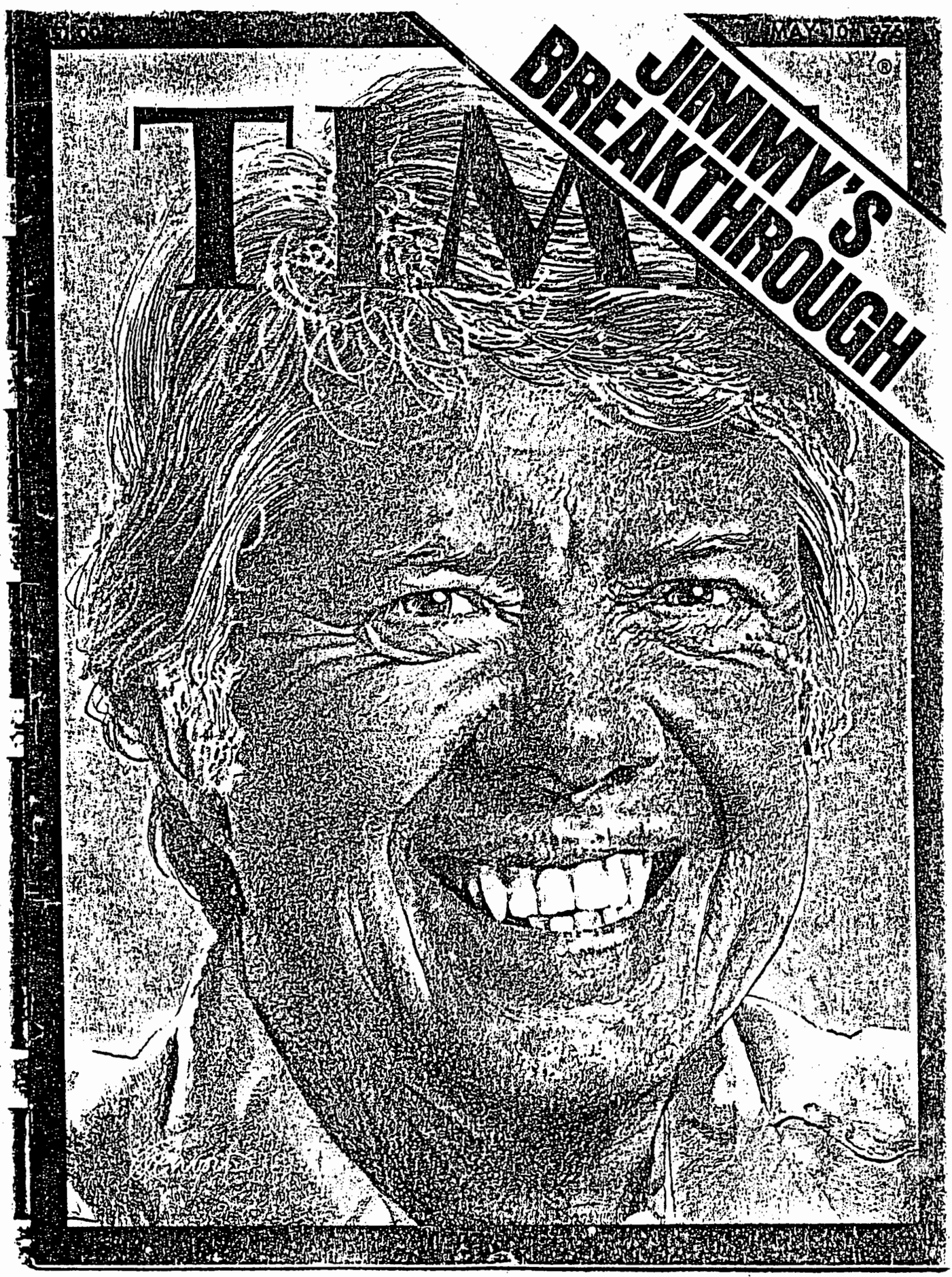
Robert R. McElroy—Newsweek

The Carters: 'Nobody can come between me and the voters'

'HAIL TO THE CHIEF'

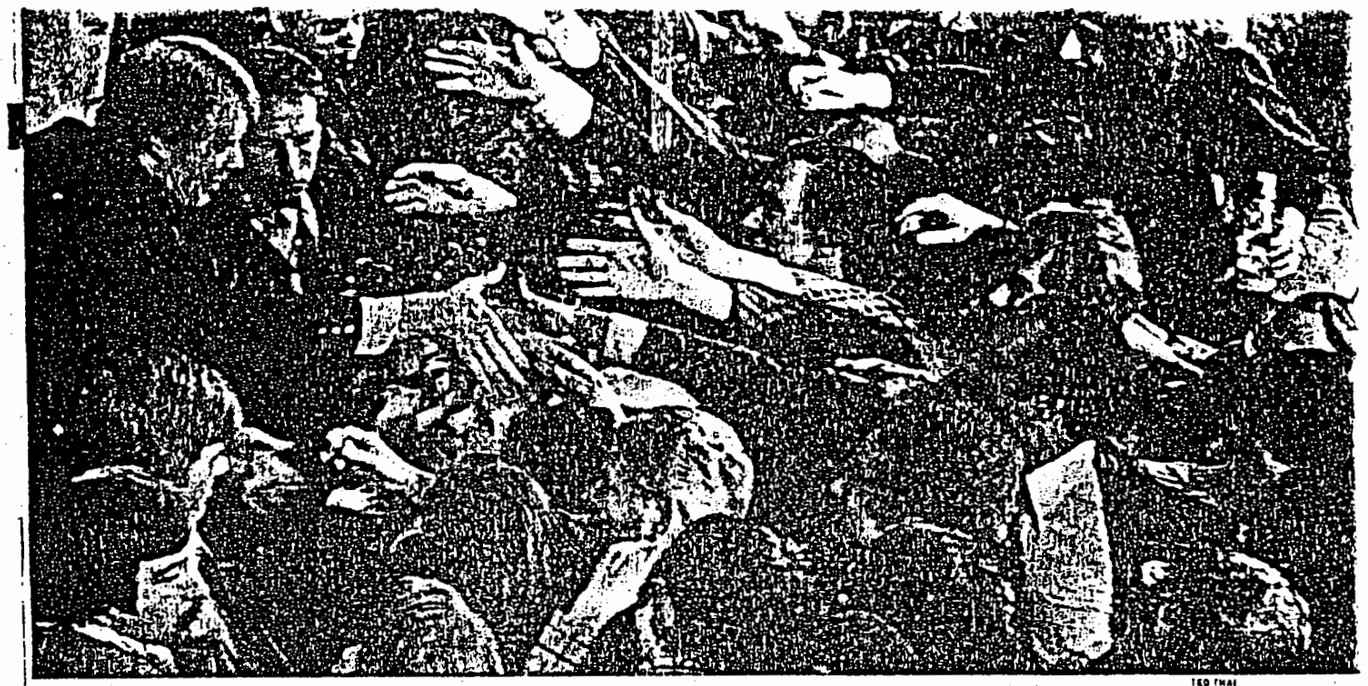
Carter remains an unacquired taste for the elders of his own party. Republicans were ironically less resistant to seeing him for what he has now proven himself to be—a gifted politician with a fresh face, an anti-Establishment touch, a solid home base in the South, and a weatherman's sense of which way the winds are blowing in the politics of 1976. The Democratic power elite were rather more suspicious, given his distance from them and their disaffection for him. Carter, having moved within reach of the nomination, now must persuade his party that he is worthy of it. But the party after Pennsylvania was equally obliged to learn to live with Jimmy Carter. When he arrived at Alabama's Birmingham Southern College for a speech last week, the band struck up "Hail to the Chief"—and no one was laughing at the peanut farmer from Plains any more.

—PETER GOLDMAN with ELEANOR CLIFT on the Carter campaign and JAMES DOYLE, JOHN J. LINDSAY, HAL BRUNO and TONY FULLER in Washington



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DEMOCRATS/COVER STORIES

Jimmy Carter's Big Breakthrough

The 1976 script called for the longest, most grueling run of Democratic primaries and caucuses in U.S. history. In an effort to make the selection system more open, the Democrats had rewritten their ground rules for campaigning and Congress drastically tightened the laws on financing. Nearly a dozen serious candidates, some household names and others almost unknown, had formally entered the fray. On the sidelines hovered two of the party's most formidable figures. According to all the conventional wisdom, the process was going to be a marathon shambles, producing nearly five months of furious activity but probably settling nothing.

Suddenly, only a third of the way through the obstacle course, the race was all but over. Starting out 17 months ago with no national political base, name recognition or backing from powerful interest groups, onetime Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter had carved out on his own a broad constituency of small-town and rural voters, blue-collar ethnics, white-collar suburbanites, inner-city blacks. Week after week, winning primaries in the North, South and Midwest, he steadily thinned the ranks of his rivals. Last week by triumphing decisively and against formidable odds in Pennsylvania's pivotal primary, he all but crushed his remaining opposition, including Democratic Senior Statesman Hubert Humphrey.

The votes had hardly been counted when James Earl Carter Jr., one of the most phenomenal politicians to rise on the American political scene in this century, was talking about what kind of a President he would be. In an interview last week, he mused to TIME Correspondent Dean E. Fischer: "Most of my attitude toward Government is very aggressive. I wouldn't be a quiescent or a timid President."

Then he talked about his heroes. "My favorite modern President is Harry Truman. He exemplified the kind of Administration I would like to have." Carter said that he admired Truman's honesty, vision in foreign policy and "closeness with the American people." He also has a high regard for John Kennedy as a "much more inspirational President" than Truman, and for Lyndon Johnson's deep concern for the poor and the weak and his skill in pushing legislation through Congress. He spoke of Winston Churchill as the pre-eminent leader of our time, of Charles de Gaulle as uniquely expressing "the ideals and hopes and pride of the French," and of Mohandas Gandhi as the embodiment of "quiet courage."

Obviously no mortal can hope to exhibit all of these qualities, though some of Carter's detractors wonder whether he knows that. No matter; in the euphoria of last week, most things must have seemed possible to Jimmy Carter, as he rode the crest of his campaign for the presidency. So certain was he, with good reason, of winning the Democratic nomination at Madison Square Garden in July that he began making a list of whom he might choose as a running mate. He says that his most important considerations are to pick someone who is qualified to step up as President if necessary, a person "compatible with me on basic issues and general philosophy" and offering "some sort of geographical or other balance on the ticket." According to insiders at the Democratic National Committee, Carter's list includes two liberal U.S. Senators: Minnesota's Walter F. Mondale and Illinois's Adlai E. Stevenson. Choosing either would strengthen Carter with liberals and party hierarchs, the two groups that have remained most aloof from him.

But they are not likely to do so much longer. Like other Democrats, liberals and party leaders most want a winner, which Carter persuasively showed himself to be last week. His twelve-point margin in Pennsylvania proved conclusively that he could topple tough opposition in a big Northern industrial state. In Texas, his come-from-behind victory over Senator Lloyd M. Bentsen showed that not even a popular favorite son could slow the Carter bandwagon. The overwhelming successes—he has won eight of the first ten primaries—stunned old-line political leaders.

His victories all but eliminated the other Democratic candidates. He had long ago knocked out George Wallace, drubbing him in Florida and North Carolina. Henry Jackson was humiliated in Pennsylvania, where he had expected to sweep to victory with heavy union and political-machine support. At week's end he decided to drop out of the race. "I will remain a candidate and I do not intend to endorse any other candidate at this time," said Scoop to a group of supporters. "I am a realist. Simply stated, we are out of money." Asked to assess Carter's chances for the nomination, Jackson declared frankly: "He



is an open-field runner at this time."

Morris Udall, the primaries' perpetual runner-up, pushed on with characteristic good humor, but nobody took his candidacy very seriously. Latecomers Frank Church and Jerry Brown were still in the running, but some political analysts speculated that Brown at best was running for Vice President and Church perhaps for Secretary of State.

That left only Hubert Humphrey. After Pennsylvania, his telephones almost jangled off the hook as old friends begged him to step out of the sidelines and plunge into active campaigning. They pleaded that only he could stop Carter, whom many organization Democrats mistrust as an unknown and untested outsider. Time and again Humphrey met with longtime supporters and then pondered his decision one night.

Next day, looking exhausted, he flabbergasted friends by announcing that he had decided to stay out, but would still hold himself available in the "unlikely" event of a convention deadlock. The old (64) warrior explained that

TIME POLL

Startling Surge for Carter

If the presidential election were held now, Jimmy Carter would defeat Gerald Ford by 48% to 38% of the vote. Just seven weeks ago, after the Florida primary, Ford would have beaten Carter, 46% to 38%. The extraordinary shift in voter sentiment was a stunning measure of how far the Georgian had come by last week, just after his Pennsylvania victory.

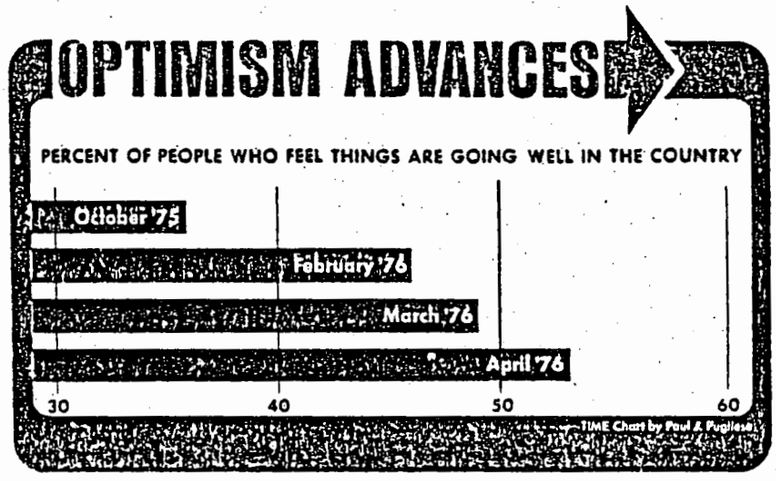
By 50% to 27%, moreover, U.S. voters want to see a Democrat elected as the next President, provided both candidates are of equal stature and competence. Voters—Republicans, Democrats and Independents—consider Carter the strongest possible Democratic candidate: 48% see Carter that way, *v.* 34% for Humphrey and 3% for Jackson. At the same time, Americans split evenly, 41% to 41%, with 19% uncertain, on whether the Democrat or the Republican will win in November.

These are the principal findings of a poll conducted for TIME last week by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, Inc., the opinion-research firm. The results were gathered in telephone interviews with a representative, national sample of 1,011 registered voters in the two days immediately following the Pennsylvania primary. Most of the interviews were taken before Humphrey announced he would not actively campaign and all of them before Jackson dropped out, so that, if anything, the poll may underestimate Carter's strengths.

The poll also indicates that there is still some vulnerability in Carter's position. Even with Pennsylvania behind him, Carter was the choice of a minority of his own party (39%, *v.* 59% for some other candidate). If they were voting on the basis of economic, defense and foreign policy issues alone, more Democrats would prefer Humphrey over Carter.

Still, the pace of Carter's ascendancy has been breathtaking. Before the New Hampshire primary, he was unknown to 55% of the electorate; now he is known to 82% and viewed as acceptable by 59%. Based on answers from the people who were polled, the Carter phenomenon seems the result of two factors: 1) the hunger for a Democratic candidate who can win in November and 2) the search for an indefinable quality of moral leadership at a time when 61% of the respondents feel something is morally wrong in the nation. That search for moral leadership promises to be Carter's strongest asset against Ford. Of those voters who feel something is morally wrong in the nation, 54% said they would vote for Carter in November, while 31% would support Ford. Another factor in Carter's favor is the extraordinary attention voters are paying this year to "the man" rather than the issues.

Two potential stumbling blocks for



he lacked the money and organization to mount his fourth campaign for the White House. Nor did he relish the possibility of another defeat.

Thus, the field was left to Jimmy Carter. Barring some unforeseen twist, he will be the Democrats' 1976 nominee. There was, at first, no stampede among party leaders to board his bandwagon. New Jersey Governor Brendan T. Byrne called on all 37 fellow Democratic Governors to unify the party by getting behind Carter, but initially drew no response. Still, no one seriously thought that Carter could be stopped.

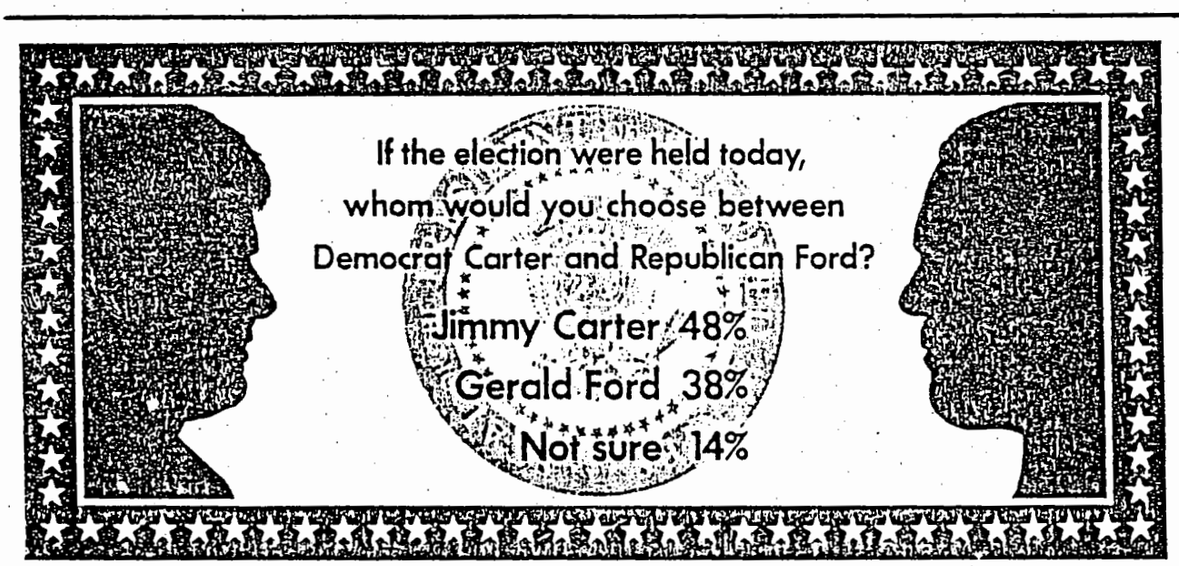
Said a top staff member of the Democratic National Committee: "Carter's the winner. His only problem will be maintaining interest in his campaign through the rest of the primaries." Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley called any lingering thoughts of a brokered convention "hogwash." President Ford, who was badly set back in Texas, agreed: "The only way I can see that they could stop him now is to have a smoke-filled room, brokered convention, and I think the public would object to that."

Ford was surprised by the events. He had long predicted that the Democratic nominee would be Humphrey and was obviously disappointed when he bowed out. It would have been easier to fight familiar old Hubert and his familiar liberal ideas before an electorate that has grown weary and suspicious of still more Government programs. A strong economy, highly probable in the third and fourth quarters, would have helped Ford more against Humphrey than it may against Carter. The White House was plainly scared of his winning appeal as an outsider crusading against the old pols and summoning Americans to believe in the nation's basic strength and decency. Ford has not devised a strategy for running against Carter, except to stress his own "proven record" against the Georgian's comparative inexperience. Said the President: "Well, we don't really know what Jimmy Carter stands for."

There was still the possibility that Carter might make a major gaffe that would cost him the nomination. Said he: "It would be unlikely for me to be stopped unless I make a mistake." Indeed, Carter—much like George McGovern in 1972—has burst onto the national scene so quickly that he has not yet undergone many political stress tests. With the single exception of his "ethnic purity" remark, from which he recovered quickly, he has escaped the blunders that have buried candidates in the past. But if he should stumble, many of the party's elders—whose first choice Carter clearly is not—will push Humphrey again.

Taking nothing for granted, Carter viewed his big victories in Pennsylvania and Texas as only the completion of the first phase of his campaign. Phase Two will involve consolidating and expanding his support by campaigning in all of the remaining contests—28 primaries and caucuses. His opponents are not active in many primary states, and they will have a tough time raising campaign money.

Carter may not win them all, of course. This week Alabama is expected loyally to hand Governor George Wallace most of its 35 delegates. Next week, in Nebraska, Carter faces Church, who



Carter—issues that seemed likely to make voters uneasy—have not materialized. Despite the brief uproar over his "ethnic purity" remarks, a strong 62% of the voters regard him as a fair person on racial issues. And 50% of the voters do not consider Carter's intense religious convictions a factor in the election; 32% believe such views are an asset; only 8% are worried by them.

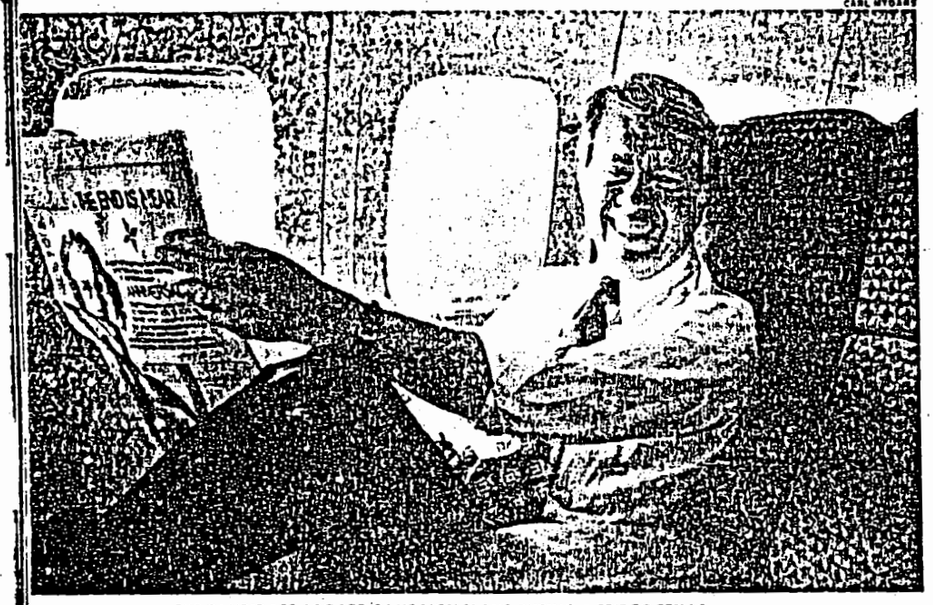
On the Republican side, Gerald Ford has steadily improved his position against Ronald Reagan. Among Republicans and Independents, Ford is now the choice of 62%, v. 25% for Reagan. Seven weeks ago, it was Ford 56%, Reagan 28%. Among all voters, confidence in Ford's handling of two basic policy issues is reasonably strong. Almost three out of four voice some or a lot of confidence in his management of the economy and inflation. Two out of three express some or a lot of confidence in his conduct of foreign affairs. At the same time, the Reagan campaign has been hurting Ford by generating concern about U.S. military power compared with Russia's. One out of two voters are worried about the state of U.S. military power and consider it a major issue.

With Carter running strong on "moral leadership" and Reagan chipping away at Ford on the defense issue, the President becomes increasingly dependent on an improved economy as his greatest strength. But while the economy is gaining, voters perceive the rate of progress as slowing. The share of people who say they feel economic stress —worry about paying off bills or losing jobs—dropped from a high of 36% last June to 30% in October; since then, the index has shown no real improvement. Last week it stood at 29%.

On the brighter side, last October little more than one-third of the voters said that things were going well in the country. Now, for the first time since the TIME-Yankelovich polls started two years ago, more than half the people (53%) share that belief. That may work in Ford's favor. Among those who share this optimism, 48% would vote for him and only 39% for Carter.

is concentrating much of his money and personal campaigning on the state in hopes of scoring an upset. In Maryland, where Carter will take on Brown on May 18, he now leads, but Brown, who declared his candidacy only two months ago, received a tumultuous welcome during his first campaign foray to the state last week. His organization had planned for about 500 supporters at a reception at the Baltimore Hilton; 2,500 showed up. Said Brown, whose background as a Jesuit seminarian makes him Carter's equal in quoting Scripture: "It has been written that the first shall be last and the last shall be first."

Carter's muscle was amply displayed last Saturday in the Texas primary. Favorite Son Lloyd Bentsen had spent years setting up a statewide political organization, and his delegate slates included many of Texas' best known Democrats. Carter spent only a few days in the state, and offered this blunt message: "The only choice is between one who can be President and one who wants to broker or horse trade delegates." In the end, Carter crushed Bentsen, winning 93 of the 98 delegate contests.



CARL MYDANS

THE CANDIDATE ABOARD CAMPAIGN PLANE DURING A TRIP TO TEXAS
"I wouldn't be a quiescent or a timid President."

His margin in Texas was obviously widened by his victory four days earlier in Pennsylvania. Though many analysts had thought that Carter's love-and-compassion theme would not go over well in the raucous atmosphere of steel-and-coal towns, he captured 65 of 67 Pennsylvania counties. He lost only in Philadelphia, which Mayor Frank L. Rizzo's machine carried for Jackson, and in Philadelphia's liberal suburban Montgomery County, which went to Udall. Carter was particularly delighted that he carried Gettysburg, site of the bloodiest battle of the Civil War. And he got off one of his few campaign quips: "We ought to tell the Georgians that we finally won in Gettysburg."

In all, he carried 37% of the Pennsylvania vote to Jackson's 25%, Udall's 19% and a mere 11% for George Wallace. Though Jackson had predicted that regardless of how the popular vote went, he would win the largest share of the delegates, Carter got 64 delegates *v.* only 19 for Scoop, who finished not only behind Uncommitted (46) but also behind Udall (22).

Carter's strength in the heavily unionized western Pennsylvania steel-mill country—in the face of all-out opposition from union and party leaders—was startling. Among union members, he beat Jackson 36% to 27%, according to the New York *Times*/CBS News poll. Moaned Ernie Rewolinski of Harrisburg, a union leader who ran as an uncommitted delegate: "The Carter people knocked me right off. People are more sophisticated than they used to be. They headed straight for the presidential candidate."

Indeed, labor's efforts on behalf of Jackson were uncommonly inept. While praising him, many labor leaders made clear that their hearts were really with Humphrey. Voters were turned off by their perception of Jackson as a surrogate for Humphrey, as well as by Jackson's dull, plodding campaign and his shrill and far-fetched effort to blame Carter for Pennsylvania's high unemployment rate. Scoop may have been hurt by his identity with the labor-political establishment. Rizzo's support was a mixed blessing because the mayor is unpopular in much of the state. Neither the faction-ridden state party nor the slow-starting labor machine was able to mount effective support for Jackson.

Yet Carter won chiefly by his own skillful campaigning. He spent far more time (eleven days) in Pennsylvania than he had in New York and Massachusetts, two states where he had finished a dismal fourth. He benefited from a swelling corps of volunteers, enthusiasts slightly older than but nonetheless reminiscent of the "Children's Crusade" of the 1968 campaign of Eugene McCarthy. They swarmed in from Florida, Illinois, New Hampshire and other states where Carter has campaigned, and, of course, from Georgia. In Pennsylvania, they canvassed by telephone, passed out campaign pamphlets and, most important, worked the polls on primary day, explaining the complicated ballot and pointing out the Carter delegates to voters. A group of about 50 volunteers, assigned to the Pittsburgh area, slept on rented Army cots set up in a funeral parlor that had gone out of business.

The Southerner's supposed "ethnic purity" gaffe may actually have helped him: the controversy over the remark kept Carter on front pages and on television news programs for days. His money-starved opponents could not compete with Carter in paid TV advertising. None of the candidates has collected matching funds since the Federal Election Commission temporarily went out of business. But Carter, since his Wisconsin primary victory, has found it easier to raise money than either Jackson or Udall, both of whom have been dogged by "loser" images. Additionally, Carter has an efficient fund-raising operation, led by Alabama Lawyer Morris Dees, the former McGovern finance director whose direct-mail operations reached hundreds of thousands of contributors to previous Democratic campaigns. Since the federal fund cutoff on March 23, Carter contributions have topped $600,000, far more than the amounts raised by Jackson and Udall.

After the Pennsylvania primary, the TIME-Yankelovich poll showed that Carter had achieved a new status in the minds of voters: he is no longer considered just one of the pack but a man who, at least for the moment, has a fair chance of beating Ford. Thus people are beginning to examine him even more closely and critically. They may be familiar with his basic biography: the rearing in rural Plains, Ga.; education at Annapolis (where he ranked 59th in a class of 809); his brief career in the Navy (in which he served under his idol, Admiral Hyman Rickover); success as a peanut farmer and wholesaler; his rise as a state politician and now, at 51, a national figure. There also seems to be something unknowable about him, an inner man that has not been—and may never be—revealed.

That mystery in Carter may be a small part of the answer to a large question that perplexes so many Americans, including a good many politicians and professional politician watchers who are

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unaccustomed to perplexity in such matters: What is the magic, the secret, the explanation, of Carter's astonishing success with the electorate so far? Certainly there is the smile, the courtly Southern charm, the flattering intensity with which he talks—and listens—to individuals. There is his reassuring sense of himself, his evident intelligence, his successful projection of worthy goals beyond his own private ambitions. Then, of course, he lacks the scars of national politics; he seems free of entanglements with party bosses, special interests and power blocs. His is a fresh political face at a time when there seems much weariness with familiar ones.

Such obvious elements do not, however, satisfy the perplexed, who feel there must be more to Carter's public chemistry. Undoubtedly there is. Part of it may be his quietness. Carter's words on paper sometimes can seem banal or even inflammatory; the spoken tone is appealing. Many of the young seem drawn to him partly because, unlike so many of their elders, he does not bellow at them. All sorts of other Americans find parts of Jimmy Carter they seem able to identify with, and he promotes his man-of-many-parts image assiduously. And Carter wears his hard-won successes easily, without letting his pride slip into an unseemly boastfulness.

On a deeper level, Carter's call for a moral revival of sorts seems to have struck home in the American psyche, vintage 1976. Battered by the Viet Nam War, Watergate, scandals and abuses in high places, many Americans clearly welcome Carter's confidence in them and the worth of their country, and his soft-spoken promise to restore a moral purpose to national life. If the economy continues to improve and no foreign scares intervene, this spiritual issue could transcend all others this year.

Whatever the alchemy at work, Carter fascinates some people and bewilders others, arousing both great confidence and, particularly among some Northern liberals, deep skepticism. Most politicians, journalists and others who see him close up come away convinced that he has a first-class mind. Some are also repelled by the cold self-assurance.

Michael Novak, a Catholic theologian and perceptive analyst of U.S. politics, wrote recently in the Washington *Post:* "The source of discomfort is that they [Northerners] do not know at first hand the pressures that shaped him, his inner demons and his inner angels. They can't confidently imagine scenarios of various pressures upon him and predict how he will act. He is, from his point of view, an outsider breaking in on their world. But they are, from their point of view, outsiders who can't quite understand what makes him tick."

Nothing arouses more fascination, suspicion and questions than Carter's deep-seated religious convictions. He contends that he does not inject them into his campaigning. But the two are inescapably intertwined, producing a blend of William Jennings Bryan's religious fervor and Woodrow Wilson's moral idealism.

The U.S. has perhaps 40 million Protestant Evangelicals, both black and white, and they are the fastest growing element in American Christianity (*see* RELIGION). They also constitute a natural constituency for Carter, responding enthusiastically to his frequent use of words and phrases that identify him as one of them: love, brotherhood, decency, purity, compassion. His preaching of traditional moral values also appeals to many others, notably blue-collar Catholic "ethnics." Typically, a black clergyman in Philadelphia praised him as a man "with a Bible in one hand and a ballot box in the other."

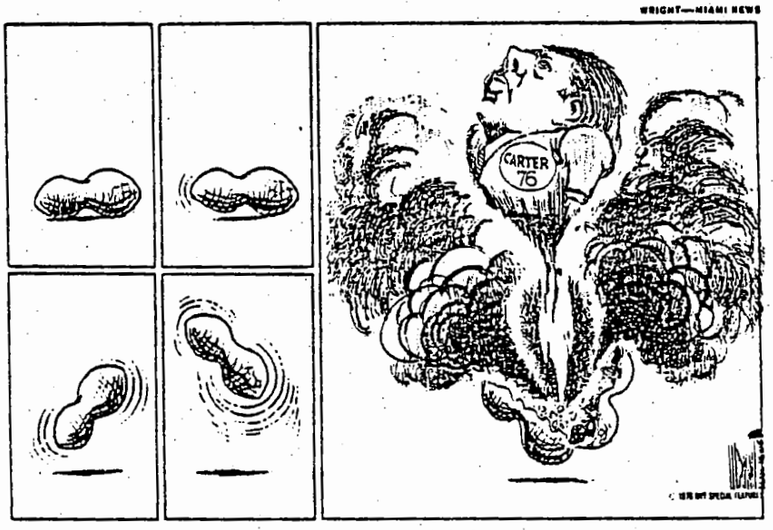
To skeptics, Carter's language often sounds like a pious façade. That, decidedly, is not the case. To Carter, his religion has always been a central and natural part of his life—"like breathing," as he says. Like many Southerners, he finds no contradiction in mixing an earthy appreciation of the good, secular life with the harder demands of Evangelicalism. But while religion has always been an integral part of his makeup, he dates his life as a spiritually reborn Christian only from 1967.

As Carter and his sister, Evangelist Ruth Carter Stapleton (TIME, April 26), tell the story, he was upset over losing his first bid for Governor and was questioning his personal values and goals. In the course of his search for meaning, he took a long walk with his sister in the pine woods near his 200-acre peanut farm. Recalls Carter: "Ruth asked me if I would give up anything for Christ, if I would give up my life and my possessions—everything. I said I would. Then she asked if I would be willing to give up politics. I thought a long time and had to admit that I would not." His sister warned that until he could, he would be plagued with self-doubts. Stapleton says that Carter cried during the conversation, but he has no such recollection. In any event, the experience led directly to his being "born again."* Says he: "I



"Well, what do you think?"

WRIGHT—MIAMI NEWS



SIMPSON—TULSA TRIBUNE



*In the third chapter of John's Gospel, Jesus tells the Pharisee Nicodemus that only those who are spiritually "born again" will enter the kingdom of God. The passage—and the phrase—are favorites of Evangelical Protestants; their faith emphasizes the personal experience of turning to Christ.



SCOOP JACKSON, WITH HIS WIFE, CONCEDING IN PENNSYLVANIA



UDALL BEING CONSOLED BY HIS WIFE

established a more intimate relationship with Christ. I developed a deeper sense of inner peace."

Thereafter, he traveled to other parts of Georgia and to Pennsylvania and Massachusetts "to witness among people who don't know about Christ." To questioners, he says that in politics he claims no "special relationship" with God. Says Carter: "I don't pray to God to let me win an election. I pray to ask God to let me do the right thing." As Governor, he prayed often, on his knees, in the seclusion of a small private room next to his office.

Carter is not a strict Evangelical. When he was Governor, he outraged some Southern Baptist clergymen by calling Georgia's ban on Sunday liquor sales hypocritical because many people patronized bootleggers on the Sabbath. One of his first acts was to end the pompous religious service that his predecessor as Governor, Lester Maddox, held in the state house every morning. Carter thought that the service was pointless.

The prime source of his belief is the Bible, but he reads it somewhat critically. Says he: "I find it difficult to question Holy Scripture, but I admit that I do have trouble with Paul sometimes, especially when he says that a woman's place is with her husband, and that she should keep quiet and cover her head in church. I just can't go along with him on that." Carter also has read deeply from the works of religious thinkers such as Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Barth, Paul Tillich and Søren Kierkegaard and quotes from them. In particular, he is fond of this sentence from Niebuhr: "The sad duty of politics is to establish justice in a sinful world."

Some critics suggest that if he were elected, Carter's religious life might intrude on his acts as President; the objection echoes the fears that were raised about John F. Kennedy's Catholicism. Like Kennedy, Carter vows a strict separation of church and state, and denies that there is any conflict between the two. Says he: "The Bible says, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's.' It doesn't say you have to live two lives. It doesn't say you have to be two people." On the contrary, he maintains that his religious convictions "will make me a better President."

Some detractors regard Carter's ambition as exceeding even the generous quota to be expected of any presidential candidate. In Carter's case, there is an almost total humorlessness and an implacable quality to the pursuit of all his goals. Says a Georgia government official who knows him well: "He's got rock-hard, iron-hard confidence. He's like twisted steel cable inside." Trying to reassure an audience in Green Bay, Wis., that he was not dangerously ambitious, Carter pointed out that he had not always wanted to be President. Said he, in all seriousness: "When I was at Annapolis, the only thing I wanted to be was Chief of Naval Operations." Later, as a junior officer aboard the submarine *Pomfret*, he doggedly refused to be kept from his duties by seasickness. Recalls Warren Colegrove, who was the ship's engineering officer: "He'd take his [vomit] bucket with him to the bridge. He was a gutsy guy."

But the inner qualities that give rise to his driving ambition, iron will and unmovable adherence to moral principles are also the source of what he admits is a major failing: his reluctance to compromise. His rigidity caused him repeated trouble with the Georgia legislature. In 1974, while pressuring the legislators to pass a consumer protection bill, he scornfully described them as the worst in the state's history. Outraged, they stopped work for several days and bitterly complained until Carter retreated from his harsh words. But he stopped short of an apology. Indeed, Carter's refusal to yield on some points nearly caused the defeat of his major accomplishment as Governor—streamlining the state government by reducing the number of agencies from about 300 to 22. Recalls a top Georgia politician: "He couldn't pass any of his reorganization bill. We had to get it passed for him—or about 60% of it anyway." More recently, Carter—who admits to being "pretty rigid"—showed his stubborn streak by not backing off from his offensive language in the "ethnic purity" flap until he was clearly in danger of losing much of his black support.

Like most politicians, Carter is a professional collector of people. At one time or another, he has described as "good friends of mine" such retiring folks as Edward Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Golda Meir, Henry Kissinger, Bob Dylan and Burt Reynolds. There is probably no more bizarre relationship in American politics than the one that exists between him and Hunter Thompson, author of *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail '72* and other boozy, spaced-out analyses of the American body politic. Thompson met Carter in 1974 at a University of Georgia Law Day ceremony, where Carter gave an off-the-cuff speech. So impressed was Thompson by the speech that he got a tape recording of it, which he often plays at odd hours of the night.

In that address, Carter said in part: "One of the sources for my understanding about the proper application of criminal justice and the system of equity is from reading Reinhold Niebuhr . . . The other source of my understanding about what's right and wrong in this society is from a friend of mine, a poet named Bob Dylan. After listening to his records . . . I've learned to appreciate the dynamism of change in a modern society." Carter went on to scold the lawyers and judges in the audience for not caring more about the legal and moral rights of society's underdogs. He praised Martin Luther King Jr., "who was perhaps despised by many in this room because he shook up our social structure . . . and demanded simply that black citizens be treated the same as white citizens." Added Carter: "As a farmer, I'm not qualified to assess the characteristics of the 9,100 inmates in the Georgia prisons, 50% of whom ought not to be there. They ought to be on probation or under some other supervision . . . I don't know, it may be that poor people are the only ones who commit crimes, but I do know that they are the only ones who serve prison sentences."

Though he speaks almost mystically of the "intense friendships" that he has formed with Americans almost everywhere, Carter has few real cronies, and

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he keeps even them at arm's length. He shares his most intimate thoughts and feelings with only one person—his wife Rosalynn. Says Gerald Rafshoon, an Atlanta friend who handles Carter's campaign advertising: "You don't get that close to Jimmy because he retreats. His wife Rosalynn is his best friend." With her he is unabashedly affectionate, holding her hand at almost every opportunity. Says a friend: "You can tell they were high-school sweethearts."

Nonetheless, Carter judiciously uses the advice of old campaign associates. Among them: Campaign Manager Jordan, Press Secretary Jody Powell, Adman Rafshoon, Campaign Treasurer R.J. Lipshutz and Charles Kirbo, a top Atlanta lawyer. With Carter three years ago, they drew up what he calls his "careful, detailed, meticulous" plan to win the presidency. They began by methodically researching every presidential election since World War II and reading almost every major book about U.S. Presidents and campaigning. Carter studied voting trends and population patterns in all 435 congressional districts. The plan called for entering all of the primaries and caucuses on the assumption that he could create enough momentum in the early contests to breeze through the later ones. It was an amazingly accurate forecast of what indeed happened.

Associates find Carter to be a demanding boss but one who readily delegates authority. Says Rafshoon: "He doesn't get involved in details or try to do your work for you. He expects the best possible work; if he doesn't get it, he gets rid of you." Rarely does Carter lose his temper. When something goes wrong, says Rafshoon, "he becomes cold and methodical."

Carter always has campaigned as something of a loner. Other candidates usually have large entourages of hirelings and hangers-on. Not Carter. To an astonishing degree, he is conducting a one-man campaign. On a recent trip, his official party consisted of four low-level aides (and ten reporters).

As a campaigner, he comes across as intelligent, quick and deeply informed, with a good grasp of most issues, though he is weakest on foreign policy. "I've got a lot to learn, and I know it," he repeats to groups of supporters, "but I think I am able to learn from good friends like you." His interests range far beyond politics. He is well read; his favorite authors include James Agee, William Faulkner and Dylan Thomas, though most recently Carter has concentrated on politics, philosophy, history, foreign affairs, taxation policy and the like. His tastes in music range from Dmitri Shostakovich to Dylan. While politicking, his energy and concentration are legendary. Campaigning recently in Mississippi, he shook the hand of a department-store mannequin. He recovered gracefully by quipping to an aide: "Better give her a brochure too."

Carter's single-mindedness and occasional self-righteousness raise questions about what he might be like as President. If he failed to get his own way, how would he react? Could he handle the give-and-take of diplomatic negotiations? Would he be able to compromise with Congress? Would he rather, in his own words, "go down in flames" than modify his own convictions? If he were as unbending as he professes to be, his disillusionment and frustration in the White House could be acute. Woodrow Wilson defied the Senate in his zealous crusade for the League of Nations; ultimately, he was destroyed by the relentless pursuit of his dream.

Reports TIME Correspondent Stanley Cloud, who has covered the Carter campaign since before the New Hampshire primary:

"As President, Carter would probably be far more liberal than many people now suspect. His appointments would often be surprising. He might retain, at least for a transitional period, a few key people in the current Administration. For example, he has a high regard for fellow Southerner David Mathews, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. But two present Cabinet members would be certain to go: Agriculture's Earl Butz and State's Henry Kissinger. He would disappoint many fervent backers who expect some patronage for their troubles. (Almost always as Governor, he reached outside the circle of his close supporters to fill important state posts.)

Though he is wary of the press, he would probably have more press conferences than any recent President. His dealings with Congress almost certainly would be stormy. For one thing, his plan to streamline the Federal Government, much as he reorganized Georgia's state government, could involve him in a bloody battle with Congress and the bureaucrats. But to persuade the Senators and Representatives to end their opposition to reorganization and his other pet projects, he would put pressure on them by making frequent—and perhaps very effective—appeals to the voters."

On defense and foreign policy, he has promised to reduce—on a phased basis—much of the American military presence overseas. He would pull American troops out of Korea in five to seven years. He would begin to reduce, though not eliminate, the U.S. military commitment in Europe. He would seek closer relations with Third World countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as with traditional allies in Europe and Japan. Détente with the Soviets probably would continue, but with demands for them to make more concessions to the U.S. He thinks the U.S. defense budget could be cut by about $7 billion a year, chiefly through eliminating bureaucratic waste and some expensive weapons systems, such as the B-1 bomber. But, because he believes that the U.S. fleet is becoming inferior to Russia's, he

EDDIE ADAMS



CARTER WALKING ACROSS THE FIELDS OF HIS FARM OUTSIDE PLAINS, GA., DURING A DAY OFF FROM CAMPAIGNING

A call for a moral revival of sorts that seems to have struck home in the American psyche.

would accelerate naval shipbuilding, including the nuclear, missile-firing Trident submarine.

On the U.S. economy, Carter would give highest priority to reducing unemployment, primarily by stressing job creation in private business rather than huge public employment programs. But, if all else failed, Government would be the employer of last resort (he stresses the last). His goals are a 4% rate for both unemployment and inflation and a balanced budget by 1979. To expand the economy, he advocates more stimulative fiscal policies and speedier growth in the money supply. At the same time, he would ask for stand-by authority to impose wage and price controls on key industries if inflation threatened to get out of hand. To provide more effective planning of the national economy, Carter wants budgeting handled on a three-year basis. As he did in Georgia, he would put almost every Government program on a temporary basis, and every year or two require bureaucrats to justify the need for them.

Carter has promised an overhaul of U.S. income taxes, but has not disclosed details. It probably would involve eliminating most deductions and tax shelters and lowering the tax rates. This would tend to increase taxes for people with many deductions or sheltered income but lower them for everyone else. He proposes a nationwide health plan that would place federal controls over doctors' fees and hospital charges and provide mandatory health insurance for every American, financed from general tax revenues and a payroll tax shared by workers and employers. He would have the Federal Government pay more of the costs of welfare but not take it over entirely. He supports registering all handguns, reducing penalties for the use of marijuana and passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

It is a long, long time from May to November, and Carter could be tripped up by any one of many imponderables —a slip of the tongue, an unpopular stand on an issue or, of course, the voters' rejection of him. But these are the hazards of the trade that he long ago took up.

In 1962, when he was thinking of running for the Georgia senate, he consulted with a Baptist minister who was visiting Carter's mother. As Carter recalls the incident: "The pastor strongly advised me not to go into such a discredited profession. We had a rather heated argument, and he finally asked, 'If you want to be of service to other people, why don't you go into the ministry or into some honorable special service work?' " Replied Carter: "How would you like to be the pastor in a church with 80,000 members?" These days, Jimmy Carter is thinking in terms of heading a congregation with 215 million members.

Carter: Seeking Clear Goals

Thirty-six hours after his triumph in Pennsylvania, Jimmy Carter took off from Plains, Ga., for Texas to resume his pursuit of the presidency. Relaxing in shirtsleeves aboard his chartered commercial jet, Carter sipped coffee and discussed politics and policy with TIME Correspondent Dean E. Fischer:

Q. ***Assuming you are the Democratic nominee and President Ford the Republican, what do you think will be the principal issues in the campaign?***

A. Well, I think where Ford is most vulnerable is the absence of leadership capabilities that he has demonstrated since he's been in the White House—his inability to work with members of Congress; his timidity about dealing with domestic problems concerning Government reorganization, unemployment, inflation; the absence of policy concerning energy, agriculture, transportation, welfare, health, housing; his lack of comprehension, apparently, of international policy; his deferral to the Secretary of State as the single person who shapes basic foreign policy decisions.

I think there's a very good likelihood that we'll have roughly 7% inflation and 7% unemployment in November. If it's better than that, it can't be attributed to any action on the part of Ford.

Q. ***In your Chicago speech on March 15, you said that this nation's foreign policy has never been in greater disarray than it is at present. What did you mean?***

A. The foreign policy of a country derives its strength ultimately from the people of the country: their understanding of it, their evolution of it, their role in the consummation of it. Our foreign policy is without focus. It is not understood by the people, by the Congress or by foreign nations.

It is primarily comprised of Mr. Kissinger's own ideas, his own goals, most often derived and maintained in secrecy. I don't think the President plays any substantial role in the evolution of our foreign policy. Kissinger has tended to neglect our natural allies and friends in consultation on major policy decisions. Our neighbors in this hemisphere feel that they've been neglected; the Japanese feel that we've ignored their interests; the European nations feel that our commitment to them is suspect; plus there's no attitude of respect or natural purpose toward the developing nations.

Our participation with developing nations is peripheral and unplanned. We have treated them almost with contempt. A small amount of investment and genuine interest would pay rich dividends. I think the small nations are hungry for a more predictable and mutually advantageous relationship with our country.

Q. ***Beyond improving the process of consultation with developing countries, what else would you do? Would you increase foreign economic aid?***

A. I don't think gifts are the major need for the establishment of good relationships. We need trade agreements, and maybe a foreign aid expenditure equivalent to one-half of 1% of our gross national product, plus a reorientation of the ultimate beneficiaries of that foreign aid. One of my advisers has said that we should no longer tax the poor people of a rich country to give aid to the rich people in the poor countries. I think that's what we have been doing. We also have very little predictability with respect to foreign aid. We lack openly expressed and clearly understood goals. The American people are not part of the process. The Congress is not part of the process. We've lost our very precious bipartisan support that involved both Congress and the Executive.

Q. ***Where else do you disagree in substance and specifics with the Ford-Kissinger foreign policy?***

A. I think Kissinger still deals in his negotiations on the concept of power blocs. I think we need to deal more directly with individual nations, and to strengthen our bilateral friendships with those nations.

We need to strengthen our presence at the United Nations. Our chief spokesman at the United Nations should have his position strengthened in relation to the Secretary of State and the President.

Q. ***I assume you believe that the President and not the Secretary of State should be the principal formulator and chief spokesman of foreign affairs.***

A. That's right. And I would use a wide range of emissaries, including my own family members and members of the Cabinet other than the Secretary of State, to magnify the presence of the United States around the world. I would make sure we had a choice of diplomats who would enhance our presence in countries throughout the world. There is, for example, a tremendous reservoir of talented black leaders who I think would be uniquely effective in African countries. And the same with Latin Americans.

Q. ***Do you believe that the policy of détente has been in the best interest of the United States?***

A. I approve of the concept of détente. I don't think we'll have a permanent settlement in the Middle East without the full cooperation of the Soviet Union. Our interests are best served by strengthening cultural exchanges, promoting trade agreements, tourism, student exchange with the Soviet Union. But I would be a tough bargainer. Whenever the Soviet Union derived a benefit from negotia-

tions, I would want to derive an equivalent benefit.

Q. ***When you say that you would support the right of individuals to move into any neighborhood of their choice, but that you would not direct the Federal Government to try to make changes in the ethnic character of the neighborhoods, does that really address itself to the issue involved? The Supreme Court has ruled that it is permissible for the Federal Government to provide low-cost housing in the suburbs.***

A. The Supreme Court said that when there is a historical pattern of racial discrimination and when the needs of a low-income group cannot be met within the city, then the federal court does have a right to require that low-income housing be built in the suburbs. I agree with the Supreme Court decision. I have no objections to that at all.

Q. ***But would you take an affirmative approach that might go beyond what the Supreme Court said in order to provide low-cost housing in areas outside poor neighborhoods?***

A. Yes, if the goal is to provide low-cost housing for poor families. But if the goal is to change the ethnic character of a neighborhood, no.

Q. ***You have said that you don't plan to bring up Watergate during this campaign. Why not, given the fact that it was a major Republican scandal, and given the fact that Nixon appointed Ford and Ford pardoned Nixon?***

A. I'd like during my campaign to contribute to the healing of the nation's wounds and not exacerbate them. Also, I don't believe Ford ought to be held responsible for the Watergate scandal. I think it would be unfair.

Q. ***If you were President, would you consider pardoning Watergate defendants in prison or awaiting sentence?***

A. I don't think it would be appropriate for me to say anything on the subject of Watergate pardons. During my first week in office, I would issue a pardon to all Viet Nam defectors.

Q. ***You have conducted your campaign with a relatively small staff. As President, would you also have a small staff?***

A. Yes, I had a small staff when I was Governor, with complete accessibility of the staff to me. As President, I would want to meld the Office of Management and Budget more closely to the White House than it is now. That would enhance my plans to adopt zero-based budgeting and to reorganize the Executive Branch. I would want top civil servants to play a larger role. I'd try to have a wide range of sources to staff my Administration. I feel it would be very beneficial to have representatives of minority groups on the staff and in the Cabinet. They would bring a sensitivity to the Administration.

How Humphrey Made His Choice

With unexpected suddenness, after 20 years of reaching eagerly for the presidency, Hubert Humphrey made his wrenching personal decision: not this time. TIME *National Political Correspondent Robert Ajemian was with Humphrey for several days before his announcement and talked with him in his office afterward. Ajemian's report:*

"All year I've been alone with these decisions," said Hubert Humphrey as he flew from Minnesota back to Washington, where he would soon have to decide whether to give up his deepest ambition. "I have no political counselor whose judgment I totally trust. In the old days, I always had someone, someone like Jim Rowe [longtime adviser to Democratic Presidents]. Now I do things alone."

People close to Humphrey see it differently; they view him as a man who is too ready to take the advice of others. Humphrey leaned back in his plane seat. He could understand why people felt that way. "Everyone thinks he's got his hooks into me," he said. "I do listen to a lot of people, but I've become gunshy. I end up talking to my wife, Muriel."

Even before the last polls had closed on Carter's Pennsylvania triumph, Humphrey was once again listening to his friends. They called him by the dozens, urging him to stay in the race, and he in turn called others asking what he should do. Almost invariably, they told him he was the only person who now stood between Jimmy Carter and the nomination, and Humphrey agreed. Often they had vested interests of their own, but for the nation's good, they warned him, Carter needed to be challenged: he was too untested, too unknown. Again, Humphrey agreed. The arguments for getting in started to stir his blood. The old fever, the old wanting to be President was still very much there.

But some, like Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss, advised him to stay out. "I reminded him he had no money, no organization," says Strauss, "and that the people who were telling him to jump in today would be back tending to their own affairs tomorrow." The deadline for filing in the New Jersey primary was upon Humphrey—and he had to move. The pressure for a decision began to hurt.



HUBERT HUMPHREY ANNOUNCING THAT HE WILL STAY OUT OF THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARIES
At this stage of his life, he did not intend to be ridiculous.

The week before, in Minnesota, during the Senate's Easter recess, Humphrey had been prepared for no such sudden crisis. He did not expect Carter to win so resoundingly in Pennsylvania. Flying around Minnesota to speak at his party's district nominating conventions, Humphrey raised the rafters as he tore into Gerald Ford. It was like being at a prize-fight; oldtimers said that Humphrey had never sounded better, and that pleased him. In his speeches, Humphrey's final line always brought his audience cheering to its feet. If his party wanted him as its nominee, he told them, he was now at



ROBERT SHORT DALE BUMPERS WALTER MONDALE ROBERT STRAUSS JOSEPH CRANGLE

Some thought he could win, but Hubert asked: "How can I run now, when I've said over and over again that I wouldn't?"

the fullness of his life and never more prepared to be President. But, he also reminded them, he would enter no primaries.

A few days before the Carter victory, Humphrey sat in his Minneapolis office, away from the crowds, and talked about his political plans. He said that he had decided finally to become more active: he would publicly authorize a committee, headed by his Minnesota friend Robert Short, to line up uncommitted delegates. It would be a low-key effort, in keeping with his pledges to the other candidates to stay out of the primaries. Like most other politicians, he believed Scoop Jackson was certain to win most of Pennsylvania's delegates even if he might lose the popular vote to Carter. "If Jackson does that," said Humphrey, sounding reassured, "I'm sure he'll stick to the end."

But the Jackson candidacy collapsed as Carter took everything. The day after Pennsylvania, Humphrey's ordeal was plain. He would have to get in—or out. In Washington, he met with his closest advisers: Senator Walter Mondale and his top assistant, Richard Moe; Tom Kelm, assistant to Minnesota Governor Wendell Anderson; Max Kampelman, a Washington attorney; Bob Short; and others.

For two hours Humphrey sat in his shirtsleeves and listened to the nine-man gathering tell him that they judged the Democratic race to be over—unless he decided to enter New Jersey. The low-profile candidacy he had planned would do no good. Joe Crangle, the upstate New York Democratic leader, read off a delegate count projecting that Carter would have 1,023 delegates by the end of the primaries if Humphrey made no move. The group was confident that Humphrey could defeat Carter in New Jersey, and Humphrey told them he felt the same way.

But he interrupted them with a question that was at the heart of his own struggle with himself. Asked Humphrey: "How can I run now when I've said over and over again that I wouldn't?"

His words hung in the air. Several in the group felt he had met his pledges; they said the other candidates no longer had any chance. Humphrey did not openly disagree with them, but he felt unconvinced by their argument. As the group broke up, one of the participants read him a prepared statement that said that Humphrey would enter New Jersey. It included a line noting, accurately, that Carter had challenged him to come in. Humphrey, the statement said, was going to oblige him. Humphrey liked that touch, but told them he wanted to sleep on the decision. Most of the group guessed that he had been persuaded to run.

Humphrey then returned a call from George McGovern, who was urging him to get in the race, and left the office with his wife. The two went home to their Washington apartment, along with their son-in-law, Bruce Solomonson. For three hours the Humphreys discussed the whole situation: their life together, their ages, their finances, their obligations. The phone kept ringing. Sometimes Humphrey would suddenly jump up as he remembered someone he wanted to call.

As they talked, it gradually became clear to Humphrey that his wife, who in the past had been so reluctant, who had so much wanted him to stay out this year, was now ready for him to run. "I was really surprised," he said. "It was a dramatic change for Muriel." He reminded her how brutal the last-minute campaign would be, that by his reckoning the most he could bring to the convention would be 600 delegates, and that Carter would have many more than that. "Besides," he said to her, "Carter would be attacking us every day for being a spoiler, for dividing the party—and so would the press." At 1 o'clock they went to bed, and at 6:30 the next morning, deadline day, Humphrey was up and back on the phone. He couldn't let go. It was as if he thought that, by telephoning, he might reach some authority who would convince him to make the fight.

Some of those he talked to told him to stay out of it. Most wanted him to go in, and many of those were clearly anti-Carter. Southerners like Arkansas Senator Dale Bumpers, Kentucky Senator Wendell Ford and former Georgia Governor Carl Sanders (who had lost to Carter) urged that Humphrey stay in the race, obviously wishing to deny Carter the nomination. Still, Humphrey could not decide. His wife asked him to remain home a little longer for a last exchange, and they sat together for half an hour. Says Muriel: "I could see that he was essentially negative about running, and I was a little more positive." He told her he would call from the office.

In less than an hour he phoned her and said he would not run. It was a decision, he stressed, that he had had to reach for himself. Even though it might mean the end of all his hopes, he would have his self-respect. And he would spare them both the familiar abuse—that he was Lyndon Johnson's puppet, that he was not tough enough, that people were tired of him—that would surely be heaped on him the minute he announced. As he would say later: "One thing I don't need at this stage of my life is to be ridiculous." Instead, Humphrey told Muriel he would be the Democratic Party healer and bring his longtime supporters to the nominee. He was the one man, he felt, who might be able to deliver that harmony.

In the apartment, Muriel Humphrey hung up the phone and started making the beds. She heard herself singing aloud. "I never do that," she recalled, surprised at herself. But then she knew what it was. She realized how pleased she was with her Hubert.

KKK



A Fortune Interview

Jimmy Carter on the U.S. Economy and Business

Jimmy Carter recently paused in his pursuit of the Democratic nomination for President to discuss some questions of particular concern to business. A. James Reichley, a member of FORTUNE*'s board of editors, and associate editor Ann Hengstenberg conducted the interview with the former Georgia governor.*

Governor, what would you do to deal with inflation in the economy?

I would proceed aggressively, with the first emphasis on jobs. My economic advisers and I agree that until you get the unemployment rate down below 5 percent, there's no real danger of escalating inflationary pressures. I would also favor additional money supply, carefully controlled, but I think a little more than we've had in the past two years.

You think the money supply should now be increasing more rapidly?

I do. I think there was an overreaction in 1973 and 1974 to the rate of inflation, which was caused primarily, I think, by transient and external circumstances—competitive bidding for scarce commodities, increases in the price of oil, and so forth.

Another thing that I think should be done to control inflation is a tight, businesslike management of the government mechanism itself—a complete reorganization of the structure of government, the institution of zero-based budgeting which would screen out old and obsolescent programs, and a heavy emphasis toward a balancing of the budget.

Would you resort to wage and price controls under any circumstances?

I would like to have standby wage and price control authority that could be used for a limited period of time, but I doubt that I would ever use it. I know that Arthur Burns has advocated that this authority be permitted for a period of forty-five days. This would permit the President, or his surrogates, to try to reach an accommodation with management and labor to hold down peremptory increases in wages or prices. But I would not favor mandatory or permanent wage and price controls. My philosophic commitment is to a freer economy.

How far do you think you can get inflation down?

I don't see any reason why the permanent level of inflation can't be as low as 2 or 3 percent. If we get down below 4 percent unemployment, you would have very high inflationary pressures as you tried to reach lower and lower levels of unemployment. I think that most analyses have shown that if you reached a level of, say, 3 percent unemployment through government or private-sector efforts, the inflation rate would probably rise above 10 percent.

Do you mean in the short run or do you think that's a permanent characteristic of our economy now?

Well, I was talking about over the next four- or five-year period.

You think you can reach 4 percent without inflationary pressures?

I think you can go below 5 percent without inflationary pressures.

Somewhere between 5 and 4 percent you might run into some problems?

When you get down around 4 percent, perhaps you might. But you're talking about three or four years in the future.

You say you feel the supply of money should be increasing more rapidly. Do you think we should continue to have an independent Federal Reserve?

I do. I think that the present system has enough flexibility in it. I would not want to remove the independence of the Federal Reserve Board. The Congress can modify the income-tax laws to give temporary stimulus to the economy through investment tax credits, tax rebates, and so forth. And the President, through his appointments to the Federal Reserve Board, his selection of the chairman every four years, his public statements and private consultations, has an adequate degree of ability to modify policies up and down in an effective way.

How would you go about the creation of more jobs?

In the first place, contrasted with some of my opponents, I would consider the private sector the primary supplier of jobs. I hope that everything the government does will be oriented to magnify the influence of taxpayers' money by providing more jobs in the private sector. For instance, we should allocate research and development funds to the industries that are inevitably going to arise in the future. One example would be solar energy, where a small investment in research and development money can result in a very rapid increase in

Drawing by Lynn Sturm Levy

numbers of jobs—literally tens of thousands of jobs.

Another thing that I would do would be to have a complete reorganization of the structure of the federal government, to make it, for a change, economical, efficient, purposeful in management. The bureaucracy is now an obstacle to any sort of economic progress. I think it would help a great deal to have a mechanism by which we can clearly define goals and purposes. The predictability of government policies and goals is very important to industry in such areas as automobile manufacturing or housing.

I would also promote the aggressive sale of American products overseas. We don't do this nearly so much as other countries do. I spent a lot of my time as governor traveling around in foreign countries trying to sell Georgia products. When I've been on these trade trips, I've seen small countries, like Bulgaria, or large countries, like France or Germany or Russia, with delegations comprised of government, industry, labor, and agriculture, saying, this is what we have to offer you, what can we do to make you our customer. Right on the spot, they can trade with those potential buyers for delivery schedules, the quality of merchandise, the price, interest rates, and repayment terms. As governor, I was never able to get any sort of answer from Washington on those same questions. It really incapacitates our ability to sell American products overseas.

Also, I would remove some of the tax incentives and other incentives that have encouraged American corporations to manufacture products in foreign countries, when their own employees in this country are out of work. Other nations don't do this, but we do.

Would you remove such incentives if that made it impossible for American companies to compete abroad—even if they wouldn't manufacture more of those products in this country anyhow?

I wouldn't want to paint my picture in black-and-white terms—to say I would go all-out to remove all incentives. The thing that concerns me is that if a company makes a million dollars in Germany, if they reinvest that million dollars in a new shoe-manufacturing plant in Italy, they don't have to pay taxes on it in this country. I think that's an unwarranted discouragement of that company to bring its capital profits back to this nation and to invest in a new shoe factory in New Hampshire, where you have a very high unemployment rate within that same company's employees. I have not analyzed the consequences of my beliefs adequately, in economic terms—I will before the general election—but that's the kind of thing that does concern me.

Also, there are some options in the identification of a country within which a profit is made that I think are unwarranted—so that if a company actually makes a profit in one country overseas, they can claim to have made it in a different country and reduce their taxes paid in this nation. That I think is not called for. I would be cautious about that change, but I think we ought to recognize that American corporations have a responsibility for employment in this nation, and that the sole motivation for their moving to other countries ought not to be to avoid pollution-control restraints, or to seek cheap labor.

Would you have the government intervene directly to create jobs?

I would provide direct federal job opportunities in some categories of the unemployed—for instance, chronic welfare recipients who have no defect to keep them from working. I would get them off the permanent welfare roles and into productive work. I would train them, give them literacy instruction, the services of private and public job-placement agencies—match them with a job and offer it to them. If they didn't accept it, I would not pay them any more welfare benefits.

I would also like to try some things of an innovative nature that are working in other countries. One example would be if you had an area of high unemployment, a geographical area, and a company that had 1,000 employees, and they had to lay off 100 employees temporarily. I would like to see the government and that industry, on a competitive bid basis perhaps, for a short period of time, like six months, employ all the people there for a shorter workweek, and let the government and the industry share the extra cost.

Would you provide public jobs for people, other than those chronically unemployed, who weren't able to find jobs in the private sector?

I don't believe we can afford that, on a permanent basis. This would create in our nation an inclination to circumvent the private sector, to depend on the federal government as a first supplier of jobs, and it would be extremely expensive. It costs about $12,500 to supply a job for a person in the public sector. But there are many other things that could be helpful. For instance, a federal-city guarantee of bond repayments for public-works construction is the kind of thing that could stimulate the construction industry. A guarantee by the federal government of home mortgage repayments would help a great deal. The construction of low-cost rental homes would help a lot. The guarantee or payment of interest subsidies above a certain level for home mortgages would have a direct impact on the housing industry. But I would not want to use massive public-jobs programs except in an extreme case, and I believe that as President I could avoid that circumstance.

Do you think public jobs have a tendency to freeze up the job market, in that the person who takes a public job does not look for a job in industry?

Yes, I do. It creates an atmosphere or an attitude of permanent commitment and a dependence on the government for jobs, and I just don't think that's a good thing for us to do, unless we get into an extreme and apparently permanent circumstance with high unemployment. I think we can reach a level of unemployment in the neighborhood of, say, 4 percent, with a well-managed government, and with good cooperation from the private sector.

Do you favor the federalization of welfare?

I don't think we can do that. But I do think the federal government and the state governments ought to take over the full responsibility of welfare. I don't think the local governments ought to have that responsibility on them. And as increased costs of welfare come in the future, I think the federal government ought to take an increasing responsibility for those financial costs. But it would be too much of a burden to put on the federal government now to take over all the states' portion. It would just mean that the state governments could reduce taxes and you'd have an enormous increase in federal expenditures but

continued page 290

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Jimmy Carter

continued from page 185

no increase in the services to our people.

Do you think we need more planning in the overall economy?

I don't like the prospect of government planning that would be binding on private industry, but my own experience in government is that planning ought to initiate at the executive level, with the President and his office, or with the governor of a state. Secondly, the goals and policies established ought to be publicly divulged. And they ought to be constantly amended as goals are reached or priorities are changed so that the private sector—business, industry, agriculture, and so forth—can cooperate with the government in the evolution of their own long-range plans. I don't favor government domination of private industry with government plans.

What should be the approximate balance between government and private shares of the G.N.P.?

Well, the government share has been steadily growing. My inclination would be to attenuate the growth, at least. My hope would be that we could hold down or reduce the government proportion of the G.N.P. compared to what it would have been if I wasn't in the White House. I can't promise you that I'll stop it or reverse it, but I'll do what I can to hold it down.

What would you do about tax reform?

I think the nation is ready for comprehensive, total tax reform. This has been advocated by people from a wide spectrum of basic political philosophies—all the way from the Brookings Institution to William Simon. There are four basic principles that I've adopted. First, to treat all income the same. Second, to tax income only once. Third, a progressive tax rate. And fourth, to greatly simplify the whole system.

What do you mean when you say taxing income only once?

Well, we presently tax corporate income when it's earned and we also tax the dividends paid to stockholders.

You would favor not taxing dividends?

I would favor taxing income only once. Whether I tax it at the corporate-income point or dividends—I would like to keep that option open. I don't favor taxing the same income twice.

Do you favor taxing capital gains the same as other income?

Yes, I would tax all income the same.

Would you tax accrued capital gains on inheritances?

That is a question I would rather not go into until I have examined it more closely.

You have indicated you would eliminate many of the current deductions on the income tax. Can you say which ones you would eliminate?

No, that is something I want to avoid. I'm perfectly willing to accept the criticism about not being specific, but I don't know how to be specific yet. I would rather wait until I spend a considerable amount of time with a large number of advisers analyzing the entire tax

continued page 292

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April 14, 1976

Jimmy Carter

continued from page 185

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structure, and then I want to propose it as one tax-reform measure. I would like not to get pinned down on a particular promise, or commitment, until I can look at the entire concept in a generic sense, in a comprehensive sense.

What about the deduction for interest on mortgages that favors homeowners?

I haven't ever said I would keep it as an income-tax deduction. I've said I would keep the same amount of incentive for homeownership, or more. I think the $10-billion figure to encourage private homeownership is a very good thing—whether it would be done through the income-tax structure or another mechanism, I don't know yet. If I make any change in it, it would be to increase the figure, or if I make any change in who gets the benefits, it would be to give low- and middle-income families more benefits than they get now.

Have you given any thought to how you would shift the benefits to those families?

Yes, I've given it some thought. But there again I don't want to get myself into a position of discussing one little tiny part of an overall tax-reform package. I'm just not qualified yet. I would want to do it at one time, so that the people could see a balance of where they might have to pay more in one area and get benefits in a different area. That would be okay. But if they only hear about the part that they'll pay more and don't hear about the compensating element of reduction in tax rates, that just creates consternation and concern, and it's a bad political thing to do. I'm not qualified yet to say what specific aspect of a tax-reform package I will maintain maybe two years in the future after I've had a chance to go into the concept.

Do you think we should have more emphasis on antitrust?

Absolutely.

How would you go about applying that emphasis?

Well, one way would be through enthusiastic enforcement of the present antitrust laws. I would like to get the Attorney General out of politics, and not have any constraint on the Attorney General about which antitrust laws are enforced. I would also like to abbreviate the procedures through which the antitrust laws are administered. It takes too long now for the courts to reach a final determination. There are some areas of antitrust laws that I think are inadequate—both in the procedural approach and also in the exact measurements of a lack of competition. The food-processing industry is one that concerns me very much.

What about the oil industry? Would you be in favor of breaking up so-called vertical integration in the oil industry?

The problem of the oil industry that concerns me is at the wholesale and retail end. I don't think I would favor divestiture of the exploration, extraction, refining, maybe even the pipeline distribution areas. But at the wholesale and retail end, I would probably favor divestiture requirements to ensure adequate competition, which I don't think exists now.

continued page 295

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How about horizontal integration? Would you be in favor of getting the big oil companies out of the ownership of other energy resources?

There again, my belief is that the present movement of oil companies into, say, ownership of coal mines is not good for the country. I would favor divestiture to the extent that I felt it was needed to provide for a continuing and very enthusiastic competition, and also to the extent that I thought it would encourage increased coal production. I think in some instances coal production has been constrained deliberately by the oil companies, to hold up the price of oil and to hold up the price of coal. We've not had any increase in coal production in the last four or five years, and I think that's part of the problem, although it's not all of it.

Several months ago you told us that breaking up General Motors would not be one of your goals. Does that still represent your thinking?

Yes, it does. There are a lot of other things that I would devote my time to doing rather than trying to break up a company just because it's large. I might discover as a candidate, or as President, that General Motors was constraining trade or was monopolistic in its attitude, in which case I would publicly demand that antitrust be enforced in that particular area. Or if I thought that antitrust laws were inadequate, I would do all I could to get new laws passed.

Do you feel that there's too much federal government regulation in the economy at the present time? In the transportation industry, for instance?

I certainly do. I think that in the transportation industry some of the rulings of the regulatory agencies are counterproductive to what's best for the consumers. And my primary interest, almost exclusive interest, would be what's best for the consumers of this country. I think competition among the carriers is not adequate. Also in my appointments to regulatory boards, I would lean quite heavily toward appointments that would favor the consumers. And I would try to minimize, to whatever extent possible, the sweetheart arrangements that exist between regulatory agencies and the industries being regulated. I think there's kind of a revolving-door concept where people move freely back and forth between the regulatory agencies and the industries being regulated.

Would you try to move back toward the market in the transportation industry where it's feasible?

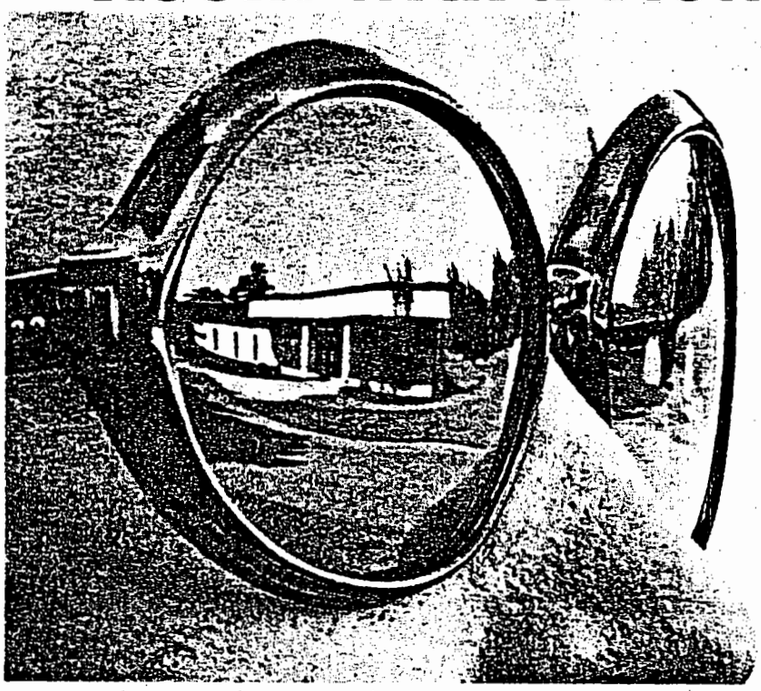
Yes, that would be a general trend of mine. If I thought that this gives unwarranted advantage to some of the more powerful carriers, which might ultimately result in a lack of competition, then, of course, that's where I would draw the line. That would be a matter of individual judgment on cases to the extent that I would have influence.

Some people think that the newer kinds of regulations protecting the environment and health have cost the economy too much for the benefits that they provide. Do you think that there is a problem there?

No, I don't. I was asked at the National Press Club the day I announced for President, "If there was a conflict that you couldn't resolve between economic

continued page 296

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Jimmy Carter *continued*

development and environmental quality, what would you do?" And I said that I would go with environmental quality. Because it's an irreversible process. I've had experience as a businessman, as an environmentalist, as a governor for four years, eagerly recruiting new industry and trying to retain jobs for Georgia people, with some conflict extant between economic infusions into Georgia and environmental quality. I've always gone with environmental quality. I don't think it's hurt our state at all. And I think there's a growing awareness among our people that if there's an unequivocal commitment to environmental quality, obviously using common sense, that in the long run both industry, employees, the communities, and our nation are better off.

Let me ask two questions on labor policy. Do you favor repeal of the prohibition of common situs picketing?

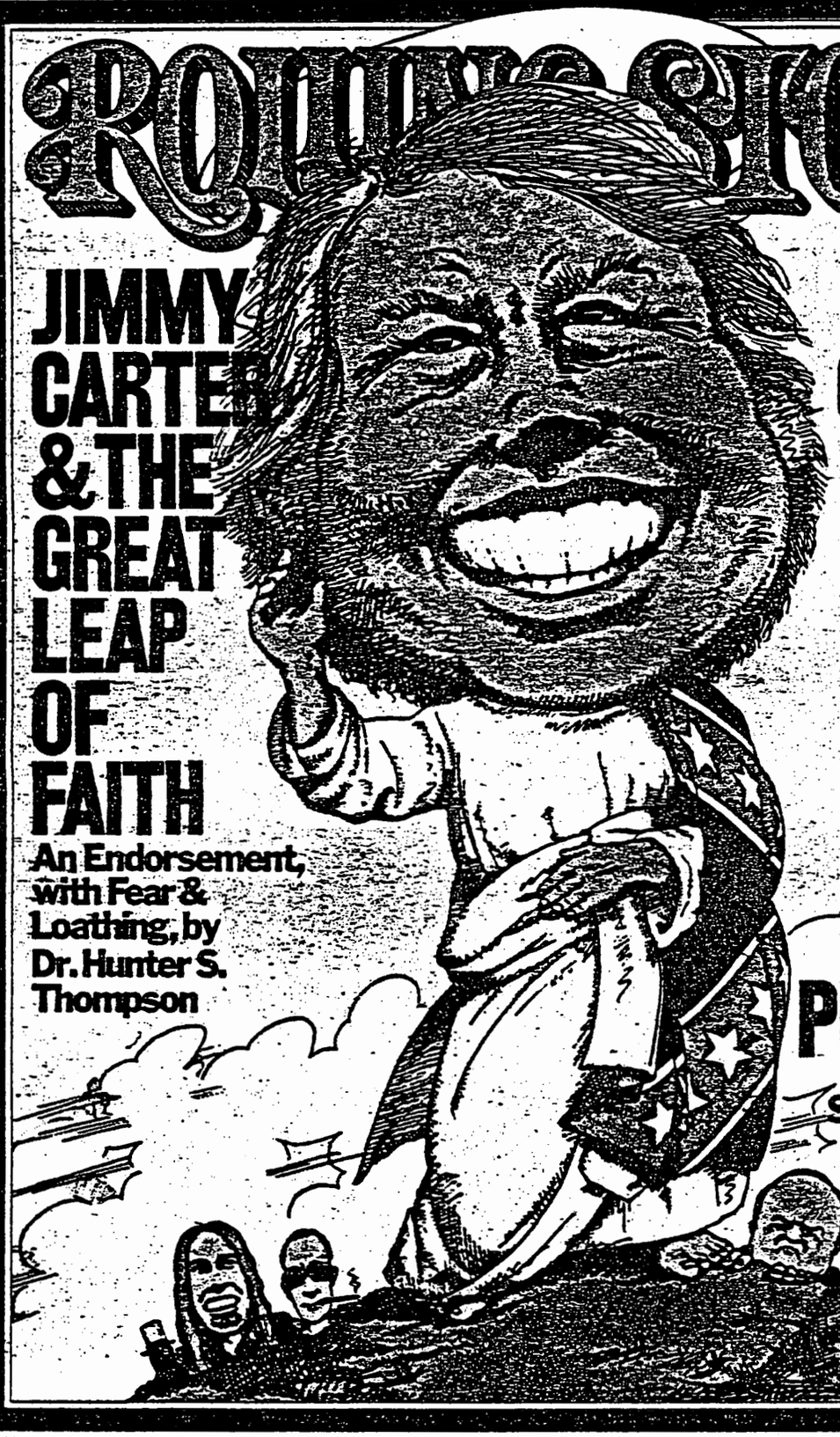
I don't know enough about it to answer the question about what I would do in the future. At the time the common situs picketing bill was on the President's desk, I was asked this question. And knowing that Truman, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Nixon, Johnson, and Ford —at that time—all promised to sign it, I said that if I was President, I would probably sign it. And I probably will. But I would like to be involved in the process of passing a future common situs bill. There are some things about it that concern me. One is the exclusion of an adequate opportunity for work for smaller businesses that might be deliberately frozen out of a job because of the common situs concept. And I also don't want to create additional disharmony in the construction industry. Now, I believe that I would sign the common situs bill, but I would like to make sure that the common situs bill that is passed and brought to my desk would be one that would assuage my concerns.

And you have said that you would sign the repeal of 14-B [the Taft-Hartley Act section that permits states to prohibit the union shop], but you would not promote the repeal?

That's right. And that's the same position I took as governor. Of course, on a state level, you don't call it 14-B, its the right to work. But, yes, that's the position I'd take. END

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ROLLING STONE



JIMMY CARTER & THE GREAT LEAP OF FAITH

An Endorsement, with Fear & Loathing, by Dr. Hunter S. Thompson

THE OUTSIDE STORY

Zen & the Art of Backpacking, Bicycling and Bird Watching plus 'I Conquer the Owyhee' By Big Tim Cahill

THE JOY OF PUMPING

How Arnold Schwarzenegger Minds His Perfect Body By Abe Peck

14023

555

214

"All the News that Fits"

Fear & Loathing '76 • by Dr. Hunter S. Thompson 54

THE MOJO WIRE is spinning, burning and beeping as these words are being inked for proofs. There are still three days and three nights before the presses roll in St. Louis, and our correspondent has almost reached the halfway mark. There will, at last, be a report from the National Affairs Desk on the 1976 campaign. It has not been easy.

For readers who have joined us since the last dispatch from the National Affairs Desk — "The Scum Also Rises" — on Nixon's resignation and pardon, we have this brief background: Dr. Hunter S. Thompson founded the National Affairs Desk in the winter of 1971 in order to cover the 1972 presidential election. The desk continued to function actively for another year in order to deal with the Watergate hearings and Nixon's final siege in the bunker. Since then, we have faithfully paid various far-flung landlords and kept insurance premiums and press cards current, receiving occasional bulletins, deep-backgrounders and suspicious packages. So much for the past.

"Third Rate Romance, Low Rent Rendezvous," has been filed in chunks and spurts, with at least seven "final new ledes" from six different cities over the past three months. It has taken the lives of three telephone operators, led to two nervous breakdowns, one known "mental cruelty" trial separation, engaged two full-time editors, and can be directly associated with a shotgun marriage.

Dr. Thompson writes that he is retiring from politics—at least on a full-time basis—and in this piece he more or less explains his reasons. In part, there is conflict between the rigors of campaign coverage and certain personal needs which cannot be reconciled. This will not mean the end of the National Affairs Desk, however, which remains under Dr. Thompson's violent personal guidance, except when he is at home in Brazil, where he is an unpaid consultant to the national police for "political education."

That little-known fact is by way of explaining why we don't answer letters which ask, "When is the good Doctor Thompson going to write about. . .?" etc. If you don't believe us, contemplate this: every word of Thompson's description of his breakfast habits is absolutely true.

And if you don't much give a hoot, and would just as soon stay clear of political reality, Jimmy Carter and the smoke-filled brain of Dr. Thompson . . . associate editor Harriet Fier has put together an escape-filled, back-to-nature section on the Great Outdoors, featuring (among others) staffers Michael Rogers and Big Tim Cahill in some of their more unnatural acts.

And if . . . Jesus!—the mojo wire just went berserk—smoking, screaming, blood squirting out . . . —*J.S.W.*

Arnold Schwarzenegger: The Joy of Pumping • by Abe Peck 28

The Fight behind California's Nuclear Initiative • by David Weir 35



The Outside Story 37

The Backpacker: Trail Tales of the Hard-ware and the Soft • by Michael Rogers 38

Jack of All Blades • by Michael Rogers 40

Yosemite National Park: Why Are They Golfing in the Cathedral? • by Bill Barich 42

The Secret Life of the North American Bird Watcher • by Janet L. Hopson 49

King of the Rapids • by Big Tim Cahill 50

Polar Bears on Parade • by Nancy Spiller 53

Long Distance Bicycling • by Phil Garner 53

Musical News 9

Surf's up again for the Beach Boys, as big brother Brian Wilson returns. Meanwhile, the Stones do their best in the land of wurst, and mellow fellow Donovan takes a cosmic leap into the world of disco.

DEPARTMENTS

Acoustics	106	*Letters*	6	*Records*	67
American Grandstand	22	*Music*	9	*Review*	21
Books	105	*Performance*	110	*Singles*	19
Calendar	110	*Random Notes*	24		

• Cover Illustration by Greg Scott •

Advertisement

Dateline BURBANK

News & Weather from the Home of Warner Bros. Records



WHEN YOUR PHONE and your ears are both ringing at once, which do you answer first? Your correspondent is faced with that predicament at present writing and... okay, let's put the phone on hold for a paragraph and see about those ears. They're ringing—not at all unpleasantly—as a result of an evening at the Starwood, a great big barn of a nightclub on Santa Monica Boulevard in darkest Hollywood. The house-packing attraction: Slade. The standing-room-only crowd mobbed the Starwood's main floor for a close dose of quintessential Anglo riff-rock, including favorites from *Slade in Flame* ("Them Kinda Monkeys Don't Swing," "How Does It Feel?") and the new (and best) Slade LP, *Nobody's Fools* ("Do the Dirty"). The biggest response greeted the early, phonetically-titled Slade smashes, and I'm pleased to say that "GUDBUY T' JANE" (only capital letters can convey the pulverizing impact of certain Slade tunes) and "MAMA WEER ALL CRAZEE NOW" were appropriately LOUD. With *Nobody's Fools* and a catchy single of the same name out and about, the U.S. may catch Britain in the Slade race yet. Now to that phone...

...**AND A CALL** from Bearsville Records President Paul Fishkin, who couldn't be more excited about Todd Rundgren's new album (shipping in May), *Faithful*. Your reporter closeted himself with a test pressing just yesterday and knows how Paul feels. The past few years have seen a seemingly endless series of albums on which top rockers paid tribute to their roots with reprises of seminal rock songs of the '50s—generally a pretty predictable range of material (Chuck Berry, Little Richard, The Platters). But *Faithful* asks the musical question, "What if one's roots are in more recent ground?" and answers with one whole side of impeccable re-creations: The Yardbirds' "Happenings 10 Years' Time Ago," The Beach Boys' "Good Vibrations," Bob Dylan's "Most Likely You Go Your Way and I'll Go Mine," Beatles' "Strawberry Fields Forever" and "Rain" and Jimi Hendrix' "If Six Was Nine."



It's an eerily affecting listening experience, the track-by-track accuracy of detail eliciting delicious *déjà vus* and double-takes. With his choice of material, his vocal performances (each one himself-and-yet-someone-else) and his note-perfect productions, Todd is engaged not in forgery but in personalization: he lays claim to his influences and makes their incorporation in his work explicit. "Happenings 10 Years Time Ago" seems a lyrical counterpart to "Sometimes I Don't Know What To Feel"; "Good Vibrations" a textural cousin of "Hello It's Me." The other side—new material—finds Todd back at his pop-song strongest: witty, eccentric, nakedly sincere. "Hamburger Hell" cops top honors at my end but there's not a throw-away in sight. Hear *Faithful* first chance you get.

THIS IS AS GOOD a picture of persistence rewarded as you're ever likely to see: Gary Wright being handed his Gold album for *The Dream Weaver* by Warners Chairman/President Mo Ostin at a posh Beverly Hills eatery just the other day. Gary quit grad school to found Spooky Tooth, which made some albums and broke up. A couple of Wright solo records and some production work followed, then a reforming of Tooth, then another breakup and—finally—*The Dream Weaver*, his first Warners LP. He toured clubs nonstop for a year until the title single got a toehold at radio and climbed to Number One, album in tow. Now a second single, "Love Is Alive," is fast headed in the same direction, and a whole nother album is tentatively set for June release. Proof positive that patience pays (talent doesn't hurt).

"DREAM WEAVER" GETS SPUN GOLD.

AND SINCE TURNABOUT is fair play, there's Mo *getting* a record from an artist—this one not Gold yet, since it's only the first acetate of John Sebastian's *Welcome Back* (thus the blank cover). The album, of course, sports the hit single of the same name, but there's lots more where that came from: two of John's Lovin' Spoonful songs ("Didn't Want to Have to Do It" and "Warm Baby") in ear-opening new versions, together with such recent writings as "A Song a Day in Nashville," "Hideaway" and "She's Funny." Spoonful/Sebastian addicts will be able to find *Welcome Back* in the stores around the time this column sees print, and they'll be glad they did.



READY TO ROLL: Lamont Dozier's *Right There* (promised in this space some time back and now a reality) on Warner Bros., Candi Staton's *Young Hearts Run Free LP* (also WB), Rod Stewart's *A Night on the Town* (ditto), Gordon Lightfoot's *I'm Not Supposed to Care* (Warner/Reprise) and... from those fine folks at Warner/Curb, *The Bellamy Brothers, Featuring "Let Your Love Flow."*

Dateline Burbank appears in even-numbered issues of Rolling Stone because Warner Bros. Records cares enough to send the very best. The Dateline Burbank tee-shirt (now in its second big serving) is available for $2.50 in any of three popular sizes—small, medium and large—from Dateline Tee-Shirt, P.O. Box 6868, Burbank, Ca. 91510. Buy bonds.

FEAR & LOATHING ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL '76

THIRD-RATE ROMANCE, LOW-RENT RENDEZVOUS

THE VIEW FROM KEY WEST: NINETY MILES NORTH OF HAVANA AND NINE HUNDRED YEARS ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL . . . FAREWELL TO THE BOYS ON THE BUS: OR, JOHNNY, I NEVER KNEW YE . . . ANOTHER RUDE AND WISTFUL TALE FROM THE BOWELS OF THE AMERICAN DREAM, WITH NOTES, NIGHTMARES AND OTHER STRANGE MEMORIES FROM MANCHESTER, BOSTON, MIAMI AND PLAINS, GEORGIA . . . AND 440 VOLTS FROM CASTRATO, THE DEMON LOVER OF COCONUT GROVE

BY HUNTER S. THOMPSON

A lot of people will tell you that horses get spooked because they're just naturally nervous and jittery, but that ain't right. What you have to remember is that a horse sees things maybe six or seven times bigger than we do.
—BILLY HERMAN, *a harness-racing trainer at Pompano Park in Miami*



THIS NEWS JUST CAME OVER THE RADIO, followed by a song about "faster horses, younger women, older whiskey and more money . . ."* and then came a news item about a Polish gentleman who was arrested earlier today for throwing "more than two dozen bowling balls into the sea off a pier in Fort Lauderdale" because, he told arresting officers, "he thought they were nigger eggs."

. . . . We are living in very strange times, and they are likely to get a lot stranger before we bottom out. Which could happen a lot sooner than even Henry Kissinger thinks. . . . Because this is, after all, another election year, and almost everybody I talk to seems to feel we are headed for strangeness . . . of one sort or another. And some people say we are already deep in the midst of it. Which may be true. The evidence points both ways. . . . But from my perch in this plastic catbird seat out here on the southernmost rim of Key West, the barometer looks to be falling so fast on all fronts that it no longer matters. And now comes this filthy news in the latest Gallup Poll that Hubert Humphrey will be our next president. . . . Or, failing that, he will foul the national air for the next six

444

months and drive us all to smack with his poison gibberish.

Jesus, no wonder that poor bastard up in Fort Lauderdale ran amok and decided that all bowling balls were actually nigger eggs that would have to be hurled, at once, into shark-infested waters. He was probably a desperate political activist of some kind trying to send a message to Washington.

Last night, on this same radio station, I heard a warning about "a new outbreak of dog mutilations in Coconut Grove." The disc jockey reading the news sounded angry and agitated. "Three more mongrel dogs were found castrated and barely alive tonight," he said, "and investigating officers said there was no doubt that all three animals were victims of the same bloodthirsty psychotic—a stocky middle-aged Cuban known as 'Castrato'—who has terrorized dog owners in Coconut Grove for the past three months.

"Today's mutilations, police said, were executed with the same sadistic precision as all the others. According to the owner of one victim, a half-breed chow watchdog named Willie, the dog was 'minding his own business, just lying out there in the driveway, when all of a sudden I heard him start yelping and I looked out the front door just in time to see this dirty little spic shoot him again with one of those electric flashlight guns. Then the sonofabitch grabbed Willie by the hind legs and threw him into the back of an old red pickup. I yelled at him, but by the time I got hold of my shotgun and ran out on the porch, he was gone. It all happened so fast that I didn't even get the license number off the truck.' "

The voice on the radio paused for a long moment, then dipped a few octaves and went on with the story: "Several hours later, police said, Willie and two other dogs—both mongrels—were found in a vacant lot near the Dinner Key yacht marina. All three had been expertly castrated. . . ."

Another long pause, followed by a moaning sound as the radio voice seemed to crack and stutter momentarily. . . . And then it continued, very slowly: "The nature of the wounds, police said, left no room for doubt that today's mutilations were the work of the same fiendish hand responsible for all but two of the 49 previous dog castrations in Coconut Grove this year.

" 'This is definitely the work of Castrato,' said Senior Dog Warden Lionel Olay at a hastily called press conference late this afternoon. 'Look at the razor work on this mongrel chow,' Olay told reporters. 'These cuts are surgically perfect, and so is this cauterization. This man you call "Castrato" is no amateur, gentlemen. This is very artistic surgery—maybe 50 or 55 seconds from start to finish, assuming he works with a whip-steel straight razor and a 220-volt soldering iron.'

"Olay ended the press conference on a humorous note, urging reporters to 'work like dogs' until this case is cracked. 'And if any of you people own mongrels,' he added, 'either keep them out of Coconut Grove or have them put to sleep.'

"Meanwhile," said the newscaster, "South Miami police have warned all dog owners in the area to be on the lookout for a red pickup truck cruising slowly in residential neighborhoods. The driver, a small but muscular Cuban between 40 and 50 years old, is known to be armed with an extremely dangerous, high-voltage electric weapon called a 'Taser' and is also criminally insane."

JESUS CHRIST! I'M NOT SURE I can handle this kind of news and frantic stimulus at four o'clock in the morning—especially with a head full of speed, booze and Percodan. It is extremely difficult to concentrate on the cheap realities of Campaign '76 under these circumstances. The idea of covering even the early stages of this cynical and increasingly retrograde campaign has already plunged me into a condition bordering on terminal despair, and if I thought I might have to stay with these people all the way to November I would change my name and seek work as a professional alligator poacher in the swamps around Lake Okeechobee. My frame of mind is not right for another long and maddening year of total involvement in a presidential campaign . . . and somewhere in the back of my brain lurks a growing suspicion that this campaign is not right either; but that is not the kind of judgment any journalist should make at this point. At least not in print.

So for the moment I will try to suspend both the despair and the final judgment. Both will be massively justified in the next few months, I think—and until then I can fall back on the firmly [*Cont. on 58*]

[*Cont. from 55*] held but rarely quoted conviction of most big-time Washington pols that *nobody* can function at top form on a full-time basis in more than one presidential campaign. This rule of thumb has never been applied to journalists, to my knowledge, but there is ample evidence to suggest it should be. There is no reason to think that even the best and brightest of journalists, as it were, can repeatedly or even more than once crank themselves up to the level of genuinely fanatical energy, commitment and total concentration it takes to live in the speeding vortex of a presidential campaign from start to finish. There is not enough room on that hell-bound train for anybody who wants to relax and act human now and then. It is a gig for ambitious zealots and terminal action-junkies . . . and this is especially true of a campaign like this one, which so far lacks any central, overriding issue like the war in Vietnam that brought so many talented and totally dedicated nonpoliticians into the '68 and '72 campaigns.

The issues this time are too varied and far too complex for the instant polarization of a Which Side Are You On? crusade. There will not be many ideologues seriously involved in the '76 campaign; this one is a technicians' trip, run by and for politicians. . . . Which is not really a hell of a lot different from any other campaign, except that this time it is going to be painfully obvious. This time, on the 200th anniversary of what used to be called "The American Dream," we are going to have our noses rubbed, day after day—on the tube and in the headlines—in this mess we have made for ourselves.

Today, wherever in this world I meet a man or woman who fought for Spanish liberty, I meet a kindred soul. In those years we lived our best, and what has come after and what there is to come can never carry us to those heights again.
—*from The Education of a Correspondent* by HERBERT MATTHEWS

MY PROBLEM WITH THIS CAMPAIGN BEGAN NOT QUITE TWO YEARS ago, in May of 1974, when I flew down to Georgia with Teddy Kennedy and ran into Jimmy Carter. The meeting was not so much accidental as inevitable: I knew almost nothing about Carter at the time, and that was all I wanted to know. He was the lame duck governor of Georgia who had nominated "Scoop" Jackson at the 1972 Democratic Convention in Miami, and in the course of that year I had written some ugly things about him.

. . . . Or at least that's what he told me when I showed up at the governor's mansion for breakfast at eight o'clock in the morning. I had been up all night, in the company of serious degenerates . . . ah, but let's not get into that, at least not quite yet. I just reread that Castrato business, and it strikes me that I am probably just one or two twisted tangents away from terminal fusing of the brain circuits.

Yes, the point: my feeling for Southern politicians is not especially warm, even now. Ever since the first cannonballs fell on Fort Sumter in 1861, Southern politics has been dominated by thieves, bigots, warmongers and buffoons. There were governors like Earl Long in Louisiana, "Kissin' Jim" Folsom in Alabama and Orval Faubus in Arkansas . . . and senators like Bilbo and Eastland from Mississippi, Smathers and Gurney from Florida . . . and Lyndon Johnson from Texas.

Toward the end of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s, the governor of Georgia was a white trash dingbat named Lester Maddox—who is still with us, in one crude form or another—and when the curtain finally falls on George Wallace, he will probably go down in history as the Greatest Thief of them all. Wallace was the first Southern politician to understand that there are just as many mean, stupid bigots above the Mason-Dixon Line as there are below it, and when he made the shrewd decision to "go national" in 1968, he created an Alabama-based industry that has since made very rich men of himself and a handful of cronies. For more than a decade, George Wallace has bamboozled the national press and terrified the ranking fixers in both major parties. In 1968, he took enough Democratic votes from Hubert Humphrey to elect Richard Nixon, and if he had bothered to understand the delegate selection process in 1972, he could have prevented McGovern's nomination and muscled himself into the number two spot on a Humphrey-Wallace ticket.

McGovern could not have survived a second-ballot shortfall in Miami that year, and anybody who thinks the Happy Warrior would not have made that trade with Wallace is a fool. Hubert Humphrey would have traded *anything*, with *anybody*, to get the Democratic nomination for himself in 1972 . . . and he'll be ready to trade again, this year, if he sees the slightest chance.

And he does. He saw it on the morning after the New Hampshire primary, when five percent of the vote came in as "uncommitted." That rotten, truthless old freak was on national TV at the crack of dawn, cackling like a hen full of amyls at the "wonderful news" from New Hampshire. After almost four years of relatively statesmanlike restraint and infrequent TV appearances that showed his gray hair and haggard jowls—four long and frantic years that saw the fall of Richard Nixon, the end of the war in Vietnam and a neo-collapse of the U.S. economy—after all that time and all those sober denials that he would never run for president, all it took to jerk Hubert out of his closet was the news from New Hampshire that five percent of the Democratic voters, less than 4000 people, in that strange little state had cast their ballots for "uncommitted" delegates.

To Humphrey, who was not even entered in the New Hampshire primary, this meant *five percent for him*. Never mind that a completely unknown ex-governor of Georgia had *won* in New Hampshire with more than 30% of the vote; or that liberal Congressman Morris Udall had finished a solid but disappointing second with 24%; or that liberal Senator Birch Bayh ran third with 16%. . . . None of that mattered to Hubert, because he was privy to various rumors and force-fed press reports that many of the "uncommitted" delegates in New Hampshire were secret Humphrey supporters. There was no way to be sure, of course—but no reason to doubt it, either; at least not in the mushy mind of the Happy Warrior.

HIS FIRST TV APPEARANCE of the '76 campaign was a nasty shock to me. I had been up all night, tapping the glass and nursing my bets along (I had bet the quinella, taking Carter and Reagan against Udall and Ford) and when the sun came up on Wednesday I was slumped in front of a TV set in an ancient New England farmhouse on a hilltop near a hamlet called Contoocook. I had won early on Carter, but I had to wait for Hughes Rudd and the *Morning News* to learn that Ford had finally overtaken Reagan. The margin at dawn was less than one percent, but it was enough to blow my quinella and put Reagan back on Cheap Street, where he's been ever since . . . and I was brooding on this unexpected loss, sipping my coffee and tapping the glass once again, when all of a sudden I was smacked right straight in the eyes with the wild-eyed babbling spectacle of Hubert Horatio Humphrey. His hair was bright orange, his cheeks were rouged, his forehead was caked with Manian, and his mouth was moving so fast that the words poured out in a high-pitched chattering whine . . . "O my goodness, my gracious . . . isn't it wonderful? Yes, yes indeed . . . . O yes, it just goes to show . . . . I just can't say enough . . . ."

No! I thought. This can't be true! Not *now*! Not so soon! Here was this *monster*; this shameful electrified corpse—giggling and raving and flapping his hands at the camera like he'd just been elected president. He looked like three iguanas in a feeding frenzy. I stood up and backed off from the TV set, but the view was no different from the other side of the room. I was seeing The Real Thing, and it stunned me. . . . Because I knew, *in my heart*, that he *was* real: that even with a five percent shadow vote in the year's first primary, where his name was not on the ballot, and despite Jimmy Carter's surprising victory and four other nationally known candidates finishing higher than "uncommitted," that Hubert Humphrey had somehow emerged from the chaos of New Hampshire with yet another new life, and another serious shot at the presidency of the United States.

This was more than a visceral feeling, or some painful flash of dread instinct. It was, in fact, a thing I'd predicted myself, at least six months earlier: . . . It was a summer night in Washington and I was having dinner at an outdoor restaurant near the Capitol with what the *Wall Street Journal* later described as "a half-dozen top operatives from the 1972 McGovern campaign." And at that point there were already three certain candidates for '76—Jimmy Carter, Mo Udall and Fred Harris. We had just come from a brief and feisty little session with Carter, and on the way to the restaurant we had run into Udall on the street, so the talk at the table was understandably "deep politics." Only one person in the group had even a tentative commitment to a candidate in '76, and after an hour or two of cruel judgments and bitter comment, Alan Baron—McGovern's press secretary and a prime mover in the "new politics" wing of the Democratic party—proposed a secret ballot to find out which candidate those of us at the table actually believed would be the party nominee in 1976. "Not who we want, or who we like," Baron stressed, "but who we really think is gonna get it."

I tore a page out of my notebook and sliced it up to make ballots. We each took one, wrote a name on it, then folded it up and passed the ballots to Baron, a Farouk-like personage with a carnivorous sense of humor and the build of a sumo wrestler.

(Alan and I have not always been friends. He was Muskie's campaign manager for Florida in '72, and he has never entirely recovered from his encounter with the Gin-Crazed Boohoo on Big Ed's "Sunshine Special" . . . and even now, after all this time, I will occasionally catch him staring at me with a feral glint in his eyes.)

Indeed, and so much for that—just another bucket of bad blood gone under the bridge, so to speak, and in presidential politics you learn to love the bridges and never look down.

Which gets us back to the vote count, and the leer on Baron's face when he unfolded the first ballot. "I knew it," he said. "That's two already, counting mine . . . yeah, here's another one." He looked up and laughed. "It's a landslide for Hubert."

And it was. The final count was Humphrey 4, Muskie 2 and one vote for Udall from Rick Stearns, who was already involved in the planning and organizing stages of Udall's campaign. Nobody else at the table was committed to anything except gloom, pessimism and a sort of aggressive neutrality.

# # # # # # # #

SO MUCH FOR THE IDEA OF A SEQUEL TO *FEAR AND LOATHING ON the Campaign Trail* '72. Barring some totally unexpected development, I will leave the dreary task of chronicling this low-rent trip to Teddy White, who is already trapped in a place I don't want to be.

But there is no way to escape without wallowing deep in the first few primaries and getting a feel, more or less, for the evidence. . . . And in order to properly depress and degrade myself for the ordeal to come, I decided in early January to resurrect the National Affairs Desk and set up, once again, in the place where I spent so much time in 1972 and then again in 1974. These were the boom-and-bust years of Richard Milhous Nixon, who was criminally insane and also president of the United States for five years. •

MARCHING THROUGH GEORGIA WITH TED KENNEDY . . . DEEP, DOWN AND DIRTY; ON THE DARKEST SIDE OF SHAME . . . THE POLITICS OF MYSTERY AND BLOOD ON THE HANDS OF DEAN RUSK . . . JIMMY CARTER'S LAW DAY SPEECH, AND WHY IT WAS SHROUDED IN SECRECY BY PERSONS UNKNOWN . . . DERBY DAY IN THE GOVERNOR'S MANSION AND THE STRANGLING OF THE SLOAT DIAMOND

> If any person shall carnally know in any manner any brute animal, or carnally know any male or female person by the anus or by and with the mouth, or voluntarily submit to such carnal knowledge, he or she shall be guilty of a felony and shall be confined in the penitentiary not less than one year nor more than three years.
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> —Commonwealth of Virginia Anti-Sodomy Statute, 1792

ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT problems for a journalist covering a presidential campaign is getting to know the candidates well enough to make confident judgments about them, because it is just about impossible for a journalist to establish a personal relationship with any candidate who has already made the big leap from "long shot" to "serious contender." The problem becomes more and more serious as the stakes get higher, and by the time a candidate has survived enough primaries to convince himself and his staff that they will all be eating their lunches in the White House Mess for the next four years, he is long past the point of having either the time or the inclination to treat any journalist who doesn't already know him personally as anything but just another face in the campaign "press corps."

There are many complex theories about the progressive stages of a presidential campaign, but for the moment let's say there are three: Stage One is the period between the decision to run for president and the morning after the New Hampshire primary when the field is still crowded, the staff organizations are still loose and relaxed, and most candidates are still hungry for all the help they can get—especially media exposure, so they can get their names in the Gallup Poll; Stage Two is the "winnowing out," the separating of the sheep from the goats, when the two or three survivors of the early primaries begin looking like long-distance runners with a realistic shot at the party nomination; and Stage Three begins whenever the national media, the public opinion polls and Mayor Daley of Chicago decide that a candidate has picked up enough irreversible momentum to begin looking like at least a *probable* nominee, and a *possible* next president.

This three-stage breakdown is not rooted in any special wisdom or scientific analysis, but it fits both the 1972 and 1976 Democratic campaigns well enough to make the point that any journalist who doesn't get a pretty firm personal fix on a candidate while he's still in Stage One might just as well go with his or her instincts all the way to Election Day in November, because once a candidate gets to Stage Two his whole lifestyle changes drastically.

At that point he becomes a public figure, a serious contender, and the demands on his time and energy begin escalating to the level of madness. He wakes up every morning to face a split-second, 18-hour-a-day schedule of meetings, airports, speeches, press conferences, motorcades and handshaking. Instead of rambling, off-the-cuff talks over a drink or two with reporters from small-town newspapers, he is suddenly flying all over the country in his own chartered jet full of syndicated columnists and network TV stars. . . . Cameras and microphones follow him everywhere he goes, and instead of pleading long and earnestly for the support of 15 amateur political activists gathered in some English professor's living room in Keene, New Hampshire, he is reading the same cliché-riddled speech—often three or four times in a single day—to vast auditoriums full of people who either laugh or applaud at all the wrong times and who may or may not be supporters. . . . And all the fat cats, labor leaders and big-time pols who couldn't find the time to return his phone calls when he was desperately looking for help a few months ago are now ringing his phone off the hook within minutes after his arrival in whatever Boston, Miami or Milwaukee hotel his managers have booked him into that night. But they are not calling to offer their help and support, they just want to make sure he understands that they don't plan to help or support anybody else, until they get to know *him* a little better.

It is a very mean game that these high-rolling, coldhearted hustlers play. The president of the United States may no longer be "the most powerful man in the world," but he is still close enough to be sure that nobody else in the world is going to cross him by accident. And anybody who starts looking like he might get his hands on that kind of power had better get comfortable, right from the start, with the certain knowledge that he is going to have to lean on some very mean and merciless people just to get himself elected.

The power of the presidency is so vast that it is probably a good thing, in retrospect, that only a very few people in this country understood the gravity of Richard Nixon's mental condition during his last year in the White House. There were moments in that year when even his closest friends and advisers were convinced that the president of the United States was so crazy with rage and booze and suicidal despair that he was only two martinis away from losing his grip entirely and suddenly locking himself in his office long enough to make that single telephone call that would have launched enough missiles and bombers to blow the whole world off its axis or at least kill 100 million people.

The sudden, hellish reality of a nuclear war with either Russia or China or both was probably the only thing that could have salvaged Nixon's presidency after the Supreme Court ruled that he had to yield up the incriminating tapes that he *knew* would finish him off. Would the action-starved generals at the Strategic Air Command Headquarters have ignored an emergency order from their commander-in-chief? And how long would it have taken Pat Buchanan or General Haig to realize that "The Boss" had finally flipped? Nixon spent so much time alone that nobody else in the White House would have given his absence a second thought until he failed to show up for dinner, and by that time he could have made enough phone calls to start wars all over the world.

A four-star general commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps with three wars and 35 years of fanatical devotion to duty, honor and country in his system would hack off his own feet and eat them rather than refuse to obey a direct order from the president of the United States—even if he thought the president was crazy.

The key to all military thinking is a concept that nobody who ever wore a uniform with even one stripe on it will ever forget: "You don't salute the man, you salute the uniform." Once you've learned that, you're a soldier—and soldiers don't disobey orders from people they have to salute. If Nixon's tortured mind had bent far enough to let him think he could save himself by ordering a full-bore Marine/Airborne invasion of Cuba, he would not have given the Boom-Boom order to some closet-pacifist general who might be inclined to delay the invasion long enough to call Henry Kissinger for official reassurance that the president was not insane.

No West Pointer with four stars on his hat would take that kind of risk anyway. By the time word got back to the White House, or to Kissinger, that Nixon had given the order to invade Cuba, the whole Caribbean would be a sea of fire; Fidel Castro would be in a submarine on his way to Russia, and the sky above the Atlantic would be streaked from one horizon to the other with the vapor trails of a hundred panic-launched missiles.

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RIGHT. BUT IT WAS MAINLY A MATTER OF LUCK THAT NIXON'S mental disintegration was so obvious and so crippling that by the time he came face to face with his final option, he was no longer able to even recognize it. When the going got tough, the politician who worshiped toughness above all else turned into a whimpering, gin-soaked vegetable. . . . But it is still worth wondering how long it would have taken Haig and Kissinger to convince all those SAC generals out in Omaha to disregard a Doomsday phone call from the president of the United States because a handful of civilians in the White House said he was crazy.

Ah . . . but we are wandering off into wild speculation again, so let's chop it off right here. We were talking about the vast powers of the presidency and all the treacherous currents surrounding it. . . . Not to mention all the riptides, ambushes, Judas goats, fools and ruthless, dehumanized thugs that will sooner or later have to be dealt with by any presidential candidate who still feels strong on his feet when he comes to that magic moment for the leap from Stage Two to Stage Three.

But there will be plenty of time for that later on. And plenty of other journalists to write about it. . . . But not me. The most active and interesting phase of a presidential campaign is Stage One, which is as totally different from the Sturm und Drang of Stage Three as a guerrilla-style war among six or eight Gypsy nations is totally different from the bloody, hunkered down trench warfare that paralyzed and destroyed half of Europe during World War I.

> ATHENS, Ala. (AP)—Iladean Tribble, who had said she would marry entertainer Elvis Presley on Saturday, confirmed Sunday that the ceremony did not take place. Mrs. Tribble, a 42-year-old widow with four children, was asked in a telephone interview why the wedding did not take place. She replied: "This is the Sabbath day and I don't talk about things like this on the Lord's day."

WELL . . . THAT'S fair enough, I guess. Jimmy Carter has said that he won't talk about his foreign policy until the day he delivers his inaugural address. Everybody has a right to their own quirks and personal convictions—as long as they don't try to lay them on me—but just for the pure, meanspirited hell of it, I am going to call Iladean Tribble when the sun comes up in about three hours and ask her the same question the AP reporter insulted her faith by asking on the Sabbath.

By Mrs. Tribble's own logic, I should get a perfectly straight answer from her on

Tuesday, which according to my calendar is not a religious holiday of any kind. . . . So in just a few hours I should have the answer, from Ilsedan herself, to the question regarding her mysterious nonmarriage to Elvis Presley.

And after I talk to Ilsedan, I am going to call my old friend, Pat Caddell, who is Jimmy Carter's pollster and one of the two or three main wizards in Carter's brain trust, and we will have another one of our daily philosophical chats. . . .

When I read Mrs. Tribble's quote to Pat earlier tonight, in the course of a more or less bare-knuckled telephone talk, he said he didn't know any woman named Ilsedan in Athens, Alabama—and besides that he didn't see any connection between her and the main topic of our conversation tonight, which was Jimmy Carter—who is always the main topic when I talk to Caddell, and we've been talking, arguing, plotting, haggling and generally whipping on each other almost constantly, ever since this third-rate, low-rent campaign circus hit the public roads about four months ago.

That was *before* Pat went to work *for* Jimmy, but long after I'd been cited in about 33 dozen journals all over the country as one of Carter's earliest and most fervent supporters. Everywhere I went for at least the past year, from Los Angeles to Austin, Nashville, Washington, Boston, Chicago and Key West, I've been publicly hammered by friends and strangers alike for saying that I "like Jimmy Carter." I have been jeered by large crowds for saying this; I have been mocked in print by liberal pundits and other Gucci people; I have been called a brain-damaged geek by some of my best and oldest friends; my own wife threw a knife at me on the night of the Wisconsin primary when the midnight radio stunned us both with a news bulletin from a CBS station in Los Angeles, saying that earlier announcements by NBC and ABC regarding Mo Udall's narrow victory over Carter in Wisconsin were not true, and that late returns from the rural districts were running so heavily in Carter's favor that CBS was now calling him the winner.

Sandy likes Mo Udall; and so do I, for that matter. . . . I also like Jerry Jeff Walker, the Scofflaw King of New Orleans and a lot of other people I don't necessarily believe should be presidents of the United States. The immense concentration of power in that office is just too goddamn heavy for anybody with good sense to turn his back on. Or *her* back. Or *its* back. . . . At least not as long as whatever lives in the White House has the power to fill vacancies on the U.S. Supreme Court; because anybody with that kind of power can use it—like Nixon did—to pack-crowd the Court of Final Appeal in this country with the same kind of lame, vindictive yo-yos who recently voted to sustain the commonwealth of Virginia's antisodomy statutes. . . . And anybody who thinks that 6-3 vote against "sodomy" is some kind of abstract legal gibberish that doesn't really affect *them* had better hope they never get busted for anything the Bible or any local vice-squad cop calls an "unnatural sex act." Because "unnatural" is defined by the laws of almost every state in the Union as anything but a quick and dutiful hump in the classic missionary position, for purposes of procreation only. Anything else is a *felony crime*, and people who commit felony crimes *go to prison*.

Which won't make much difference to me. I took that fatal dive off the straight and narrow path so long ago that I can't remember when I first became a felon—but I have been one ever since, and it's way too late to change now. In the eyes of The Law, my whole life has been one long and *sinful* felony. I have sinned repeatedly, as often as possible, and just as soon as I can get away from this goddamn Calvinist typewriter I am going to get right after it again. . . . God knows, I hate it, but I can't help myself after all these criminal years. Like Waylon Jennings says, "The devil made me do it the first time. The second time, I done it on my own."

Right. And the third time, I did it because of brain damage. . . . And after that: well, I figured that anybody who was already doomed to a life of crime and sin might as well learn to love it.

Anything worth all that risk and energy almost has to be beyond the reach of any kind of redemption except the power of Pure Love . . . and this flash of twisted wisdom brings us back, strangely enough, to *politics*, Pat Caddell, and the 1976 presidential campaign. . . . And, not incidentally, to the fact that any Journal on any side of Wall Street that ever quoted me as saying "I like Jimmy Carter" was absolutely accurate. I have said it many times, to many people, and I will keep on saying it until Jimmy Carter gives me some good reason to change my mind—which might happen about two minutes after he finishes reading this article: But I doubt it.

I have known Carter for more than two years and I have probably spent more private, human time with him than any other journalist on the '76 campaign trail. The first time I met him—at about eight o'clock on a Saturday morning in 1974 at the back door of the governor's mansion in Atlanta—I was about two degrees on the safe side of berserk, raving and babbling at Carter and his whole bemused family about some hostile bastard wearing a Georgia State Police uniform who had tried to prevent me from coming through the gate at the foot of the long, tree-shaded driveway leading up to the mansion.

I had been up all night, in the company of serious degenerates, and when I rolled up to the gatehouse in the back seat of a taxi I'd hailed in downtown Atlanta, the trooper was not amused by the sight and sound of my presence. I was trying to act calm but after about 30 seconds I realized it wasn't working; the look on his face told me I was not getting through to the man. He stared at me, saying nothing, while I explained from my crouch in the back seat of the cab that I was late for breakfast with "the governor and Ted Kennedy". . . . Then he suddenly stiffened and began shouting at the cabdriver: "What kind of dumb shit are you trying to *pull*, buddy? Don't you know where you *are*?"

Before the cabbie could answer, the trooper smacked the flat of his hand down on the hood so hard that the whole cab rattled. "You! Shut this engine!" Then he pointed at me: "You! Out of the cab. Let's see some identification." He reached out for my wallet and motioned for me to follow him into the gatehouse. The cabbie started to follow, but the trooper waved him back. "Stay right where you are, good buddy. I'll *get* to you." The look on my driver's face said we were both going to jail and it was my fault. "It wasn't *my* idea to come out here," he whined. "This guy told me he was invited for breakfast with the governor."

The trooper was looking at the press cards in my wallet. I was already pouring sweat, and just as he looked over at me I realized I was holding a can of beer in my hand. "You always bring your own beer when you have breakfast with the governor?" he asked.

I shrugged and dropped it in a nearby wastebasket.

"You!" he shouted. "What do you think you're doing?"

The scene went on for another 20 minutes. There were many phone calls, a lot of yelling, and finally the trooper reached somebody in the mansion who agreed to locate Senator Kennedy and ask if he knew "some guy name of Thompson, I got him down here, he's all beered up and wants to come up there for breakfast. . . ."

Jesus, I thought, that's all Kennedy needs to hear. Right in the middle of breakfast with the governor of Georgia, some nervous old darky shuffles in from the kitchen to announce that the trooper down at the gatehouse is holding some drunkard who says he's a friend of Senator Kennedy's and he wants to come in and have breakfast . . .

WHICH WAS, IN fact, a lie. I had not been invited for breakfast with the governor, and up to that point I had done everything in my power to avoid it. Breakfast is the only meal of the day that I tend to view with the same kind of traditionalized reverence that most people associate with Lunch and Dinner.

I like to eat breakfast alone, and almost never before noon; anybody with a terminally jangled lifestyle needs at least one psychic anchor every 24 hours, and mine is breakfast. In Hong Kong, Dallas or at home—and regardless of whether or not I have been to bed—breakfast is a personal ritual that can only be properly observed alone, and in a spirit of genuine excess. The food factor should always be massive: four Bloody Marys, two grapefruits, a pot of coffee, Rangoon crepes, a half-pound of either sausage, bacon or corned beef hash with diced chilies, a Spanish omelette or eggs Benedict, a quart of milk, a chopped lemon for random seasoning, and something like a slice of key lime pie, two margaritas and six lines of the best cocaine for dessert. . . . Right, and there should also be two or three newspapers, all mail and messages, a telephone, a notebook for planning the next 24 hours, and at least one source of good music. . . . All of which should be dealt with *outside*, in the warmth of a hot sun, and preferably stone naked.

It is not going to be easy for those poor bastards out in San Francisco who have been waiting all day in a condition of extreme fear and anxiety for my long and finely reasoned analysis of "The Meaning of Jimmy Carter" to come roaring out of my faithful mojo wire and across 2000 miles of telephone line *to* understand why I am sitting here in a Texas motel full of hookers and writing at length on The Meaning of Breakfast. . . . But like almost everything else worth understanding, the explanation for this is deceptively quick and basic.

After more than ten years of trying to deal with politics and politicians in a professional manner, I have finally come to the harsh understanding that there is no way at all—not even for a doctor of chemotherapy with total access to the whole spectrum of legal and illegal drugs, the physical constitution of a mule shark and a brain as rare and sharp and original as the Sloat diamond—to function as a political journalist without abandoning the whole concept of a decent breakfast. I have worked like 12 bastards for more than a decade to be able to have it both ways, but the conflict is too basic and too deeply rooted in the nature of both politics and breakfast to ever be reconciled. It is one of those very few Great Forks in The Road of Life that cannot be avoided: like a Jesuit priest who is also a practicing nudist with a $200-a-day smack habit wanting to be the first Naked Pope (or Pope Naked the First, if we want to use the language of the church). . . . Or a vegetarian pacifist with a .44 magnum fetish who wants to run for president without giving up his membership in the National Rifle Association or his New York City pistol permit that allows him to wear twin six-guns on *Meet the Press*, *Face the Nation* and all of his press conferences.

There are some combinations that *nobody* can handle: shooting bats on the wing with a double-barreled .410 and a head full of jimson weed is one of them, and another is the idea that it is possible for a freelance writer with at least four close friends named Jones to cover a hopelessly scrambled presidential campaign better than any six-man team of career political journalists on the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* and still eat a three-hour breakfast in the sun every morning.

But I had not made the final decision on that morning when I rolled up to the gatehouse of the governor's mansion in Atlanta to have breakfast with Jimmy Carter and Ted Kennedy. My reason for being there at that hour was simply to get my professional schedule back in phase with Kennedy's political obligations for that day. He was scheduled to address a crowd of establishment heavies who would convene at the University of Georgia Law School at 10:30 in the morning to officially witness the unveiling of a huge and prestigious oil portrait of former secretary of state Dean Rusk, and his tentative schedule for Saturday called for him to leave the governor's mansion after breakfast and make the 60-mile trip to Athens by means of the governor's official airplane. . . . So in order to hook up with Kennedy and make the trip with him, I had

444

no choice but to meet him for breakfast at the mansion, where he had spent the previous night at Carter's invitation.

Oddly enough, I had also been invited to spend Friday night in a bedroom at the governor's mansion. I had come down from Washington with Kennedy on Friday afternoon, and since I was the only journalist traveling with him that weekend, Governor Carter had seen fit to include me when he invited "the Kennedy party" to overnight at the mansion instead of a downtown hotel.

But I am rarely in the right frame of mind to spend the night in the house of a politician—at least not if I can spend it anywhere else, and on the previous night I figured I would be a lot happier in a room at the Regency Hyatt House than I would in the Georgia governor's mansion. Which may or may not have been true, but regardless of all that, I still had to be at the mansion for breakfast if I wanted to get any work done that weekend, and my work was to stay with Ted Kennedy.

The scene at the gate had unhinged me so thoroughly that I couldn't find the door I'd been told to knock on when I finally got out of my cab at the mansion . . . and by the time I finally got inside I was in no shape at all to deal with Jimmy Carter and his whole family. I didn't even recognize Carter when he met me at the door. All I knew was that a middle-aged man wearing Levi's was taking me into the dining room, where I insisted on sitting down for a while, until the tremors passed.

One of the first things I noticed about Carter, after I'd calmed down a bit, was the relaxed and confident way he handled himself with Ted Kennedy. The contrast between the two was so stark that I am still surprised whenever I hear somebody talking about the "eerie resemblance" between Carter and John F. Kennedy. I have never noticed it, except every once in a while in some carefully staged photograph—and if there was ever a time when it seems like any such resemblance should have been impossible to miss, it was that morning in Atlanta when I walked into the dining room and saw Jimmy Carter and Ted Kennedy sitting about six feet apart at the same table.

Kennedy, whose presence usually dominates any room he walks into, was sitting there looking stiff and vaguely uncomfortable in his dark blue suit and black shoes. He glanced up as I entered and smiled faintly, then went back to staring at a portrait on the wall on the other side of the room. Paul Kirk, his executive wizard, was sitting next to him, wearing the same blue suit and black shoes—and Jimmy King, his executive advance man, was off in a distant corner yelling into a telephone. There were about 15 other people in the room, most of them laughing and talking, and it took me a while to notice that nobody was talking to Kennedy—which is a very rare thing to see, particularly in any situation involving other politicians or even politically conscious people.

Kennedy was obviously not in a very gregarious mood that morning, and I didn't learn why until an hour or so later when I found myself in one of the Secret Service cars with King, Kirk and Kennedy, running at top speed on the highway to Athens. The mood in the car was ugly. Kennedy was yelling at the SS driver for missing a turnoff that meant we'd be late for the unveiling. When we finally got there and I had a chance to talk privately with Jimmy King, he said Carter had waited until the last minute—just before I got to the mansion—to advise Kennedy that a sudden change in his own plans made it impossible for him to lend Teddy his plane for the trip to Athens. That was the reason for the tension I half-noticed when I got to the mansion. King had been forced to get on the phone immediately and locate the Secret Service detail and get two cars out to the mansion immediately. By the time they arrived it was obvious that we would not get to Athens in time for the unveiling of Rusk's portrait—which was fine with me, but Kennedy was scheduled to speak and he was very unhappy.

"I refused to participate in any ceremony honoring a warmonger like Rusk, so I told King I would look around on the edge of the campus for a bar, and then meet them for lunch at the cafeteria for the Law Day luncheon. . . . He was happy enough to see me go, because in the space of three or four minutes I had insulted a half-dozen people. There was a beer parlor about ten minutes away, and I stayed there in relative peace until it was time for the luncheon.

There was no way to miss the campus cafeteria. There was a curious crowd of about 200 students waiting to catch a glimpse of Ted Kennedy, who was signing autographs and moving slowly up the concrete steps toward the door as I approached. Jimmy King saw me coming and waited by the door. "Well, you missed the unveiling," he said with a smile. "You feel better?"

"Not much," I replied. "They should have run the bloodthirsty bastard up a flagpole by his heels."

King started to smile again, but his mouth suddenly froze and I looked to my right just in time to see Dean Rusk's swollen face about 18 inches away from my own. King reached out to shake his hand. "Congratulations, sir," he said. "We're all very proud of you."

"Balls," I muttered.

After Rusk had gone inside, King stared at me and shook his head sadly. "Why can't you give the old man some peace?" he said. "He's harmless now. Jesus, you'll get us in trouble yet."

"Don't worry," I said. "He's deaf as a rock."

"Maybe so," King replied. "But some of those people with him can hear okay. One of the women over there at the ceremony asked me who you were and I said you were an undercover agent, but she was still pissed off about what you said. 'You should have Senator Kennedy teach him some manners,' she told me. 'Not even a government agent should be allowed to talk like that in public.'"

"Like what?" I said. "That stuff about the blood on his hands?"

King laughed. "Yeah, that really jolted her. Jesus, Hunter, you gotta remember, these are genteel people." He nodded solemnly. "And this is their turf. Dean Rusk is a goddamn national hero down here. What are his friends supposed to think when the senator comes down from Washington to deliver the eulogy at the unveiling of Rusk's portrait, and he brings some guy with him who starts asking people why the artist didn't paint any blood on the hands?"

"Don't worry," I said. "Just tell 'em it's part of my deep cover. Hell, nobody connects me with Kennedy anyway. I've been careful to stay a safe distance away from you bastards. You think I want to be seen at a ceremony honoring Dean Rusk?"

"Don't kid yourself," he said as we walked inside. "They know you're with us. You wouldn't be here if they didn't. This is a very exclusive gathering, my boy. We're the only ones on the guest list without some kind of *very* serious title: they're all either judges or state senators or the Right Honorable this, the Right Honorable that . . ."

I looked around the room, and indeed there was no mistaking the nature of the crowd. This was not just a bunch of good ol' boys who all happened to be alumni of the University of Georgia Law School; these were the *honored* alumni, the ranking 150 or so who had earned, stolen or inherited enough distinction to be culled from the lists and invited to the unveiling of Rusk's portrait, followed by a luncheon with Senator Kennedy, Governor Carter, Judge Crater and numerous other hyper-distinguished guests whose names I forget. . . . And Jimmy King was right: this was not a natural habitat for anybody wearing dirty white basketball shoes, no tie and nothing except ROLLING STONE to follow his name on the guest list in that space reserved for titles. If it had been a gathering of distinguished alumni from the University of Georgia Medical School, the title space on the guest list would have been in front of the names, and I would have fit right in. Hell, I could even have joined a few conversations and nobody would have given a second thought to any talk about "blood on the hands."

RIGHT. BUT THIS WAS LAW DAY IN Georgia, and I was the only Doctor in the room. . . . So I had to be passed off as some kind of undercover agent, traveling for unknown reasons with Senator Kennedy. Not even the Secret Service agents understand my role in the entourage. All they knew was that I had walked off the plane from Washington with Teddy, and I had been with them ever since. Nobody gets introduced to a Secret Service agent; they are expected to *know* who everybody is—and if they don't know, they act like they do and hope for the best.

It is not my wont to take undue advantage of the Secret Service. We have gone through some heavy times together, as it were, and ever since I wandered into a room in the Biltmore Hotel in New York one night during the 1972 campaign and found three SS agents smoking a joint, I have felt pretty much at ease around them. . . . So it seemed only natural, down in Georgia, to ask one of the four agents in our detail for the keys to the trunk of his car so I could lock my leather satchel in a safe place, instead of carrying it around with me.

Actually, the agent had put the bag in the trunk on his own, rather than give me the key. . . . But when I sat down at our table in the cafeteria and saw that the only available beverage was iced tea, I remembered that one of the things in my satchel was a quart of Wild Turkey, and I wanted it. On the table in front of me—and everyone else—was a tall glass of iced tea that looked to be the same color as bourbon. Each glass had a split slice of lemon on its rim: so I removed the lemon, poured the tea into Paul Kirk's water glass, and asked one of the agents at the next table for the key to the trunk. He hesitated for a moment, but one of the law school deans or maybe Judge Crater was already talking into the mike up there at the speakers' table, so the path of least disturbance was to give me the key, which he did. . . .

And I thought nothing of it until I got outside and opened the trunk. . . .

Cazart!

If your life ever gets dull, check out the trunk of the next SS car you happen to see. You won't need a key; they open just as easily as any other trunk when a six-foot whipsteel is properly applied. . . . But open the bugger *carefully*, because those gentlemen keep about 69 varieties of instant death inside. Jesus, I was literally staggered by the mass of weaponry in the back of that car: there were machine guns, gas masks, hand grenades, cartridge belts, tear gas canisters, ammo boxes, bulletproof vests, chains, saws and probably a lot of other things. . . . But all of a sudden I realized that two passing students had stopped right next to me on the sidewalk and I heard one of them say, "God almighty! Look at *that* stuff!"

So I quickly filled my glass with Wild Turkey, put the bottle back in the trunk and slammed it shut just like you'd slam any other trunk . . . and that was when I turned around to see Jimmy Carter coming at me with his head down, his teeth bared and his eyes so wildly dilated that he looked like a springtime bat. . . .

What? No. That was later in the day, on my third or fourth trip to the trunk with the iced-tea glass. I have been sitting here in a frozen, bewildered stupor for 50 or 55 minutes trying to figure out where that last image came from. My memories of that day are extremely vivid, for the most part, and the more I think back on it now, the more certain I am that whatever I might have seen coming at me in that kind of bent-over, fast-swooping style of the springtime bat was *not* Governor Carter. Probably it was a hunchbacked student on his way to final exams in the school of landscaping, or maybe just trying to walk fast and tie his shoes at the same time. . . . Or it could have been nothing at all; there is no mention in my notebook about anything trying to sneak up on me in a high-speed crouch while I was standing out there in the street.

According to my notes, in fact, Jimmy Carter had arrived at the cafeteria not long after Kennedy—and if he attracted any attention from the crowd that had come to see Teddy I would probably have noticed it and made at least a small note to emphasize the contrast in style—something like: "12:09, Carter suddenly appears in slow-moving crowd behind TK. No autographs, no bodyguards & now a blue plastic suit instead of

Levi's///No recognition, no greetings, just a small sandy-haired man looking for somebody to shake hands with. . . ."

That is the kind of note I would have made if I'd noticed his arrival at all, which I didn't. Because it was not until around ten o'clock on the night of the New Hampshire primary, almost two years later, that there was any real reason for a journalist to make a note on the time and style of Jimmy Carter's arrival for any occasion at all, and especially not in a crowd that had come to rub shoulders with big-time heavies like Ted Kennedy and Dean Rusk. He is not an imposing figure in any way; and even now, with his face on every TV screen in the country at least five nights a week, I'd be tempted to bet $100 to anybody else's $500 that Jimmy Carter could walk—by himself and in a normal noonday crowd—from one end of Chicago's huge O'Hare Airport to the other, without being recognized by anybody. . . .

Or at least not by anybody who had never met him personally, or who had not seen him anywhere except on TV. Because there is nothing about Carter that would make him any more noticeable than anyone else you might pass in one of those long and crowded corridors in O'Hare. He could pass for a Fuller Brush man on any street in America. . . . But if Jimmy Carter had decided, 15 years ago, to sign on as a brush and gimcrack salesman for the Fuller people, he would be president of the Fuller Brush Company today and every medicine chest in the country would be loaded with Carter-Fuller brushes. . . . And if he had gone into the heroin business, every respectable household between Long Island and Los Angeles would have at least one resident junkie.

Ah. . . . but that is not what we need to be talking about right now, is it?

The only thing I remember about the first hour or so of that luncheon was a powerful sense of depression with the life I was drifting into. According to the program, we were in for a long run of speeches, remarks, comments, etc., on matters connected with the law school. Carter and Kennedy were the last two names on the list of speakers, which meant there was no hope of leaving early. I thought about going back to the beer parlor and watching a baseball game on TV, but King warned me against it. "We don't know how long this goddamn thing is gonna last," he said, "and that's a hell of a long walk from here, isn't it?"

I knew what he was getting at. Just as soon as the program was over, the SS caravan would rush us out to the Athens airport, where Carter's plane was waiting to fly us back to Atlanta. Another big dinner banquet was scheduled for 6:30 that night, and immediately after that, a long flight back to Washington. Nobody would miss me if I wanted to go to the beer parlor, King said; but nobody would miss me when the time came to leave for the airport, either.

One of the constant nightmares of traveling with politicians is the need to keep them in sight at all times. Every presidential campaign has its own fearful litany of horror stories about reporters—and, occasionally, even a key staff member—who thought they had plenty of time to "run across the street for a quick beer" instead of hanging around in the rear of some grim auditorium half-listening to the drone of a long-familiar speech, only to come back in 20 minutes to find the auditorium empty and no sign of the press bus, the candidate or anybody who can tell him where they went. These stories are invariably set in places like Butte, Buffalo or Icepick, Minnesota, on a night in the middle of March. The temperature is always below zero, there is usually a raging blizzard to keep cabs off the street, and just as the victim remembers that he has left his wallet in his overcoat on the press bus, his stomach erupts with a sudden attack of ptomaine poisoning. And then, while crawling around on his knees in some ice-covered alley and racked with fits of projectile vomiting, he is grabbed by vicious cops and whipped on the shins with a night stick, then locked in the drunk tank of the local jail and buggered all night by winos.

These stories abound, and there is just enough truth in them to make most campaign journalists so fearful of a sudden change in the schedule that they will not even go looking for a bathroom until the pain becomes unendurable and at least three reliable people have promised to fetch them back to the fold at the first sign of any movement that could signal an early departure. The closest I ever came to getting left behind was during the California primary in 1972, when I emerged from a bathroom in the Salinas railroad depot and realized that the caboose car of McGovern's "victory train" was about 100 yards further down the tracks than it had been only three minutes earlier. George was still standing outside on the platform, waving to the crowd, but the train was moving—and as I started my sprint through the crowd, running over women, children, cripples and anything else that couldn't get out of my way, I thought I saw a big grin on McGovern's face as the train began picking up speed. . . . I am still amazed that I caught up with the goddamn thing without blowing every valve in my heart, or even missing the iron ladder when I made my last-second leap and being swept under the train and chopped in half by the wheels.

Ever since then I have not been inclined to take many risks while traveling in strange territory with politicians. Even the very few who might feel a bit guilty about leaving me behind would have to do it anyway, because they are all enslaved by their schedules, and when it comes to a choice between getting to the airport on time or waiting for a journalist who has wandered off to seek booze, they will shrug and race off to the airport.

This is particularly true when you travel with Kennedy, who moves at all times with a speedy, split-second precision on a schedule that nobody except a perfectly organized presidential candidate would even try to keep pace with. When he is traveling with a detail of Secret Service agents, the caravan stops for nothing and waits for nobody. . . . The SS agents assigned to Kennedy are hypersensitive about anything that might jack up the risk factor, and they move on the theory that safety increases with speed.

There was no need for King and Kirk to warn me that the SS detail would have a collective nervous breakdown at the prospect of taking Senator Kennedy and the governor of Georgia through the streets of downtown Athens—or any other city, for that matter—to search for some notoriously criminal journalist who might be in any one of the half-dozen bars and beer parlors on the edge of the campus.

So there was nothing to do except sit there in the university cafeteria, slumped in my chair at a table right next to Dean Rusk's, and drink one tall glass after another of straight Wild Turkey until the Law Day luncheon ceremonies were finished. After my third trip out to the trunk, the SS driver apparently decided that it was easier to just let me keep the car keys instead of causing a disturbance every 15 or 20 minutes by passing them back and forth. . . . Which made a certain kind of fatalistic sense, because I'd already had plenty of time to do just about anything I wanted to with the savage contents of his trunk, so why start worrying now? We had, after all, been together for the better part of two days, and the agents were beginning to understand that there was no need to reach for their weapons every time I started talking about the blood on Dean Rusk's hands, or how easily I could reach over and cut off his ears with my steak knife. Most Secret Service agents have led a sheltered life, and they tend to get edgy when they hear that kind of talk from a large stranger in their midst who has managed to stash an apparently endless supply of powerful whiskey right in the middle of their trunk arsenal. That is not one of your normal, everyday situations in the SS life; and especially not when this drunkard who keeps talking about taking a steak knife to the head of a former secretary of state has a red flag on his file in the Washington SS headquarters in addition to having the keys to the SS car in his pocket.

Carter was already speaking when I came back from my fourth or fifth trip out to the car. I had been careful all along to keep the slice of lemon on the rim of the glass, so it looked like all the other iced-tea glasses in the room. But Jimmy King was beginning to get nervous about the smell. "Goddammit Hunter, this whole end of the room smells like a distillery," he said.

"Balls," I said. "That's blood you're smelling."

King winced and I thought I saw Rusk's head start to swing around on me, but apparently he thought better of it. For at least two hours he'd been hearing all this ugly talk about blood coming over his shoulder from what he knew was "the Kennedy table" right behind him. But why would a group of Secret Service agents and Senator Kennedy's personal staff be talking about him like that? And why was this powerful stench of whiskey hanging around his head? Were they all drunk?

Not all—but I was rapidly closing the gap and the others had been subjected to the fumes for so long that I could tell by the sound of their laughter that even the SS agents were acting a little weird. Maybe it was a contact drunk of some kind, acting in combination with the fumes and fiendish drone of the speeches. We were trapped in that place, and nobody else at the table liked it any better than I did.

I am still not sure when I began listening to what Carter was saying, but at some point about ten minutes into his remarks I noticed a marked difference in the style and tone of the noise coming from the speakers' table and I found myself listening, for the first time all day. Carter had started off with a few quiet jokes about people feeling honored to pay ten or twelve dollars a head to hear Kennedy speak, but the only way he could get people to listen to him was to toss in a free lunch along with his remarks. The audience laughed politely a few times, but after he'd been talking for about 15 minutes I noticed a general uneasiness in the atmosphere of the room, and nobody was laughing anymore. At that point we were all still under the impression that Carter's "remarks" would consist of a few minutes of friendly talk about the law school, a bit of praise for Rusk, an introduction for Kennedy, and that would be it. . . .

But we were wrong, and the tension in the room kept increasing as more and more people realized it. Very few if any of them had supported Carter when he won the governorship, and now that he was just about finished with his four-year term and barred by law from running again, they expected him to bow out gracefully and go back to raising peanuts. If he had chosen that occasion to announce that he'd decided to run for president in 1976, the reaction would almost certainly have been a ripple of polite laughter, because they would know he was kidding. Carter had not been a bad governor, but so what? We were, after all, in Georgia; and, besides that, the South already had one governor running for president. . . . Back in the spring of 1974 George Wallace was a national power; he had rattled the hell out of that big cage called the Democratic National Committee in '72, and when he said he planned to do it again in '76 he was taken very seriously.

So I would probably have chuckled along with the others if Carter had said something about running for president at the *beginning* of his "remarks" that day, but I would not have chuckled if he'd said it at the end. . . . Because it was a king hell bastard of a speech, and by the time it was over he had rung every bell in the room. Nobody seemed to know exactly what to make of it, but they knew it was sure as hell not what they'd come there to hear.

I have heard hundreds of speeches by all kinds of candidates and politicians—usually against my will and for generally the same reasons I got trapped into hearing this one—but I have never heard a sustained piece of political oratory that impressed me any more than the speech Jimmy Carter made on that Saturday afternoon in May 1974. It ran about 45 minutes, climbing through five very distinct gear changes while the audience muttered uneasily and raised their eyebrows at each other, and one of the most remarkable things about the speech is that it is such a rare piece of oratorical artwork that it remains vastly impressive, even if you don't necessarily believe Carter was sincere and truthful in all the things he said. Viewed purely in the context of rhetorical drama and political theater, it ranks with General Douglas MacArthur's "old soldiers never die" address to the Congress in 1951—which still stands as a masterpiece of insane bullshit, if nothing else.

There were, however, a lot of people who believed every word and sigh of MacArthur's speech, and they wanted to make him president—just as a lot of people who are still uncertain about Jimmy Carter would want to make him president if he could figure out some way to deliver a contemporary version of his 1974 Law Day speech on network TV. . . . Or, hell, even the same identical speech; a national audience might be slightly puzzled by some of the references to obscure judges, grade-school teachers and back-

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woods Georgia courthouses, but I think the totality of the speech would have the same impact today as it did two years ago.

But there is not much chance of it happening. . . . And that brings up another remarkable aspect of the Law Day speech: it had virtually no impact at all when he delivered it, except on the people who heard it, and most of them were more stunned and puzzled by it than impressed. They had not come there to hear lawyers denounced as running dogs of the status quo, and there is still some question in my own mind—and in Carter's too, I suspect—about what he came there to say. There was no written text of the speech, no press to report it, no audience hungry to hear it, and no real reason for giving it—except that Jimmy Carter had a few serious things on his mind that day, and he figured it was about time to unload them, whether the audience liked it or not. . . .

Which gets to another interesting point of the speech: although Carter himself now says, "That was probably the best speech I ever made," he has yet to make another one like it—not even to the extent of lifting some of the best images and ideas for incorporation into his current speeches—and his campaign staff attached so little importance to it that Carter's only tape recording of his Law Day remarks got lost somewhere in the files and, until about two months ago, the only existing tape of the speech was the one I'd had copied off the original, before it was lost. I've been carrying the bastard around with me for two years, playing it in some extremely unlikely situations for people who would look at me like I was finally over the hump into terminal brain damage when I'd say they were going to have to spend the next 45 minutes listening to a political speech by some ex-governor of Georgia.

It was not until I showed up in New Hampshire and Massachusetts for the '76 primaries and started playing my tape of the Law Day speech for a few friends, journalists and even some of Carter's top staff people who'd never heard it that Pat Caddell noticed that almost everybody who heard the speech was as impressed by it as I was. . . . But even now, after Caddell arranged to dub 50 tape copies off of my copy, nobody in Carter's brain trust has figured out what to do with them.

I am not quite sure what I would do with them, myself, if I were Carter, because it is entirely possible that the very qualities that made the Law Day speech so impressive for me would have exactly the opposite effect on Carter's new national constituency. The voice I hear on my tape is the same one all those good conservative folk out there on the campaign trail have found so appealing, but very few of them would find anything familiar in what the voice is saying. The Jimmy Carter who has waltzed so triumphantly down the middle of the road through one Democratic primary after another is a cautious, conservative and vaguely ethereal Baptist Sunday school teacher who seems to promise, above all else, a return to normalcy, a resurrection of the national self-esteem, and a painless redemption from all the horrors and disillusion of Watergate. With President Carter's firm hand on the helm, the ship of state will once again sail a true and steady course, all the crooks and liars and thieves who somehow got control of the government during the turmoil of the Sixties will be driven out of the temple once and for all, and the White House will be so overflowing with honesty, decency, justice, love and compassion that it might even glow in the dark.

It is a very alluring vision, and nobody understands this better than Jimmy Carter. The electorate feels a need to be cleansed, reassured and revitalized. The underdogs of yesteryear have had their day, and they blew it. The radicals and reformers of the Sixties promised peace, but they turned out to be nothing but incompetent troublemakers. Their plans that had looked so fine on paper led to chaos and disaster when hack politicians tried to implement them. The promise of Civil Rights turned into the nightmare of busing. The call for law and order led straight to Watergate. And the long struggle between the Hawks and the Doves caused violence in the streets and a military disaster in Vietnam. Nobody won, in the end, and when the dust finally settled, "extremists" at both ends of the political spectrum were thoroughly discredited. And by the time the 1976 presidential campaign got under way, the high ground was all in the middle of the road.

Jimmy Carter understands this, and he has tailored his campaign image to fit the new mood almost perfectly. . . . But back in May of '74 when he flew up to Athens to make his "remarks" at the Law Day ceremonies, he was not as concerned with preserving his moderate image as he is now. He was thinking more about all the trouble he'd had with judges, lawyers, lobbyists and other minions of the Georgia establishment while he was governor—and now, with only six more months in the office, he wanted to have a few words with these people.

There was not much anger in his voice when he started talking, but halfway through the speech it was too obvious for anybody in the room to ignore. But there was no way to cut him short, and he knew it. It was the anger in his voice that first caught my attention, I think, but what sent me back out to the trunk to get my tape recorder instead of another drink was the spectacle of a Southern politician telling a crowd of Southern judges and lawyers that "I'm not qualified to talk to you about law, because in addition to being a peanut farmer, I'm an engineer and nuclear physicist, not a lawyer. . . . But I read a lot and I listen a lot. One of the sources for my understanding about the proper application of criminal justice and the system of equities is from Reinhold Niebuhr. The other source of my understanding about what's right and wrong in this society is from a friend of mine, a poet named Bob Dylan. Listening to his records about 'The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll' and 'Like a Rolling Stone' and 'The Times They Are A-Changin',' I've learned to appreciate the dynamism of change in a modern society."

At first I wasn't sure I was hearing him right and I looked over at Jimmy King. "What the hell did I just hear?" I asked.

King smiled and looked at Paul Kirk, who leaned across the table and whispered, "He said his top two advisers are Bob Dylan and Reinhold Niebuhr."

I nodded and got up to go outside for my tape recorder. I could tell by the rising anger in Carter's voice that we were in for an interesting ride. . . . And by the time I got back he was whipping on the crowd about judges who took bribes in return for reduced prison sentences, lawyers who deliberately cheated illiterate blacks, and cops who abused people's rights with something they called a "consent warrant."

"I had lunch this week with the members of the Judicial Selection Committee and they were talking about a 'consent search warrant,'" he said. "I didn't know what a consent search warrant was. They said, 'Well, that's when two policemen go to a house. One of them goes to the front door and knocks on it and the other one runs around to the back door and yells 'come in.'"

The crowd got a laugh out of that one, but Carter was just warming up and for the next 20 or 30 minutes his voice was the only sound in the room. Kennedy was sitting just a few feet to Carter's left, listening carefully but never changing the thoughtful expression on his face as Carter railed and bitched about a system of criminal justice that allows the rich and the privileged to escape punishment for their crimes and sends poor people to prison because they can't afford to bribe the judge. . . .

(Jesus Babbling Christ! The phone is ringing again, and this time I know what it is for sure. Last time it was the Land Commissioner of Texas, threatening to have my legs broken because of something I wrote about him. . . . But now it is the grim reaper; he has come for my final page and in exactly 13 minutes that goddamn mojo wire across the room will erupt in a frenzy of beeping and I will have to feed it again. . . . But before I leave this filthy sweatbox that is costing me $39 a day I am going to deal with that rotten mojo machine. I have dreamed of smashing that fucker for five long years, but . . . Okay, okay, 12 more minutes and . . . yes . . .)

So this will have to be it. . . . I would need a lot more time and space than I have to properly describe either the reality or the reaction to Jimmy Carter's Law Day speech, which was and still is the heaviest and most eloquent thing I have ever heard from the mouth of a politician. It was the voice of an angry agrarian populist, extremely precise in its judgments and laced with some of the most original, brilliant and occasionally bizarre political metaphors anybody in that room will ever be likely to hear.

The final turn of the screw was another ugly example of crime and degradation in the legal profession, and this time Carter went right to the top: Nixon had just released his own, self-serving version of "the White House tapes," and Carter was shocked when he read the transcripts. "The Constitution charges us with a direct responsibility for determining what our government is and ought to be," he said. And then, after a long pause, he went on: "Well. . . . I have read parts of the embarrassing transcripts, and I've seen the proud statement of a former attorney general who protected his boss, and now brags of the fact that he tiptoed through a minefield and came out. . . . quote, clean, unquote." Another pause, and then: "You know, I can't imagine somebody like Thomas Jefferson tiptoeing through a minefield on the technicalities of the law, and then bragging about being *clean* afterwards. . . ."

Forty-five minutes later, on our way back to Atlanta in the governor's small plane, I told Carter I wanted a transcript of his speech.

"There is no transcript," he said.

I smiled, thinking he was putting me on. The speech had sounded like a product of five or six tortured drafts. . . . But he showed a page and a half of scrawled notes in his legal pad and said that was all he had.

"Jesus Christ," I said. "That was one of the damnedest things I've ever heard. You mean you just winged it all the way through?"

He shrugged and smiled faintly. "Well," he said, "I had a pretty good idea what I was going to say, before I came up here—but I guess I was a little surprised at how it came out."

Kennedy didn't have much to say about the speech. He said he'd "enjoyed it," but he still seemed uncomfortable and preoccupied for some reason. Carter and I talked about the time he invited Dylan and some of his friends out to the governor's mansion after a concert in Atlanta. "I really enjoyed it," he said with a big grin. "It was a real honor to have him visit my home."

I had already decided, by then, that I liked Jimmy Carter—but I had no idea that he'd made up his mind, a few months earlier, to run for the presidency in 1976. And if he had told me his little secret that day on the plane back to Atlanta, I'm not sure I'd have taken him seriously. . . . But if he had told me and if I had taken him seriously, I would probably have said that he could have my vote, for no other reason except the speech I'd just heard.

Which hardly matters, because Jimmy Carter didn't mention the presidency to me that day, and I had other things on my mind. It was the first Saturday in May—Derby Day in Louisville—and I'd been harassing Jimmy King since early morning about getting us back to Atlanta in time to watch the race on TV. According to the schedule we were due back at the governor's mansion around three in the afternoon, and post time for the Derby was 4:30. . . . But I have learned to be leery of politicians' schedules; they are about as reliable as campaign promises, and when I'd mentioned to Kennedy that I felt it was very important to get ourselves back to Atlanta in time for the Derby, I could tell by the look on his face that the only thing that might cause him to go out of his way to watch the Kentucky Derby was a written guarantee from the Churchill Downs management that I would be staked down on the track at the finish line when the horses came thundering down the stretch.

But Carter was definitely up for it, and he assured me that we would be back at the mansion in plenty of time for me to make all the bets I wanted before post time. "We'll even try to find a mint julep for you," he said. "Rosalynn has some mint in the garden, and I notice you already have the main ingredient."

When we got to the mansion I found a big TV set in one of the basement guest rooms. The mint juleps were no problem, but the only bet I could get was a $5 gig with Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary—which I won, and then compounded the insult by insisting that Powell pay off immediately. He had to wander around the mansion, borrowing dollars and even quarters from

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[*Cont. from 64*] anybody who would lend him money, until he could scrape up five dollars.

Later that night we endured another banquet, and immediately afterward I flew back to Washington with Kennedy, King and Kirk. Kennedy was still in a funk about something, and I thought it was probably me. . . . And while it was true that I had not brought any great distinction to the entourage, I had made enough of an effort to know that it could have been worse, and just to make sure he understood that—or maybe for reasons of sheer perversity—I waited until we were all strapped into our seats and I heard the stewardess asking Teddy if she could bring him a drink. He refused, as he always does in public, and just as the stewardess finished her spiel I leaned over the seat and said, "How about some heroin?"

His face went stiff and for a moment I thought it was all over for me. But then I noticed that King and Kirk were smiling. . . . So I strangled the sloat and walked back to my hotel in the rain.

THE LAST CRAZED CHARGE OF THE LIBERAL BRIGADE; THE SHREWDNESS OF RICHARD NIXON, THE DEEP AND ABIDING COURAGE OF HUBERT HUMPHREY AND ALL OF HIS NEW FOUND FRIENDS . . . JIMMY CARTER AT HOME IN PLAINS, ONE YEAR LATER THE LEAP OF FAITH

Special Bulletin

BEAUMONT, TEXAS (Apr 29)—Anarchist presidential candidate Hunter S. Thompson announced yesterday during opening ceremonies at the Beaumont Annual Stock Auction that Democratic front-runner Jimmy Carter was "the only candidate who ever lied to me twice in one day." Thompson's harsh denunciation of Carter—who was also at the auction, for purposes of wrestling his own bull—came as a nasty shock to the crowd of celebrities, bull wranglers and other politicos who were gathered to participate in ceremonies honoring Texas Land Commissioner Bob Armstrong, who followed Thompson's attack on Carter with an unexpected statement of his own, saying he would be the number two man on a dark-horse(s) Demo ticket with Colorado Senator Gary Hart. Armstrong also denounced Carter for "consciously lying to me, about the price of his bull." The Carter-owned animal, a two-year-old peanut-fed Brahman, had been advertised at a price of $2200—but when the front-runner showed up in Beaumont to ride his own bull, the price suddenly escalated to $7750. And it was at this point that both Thompson and Armstrong stunned the crowd with their back-to-back assaults on Carter, long considered a personal friend of both men. . . . Carter, who seemed shocked by the attacks, lied to newsmen who questioned him about the reasons, saying, "I didn't hear what they said."

THE LAW DAY SPEECH IS NOT THE kind of thing that would have much appeal to the mind of a skilled technician, and that kind of mind is perhaps the only common denominator among the strategists, organizers and advisers at the staff-command level of Carter's campaign. Very few of them seem to have much interest in *why* Jimmy wants to be president, or even in what he might do after he wins: their job and their meal ticket is to put Jimmy Carter in the White House, that is all they know and all they need to know—and so far they are doing their job pretty well. According to political odds-maker Billy the Geek, Carter is now a solid 3-2 bet to win the November election—up from 50-1 less than six months ago.

This is another likely reason why Carter's brain trust is not especially concerned with how to put the Law Day speech to good use: the people most likely to be impressed or even converted by it are mainly the ones who make up the left/liberal, humanist/intellectual wing of the Democratic party and the national press—and in the wake of Carter's genuinely awesome blitzkrieg in Pennsylvania and Texas, destroying *all* of his remaining opposition in less than a week, it is hard to argue with the feeling among his staff-command technicians that he no longer *needs* any converts from the left/liberal wing of the party. He got where he is without the help he repeatedly asked them for during most of 1975 and early '76, and now the problem is *theirs*. The train has left the station, as it were, and anybody who wants to catch up with it now is going to come up with the air fare. . . .

But I have just been reminded by a terrible screeching on the telephone that the presses will roll in a few hours and that means there is no more time at ROLLING STONE than there is in the Carter campaign for wondering *why* about anything. Idle speculation is a luxury reserved for people who are too rich, too poor or too crazy to get seriously concerned about anything outside their own private realities . . . and just as soon as I finish this goddamn wretched piece of gibberish I am going to flee like a rat down a pipe into one of those categories. I have maintained a wild and serious flirtation with all three of them for so long that the flirtation itself was beginning to look like reality. . . . But I see it now for the madness it was from the start: there is no way to maintain four parallel states of being at the same time. I know from long experience that it is possible to be rich, poor and crazy all at once—but to be rich, poor, crazy and also a functioning political journalist at the same time is flat-out impossible, so the time has come to make a terminal choice. . . .

But not quite yet. We still have to finish this twisted saga of Vengeance and Revelation in the shade of the Georgia pines. . . . So, what the hell? Let's get after it. There is plenty of room at the top in this bountiful nation of ours for a rich, poor and crazy political journalist who can sit down at a rented typewriter in a Texas motel with a heart full of hate and a head full of speed and Wild Turkey and lash out a capsule/narrative between midnight and dawn that will explain the whole meaning and tell the whole tale of the 1976 presidential campaign. . . .

Hell yes! Let's *whip* on this thing! Until I got that phone call a few minutes ago I would have said it was absolutely impossible, but now I know better. . . . If only because I have just been reminded that until I saw Hubert Humphrey "quit the race" a few days ago I was telling anybody who would listen that there was no way to cure an egg-sucking dog. . . . So now is the time to finish this rotten job that I somehow got myself into, and also to congratulate my old buddy Hubert for having enough sense to ignore his advisers and keep the last faint glimmer of his presidential hopes alive by crouching in the weeds and praying for a brokered convention, instead of shooting his whole wad by entering the New Jersey primary and getting pushed off the wall and cracked like Humpty Dumpty by Jimmy Carter's technicians.

I am beginning to sense a distinctly pejorative drift in this emphasis on the word "technician," but it is only half-intentional. There is nothing wrong with technicians, in politics or anywhere else. Any presidential campaign without a full complement of first-class political technicians—or with a drastic imbalance between technicians and ideologues—will meet the same fate that doomed the Fred Harris campaign in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. But the question of balance is critical, and there is something a little scary about a presidential campaign run almost entirely by technicians that can be as successful as Carter's.

"Awesome" is the mildest word I can think of to describe a campaign that can take an almost totally unknown ex-governor of Georgia with no national reputation, no power base in the Democratic party and not the slightest reluctance to tell Walter Cronkite, John Chancellor and anyone else who asks that "the most important thing in my life is Jesus Christ" and to have him securely positioned, after only nine of 32 primaries, as an almost prohibitive favorite to win the presidential nomination of the nation's majority political party, and an even bet to win the November election against a relatively popular GOP president who has managed somehow to convince both Big Labor and Big Business that he has just rescued the country from economic disaster. If the presidential election were held tomorrow I would not bet more than three empty beer cans on Gerald Ford's chances of beating Jimmy Carter in November.

. . . What? No, cancel that bet. The Screech on the telephone just informed me that *Time* has just released a poll—on the day after the Texas primary—saying Carter would beat Ford by 48% to 38% if the election were held now. Seven weeks ago, according to *Time* via The Screech, the current figures were almost exactly reversed. . . . I have never been much with math, but a quick shuffling of these figures seems to mean that Carter has picked up 20 points in seven weeks, and Ford has lost 20.

If this is true, then it is definitely time to call Billy the Geek and get something like ten cases of 66 proof Sloat Ale down on Carter, and forget those three empty beer cans.

In other words, the panic is on and the last survivors of the ill-fated Stop Carter Movement are out in the streets shedding their uniforms and stacking their weapons on street corners all over Washington. . . . And now another phone call from CBS correspondent Ed Bradley—who is covering Carter now after starting the '76 campaign with Birch Bayh—saying Bayh will announce at a press conference in Washington tomorrow that he has decided to endorse Jimmy Carter.

Well . . . how about that, eh? Never let it be said that a wharf rat can get off a sinking ship any faster than an 87% ADA liberal.

But this is no time for cruel jokes about liberals and wharf rats. Neither species has ever been known for blind courage or stubborn devotion to principle, so let the rotters go wherever they feel even temporarily comfortable. . . . Meanwhile, it is beginning to look like the time has come for the rest of us to get our business straight, because the only man who is going to keep Jimmy Carter out of the White House now is Jimmy Carter.

Which might happen, but it is a hard kind of thing to bet on, because there is no precedent in the annals of presidential politics for a situation like this: with more than half the primaries still ahead of him, Carter is now running virtually unopposed for the Democratic nomination, and—barring some queer and unlikely development—he is going to have to spend the next two months in a holding action until he can go to New York in July and pick up the nomination.

Just as soon as I can get some sleep and recover from this grim and useless ordeal I will call him and find out what he plans to do with all that time. . . . And if I were in that nervous position I think I would call a press conference and announce that I was off to a secret think tank on the Zondo Peninsula to finalize my plans for curing all the ills of society; because a lot of strange things can happen to a long-shot front-runner in two months of forced idleness, and a lot of idle minds are going to have plenty of time for brooding on all the things that still worry them about living for at least the next four years with a president who prays 25 times a day and reads the Bible in Spanish every night. Even the people who plan to vote for Jimmy Carter if he can hang on between now and November are going to have more time than they need to nurse any lingering doubts they might have about him.

[*Cont. on 87*]

[Continued from 84]

I will probably nurse a few doubts of my own between now and July, for that matter, but unless something happens to convince me that I should waste any more time than I already have brooding on the evil potential that lurks, invariably, in the mind of just about *anybody* whose ego has become so dangerously swollen that he really wants to be president of the United States, I don't plan to spend much time worrying about the prospect of seeing Jimmy Carter in the White House. There is not a hell of a lot I can do about it, for one thing; and for another, I have spent enough time with Carter in the past two years to feel I have a pretty good sense of his candidacy. I went down to Plains, Georgia, to spend a few days with him on his own turf and to hopefully find out who Jimmy Carter really was before the campaign shroud came down on him and he started talking like a candidate instead of a human being. Once a presidential aspirant gets out on the campaign trail and starts seeing visions of himself hunkered down behind that big desk in the Oval Office, the idea of sitting down in his own living room and talking openly with some foul-mouthed, argumentative journalist carrying a tape recorder in one hand and a bottle of Wild Turkey in the other is totally out of the question.

But it was almost a year before the '76 New Hampshire primary when I talked to Carter at his home in Plains, and I came away from that weekend with six hours of taped conversation with him on subjects ranging all the way from the Allman Brothers, stock car racing and our strongly conflicting views on the use of undercover agents in law enforcement, to nuclear submarines, the war in Vietnam and the treachery of Richard Nixon. When I listened to the tapes again last week I noticed a lot of things that I had not paid much attention to at the time, and the most obvious of these was the extremely detailed precision of his answers to some of the questions that he is now accused of being either unable or unwilling to answer. There is no question in my mind, after hearing him talk on the tapes, that I was dealing with a candidate who had already done a massive amount of research on things like tax reform, national defense and the structure of the American political system by the time he announced his decision to run for president.

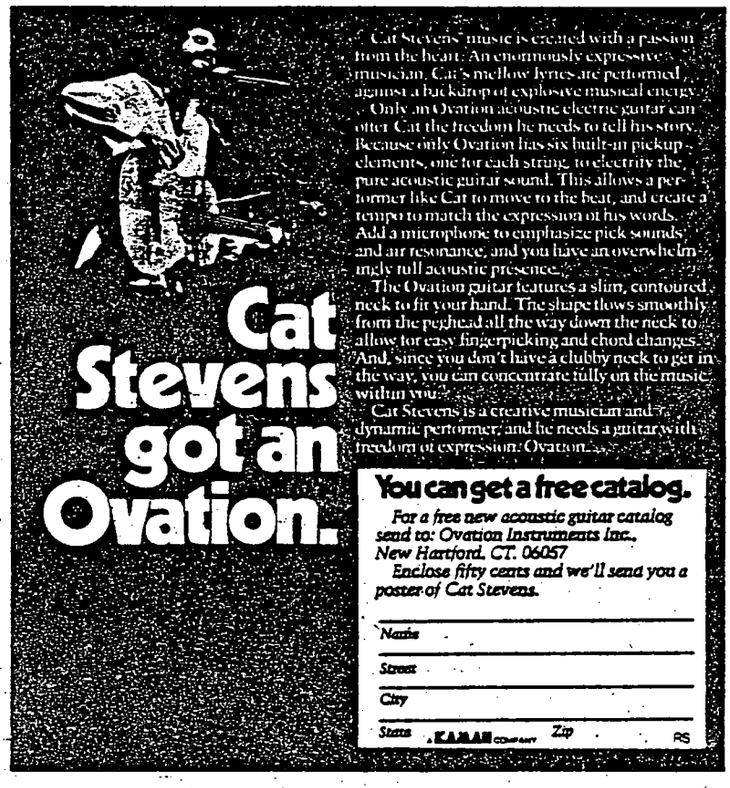
Nor is there any question that there are a lot of things Jimmy Carter and I will never agree on. I had warned him, before we sat down with the tape recorder for the first time, that—although I appreciated his hospitality and felt surprisingly relaxed and comfortable in his home—I was also a journalist and that some of the questions I knew I was going to ask him might seem unfriendly or even downright hostile. Because of this, I said, I wanted him to be able to stop the tape recorder by means of a remote-pause button if the talk got too heavy. But he said he would just as soon not have to bother turning the tape on and off; which surprised me at the time, but now that I listen to the tapes I realize that loose talk and bent humor are not among Jimmy Carter's vices.

They are definitely among mine, however, and since I had stayed up most of the night, drinking and talking in the living room with his sons Jack and Chip Carter and their wives—and then by myself in the guest room over the garage—I was still feeling weird around noon, when we started talking "seriously," and the tape of that first conversation is liberally sprinkled with my own twisted comments about "rotten fascist bastards," "thieving cocksuckers who peddle their asses all over Washington," and "these goddamn brainless fools who refuse to serve liquor in the Atlanta airport on Sunday."

It was nothing more than my normal way of talking, and Carter was already familiar with it, but there are strange and awkward pauses here and there on the tape where I can almost hear Carter gritting his teeth and wondering whether to laugh or get angry at things I wasn't even conscious of saying at the time, but which sound on the tape like random outbursts of hostility or pure madness from the throat of a paranoid psychotic. Most of the conversation is intensely rational, but every once in a while it slips over the line and all I can hear is the sound of my own voice yelling something like "Jesus Christ! What's that filthy smell?"

Both Carter and his wife have always been amazingly tolerant of my behavior, and on one or two occasions they have had to deal with me in a noticeably bent condition. I have always been careful not to commit any felonies right in front of them, but other than that I have never made much of an effort to adjust my behavior around Jimmy Carter or anyone else in his family—including his 78-year-old mother, Miss Lillian, who is the only member of the Carter family I could comfortably endorse for the presidency, right now, with no reservations at all.

Whoops! Well. . . . we will get to that in a moment. Right now I have other things to deal with and. . . . No, what the hell? Let's get to it now, because time is running out and so is that goddamn float; so now is the time to come to grips with my own "Carter [Cont. on 88]



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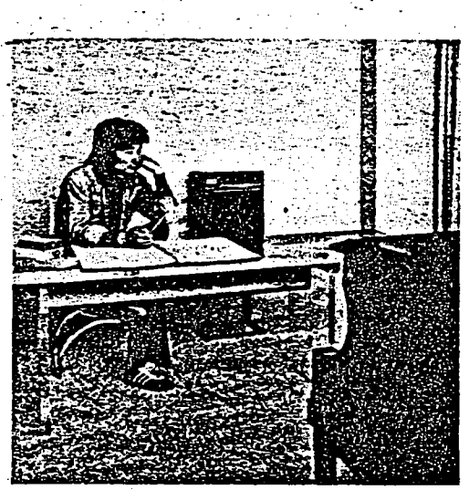
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[*Continued from 87*] Question."

It has taken me almost a year to reach this point, and I am still not sure how to cope with it. . . . But I am getting there fast, thanks mainly to all the help I've been getting from my friends in the liberal community. I took more abuse from these petulant linthead bastards during the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries than I have ever taken from my friends on any political question since the first days of the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, and that was nearly 12 years ago. . . . I felt the same way about the first wild violent days of the FSM as I still feel about Jimmy Carter. In both cases my initial reaction was positive, and I have lived too long on my instincts to start questioning them now. At least not until I get a good reason, and so far nobody has been able to give me any good reason for junking my first instinctive reaction to Jimmy Carter, which was that I liked him. . . . And if the editors of *Time* magazine and the friends of Hubert Humphrey consider that "bizarre," fuck them. I liked Jimmy Carter the first time I met him, and in the two years that have passed since that Derby Day in Georgia I have come to know him a hell of a lot better than I knew George McGovern at this point in the '72 campaign, and I still like Jimmy Carter. He is one of the most intelligent politicians I've ever met, and also one of the strangest. I have never felt comfortable around people who talk about their feeling for Jesus, or any other deity for that matter, because they are usually none too bright. . . . Or maybe "stupid" is a better way of saying it; but I have never seen much point in getting heavy with either stupid people or Jesus freaks, just as long as they don't bother me. In a world as weird and cruel as this one we have made for ourselves, I figure anybody who can find peace and personal happiness without ripping off somebody else deserves to be left alone. They will not inherit the earth, but then neither will I. . . . And I have learned to live, as it were, with the idea that I will never find peace and happiness, either. But as long as I know there's a pretty good chance I can get my hands on either one of them every once in a while, I do the best I can between high spots.

And so much for all that gibberish. The bastards are taking the whole thing away from me now, and anything else I might have wanted to say about Jimmy Carter will have to wait for another time and place. At the moment, failing any new evidence that would cause me to change my mind, I would rather see Jimmy Carter in the White House than anybody else we are likely to be given a chance to vote for. And that narrows the field right down, for now, to Ford, Reagan and Humphrey.

Carter is the only unknown quantity of the four, and that fact alone says all I need to know. Admittedly, a vote for Carter requires a certain leap of faith, but on the evidence I don't mind taking it. I think he is enough of an ego maniac to bring the same kind of intensity to the task of doing the job in a way that will allow him to stay as happy with his own mirror in the White House as he is now with his mirror in Plains.

There is also the fact that I have that Law Day speech to fall back on, which is a lot better reason to vote for him than anything I've seen or heard on the campaign trail. I have never thought the problem with Carter is that he is two-faced in the sense of a two-headed coin. . . . But he is definitely a politician above all else right now, and that is the only way *anybody* gets into the White House. If Carter has two faces, my own feeling is that they are mounted one behind the other, but both looking in the same direction, instead of both ways at once, as the friends of Hubert Humphrey keep saying.

It also occurs to me now and then that many of the people who feel so strongly about keeping Jimmy Carter out of the White House don't know him at all. And a lot of the people who accuse him of lying, dissembling, waffling and being "hazy" have never bothered to listen very carefully to what he says, or to try reading between the lines now when Carter comes out with some mawkish statement like the one he has used to end so many speeches: "I just want to see us once again with a government that is as honest and truthful and fair and idealistic and compassionate and filled with love as are the American people."

The first time I heard him say that up in New Hampshire I was stunned. It sounded like he had eaten some of the acid I've been saving up to offer him the first time he mentions anything to me about bringing Jesus into my life. . . . But after I'd heard him say the same thing five or six more times, it began to sound like something I'd heard long before I'd ever heard Jimmy Carter's name. . . .

It took me a while to dig it out of my memory, but when it finally surfaced I recognized the words of the late, great liberal, Adlai Stevenson, who once lashed it all together in one small and perfect capsule when he said ". . . . in a democracy, people usually get the kind of government they deserve."

**"Black Rose" by Billy Joe Shaver. ©1973, RCA Records.

***"Pastor Horses (The Cowboy and the Poet)" by Tom T. Hall. ©1976, Hallnote Music.



THE ETERNAL POSEDOWN

"How much fun it is when you become a champion and travel the world and it's all for free"

[*Cont. from 34.*] him in the office and say, 'C'mon Arnold, let's start working,' and the lights would be off, and he would be evaluated by a faceless person."

But Arnold rallied. "How did I win Mr. Universe? I won it because I had confidence in what I was doing. I had no negative attitude about it. I set my goal and then went for it without even questioning whether I could do it or not. You apply it so that it makes you more successful in everything else."

He worked hard, made an honesty pact with Bridges, and opened himself up to criticism at after-shooting cast sessions. He even surrendered control of his body to Rafelson, who ordered him to lose 30 pounds so he wouldn't dwarf black-sheep rich kid Craig Blake (Jeff Bridges) and salty country girl Mary Tate Farnsworth (Sally Field).

"What was he working on for all this while?" Rafelson asks rhetorically. "He looks like a 6'2", 190-pound guy. When he undresses for the Universe contest, it's at a powerful emotional moment. When people see it, there's a gasp. The camera frames the shot, and Arnold is just stupendous."

On the screen it's obvious that, though it'll be awhile before Arnold stands on the Number One platform at the Oscar ceremony, he's definitely broken the beefcake barrier. As Joe Santo, Mr. Austria, he plays a fiddle (proving it by holding a note longer than the good ol' boys around him). He convincingly dissertates on cut glass and expresses his real-life yearning to stay hungry for the next experience. He's good enough for Rafelson to say, "I really think he can play a whole range of parts."

And what did Rafelson see in Arnold when he wasn't framing his body in the camera?

"I don't think it's what you do in life, but the satisfaction that's derived from it," Rafelson said. "Arnold represents somebody who is deeply satisfied."

Springtime in California, and Arnold sits comfortably on a couch in his Santa Monica house. The record on top of the pile near the stereo isn't "You're So Vain" or Alvin Lee's *Pump Iron*, but Art Garfunkel's *Breakaway*. Three paintings hang under a stairway: one, a softly macho picture of a man cupping a mermaid's breast, turns out to be a Chagall. Upstairs, an office is filled with neat stacks of Arnold's muscle-development books. There are no weights in the house: "I don't keep them here," Arnold says, making a face.

Earlier that day, Joe Weider had recalled Arnold's early days in America. "The man came here, he could hardly speak English. He had a very heavy dialect. He didn't know his way around." Weider's prediction of a bright future included a judgment that "he's the only bodybuilder who had enough intelligence to carry what he has accomplished physically into society." Weider had said that Arnold was something of the All-American boy —started at the bottom, worked his way up, overcame all sorts of hardships." Asked about it, Arnold agrees.

"I'm pretty much all that you just said. But I think I'm the All-European boy. It gave me a certain appreciation of this country. This is a gold mine, this is heaven—with the political system and the police system and the whole thing. I mean, over there it's brutal. It's a police state. Austria, Germany — there's no monkey business, and so I appreciate this country because of my upbringing and because there wasn't much money over there."

Arnold's appreciation doesn't mean that he thinks America is the reason for his success. "The big factor in my drive is only one thing, that I was meant to be something special. What I mean actually is that I have the feeling that I am not an average guy. I have the feeling that I was not born just to die and just to take a shit everyday and to eat, to work, to make money to eat and all that. I was meant to be more—you know, to do revolutionary things, to break records, to just do things that nobody else can do.

"Everybody was talking, I'm going to be a bricklayer, I'm going to be a mechanic, and 'Arnold, what are you going to be?' And I said, 'I don't know, but I know one thing—I'm not going to be in this country my whole life. I'm going to be in America somewhere. I'm going to be something really great.' They thought I was sick in the head.

"It started slow. I always kind of looked down on people who did just the regular thing. Like when guys started smoking when they were 11 years old, I was the first to say, 'No good.' You know, I felt this was for the *untermensch*—you know, the low class. And then everybody went out at night and went dancing because there was nothing else to do—not that they enjoyed dancing, but it was just the thing to do. I thought it was stupid. I found they were wasting their time away and their life away instead of doing something more —where they can progress, where they can go on, learning something, doing something with themselves.

"I just always [*Cont. on 90*]

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surprised if the Christian tail were to wag the Syrian dog; it could suit Assad and help him in his power struggle with the Sunni Moslem majority and the Palestinians. Associated with this uncertain factor is the degree of support on which President Assad can count from his twin superpower protectors. How far would the United States go in redrawing the Versailles map of Syria-Lebanon-Palestine-Jordan?

As for the Russians, they appear to have incurred for themselves another set of Middle East dilemmas. After having privately reassured President Assad for 10 weeks that they fully understand his position and would not oppose his intervention, they began to reverse the process in public at the beginning of April. The Russians appear to have stepped out of the private diplomatic activity that prepared the ground for the Syrian change of front, and they have now entered the public arena in *Izvestia* on April 5, in *Pravda* on April 8 and with a number of broadcasts from Moscow beamed in Arabic to the Middle East. The general line of argument is that the Lebanese crisis is the product of attempts by the United States, especially by Kissinger and Sen. Henry Jackson, to divert attention from the crisis in Israel and to use the US Sixth Fleet, which is in Lebanese waters, to crush the Palestinians. There is also a threat from the provocative deployment of Israeli troops. Moscow has produced a kind of Lebanese dream world for its own public and seems rather at a loss for what to do next.

The big question not being discussed publicly now but clearly worrying the Israelis and the Christians—and also the others associated in the Syrian intervention—is what happens at the end of this process? Annexation and partition for Lebanon? Or what happens if the process breaks down and the Syrians withdraw or go too far? And what will Assad do with the Palestinians? The real Lebanese crisis is still to come—and it will not be confined to Lebanon. It will require something more than a Byzantine collusion to resolve it. Moreover it is premature now to assume that Israel would not move into southern Lebanon no matter what the Syrians do. Assad's brinkmanship when he moved his tanks has paid off; and it might not do so next time—especially if the Christian, Syrian and Israeli doubts about the American position are borne out by further evidence of indecision in Washington. No one concerned has failed to note that so long as the United States position was firm in support of Assad's firmness against the leftists and the Palestinians, Soviet policy went along with it; the moment Washington began to falter, to hold back Assad and to have second thoughts about his intentions, the Russians stepped in publicly to support the Palestinians and to attack the "American-Zionist" policy. American indecision could well become the cue also for Israeli intervention. In the meantime, the blood flows, left and right, Moslem and Christian, continuously and almost certainly without purpose.

Carter and the Liberal Unions

Division of Labor

by Ken Bode

In the Washington offices of the Labor Coalition Clearinghouse, there is a presidential delegate chart, a count of delegates elected and pledged to the various candidates, which you will never see. It shows how well Jimmy Carter is doing compared to Henry Jackson or Mo Udall, and it reveals the uncommitted totals; it also includes subtotals and classifications that reflect its keepers' assumption that a first ballot nomination is already all but impossible. What the Coalition leaders want to know now is how many delegates are affiliated with labor unions, how many were slated, endorsed, or elected with union help and how long they are bound by law or party rules to vote for their initial preference.

Last September, the presidents of nine generally liberal labor unions met and approved a game plan designed by their political and legislative staffs (see "Six Million Workers Minus George Meany," *TNR*, Jan. 31, 1976). The unions include the Communications Workers (CWA); the Machinists; the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); the Electrical Workers; the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Graphic Arts International; the Auto Workers (UAW); the Mine Workers (UMW) and the National Education Association (NEA). All but

NEA, the UAW and the Mine Workers are AFL-CIO affiliates, but in this year's presidential campaign, all are acting independently of the larger federation.

The Coalition arrangement called for a multi-candidate strategy designed primarily to win delegates and influence for labor at Madison Square Garden. With eight primaries, a dozen caucuses and most filing deadlines now passed, it is possible to do a preliminary summation of the Coalition's accomplishments, its commitments in the remaining primaries, and also to log some of the criticisms that its strategy and successes have engendered.

Being permanently bound to no single candidate enabled the nine unions to remain flexible in a year that has defied most prognostications, and Coalition leaders are trying to stick to that strategy even now when their options in doing so are sharply diminished. In Iowa, New Hampshire and Massachusetts, the unions were divided among Carter, Udall, Shriver, Bayh, Harris and Jackson, winning some delegates with each man, even in instances where labor-endorsed candidates ran against one another. When Bayh—the pragmatic and ideological favorite of many Coalition leaders—dropped out, they barely missed a step in switching many of their already slated delegates from Bayh to Udall in New York.

At this point, Coalition leaders refuse to disclose how many union delegates have actually been elected—ostensibly because, like presidential candidates, they do not want to fall short of their own projections, but also because too much obvious success might breed misgivings about their purposes. Conservative estimates show that in Florida, where Carter got unanimous Coalition backing, one third of his delegates will be union members. In Massachusetts, the Coalition claimed about 14 delegates, in New York, about 30; they got half-a-dozen from Illinois and exactly half of the 40 picked thus far in the caucus-convention system in Iowa. In each of these places, at-large delegates remain to be chosen—usually by those delegates already elected—and the unions expect to better their positions at that time. For example, AFSCME ran 40 phones for two-and-a-half weeks for Udall before the New York primary, and there is a reasonable expectation that union district executive director Victor Gotbaum will be among those added to that delegation.

In other places, like Wisconsin, primaries are over but delegate selection lies ahead. There the Coalition unions—mainly the Auto Workers, AFSCME and the Communications Workers—backed Udall in seven districts, Carter in two. They made an estimated 90,000 phone calls, sent political mailings to about 110,000 union families, and ran a get-out-the vote drive on primary day. "Every poll in the state showed Carter 10 to 14 points ahead two weeks before the primary," says one Coalition organizer, who adds, "We kept Udall alive." They also gave Carter a narrow victory in one of the districts where he had Coalition backing and his largest plurality in the other. When delegates are named, the unions expect consideration from both camps.

With federal matching funds embargoed and filing deadlines, slating sessions and primaries piled one upon the other, the manpower and resources offered by the unions have become increasingly valuable. The Coalition's ability to bargain with those candidates it endorses in order to get union-approved delegates on presidential slates has increased correspondingly. In Indiana, where the Coalition is backing Carter throughout the state, the unions opened their negotiations with Carter's managers by asking for 80 percent of the total delegates they won in that state. "We didn't do that well," admits a Coalition staff member. "We settled on a formula with a sliding scale. If Carter does well, we'll get more than if he does poorly. If we produce, we're entitled to a larger percentage." The unions concluded a similar incentive arrangement with Carter in Connecticut, where the Coalition has a combined membership of about 250,000 people, nearly all of them registered Democrats.

Holding to the multi-candidate, no-endorsement strategy is more complicated now that the picture has begun to clear and the range of options has diminished. At the moment, it is still Carter, Jackson or Udall—whoever the local membership will support, whoever looks most like a winner, and whoever will make a deal. One candidate who refused to make a deal was Henry Jackson—at least in Ohio. There the Coalition proposed to back Jackson in nine districts, other candidates in the remaining fourteen. "They offered to join us where we were strong, districts we figured to win anyway," says one of Jackson's managers, "and where we needed help, they were backing our opposition. In return for that they wanted to name a large share of our delegates." Jackson demanded an all or nothing deal for Ohio, and—except for the Machinists who broke away from the Coalition and are backing Jackson statewide—nothing is what he got. The remaining unions are backing Udall in nine districts, Carter in 10, and local favorite sons in the remaining four.

No union president has yet endorsed a single candidate though the Machinists are seen to be headed to Jackson; "In reality, they're already there," says a top official of another union. Two other presidents, Leonard Woodcock of the UAW and Jerry Wurf of AFSCME, probably the most influential men in the Coalition, are clearly leaning to Carter—not because he's their first choice, "But when the electability factor is weighted in . . ."

During a recent campaign visit to Michigan, Carter addressed a meeting of 700 or so UAW members and their families at the late Walter Reuther's home local, accompanied by Woodcock and Mayor Coleman Young of Detroit, one of the first black politicians in the country to come to Carter's defense in the flap over

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ethnic purity. Bill Dodds, the union's Washington-based political director, described Carter's reception as "electrifying." Shortly thereafter, the UAW leadership met and decided not to endorse in the upcoming Michigan primary. Some believe that Carter's ethnic purity remark cost him that endorsement; others claim the union is internally too divided to decide.

Wurf's tilt to Carter is more surprising and more tenuous. Wurf is both a liberal and the president of the nation's largest public employee union; Jimmy Carter is a moderate-to-conservative Democrat, and despite his protestations delivered in the nation's capital last week ("I don't believe I ever made an anti-Washington, anti-government statement"), both his stump rhetoric and paid advertising are consistently anti-Washington and anti-government. Carter is very much a part of the "beating down of government in this campaign," which Wurf regards as "pandering" to the electorate. "What we're really talking about," he says, "is the delivery of services, and because of the position I hold, that concerns me. Right now, we're under attack and we're trying to find some rational answers to demagogy. Perhaps there is a measure of legitimacy in some of these criticisms, along with a measure of bullshit, and maybe it will all lead to a useful reexamination. But right now it has made candidates shy away from government solutions to serious problems and needs."

Nevertheless, Wurf is favorable to Carter: "I'm impressed with the fact that when I ask him questions, he doesn't give me the answers I like, but he sticks to the answers he gives. He's vague, but in some ways that's better than the utopias these other guys spin off, things we could never send over to the Congress."

By continuing their pragmatic stance of endorsing Jackson and Carter delegates now that the field is narrowed and Udall, the only progressive remaining, is weak and needs help, the Coalition Clearinghouse has drawn some fire from its liberal allies, especially on the matter of Carter: "Jimmy Carter is the fellow who went to Houston in 1972 and called a press conference to kick off the stop-McGovern movement. A year later, he went to Columbus, Ohio and tried to organize his fellow Democratic governors against partisan exploitation of Watergate. He's weak on the issues that the unions claim they care most about—full employment, national health insurance and right-to-work. He was against aid to New York City until the New York primary, and he's for ethnic purity. It was one thing for the Coalition unions to be for Carter as a means of eliminating Wallace; now that they've accomplished that, they should at least hold this fellow to a high enough standard to find out what he's for."

Remarks like these draw a mixed response from Coalition leaders and strategists. One UAW official admits: "In supporting Carter for the limited purpose of beating Wallace and getting delegates, it's possible we have created a kind of Frankenstein monster that we can't stop." Says Jerry Wurf: "Do I have any reservations about Carter? Look at whose pictures are on my wall—Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas. Going from that to Jimmy Carter is going a distance." On the other hand, the Coalition's chief strategist, Mike Miller of the Communications Workers, says flatly, "Our strategy was set a long time ago and we are sticking to it. Anyone who has looked at filing deadlines knows that it's too late to do much switching around now."

Here, roughly, is how the nine-union Coalition stands in upcoming key states: *Pennsylvania* (178 delegates) supporting individual labor delegates on various slates—Jackson, Carter, Udall, Shapp and uncommitted—and obviously not participating in the emerging stop-Carter movement organized by party regulars and the state's AFL-CIO leaders; *Texas* (130) mainly Bentsen but some union delegates are also on Carter slates; *Indiana* (75) backing Carter statewide; *Michigan* (133) no endorsement, but the largest union (UAW) is leaning to Carter; *Ohio* (152) mainly Udall and Carter; *New Jersey* (108) mainly backing uncommitted slates, with some support for Carter; *California* (280) mainly behind the Jerry Brown "native son" candidacy, but some support for Carter, some for Jackson and some for Church. In the two largest remaining convention states: *Missouri* (71) backing an uncommitted, pro-Humphrey strategy designed by party regulars and led by Sen. Thomas Eagleton; *Connecticut* (51) backing Carter unanimously.

Carter was quick to appreciate the tangible benefits of Coalition help, and he has moved to soften opposition from within the unions to his candidacy. When the revised Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill was released, he quickly endorsed it. Before announcing his own national health insurance program, a modification of the Kennedy bill with provisions for participation by the insurance companies, he met privately with Woodcock and Wurf and convinced them that his scheme was unobjectionable. On the ethnic purity flap, Jackson, Udall and even President Ford all made public statements close to the substance of Carter's, thereby taking much of the sting out of what might have been a permanent setback for the former Georgia governor.

Ethnic purity did cause Carter some trouble with his labor supporters—at least for a time. Most are now prepared to accept his denial that it represented a bid for the backers of George Wallace and also his explanation that it was merely a slip. They are also impressed by the speed with which Carter has been able to recoup his black support. Says Wurf: "If it was a fumble, let him recover and see where it goes. I've been mau-maued myself on occasion—not for that, but for things like that."

But people close to Carter have privately admitted to friends that the incident was not spontaneous, that some, if not all, of the offending phrases, "ethnic purity," "black intrusion," "diametrically different

kinds of families," and "alien groups" were in fact written on paper in advance of delivery—that is, premeditated—and that the remarks were part of a calculated attempt to attract northern Wallace votes based on Carter's success in gaining Wallace voters in the South. Nor was it an accident that racial purity was unveiled in Indiana where Wallace is on the ballot, has run well before and where racial attitudes are not the most progressive in America. What surprised Carter and his advisers was the fury of the backlash, causing them to quickly think better of the matter and apologize.

The Coalition's backing of Carter has had an unanticipated side effect. It has taken the edge off and perhaps eliminated right-to-work as a political issue. Like McGovern in 1972, Udall has been repeatedly castigated for his 1965 vote in Congress against the repeal of the provison of the Taft-Hartley Act that prohibits closed union shops; Carter has said he would not crusade to overthrow the law, leaving Jackson as the only candidate with a perfect record on 14-B. Because the nine Coalition unions have decided not to insist on traditional standards of fealty in this year's quest for delegates, officials have had to justify their abandonment of right-to-work as a litmus test for labor support. Never has a supposedly crucial issue been jettisoned with such dispatch. Campaigning for Carter in Florida, Leonard Woodcock simply shrugged the matter off. Another Coalition union official called it "yesterday's soup," and a Washington-based political director said, "Find me a member who cares."

It is easy to find a candidate who cares. Henry Jackson, close to the most solidly Meany unions like the Seafarers, Building Trades and Steelworkers, comes down squarely and often for repeal of 14-B, criticizing not only Udall and Carter for waffling, but also passing off the Coalition unions as "small minority groups within labor."

The same narrowing of options that has pushed the nine liberal unions in the direction of Jimmy Carter—not by any means their first choice—has apparently also nudged George Meany from his neutral corner. It was Meany's 1975 resolution to keep the AFL-CIO out of the delegate struggles that led to the formation of the Coalition Clearinghouse operation. At this year's annual federation meeting, Meany announced a reinterpretation of his own resolution—the federation itself would remain neutral, but each affiliated union would be free to chart its own course. "It was Meany's signal to go for Jackson," says one Coalition union president privately, "and you can be sure that Meany loyalists are not playing a 'hold-it-for-Humphrey' game."

To be sure, Jackson's fortunes have improved markedly in AFL circles since the Meany announcement. He now enjoys the support of six union presidents who sit on the executive council and his campaigns in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania were virtually turned over to the leadership of Meany's disciple unions.

Some still believe that Jackson will not be the ultimate beneficiary. It is commonly assumed that the one candidate all labor could comfortably unite behind is Humphrey and leaders of the Jackson drive in Pennsylvania openly alluded to stopping Carter on Hubert's behalf. All this has led to the concoction of a Trojan Horse theory, increased speculation that when the early balloting is over, some of the candidates who have slugged it out in the primaries—namely Jackson, Carter and Udall—might have to stand by and watch their delegates evaporate. CWA's Mike Miller acknowledges something like that possibility: "If the convention deadlocks, I would expect that our delegates might check with Glenn Watts (CWA's president), Jerry Wurf and Leonard Woodcock."

A look at who has been slated by both the Coalition and the Meany unions indicates that the Trojan Horse analogy may be apropos. This year's union delegates are not simply rank-and-file members struck by a wave of civic consciousness; they are drawn from leadership positions, actively recruited by the unions to run. They include state and regional directors, business agents, state presidents, regional vice presidents, local officers and staff on union payrolls—people, in short, whose allegiance to the union is primary, and to the candidate, secondary. "Of course we try to slate people who we can influence," says one political director.

But Coalition leaders, some of whom were part of Humphrey's 1972 drive, also have misgivings about a Humphrey nomination this time. They are worried, among other things, about his health, allegations linking him to Howard Hughes money, and the conviction of his 1972 manager for accepting illegal campaign funds. "Ronald Reagan has taught Ford how to use the presidency," says one. "I don't know how Hubert would fare when the White House people get their knives in him."

But Woodcock and Wurf have said publicly that they will not participate in a movement to "stop" any candidate, and each has endorsed the proposition that if anyone comes to Madison Square Garden with 1000 or more delegates, it would be difficult to deny him the nomination. They also say they will be no part in any effort to do so.

That is a remarkable proposition. It still takes 1505 to nominate, and if the notion that winning 1000 delegates seals the nomination had been advanced by Jimmy Carter—the only candidate with the potential to approach that number—it would have been written off as so much campaign puffery. But it is being seriously advanced by Woodcock and Wurf, and it is a posture that indicates both how committed they are to avoiding the open scars left by the stop-McGovern movement four years ago and also their appetite this time around for someone who looks like he can win.