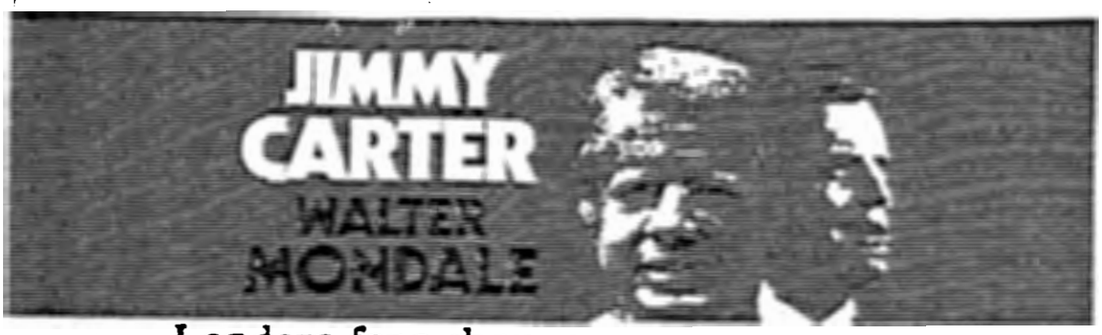
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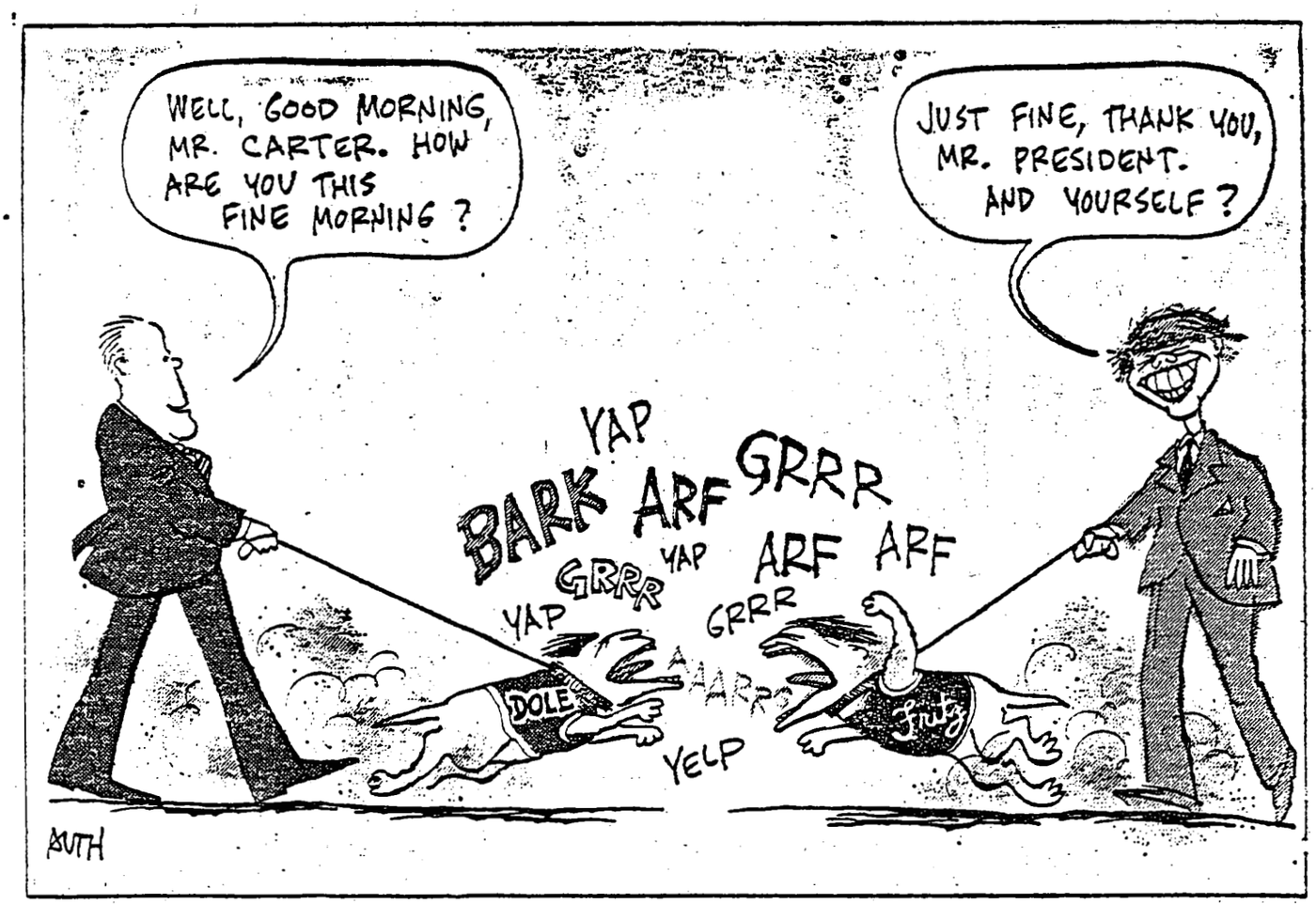
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Leaders, for a change.

What The Press Had To Say.

9/13



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## *Quotation of the Day*

*"Only an attitude of firmness can end this kind of odious blackmail."—Michel Poniatowski, French Interior Minister, commenting on the hijacking by the Croatian terrorists.* [19:5.]



Camera Press

**Michel Poniatowski**


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The New York Times

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# Moments of Spontaneity Reveal Character of Carter's Campaign

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., Sept. 12—A Presidential campaign is such a lavish and preposterously excessive feast of sight, sound, words and experience that even the most greedy member of a politician's entourage cannot sample it all, nor can the most indefatigable recorder get it all down.

Moreover, the sometimes dreary written speeches or the carefully planned and well executed "media events" tend to eclipse the moments of spontaneity, of human frailty and of self-revelation that may be more vivid expressions of the character of the campaign.

Even an enterprise run by the self-disciplined and emotionally austere Democratic Presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter, has such moments.

The last appearance he made during his first week of electioneering was before a wildly enthusiastic crowd in a huge, enclosed shopping mall in Jacksonville, Fla. The roars of the crowd echoed off the ceiling and were amplified to deafening volume. It appeared to be, in large part, an expression of Southern solidarity for a new regional hero.

Mr. Carter, at one point, asked those in the crowd who had had a member of their family recently unemployed to raise their hands, and a scattering of hands were raised.

With vast self-assurance, Mr. Carter scanned the crowd and said, "It looks like 15 to 20 percent."

"Well," he said, "some of you aren't telling the truth," adding his frequent assertion that 30 percent of American households had been affected by the laying off of a working member. For the last, but not the first, time during the week, those following Mr. Carter's entourage gaped and then broke into laughter. The man who will brook no aspersions on his own truthfulness had just accused some of his screaming adherents of being liars.

Mr. Carter, as almost everyone knows by now, is an excellent speaker who seems to be proud of his ability to "wing it" without notes or text. This, however, is not to say he is infallible. Speaking to another memorably noisy group—the Illinois Democratic state convention in Medinah Hall in Chicago—Mr. Carter began to wander rhetorically, plucking from the air excerpts from his old "basic speech" from the primary campaign.

The nation needs a better system of health, he said, and the crowd roared. He enjoyed good health as a Georgia farm boy, Mr. Carter added, because then, doctors tried to prevent diseases—typhoid, typhus, cholera, smallpox, polio. As he went through this somber catalog of illnesses, the enthusiasm was somewhat deadened. "The doctors," Mr. Carter said to his baffled audience, "tried to immunize me against those diseases—and quite often they succeeded."

•

Earlier, it had been Mr. Carter's turn to be baffled. Illinois Secretary of State Michael Howlett, the rotund and quintessentially Irish candidate for Governor, had risen to denounce his Republican opponent, a United States attorney. "Nineteen-seventy-six is no year for a rookie," roared Mr. Howlett, "because rookies make mistakes." If not frozen, the face of Mr. Carter, who is running against an incumbent President, did not seem joyful. "Anyone," Mr. Howlett continued, "can make a nice speech." Or they can put on a fancy "Eastern media campaign." "But," shouted Mr. Howlett, "there is no substitute for experience."

Eight days ago, standing on the platform of the old railroad depot in Plains, Ga., Mr. Carter had said he was approaching the campaign with "humility." Thursday night he rode in a maroon convertible through a vast throng in Chicago as fireworks bombs burst loudly in the dark sky and marching bands blared. Faithful party hacks clutched sputtering highway flares giving the event its somewhat euphemistic title of a "torchlight parade" staged by that quasi-sovereign power, Richard J. Daley, the Mayor of Chicago, who is the object of a local party personality cult nearly unique in American politics. Had Mr. Carter looked behind him he would have had a lesson in humility, or, at least Chicago priorities. A squad of party workers marshalled by Edward Eagan, the Cook County candidate for State's Attorney, carried a huge banner that read: "Ed Eagan salutes Mayor Daley and President Carter."

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Mr. Carter often paints himself as a "populist," uniquely close to the people. But he often favors a peculiarly stilted form of language that seldom impinges on the national consciounes because journalists tend to sidestep his wordings and put them in different form. The United States Government, he likes to say, is an instrument "on which we can predicate answers to difficult questions." Asked in Columbus, Ohio, the other day to discuss his opponent, Mr. Carter said, "I have never insinuated any lack of knowledge that President Ford is an honest and sincere person." Perhaps feeling he was getting on swampy ground, Mr. Carter then supplied his own translation: "He is an honest man."

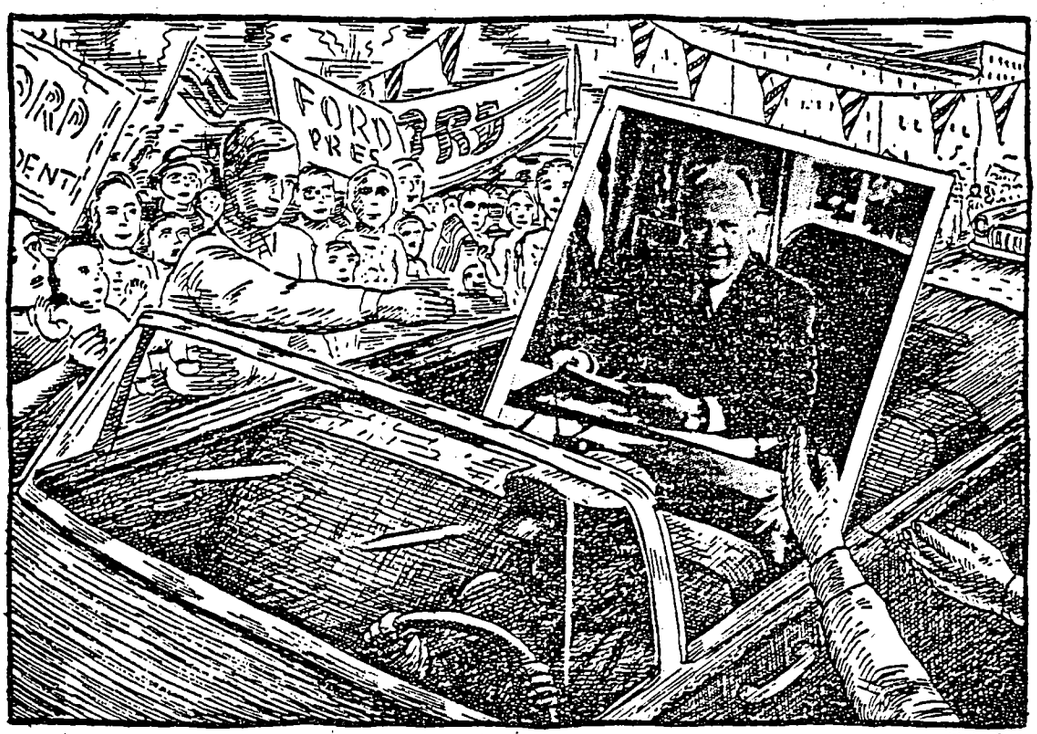
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But sometimes Mr. Carter is strikingly less indirect than most politicians would ever be. Walking through the streets of North Philadelphia last week, he discussed the abortion issue, which had forced him to shift a discussion of urban problems from a Roman Catholic Church to a Lutheran Church. "Abortion," said Mr. Carter, "is evidence of a failure to prevent pregnancy. I don't feel any man or woman has sexual intercourse with the expectation of having an abortion." What is needed, Mr. Carter said, are methods to prevent unwanted pregnancies and thus abortions.

And although he has said he will not consider changing his complex position on abortion, which combines a stated personal revulsion to the procedure with an unwillingness to overturn the Supreme Court decision making it legal, he does not want to further antagonize the "prolife" demonstrators heckling him by implying they have no right to disrupt his rallies with their deeply felt and shouted opinions. In Cleveland, as anti-abortion militants growled their feelings, Mr. Carter said he undersotod their reverence for life and added, "You're absolutely right."

*By Acting 'Presidential,' He Hopes to Be Elected President*

# Ford's Strategy of Wish-Fulfillment




Walter Gurbo

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON—The next scheduled campaign event, intoned the mock-serious White House spokesman last week, would be the draining of the pool by President Ford. After that, his daughter Susan would open the lemonade stand, and his son Jack would shinny up a tree.

It was merely Ron Nessen's way of deriding Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee for President, and the press, for having lavished attention on such events when Mr. Carter and his family were ensconced in their home in Plains, Ga., preparing for the fall campaign. But the White House press secretary's jest also served to call attention to the signal facet of the President's candidacy. A week after the contest began in earnest, while Mr. Carter was galivanting across the nation, the Republican nominee was still ensconced in *his* house.

Playing to a gallery of three network television cameramen, Mr. Ford staged, in sometimes dizzying succession, such "Presidential" events as these:

He proclaimed dismay at Hanoi's continuing failure to account for all Americans missing in action in Vietnam. He posed for photographs with Polish-Americans. He picked the name "Enterprise"—after the space ship on TV's "Star Trek" series—for the space shuttle project. He conducted his second Cabinet meeting in nine days. He talked of tax reform while strolling in the yard. He read a somber eulogy on the occasion of Chairman Mao's death in Peking. He directed that asylum be granted a defecting Soviet fighter pilot. He convened a quickie news conference beside an oak tree to convey the White House judgment that Mr. Carter lacked compassion and consistency. He held back-to-back ceremonial bill signings in the Rose Garden. He met with six Roman Catholic prelates for a man-to-man chat about whether women should have abortions. And, in his sole foray outside the white House grounds, to the B'nai B'rith convention at the Hilton Hotel, he professed concern that Mr. Carter's Pentagon plans would leave the free world defenseless.

It was, said a delighted campaign official, "a good week." The President seemed to have crammed as much high-visibility White House activity into one week as he had in the previous eight months. The whole longshot strategy of the Ford candidacy rests on persuading a national electorate that Mr. Carter, a one-term former Georgia governor and peanut grower, does not measure up to the Oval Office and that Mr. Ford, an accidental President, has learned the ropes of governance well enough to merit a real, four-year term of his own. "Keep the President you have," summed up Mr. Nessen.

The technique is not without perils, chief among them being the transparency of it. There is nothing unusual about Presidents trying, and usually succeeding, at commanding attention of the media and thus dominating political dialogue. What was un-

# The Nonvoters

In a democracy, the most explicit expression of disenchantment with the political process is a citizen's deliberate failure to cast a vote. Thus, when a nonpartisan study concludes that approximately 70 million qualified, voting-age Americans—10 million more than in 1972 and nearly half of the eligible population—can be expected to stay home on Nov. 2, the findings must be viewed with serious apprehension.

A mere appeal to voters to do their duty obviously will not change this dismal forecast; the most basic default that emerges from the study by Peter D. Hart Research Associates is that of the politicians whose appeal no longer interests large numbers of voters.

Ignorance and poverty undoubtedly account for some of the stay-aways. Those who are outside the mainstream of society feel they have little stake in policies that seem to leave them destitute, and those who simply do not comprehend the issues can hardly be expected to take the trouble to express their political preferences.

Far more alarming is the indication that two-thirds of the nonvoters have lost interest because "candidates say one thing and then do another" or because "it doesn't make any difference who is elected. . . ."

Such a turning away from politics is rendered more disconcerting because the growing army of nonvoters seems to be drawing its recruits from among middle-class constituents who used to vote and from among the young, the post-World War II generation, many of whom are in danger of tuning out permanently.

Nonvoters should be viewed as a barometer [illegible] participation whose rising or falling is affected primarily by the way potential voters view the quality of leadership represented on the ballot. Past Presidents who raised the nonvoters' political enthusiasm were Franklin D. Roosevelt, Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman. Enthusiasm went into a nosedive in reaction to Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon, and neither President Ford nor Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter appears so far to have been able to recover the nonvoters' lost allegiance.

This antipolitical trend is confirmed, independent of the survey, by reports from the college front. The National Student Association found that, following the Democratic and the Republican National Conventions, delegates to the organization's own annual meeting showed so little enthusiasm for the current Presidential campaign that there was no response to the suggestion for a straw vote.

The lingering admiration of past leaders may be tinged with nostalgia; but there is surely a hint worth taking in the fact that the Presidents who are best remembered and still massively approved by today's nonvoters are those who focused most strongly on the issues as they themselves perceived them, without regard for the public opinion polls, and those who inspired personal trust.

If there is in all this one suggestion of an unfilled need that spawns nonvoters, it is the lack of candidates with strong, consistent views and convictions about the course they propose to the American people. Popular government will continue to flounder until those who seek to represent the people can again be more successful in transmitting a sense of direction and personal commitment. The growing roll of nonvoters is a warning signal neither party's candidate can afford to ignore.

# How Not to Run for President

IF THE SPEECHES that Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford made to the B'nai B'rith convention in Washington this week are a fair example of what is to come in their debates, then we are all in for a very tedious and unedifying spectacle. For the two candidates, dealing with issues bearing on Israel and a broad range of defense and foreign policy matters, went "political" with a vengeance. It caused us to wonder about mastery of subject matter in Mr. Carter's case, and about seriousness in Mr. Ford's.

Mr. Carter, for instance, offered a grossly oversimplified attack on the Ford administration for its ostensible disregard of human rights. Picking up a discredited line of attack used by Ronald Reagan, he charged the administration with insensitivity to East Europe's craving for freedom—as though he, Mr. Carter, could somehow assure improvement on the administration's quite respectable record. He also blamed the administration for the sharp drop in emigration from the Soviet Union; to do this he skipped entirely the fact that the decline came about as a result of legislation that the administration opposed and that Mr. Carter himself, before other audiences, has properly criticized. His suggestion that in human rights the United Nations can serve as "the conscience of the world community" is, in light of the U.N.'s structure and record, absurd. And just what does it mean that these matters will be "very much on my mind" if he becomes President?

In cliches and distortions, however, Mr. Carter met his match the next day in Gerald Ford. The President simply ignored what was the most effective part of his policy at the time, namely, that he secured Israel's assent to the Sinai agreement last year by, in part, publicly twisting Israel's arm and making clear that American support in diplomacy and arms depended on Israeli compromises. Instead, he sought to convey the impression—one that can only undercut future Ford diplomacy—that American support for Israel is open-ended. He went on to suggest, cuttingly and unconvincingly, that Mr. Carter is insufficiently ardent in his support for Israel and that some of the defense and arms-sales cutbacks recommended by the Democrat would "cripple" the United States' capacity to come to Israel's aid.

At other times one might be tempted to excuse these assertions as the normal excesses of a presidential campaign, or at least the normal excesses of campaigning for the Jewish vote. It strikes us as troubling, however, that in a campaign in which the scheduling of debates has promised an entirely healthy focus on issues, this may be the way in which the candidates propose to discuss them. We doubt, moreover, that thoughtful friends of Israel are really comfortable with a political tradition that demands such unrealistic posturing for their benefit by presidential candidates. We find it distasteful and potentially harmful as well.

We wonder, finally, whether this sort of approach serves either candidate's real political needs. Jimmy Carter's problem, as we understand it, is to demonstrate that he can deal competently with the national and international issues he has not had to deal with in government before. He hardly does this by engaging in high-sounding but fuzzy rhetoric on the one hand and catering to a form of stale ethnic politics on the other. Mr. Ford's need, by contrast, is to demonstrate that he is something other than the experienced partisan everyone knows him to be. You would think he would be trying to be "presidential," to present himself as the wise and statesmanlike steward of the nation's interests. To judge by their B'nai B'rith appearances this week, neither candidate is doing very well.

The New York Times

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# CARTER IS PLEASED BY CAMPAIGN SO FAR

## Says He Emphasized Conservative Themes in First Week to Restore 'Accurate Image of Himself

By CHARLES MOHR
Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., Sept. 11—Jimmy Carter says he emphasized relatively conservative themes during his first week of Presidential campaigning to restore what he thinks is the more "accurate" image he enjoyed in the spring before selecting a liberal running mate and before Republicans branded him an "ultra liberal."

The Democratic Presidential candidate, in an airplane news conference last night, said he felt he had made a good start in the campaign, but that he would probably be more "reticent" in the future about responding to criticism made by President Ford and other Republican spokesmen.

Mr. Carter said he thought "it might have been" a mistake in political tactics to become involved in a long-distance colloquy with President Ford over the question of whether Clarence M. Kelley, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation ,should be discharged because it had "sidetracked" Mr. Carter's campaign for 2 4to 36 hours and diverted the attention of journalists from other issues Mr. Carter wished to stress. He still feels, however, that Mr. Kelley should be dismissed for alleged improprieties.

### In Genial Mood

Mr. Carter seemed to be in a genial and pleased mood, and looking forward to a weekend at his south Georgia home.

Asked to say what the main issues would be in the first television debate with President Ford on Sept. 23, Mr. Carter said he saw them as "proper management of government, including waste,and maladministration of the Medicaid program." He continued, " I think housing problems are the next ones to break into the national consciousness; the problems with inflation; unemployment; unbalanced budgets; lack of cooperation with Congress; lack of leadership,and projecting what our nation ought to be over the next four-year period."

When he was asked if he had "deliberately" been emphasizing more conservative themes, such as control of inflation and of government spending, Mr. Carter said, "Yes, I think so."

He went on to say the positions he took during the first week of campaigning "are compatible with my positions during the primary campaign."

Mr. Carter said that during the primaries, when most of his opponents were pronounced liberals, "I was sometimes stigmatized by being called the conservative candidate in the Democratic Party." But after he won the nomination, chose Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota as his Vice-Presidential running mate, and after orators at the Republican National Convention portrayed him as a "spendthrift, irresponsible ultraliberal," he thought it best to "re-emphasize my basic themes," including balanced budgets and the strengthening of local government, Mr. Carter said.

### 'Basic Commitment'

"I thought," he added, "it was time to reassert my basic commitment."

Mr. Carter began the session with journalists who accompany him on his travels with a discussion of the week as he saw it. The aircraft had just landed at Albany, Ga., 35 miles from his home, and was parked on the airport ramp.

He noted that he spent much of his first week moving through white ethnic neighborhoods, Polish-American and others, because he particularly "wanted to tie myself to them." He was not weak, but rather, strong with such groups, many of whom are Roman Catholics, Mr. Carter indicated.

The militant anti-abortion demonstrators who heckled and even booed him at one point had "been a problem" all week, he said. However, he would try to "welcome" them and let them use his rallies as a means to show their feelings. "I hope," he said, "I can retain my equanimity... be friendly towards them and not arouse additional animosity."

He said that former Democratic Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota, who will run as an independent candidate for President in as many states as he can meet legal qualifications required to get on the ballot, appeared to have the support of about 8 to 9 percent of the public in California and was also strong in New York. But Mr. Carter said that he did not intend to conduct his own campaign with Mr. McCarthy "as a major opponent" and would have to let Mr. McCarthy get what votes he could "by default." Mr. Carter, however, indicated that he felt the former Senator was a minor threat in most areas of the country.

# Ford Says Rival's Policies Would Hurt U.S. Defense

POLICY, From A1

gin this week with a first session on defense policies, and suggested that the back-to-back B'nai B'rith appearances at the Washington Hilton were part of this debating process.

"The gentleman (Carter) told you, 'We have allowed virtually unlimited sales of arms to countries around the world, a policy as cynical as it is dangerous.' I tell you, most of our arms sales and military aid goes to key countries like Israel and Iran. I assume he is not proposing to cut off Israel. Does the gentleman want Soviet arms to have a monopoly in the world? Does he want our adversaries to arm not only the radical Arabs but also the more moderate Arabs?" Mr. Ford demanded.

Mr. Ford maintained that "the gentleman [Carter] has proposed troop withdrawals from Western Europe and from Korea, defense budget cuts that would cripple our ability to supply or to sustain our friends, ban on nuclear tests by our allies, a nuclear strategy of massive retaliation policies which would invite a major crisis with our allies, including Israel."

The President also charged that an adequate defense of the United States and "our friends" would be impossible under any of four policies he attributed to Carter defense budget cuts of $5 billion to $7 billion, delay in the B-1 bomber program, withdrawal from overseas bases and military aid cutoffs to "vital allies."

Campaigning in Springfield, Ill., later in the day, Carter issued a rebuttal that charged Mr. Ford with making statements bearing "no relationship to the facts" and with condoning waste in the Pentagon budget. "I say if we cut the fat and frills and get back to a defense establishment designed to fight, it will be stronger not weaker. Mr. Ford says there is no fat to cut," Carter charged.

In their speeches to B'nai B'rith, both candidates spoke of a strong U.S. alliance with Israel and praised Israel for forceful action against international terrorism. But Mr. Ford concentrated much more on Israel and Middle Eastern policies—winning repeated applause in so doing—while Carter's speech covered the more diffuse subject of human rights around the world.

Aides said the White House had prepared a relatively non partisan address focusing on Israel and the Middle East, but decided to add the blunt attacks on Carter after learning of the Democratic challenger's tough human rights speech Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. Ford defended his administration's policies on the Arab boycott, which had been sharply criticized by Carter, recalling that he had issued executive orders and regulaitons last November prohibiting discrimination in export transactions. He also declared a determination to make further progress and added to the prepared speech the words, "If necessary by legislation." This seemed to hinnt at possible acceptance of anti-boycott legislation which the administration has been resisting on Capitol Hill.

The President also responded to Carter's charge that the administration had failed to make serious efforts to convince the Soviet Union to allow more Jewish emigration. Carter pledged such questions will be "very much on my mind" when negotiating with Soviet leaders. Mr. Ford told B'nai B'rith he had already taken up the matter personally with Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev, but made no claim that this plea had produced results.

## Campus Recognizes Common-Law Rites

MOSCOW, Idaho, Sept. 9 (AP)—Students at the University of Idaho have to show a marriage certificate if they want to live in a married-student apartment on campus. But housing director Don Surfus says he has a solution for unmarried couples—he'll issue common-law marriage certificates.

Surfus says the school began requiring the proof of marriage five years ago after an unwed couple was discovered in one unit. Nearby tenants had complained.

# Mondale, Campaigning in Jersey, Urges Political Leaders

## to Resolve Differences and Unite Behind Carter

By RONALD SULLIVAN
Special to The New York Times

ELIZABETH, N.J., Sept. 11 — Senator Walter G. Mondale, the Democratic Vice-Presidential nominee, appealed to New Jersey's top Democratic party leaders here today to resolve their differences and unite behind Jimmy Carter, the party's Presidential candidate.

Appearing at a breakfast meeting of leading Democrats in the state, Senator Mondale also renewed his attack on President Ford and Republican Administration policies. "He and the Republicans have simply loused up the economy to an unbelievable extent," Mr. Mondale said, adding that this had "led to frustration and despair among Americans."

Later, the Minnesota Democrat went to Hackensack where he took part in a Bicentennial parade. The 2,500 participants marched a mile down Main Street to the Bergen County Courthouse.

There, Senator Mondale, who rode in an open convertible with United States Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. and Representative Andrew Maguire, kept up his attack on the Republicans, charging that they had "ruined a decent American dream" by destroying jobs and forcing workers onto unemployment rolls.

While the swing into Bergen County was considered a success, it was the breakfast meeting earlier that preoccupied the political calculations of Senator Mondale and Democratic leaders in the state.

A political split involving Mr. Carter and New Jersey's three top Democrats—Senator Williams, Governor Byrne and State Senator James P. Dugan, the Democratic state chairman—was reportedly jeopardizing Mr. Carter's chances of carrying the state.

Although Mr. Byrne was an early supporter of Mr. Carter, Senator Williams and Senator Dugan led the party's uncommitted forces against Mr. Carter in the hotly contested party primary in June.

While both leaders succeeded in delivering the New Jersey delegation at the national convention to Mr. Carter, both have since expressed displeasure with the campaign he intends to wage in the state. Senator Dugan, in particular, has opposed Mr. Carter's national strategy of sending in outside experts to organize individual states.

### 'A Very Good Feeling'

Senator Mondale said later today that he had received assurances from the leaders that any differences among them would be submerged, at least for the campaign, and that the party would unite behind Mr. Carter.

"I have a very good feeling from what they told me," Mr. Mondale said. "The party is more unified than I can ever remember. The task now is to keep it unified, to harness it, make it work. If we do, we will win handsomely."

Last week, Mr. Carter intervened in the dispute, calling Mr. Dugan personally on the telephone and reportedly making it clear to him that he would not put up with any feuding at a time when he needed a united effort behind his candidacy in New Jersey.

So today was almost an exercise in political theater, with the party's top brass assembled around a long breakfast table at the Holiday Inn here to express their solidarity publicly.

Senator Mondale thanked Representative Peter W. Rodino Jr. for taking himself out of the Vice-Presidential consideration and told him that he would get the limousine that went with the office as a consolation prize if the Democrats won the election.

"Oh, gee, thanks," Mr. Rodino replied.

Senator Mondale then exchanged pleasantries and praise with other leaders and introduced his daughter, Eleanor, who was campaigning with him for the first time.

# Ford calls Carter cutbacks for defense 'crippling'

By MURIEL DOBBIN
*Washington Bureau of The Sun*

Washington—President Ford warned yesterday that the cuts in defense spending advocated by Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee, would "cripple" America's capacity to fulfill commitments abroad and endanger its alliances.

The President's latest assault on his opponent's proposals was made before 2,000 delegates at the B'Nai B'Rith national convention in a Washington hotel, an audience addressed the previous day by Mr. Carter.

Mr. Ford prefaced his prepared text with a series of responses to statements made by the Democratic nominee before the national Jewish service organization, jabbing at Mr. Carter for choosing to kick off the defense policy debate before a nonpartisan group instead of accepting the President's challenge to begin their televised confrontations on that topic.

The Ford-Carter debates now are scheduled to begin in Philadelphia September 23, two weeks later than the President had proposed initially.

Mr. Ford concentrated his criticism on what he called the former Georgia governor's advocacy of troop withdrawals, defense budget cuts, bans on nuclear tests by American allies and a nuclear strategy of massive retaliation.

"Such defense cuts would cripple our ability to supply or sustain our friends.... These are policies which would invite a major crisis with our allies, including Israel," the President said.

He responded to Mr. Carter's charge that the virtually unlimited sale of American arms around the world was a policy "as cynical as it is dangerous," by demanding, "Does the gentleman want Soviet arms to have a monopoly in the world?"

The President continued, "Does he [Mr. Carter] want our adversaries to arm not only the radical Arabs but also the more moderate Arabs? Does he honestly consider his own country's bipartisan policies more cynical and less moral than the Soviet Union's?"

Mr. Ford contended that "most" of American arms sales in military aid went to "key countries like Israel and Iran."

"I assume [Mr. Carter] is not proposing to cut off Israel," he said pointedly and received a smattering of applause from his Jewish audience.

The convention interrupted Mr. Ford frequently, but briefly, with applause as he delivered what he described as a "nice, nonpartisan speech" stressing his administration's high regard for Israel.

It was unnecessary, suggested the President, for Mr. Carter to urge closer ties between the United States and Israel.

"Our ties have never been closer or stronger," said Mr. Ford, pointing to his "consistent 28-year record of support for Israel." He added, "You all know where I stand."

He promised that the United States would continue to stand firm in its commitment to Israel's "security and survival."

Mr. Ford said that the funds he had proposed for Israel in his first two budgets had totaled more than $4 billion for 27 months and pledged that America would "fight attempts to deny Israel full rights of membership in the United Nations."

The President made a point of underlining administration efforts to make American moral and legal opposition to the Arab boycott of Israel "forcefully clear" to both foreign governments and the American business community.

"I want to reiterate my determination to make further progress, if necessary by legislation, so that government officials at all levels will understand I mean business," he warned.

The applause grew warmer as the President showered his audience with pledges of "no imposed solutions . . . no one-sided concessions" in the course of Middle East negotiations, coupled with "close and constant" consultation with the Israeli government.

Mr. Ford also added to his speech an assurance that he was mindful of the need to achieve freedom of emigration for Soviet Jews. He one-upped Mr. Carter's expressions of concern on the same point by emphasizing that he (the President) had "raised the matter with determination with Mr. Brezhnev [Leonid I. Brezhnev, Soviet party leader]."

# Gallup Poll Finds New Evidence of Pervasive Religious Character of U.S., With Only India More Committed

By KENNETH BRIGGS

During a Presidential campaign in which Jimmy Carter's "born again" faith has helped raise curiosity about the nation's overall religious character, some new evidence from the Gallup poll indicates that the United States is as pervasively religious as it was a quarter century ago.

A survey of 60 non-Communist nations suggests that the United States professes a greater level of religious commitment than any other major industrialized society and ranks only behind India among all countries studied.

Compared to Europe, which spawned most of this nation's denominations, the gap is particulary striking. While 56 percent of the Americans surveyed said that their religious beliefs were "very important" for example, only 27 percent of Western Europeans said the same.

Likewise, while 94 percent of Americans said that they believed in "God or a universal spirit," 78 percent of Western Europeans made that affirmation.

### Belief In Life After Death

Asked if they believed in life after death, 69 percent of the American respondents said they did, a percentage point higher than a similar Gallup survey of Americans in 1948. Among Europeans, the same answer was provided by a high of 48 percent among Italians to a low of 33 percent among West Germans.

The figures attest both to the continuing central role of religion in American life and to the decline of faith in Europe.

In recent years, various explanations have been put forward to account for the American phenomenon. Among those most often cited are the voluntary character of this nation's religious activity as opposed to the widespread system of state-supportd churches in Europe and the underlying sense of gratitude among Americans for a prosperou, democratic way of life.

In addition to holding allegiance to particular religious traditions, Americans are also said to hold what is sometimes called a "civil religion" in common. Though the term is amorphous, it is generally described as faith in God and the purposes of the nation. The concept and the practice of civil religion—manifest in such ways as references to God on the dollar bill and the chaplain's prayer at the opening of legislative sessions—are attacked as idolatry by some and viewed as highly legitimate by others.

Church historians point out that the ability to form religious associations freely, particularly after the established churches of the Colonial period were abolished, has provided an enormous incentive. Under this practice, government was supposed to keep its distance, neither to coerce nor to guarantee a group's financial existence.

Under this provision, an extraordinary number and variety of religious groups has sprung up, each with the necessity of building voluntary loyalties.

The new Gallup Poll reports that "nearly all people" questioned said they belonged to a church of a faith.

An apparent disparity has developed in the last few years between private profession of faith and participation in organized religion. Most major denominations have suffered membership losses in recent years, particularly among the young. Although the sharp decline appears to have ended among most of these churches, the losses have been significant.

But there appears to be little support for those who a decade ago, were predicting the demise of American spirituality under the weight of secularism. Since the "God is Dead" movement and the radical turning away from religion by students of the 1960's, the nation has experienced a wave of evangelical activity which has included succeeding generations of youth.

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## *Quotation of the Day*

*"Only an attitude of firmness can end this kind of odious blackmail."—Michel Poniatowski, French Interior Minister, commenting on the hijacking by the Croatian terrorists.* [19:5.]



Camera Press

**Michel Poniatowski**

usual in this instance was that it was Mr. Ford who was doing it.

An instinctive political vagabond, Mr. Ford spent much of the last year in interstate pursuit of a stronger Republican Party, and most of this in a pell-mell race through 30 state primaries to beat off Ronald Reagan's challenge for the party's nomination. His sudden and pronounced preoccupation with statecraft and his stay-at-home stance were startling changes. The President seemed to (and his counselors said he did) itch to get out on the road again. But he manged to stick to a plan in which his only avowedly political journey since Aug. 20 was to be an appearance this Wednesday at his alma mater, the University of Michigan. The White House refused to call even that trip a campaign kickoff—"It's his first speech since, uh, his last campaign speech." improvised Mr. Nessen—and Mr. Ford was not due to travel widely until the final days of his campaign.

No matter how strategically imperative the Republicans considered their plan, it appeared sensible tactically. With a Federally imposed, post-Watergate budget of $21.8 million for the campaign, roughly one third of what Richard Nixon spent in 1972, Mr. Ford was getting free access to television and enabling his political organization to allocate scarce resources to such things as 700 telephone banks across the country.

But there were some hamhanded elements as the strategy took shape last week. For one, the use of White House correspondents as political props became obvious when Mr. Nessen tried to prompt reporters to ask a particular campaign question at the President's news conference and, when no one did, Mr. Ford answered the question anyway.

There was also the matter of the extent to which the White House would go to project consistency and competence, the key qualities with which the strategy was meant to cloak Mr. Ford's image. Take the White House aide behind the tree. Bob Schieffer, the CBS News correspondent, noticed the aide on the White House grounds as Mr. Schieffer filmed an assessment of what he termed a "flip-flop" by Mr. Ford on the abortion issue, Sure enough, when Mr. Schieffer returned to his office, he found two "urgent" messages to contact two Ford assistants. Before he could, Mr. Schieffer received another phone call from Richard B. Cheney, the White House chief of staff, insisting that the President was consistent on the subject.

For all that, as new opinion polls showed a narrowing Carter lead in the industrial Middle West, Mr. Ford's counselors were more sure than ever that he should continue to campaign by not campaigning. If Mr. Ford seemed to miss the process of pressing flesh with his public there was always his wife, Betty, to help out. At one event last week the President shook hands twice with Mrs. Ford. It seemed a modest clue to how much he was chafing under, but submitting to, a candidacy waged from the White House back porch.

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*James M. Naughton is a New York Times White House correspondent.*

# DOLE GROWS TESTY ON FUND QUESTIONS

## Asked Again About Donations to 1973 Campaign, He Urges Trial in Court, 'Not in Newspapers'

BY DOUGLAS E. KNEELAND
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — Senator Robert J. Dole, the Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, grew somewhat testy today over continued questioning as to whether he took unreported campaign vibutions from the Gulf Oil Company in 1970 and 1973.

"I didn't take the money," he insisted, as he has since the allegations were reported in The New York Times early last week. "Bill Kats his administrative assistant at the time didn't take the money. If there's going to be a trial, let's have it. Let's not do it in the newspapers."

His apparent annoyance came as questions persisted after he had appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press," where he had been interrogated at some length about the Gulf money.

At one point on the television program, he declared impatiently: "If the prosecutor is leaking the information, or someone in The Washington Post or New YYork Times is dreaming it up, I can't control that."

Tht 53-year-old Kansan, who has been known in the past as a waspish campaigner but who has been relatively mild since his nomination three and a half weeks ago as President Ford's running mate, did not elaborate on his implied criticism of the Federal special prosecutor, who has been investigating possibly illegal contributions, and the newspapers.

The New York Times reported last Monday that sources close to that investigation had disclosed that Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf lobbyist, had testified before a Federal grand jury that he had given Mr. Kats between $5,000 and $6,000 in illegal funds in 1973 tp pass on to Mr. Dole for his 1974 re-election campaign in Kansas.

Later, Mr. Wild, who distributed $4 million in legal and illegal contributions for Gulf, declined to discuss his testimony about the alleged 1973 gift, but said he had given Mr. Dole $2,000 In. 1970. for disbursement to others.

Senator Dole denied receiving money in either year from Mr. Wild orGulf and Mr. Kats, now retired, said he had no memory of the alleged 1973 transaction.

On Wednesday, Mr. Wild, still refusing to comment on his alleged testimony about the 1973 gift, said that after checking his records he was "confident"he had been "in error" about the 1970 donation and apologizel publicly to Mr. Dole. The Senator accepted the apology and called the matter an "unfortunate incident."

Asked by a paneiist whether he could "see any way to definitely resolve the issue and get it out of the way," Mr. Dole replied that the "only way it might be resolved would be from some statement from the prosecutor."

Mr. Dole and many other politicians returned contributions to the Associated Milk Producers Inc. after Watergate investigators began investigating the milk fund.

"It just seems to me," Mr. Dole said later, that "we shouldn't be condemned and criticized and found guilty of anything without having the information—and I say it didn't happen."

Asked on "Meet the Press' whether he thought the acknowledged Republican strategy of having Mr. Ford remain in Washington "acting Presidential" would be effective during the campaign, Mr. Dole said that in his view Mr. Ford "is taking his case to the people from the White House, being the President, and I am doing what I can to help out in the field, but I think it has been very effective.'

However, when he was pressed on the question, he said that he thought that Mr. Ford would take to the hustings in earnest after the expected early adjournment of Congress.



United Press International

**Senator Robert J. Dole answering questions about campaign contributions during TV interview yesterday.**

# Out of the Rose Garden

If the Presidential campaign is to have either form or content, the highly publicized Ford-Carter debates can't start too soon. They may turn out to be more rigid than some voters will relish as a way of electioneering, but they should at least impart substance and style to a process so far sadly lacking in either—or in dignity, for that matter.

President Ford, who should recognize that he is not even Ronald Reagan's equal as an actor, chose to spend the first week of his campaign striking what he thinks the public will regard as "Presidential" attitudes. Special arrangements were made so that he could be televised striding in and out of the Oval Office to sign bills at a desk set up in the White House rose garden, heralded each time by a voice announcing, "Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States." It hardly seemed to matter that one measure was a noncontroversial flood-relief bill and the other a day-care bill scarcely altered from the form in which he had once before vetoed it.

Jimmy Carter's opening drive was more promising only by comparison. After a strong initial appearance at Warm Springs, Ga., where he invoked the brave spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt, he bungled the simple question of whether or not F.B.I. Director Clarence M. Kelley should be fired for availing himself of bureau materials and labor in decorating his home. More important, he allowed himself to be trapped in a controversial bog over what should not be a campaign issue at all—the question of legalized abortions.

Mr. Carter's position on that subject was clear to start with, but he has allowed it to be muddied. (Mr. Ford, it must be added, moved to bring equal confusion to his views on the matter—views which had started with the unsatisfactory approach of state option and appeared to veer quickly toward the G.O.P. platform's advocacy of prohibition via constitutional amendment.) Mr. Carter initially accepted the Supreme Court's opinion that made abortion lawful and would himself do nothing to promote passage of a constitutional amendment to nullify that ruling. His personal distaste for the procedure and his unwillingness to interfere with anyone else's effort to obtain such an amendment rounded out his position to what should have been the satisfaction of anyone reasonably interested in the issue.

Harassed by "right-to-life" demonstrators and prodded by some Catholic Church leaders, Mr. Carter has now gone further, pledging himself to oppose, as far as he can, the use of Federal funds for abortions, whether out of Medicaid now or out of possible national health insurance funds in the future. He would have done better to stand on his originally stated position, reject hypothetical questions and go on to issues of broader application.

Not only are such issues available and pressing, but they cut across religious and cultural lines, as Mr. Carter showed so effectively when he campaigned for a day in the streets of a Polish working-class district of Pittsburgh.

Essentially those issues are economic. The Democratic nominee is rarely as persuasive as when he attacks the present Administration for the highest unemployment rate since the Hoover Depression, along with an inflation that compares unfavorably with the rate that prevailed in the Democratic days of Truman, Kennedy and Johnson. He should try less strenuously to satisfy every variation of sentiment on peripheral themes and get down to cases on tax reform, a new welfare system, health care, arms reduction, foreign policy and jobs.

Specific programs may not elect, but the appeal of a man who knows the general course he wants to take and firmly pursues it is more potent even than pictures in a rose garden.

# Walkin'-Around Money

## By William Safire

WASHINGTON — As we have learned, what counts most in political campaigns is not what the candidate does, but what he is willing to do after some of his campaign aides are caught doing wrong.

Five weeks ago, investigative reporter Grayson Mitchell of The Los Angeles Times revealed widespread irregularities in the reporting of campaign expenditures by Mr. Carter's minorities division.

In California, a group calling itself Ministers for Carter received $5,000 without ever saying what it was going to do with the money, an apparent violation of law. Declared Reverend J. L. Richards of Oakland unrepentantly: "When a preacher stands up in his church and talks about Jimmy Carter, he's working for Jimmy Carter as far as I'm concerned, and he should be paid for it."

In Ohio and North Carolina, the newspaper found evidence of $12,000 falsely listed as "advance travel" expenses, later used for other purposes, also likely violations of law.

In all, according to Carter campaign official Paul Hemman, some $150,000 in taxpayer funds would have to be returned to the Federal Treasury because of such discrepancies and lack of documentation required by law.

At that time, Carter press secretary Jody Powell stoutly announced "If we discover instances in which funds were improperly or illegally spent, we will publicly report the incident. . . ."

At that time, a stern-looking candidate Carter announced that he had directed his campaign treasurer, attorney Robert Lipshutz, to investigate any evidence of wrongdoing on the part of his staff.

And at that time, the ever-vigilant compliance division of the Federal Elections Commission filed an internal complaint that launched a review of The Los Angeles Times charges.

What has happened since then?

After one day's attention, the national press dropped the story, generally attributing the violations to "walkin'-around money," a long-tolerated form of petty bribery in which local workers or precinct captains buy voters a drink or pocket the money themselves. The fact that this "walkin' around" is now being done with taxpayers' dollars and not political donations evidently troubles nobody.

What of the Carter internal investigation? Mr. Lipshutz informs me today: "We have found to date no evidence of any wrongdoing, or suspicion of wrongdoing, by any member of our staff, or anybody else."

That is what used to be called hanging tough. But what of Mr. Hemman's $150,000 rebate estimate? Reached about this, Mr. Hemman places his tail firmly between his legs and will only say "talk to Bob Lipshutz." The likable intelligent and honorable Mr. Lipshutz — he is sometimes called "Carter's Garment"—says confidently that he does not expect that any money will have to be returned to the Treasury.

He is telling the literal truth. The Carter campaign intends to ask the Treasury for several hundred thousand dollars less than it has legitimate vouchers for, which would more than make up for the money Mr. Carter received to date on the undocumented or false claims. That cleverly does away with the embarrassment of having to return money. Meanwhile, some who were caught with walkin'-around money in their pockets have been sending back the money. They can say they did not need what they will call an "advance" and thus there was no "wrongdoing." Much record-correcting is taking place.

And what of the Federal Election Commission gumshoes, guardians of the taxpayer's election dollars? An F.E.C. spokesman points to a line in the law that prohibits discussion of any matter "under review." But it is a solid fact that no F.E.C. investigator has yet spoken to—nor even written a letter to—any of the key witnesses in the disbursement of all the Carter walkin'-around money, including Mr. Hemman, minorities division overseer Benjamin Brown or former California Carter operative Frank Mullen. Some "investigation."

## *ESSAY*

Anybody with any political horse sense knows just what kind of traditional, minor-league corruption was involved here: It's nearly impossible to run a national campaign without some funny business down the line. What is significant is the reaction at the top in this classic test case: The Carter reaction is to cloak and fix rather than to expose or admit.

But while Mr. Carter can find not one shred of wrongdoing in the tens of thousands of dollars in walkin'-around money, and will neither fire nor reprimand anyone connected with his campaign, he announces that he would have fired the head of the F.B.I. for having accepted a few hundred dollars in gifts.

"When people see the head of the F.B.I. violate a little law and get away with it," Mr. Carter piously intones, "it gives everybody a sense that crimes must be okay."

And so it does. A great many corner-cutters in Washington will take great comfort in the knowledge that what Mr. Carter preaches for the F.B.I. is a far cry from what he practices in his own organization.

# Eureka! Free at Last to Be A Jimmy, a Real Jimmy!

By Jimmy Thomson

TRURO, Mass.—I am neither a Georgian nor a Southern Baptist. But I am, and have been extensively, a "Jimmy." It is therefore an unsettling experience, one that makes you reflect, to have a candidate for President who chooses to run for that august office as "Jimmy."

James is, of course, the root of the problem in most cases, including Mr. Carter's. James is a heavy burden for the very young and very small, at least in America. It seems not only plural but much too formal. It evokes thoughts of that precocious prig, "James James Morrison Morrison," or haughty chauffeurs ("Home, James"), or unexciting saints, or British kings. It is, further, in many families, the name used by parents or older siblings when you have seriously misbehaved.

So, early on, all parties seek out less formidable nicknames. Actually, there aren't many—only Jimmy, Jim, Jamie, and perhaps (quite rare) Jimmer, or even Jimminy. One 1950's college classmate of mine who made the mistake of naming his son James III has lived to see that child change his entire name to "Yossarian"—or, more informally, "Yo-yo."

The problem is that while Jim seems too old and tough, Jimmy seems too infantile and vulnerable. Can, for instance, a Jimmy be entrusted to make an adult decision, like finishing his custard or declaring war, much less govern the nation?

My own story is somewhat embarrassing. In China, where I grew up as a missionary child, Jimmy—transliterated into Chinese—became "Chi-mi," or "Chicken-feed." The name caused hilarity among all Chinese I encountered as I was trundled off to kindergarten and even higher institutions of learning. No one would tell me why, and the final discovery was not good for my self-esteem. I did feel better, however, when I eventually found a new friend in Shanghai's Jessfield Park Zoo, "Jimmy the Giant Kangaroo." I attribute to weekend kangaroo-viewing my rising sense of manliness.

Back in America the problem got complicated by the existence in my high school class of another who shared, approximately, my surname. He became, naturally, "Thompson, E. A.," and I "Thomson, J. C." For too many years Jimmy gave way to "J. C.," creating—in this believing Presbyterian child—excessive grandiosity.

Way back, maybe in sixth grade, I did some research in that little pamphlet some gasoline company used to put out about names. That was a setback. I discovered that James came from Jacob, out of the Old Testament, and originally meant "supplanter"—the guy who outwitted his brother Esau and won the family inheritance. Some years of consorting with Freudians made me even more uncomfortable about the implications of the name.

There was always, however, the possibility of falling back on my middle name, as my father had done (I was a "Junior"). But that middle name was, and is, "Claude," and elicited raucous hoots from my peers in school.

Now that I ponder it, thanks to Mr. Carter, the predicament was unresolvable. Except for Jimmy Stewart—bless him—there was and, until recently, is no wholesome, powerful adult to use as an ego-ideal. Mayor Jimmy Walker? Jimmy Durante? Jimmy the Greek? Jimmy Hoffa? There may be baseball or football heroes, but that was never this China boy's forte, and I understood only soccer. To this day no names come to mind—though I do read about Jimmy Connors, who seems much too young.

Somewhere circa age 17 I settled for Jim, but not with great joy. It is still for me too terse and clipped, lacking in warmth, inherently monosyllabic—except in the South where it *can* become "Jee-um." It leaves one feeling less than loved.

Imagine, then, the new hope that the Carter candidacy offers to me, and all of us, who have borne this burden so long. A Jimmy has come out of the closet and aspires, *as Jimmy*, to the world's most powerful office.

---

*Jimmy Thomson, better known as James C. Thomson, is curator of the Nieman Foundation for Journalism and teaches history at Harvard.*

# The Campaign: Ford, Carter And Morality

Although their campaigns were conducted in distinctively different ways last week, both President Ford and his Democratic opponent, Jimmy Carter, addressed themselves to the same subject: the personal and moral qualities appropriate to a chief executive

Mr. Carter traveled through the South, Northeast and Midwest, complementing his formal speeches with handshaking tours evidently intended to demonstrate an affinity with the average voter. In contrast, Mr. Ford, trying to overcome his poor standing in the polls—The New York Times's and other polls last week showed him substantially behind—stayed in or near the White House, appearing at events designed to emphasize his incumbency. But both candidates were talking about Presidential character.

Mr. Carter accused Mr. Ford of being a timid chief executive and having ignored the moral obligation to advance human rights abroad through the conduct of American foreign policy. He also alluded to the ethical failings of the preceding Republican Administration, when he said that "scandals and corruption have hit us like hammer blows."

An echo of those scandals was heard last week; it was reported that a Gulf Oil Corporation lobbyist had told a grand jury that, through an intermediary, he had given Mr. Ford's running mate, Senator Robert J. Dole, an illegal campaign contribution of $5,000 to $6,000 in 1973. Mr. Dole said that he had appeared before the grand jury and denied the allegation, and the President expressed confidence that the charge was untrue.

Mr. Ford, in turn, chastised Mr. Carter for lacking compassion when the Democrat suggested he would have fired Clarence Kelley, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for having carpentry work done at his home by bureau personnel; Mr. Kelley's wife was dying of cancer at the time.

The President also sought to capitalize on a distinction between himself and the Democratic challenger on abortion, a sensitive moral issue for many voters. After a White House meeting, six Roman Catholic bishops said they were "encouraged" by Mr. Ford's support for a proposed constitutional amendment that would permit states to regulate abortion; they had expressed "disappointment" when Mr. Carter, who has said he believes abortion is morally wrong, declined to endorse any amendment at a similar meeting.

At a speech at the University of Notre Dame, a Catholic institution, the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee, Senator Walter F. Mondale indicated by indirection the extent to which the Catholic vote in the industrial states of Northeast and Middle West is a concern for the Democrats. He did not mention Mr. Carter by name, but referred to the way John F. Kennedy had been held suspect in 1960 because of "region, accent, religion."

## Congressional Primaries

Congressional primary elections were held in several states last week, but because of local considerations there were no apparent implications for Presidential politics. In Arizona, Representative Sam Steiger defeated Representative John B. Conlan in a bitter contested election between two conservatives for the Republican Senate nomination. Religion was an issue; Mr Conlan, an Evangelical Christian, sought by clear indirection to win voters because Mr. Steiger is Jewish.

In Florida, Democratic Representative Robert L. F. Sikes, who was recently reprimanded by the House for having had a conflict of interest, easily won renomination. He will be unopposed in the November election.

that, in their battle for public attention on television, the President looked like the mouse that roared.

While Carter insisted that "it suits me fine for him to stay in the White House," he was plainly envious of the news-making opportunities that site provides.

"President Ford can walk out in the Rose Garden and make a 1½-minute statement and that's his only confrontation with the American people on the evening news," Carter observed to reporters aboard his plane last night. "I make a hundred different statements a day . . ." A Carter aide, putting it more directly, said, "Ford can write his headlines more easily than we can."

On the two major exchanges of the week, the President forced Carter onto the defensive—the very place Carter does not want to be in the first debate.

Following Carter by 18 hours to the platform of the B'nai B'rith convention in Washington, D.C., Mr. Ford told that important Jewish organization that his rival's proposed defense cuts would jeopardize America's ability to defend its allies—including Israel.

Because the charge was not included in the advance text of the President's remarks, the first Carter knew of it was when a reporter asked Jody Powell, his press secretary, for a comment. The Carter jet is equipped with a high-speed computer, linked to Atlanta headquarters, but, as an aide admitted, "it's tough to triangulate the information flow from Washington to Atlanta to us, when we're constantly on the move."

A statement was hastily written—reiterating Carter's commitment to Israel and claiming that Mr. Ford was oblivious to Pentagon waste—and Carter read it to television cameras at the Springfield, Ill., airport in time to make the evening news shows. But Mr. Ford clearly dominated the exchange.

The Kelley issue was first raised by Carter in an impromptu addition to his speech in Brooklyn, which prompted reporters' questions and a further comment by Carter that, based on what he knew, he would have fired Kelley for accepting gifts from FBI subordinates.

The President, at a White House news conference, accused Carter of a "lack of compassion" toward a man whose wife had been dying of cancer. Carter was forced to respond that Mr. Ford was trying to "cloud the issue."

In reviewing the developments with reporters, Carter said, "I had some doubts on responding, but after discussing it with Jody and some others, I decided it would be the proper thing . . . I might be a little more reticent in the future about responding."

He said the defense issue was important enough to deserve immediate comment, "but it may have been better had I not got involved in the Kelley thing at all. . . I thought the one was necessary and the other doubtful."

Asked if he meant that his call for Kelley's resignation was a mistake, Carter said, "No, my statement was correct. . . .What may or may not have been a mistake was to respond to the question at all and inject myself into that. There was no way I could have all the information. I think that Mr. Kelley should have been discharged. But [I don't know] whether I should have made that an issue that took up about a day and a half of news media attention and kind of interrupted our week's main themes. . . . I could have said no comment."

The speeches this week were deliberately conservative in tone, Carter said, "because "When the Republican convention was devoted to describing me as a spendthrift, irresponsible, ultra-liberal candidate, I thought it was good to re-emphasize my basic themes of balanced budget, strengthened local government, a maximum of personal privacy and a minimum of government."

Carter had stepped off on the left foot at the Democratic National Convention with the choice of Sen. Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.), the most liberal man on his list, for Vice President and an acceptance speech ringing with what Carter himself called "populist rhetoric."

The liberal image was heightened by a highly publicized visit to Plains by consumer advocate Ralph Nader, by the American Legionnaires' booing of Carter's promise of blanket pardons to Vietnam War resisters and by Rosalynn Carter's disclosure that their three sons had all sampled marijuana.

An aide said, "All the political people got nervous when the polls dropped more than they expected after the Republican convention. They decided he had to get back to what he did in the primaries."

In that period, as Carter noted, he was often described as the "conservative candidate in contrast with people like Fred Harris and Morris Udall."

He underlined that conservatism at every opportunity, starting with a press conference here nine days ago in which he said many desirable social programs would have to wait until he was sure he could balance the budget in is first term as President.

Among other conservative stances noted by reporters:

- Carter virtually dropped his past criticisms of President Ford's vetoes of Democratic spending bills and conspicuously omitted any reference to the Humphrey-Hawkins "guaranteed jobs" bill even in a talk with unemployed workers in Pennsylvania.
- He emphasized—to consistent cheers—his promise to cut off welfare benefits to any able-bodied adults who refused jobs.
- In a speech in New York, on the urban crisis he avoided any hint that suburbs might have to sacrifice to solve center city problems.
- And at every stop, he hit the administration, not just on unemployment, but with equal emphasis on budget deficits and inflation.

But the most obvious sign of the tactical shift was the simple fact that in more than three dozen appearances Carter did not face one predominantly black audience. It is before such a crowd that he usually gives his strongest pleas for sweeping reform and social justice.

Instead, his motorcade skirted the black ghettoes of Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago and Milwaukee to deposit the candidate in ethnic enclaves where he could mingle with working-class whites.

His promise to them was "neighborhood preservation" through improved law enforcement, housing, schools and jobs. Carter did not deal directly with the racial problems of the cities, except to emphasize his opposition to "forced busing," but his message was clear.

In a Cleveland backyard meeting, he said, "I got in trouble one time using the word 'ethnic purity,' which I should not have used, but I do believe in ethnic neighborhoods, ethnic character, ethnic heritage."

He was followed constantly in those neighborhoods by right-to-life pickets demanding his support for an anti-abortion constitutional amendment. But by week's end, Carter seemed to believe that the abortion issue was largely behind him.

He took comfort from a CBS-New York Times poll showing that only 36 per cent of the voters favor an anti-abortion amendment and, more important, that abortion is not, at least so far, a "voting issue" between him and Mr. Ford.

The poll taken last week shows that Carter enjoyed a 17-point lead over the President among those who favor such an amendment and a 10-point lead among those who oppose it.

Overall, he said, his polls show him running 6 points stronger among Roman Catholics than among his fellow

# CONTROVERSIAL BILLS BIG PROBLEMS FOR FORD

## Whether He Signs or Vetoes Them, Some Voters Will be Unhappy

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11 — President Ford will repeatedly be put on the spot politically in the next month as he decides whether to sign or veto controversial legislation.

Before it adjourns in early October, Congress is expected to send to the White House several measures dealing with the economy, the environment and Government regulation of business. All have generated intense support and opposition.

Whether Mr. Ford signs or vetoes the bills, which were developed by the Democratic Congress over Administration objections, some important interests are bound to be unhappy.

If he allows the measures to become law, he will risk alienating some conservatives and members of the business community who are the mainstays of his political support.

If, on the other hand, he vetoes the bills, he risks offending moderates in the northern industrial states whose votes, according to Ford campaign strategists, are essential to a victory by the President in the November election.

### Controversial Bills Listed

Among the controversial bills are the following:

¶Antitrust legislation that would permit state attorneys general to file what amounts to class action suits seeking treble damages from companies engaging in price fixing. Consumer organizations have given the bill top priority. Businessmen have argued strenuously that such a law would permit politically opportunistic state officials to force companies into bankruptcy merely by threatening suits. Mr. Ford has expressed "serious reservations" about the bill as the product of a "very small mind."

¶A bill amending the Clean Air Act to relax the pollution standards required of automobile manufacturers and industrial polluters but also to set new standards considered too tough by the Ford Administration for preserving the quality of air in unpolluted regions of the country. Environmentalists have lobbied hard for the bill, but developers, utilities and other industries have opposed it.

¶A measure that would expand the nation's parks and recreation system to an extent for greater than that proposed by the President. Thomas S. Kleppe, Secretary of the Interior, has said that the President may find the bill too costly.

¶An appropriation for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Labor for the next fiscal year that provides $4 billion more than he President requested in his budget. ost of the additional appropriation i r popular health, education and com- nity services programs. Mr. Ford ed a similar measure for the fiscal 1976, calling that bill a "classic ex- le of unchecked spending."

A $3.5 billion appropriation to finance controversial public works jobs bill was enacted last month over the sident's veto. Its sponsors estimate 350,000 jobs would be created or erved by the appropriation. The Presi- has argued that putting the out-of- rk on the public payroll is the wrong y to attack the nation's unemployment oblem.

### No Political Plot Seen

Although the Democrats in Congress e losing no sleep over the President's scomfort, the passage of the measures st before the election is not the result f a political scheme. Rather, the action s simply part of the process of cleaning he Congressional calendar before adournment.

However, it is possible, though not like- , that the Democrats will resurrect al- ady vetoed bills, such as one regulating trip mining, to force the President to sue another veto close to the election.

Mr. Ford faced a similar predicament t December, at the end of the last ses- n of Congress, when he had to decide ether to veto bills permitting construc- n site picketing and lowering the price crude oil.

He vetoed the picketing bill, and it rced the resignation of John T. Dunlop, e Secretary of Labor, who was highly spected by the labor movement. He gned the energy measure, and political nalysts have concluded that his signa- ure was one factor that caused him to ose the Republican Presidential primary n Texas to Ronald Reagan.

Administration officials were not willing to predict for the record what the President would do about any of the controversial bills that are scheduled to reach his desk soon.

### Some Predictions Are Made

But some officials and some knowledgeable Republicans in Congress said that they expected the President to sign the clean air bill and the parks measure.

They argued that the industries opposing the air pollution measure could be mollified by the fact that the bill would relax the timetable for compliance with some existing pollution standards. As for the parks and recreation bill, they said that none of the money would have to be spent until an appropriation was enacted, and that the President could fight the funding battle then.

The officials and Congressional Republicans predicted that Mr. Ford would veto the two appropriation bills, the one for public works jobs and the other for the H.E.W. and Labor Department, but the consensus was that Congress stood a good chance of overriding the vetoes.

There was no consensus on what would happen to the antitrust bill. Representative Robert McClory of Illinois, who has been the chief Republican opponent of the measure in the House, has said that he expects a veto, but others argued that Mr. Ford could not afford the political damage that might result from such an action.

Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas, the Republican Vice-Presidential nominee, voted in favor of the antitrust bill on Sept. 8, after having voted against a similiar measure in July.

**Political Notebook**

# *A Presidential Stance*

Answering Jimmy Carter's charge that he is "hiding in the White House," President Ford said yesterday that only a few weeks ago Carter was accusing him of campaigning too much.

He called his Democratic opponent inconsistent in his accusations.

"A few weeks ago, in August, he was complaining because I was campaigning too much and not spending enough time on government business," the President said in response to a question during an inforal meeting with reporters.

"Now that I'm spending virtually 100 per cent of my time being President, he demonstrated his position of being inconsistent, as he has in many cases," Mr. Ford said.

"The President ought to be President and get that job done and campaign if and when he can on the side," Mr. Ford said.

Mr. Ford also said he was "not at all" trying to exploit the abortion issue in his campaign against Carter.

"My position on this very emotional and vital issue has been well nown. I have not brought it up," Mr. Ford said. Friday he won the tacit support of Roman Catholic leaders by advocating a constitutional amendment to let states restrict abortions.

"It's a position he American people are interested in, and his (Carter's) views and mine ought to be set forth on the record," said Mr. Ford. "I've done it, and I trust he will."

## Debate Contributions

The League of Women Voters' Education Fund, sponsor of the presidential campaign debates, said last night it will seek between $150,000 in public contributions to finance the three presidential and one vice presidential confrontations.

Ruth C. Clusen, chairman of the fund, said the decision was required because the Federal election Commission has prohibited use of direct union or corporate funds to underwrite the cost of he debates.

Though he FEC decision approved donations from union and corporate political action committees, to which union embers and stockholders contribute, Clusen said these sources ill not be approached because "we believe that the debates are educational, not political, activities."

Although the major networks will be covering the debates as news events and hence will not be able to charge for air time, Clusen said funds will be needed for fund staff to handle technical and logistic details, to rent the sites, security and set production.

## Ford Steering Panel

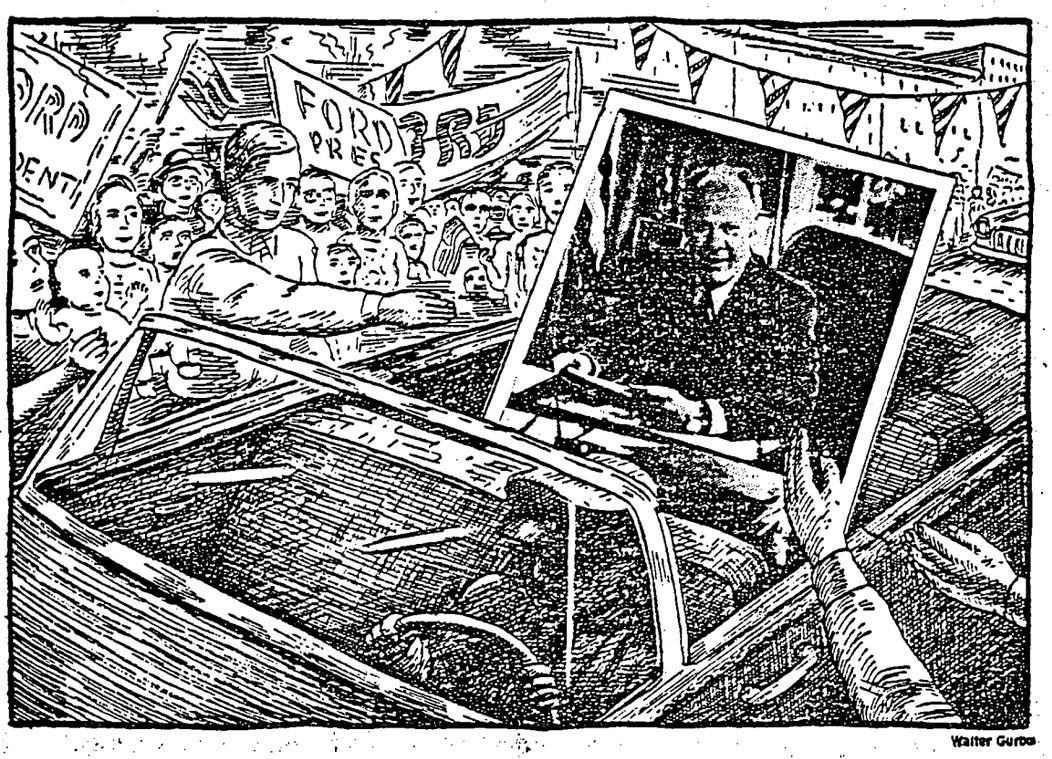
The President Ford Committee announced the addition of six new members to its campaign steering committee, whose role is to encourage Republican Party unity and advise Mr. Ford on election strategy.

The new members increase the committee to 36. They include Max Fisher, Detroit industrialist and longtime financial manager for Republican campaigns; Louis Mills, a New Jersey county official; Tom Jensen, a Tennessee state legislator; Nevada Attorney General Robert List; Jeremiah Milbank, the GOP national finance chairman, and Paul Haerle, California state Republican chairman.

From staff reports and news dispatches

*By Acting 'Presidential,' He Hopes to Be Elected President*

# Ford's Strategy of Wish-Fulfillment




Walter Gurbo

By JAMES M. NAUGHTON

WASHINGTON—The next scheduled campaign event, intoned the mock-serious White House spokesman last week, would be the draining of the pool by President Ford. After that, his daughter Susan would open the lemonade stand, and his son Jack would shinny up a tree.

It was merely Ron Nessen's way of deriding Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee for President, and the press, for having lavished attention on such events when Mr. Carter and his family were ensconced in their home in Plains, Ga., preparing for the fall campaign. But the White House press secretary's jest also served to call attention to the signal facet of the President's candidacy. A week after the contest began in earnest, while Mr. Carter was galivanting across the nation, the Republican nominee was still ensconced in *his* house.

Playing to a gallery of three network television cameramen, Mr. Ford staged, in sometimes dizzying succession, such "Presidential" events as these:

He proclaimed dismay at Hanoi's continuing failure to account for all Americans missing in action in Vietnam. He posed for photographs with Polish-Americans. He picked the name "Enterprise"—after the space ship on TV's "Star Trek" series—for the space shuttle project. He conducted his second Cabinet meeting in nine days. He talked of tax reform while strolling in the yard. He read a somber eulogy on the occasion of Chairman Mao's death in Peking. He directed that asylum be granted a defecting Soviet fighter pilot. He convened a quickie news conference beside an oak tree to convey the White House judgment that Mr. Carter lacked compassion and consistency. He held back-to-back ceremonial bill signings in the Rose Garden. He met with six Roman Catholic prelates for a man-to-man chat about whether women should have abortions. And, in his sole foray outside the white House grounds, to the B'nai B'rith convention at the Hilton Hotel, he professed concern that Mr. Carter's Pentagon plans would leave the free world defenseless.

It was, said a delighted campaign official, "a good week." The President seemed to have crammed as much high-visibility White House activity into one week as he had in the previous eight months. The whole longshot strategy of the Ford candidacy rests on persuading a national electorate that Mr. Carter, a one-term former Georgia governor and peanut grower, does not measure up to the Oval Office and that Mr. Ford, an accidental President, has learned the ropes of governance well enough to merit a real, four-year term of his own. "Keep the President you have," summed up Mr. Nessen.

The technique is not without perils, chief among them being the transparency of it. There is nothing unusual about Presidents trying, and usually succeeding, at commanding attention of the media and thus dominating political dialogue. What was un-

*David S. Broder*

# The Computer-Driven Candidate

COLUMBUS, Ohio—"Peanut One," Jimmy Carter's campaign jet, is the first such candidate aircraft to be equipped with two computers.

The one in the back, a wicked, purring creature, is hooked in by elaborate circuitry to the schedule, media, and organization staff in the Atlanta headquarters; to running mate Fritz Mondale's plane; to the wealth of polling data produced by Pat Caddell in Cambridge; and to the information retrieval services of the New York Times library.

It produces endless sheets of high-speed data, all properly coded.

But impressive as it is, the computer in the back takes second place to that housed up front, inside the head of Jimmy Carter. The peanut-farmer/atomic-engineer is the closest thing to a computer-driven candidate this technical age has yet produced.

That is not to say Carter is deficient in human emotions. On the contrary, his political success stems in large part from his ability to convey to an extraordinary variety of audiences his desire to share with them the most basic emotions—love, trust, pride, patriotism and compassion.

In a round-table discussion with eight unemployed Pennsylvania workers, his involvement in the quiet-voiced discussion seemed so complete that it was easy to forget—as he apparently did—that it was all being filmed for later use in television ads.

The point is not that everything Carter does is artificial. The point is that almost nothing he does is accidental.

Carter himself made public the computerized process for scheduling the campaign, in which a priority or point value was calculated for each state and then a value was assigned to each campaigner's time. It is 7 points for a Carter day, 5 for Mondale, 3 points each for their wives, and so on down to other relatives.

Although Carter has not confirmed it, the evidence of his first week of campaigning strongly suggests that the campaign's content is tied as closely to the calculation of the two computers as is its schedule.

For example, the choice of Warm Springs, Ga., the site of Franklin D. Roosevelt's vacation retreat, for the kick-off speech of the campaign was hardly casual. The FDR-link was strengthened by the presence of two Roosevelt sons, and the speech was studded with references, not only to FDR, but to Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy as well.

The message, in case anybody missed it, was that Jimmy Carter is the Democratic nominee—not the man whose party is linked in the public mind with Watergate, Richard Nixon and Herbert Hoover.

But once that point was made, the twin computers told Carter to take a conservative line, because the country wasn't hungry for a new New Deal.

So the first operative policy pronouncements were promises to decentralize government, emphasize individual initiative and substitute jobs for welfare—sentiments that command something like unanimous support in the polls.

The goals for a Carter administration were listed in an order of priority that deviates not a whit from those polls—a balanced budget, fair taxes, control of crime, a strong defense.

Later speeches were tuned with equal care to the particular audience—Navy talk in Norfolk, parochial school aid in Pittsburgh, Arab boycotts to B'nai B'rith. Even the decision to call for firing FBI Director Clarence Kelley—seemingly casual—reflected a discussion that convinced Carter that Kelley's future is not bright.

The calculating quality of the Carter campaign means two things. It means he is unlikely to hand his opponent, President Ford, many openings for counter-attack, but instead, will exploit his advantages to the utmost.

It would be foolish for the Ford camp to assume that Carter will blow this election.

But the Carter computer has another meaning for the voters. A campaign so finely calculated as this one tends to produce a President who gets there by telling each audience as much as possible exactly what it wants to hear.

Carter's empathy for people and his almost uncanny ability to translate polling data into words reinforce each other and make a candidate who is almost too eager to please.

That kind of candidate is reluctant to define the hard choices, because he wants all the voters, not just 50 per cent plus one.

And that kind of candidate needs special scrutiny, because in the end, we are governed by men, not computers.

# The Catholic in Politics: From Pariah to President

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

The roots of anti-Catholic feeling in the United States lie deep in the nation's history. Colonial America was a largely Protestant America, only a generation or two removed from the English hatred of the Church of Rome. For the first century and a quarter of the American political experience, Catholics remained a small and relatively powerless minority, but the Irish, German, Slavic and Italian immigrants who poured into New York City and other ports at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th ultimately made their weight felt.

Overcoming both anti-Catholic prejudice and resentment of the foreign-born (who were derisively described as recently as 50 years ago as "50 percent Americans"), the Irish Catholics moved into power first in the great cities, producing Curley of Boston, Smith of New York, Kenna of Chicago, thereby establishing a pattern of power that this year, as in all Presidential election years since then, forms a large element in the electoral calculus to which strategists for both parties address themselves.

But the Protestant nativism of the South and the Midwest blocked for a time Catholic movement onto the national political stage. Alfred E. Smith was the first Catholic to make a significant bid for the Presidency, and his failures reinforced the myth that no Catholic could ever occupy the White House. In 1924, the New Yorker's candidate was one of the principal causes of the deadlock that forced the Democrats to 103 ballots before nominating John W. Davis. And in 1928, as the Democratic nominee, Mr. Smith carried only eight states with 87 electoral votes to Herbert Hoover's 40 states with 444 electoral votes.

There were other reasons for Mr. Smith's defeat in addition to his Catholicism. One was the general prosperity, for which Hoover took credit. Another was the flaming controversy over Prohibition, in which Mr. Smith, a wet, took the minority position. Still another was the fear, in a predominantly rural country, of the sinful cities—a fear triggered by Mr. Smith's exaggerated East Side accent, in which the word "radio," for example, was rendered as "raddio." Mr. Smith's "city mannerisms, his brown derby and his half-chewed cigar," wrote the historian John D. Hicks, "aroused fear and dismay." But the politicians and the public saw and remembered the election of 1928 in simpler terms, as a rejection of Catholicism.

Buried beneath the Hoover landslide were the first signs, however, of a historic realignment—one that would help to give Franklin D. Roosevelt four terms as President and, 32 years later, enable John F. Kennedy to become the first Catholic President. Mr. Smith lost more than half of the states of the Old Confederacy, where the virulently anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan still exerted broad influence, and that was widely commented upon. Little noticed and more important was the evidence of the rising power of the urban Catholics; in 1920 and 1924, the nation's 12 largest cities, taken together, had returned a solid Republican majority, but in 1928 and thereafter they sided with the Democrats.

John F. Kennedy's decision to seek the Presidency in 1960 was based upon the careful calculation that he would gain more votes from Catholics because he was Catholic than he would lose among non-Catholics. From the beginning, he saw the South, with its persistent Protestant nativism, as his largest problem—a problem he attacked by choosing Lyndon B. Johnson, a Southerner, as his running mate and by appearing before Baptist ministers in Houston to discuss his religion.

He won, taking 50.1 percent of the overall popular vote and 78 percent of the Catholic vote, and by doing so, he disposed permanently of the thesis that a Catholic could not win. Robert F. Kennedy and Eugene F. McCarthy in 1968, Edmund S. Muskie in 1972 and Sargent Shriver in 1976, all Catholics, sought the Presidency with little comment about their faith.

Catholicism has been thrust, however, into the forefront of the 1976 campaign by the deeply divisive controversy over abortion, which is opposed in nearly all forms by the church hierarchy. Having met with Jimmy Carter, who opposes a constitutional amendment banning abortion, a group of Catholic bishops pronounced themselves dissatisfied late last month. The same group met last week with President Ford, who favors an amendment to give states the option of setting their own policies, and said they were encouraged. The Ford managers, facing a difficult fight, have seized upon the issue as a major element in their strategy.

"We think they're up for grabs," a senior Ford campaign official said of the urban Catholics. Of the 10 largest states, according to Ford researchers, all but two (Florida and Texas) are at least 20 percent Catholic. New York is 34 percent Catholic, Pennsylvania 31 percent, Illinois 32 percent. If they could pry a significant share of those votes away from the Democratic nominee, playing not only on the abortion issue but on traditional Catholic distrust of Southern Baptists, the Ford planners reckon, Mr. Carter would not look nearly so formidable.

So far, the evidence suggests, their success has been limited. A New York Times/CBS News Poll, taken just before Labor Day, shows Mr. Carter with a healthy lead among Catholics, but less strong than most Democratic nominees among three sub-groups: Catholics in the Northeast, Independent Catholics and Catholics of Italian origin.

Mr. Ford may be able to win over these groups, and he obviously hopes to cut into Democratic strength among other Catholics. But, as Mr. Carter suggested last week, Mr. Ford runs the risk of a backlash if he exploits the abortion issue too strenuously—not only from Protestants who may see him as pandering to a minority, but also from those Catholics (a significant number, according to the polls, and perhaps a majority) who themselves oppose an antiabortion constitutional amendment.

As for Mr. Carter, the Ford strategy clearly creates problems for him. But it gives him the opportunity to demonstrate that he is willing to stand by a controversial position even in the face of persistent heckling by "pro-life" activists and the efforts of his adversary to paint him into a corner. And the Georgian can counter Mr. Ford's appeal to the emotions of Catholic voters by appealing to their pocketbooks. The Catholic identification with the Democratic Party has always rested, in large part, on the belief by the children and grandchildren of immigrants that the Democrats offered them the best hope of moving up the economic ladder.

*R. W. Apple Jr. is the national political correspondent of The New York Times.*

*George F. Will*

# Kennedy vs. Eisenhower?

At a lectern adorned with a portrait of FDR, and using rhetoric borrowed by the bushel from JFK, Jimmy Carter launched his campaign by emphasizing that he is a man of the future. A fisherman and a fisher of men, Carter knows you do not catch trout with clever argument.

On that first official day of campaigning, he went to the stock car races and invited the drivers to the White House for dinner. It was like Feb. 27, 1960, in Bloomer, Wis., when Kennedy told 75 farmers that "the American cow is the 'foster mother' of the human race and a great asset to the nation." Carter promised a "new generation of leadership" (he only omitted saying that a torch is being passed to it) and he said that it is time to get the country "on the move again." Ted Sorensen, Kennedy's speechwriter, should be getting royalties from the Carter campaign.

Back at the White House President Ford countered Carter by putting on a vest and golf shoes (not at the same time, of course). Political cognoscente translated this as "acting presidential." Ford is running as Eisenhower against Carter running as Kennedy.

And so as we (in the words of Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley) "look with nostalgia at the future," it is reasonable to wonder if American politics ever changes. But of course some things have changed.

Having determined that the nation should get "moving again," John Kennedy's first marching order was that it should strengthen its strategic arms arsenal, which had, he said, suffered from the dangerous laxity of the Eisenhower administration. When Kennedy spoke the United States enjoyed unquestioned strategic superiority. Today it enjoys "rough equivalence" with the U.S.S.R., and that phrase will not long be applicable. But Carter's imitation of Kennedy stops short of Kennedy's call for a national effort at preparedness (although such a call would be more timely today than it was then).

The world "leadership" comes easily and often to Carter's lips. But it never seems to refer, as it occasionally did when Kennedy used it, to the act of telling Americans that they must do some things they would rather not do. Having prospered in the primaries by telling the American people that they were in no way to blame for Vietnam and Watergate and inflation and other recent unpleasantness, Carter has learned that no politician fails to win favor when appealing to the self-satisfaction of his audience.

Mr. Ford's campaign, if he decides to have one, almost certainly will resemble Mr. Carter's campaign in one particular. It will reflect the diminished preoccupation of American politics with production. Roger Starr, a gifted student of politics, explains the transformation this way:

"Production politics have been primarily concerned over the years with whether the nation should favor agricultural over industrial production; slave-labor over free-labor production; unionization or management prerogatives; production by cartel over freedom to compete. . . . But a large and growing fraction of the American population has passed beyond the consummate interest in production that once preoccupied it. . . . The 'sides' in politics may be shifting from an identification with conflicting producers' interests, to an identification with consumers against producers generally. . . ."

Mr. Carter's central campaign promise is to make the government as good, decent, honest, compassionate, etc., as you and I are. His is a free-floating politics of virtue, cut loose from (among other things) the traditional moorings of a politics preoccupied with "production" rivalries. His idiosyncratic idiom may be appropriate for addressing an electorate in transition toward new preoccupations.

More Americans work in service industries than in manufacturing and agriculture. One in six working Americans works for government. Most of these people do not have the sort of concerns that are traditional to our "production politics." Many students and elderly Americans (persons over 55 comprise 30 per cent of the total voting population) are not involved in production at all.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford are both groping for new ways of gripping this electorate. Mr. Carter's latest suggestion, that FBI Director Clarence Kelley should be fired, is part of his strategy of turning the election into a referendum on righteousness. (He's for it.) That has almost nothing to do with the problems of governing, but then neither does Mr. Ford's vest.

# Carter and The J.F.K. Model

By William V. Shannon

PLAINS, Ga.—If Jimmy Carter wins in November, he will be the first Democratic Presidential candidate since John F. Kennedy in 1960 to have dislodged an incumbent Republican Administration. It is no easy task to defeat the party in power wnether its nominee is an unelected President like Gerald Ford or a highly publicized Vice President as Richard Nixon was in 1960. Carter's strategy and political problems are in many ways similar to those of Kennedy 16 years ago.

Carter, like Kennedy, is an outsider who won the Democratic nomination by a bold, single-minded display of intelligence, will and cool nerve. Neither was the candidate of the Congressional insiders, the party establisnment or most liberals.

Once nominated, these comparative outsiders began to conciliate the interest groups and espouse some liberal ideas, to invoke the party's past and identify themselves with party heroes.

Reciting the litany of liberal, activist Presidents—Carter has added Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson—is a necessary rallying cry to old loyalties. It is, too, an inescapable reflection of the inner logic of the Democratic Party coalition. The pressures inside the party tend to push its leader leftward. Kennedy became more discernibly and committedly liberal the longer he was in national politics. Carter, another centrist, is responding to the same natural momentum.

Carter began with the same non-ideological posture as Kennedy and perceived his central problem in similar terms. Now as in 1960, the country is eager for change and a little afraid of it, dissatisfied with the status quo and yet fearful that change may lead to something worse. The problem, then, is how to excite interest and arouse hope but not in such a way as to stir devastating, disruptive anxieties.

A conservative candidate is, in effect, saying the future will be much the same as the present. A candidate of a party offering change is, in effect, proposing a venturesome journey into unknown territory. Such a candidate has to be careful that his journey conjures up positive not fearful associations.

Speaking last month at the Town Hall in Los Angeles, Carter spoke explicitly about this duality: "Good government is not a matter of being liberal or conservative. Good government is the art of doing what is right, and that is far more difficult. To be liberal or conservative requires only ideology; to do what is right requires sensitivity and wisdom.

"I think that most Americans are not very ideological. Most Americans share a deep-seated desire for two goals that might, to an ideological person, seem contradictory. They want both progress and preservation . . . to walk the line between progress and preservation, between too much change and too little, is no easy task. . . . It can only be accomplished by leaders who are independent and imaginative and flexible in their thinking and are guided not by closed minds but by common sense."

In 1960, Kennedy had an easier time because after the tranquil Eisenhower years, many social problems were emerging but few were at the boiling point. He could therefore sketch out the path to a "New Frontier" in generalized terms and still sound credible. Carter is running after years of turmoil, demagoguery and distrust. Major issues such as crime, inflation, unemployment, health insurance, welfare and tax reform have been repeatedly and angrily thought out and repeatedly stalemated. In these circumstances, it is harder to avoid specifics and to strike a plausible balance between liberal innovation and conservative caution. Too many issues are too sharply defined.

An accomplished broken-field runner, however, Carter hits hard on unemployment and also promises a balanced budget, pledges a national health care program and also denounces inflation, manages to sound both tough and compassionate on welfare, gives tax reform a soak-the-rich overtone and also promises a thrifty, businesslike administration. There are no necessary inconsistencies in these objectives but each of them obviously has different weight and a different resonance for various groups of voters.

There are two risks in this strategy. On the liberal side, the risk is that Carter's balancing may send confusing signals to the voters, deflating the enthusiasm of liberal voters. On the conservative side, the risk is that the signals of aggressive change may come through too loud and clear. Doubtful moderates might then flee back to President Ford.

In the closing days of the 1960 campaign, President Eisenhower made his too-long-delayed round of campaign speeches. As Eisenhower shed his benign, reassuring glow on Nixon's pallid candidacy, a worried Jack Kennedy said privately: "Every day Ike is out there I can just see those votes falling away from me like autumn leaves."

If he can come across in the debates as a credible executive, President Ford has the hope that uneasy voters may turn to him as a second-rate Eisenhower, amiable, dull and, above all, safe.

*Rowland Evans*
*And Robert Novak*

# The Solid South?

Gerald Ford's top political advisers are now studying a secret President Ford Committee (PFC) poll showing the President surprisingly ahead of Jimmy Carter in Virginia 43 to 41 per cent.

This evidence that the President may fare better in the South than PFC pessimists bargained for has been jubilantly passed along to Republican leaders in Virginia as a "neck-and-neck" Ford-Carter race. Not even state chairman George McMath was given the actual figures.

The poll was taken by PFC pollster Robert Teeter of Market Opinion Research, who has also completed tabulations in other Southern states with these results:

In Tennessee, regarded as a solid pro-Carter Bible Belt state, Carter is well ahead of Mr. Ford, but not enough to rule out a major Ford campaign; in Florida, Mr. Ford runs behind, but not much. Most surprising is Alabama, where Carter leads by only eight points (with a huge undecided vote).

Teeter's findings in Mississippi and Texas conform to the Carter camp claims that Carter will sweep his native Southland.

With the South becoming a battleground, Southern Republicans are lobbying for more attention from the President and his running mate, Sen. Robert Dole.

McMath, for example, vainly rushed an SOS to the PFC to persuade Dole to appear at the Sept. 11 state party meeting in Richmond. Republican operatives feel Carter failed to capitalize on his own Virginia campaign trip last weekend, coming over weak on television, and that a quick appearance by Dole would exploit that failure. But Dole was committed elsewhere.

Some Democratic leaders agreed, telling us that Carter's attack on Republican Gov. Mills Godwin's handling of the Hopewell, Va., kepone scandal was inept.

"Carter could not know the subtleties of the Kepone tragedy" (involving the emission of chemical poisons), one highly-respected Virginia Democratic leader told us. "He looked bad getting into the matter."

A footnote: Outside the South, the most surprising Teeter poll so far shows Carter leading the President by only four points—45 to 41 per cent—in New York, indicating surprising Ford support in the industrial North.

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**Second Thoughts About Kelley Exchange**

# Carter Sees First Week as 'Good Start'

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., Sept. 11 — Jimmy Carter said today he thought he was "off to a good start" in his bid for the presidency after an opening week of campaigning in which he deliberately sought to show he is not the "spendthrift, irresponsible, ultra-liberal" the Republicans claim.

But he conceded that President Ford had dominated much of the campaign debate without leaving Washington, and said "it may have been better" for his own race had he not gotten into an argument with Mr. Ford over the fate of FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley.

The Democratic nominee gave his assessment of the five-day, 10-state swing as he settled in at home for a weekend of relaxation and reading of background material for his first television debate with the President on Sept. 23.

Despite the normal quota of first-week logistical foul-ups, Carter found good crowds almost everywhere and enthusiastic receptions in some places. He produced displays of unified Democratic support in such faction-ridden states as Virginia, Ohio and Illinois, and abundant evidence of solid backing in his native South.

There was a roaring crowd at his last rally in a Jacksonville, Fla., shopping center, where Carter said he learned that a statewide poll put him 20 points ahead of Mr. Ford in one of the few GOP target states in the South.

And he endured with equanimity the catcalls of a constant claque of anti-abortion demonstrators while carrying his campaign into ethnic neighborhoods of four major industrial states, where his battle with Mr. Ford may be closer.

But the immediate political returns were less important to Carter and his strategists than the long-range exchanges with the President. And there, the results were, he conceded, decidedly mixed.

The challenger set out in his opening week to draw a contrast between himself as the candidate who emerged from nowhere and "owes the people everything" and Mr. Ford as a man "closely tied to special interests . . . a quiet, dormant timid person . . . hiding in the White House and not out meeting people."

He found by the end of the week

See CAMPAIGN, A6, Col. 1

# Carter Says Ford Tries to 'Cloud' Kelley Issue

CARTER, From A1

ployees "would be a crime in my states," and said the director should be fired unless Mr. Ford has extenuating evidence he has not made public.

Carter waged a long-distance war of words with the President over Kelley, the abortion and defense issues, while trying to nail together at least a show of harmony among the warring Democrats of Illinois.

On the steps of the State Capitol in Springfield, his first stop, he managed to get Democratic Gov. Daniel J. Walker and the man who beat Walker in a bitter primary, Secretary of State Michael J. Howlett, to stand toghether on the platform. He even extracted a brief endorsement of Howlett from Walker.

The rivals joined Carter at a labor rally in Peoria before he came here for Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley's traditional torchlight parade.

The event is usually held in the last week of the campaign, but Daley reportedly advanced the date because of his concern about Democrats carrying the state this year.

Carter aides said Howlett, a Daley favorite, is currently trailing Republican gubernatorial candidate James Thompson by such a wide margin that he is jeopardizing the whole ticket—including Carter.

In Columbus, Carter was accompanied on a downtown walking tour and a backyard neighborhood meeting by Sen. John Glenn (D-Ohio), one of the losing finalists in his vice presidential selection derby. Another second-ran, Sen. Adlai E. Stevenson, was with him in Illinois.

Ohio Democratic Chairman Paul Tibbs said the most recent Carter poll gave him a six-point lead over Mr. Ford in Ohio. Tibbs predicted "It will be a very close race."

In the Columbus press conference, Carter sought to bury the abortion issue, which had dogged the early days of his campaign.

Asserting that it was "a mistake" for anyone to think he was dueling with the Catholic Church on the question, Carter said voters would penalize "any candidate for the presidency who tries to take political advantage of an emotional issue like this."

His comment was a response to the President's statement Wednesday that he and Carter had fundamental differences on the abortion question.

Carter replied that his personal opposition to abortion is just as strong as Mr. Ford's, but he did not think it was "a proper subject for a constitutional amendment." Mr Ford said he supports an amendment to allow states to set their own abortion policies.

On Friday the President is scheduled to meet with Roman Catholic bishops, who said they were "disappointed" in Carter's abortion stand after a similar meeting with him 10 days ago.

Carter was at pains to stress that he did not regard abortion as "a Catholic issue," arguing that many Catholics oppose a constitutional amendment while many members of his own Southern Baptist faith support a constitutional ban on abortions.

Carter said "our own polls have shown I have a 6 per cent greater support among Catholic voters than among Protestant," which he said was proof that there was no serious "religious issue" in the campaign.

He denied any annoyance with the right-to life pickets who have trailed him at almost every appearance, saying it was "part of our political process to let this issue be dramatized" by such tactics. The pickets were not visible most of the day but they were out in force at a Chicago shopping center this evening—forcing Carter to reiterate his abortion views yet another time.

Carter brought the subject of Kelley into the campaign on Tuesday, when he said the FBI director deserved dismissal for allowing the FBI display shop to build window valances for his apartment. Kelley reimbursed the government $335 when the issue arose, and Mr. Ford accepted Attorney General Edward H. Levy's recommendation that Kelley not be disiplined or dismissed.

He cited the fact that Kelley's wife was suffering from cancer. She has since died.

Today, Carter added to his criticism of Kelley a charge of "mal-"maladministration" for Kelley's admission of recent illegal FBI break-ins after promising Congress they had been stopped.

As for Mr. Ford's charge that he lacked compassion, Carter noted that he made his statement "after director Kelley announced that he was remarrying."

"I don't think it's got anything to do with cancer," he said of the Kelley case. "In Georgia, it would be a crime. I'm not familiar with the Washington law, but if it's not a crime, it ought to be."

## U.S.'s Six Shooter Loaded, Envoy Says

Reuter

SYDNEY, Australia, Sept. 9—American Ambassador James Hargrove gave U.S. foreign policy a tough Old West image today, telling a Sydney Junior Chamber of Commerce luncheon that the United States, after Vietnam, is tougher then it was and still ready to play its role in the world. It seeks peace through strength, he said.

"The six-shooter is hanging on the wall, in its holster but it is oiled and loaded," Hargrove said. "If and when high noon arrives, America will again strap that holster on and step into the street," he added.

# *Dole Tiptoes in Texas Urging Conservatives To Rally Around Ford*

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Tex., Sept. 11—Republican vice presidential nominee Bob Dole tiptoed around a Texas-sized replay of the Ford-Reagan fight today as he called on the state's conservative voters to rally around President Ford.

Addressing the Texas Republican convention as it prepared for a showdown between its leadership and insurgent backers of Ronald Reagan, Dole stressed President Ford as the only alternative to what he called the liberal, "budget-busting" policies of Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter.

Dole drew applause when he said he was "proud to be on the ticket with President Ford," who was badly defeated by Reagan in the Texas GOP primary last spring and is acknowledged by his Texas campaign manager, former Gov. John B. Connally, to be running behind Carter in the state.

But the Kansas senator strictly avoided any appearance of taking a side in the state chairmanship fight between incumbent Ray Hutchison, who remained neutral in the Ford-Reagan contest and is now active in the post-nomination Ford effort, and Ray Barnhart, who led the state's 100 per cent Reagan delegation in Kansas City. The contest was to be resolved later today after Dole flew on to another GOP state convention in Hot Springs, Ark.

At a news conference after his speech, Dole conceded that he considered Texas to be one of the most crucial states for the Republicans this fall, and disputed local reporters' assumptions that the Texas GOP is still badly divided.

"The big picture is one of unity," said Dole, although he acknowledged that some Reaganites might stay home on election day. "A lot of his [Carter's would-be-voters] are going to stay home too," the normally affable Dole said testily. "They can stay home together."

Dole denied any sinifincance in the fact that Barnhart failed to appear with him during his visit, alyhough Barnhart held a party not far from one held in Dole's honor here last night. Dole and Sen. John G. Tower (R-Tex.), who appeared with him at the news conference, said they expected that Regan's backers will be working as hard for Mr. Ford as they did for Reagan.

About the closest Dole came to an overt appeal to the Reaganites was at the Friday night party, during which he noted that the President and Reagan wound up the national convention arm-in-arm and appealed to the Texans to "go to work not for a party, not for a man, but for a philosophy."

Dole was also appealing to conservative Democrats and independents as well as disenchanted Republican conservatives, noting several times during his two-day trip to Texas and Arkansas that Republicans alone can't win the election.

In introducing Dole at the convention, Tower—in a thinly veiled reference to Carter—said his grandfather always told him "the only thing worse than a carpetbagger was a scelawag," which Tower defined as "a Southerner who works for the North."

While he didn't want to cast aspersions on the former Georgia governor, Tower said, "he speaks with magnolia-scented tones but he does not represent the South."

Dole renewed his charge that new programs endorsed by the Democratic platform would cost at least $100 billion, which he said amounts to about $1,000 per taxpayer. This, said Dole, contrasts with Carter's pledge to balance the budget by the end of his term if elected. Carter is attempting to "buy the votes of those who are looking for giveaway programs" with every American's tax dollar, Dole said.

At a press conference in Hot Springs, Dole said the Republicans are making marked gains in the South as polls show that Carter is being perceived increasingly as a liberal. "The more Carter is perceived as a liberal, the softer he will be in the South," said Dole, although he acknowledged that the Republicans are still playing "catch-up ball" in much of Carter's home region.

In both Texas and Arkansas, Dole suggested that liberal Democrats choose independent candidate Eugene J. McCarthy over Carter. Describing a vote for McCarty as "the second best vote you can make," Dole asked, "Why not take a sound liberal?" Current polls show McCarthy taking about 6 per cent of the vote, most of it from Carter.

## British Group Lost On Antarctic Climb

BUENOS AIRES, Argentina, Sept. 11 (AP)—A British expedition attempting to climb Mount Peary in the Antarctic has been lost, British embassy officials said today.

"We have lost all touch with the men," an embassy spokesman said. He said three or four members of the British Antarctic Service left one of the British bases there to scale Mount Peary earlier in the week. The official Argentine news agency Telam reported that the expedition has been missing since Thursday.

## 3 Bombs Explode in Rome

Reuter

ROME, Sept. 11—Bombs exploded outside the offices of the United States Information Service, the Chilean embassy to the Vatican and the Brazilian airline Varig during the night, police said today. Damage caused by the explosions was light, and no one was injured. Police said there was no indication of the motive for the blasts, or whether they were connected.

# Ford 'Fear' Campaign Foreseeen by Strauss

By Jules Whitcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democratic National Chairman Robert S. Strauss charged yesterday that President Ford will stake his election chances on a "fear" campaign against Democratic nominee Jimmy Carter.

"I think President Ford's best chance is to try to make the American people fear Jimmy Carter," Strauss told a breakfast meeting with reporters. "Fear, fear, fear, fear. But the American people aren't going to buy that kind of campaign."

Strauss said the President's accusation that Carter has been guilty of "flip-flops" on various issues is central to the "fear" strategy. But he said it won't work because Mr. Ford himself has committed more serious "flip-flops."

As a major example, the Democratic chairman cited Mr. Ford's assurance to Congress in his 1973 confirmation hearings to be Vice President that he would not run for President.

Strauss also cited Mr. Ford's 1974 pardon of fomer President Nixon after having insisted as Vice President that Nixon was innocent of wrongdoing in the Watergate affair. Until days before the Nixon resignation, Mr. Ford had been saying he did not believe Nixon was guilty of any "impeachable offense."

As for Carter's own shifts on issues like abortion, the tenure of FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley after charges of gift-taking, and prohibition of future grain embargoes, Strauss defended them as reasonable in the light of changing circumstances or the availability of extenuating information.

"I don't think that's flip-flopping," Strauss insisted.

The paryt chairman acknowledged that Carter faced a problem in public acceptance a "softness out of a lack of familiarity" because of his Southern origins, his "Southern drawl" and what Strauss called "the religious thing"—Carter's overt declaration of the strong influence of religion in his life. But he sidestepped a question on whether he thought the Republicans would focus on these as part of what he called their "fear" campaign.

Strauss said the approaching Ford-Carter debates will give Carter an opportunity to deal with public fears and indecision.

Asked whether allegations of a flip-flop on abortion, which have evoked street protests by right-to-life groups during his first week of post-Labor Day campaigning, can hurt Carter, Strauss said such demonstrations are "not appealing to the American people."

At the same time, Strauss denied that Carter had gone on the attack against President Ford. "Jimmy Carter has not attacked the President of the United States one single time," but only his record in the White House, Strauss said. Mr. Ford "has a lousy record to run on," he said.

# How Not to Run for President

IF THE SPEECHES that Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford made to the B'nai B'rith convention in Washington this week are a fair example of what is to come in their debates, then we are all in for a very tedious and unedifying spectacle. For the two candidates, dealing with issues bearing on Israel and a broad range of defense and foreign policy matters, went "political" with a vengeance. It caused us to wonder about mastery of subject matter in Mr. Carter's case, and about seriousness in Mr. Ford's.

Mr. Carter, for instance, offered a grossly oversimplified attack on the Ford administration for its ostensible disregard of human rights. Picking up a discredited line of attack used by Ronald Reagan, he charged the administration with insensitivity to East Europe's craving for freedom—as though he, Mr. Carter, could somehow assure improvement on the administration's quite respectable record. He also blamed the administration for the sharp drop in emigration from the Soviet Union; to do this he skipped entirely the fact that the decline came about as a result of legislation that the administration opposed and that Mr. Carter himself, before other audiences, has properly criticized. His suggestion that in human rights the United Nations can serve as "the conscience of the world community" is, in light of the U.N.'s structure and record, absurd. And just what does it mean that these matters will be "very much on my mind" if he becomes President?

In cliches and distortions, however, Mr. Carter met his match the next day in Gerald Ford. The President simply ignored what was the most effective part of his policy at the time, namely, that he secured Israel's assent to the Sinai agreement last year by, in part, publicly twisting Israel's arm and making clear that American support in diplomacy and arms depended on Israeli compromises. Instead, he sought to convey the impression—one that can only undercut future Ford diplomacy—that American support for Israel is open-ended. He went on to suggest, cuttingly and unconvincingly, that Mr. Carter is insufficiently ardent in his support for Israel and that some of the defense and arms-sales cutbacks recommended by the Democrat would "cripple" the United States' capacity to come to Israel's aid.

At other times one might be tempted to excuse these assertions as the normal excesses of a presidential campaign, or at least the normal excesses of campaigning for the Jewish vote. It strikes us as troubling, however, that in a campaign in which the scheduling of debates has promised an entirely healthy focus on issues, this may be the way in which the candidates propose to discuss them. We doubt, moreover, that thoughtful friends of Israel are really comfortable with a political tradition that demands such unrealistic posturing for their benefit by presidential candidates. We find it distasteful and potentially harmful as well.

We wonder, finally, whether this sort of approach serves either candidate's real political needs. Jimmy Carter's problem, as we understand it, is to demonstrate that he can deal competently with the national and international issues he has not had to deal with in government before. He hardly does this by engaging in high-sounding but fuzzy rhetoric on the one hand and catering to a form of stale ethnic politics on the other. Mr. Ford's need, by contrast, is to demonstrate that he is something other than the experienced partisan everyone knows him to be. You would think he would be trying to be "presidential," to present himself as the wise and statesmanlike steward of the nation's interests. To judge by their B'nai B'rith appearances this week, neither candidate is doing very well.

*Rowland Evans and Robert Novak*

# Carter's Debut: Assorted Mixups

PITTSBURGH—Jimmy Carter opened his fall campaign emphasizing the unwanted issue of abortion and the irrelevant issue of Clarence Kelley's valances because of blunders by the campaign organization and his own lack of discipline.

Those shortcomings obscured carefully constructed plans for a dramatic contrast: Carter's going into the nation's neighborhoods while President Ford hides in the White House. Instead, the overriding portrait of Carter during two days in the critical Northeast was a candidate not fully in control of his campaign and sometimes not of himself.

At times—particularly in his visit to Pittsburgh—Carter displayed the superb campaigning style that brought him from obscurity. Nevertheless, this week's performance by candidate and organization hardly pointed to the victory once taken for granted.

The fall strategy, worked out by the Carter high command during those long summer weeks in Georgia, was valid. Instead of asking the public to come see him at public rallies, he would go see the public in suitable-for-television neighborhood walking tours—the people's candidate, contrasting with the secluded President. Simultaneously, Carter would arrest his leftward drift by moving back toward the center.

To begin with, Carter's Labor Day opening in his Southern heartland was impressive. Trouble started Tuesday when he crossed the Mason-Dixon line. A last-minute New York schedule change placed Carter at 7:45 a.m. outside a Manhattan subway stop that, unfortunately, attracts no passengers at that hour. That was his organization's fault. What happened next was his own.

Speaking at Brooklyn College, Carter stunned aides by calling FBI Director Kelley a "disgrace" for having government carpenters build two window valances in his home. In fact, Carter told questioning reporters, he would have fired Kelley. No Carter strategy council had discussed Kelley. But Carter, perceiving another Ford administration weak spot, took an approach that distorted his first day's campaigning in the North.

Much worse awaited Carter in Pennsylvania, considered his northern stronghold. Once again the trouble was self-induced. Carter's ill-conceived meeting with the Catholic bishops had aroused anti-abortion forces. Cardinal John Krol, archbishop of Philadelphia, was on the warpath leading "pro-life" forces.

Aggravating matters were blunders by the Carter organization. Scheduling a walking tour through Philadelphia's 43rd ward, the Carterites never consulted that area's congressman: Rep. William Green, Democratic nominee for the Senate. Green could have warned Carter not to rely so heavily on a neighborhood community action group called COACT.

That reliance produced, in descending order of damage, (1) cancellation of a Carter event in a Catholic church, producing headlines about abortion; (2) a dreadful walking tour—the presidential candidate wandering through North Philadelphia in desperate search of voters; and (3) a session in a Lutheran church where Carter was the captive of COACT. Attempting to escape from turgid complaints about federal housing practices, Carter lashed out stridently at Republican corruption, Clarence Kelley's valances and even Richard M. Nixon.

The next stop, Scranton, Pa., was a nightmare. The abortion issue once more made headlines when a pro-life demonstration mobbed Carter in front of his hotel. He left at 6:40 a.m. the next day to greet workers at the gates of a Scranton factory only to find nobody there. Through 13 hours in Scranton (including sleeping time), Carter delivered no speech and personally greeted only a handful of voters.

What saved Pennsylvania from being a disaster and what showed his truly formidable assets as a candidate was his Pittsburgh stop. Setting aside harsh anti-Ford rhetoric, he charmed residents of Polish Hill—heavily Democratic, totally Polish Catholic, overwhelmingly anti-abortion.

Carter also showed his flexibility this week. With polls indicating disapproval of his leftward drift, Carter moved right. Addressing shipyard workers at Groton, Conn., he called for increased naval construction to counter the Soviet threat, never mentioning his proposed $5-7 billion defense cut. He won applause everywhere by promising to stop welfare for able-bodied men who refuse to work. Talking with unemployed workers in Scranton, Carter never mentioned the Humphrey-Hawkins jobs bill he had endorsed back in primary days.

Organizational incompetence that sent Carter wandering through empty streets of Philadelphia and Scranton will presumably be corrected. More worrisome for Democrats is whether their candidate will be repeating his masterful performance of Polish Hill or will lead the campaign into dead-end streets of stridency and irrelevance.

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# The Ph.D. Illiterate

*By James P. Degnan*

THE SCENE is my office, and I am at work, doing what must be done if one is to assist in the cure of a disease I have come to call straight-A illiteracy. I am interrogating, I am cross-examining, I am prying and probing for the meaning of a student's paper. The student is a college senior with a straight-A average, an extremely bright, highly articulate student who has just been awarded a coveted fellowship to one of the nation's outstanding graduate schools. He and I have been going over his paper sentence by sentence, word by word, for an hour.

"The choice of exogenous variables in relation to multi-colinearity," I hear myself reading from his paper, "is contingent upon the derivations of certain multiple correlation coefficients." I pause to catch my breath. "Now that statement," I address the student — whom I shall call, allegorically, Mr. Bright — "that statement, Mr. Bright — what on earth does it mean?" Mr. Bright, his brow furrowed, tries mightily. Finally, with both of us combining our linguistic and imaginative resources, we decode it. We decide exactly what it is that Mr. Bright is trying to say, which is: "Supply determines demand."

Bright's disease attacks the best minds and gradually destroys the critical faculties, making it impossible for the sufferer to detect gibberish in his own writing or in that of others. During the years of higher education it grows worse, reaching its terminal stage, typically, when its victim receives his Ph.D.

The ordinary illiterate — perhaps providentially protected from college and graduate school — might say: "Them people down at the shop better stock up on what our customers need, or we ain't gonna be in business long." Not our man. Taking his cue from years of higher education, years of reading the textbooks and professional journals that are the major sources of his affliction, he writes: "The focus of concentration must rest upon objectives centered around the knowledge of customer areas so that a sophisticated awareness of those areas can serve as an entrepreneurial filter to screen what is relevant from what is irrelevant to future commitments."

The major cause of such illiteracy is the stuff — the textbooks and professional journals — the straight-A illiterate is forced to read during his years of higher education. If he is majoring in sociology, he must grapple with journals bulging with barbarous jargon, such as "ego-integrative action orientation" and "orientation toward improvement of the gratificational-deprivation balance of the actor."

♦♦♦

THE CURE for straight-A illiteracy is simply for the various academic disciplines to recognize and reaffirm the homely truth that the one thing they share, and must share if they are to communicate with one another, is a common language, the English language, a language with conventions and standards that determine whether it is being used well or badly.

To recognize the truth that writing well tends to mean writing simply, clearly, vividly and forcefully, whether such writing is done by a philosopher or an engineer; to recognize the truth that, having nothing to say, one should refrain from using thousands of words to say it; to recognize the truth that pretentious nonsense is not profundity, is painful for many and perhaps economically disastrous.

As one of the many straight-A illiterates I have known once explained, "If I followed your advice, I could never write the 5,000-word term papers I am regularly assigned; I could never get a fellowship to graduate school, or a contract to do a textbook, or a decent job in business or government. What you're asking is just too much. Think what it would do in the universities alone. It would wipe out hundreds of courses and all of the colleges of education. And think what it would do to the economy; think of the depression it would cause in the paper and ink and business-machine industries; think what would happen in the publishing business; think of all the secretaries who would be out of work. No, I'm sorry, literacy might be okay, but I can't afford it."

*Degnan teaches writing at the University of Santa Clara in California. This article is excerpted from Harper's magazine*

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# Carter Effort on the Road Has Little Wine and Music

## After Solid South, He'll Work West

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

MILWAUKEE — If the first week is an accurate indicator, Jimmy Carter's campaign for the presidency is going to be a very Baptist affair — serious, purposeful, little time for foolishness or inclination to indulge in it. There will be little wine and music.

In his first five days the Democratic nominee marched through 17 communities as diverse as Darlington, S.C., home of the Southern 500 stock car race, and Chicago, home of Richard J. Daley, mayor.

As he returns to Plains for a weekend of rest, Carter has some genuine ground to feel encouraged — as well as some genuine ground to be concerned.

Any balance sheet that can be drawn now would give Carter good marks on his first week against President Ford, but there are seven weeks remaining and it would be the ultimate prematurity for the Democrats to begin making inaugural plans.

See CARTER, A-6

## Ford on Abortion: Fit Views, Platform

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford has a reasonably clear position on the politically volatile abortion issue, but he is having a little trouble dovetailing it with the Republican party's platform.

Ford favors a constitutional amendment that would allow individual states to decide if abortions should be allowed or banned. This, however, isn't exactly what the platform calls for.

It advocates "a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life of the unborn child." And this language, though somewhat vague, has been widely viewed as supporting the kind of amendment that the anti-abortion legions want — one banning abortions outright.

RONALD NESSEN, the White House press secretary, labored mightily yesterday to put down the suggestion that there is any conflict between Ford and the platform on abortion.

"There are various ways to inter-

See FORD, A-6

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# The Friendly Stranger

By William V. Shannon

CHICAGO—He is a different kind of candidate.

The compact, almost slight figure of Jimmy Carter emerges from the swirl of Secret Service agents and pushing, elbowing, camera-laden television technicians. He waves from a flat-bed truck or someone's front porch. The smile is immediately recognizable but the face seems unexpectedly large and, in serious repose as it most often is, its features are still unfamiliar. The voice is a small jolt. Although the portable microphone amplifies and harshens it, there are still the sudden descents into softness, the unusual phrasing, the Southern cadence and pronunciation. Jimmy Carter is not your everyday politician in Brooklyn and Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh and Milwaukee.

Mr. Carter won primaries in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Wisconsin but against a split field and relatively low turnouts. The primary successes are his good omens for November but if he is to realize their full promise, he must arouse the enthusiasm and bring to the polls in large numbers those voters who find him "different" and a little puzzling. He must cease being a friendly stranger and be seen as their forceful champion. After a week of campaigning among them, Carter could be encouraged but not wholly sure that he is making that critical transition.

Historically, these are Al Smith Democrats. It was his campaign in 1928 that moved many of the parents and grandparents of today's voters in major cities of the East and the Industralized Middle West to vote Democratic or to vote at all. The majority of them—Irish, Italians, Poles, Slovaks—have remained loyal to the party of Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Carter, having led the South back into the party after a generation of disaffection, knows that if he can relate successfully to these Northeast voters, the "Roosevelt coalition"—so often prematurely proclaimed dead—will be alive and himself invincible in the November election.

These are people who lead hard lives in the factories and steel mills and warehouses. Unions and Federal laws have made their workdays shorter and safer, but nothing can make them other than monotonous, physically tiring and often dirty.

They are people who work hard—and for what? They have worked for the pension, to own the house, to live near the church and the social hall. In many ways, the mostly uninterrupted prosperity of the last thirty years has been good to them. But of late, diverse events have mocked or menaced their modest expectations.

Technological changes and financial mergers have left some older workers unemployed or deprived of a private pension. Their houses are not worth what they once were because the neighborhood has begun to change its racial composition. Banks hasten and worsen change by "redlining" transitional neighborhoods. The younger people move away, imperiling the future of the church and the social club.

Many of these voters in the older cities of the Northeast feel that nobody listens to them, nobody cares a four-letter word about their problems. Some remain brass-collar Democrats; others osoillate between militancy on a particular issue and a generalized—what's the use?—apathy.

Jim King, the trip director of the Carter campaign, understands these people because he grew up in their ranks in Massachusetts. As the former head of Senator Edward Kennedy's Boston office, he has worked on their problems.

In planning Carter's itinerary, King has brought him to a once solidly Italian, now mixed, neighborhood in North Philadelphia, to a Polish stronghold in Pittsburgh, a Slovenian community center in Cleveland and so on. Presidential candidates have previously made rally appearances in ethnic neighborhoods, but King is trying for something more—a genuine human encounter. Carter makes walking tours, confers with neighborhood leaders and takes questions from the crowd.

Since Carter is trailed everywhere not only by his Secret Service staff but also by about 85 reporters and cameramen, it is difficult to attain the small scale and the intimacy that would make these encounters most effective.

"It's like making two dozen elephants pirouette at once," King observes genially. "It can be done—and other times it just doesn't work."

When it does come off, however, as it did on "Polish Hill" in Pittsburgh the other day, it is a warming experience even for politics-hardened reporters. Carter walked the street chatting with a friendly parish priest and community leaders, made two speeches—one to the adults and one to the parochial school children and their nuns—posed for photographers with the middle-aged women who form a local basketball team, and finally pulled on—as did several reporters—a shirt emblazoned with the Polish eagle and the words "Polish Power."

Will Carter if elected make good on his promise not to forget the people and the problems of Polish Hill? Will those people place their trust in him? On their answer to the latter question may hinge the election.

# Dole Criticism of Carter a Hit at Zionist Session

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

NEW YORK — Emanuel Feit was feeling better after Sen. Robert Dole addressed the 79th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America last night.

"He swung me around," the old man said. "I don't particularly care for Jerry Ford, but I'm very favorably impressed with this fellow. And I trust Ford more than Carter, even though he's not intelligent.

"Carter is a slimy mover. He is talking one thing in Boston and another in Philadelphia. Besides, he's too religious for me."

Feit, a native of Austria who has lived in New York more than four decades, epitomized the Jewish voter the Republicans are hoping to reach this year.

He is informed, especially about matters bearing on the fate of Israel. He is concerned. And he is, as he readily admits, "very leery about Cousin Carter, even though I am a registered Democrat."

**FEIT HAD PLENTY** of company last night among the Zionists who gathered to hear Dole lambast Jimmy Carter's "total lack of experience, understanding or ability in the area of foreign affairs" and warn that there are no "fast or easy solutions to the problems that concern you."

Random interviews with delegates to the convention revealed deep reservations about Carter, based partly on his "fuzziness" on issues and partly on concern about his fundamentalist Baptist religion.

Most of those interviewed said they have not decided how they will vote, promising to follow the campaign carefully as it develops.

But it was clear that Carter's running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale, will have his work cut out for him tomorrow when he follows Dole at the Zionist convention.

"I have no positive feeling for Carter. He is fuzzy. I like politicians to be clear, like this man tonight. At least he has a voting record we can judge by," said June Shreibman of Philadelphia.

**HER SON, HENRY,** who is working on his doctorate at Columbia University, said he was disturbed by Carter's public piety. "A religious person doesn't have to speak of his convictions; he demonstrates them," the younger Shreibman said.

"Whenever I see religion become a part of politics, I get skeptical."

Republican strategists are betting there are thousands of Feits and Shreibmans who can be lured away from the Democrats this year, and they are making a concerted effort to appeal to Jewish voters — along with Catholics, who have received far more public attention so far because of the abortion issue.

In 1972, Richard Nixon drew just over one-third of the Jewish vote against George McGovern in the best showing ever registered by a Republican presidential nominee. The Ford-Dole ticket is hoping to duplicate that feat.

**THE ANXIETY** about the Georgia Baptist is expressed in a variety of ways, but it seems fairly pervasive.

Rabbi Moshe M. Maggal of Los Angeles, a self-proclaimed longtime admirer of Dole who flew with him to New York last night, said he had been disturbed "from the beginning" by Carter's religiosity.

The GOP vice-presidential candidate spoke to the Zionists last night just hours after President Ford had told another major Jewish organization, B'nai B'rith, that Jimmy Carter was advocating military cutbacks that would make it "impossible to have a defense adequate to maintain our freedom."

Dole, delivering the second half of the Republican one-two punch, played even more directly to his audience. "The best hope for a free state of Israel," he said, "is a strong America. I want to be No. 1, for the sake of peace.

**"TAKE A LOOK** at Mr. Carter's defense posture. Ask where he is going to make the cuts he talks about. Is it in the Middle East? He hasn't said. He just says, 'trust me.'"

"Let me tell you that as I look at it, as a member of the Budget and Finance Committees, that would not have been possible with defense forces reduced by spending cuts of $5 to $7 billion as proposed today by Mr. Carter's Democrat platform," Dole said.

Both Ford and Dole attacked Carter for criticizing U.S. arms sales abroad without mentioning that Israel is a major beneficiary of those transactions.

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The Washington Post

# Mondale Assails Foreign Policy As Tainted by 'Watergate Era'

By Warren Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

SOUTH BEND, Ind., Sept. 10—Democratic vice presidential nominee Walter F. Mondale told 2,500 students here today that President Ford's administration is pursuing foreign policies tainted by the "recklessness and lawlessness of the Watergate era."

Mondale's statements at the University of Notre Dame marked his toughest attack on President Ford in a five-day, cross-country campaign tour that ended here today.

The Minnesota senator called his speech a "very significant" attempt to outline differences between Republican and Democratic approaches to foreign relations. He also said he was trying to show in his statements that the attitudes that spawned official illegalities at home, of the sort disclosed in the Watergate scandals, have adversely affected American policies abroad.

"As a result of those policies, our government is aiding those (foreign governments) who would impoverish and oppress their own people and is aggravating local (overseas) conflicts," Mondale said.

"He added: "Each day, the danger increases that world powers will be drawn into these conflicts."

Recent American actions in Chile, Greece and Angola were plagued with the "expediency and deceit" that characterized Watergate and the Vietnam war, Mondale said.

"It (Vietnam) was a war begun by a Democratic President, continued by a Republican President, and a war, I regret to say, I once supported," Mondale said.

"But even now that the war is over, there is still no genuinely new direction in American foreign policy . . . We still do not have a government that recognizes that power alone is not enough, that principle must govern our actions overseas," he said.

In Chile, through actions initialed under Preident Nixon, American intervention helped to overthrow a "democratically elected government," Mondale said. He said the "result of that covert intervention was the creation of one of the most brutal and harsh military dictatorships in the world."

Mondale was referring to the Chilean coup of Sept. 11, 1973, which led to the overthrow and death of Marxist President Salvador Allende. A four-man, right-wing, military junta took control of the country after Allende's death.

The United States, under Presidents Nixon and Ford, also "supported and attempted to legitimize the military junta in Greece," and recently "plunged into another furtive and covert intervention in Angola, as if the most important lesson of Vetnam had never been learned," Mondale said.

That lesson is that there is "no conflict between principle and national security," the senator said.

"A government that believes in itself and is believed in abroad has the most important security of all," said Mondale. He added: "No international expediency will achieve security if security is not based on principle.

"When we have a foreign policy operating abroad that is inconsistent with the beliefs of the American people, our adversaries know that it is not credible and that it cannot endure," he said.

Mondale was scathingly critical of American arms sales.

"At a time when regional military tensions are increasing, America, I regret to say, has become the world's largest supplier of conventional arms."

The senator said he and Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter, if elected, will have a foreign policy that "will not indiscriminately make tanks and guns available to every country which seeks them."

Nor will a Carter-Mondale administration use the country's intelligence agencies "to topple freely elected foreign governments," he said. "In southern Africa," said Mondale, "we will champion full equality between the (black and white) races and seek to end the evils of racial discrimination."

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Mondale received a lengthy, standing ovation after this speech—the third such ovation he received in his 40-minute address.

There had been some apprehension on the part of the candidate's staff that he would be the target of anti-aborionists at the university, which has a 90 per cent Catholic student population. Carter, on his current trip, has often been picketed by 'right-to-life" supporters. However, no anti-abortion sentiments were seen or heard.

# *Carter Would Seek Permanent Voter Registration Bill*

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

HOLLYWOOD, Fla., Sept. 10—Jimmy Carter said today that if he becomes President, he will seek federal legislation to automatically grant permanent voter registration to every person turning 18.

In a speech to the convention of the International Association of Machinists here, Carter said there is "no reason why" any barriers should be placed before a citizen who wants to vote.

He did not spell out any details of his plan, which apparently would substitute a single national registration card for existing state and local voting rolls.

Carter's speech was the major event in a light day of campaigning in Wisconsin and Florida, before the Democratic presidential nominee headed home tonight for a weekend in Plains, Ga.

He also told the machinists that President Ford was spending "$40,000 of our money" to keep a "joke writer" on the White House payroll. His reference apparently was to Don Penny, a former television comedy writer who assists Mr. Ford on television appearances.

"The joke is on us," Carter said, "because we're paying his salary. But he's not going to have much to laugh about between now and January."

# U.S. policies hurt families, Mondale says

Detroit (AP)—Senator Walter F. Mondale said yesterday that the federal government's education and economic policies were exerting pressure on American families, "making it difficult for them to do their job."

In his first venture into President Ford's home state, the Democratic vice presidential candidate spoke to Baptists, auto workers, and party supporters, and posed for pictures with his one-month-old godson.

He told the convention of the National Baptists Association of America, an all-black organization, that "we need an administration that puts families and family life No. 1 in policy and priorities of this country.

"The extended family is almost extinct," he said. "We don't have a national family policy. Mindless government policy puts pressure on the families.

"It's time we had a family-impact statement to decide whether something we are doing is helpful for the American family.

"What we need today to lead us out of the troubles we're in is a national leader who will once again light the candle of social justice."

The Washington Post

The Washington Post Co. FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1976 Phone (202) 223-6000 Classified Circulatio

# Carter Assails Ford on Kelley Issue

## Democrat

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

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"Obviously," Carter said, "I sympathize with anybody whose wife is dying of cancer, but that doesn't have anything to do with it. I think that's a deliberate effort on the part of President Ford to cloud the issue."

The former Georgia governor said Kelley's acceptance of favors from his em-

CARTER, A5, Col. 1



By Ellsworth Davis—The Washington Post

Ford: Does Carter "want Soviet arms to have a monopoly?"

## Republican

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Taking what he called "my turn at the plate," President Ford yesterday swung back hard at Jimmy Carter's foreign and defense policies as expressed one day earlier from the same podium of a national Jewish convention here.

By all appearances Mr. Ford's action made a big hit with the 1,500 delegates of B'nai B'rith, who gave him far more enthusiastic applause than that accorded the Democratic candidate. Quoting some statements made by Carter to the same group Wednesday, Mr. Ford charged that his opponent's policies would weaken U.S. defenses and its military support of Israel.

Mr. Ford referred to Carter repeatedly as "the gentleman" in a manner reminiscent of floor debate in the House of Representatives. The President noted that he had originally proposed that nationally televised campaign debates be-

POLICY, A4, Col. 3

Philadelphia Inquirer

Historic Philadelphia's Oldest Daily—The Bicentennial Newspaper

iladelphia Inquirer Friday, September 10, 1976

# Ford attacks foe on defense

Associated Press

WASHINGTON—President Ford accused Democrat Jimmy Carter yesterday of adopting a defense policy that would rely on "a nuclear strategy of massive retaliation" while crippling the nation's ability to defend itself and its allies.

Departing from his prepared text in a speech to the biennial convention of B'nai B'rith, a half-million member Jewish service organization, Ford criticized Carter's proposal to withdraw some troops from Europe and South Korea.

Ford said that it would "cripple our ability to supply and defend our friends."

He argued that his opponent's policies would force the nation to rely upon "a nuclear strategy of massive retaliation" and would "invite a major crisis with our allies."

The President promised to defend Israel in the Mideast and in the United Nations and said that he would fight Arab boycotts and international terrorism.

"I mean business," Ford declared.

He expressed "moral and legal opposition to the Arab boycott of Israel" and to foreign economic practices that discriminate against American Jews.

Carter, the Democratic presidential nominee, had appeared before the same audience Wednesday, criticizing a lack of morality in foreign policy under the leadership of Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. Carter also pledged to press for emigration of Soviet Jews.

On other occasions, Carter has said that he would "accommodate" requests by Thailand and the Philippines that the United States remove or reduce the number of its troops, and that he would remove "most of our troops" from South Korea in careful stages.

He has said that U.S. forces in Europe and Japan should be reduced "slightly."

Carter also has proposed a cut in the defense budget of between $5 billion and $7 billion, and elimination of the B-1 bomber program.

Ford said yesterday that if all of those steps were taken, it would be "impossible to maintain a defense

(See (FORD on 5-A)

# Ford assails Carter role on defense

FORD, From 1-A

adequate to maintain our freedom and the freedom of our friends."

At a campaign stop in Springfield, Ill., yesterday, Carter said that Ford's charges "as usual, bear no relationship to the facts." He said the issue was "waste and mismanagement in the Defense Department and throughout the federal government."

Ford was interrupted frequently by applause, particularly when he pledged "no imposed solution . . . no one-sided concessions" in negotiations in the Mideast and when he promised "the closest constant consultation with Israel before, during and after any negotiations."

The President departed from his text to match Carters pledge to press for free emigration for Jews from the Soviet Union. The President said he had discussed the issue personally with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and members of Congress.

There was loud clapping when Ford declared, "I am proud to stand on my consistent 28-year record of support for Israel. You all know where I stand."

# Ford Says Rival's Policies Would Hurt U.S. Defense

POLICY, From A1

gin this week with a first session on defense policies, and suggested that the back-to-back B'nai B'rith appearances at the Washington Hilton were part of this debating process.

"The gentleman (Carter) told you, 'We have allowed virtually unlimited sales of arms to countries around the world, a policy as cynical as it is dangerous.' I tell you, most of our arms sales and military aid goes to key countries like Israel and Iran. I assume he is not proposing to cut off Israel. Does the gentleman want Soviet arms to have a monopoly in the world? Does he want our adversaries to arm not only the radical Arabs but also the more moderate Arabs?" Mr. Ford demanded.

Mr. Ford maintained that "the gentleman [Carter] has proposed troop withdrawals from Western Europe and from Korea, defense budget cuts that would cripple our ability to supply or to sustain our friends, ban on nuclear tests by our allies, a nuclear strategy of massive retaliation policies which would invite a major crisis with our allies, including Israel."

The President also charged that an adequate defense of the United States and "our friends" would be impossible under any of four policies he attributed to Carter defense budget cuts of $5 billion to $7 billion, delay in the B-1 bomber program, withdrawal from overseas bases and military aid cutoffs to "vital allies."

Campaigning in Springfield, Ill., later in the day, Carter issued a rebuttal that charged Mr. Ford with making statements bearing "no relationship to the facts" and with condoning waste in the Pentagon budget. "I say if we cut the fat and frills and get back to a defense establishment designed to fight, it will be stronger not weaker. Mr. Ford says there is no fat to cut," Carter charged.

In their speeches to B'nai B'rith, both candidates spoke of a strong U.S. alliance with Israel and praised Israel for forceful action against international terrorism. But Mr. Ford concentrated much more on Israel and Middle Eastern policies—winning repeated applause in so doing—while Carter's speech covered the more diffuse subject of human rights around the world.

Aides said the White House had prepared a relatively non partisan address focusing on Israel and the Middle East, but decided to add the blunt attacks on Carter after learning of the Democratic challenger's tough human rights speech Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. Ford defended his administration's policies on the Arab boycott, which had been sharply criticized by Carter, recalling that he had issued executive orders and regulaitons last November prohibiting discrimination in export transactions. He also declared a determination to make further progress and added to the prepared speech the words, "If necessary by legislation." This seemed to hint at possible acceptance of anti-boycott legislation which the administration has been resisting on Capitol Hill.

The President also responded to Carter's charge that the administration had failed to make serious efforts to convince the Soviet Union to allow more Jewish emigration. Carter pledged such questions will be "very much on my mind" when negotiating with Soviet leaders. Mr. Ford told B'nai B'rith he had already taken up the matter personally with Soviet Communist Party chief Leonid I. Brezhnev, but made no claim that this plea had produced results.

## Campus Recognizes Common-Law Rites

MOSCOW, Idaho, Sept. 9 (AP)—Students at the University of Idaho have to show a marriage certificate if they want to live in a married-student apartment on campus. But housing director Don Surfus says he has a solution for unmarried couples—he'll issue common-law marriage certificates.

Surfus says the school began requiring the proof of marriage five years ago after an unwed couple was discovered in one unit. Nearby tenants had complained.

# Carter favors Chinese visiting U.S. before he would go there if elected

Associated Press

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — Jimmy Carter said yesterday he doubted that as president he would visit China early in his administration, and that he would prefer a top-level Chinese visit to the United States first.

In a fast-moving swing across the Midwest, the Democratic presidential nominee also swiped anew at President Ford and the Republicans on national defense, saying that they had been in Washington so long that "Throwing away a few billion dollars here and there doesn't bother them anymore."

The remarks on national defense were in rebuttal to a speech by Ford yesterday before the B'nai B'rith Society in Washington, in which Ford charged that Carter's proposals for defense budget cuts would seriously imperil national defense.

On another subject Carter acknowledged in Columbus, Ohio, that "abortion is a very serious problem for me as a candidate." He added that he believed that the American people respected his difference of opinion with those who urge a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion.

Carter says he opposes such an amendment although he is personally against abortion. However, he also says he thinks those who believe in an amendment should be free to seek one.

Before leaving Columbus, where his day began, Carter said that the effect of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's death on U. S.-China relations would not be known until Mao's successors and their political philosophies were identified.

Carter said he would prefer that the new Chinese leaders come to the United States before he, as president, made any visit to China. The remark drew scorn from the White House, where press secretary Ron Nessen's reaction, when asked for comment, was to laugh.

Asked whether he wanted it reported that he laughed, Nessen replied, "Derisively."

Later, on arrival in Springfield, Carter noted that President Richard M. Nixon and Ford had both visited China and that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger had been there several times.

"My own hope would be that the next exchange of diplomatic relations on the summit level would be created by a Chinese visit to our country," Carter said. "I don't contemplate a visit to China any time early in my administration."

Carter was in Springfield, the state capital, for a show of unity among members of the badly split Illinois Democratic Party. About 5,000 persons attended the midday gathering at the statehouse, where the Democratic nominee appeared with outgoing Gov. Dan Walker and Michael J. Howlett, who ousted Walker in the primary.

# Sen. Dole Attacks Jimmy Carter on Arms Sales Views

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, Sept. 9—Republican vice presidential nominee Bob Dole said tonight that Jimmy Carter reveals "colossal hypocrisy" and "a dangerously superficial understanding of fundamental geopolitics" in his statements on arms sales abroad.

In remarks prepared for delivery to the Zionist Organization of America at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here, Dole defended arms sales to Israel, Iran and other American allies.

He accused the Democratic presidential nominee of a "total lack of experience, understanding or ability in the area of foreign affairs." And, in a theme that consistently runs through his campaign, Dole implied that Carter was inconsistent in criticizing U.S. arms sales without mentioning Israel.

"I cannot abide the colossal hypocrisy of Mr. Carter omitting reference the country to which President Ford has made the largest volume of sles—Israel—while at the same time moralizing ad nauseam about the evils of selling arms," he said.

Dole accused the former Georgiia governor of engaging in "an effort to destroy that confidence so essential between American and her allies" through criticism of President Ford's Middle East policy.

Dole quoted Carter as suggesting at an April 1 meeting with New York Jewish leaders that the Ford administration rated supplies of crude oil for America equal to the survival and security of Israel:

[Carter] asked, 'Should maintenance of good relations with the Arabs be at the risk of sacrificing a progressive, advanced democratic nation which is our friend?' "

Dole commented, "I think the inferences contained in that speech go far beyond the boundaries of acceptable political rhetoric, let alone reason." he said Carter was trying to "chop away at the confidence of Israel and its supporters in President Ford."

Dole accused the Democratic nominee of "cynical hypocrisy" and "another Carter flip-flop" when the Georgian told the National Convention of B'nai B'rith Wednesday that "the American government has failed to make serious efforts to get the Russians to permit greater numbers of people to immigrate freely to the country of their choice."

Dole quoted Carter as telling The New York Times July 7 that he opposed the amendments by Sens. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.) and Adlai E. Stevenson (D-Ill.), which put pressure on the Soviet Union to allow Jewish immigration.

Dole added, "Mr. Carter finds it convenient to ignore that it was a Republican administration which achieved the highest immigration rate of Soviet Jewry in history—50-fold over what it had been under the last Democrat administration."

Dole emphasized the need for a large U.S. defense budget to protect Israel. "In 1973, the U.S. nearly went to war itself over the Yom Kippur war," he said. "That is no secret to anyone. The U.S. diminished its own arsenal to supply Israel with everything she needed to reverse the tide of that war."

And, he added, "Let me tell you that would not have been possible with defense forces reduced by spending cuts of $5 billion to $7 billion as are being proposed today by Mr. Carter's Democrat platform."

The vice presidential candidate pledged that "the Ford administration will never jeopardize the security of Israel in the search for peace nor will it retreat one inch from its commitment to the security of Israel."

He defended arms sale to Iran. "Iran is one of our closest allies and has been for decades. It is situated on the Soviet border and holds a pivotal position in securing the stability of the Persian Gulf region and its vast petroleum resources," Dole said.

The Kansas senator also boasted about his own record on Jewish issues. "In January of 1971, when the Soviets sentenced two Jews to death for allegedly hijacking an airplane, I introduced a resolution in the senate asking the Soviets to commute those sentences. The following day the sentences were commuted. Who can say the Senate resolution had any impact? Who can say it did not?"

## Dupont Family Member Hurt in Plane Mishap

NEW LONDON, Conn., Sept. 9 (AP) —Henry B. DuPont III, a member of the family that founded the DuPont chemical company, was in a hospital in critical condition today after falling from a moving airplane Wednesday authorities said.

Police said he fell from the wing of a small plane that went out of control at a small airport on Block Island, a summer vacation colony off Rhode Island's coast.

Block Island Police Chief Vincent McAloon said DuPont, of Southport, flew to the island with his father-in-law, Daniel Wheeler Jr., 69, of Stepney Depot and an unidentified third person.

The Washington Post

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CARTER, A5, Col. 1



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Mr. Ford referred to Carter repeatedly as "the gentleman" in a manner reminiscent of floor debate in the House of Representatives. The President noted that he had originally proposed that nationally televised campaign debates be-

POLICY, A4, Col. 3

# *Mr. Carter on Abortion*

WE ARE GOING TO SEE if we can't summarize, in a short space, Jimmy Carter's views on abortion. Mr. Carter, as he never tires of saying, is personally opposed to abortion. That needs some refinement, since nobody is "for" abortion in the sense of regarding it as a desirable thing. People may be for more housing or more schools or more F-14 Tomcat fighter planes, but nobody is for more abortions. The pro and con positions, in other words, do not concern whether abortion should be a woman's goal: It isn't. The argument concerns the legal right of women first to decide to have an abortion—for whatever reason—and then to have one. This putative right is what Mr. Carter opposes.

He has said so on a number of occasions ("Georgia had a very strict law on abortion prior to the Supreme Court ruling in 1973 which I favored. . . . The Georgia law . . . only permitted abortions when the mother's life was considered to be in danger, or if the pregnancy was a result of rape and the rape had been proven in court. And it only permitted abortions under that circumstance in the first trimester of pregnancy. That was my preference."). Mr. Carter has also said the following things: that he would abide by any Supreme Court rulings on the subject, that he would not take an initiative to outlaw abortion via a constitutional amendment, that he would not oppose the efforts of others to do so and that he might support legislation that would have the effect of limiting the performance of abortions.

This last position he would evidently fulfill in two ways. He would encourage programs such as the dissemination of information on contraception. And he would seek to curtail the use of federal funds to finance abortions. An interviewer asked Mr. Carter recently if he would "approve the use of Medicaid funds, for example, for abortion," and the Democratic candidate replied: "I would not approve of it at all. If the courts rule that it must be done, obviously I would have to comply as President . . . but I don't favor the use of federal money for abortions." When the interviewer pursued the point to ask whether Mr. Carter would similarly oppose the financing of abortions under a national health insurance program, Mr. Carter answered: "That is correct."

Now, a couple of things are plain to us from the bare bones of the Carter position outlined above. One is that it is not internally illogical, inconsistent or contradictory. Mr. Carter *is* opposed to free and easy access to abortions; and within the limits of the law and his own prerogatives as President, he would act to limit that access. The other is that this is a position which cannot possibly be expected to gratify those who feel strongly on any side of the issue. The Catholic bishops with whom Mr. Carter met the other day—and whom Mr. Ford meets with today—can hardly be pleased with his refusal to endorse a constitutional amendment or his stress on contraception as an alternative to abortion. Those people—we are among them—who believe individual women should have far greater rights in the matter than Mr. Carter approves, will hardly be thrilled either. And, as an added defect, in our view, there is Mr. Carter's apparent willingness to condone the discriminatory conditions implied by his position on the use of federal funds. If this position were carried out it would deny to the poor what is available to the rich and not-so-rich as a matter of course.

It escapes our understanding how Mr. Carter could have thought this particular complex of views could win him universal friendship. Yet that seems to be what he is hankering after in relation to it—and, if we may say so, that also seems to be what is getting him in trouble. The Democratic candidate has a position on abortion. You can depend on it. What you can't depend on, it seems, is his willingness to let it alone and live with it. Yet our political guess is that he will lose fewer votes and less support by simply holding to his position than by restlessly and continually tinkering with his presentation of it in ways that he hopes will please all the parties to the debate. We think the abortion issue is important in itself. But we also think it is important as a touchstone to the Carter campaign. Mr. Carter needs to remember that you can't please all of the people all of the time, and that you can displease an awful lot of them—a majority perhaps—by trying.

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Washington Post Staff Writer

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# *Carter Would Seek Permanent Voter Registration Bill*

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

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In a speech to the convention of the International Association of Machinists here, Carter said there is "no reason why" any barriers should be placed before a citizen who wants to vote.

He did not spell out any details of his plan, which apparently would substitute a single national registration card for existing state and local voting rolls.

Carter's speech was the major event in a light day of campaigning in Wisconsin and Florida, before the Democratic presidential nominee headed home tonight for a weekend in Plains, Ga.

He also told the machinists that President Ford was spending "$40,000 of our money" to keep a "joke writer" on the White House payroll. His reference apparently was to Don Penny, a former television comedy writer who assists Mr. Ford on television appearances.

"The joke is on us," Carter said, "because we're paying his salary. But he's not going to have much to laugh about between now and January."

# CARTER

Continued From A-1

**CARTER'S EARLY STRATEGY** has become obvious in the course he is following in these first weeks.

First, he is making a special effort to solidify his Southern base. That is why he began last Monday in Warm Springs, Darlington and Norfolk and ended today in Hollywood and Jacksonville, Fla.

Second, he is trying to deal quickly and directly with areas or constituencies that may represent problems for him. That is why he spent so much time this week campaigning among urban ethnics, whose cultural differences are supposed to mean that they will find the peanut farmer from Georgia difficult to accept and support with enthusiasm.

So in New York it was Carter out at Brooklyn College. In Philadelphia it was the predominantly Italian-American Franklinville section. In Pittsburgh it was Polish Hill and in Cleveland a Slovenian Society Home.

Next week there will be different target areas, but the purpose will be the same. Carter intends to concentrate, after the obligatory Southern stop, in the Far West where he had little success in the primaries — Arizona, Montana and the Dakotas.

**THE GENERAL STRATEGY** at this stage is, of course, to breed familiarity among those elements of the electorate he did not have time to reach during the mad chase through the 30 primaries earlier this year.

What Carter found on his first attempts were audiences that were large and generally predisposed to like him. But crowd-counting can be misleading, and the crowds of early September can be particularly misleading in attempting to forecast the attitudes of the voters in early November. At this stage, they are listening to him but whether they are liking it is another matter.

The Democratic candidate's message for all of his diverse audiences is that he and his listeners have far more in common, as Democrats and opponents of the Ford administration, than the differences in their backgrounds might suggest.

Carter is also trying to sell himself as a candidate they can trust, even if they don't feel they know him all that well at this point. "I owe nothing to the special interests," he tells each audience, "I owe everything to the people."

**IT IS A SOBER** and unexciting lesson this Southern Baptist from Plains teaches, although his audiences do seem attentive. There is rarely much leavening of humor, and there are a few stunts of the kind the politicians usually purvey in the more relaxed early days of a campaign. Jimmy Carter is all business.

The closest thing to an exception came last night when Carter rode with Mayor Daley in the torchlight parade through downtown Chicago that is always the principal symbolic moment of a Democratic campaign there. But this was very highly programmed wine and music. The streets were lined for a dozen blocks, three or four deep on either side, by party workers and city employes from every ward and labor union allied with the Daley machine.

And once he reached the main event, a rally in the Medinah Temple, Carter was forced to listen to more than an hour of oratory by Sen. Adlai Stevenson, Democratic gubernatorial nominee Michael Howlett and Daley himself before he was given a chance to speak.

Carter seemed disconcerted by the strange display o tribal rites of Chicago politics, and he gave perhaps the most disjointed version of his standard speech at any time this week.

**THERE WERE, HOWEVER,** more serious negatives than one pedestrian speech. For one thing Carter has found it is far more difficult than he anticipated to shake the party politicians. At at least two of every three stops, they attach themselves to him like leeches, trying to use his celebrity to strengthen their own positions.

In Illinois, for example, he was accompanied through Springfield and Peoria as well as Chicago not only by Howlett but by three other members of the state ticket and a gaggle of local candidates. Indeed, at Peoria, they were so numerous they were almost falling off the small speakers' platform provided for Carter to use in addressing workers at the Caterpillar Tractor Co. plant.

In summary, the local candidates made it very difficult for Carter to offer himself as an outsider and independent loner, which was precisely the image that was most important in winning the Democratic nomination in the first place.

Carter also discovered that he cannot shake the abortion issue as quickly as he might have hoped. He was pursued in almost every northern community by the placard-waving demonstrators, even along the route of Mayor Daley's parade last night.

**IT IS FAR TOO EARLY** to tell whether the abortion protest will survive the full eight weeks of the campaign or wither away. But at this stage it is obviously an annoyance for Carter at the least and a potentially serious threat at worst.

# FORD

Continued From A-1

pret what this (the platform) means," Nessen said. "It is broadly worded," he added, and another White House official characterized it as "purposely ambiguous."

The President's interpretation, according to Nessen, "is that this (the platform) does not conflict with his views that the solution of this problem and the way to restore the protection (of the right to life of unborn children) is to pass a constitutional amendment allowing the states to decide."

Ford, the spokesman said, "does not favor a constitutional amendment banning abortions" and he never has. His position has been the same for years and years, Nessen said.

But there is some question about Ford's consistency on the abortion issue. In a television interview last February, for instance, the President said he does not agree with the Supreme Court decision in 1973 permitting abortions.

"On the other hand, I do not agree that a constitutional amendment is the proper remedy," he said. However, he added that if there was to be an amendment his "preference" was for one of the state option variety "rather than the one that is recommended by others."

**ALL THIS HULABALOO** over Ford's position on abortion might amount to nothing more important than speculation over how many angels can dance on the head of a pin — except that the President is eager to woo the Catholic vote in the race against Democrat Jimmy Carter.

While all Catholics certainly do not favor banning abortion, the hierarchy of the church does, and Ford was to meet today with the five Catholic priests who comprise the executive committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

The bishops conferred with Carter here last week, and they came away expressing disappointment over the Democratic candidate's refusal to support an amendment barring abortions.

While Carter said he is personnally opposed to abortion, "personal opposition is not enough," according to Archbishop Joseph Bernardin of Cincinnati, the president of the bishops' conference. "We therefore continue to be disappointed with the governor's position."

Bernardin noted that there is "considerable difference" between the Republican and Democratic planks on abortion. The Democratic position, like Carter's, is that the Supreme Court's ruling should stand.

Obviously, the bishops like the Republican platform better, with its implied support for a constitutional amendment upsetting the court ruling and halting abortions.

**THUS, IT WAS UP** to Ford today to try to reconcile for the bishops his own stand and that in the platform. This was sure to be difficult, but at the very least the bishops are likely to be less disappointed with Ford than they were with Carter, if only because the President backs some kind of an anti-abortion amendment.

There is no guarantee, of course, that any states would jump to ban abortions if the states' rights amendment were passed, though some probably would.

But Carter, unlike Ford, does not support this less sweeping amendment. From the bishops' standpoint, the best they got from Carter was a pledge that he would not attempt to block an amendment curbing or banning abortions.

*Dovish advice*

# Defense: Carter's weak spot

By Rowland Evans
and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON—A major reason why President Ford's agents tried to limit the first debate to defense policy is Jimmy Carter's dependence so far on military advice from soft-line experts at the Brookings Institution.

Although totally obscured by his headline-producing promise to pardon Vietnam draft dodgers, Carter's American Legion speech also contained some dubious defense cost-cutting schemes that have been kicking around Brookings for years.

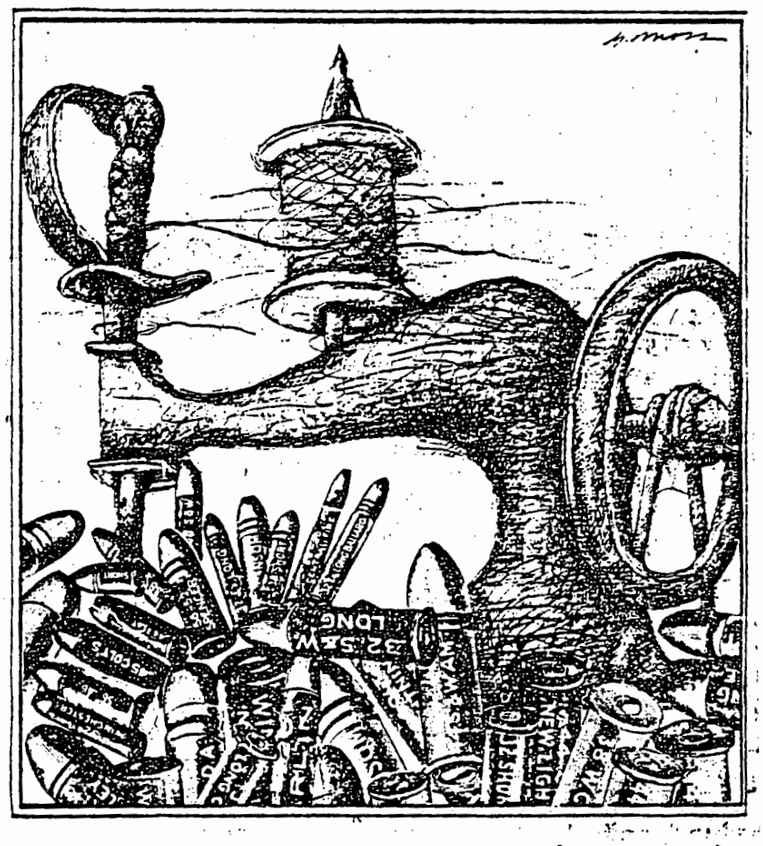
Brookings, a prestigious Washington think-tank which has housed a liberal Democratic government-in-exile since 1969, is clearly calling the tune on Carter defense policy.

The basis of Carter's problem is faintly understood: despite his U. S. Naval Academy education and early career as a regular Navy officer, national security is his weakest area of expertise: his experience with nuclear submarines two decades ago scarcely equips him to wrestle with global military policy.

Nor did he have time to immerse himself in defense complexities while beginning his amazing run for the presidential nomination. Consequently, his proposed $5 billion to $7 billion defense spending cut was not based on careful budget analysis but seemed a good, round figure somewhere between George McGovern and Ronald Reagan.

When Carter was transformed from dark horse to front runner, however, he faced demands to pinpoint where that five to seven billion dollars was coming from. His early vague answers exposed his unfamiliarity with military budgeting. His worst blunder was proposing to eliminate Army engineers spending on rivers and harbors, which in fact never has been included in the defense budget — an error persisted in by Carter until June.

Largely overlooked sections of the Seattle speech proposed, first, saving $400 million a year by increasing the average military tour of duty by two months and, second, saving $1 billion a year by raising the military teacher-pupil ratio from 1.5:1 to 3:1. Then Carter exploded his bombshell by implying he could save $10.7 billion in cost overruns during the next five years.



The staff work was obviously hurried. An extra two months on duty tours, the principle of which is included in current Pentagon reforms, would save not $400 million but $180 million. The present teacher-pupil ratio is not 1.5:1 but 5:1.

Total cost overruns on 45 weapons systems now being developed are $13.4 billion, not $10.7 billion. But that represents an annual overrun rate of 3 percent, which compares favorably with acquisition programs in private industry and elsewhere in government.

Some Democratic defense experts on Capitol Hill feel Carter erred basically in swallowing old Brookings schemes. Even the most desirable administrative reforms cannot yield quick, one-year savings. Carter can get an immediate five to seven billion dollar cut only by major manpower reductions, which could change the world balance of power, or by radically reducing pay benefits and closing bases, areas where congressional consent is both necessary and unattainable.

Beyond details, these experts regret the near monopoly on military advice to Carter by Brookings and would prefer a wider range of advisers. The Carter campaign reply to such criticism invariably points to hard-liner Paul Nitze, former Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Nitze does provide some counterweight, as in editing a Brookings-prepared briefing paper on strategic weapons which, incredibly, neglected to discuss the new Soviet SS-20 land-based mobile missile. But Nitze is a pitifully outnumbered hawk among Carter braintrust doves.

This is not entirely mindless inadvertence. The Carter high command passed up a chance to consult Dr. James Schlesinger, a distinguished global thinker purged by Mr. Ford as Secretary of Defense. To the Carter inner circle, Schlesinger was too much cold warrior.

THE SUN

BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1976

# Carter, in Midwest, warns Ford on abortion politics

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
*Sun Staff Correspondent*

Chicago—Jimmy Carter warned President Ford yesterday against trying to play politics with the touchy issue of abortion while defending the right of those who feel deeply about it to picket the Carter campaign appearances.

The Democratic nominee also fired back at Mr. Ford's allegations that he showed "lack of compassion" in criticizing Clarence M. Kelley, the FBI director, for Mr. Kelley's acceptance of FBI services to redecorate his home at a time when his wife was dying of cancer.

"I think it's a deliberate effort by President Ford to cloud the issue," he said, repeating his statement that Mr. Kelley should have been dismissed unless there were extenuating circumstances that have not been made public.

Mr. Carter's comment, keeping up his efforts to take the political attack to his non-campaigning political opponent, came at a Columbus (Ohio) news conference before he left for a trio of Illinois stops in his drive through key Midwestern states.

Following rallies in Springfield and Peoria, the Democratic nominee flew to Chicago, where fireworks exploded above the Chicago River, bands played and thousands cheered as Mayor Richard J. Daley staged an old-fashioned political extravaganza for Mr. Carter.

In past campaigns, the kind of torchlight parade that the last of the big-time bosses threw last night would have come at the climax of the presidential campaign.

However, Mr. Daley's state and local tickets are in trouble, and Mr. Carter is, as one speaker put it in Peoria earlier in the day, "the guy that is going to carry Illinois for the Democratic ticket."

So, they were all out in force, the troops from the Mayor's organizations in 50 wards, the machinists and carpenters and the plumbers and the candidates Mr. Daley hopes Mr. Carter can save.

Outgoing Gov. Daniel Walker called for the election of the man who beat him in the Democratic primary, Michael Howlett, a heavy-set, graying politician of the old school and a friend of Mr. Daley.

However, polls show that Mr. Howlett is trailing far behind his Republican opponent, James Thompson, a former U.S. attorney, and could drag down Mr. Carter, who is slightly ahead.

As the man who introduced the former Georgia governor at the Peoria rally put it, he is "the guy that is going to carry Illinois with the whole Democratic ticket."

Anti-abortion demonstrators, criticizing Mr. Carter's refusal to endorse a constitutional amendment to bar abortions, have appeared at virtually every stop the Democratic nominee has made this week.

But he went out of his way yesterday to defend their right to appear while declaring, "I certainly would not change my position to get their votes."

However, his most pointed comment seemed clearly directed at Mr. Ford, who has endorsed an alternative constitutional amendment that would permit the states to ban abortions. That position is closer to the position of the Catholic Church hierarchy and the anti-abortion protesters than Mr. Carter's.

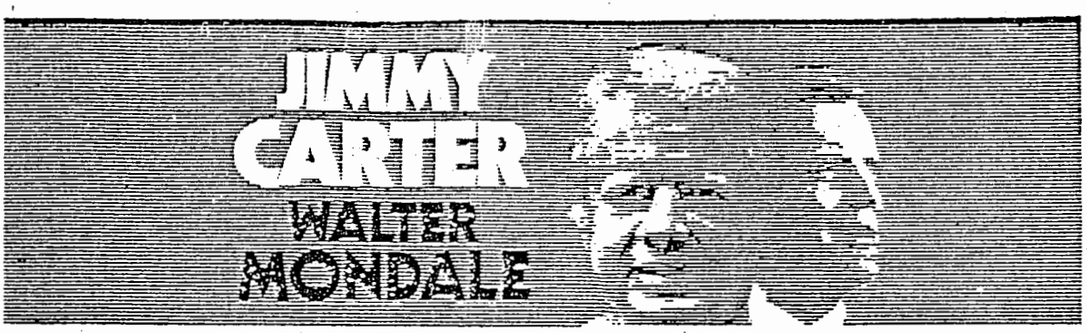
Mr. Ford is meeting today with the same Catholic bishops who last week expressed disappointment in Mr. Carter's refusal to side with their position.

"Any candidate for president who tries to take political advantage of an emotional issue like this, which is so deeply divisive and so deeply felt, will create an adverse reaction to that candidacy," he said.

And, presumably referring to their forthcoming debates, he said, "I will never inject the abortion issue into any form with the hope that I might derive any benefits from it."

Mr. Carter began his day by hand shaking his way around downtown Columbus. William J. Brown, the state attorney general and one of a number of top Democrats who joined him, told Mr. Carter, "You're going to do well in Ohio."

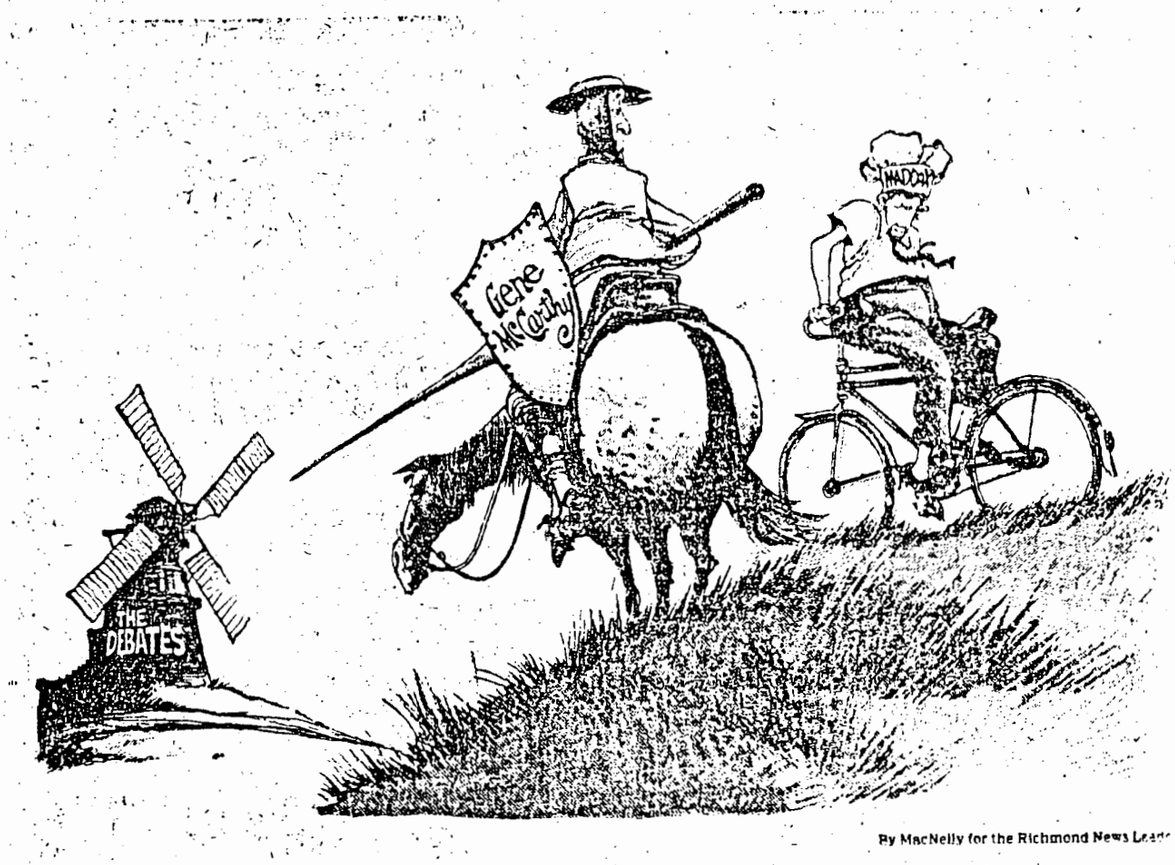
In addition to Senator John H. Glenn, Jr., his overnight host, Mr. Cater was joined by former Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum, who is in a close race with a Republican senator, Robert Taft, Jr., and is making an all-out effort to ride Mr. Carter's coattails.




Leaders, for a change.

What The Press Had To Say.

9/14




By MacNelly for the Richmond News Lead

# News Summary

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1976

## International

**An American veto** will be cast against Vietnam's bid for membership in the United Nations. President Ford made the decision to veto the application, Ambassador William W. Scranton said, because Hanoi's failure to make a full accounting of Americans still listed as missing in the Vietnam war showed that Vietnam lacked the commitments to peace and humanitarianism that membership required. [Page 1, Col. 6.]

•

**China's army has gained** new prominence after several years out of the public's attention. Its new role could give it a key voice in the selection of Mao Tse-tung's successor, analysts believe. In an unusual move last week, the Communist Party's military commission, made up of top military and party leaders involved with the army, was given equal footing with the Central Committee and the Government in announcing Mao's death. [1:4-6.]

•

**South Africa will not force** Rhodesia into accepting a black government, Prime Minister Vorster said at a rally on the eve of his meeting with the Rhodesian leader, Ian Smith. Mr. Vorster described the Rhodesians as a proud people who would not take orders from anyone. [4:3-4.]

## National

**The gases in spray cans** will almost certainly have to be curtailed in their use because of damage to the atmosphere's ozone layer, a committee of the National Academy of Sciences reported. But it recommended a wait of at least two years before any action against the use of the gases, known as fluorocarbons, is taken so that attempts can be made to resolve many of the uncertanties about them. [1:1-2.]

•

**An auto workers' strike** against the Ford Motor Company appeared almost certain, although the deadline is not until 11:59 tonight. Leonard Woodcock, president of the union, said the company's revised offer left too big a gap to be bridged before the deadline. A company spokesman said he was not optimistic. [1:1-2.]

•

**Files on "subversives"** kept by police departments have been routinely checked by the Civil Service Commission, which investigates applicants for Federal jobs. The disclosure was made by a House subcommittee, whose chairman, Representative Bella Abzug, said such files often contained erroneous material. A commission spokesman said the files were checked only when it was believed necessary. [22:1-2.]

•

**Nuclear policy guidelines** will be issued soon by President Ford, Administration officials said. The statement is intended to counter pressure from Congress, where legislation restricting export of nuclear technology is under consideration, and to take the issue away from Jimmy Carter. [11:1.]

## Metropolitan

**Bail of $1 million** each was set at the arraignment of the five hijackers who seized a T.W.A. jet Friday and took it on a 30-hour trans-Atlantic journey before surrendering in Paris. The five were also confronted with a murder charge filed by the Manhattan District Attorney's office. They were charged in the complaint with placing a bomb in the Grand Central subway station that killed a police officer during a deactivation attempt. [1:4.]

•

**As the campaign ended,** the five Democratic Senate hopefuls wound up debating nuances and images rather than issues. In the Republican primary, Senator James L. Buckley continued to ignore the challenge of Representative Peter A. Peyser, who went on saying that the Senator's record was not in the best interests of New York. [1:3.]

•

**Auto insurance rates** in New York are inflated, the acting Federal Insurance Administrator said, adding that the insurance industry will probably make record profits this year. Testifying at a state hearing inquiring into recent premium increases, the administrator said the industry had overreacted to several recent events, among them general inflation and their own stock market losses. [1:1.]

•

**Close-knit syndicates** that share leases of day-care centers and that sell the centers among themselves for profit and for tax advantages have been revealed by audits done by the Comptroller's office. Title searches have turned up six groups that own 69 centers among them, with one of them owning 22. [40:1.]

## Business/Finance

**In return for a $1 million** campaign contribution, a Nixon Administration official offered the President's help in arranging an aircraft sale to Japan, a former head of a Grumman Corporation subsidiary told a Senate subcommittee. The former Grumman official said he subsequently arranged meetings between other company officials and Richard V. Allen, a Nixon assistant, but he did not know if any contributions were made. Mr. Allen denied ever asking for the contribution and Grumman denied that it had made any contribution. [1:7.]

•

**The first company to admit** it received questionable payments was disclosed in documents released by the S.E.C. Warnaco Inc., which filed the documents, said that it had discovered an ocean carrier had paid about $400,000 to one of its subsidiaries and "one or more" employees. [53:3.]

•

**The "Sunshine Act,"** a bill designed to open the meetings and records of many Federal agencies, was signed by President Ford. The bill's sponsor, Senator Lawton M. Chiles Jr., said the law would discourage "cozy" relationships between regulatory agencies and the industries they regulate. [53:6.]

•

**Stock prices fell** toward the end of the session in slow trading. The Dow Jones industrial average closed down 5.07 points at 983.29. [53:2.] **Bond prices** were little changed in light trading activity. [54:5.] **Cocoa futures** reached record highs on the **New York Cocoa** Exchange. [66:3-6.]

"All the News at's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

CITY EDI

Weather: Sunny and tonight. Partly su Temperature range Monday 62-89. Dete

CXXV....No. 43,333 — NEW YORK, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1976 — M
© 1976 The New York Times Company

## Carter, With Wallace at His Side, Hails South's Basic Conservatism

By JAMES T. WOOTEN
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Sept. 13—With Gov. George C. Wallace at his side, Jimmy Carter reaffirmed his Southern heritage here today with an emphatic commitment to the region's indigenous conservatism.

"We Southerns believe in work, not welfare," the Democratic Presidential candidate told an exuberant crowd at a suburban shopping center—and the Alabama Governor, who seemed familiar wtih that concept, joined the audience in vigorous applause.

Mr. Carter, starting the second week of his general election campaign with a quick round of appearances here, became the first nominee of his party ever to seek votes in Alabama, a sate that has not gone Democratic since 1960.

Facing nothing but friendly faces wherever he went here today, he predicted that this year would be different ,a feeling shared by most Democratic leaders in the state and a majority of the small businessmen and newspaper publishers with whom he met before leaving for Oklahoma and Arizona.

### Continues Selective Attacks

Continuing his pattern of selective attacks on President Ford, Mr. Carter told the businessmen in his first speech today that the Small Business Administration had "deteriorated" under the Republicans and cited it as "one more example" of sloth and waste in the Federal Government.

While he once again identified himself with his party's past Presidents—Roosevelt, Truman, Johnson and Kennedy—and the expensive social-and-welfare programs born in their administrations, he was clearly more emphatic in his commitment to balanced Federal budgets, fiscal moderation, a sturdy national defense, a more efficient bureaucracy, and "an end to this welfare mess."

His themes today were an extension of his efforts last week to mo vehimself from left to right in the perceptions of voters, and they fell on fertile ground here in the citadel of Governor Wallace's basic constituency.

### Wallace Smiles Approval

Again and again, the Alabama Governor, who was once the South's most prominent politician, smiled and nodded his approval from his nearby wheelchair as Mr. Carter stirred his audience with refined echoes of familiar Wallace themes.

Mr. Carter assailed the tax system, calling it a "disgrace to the human race," and asserted that advantages for the wealthy cause hardships for the poor and the middle class.

He denounced the Federal bureaucracy, citing examples of its "inefficiency" and "lack of concern for the people it is supposed to serve."

And, after affirming the South's and his own belief in work as opposed to welfare, Mr. Carter said, "the South has always been extremely patriotic."

"I never have understood why. Maybe it's the aftermath of the War Between the States," he said, "or the presence of so many military installations."

But, whatever the source of the patriotic instincts, Mr. Carter said it was good and pledged himself to a defense policy that would disallow any threats to national security.

### Counter-Balancing Concepts

As he often does, the Democratic candidate also posed counter-balancing concepts in his speech. For example, he recommended that welfare recipients who cannot work should be treated with dignity and respect; and he suggested that military budgets are obese and therefore can be cut without endangering national security. But, for the most part, his audiences here in Birmingham heard the other side of his rhetoric.

# Ford to Delay Ads on TV Until After First Debate

By JOSEPH LELYVELD
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13—President Ford's strategists have decided not to start his campaign advertising on television until three days after his first debate with Jimmy Carter, even though this means that such commercials for the Democratic nominee will have a head start.

Mr. Carter's first commercial of the season was broadcast on Sept. 2 on CBS. "Why not get at the electorate when it is fluid?" asked the candidate's advertising man, Gerald Rafshoon, who showed himself to be a firm believer in early starts in the primary campaign.

In part, the decision to start the Ford commercials on Sept. 26 reflects the importance the President's camp attaches to the debate. By waiting, the Ford campaign can hope to use the advertising in a carefully calculated way to sustain whatever seems to be most positive in the impression left by the President in his encounter with his rival.

But the delay also makes a virtue of necessity, for Mr. Ford's advisers did not begin to think about their television campaign this fall until after he had defeated Ronald Reagan for the Republican nomination.

In fact, it was only on the day of the nomination that Mr. Ford made the selection of the men who would direct his advertising effort—John Deardourff and Douglas Bailey, partners in a political consulting firm here that has specialized in moderate Republicans.

### Old Material Scrapped

The two men sat down to view all the Ford commercials that had been prepared for the primaries. These presented Mr. Ford less as a man than as an incarnation of the Presidency, relying heavily on montages of still photographs and the disembodied voice of an announcer to make the case for his retention in the White House.

It was Mr. Ford's personal qualities that really needed to be stressed, the new advisers concluded after studying the opinion surveys conducted by the President's pollster, Robert Teeter. So they decided to scrap the old material and fashion an entirely new set of commercials.

The Deardourff-Bailey team is now planning on a short television campaign of five weeks. In 1972, by contrast, the television campaign for former President Richard M. Nixon got under way seven weeks before the election. Senator George McGovern, who was trailing in the polls, started a week earlier, on Sept. 11.

### The Luxury of Time

Mr. Rafshoon has had the luxury of time in which to fashion his commercials for Mr. Carter. It has been three months since any doubts about his candidate's nomination were swept aside. But not only was a decision taken to retain the broad themes of the primary campaign it was also decided to retain some of the old commercials.

Among the Carter commercials that the mass audience will see on network television this month are four statements on issues that were first broadcast in Iowa at the time of the Democratic precinct caucuses there last January.

The commercials were filmed on Mr. Carter's patio in Plains, Ga., last November when few people outside the candidate's immediate circle considered him a serious factor in this year's race. Much has happened since then, but the four statements, each about 45 seconds long, are the only statements on specific issues that will appear in Carter commercials before the first debate.

Mr. Rafshoon filmed other issue statements in Mr. Carter's book-lined study in Plains this summer and says that they may be used later in the campaign. The reason they are being withheld now, he says, has nothing to do with their content.

The reason is, he says, that the film made this summer failed to establish the feeling of "empathy" between the candidate and the viewers that Mr. Rafshoon finds in the earlier film. A clue to the difference is that Mr. Carter wears a necktie and sometimes a suit jacket in the recent film; in the old film, he wears an open-neck sports shirt and jogging sneakers.

### 'Too Presidential'

Mr. Rafshoon says that it is not good for the candidate to appear too "Presidential" now.

Other issue statements in commercials, he says, might be taken from the debates themselves. When they agreed on the debates, the representatives of the two candidates also agreed that film of the encounters could be used in subsequent television advertising as long as each campaign showed only its candidate and not his opponent in its television spots.

The bulk of the commercials on network television for both campaigns will be five-minute or 60-second spots. By a quirk of network rate schedules, the 60-second spots are normally about three times as expensive in prime time as the longer spots. The reason is that the shorter spots appear in breaks on top-rated shows, while the five-minute commercials are inserted at the end of shows and count only as program time.

Thus, on Sept. 27, the Carter campaign will have a 60-second spot on "Executive Suite" on CBS at a cost of $50,000. One week later, it will get five minutes at the end of the same show for $18,025.

At comparable bargain rates, Eugene J. McCarthy is planning to buy one five-minute spot on network television each week to promote his independent candidacy. The Communist Party has purchased five minutes on CBS, after the movie "Slither," on Sept. 17, to promote its candidate, Gus Hall.

### Commercials More Costly

Despite the ceiling on campaign spending this year, the television exposure of the major candidates through their advertising will be at about the same level as in the 1972 campaign. Because of a rise in the rates, it will be significantly more costly.

The Carter campaign is planning to spend at least $5 million and probably $6.5 million on television time, about half on the networks and half on local stations in states with large numbers of electoral votes and close contests. The Ford campaign is now speaking in terms of $6 million to $6.5 million on television time. According to Mr. Deardourff, "a little more than half" will go to the networks.

In addition, the present production effort will cost $750,000. Mr. Deardourff has had a film crew in Grand Rapids, Mich., interviewing people who knew the President in his youth. Among them is a Roman Catholic monsigneur. Another crew has bee nfilming interviews with Mr. Ford, his family and high officials in his Administration.

"Our research tends to indicate that many people have a better sense today of who Mr. Carter is than who Ford is," Mr.Deardourff said, explaining his intention to stress the President's background and character. Everyone now knows about Plains, he said, but Grand Rapids for most voters is still a blank.

In approaching Mr. Ford's tenure in the White House, Mr. Deardourff plans to portray him as a leader of great "inner serenity" who has not become aloof in the Oval Office. The commercials will seek to impart a sense of accomplishment by reminding viewers of the mood of despair that existed in the country as a result of the Watergate crisis.

### 'To Reset the Stage'

It is not easy to determine how much reminding would be helpful to the Republican ticket, he said, but it is "very important to reset the stage."

Finally, Mr. Deardourff makes no secret of the Ford campaign's intention to at-




Associated Press

**DOLE CAMPAIGNS IN KENTUCKY: Robert J. Dole, Republican Vice-Presidential candidate, addressing the Greater Lexington Chamber of Commerce yesterday. He also visited the University of Kentucky nearby.**

tack Mr. Carter directly in its television commercials, emphasizing his "inexperience" and "studied vagueness." The impressions left by the first debate could help to determine the exact blending of themes in such "negative" commercials.

The two five-minute commercials that can now be seen for Mr. Carter talk mainly about trust. One is set at the Democratic convention and draws heavily on Mr. Carter's acceptance speech. The other is a rendition of a speech that he gave last June on his "vision." As he speaks, the viewer sees scenes of the American landscape, culminating in the heads of the four Presidents on Mount Rushmore followed by a quick cut to Mr. Carter, who is presented, subliminally, as a likely fifth.

The commercial is only half over when the speech ends. The next two minutes and 15 seconds are filled with a rendition by a rock group of a campaign theme song, which plays at full volume over film of the candidate, except for 15 seconds near the end, when it is turned down for an inspirational excerpt from another Carter speech.

# FORD PLANS TO ISSUE NUCLEAR GUIDELINES

## Officials Link Policy Statement to Impending Congressional Action and Challenge by Carter

By DAVID BINDER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13—President Ford is preparing to make a comprehensive statement soon setting national and international guidelines for United States nuclear policy, three high-ranking Administration officials reported today.

They said the statement would be issued to meet mounting pressure from Congress, which is considering legislation restricting American nuclear technology exports, and to take the nuclear policy issue away from Jimmy Carter, the Democratic Presidential contender.

A Presidential study group headed by Robert W. Fri, deputy administrator of the Energy Research and Development Administration, completed a 50-page report on nuclear policy options last Tuesday after six weeks' work.

The officials said the Fri report would serve as the basis for White House drafting of Mr. Ford's statement, although they noted that several of the report's recommendations were being disputed by Government agencies concerned with nuclear policy.

The officials who discussed the Fri report were from the White House, the State Department and the Energy Research and Development Administration.

One official said a number of factors had coincided to give urgency to Mr. Ford's consideration of a new and thorough statement of the nation's needs on nuclear policy.

Of the challenge by Mr. Carter he said: "The White House is clearly apprehensive that Carter might pre-empt the nuclear issue in the campaign—he already made a big speech on the subject on May 13."

### Pastore Plans Action

As for Congress, the official noted that the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was scheduled to take up a bill tomorrow on "nuclear explosive proliferation" with a prospect of sharply limiting foreign sales of American nuclear technology and atomic fuels.

Senator John O. Pastore, the Rhode Island Democrat who heads the committee, declared earlier this month that he intended to have Congress act on a nonproliferation bill before it adjourns next month.

In addition, the official said, the Ford Administration has become concerned about threats by giant American nuclear concerns to curb industrial development because of pending governmental strictures.

Of equal and related concern to the Administration, he said, was the growing sentiment among foreign importers of American nuclear equipment and fuel that the United States was no longer a reliable partner for their own atomic development.

"Our nuclear policy has been in a muddle for the last two years," the official, who is in the State Department, said. While praising Congress and the White House for making nuclear policy a prime consideration, he said he was worried now about "making a policy for 10 years in 10 days."

### A Controversial Aspect

The three officials said a central aspect of the Fri report dealt with the controversial subject of nuclear fuel reprocessing, which, in the present state of technology, creates plutonium as an adjunct to the enriched uranium used to run atomic power reactors for the production of electricity.

Since plutonium is the essential element in the manufacture of atomic bombs American policymakers have become wary of any steps that might lead to a proliferation of facilities devoted to the making of plutonium. But large-scale commercial fuel recycling has yet to prove economically rational.

The officials said a majority view among the drafters of the Fri report holds that the United States should authorize completion of a demonstration reprocessing plant to see whether a "plutonium economy" was both feasible and desirable.

They said the Federal Government would then have the options of offering reprocessing services to other countries for their spent uranium fuel, of creating an international reprocessing facility, or of simply selling reprocessed fuel.

A minority view, strongly represented by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, holds that since plutonium is a dangerously sensitive commodity, the United States should defer development of domestic reprocessing.

Instead, the minority view says, the United States should consider guaranteeing uranium fuel supplies for other countries while working to develop alternate fuel technologies avoiding the manufacture of plutonium.

Jimmy Carter, in his May speech to the United Nations, supported this view in calling for "a moratorium" on reprocessing.

Other aspects of the Fri report dealing with improved nuclear export controls and safeguards were described by the officials as being less in dispute within the Administration.

### Urging by Rep. Anderson

The Presiidential study group headed by Mr. Fri included representatives of the Energy Research and Development Administration, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Office of Management and Budget and the State Department. Its report is being reviewed by those agencies as well as by the Council on Environmental Quality, the Interior, Commerce and Defense Departments, the Environmental Protection gency, the Federal Energy Administration, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the National Science Foundation.

The study group was in part a response to prodding by Representative John B. Anderson, Republican of Illinois, who asked President Ford to give urgent consideration to pressing nuclear issues, including reprocessing, in a letter last spring.

Mr. Anderson drafted the House bill on proliferation that is before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in partial cooperation with the Administration.

In a telephone interview, Mr. Anderson said he believed that the Fri report would culminate in "a major statement by the President on nuclear policy."

He said "it is my hope" that Mr. Ford would take his nuclear message before the United Nations General Assembly, which opens Sept. 21 in New York.

## *POLL SAYS FEWER ADULTS ARE REGISTERING TO VOTE*

Voter registration, an indication of political interest, is at its lowest point since 1948, according to the latest Gallup Poll.

Only 71 percent of the nation's adults are registered to vote, according to a survey of 1,287 people who were at least 18 years old. A similar survey in 1972 indicated that registration was at 75 percent. In 1968, it was at 77 percent.

The latest poll indicated that 81 percent of the nation's Republicans were registered, compared to 75 percent of the Democrats. Four years ago, each party had about 81 percent registration among its adherents.

As was the case in 1972, the survey this year indicated that adults from ages 18 to 29 had the poorest registration record. Only 50 percent of them were registered, compared to 72 percent of those 30 to 49 years old and 85 percent of those 50 or older.

## 7 Are Nominated by President To National Science Foundation

WASHINGTON, Sept. 13 (AP)—President Ford nominated seven persons today to be members of the National Science Board for terms expiring in 1982.

They are Raymond L. Bisplinghoff, chancellor of the University of Missouri Lloyd Miller Cooke of White Plains, director of urban affairs and university relations for the Union Carbide Corporation Herbert D. Doan of Midland, Mich., director and president of Doan Associates, and John R. Hogness, president of the University of Washington.

Also William F. Huge Jr., deputy vice president and dean, Institute of Agriculture, Forestry and Home Economics, University of Minnesota; Marian E. Koshland, professor of bacteriology and immunology, University of California, and Alexander Rich, professor of biophysics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

# No Tears for the Giants

## By Russell Baker

With the death of Mao Tse-tung the age of giants is closed at last. To mourn it would take a heart of stone, for it has been a barbarian's passage through oceans of blood and the charnel it washed on the shore makes Attila seem in retrospect as fetching as Peck's Bad Boy.

The giants who led it, or perhaps only made the trip first-cabin, were flamboyant egocentrics whose passion for power fulfilled their age's hunger for new societies organized on the principle of industrial efficiency. This carried most of them toward centralized government constructed around political godheads with mythic or divine characteristics being attributed to the leader, whether he was called Der Fuhrer, Il Duce, the Generalissimo, the Chairman, the Caudillo or the President.

The characteristic political creation of the age of giants was dictatorship, and the characteristic political philosophy, which still survives it in such vestigial artifacts as the C.I.A. and K.G.B., was that the end justifies the means. Not surprisingly, the citizenry for whom the giants labored became an inhuman abstraction—the masses or the people. Persons who made a to-do about their individuality became nuisances, eccentrics or menaces. The attitude varied from giant to giant, but on balance it was not a good time to be at odds with the will of the people, to be a person. The age gave us no persons' republics.

An exception should be made for Winston Churchill, the one giant of the age who was, in fact, not of the age at all but a creature of Edwardian England who was still able to sentimentalize war and visualize a future in which the masses would not insist on pressing their power too rudely. Britain rejected him as an antique as soon as the Nazis surrendered.

Time magazine once hailed Churchill as the man of the century. The accolade now seems as amusing as calling World War I the war to end wars. In the age of giants, Churchill was not even a very big giant.

From Lenin, who opened the age in 1917, to Mao, whose death closes it three generations later, there were giant giants, middle-sized giants, minigiants, midget giants and false giants. The classic specimen of the last category was Chiang Kai-shek, who was inflated so alarmingly by Roosevelt and Churchill that it took Americans a generation to perceive that the castle housed only a mouse.

Francisco Franco was, to a degree, the similar creation of Hitler and Mussolini. De Gaulle sought the gift of inflation from Roosevelt and Churchill, was rejected, went away angry and came back years later to earn the seven-league boots for himself by restoring a France at the edge of a breakdown.

Hitler and Stalin, the purest specimens of the age's giant breed, were almost certainly political geniuses, which leaves little more to be said about politics in the 20th century. Lunacy harnessed to industrialism in the case of mass uplift. Dreams of perfecting humanity with the bullet in the back of the head and the gas oven. Nasty stuff, but infectious to sanity. Twenty years later Americans were destroying Vietnam to save it.

The age of giants, of course, has actually been over for a long time now, and we are slipping into the age of caretakers. The giants were great biographies and good copy; the caretakers are mostly a yawn. Witness Ford and Carter trying to persuade us

## *OBSERVER*

that they are up to something vital. Witness Brezhnev, the committee chairman in Moscow. Name quickly the Prime Ministers of Italy, Britain, Japan and Israel. Who is the President of France?

There is scarcely a biography in the bunch. Carter and Ford between them are hardly interesting enough to sustain a magazine article. And isn't it splendid? With no giants strutting around shaking the earth, something vaguely resembling peace has become palpable. Vietnam may have been the last gasp of the age of giants in America. A case can be argued that it was Kennedy's, Johnson's and Nixon's insistence on trying to preserve gianthood in the Presidency that accounted for the Asian fiasco, that they were men reluctant to accept the death of the age of giants, or too slow to perceive that it was over and that giants were no longer possible.

There is a glimpse of sunshine in this conjecture. If the giants, from Lenin to Mao, were not really giants but only expressions of a historic global impulse toward cataclysmic change, then it may be that the rise of the caretakers reflects the arrival of a new epoch in which we want consolidation and stability and, yes, societies that will give us the opportunity to use such gains as the bloodletting netted us to search for our lost individualism.

...in mid 60s. Chance of rain near ...through tonight. Tuesday—...y, high near 80. Yesterday—1 ...Air Index, 63; Temperature ...88-56. Details are on Page C2.

The Washington Post

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# Carter Will Visit Michigan, Western GOP Strongholds

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

PLAINS, Ga., Sept. 12 —Jimmy Carter leaves his home here Monday for a second full week of campaigning that will take him into Republican strongholds in the West and President Ford's home state of Michigan.

On a trip through 10 states and the District of Columbia between Monday and Thursday, the Democratic presidential nominee will pay his respects to two of his vanquished foes from the primaries, Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), and Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.). Carter will attend a fund-raiser for Udall Monday night in Phoenix and a fund-raiser for Bayh Thursday afternoon in Washington.

Wednesday night, about the same time that the President is opening his campaign with a speech at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, Carter will be in nearby Dearborn, Mich., addressing the state AFL-CIO.

Many of the states that Carter will visit—Arizona, Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota, for example—are generally conservative and Republican. It was also in the West and the Plains states that the former Georgia governor had his poorest showings during the Democratic primaries.

Carter said here Friday that during his first week of campaigning, in the Northeast and Midwest, that he had deliberately stressed conservative themes to overcome the Republican portrait of him as a "spendthrift, irresponsible, ultra-liberal candidate." A conservative message is likely to find receptive audiences in many of the cities Carter will visit this week.

But Carter this week will also find himself in the company of some of his party's leading liberals—Udall and the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, who will join Carter for campaign appearances in Minneapolis, Mankato and Lake Crystal, Minn., Wednesday.

Carter spend a quiet weekend here, resting from his first week of campaigning and preparing for his first debate with Mr. Ford Sept. 23 in Philadelphia. He attended church services this morning at the Plains Baptist Church and afterwards spent about 10 minutes greeting tourists who had gathered outside the church.

"We love you all," he told the small crowd on the church lawn.

At his press conference here Friday night, Carter said he was preparing for the debates even as he campaigned by, among other things, helping to write his own speeches after studying position papers.

Before the first debate, he said, "I am going to take off a couple of days . . . just rest and get some extra sleep and walk in my fields and go down to the warehouse and fool with the peanut crop and change from the campaigning routine.

"But I'm not going to go off and practice against a dummy opponent or try to memorize some cut speeches or something like that," Carter added.

This last point was a reference to reports—denied by the White House—that the President's preparation for the debates would include practice sessions with one of his aides, ex-actor Don Penny, playing the role of Carter.

While Carter will spend much of the coming week in the West and Plains states, he will not totally ignore the Catholic voters of the East whom he courted so strenuously last week. Thursday, for example, he plans a walking tour through some of the ethnic neighborhoods of East Baltimore.

That night, in Washington, he will attend an Italian-American Bicentennial tribute dinner for Rep. Peter W. Rodino Jr., (D-N.J.).

## Plane Crash Kills Man in Frederick

FREDERICK, Sept. 12, (AP)—One man was killed and another critically injured today in the crash of a small plane near the Frederick Municipal Airport.

Frederick City police said the single-engine, two-passenger plane crashed about 7 p.m. at Gas House Pike, 2 miles east of the city.

The man killed in the crash was identified as Harry Finnyfrock, 52, of Rt. 10, Linganor Rd., Frederick. He was pronounced dead on arrival at Frederick Memorial Hospital.

William Watkins, 46, also of Frederick, was taken by helicopter to the shock-trauma unit of University Hospital in Baltimore with multiple injuries. A spokeswoman at the hospital said Watkins was listed in critical condition.

An air show was held at the Frederick airport earlier today, but it was not known whether the plane participated in the show. The cause of the crash is still under investigation.

# Polls 'Pleasantly Surprise' Ford's Campaign Manager

President Ford's campaign manager, James A. Baker III, said yesterday that he is "quite pleasantly surprised" by the results of recent voter preference polls commissioned by the Ford organization in 18 states.

Baker, chairman of the President Ford Committee, said the poll results could not be made public because the information might help Mr. Ford's Democratic opponent, Jimmy Carter.

Interviewed on the television news program, "Face The Nation" (CBS, WTOP), Baker said: "We are very pleased with the strength we are seeing in the South."

He cited Mississippi as an example of a Deep South state where his polls are encouraging about Mr. Ford's chances against Carter, a Georgian. However, Baker declined to say whether the poll showed Mr. Ford ahead in Mississippi or only narrowing the gap on Carter.

Baker also said he was "very pleased" with polling results from the 10 "swing" states identified by the Ford campaign as crucial to the President's chances. They are California, Texas, Florida, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Ohio.

He singled out Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York as especially encouraging. In New York, he said, his polls showed Mr. Ford only four points behind Carter.

Baker also claimed that the President leads Carter in "a dozen to 14 states" that he characterized as "traditional Republican states in the Midwest and Far West." But he did not identify the states nor specify how many electoral votes they have. He didn't specify whether any of these states were among those polled.

"That's not to say we haven't been disappointed in one or two instances," Baker added. "We're not as pleased as we could be with the results in Tennessee and Wisconsin."

Also yesterday, Mr. Ford's vice presidential running mate, Kansas Sen. Bob Dole, reiterated his denials that he received campaign contributions from Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf Oil Corp. lobbyist.

Last week, Wild retracted earlier statements that he gave Dole $2,000 in cash in 1970 to pass on to other GOP candidates. Wild would not comment on published reports that he told a federal grand jury last January of giving Dole's then administrative aide $5,000 in Gulf cash in 1973 for Dole's 1974 Senate re-election campaign.

Responding to TV questioners on "Meet The Press" (NBC, WRC), Dole said he thought the matter could be resolved by a public statement from the federal prosecutor handling the grand jury inquiry into allegations of illegal campaign contributions. However, he did not respond to a question about whether he would be willing to have his own March 8 testimony before the grand jury made public.

Dole also said that he would be willing to make public his past campaign records and information about his income taxes. Afterward, though, when a reporter asked for permission to see these records, Dole hedged and said that he would have to think about it.



JAMES A. BAKER III
. . . cites strength in South

# Pitchman Dole Could Steal the Show

By Margot Hornblower
Washington Post Staff Writer

The "Bob Dole Campaign Express"—as the Republican vice presidential candidate christened his red, white, and blue charter jet—is a sideshow that threatens to upstage the main attraction.

Since he was nominated to be President Ford's running mate three weeks ago, Dole has campaigned in more than a dozen states across the country, making headlines at Jimmy Carter's expense. Mr. Ford has remained in Washington in an effort to maintain a "presidential" image.

As Mr. Ford tries to overcome a ponderous speaking style, in preparation for the upcoming television debates, his running mate has been dazzling audiences from Seattle to New port with spontaneously witty speeches.

And as the President has been saying the Republican ticket will not write off the South, Dole has been eating barbecue and kissing babies in Macon, Ga., and Salisbury, N.C.

"From what I know about Sen. Dole," Tom Ellis, Ronald Reagan's North Carolina chairman, said recently, "the ticket could have been turned around and served this country very well."

Although Dole was Republican national chairman during the early stages of Watergate and has recently denied reports that he received illegal campaign contributions from Gulf Oil Corp., the Democrats have not been able to successfully exploit any scandal issue.

The Kansas senator receives warm receptions on his campaign trips, but he downplays his own role, acknowledging that his main job is to promote Mr. Ford.

The scheduled debate with Minnesota Sen. Walter F. Mondale, the Democratic vice presidential nominee, is "a late show," Dole jokes, adding, "I can't believe that's going to change many minds or be viewed by many people. People are voting for Ford or Carter. Maybe one out of three people even know [Mondale and I] are on the ticket. Most of the focus will be on the top two men."

President Ford has pledged a 50-state campaign, but Dole is likely to do the legwork and, consequently, receive a lot of public attention during the first part of the campaign. "The senator will go to most every region of the country and almost every major city during the next few weeks of the campaign," said Larry Speakes, his press aide.

If Dole plans to concentrate on any particular region, he is not saying so now. "We're not writing off any state in this nation whether it's the South, the North, the East or the West . . . We've got to broaden our base if we are ever going to be more than a minority party," he said.

However, the Kansas senator is expected to campaign in the traditionally Republican Midwestern farm states where, partly because of the grain embargo Mr. Ford imposed last year, GOP support may be wavering.

As a strong conservative, Dole is making a special effort to lure disappointed Reaganites into working for the ticket. "I don't aim anything at the Reagan people except hearts and flowers," he said.

And, as former RNC chairman, he will campaign hard for Republican congressional candidates. He has already kicked off two House campaigns in Topeka and Wilmington and visited the Maryland State Fair with Sen. J. Glenn Beall.

Although Dole was one of Richard M. Nixon's last defenders, the Watergate issue has not seemed to bother him so far. He often brings it up without being asked, reminding audiences and press conferences that the Republican Party organization was not involved in the scandals.

"The night of Watergate was my night off," he often jokes. "In fact, I think I was on a job in Chicago."

themes to overcome the Republican portrait of him as a "spendthrift, irresponsible, ultra-liberal candidate." A conservative message is likely to find receptive audiences in many of the cities Carter will visit this week.

But Carter this week will also find himself in the company of some of his party's leading liberals—Udall and the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, who will join Carter for campaign appearances in Minneapolis, Mankato and Lake Crystal, Minn., Wednesday.

Carter spend a quiet weekend here, resting from his first week of campaigning and preparing for his first debate with Mr. Ford Sept. 23 in Philadelphia. He attended church services this morning at the Plains Baptist Church and afterwards spent about 10 minutes greeting tourists who had gathered outside the church.

"We love you all," he told the small crowd on the church lawn.

At his press conference here Friday night, Carter said he was preparing

President Ford Committee. It includes a few former Senate and RNC staffers and some Reagan operatives, including former delegate hunter Charles Black and, as a part-time adviser, Reagan intimate Lyn Nofziger.

"The White House is not directing the Dole campaign," Speakes said. "They give us some ideas like 'why don't you go down South?' But they're not saying, 'Here's your line for the day.' Dole has had a long relationship with the President and Mr. Ford trusts him to do what's best for the ticket."

Dole's prepared speeches have been written by congressional aides, not by the Ford organization.

Nor, it appears, have Mr. Ford and Dole talked about the Vice President's role after the election. "He didn't tell me what I'd be doing," Dole said. "He said he'd known me for 16 years. He felt I had the experience and qualifications to be President and to be an effective Vice President. But to say we sat down and reviewed a list of things I'd expect to do as Vice President—that wasn't done.

"He said he felt comfortable with me, which may be one reason I'm here. I would hope I would have a big role to play in the administration, but I can't delineate it for you . . .

"When you're 10 or 15 points behind in the polls, you spend your time trying to catch up. You don't sit around and think about what you're going to do after the election."

As for his role during the campaign, Dole insists he will not be a nasty version of Spiro T. Agnew as some have predicted. "I'm not the slashing attacker and hatchet man you've been reading about," he said. "I'm not assigned to go out and sniff out and chew up Mr. Carter or Mondale."

But, he added, "that doesn't mean we can't chew on the record a little and try to straighten it up or at least determine what their position is today."

Today. That last little sarcastic twist is Dole's trademark. Everywhere he goes, he jabs at Carter with his rapier wit portraying the Democratic candidate as a waffler and a hypocrite.

"It took Jimmy Carter a long time to decide how many debates to have," Dole jokes. "He's finally decided to have three so he could tell each of his positions on each issue."

When asked at a press conference if he would play the role of a "one-man truth squad" following Carter around the country, he quipped, "It would take more than one."

Dole speaks rather stiffly with prepared texts, but when he talks off the cuff, as he often does, his humor is often spontaneous, delivered with the timing of a professional comedian.

He cracked up a Carbondale, Ill., audience last week with the story of how, before he knew he had been chosen Vice President, he asked his wife to listen at their hotel room door to hear if reporters were talking about him. "I wish I'd had Chuck Percy's hearing aid," he joked, as the Illinois senator sitting next to him winced.

A Spartanburg, S.C., crowd had a good laugh when he praised Sen. Strom Thurmond as "a great man and a great American," adding, "He's proved both." The South Carolina senator, 73, became a father for the fourth time in January.

Dole often turns his wit against himself, joking that most people, when they hear his name, think it is a brand of pineapple juice or wonder, "Where can I make an application?"

Even the most serious question involving his career is addressed in this wry, self-effacing tone. Asked if he would run for President one day should Mr. Ford be elected, he mused, "Well, if Ford's elected that means I'll be elected. I would be in a good position [to run]. The Vice President isn't otherwise occupied a lot of time. He can plan a lot."

*Neal R. Peirce*

# Indian-White Conflict: Civil Rights, Treaty Rights, Water Rights . . .

HELENA, Mont.—Across the "Indian country" of Western America, and in scattered Eastern states as well, an era of intense conflict is developing between Indians and their white neighbors.

The issues range from rights to water from the Mississippi, the Columbia and Colorado Rivers, to fishing for salmon in Washington State, from local property taxes on Indian lands in Montana to fire service for the Oneida Nation in New York. Controversy centers around law enforcement jurisdiction on Indian reservations from Minnesota and Wisconsin to the Pacific coastal states.

The chief battlegrounds are the reservations, originally guaranteed to the Indians "forever" but later opened in part to white settlers. Today the ownership pattern of these areas resembles a checkerboard, a piece of Indian-owned land here, white-owned land there.

Since the rise of the "red power" movement in the 1960s, Indians have striven to reassert jurisdiction over their reservations' original boundaries. The federal government's policy switch from assimilation to "self-determination" has aided this effort, and Indians have prevailed in many court tests of treaty rights. Over $3 billion a year flows from Washington into various Indian-related services and economic developments.

But whites living on or near reservations say the federal government has shown scant regard for local residents and local governments. The Indian "problem," they say, was created nationally, restitution programs were devised nationally, and all should be paid for nationally.

Threats to the whites' livelihood and lifestyle have led to the formation of predominantly white "civil rights" groups in 14 states and creation of a national protest group, the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities. The Interstate Congress says whites are not being treated equally in Indian communities.

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*Mr. Peirce writes a weekly syndicated column on the problems of cities and states.*

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"Will we have to yield to tribal law, yet pay taxes to state government, which won't serve us?" asks Jack Freeman, the South Dakota rancher who heads the Interstate Congress.

Lake County, Montana, a community of 15,000 (85 per cent white, mostly small farmers) provides a test tube case of the conflicts. There have been court battles over shoreline rights to Flathead Lake and disputes over tax-free sale of cigarettes on the reservation and the removal of Indian-owned land from the tax rolls.

Lake County's whites are particularly irked by the shrinking number of taxable acres while inflation wreaks havoc with local government finances. Indian landowners can avoid property taxes by placing land under tribal trust status and giving up their right to sell it. Stories circulate about neighbors who are 1/16th and 1/32nd Indian avoiding taxes this way.

What's more, whites say, the Indians can vote in local elections and approve taxes that they never have to pay themselves. They also are eligible for social services paid for in part through local property taxes.

The Flatheads reply that the number of diversions of Indian land to avoid taxes is exaggerated, and that their real reason is to consolidate tribal lands. Lost property taxes, they say, are more than compensated for by federal support of local schools and economic activity generated by the reservation.

There's been no violence between Lake Co tians and their Flathead neighbors, but wh reportedly fear that the tribes will try to g civil and criminal court authority over both dians and non-Indians in all the territory t once belonged to the reservation. They forc an unfair and inadequate judicial system run a political system in which they have no voic

Little of this conflict was apparent 20 or years ago. Then, "assimilation" was official eral policy and the Bureau of Indian Aff could note in 1957 that the Flatheads were vanced in the stage of integration with the d inant culture." In those days, intermarriage tween Flatheads and local whites was q common.

But then came the 1960s, with a new fed policy of self-determination and the emerge of younger, more educated, aggressive tr leaders. Today, on the Flathead reservati and others across the nation, young and pro sionally qualified Indian men and wome some with legal backgrounds—can return their birthplaces and find employment in federally subsidized health, welfare and resource programs.

The younger leaders are speaking out and challenging states and counties that try to assert jurisdiction over Indian country. Their role is more important than the highly publicized American Indian Movement (AIM)—although AIM has helped create a psychological climate for greater Indian independence, just as radical black power groups helped make the demands of moderate black civil rights organizations seem more credible in the 1960s.

All the wisdom of Solomon—and then some—would be required to determine the real "justice" in most conflicts between Indians and their white neighbors, between tribal "sovereign" rights and legitimate rights of local governments and their taxpayers. Strong national guilt concerning past injustices to Indians makes objective treatment difficult. Whites living on or near reservations say they have as much difficulty getting understanding from other residents of their states as from the power circles in the nation's capital.

Indians, on the other hand, complain that anti-Indian prejudice often appears in local communities, and the national reparations for past wrongdoings are still inadequate.

Local governments' loss of property taxes because of the special status of Indian tribal lands held in trust should be the easiest problem to resolve—possibly through direct federal subsidy to the localities involved. But sponsors of pending federal legislation to give localities annual payments in compensation for federally controlled lands within their borders have shown no interest in including Indian reservations.

No one doubts that imposition of local taxes on Indian reservations, even if such taxes didn't violate treaty rights, would be a crippling blow to local Indian economies. When Wisconsin's Menomonie Indians were out of reservation status for a period of years, they found themselves hit with a quarter million dollars in annual property taxes—enough to drive them from a position of self-sufficiency to poverty. The state of Wisconsin stepped in to pay them an identical amount for an annual scenic easement to the banks of the Wolf River and continued the arrangement until reservation status was restored.

Water rights and law enforcement problems are particularly difficult to resolve by legislation—partly because each situation is too unique for blanket laws to work. When whites affected by such issues have appealed to their state and federal officials for help, they have encountered some sympathy, some stand-offishness—but rarely any help.

Gradually, court decisions in the Indians' favor are reducing the rights and impairing the income of reservation-area whites. Those whites, faced by vague and unresolved laws, indifferent state and federal governments and fears for their own future, sadly end up bearing an inordinate burden for the cruelty and rapaciousness of the entire nation in its early dealings with its native peoples.

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Still Summer
inny today, high 85 to
. Fair tonight, low 58
64. Partly sunny
morrow, high in 80s.
etails: B-5.

The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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# IT'S STILL UP TO CARTER IN NEW YORK

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

NEW YORK CITY — Margaret Costanza, the outspoken Democratic National Committeewoman from Rochester, sat in Jimmy Carter's New York State campaign headquarters here and worried out loud about the national ticket in the state.

"He'll win, but it still has to be done," she predicted. A New York victory is "not all locked up by any means, and what scares me most is that many professional politicians and supporters think he's already in the White House. We've got to get the word out that we still have a long way to go because the polls show a lot of people aren't going to vote and that hurts Democrats."

Most recent statewide polls show Carter leading Ford by 5 to 10 points in New York. At least two show him with an 8-point lead.

For a candidate of the Democratic party, which counts on New York to help win presidential elections, that is almost the same as no lead at all. With as many as 25 percent undecided and in an election as volatile as this one a lead this narrow could melt overnight.

"OUR POLLS SHOW that he has about a 5 percent lead and that he has a marginal lead in the two dozen bellwether state assembly districts in the New York City suburbs and upstate," says one Democratic professional who is advising one of the five candidates fighting for the U.S. Senate nomination. "Carter had a big lead in these districts but Ford picked up a lot after the Republican convention. Carter will do well with the Jewish voters but he'll have to work on the Catholics."

In this respect New York State may well be a microcosm of the entire country. As in the rest of the country, Carter's biggest problem here is that many people still don't know anything about him.

They don't have a clear picture of what he is and what he stands for and many think he is often fuzzy and ambiguous on the issues. Many of the most skeptical are urban ethnic voters, who constitute a third of the state's electorate. They are traditional Democratic voters with whom Carter has his most serious problems.

New York should be good hunting grounds for a Democrat. It has economic problems that the senatorial candidates lose no opportunity to blame on the Nixon and Ford admin-

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## CARTER

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istrations. Daily they cite Ford's vetoes of federal programs that would benefit New York and blame the Republicans for programs and policies that favor the South and West at the expense of the Northeast.

THE GOAL OF CARTER'S state chairman, Gerard Doherty, is to reconstitute the combination that gave Hubert Humphrey his 350,000-vote margin in 1968.

"That means we've got to hold the votes here in the city and in Erie County (Buffalo) and pick up some around Syracuse," he says. "We have to win back Suffolk, Nassau, Queens and Westchester counties which left McGovern in 1972. We've targeted these counties for voter registration programs and are organizing them. Carter has already been to Queens and Brooklyn, and the response he got tells me that there is enthusiam for him."

Carter has a lot of work to do with the ethnic voters in Buffalo, according to Erie County Chairman Joseph Crangle. "We carried the county for McGovern but it will take a lot of campaigning because Ford is a lot tougher than people think, particularly when he doesn't have to compete for the right against Reagan," he says.

"Ford is familiar and things are better than two years ago. Ford is honest and decent and people know him," Crangle continued.

One problem many New York voters have with Carter is that he doesn't sound right on the economic issues. "He promises to balance the budget by 1980 and he sounds like a Republican," says one party professional. "He got a bad start by supporting right-to-work, then he moved too fast to come out for full employment, which sounded inflationary to a lot of people around Erie County. Kennedy or Humphrey would sound right and people are familiar with them."

CARTER'S PUBLIC statements about his evangelical religion also bother many Catholic voters. "With Catholics, religion is a private matter that you don't talk about," says one party leader. "You can't walk the streets of Cleveland and cities like that talking about love."

Carter didn't help himself by meeting with the Catholic bishops in Washington week before last in an attempt to come to an agreement with them on the abortion issue. The bishops rejected his stance on abortion — he disapproves of abortion but has not supported a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortion as they demand — and then he waffled on the issue by saying that he might conceivably support some sort of amendment if the language were right.

"You don't compromise with the bishops on an issue like this," says one veteran Democrat. "You're either with them 100 percent or you're a murderer."

Carter also did not help himself by saying that Ford should fire FBI Director Clarence Kelley for accepting gifts from his subordinates and then refusing to say whether he would fire Kelley if he is elected.

"HE'S ALSO DEFENDING Congress when it's at its lowest repute in years and many people think that the one act of presidential leadership Ford has displayed is his vetoes of the spending bills," says one party professional. "Someone should ask him, 'Which of those bills would you have signed, Governor, and how many billions of dollars would they have cost?'"

But Carter has a good deal of potential support. "Catholics won't vote on abortion alone," says Costanza. "It could be an excuse not to support him, however, if he doesn't measure up on the other issues."

Some New York Democrats thought Carter helped himself with urban ethnic voters last week by campaigning in ethnic neighborhoods in Pittsburgh and Cleveland and talking about the importance of the family. "Families and neighborhoods are among the most important things to these people," says one party professional.

Crangle also points out that the Democratic platform approves of federal aid to parochial schools and that the Catholic church favors welfare reform as does Carter.

Garry Wills

# To seek Catholic vote: don't ask the bishops

Jimmy Carter should get acquainted with Catholics. They will teach him not to pay attention to their bishops.

Look at John Kennedy. He led poor old Cardinal Cushing around by the nose, as a way of fending off Cardinal Spellman. Spellman, traditional host at the Al Smith Dinner, was reduced to watching Kennedy one-up Richard Nixon, who was Spellman's kind of man. Spellman and J. Edgar Hoover thought they were the only two real Americans left.

Carter, told to cultivate Catholics, went to see bishops. He must think Cardinal Bernardin is the George Meany of the parishes. Compared to a bishop, even a king like Meany is accessible to his subjects. American bishops are trained not to know anything at all about their "subjects." They still think Catholics still go to confession. They are the only people in the world who do think it.

When Al Smith ran for president, Ku-Kluxers said the Pope would take over America. The Pope cannot even take over Rome, at a time when Romans are trying to give it away.

The Catholic Church looks very despotic on paper — Paul Blanshard made a good case that Catholics were all intellectual slaves, by reading Catholic rules no Catholic ever reads. He described a beautifully repressive machine that had only one flaw — nothing in it worked. The best argument for the divine commission of the Papacy is that scripture describes St. Peter as a holy klutz. Given simple rules for walking on water, he quickly sinks.

Carter's education on Catholics should start with the story of Hilaire Belloc's visit to a French cathedral. Mass was in progress, and a verger tried to show him to a pew. Belloc waved him off. The verger said that tourists must go to a side gallery during mass. Belloc rumbled, "Go to hell!" The verger backed off with a wink: "Oh, sorry; I didn't realize you were Catholic."

Carter, to make things worse, went to talk with bishops about abortion. That is not a subject any presidential candidate is going to shed light on. Ford is President. Has he done anything about abortion, one way or the other? No. Nor will his successor. The subject is too serious to be left around mere political candidates.

Not all Catholics agree with the bishops on abortion. And many of those Catholics who are opposed to abortion (as I am) think the bishops are the last persons to make a credible case against it, so dishonest have their "natural law" arguments been on the subject of contraception.

Only bishops still believe those arguments, or say they do. My own bishop told me he would resign if he found he could no longer believe them — but he believed the protestations of the Pallottine Fathers long after the nature of their con game was clear to every other observer. He can obviously out-believe Lewis Carroll's Queen any morning before breakfast (or communion).

Catholics have, in the past, been almost too anxious to "belong" in America. They feared the nativists' intolerance, and became superpatriots. But only the bishops thought the way to belong was to start handing out rules to other people, telling them what movies they could not see, or books they could not read.

Ford's staff has said its strategy depends on the Catholic vote. These people, too, must have bishops on the brain, and be thinking that bunglers ought to get together.

I would like to offer some nonpartisan advice to all politicians this year. Stop looking around for bishops, and get to know some Catholics instead.

# Ethics and politics

If anyone's wondering why the House Ethics Committee was so anxious to get rid of the Wayne Hays hot potato, a clue might be found in the nearness of the November elections.

Let Gov. Jimmy Carter talk about Republican "cheating, lying, leaving the White House in disgrace" during the Nixon administration. But let's not have any investigation of congressional — which is to say, Democratic — hanky panky hitting the front pages of newspapers and the television tubes between now and November 2.

Sure, Wayne Hays lied. Sure, he left the House in disgrace. Sure, there are allegations that he cheated the taxpayers by putting a girl friend on the public payroll so she would be handy for sex.

But what the heck? Congressional boys will be boys. There's no reason to get excited over a little congressional lying and cheating. Lying and cheating on Capitol Hill is different from lying and cheating at the White House.

Besides, the Ethics Committee — according to the Ethics Committee — has no jurisdiction to investigate a former member of Congress, which is what Mr. Hays became when he resigned. It doesn't matter that what the Ethics Committee was supposed to investigate happened while Mr. Hays was a member of Congress. No sir, once he quit, everything was wiped out — or brushed under the rug, some might say.

What about the alleged travel expense padding by House members that the Ethics Committee presumably was going to investigate, or at least should have investigated, while it was looking into the Hays matter?

Well, what's a few thousand dollars in travel expense chiseling compared to a few hundred dollars worth of window valances built for Clarence Kelley by FBI employes?

Yessir, Governor Carter was on the right track when he said he would have fired Mr. Kelley because "the director of the FBI ought to be purer than Caesar's wife." But don't let it be said that there are any members of Congress who ought to be returned to whatever it was they were doing before they got to Capitol Hill.

But perhaps one shouldn't be too critical of the House Ethics Committee. It's working hard to get CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr and whoever leaked a classified House report to Mr. Schorr.

Investigating disgraceful activities among congressmen obviously would have been too much for the committee that only lately has shown any life. House leaders could, of course, assign the job to some other committee since the Ethics Committee can't do it or isn't up to it. But that won't happen either. Better just to let Mr. Carter talk about lying, cheating, disgraceful Republicans.

# The Lincoln-Douglas precedent

We confess, with due embarrassment, that it was late in our career as a schoolboy that we realized that the Lincoln-Douglas debates, an item of constant journalistic reference these days, occurred in 1858 rather than two years later and that the office contested was not the presidency but a U.S. Senate seat from Illinois.

We sometimes wonder, as the windup for this year's presidential debates evokes the memory of that immortal confrontation, how many others suffer from the same misconception — and, with more point perhaps, how many who have the date and goal right suppose that these debates were casual affairs of the Quemoy-Matsu-missile-gap gravity. And, finally, how many of us could recall, even with a pointed gun to concentrate the memory, what Lincoln and Douglas were really saying.

None of these questions is readily answered. But the debates, which Arlen Large of the *Wall Street Journal* correctly calls "the first political media event in the modern sense," live on because they deserve to live on.

The emotional stakes were high. For in the minds of prudent and reasonable people (and both Lincoln and Douglas were prudent and reasonable) it seemed that political extremists were in the saddle and were about to plunge the nation into a war over slavery. Sadly, for all that the prudent could do, they were and they would.

The immediate setting was the most astounding decision the U.S. Supreme Court ever rendered, the 1857 decision in *Dred Scott v. Sanford.* Technically, all the Court decided — and this in itself was outrageous enough to antislavery opinion — was that a slave like Dred Scott was not a U.S. citizen and had no standing in federal court. But the Court went beyond that meager holding to opine that blacks had no rights a white man was bound to respect and that Congress, accordingly, had no power to restrict the spread of slavery to territories forming into new states. Every political compromise dating back to the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was null and void. Politics could no longer mediate the clash of extremist claims. A dire and narrow and rigid legalism reigned. Also in the background, adding its own stress, was the sad case of "bleeding Kansas," a gory battleground between the proslavery and antislavery factions where crazed old John Brown had already massacred innocent farmers who had no slaves.

To the resulting vexation and fear, both Lincoln and Douglas proposed moderate solutions, solutions that came naturally to reasonable political men. Douglas, the Democrat, had already burned his bridges to the Southern extremists who applauded the Court, but was still seeking a formula that would hold the party together. He pinned his hopes on what he called "popular sovereignty," the right of territorial settlers (most of whom were not slaveholders) to write state constitutions dealing with slavery as they chose. Lincoln, the Republican, called for every lawful effort to reverse *Dred Scott* and get Congress back into the business of stifling the spread of slavery. By most reckonings, Lincoln won the debates. He certainly won the Illinois popular vote and became presidential timber. But Douglas, because the Illinois legislature was gerrymandered, retained his Senate seat. Neither, as we now know, prevented the civil war.

Anyone who studies the Lincoln-Douglas debates today is bound to be struck by their incongruity — that incongruity lying in the incapacity of elegant argument to get an effective grip on the wild divisions that were tearing the nation in two.

The issues of the 1960 Nixon-Kennedy debates, as we know also, had as little to do with what transpired in the 1960s, and it is likely that the Ford-Carter debates will have the same historical marginality, even if they help decide the outcome of the election.

That seems, alas, to be the way with great debates. The apparent issues too often bear little relationship to the deeper forces incubating the future. That is the disturbing thought that comes to mind when one thinks of Mr. Lincoln and Judge Douglas orating on the dusty hustings of Illinois 118 years ago.

# Carter Emphasizing Conservatism

PLAINS, Ga. (AP) — Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter is accentuating the conservative as he launches a dozen-state campaign swing he says will help arm him with issues for the coming debate with President Ford.

After a weekend at home, Carter was heading today for Birmingham, Ala., Norman and Oklahoma City, Okla., and Phoenix, Ariz.

In Birmingham he was to appear with Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, once his rival in presidential primaries. And in Phoenix tonight, Carter is scheduled to spend 50 minutes at a fund-raising dinner for another of his former opponents, Rep. Morris K. Udall.

**CARTER'S SECOND CAMPAIGN WEEK** also will take him to Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Maryland, Washington, D.C., and possibly Ohio and Arkansas.

Carter spent part of his weekend studying briefing papers for the Sept. 23 debate with Ford but said "the best preparation is to be constantly in contact with the people of this country, learning about housing problems, learning about health problems . . . assessing what the major issues are."

Carter remarked Saturday that Ford always seemed to find time to campaign in his race with Ronald Reagan for the Republican presidential nomination, but now claims that duty keeps him at home.

"If President Ford wants to run his campaign by coming out of the White House every day and reading a minute-and-a-half statement in the rose garden, I don't think it will hurt my campaign at all," Carter said. "If he wants to stay away from the people . . . that suits me fine."

Carter said the contrasting styles should help him because "people know I cared enough to come."

**SIZING UP HIS FIRST WEEK** of active campaigning, Carter said he had sought to stress conservative themes to counter Republican efforts to depict him as a big-spending liberal.

"I think my positions now are compatible with my positions during the primary campaign," he said.

# Dole to Fight Image GOP Is Against 'People'

Associated Press

Sen. Bob Dole is off again on a cross-country campaign trip as the point man for an effort he says must be made to dispel the image that he and President Ford are anti-people.

On his schedule today were a Chamber of Commerce function in Lexington, Ky., the opening of state Republican headquarters in Milwaukee and a GOP reception in Salt Lake City. The 17-hour day will end in San Francisco late tonight.

The Republican vice presidential candidate spent an hour with President Ford in a strategy session yesterday and won plaudits from his stay-at-home running mate for doing "superbly" as a campaigner.

Dole had said on NBC's "Meet the Press" earlier yesterday that for Ford "it may be good politics to stay in the White House.

"Let's face it," Dole said. "The President, whoever he might be, has an advantage if he uses the incumbency properly."

Ford has responsibilities in Washington until Congress adjourns on Oct. 2, Dole said, and "in my view he is taking his case to the people from the White House, being the President, and I am doing what I can to help out in the field." He said he expects Ford to campaign extensively next month.

"I think it has been very effective. I notice Mr. (Jimmy) Carter commented this morning that Mr. Ford could get headlines where he couldn't, so I think he can effectively take his case to the people from the White House."

Dole was asked about how he reconciles the President's not leaving Washington with his statement last week that "people want to see us, talk to us, either cheer us or boo us . . . to know we are real.

Said the senator:

"I can't think of anyone who has been out in the country more than President Ford in this political year. . . . We are going to see President Ford in the field."

In response to another question, Dole said "we are perceived at times as anti-people and I think we have to take the offensive, dispel that image if there is one — and I think there is."

Dole said his last trips before the weekend — to Texas and Arkansas — have left him extremely hopeful.

"When you talk to the people," he said, "you sort of get a feeling and I have a good feeling," he said.

# Mary McGrory

## *Catholic Bishops Meet the President*

The Catholic bishops endorsed Gerald Ford and they may have done Jimmy Carter a favor.

The bishops, led by their spokesman, Archbishop Joseph Bernardin of Cincinnati, president of the executive committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, stopped short of donning Ford buttons, but there was no mistaking the effect, if not the intent, of their extraordinary press conference in the White House briefing room.

As they were "disappointed" in Jimmy Carter, who opposes a constitutional amendment on abortion, they were "encouraged" by Ford. The President favors an amendment, which, because it falls short of their unspecified ideal leaves them less than totally satisfied, nonetheless so "encouraged" them that the archbishop used the word no less than four times in the course of a press conference that left the press totally unsatisfied.

**IN THE DOORWAY**, aides of Ford stood wearing expressions of fearful joy. The bishops' statement, obviously a cornerstone in their building hopes of cutting deep into the Catholic vote, delighted them. They were apprehensive, though, that the reporters, frustrated in their attempts to get a clear-cut statement from the churchmen, might press too hard and mar the ceremony.

The bishops had entered the Oval Office with some trepidation. Certain members of the National Conference had warned that an expression of approval of Ford's pro-amendment position — he wants the matter sent back to the states — would be seen as a blessing of his candidacy. They had been cautioned that a failure to emphasize their differences with him on other social issues — the bishops are far more liberal on a wide range of concerns from the death sentence to housing, full employment, and gun control — would suggest they had no quarrel with him at all.

But the bishops, driven by their fear that this is their last chance on what they regard as an overriding moral issue and their obligation to offer the only institutionalized opposition, decided to take the plunge, although they themselves had counseled the faithful in a paper called "Political Responsibilities" to study the candidates on all the issues.

**IT TAKES A SPECIAL KIND** of faith to think that any antiabortion amendment has a prayer of passage. And nothing that has happened this year indicates that Americans are ready to choose a president solely on the "right-to life" question. A kind of referendum on abortion has already been held. Ellen McCormack, the "pro-life" candidate for president, ran in 14 states, and peaked at 7.8 percent in South Dakota. She got 1.5 percent of the total vote, which cannot rationally have encouraged the bishops, since it indicates that not even Catholics are united on the subject.

The bishops must know that they cannot politicize abortion. They have succeeded only in politicizing themselves — and that's where the break for Jimmy Carter comes in.

Many voters, many Catholics among them, have complained that there is "too much religion in the campaign." They have professed skepticism about Carter's alien "twice-born," sawdust-trail fervor, his communications with the Lord.

But compared with the bishops' heavy-footed entrance into the campaign, Carter's well-publicized piety pales to insignificance. Catholics who may agree with the bishops about the moral issue of abortion don't want a return to the past, when their loyalty to the principle of separation of church and state was steadily suspect. They thought all that had been settled in 1960, when John Kennedy faced down the Houston ministers and persuaded them that he was an American, although Catholic.

**GERALD FORD** is doubtless counting his gains in millions of defecting Democratic voters. But he forgets about Pope John. Pope John transformed an authoritarian and militant institution into "the people of God," who are less receptive to political orders from the pulpit than the old breed. It takes something more than the picture of a candidate with a cardinal to line them up in neat rows.

Jimmy Carter, as Ford ever more stentoriously charges, has been a waffler in his time, but he refused to bend to the bishops on the constitutional amendment. He reminded them of their own eloquent commitments to the rights of the born, with which this year's voters, Gerald Ford may discover, are more concerned.

Carter's meeting with the bishops was considered by some a mistake. He should have understood their intransigence and stayed away.

"It was an Inquisition," said one Catholic priest bitterly, "and he was condemned."

But because they agreed to see Carter, the bishops felt obliged to accept Gerald Ford's invitation to the White House. They obviously intended to do something for Gerald Ford in exchange for what he would do for them. That is how politics works. But they may have done something to him, too. If Americans had reservations about religion and Jimmy Carter, they may have more about Gerald Ford and religion before it's all over.

## Carter Vulnerability Indicated

# Political Polls Encourage Ford

Associated Press

President Ford has found encouragement in the results of some new political polls.

James Baker III, Ford's campaign manager, said yesterday in a television interview that the latest soundings show the President leading Jimmy Carter in "a dozen to 14 states," with signs of improvement in some others.

Later, following a post-church strategy meeting at the White House, Ford and his running mate, Sen. Bob Dole, told reporters the Republican ticket had taken over the lead in the both their home states, Michigan and Kansas.

"We're coming on," Ford said. "You'll see us around here another four years.

**LATER YESTERDAY**, the Darden Research Corp. released results in Atlanta of yet another poll that appeared likely to buoy the Republicans. It said that although Carter remains substantially ahead of Ford in the South, there are strong signs that the Georgian's support is eroding there.

"It appears that Jimmy Carter has placed himself too far to the left to make most Southern voters happy," said Darden president Claibourne H. Darden Jr. "Since Ford seems to be positioned significantly to the right of Carter, perhaps Carter has put himself farther to the left than necessary to please the entire country."

He described Carter as being "in a time machine" with "time working against him in the deep South."

Carter has acknowledged in recent days an attempt to put fresh emphasis on conservative themes because of a concern that he was being viewed as too liberal.

Polls by Darden and by the Detroit News (for Michigan only) each drew on a sampling of 600 registered voters. The southern poll was conducted in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee.

It showed that 53.5 percent favored Carter, 31.8 percent Ford, and one percent favored Lester Maddox, candidate of the American Independent party. The rest were undecided.

**THE MICHIGAN REPORT** comes four days before Ford is to make his first official campaign trip outside Washington, a visit to his alma mater, the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor.

Carter will be making his first campaign visit to Michigan at the same time. He is to deliver what aides said will be a "major address" to the state AFL-CIO convention in Dearborn on Wednesday while Ford is speaking to the university audience some 30 miles away.

Posing for pictures with Dole outside the Oval Office, Ford told reporters the results of a new Detroit News poll showed him 6 points ahead, 41 to 35, in Michigan. "Before the convention, we were three or four points behind there," he said.

The poll, conducted for the newspaper by Market Opinion Research and published yesterday, showed Ford leading Carter by seven points, 41 to 34, a gain of three points since the last previous sampling in July. The number of undecided voters held firm at 23 percent.

Frederick P. Currier, president of Market Opinion Research, said Ford's gain appeared to be mainly among independent voters.

Dole said a new poll in Kansas showed the GOP team leading there by three points, after having trailed by six earlier. He said the Republicans were leading in Illinois as well.

**BAKER SAID ON CBS'** "Face The Nation" that the Ford campaign committee had been "quite plesantly surprised" by the results of polls it commissioned in 18 states. "That's not to say we haven't been disappointed in one or two instances," he added, naming Tennessee and Wisconsin.

Baker said the Ford camp was heartened by strength it is showing in southern states, citing only Mississippi by name but declining to say whether the President was ahead there. He said Ford was "only four points behind" in New York and the findings were encouraging in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Ford aides have named those three states along with California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio and Wisconsin as the swing states in the election.

Both Ford and Carter attended church yesterday, the President going with Mrs. Ford and their son Jack, 24, to the National Cathedral where the visiting archbishop of Canterbury, the most Rev. and Right Honorable Frederick Donald Coggan, dedicated a new nave.

In Plains, Ga., Jimmy Carter attended Sunday school and church and then, with his wife Rosalynn, greeted some of the 200 or so tourists who stood behind ropes outside the white clapboard church.

# Mondale Predicts Revival Of 'Kennedy' Peace Corps

United Press International

Sen. Walter Mondale says the 1960s Peace Corps, as envisioned by John Kennedy, will be revived if Jimmy Carter becomes president, so that young people estranged by Vietnam and Richard Nixon will have an opportunity to get involved again.

Kennedy's vision of young Americans helping the less fortunate was snuffed out by the turbulent years of the Vietnam war and the Nixon presidency, the Democratic vice presidential candidate said in a recent interview with United Press International and the Associated Press.

Nixon bureaucrats "didn't like the Peace Corps, I think partly because it had this idealistic tone they find offensive. So they converted it into a kind of a technical corps," Mondale told reporters.

**"THERE IS A PEACE CORPS** in being now," Mondale said, "but I would like to see it more like the Peace Corps that John Kennedy envisioned . . . where we really tap idealism and help from the young. It's more of a symbol of what I'd like to see running through the American society."

Smoking a cigar as his chartered jet returned to Washington following a week of campaigning, Mondale said the Peace Corps was "dismissed by even (President Dwight) Eisenhower as the kiddie corps. But in fact those young people, many with only liberal arts degrees, fanned out around the world.

"They made some mistakes, but there really was an attachment there between them and the people they were working with, and it was a beautiful thing. In a strange way, we got more out of it than they did because they came back and were more knowledgeable, mature citizens.

"The dividends of improved citizenship this country received from that program were classic, and the underlying idea was that — even though we lived in a very difficult world — people should still try and be personally committed."

**KENNEDY'S PEACE CORPS** helped create a new "national mood of feeling and helping. I think that's been kind of beaten out of our country."

In addresses at Stephens College in Columbia, Mo., and the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Ind., Mondale stressed the need for renewed involvement of youth in politics and said the Peace Corps represented what was best about America.

On another topic, Mondale said he expects to "do all right" when he meets Sen. Bob Dole, R-Kan., in an October televised debate.

Asked if the vice presidential debate will be more free-wheeling than confrontations between the presidential candidates, Mondale replied: "Not if I can establish the tone.

"I don't think the people like that. I think they want to know what we're going to do and how our minds work . . . I don't think they're very interested in cheap shots."

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WILLIAM F SCHMICK, JR., Publisher • PAUL A. BANKER, Managing Editor • J.R.L. STERNE, Editorial Page Editor

# As Ford, Carter run hard, Dole, Mondale get 2d spot

By ADAM CLYMER
*Washington Bureau of The Sun*

Washington — Robert J. Dole and Walter F. Mondale will now take their places, if not in the back of the bus, at least in the relative obscurity of the morning television news shows.

Unless one of them does something dramatic, which probably means bad, their unprecedented two or three weeks in the limelight of a national campaign are all but over.

The only certain exception will be their night to debate each other, in the third of the four scheduled presidential campaign debates.

But while both will be campaigning energetically — turning up at friendly farms and hospitable city halls—with both presidential candidates now campaigning actively their efforts will matter less.

Mr. Mondale's time in the sun ended sooner. Before Labor Day, Jimmy Carter made only an occasional one- or two-day foray among the voters. Mr. Mondale campaigned steadily, coast to coast.

But last week, with Mr. Carter eagerly unleashed on the electorate, Mr. Mondale was something of a coordinated afterthought.

Mr. Dole was still the only Republican on the road last week, a status that will end Wednesday when Mr. Ford emerges from the White House to campaign in Michigan.

But the President was actively campaigning from one corner of the White House rose garden to the other, matching Mr. Carter in television attention. Mr. Dole, except for turning up a few cars behind Mr. Carter at the Southern 500 stock car race, got little.

Each was chosen, and each campaigned, with a similar focus: largely if not exclusively to reassure a disappointed element in his party. Mr. Dole has been appearing among the more conservative parts of the GOP; Mr. Mondale among the more liberal Democratic elements.

And each has had a fairly obvious role as an attacker, the candidate used to rile the other side's presidential candidate, while his own chief stays lofty and presidential. (Neither presidential candidate is really very shy about partisan attacks, however, so even that traditional vice presidential candidate's role has been usurped.)

Mr. Dole plainly has more of an image as a political hit man than does Mr. Mondale. But on the campaign trial he has appeared distinctly unsettled by that reputation and off his stride when it comes time to criticize.

He has not been using the flip one-liners, like "southern fried McGovern" for Mr. Carter, that he coined before he was a candidate, although he did mark the fall opening of school by calling Mr. Mondale "Mr. Busing," and he criticized Mr. Carter for taking an investment credit tax deduction while calling for tax reform.

Mr. Mondale, for his part, regularly compares President Ford to Idi Amin, the president of Uganda. He says that if Mr. Ford can campaign on employment, considering how many people have gone out of work since he took office, then Marshal Amin can campaign on the subject of airport security. It is a line that works better to a college audience than among auto workers in Waterloo, Iowa.

Each offers the obvious praise of his leader, though Mr. Mondale sometimes makes it through a speech without using Mr. Carter's name even once. But each regularly invokes the set of issues his presidential candidate has chosen to do battle on.

Mr. Mondale's schedule seems more organized. It is the work of an organized campaign that has been in place since early August, working closely in the same offices as Mr. Carter's people in Atlanta. Last week he went to the important states that Mr. Carter didn't reach, a pattern that will continue through November 2.

Mr. Dole's scheduling seems much more helter-skelter, at least as much a product of knowing where Mr. Carter or Mr. Mondale is scheduled to be as of any independent planning.

Some of that is inevitable, a result of having only three or four days after the Republican convention to do any planning, since plainly the President Ford Committee did none in advance for the unselected vice presidential candidate.

That shows too in his scrambling to put together a staff and arranging events, an area of politics where he lags far behind the smooth logistical performance of Mr. Mondale's operation.

# Ford, Dole call some poll results heartening

Washington (AP)—President Ford and his running mate, Senator Robert J. Dole, expressed pleasure yesterday at some new state poll results as they held a White House strategy session for the campaign against Jimmy Carter.

The Republican standard bearers posed for photos outside the Oval Office, and Mr. Ford told newsmen:

"We just had a poll in Michigan—in the Detroit *News*—that shows us 6 points ahead. I think it was 41 to 35. Before the convention we were 3 to 4 points behind there."

Mr. Dole said a late poll in his state, Kansas, showed the GOP team ahead by 3 points "while earlier we were behind by 6. And in Illinois," he added, "we're ahead."

Mr. Dole said he was "extremely hopeful" after returning from a campaign trip to Texas and Arkansas.

"When you talk to the people, you sort of get a feeling, and I have a good feeling," he said.

Asked how he feels about trailing Mr. Carter nationwide in the polls, President Ford replied with a smile: "We're coming on." He added, "You'll see us around here another four years."

Mr. Ford said he felt that Senator Dole was doing "superbly" as a campaigner. "It's a rugged schedule and he's doing a great job," Mr. Ford said.

In an hour-long meeting, the Republican candidates reviewed the campaign to date and discussed plans for the time remaining before the November 2 election. The strategy to date has been for Mr. Ford to remain in the White House and be "presidential" while Mr. Dole stumps the country.

Mr. Ford will kick off his campaign Wednesday night with a speech at the University of Michigan, his alma mater.

In addition to dealing with affairs of state, he has been spending considerable time preparing for that speech and for the first of three televised debates with Mr. Carter. The initial debate has been scheduled for September 23 in Philadelphia.

# Ford-Carter differences on defense still fuzzy

By CHARLES W. CORDDRY
*Washington Bureau of The Sun*

Washington—President Ford says Jimmy Carter's military proposals would cripple national defense, and the Democratic nominee retorts that he would strengthen it by getting rid of waste and inefficiency.

That is the fuzzy state of the campaign defense debate after the first exchange of punches between the candidates last week. The refrains are familiar in election contests.

Presidents are persuaded that defense cuts, other than those they make, are dangerous and boosts, other than those they propose, are not needed. Challengers are sure—more so before they win office—that they can rectify inefficiencies and, in doing so, change fat to muscle.

Inefficiency, waste and duplication, of course, are endless plagues in any large establishment, and the United States defense establishment is the largest. The list of cures claimed by all administrations is long, but the results seldom, if ever, show up as net spending reductions.

The forthcoming face-to-face debates on television may give the candidates a chance to force each other into more explicit defenses of their positions on key politico-military issues and to pin each other down on the needs for more defense or the wisdom of various cuts and shifts in the forces.

It is worth keeping in mind, in the hyperbole of the campaign, that the difference between Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter, in financial terms, is $5 billion to $7 billion, or roughly 5 per cent of the projected defense appropriation for fiscal 1978.

That is the first year that Mr. Carter's advisers think he would have a prospect of slowing the increase in the military budget by $5 billion to $7 billion, if he is elected.

The Ford administration's military plan for fiscal 1977, starting October 1, totals $112.7 billion, and preliminary projections call for $120.6 billion in fiscal 1978, though these apparently are being revised upward. Mr. Carter's advisers believe the increase can be held down through management improvements and certain troop redeployments which they think will enhance defense.

President Ford used the cordial forum of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish service organization, as a launching site last week for what might be called massive retaliation against Carter defense proposals as Mr. Ford interprets them.

He was set off by Mr. Carter's claims, before the same audience a day earlier, that the administration puts "self-interest above principle," leaves out morality in foreign policy and pursues a policy "as cynical as it is dangerous" in world arms sales.

Mr. Ford said his challenger proposes troop withdrawals from Western Europe and Korea, money cuts "that would cripple our ability to supply or sustain our friends," bans on nuclear tests by allies and a "nuclear strategy of massive retaliation policies" that would invite a crisis with allies, including Israel.

He said Mr. Carter has made four proposals, any or all of which would make an adequate defense of the U.S. and "our friends" impossible. He said these are defense cuts of $5 billion to $7 billion, delays in the B-1 bomber program, withdrawing from overseas bases and cutting military aid to "vital allies."

These may be fair indications of issues on which Mr. Ford may try to corner Mr. Carter in the televised debates. By then the Democratic nominee may be ready with more detailed expositions of his defense plans and will seek to put an interpretation on them different from Mr. Ford's. He said Mr. Ford's claims bore "no relationship to the facts" and cutting "fat and frills" would strengthen defenses.

Mr. Carter has said previously that U.S. and allied forces in Europe must be "sufficient" to deter the Soviet Union, but his mind is not made up on what the American troop level should be. There should be a "reassessment" of shared responsibilities among the allies, he says.

He has proposed withdrawing the Army's 2d Division from Korea over a period of four to five years, in consultation with South Korea and Japan, but leaving air units there.

Mr. Carter has not defined his nuclear concepts clearly, but has indicated reservations about the possible "limited" use of atomic weapons as envisioned in current strategic planning. This may have led to Mr. Ford's assertions about "massive retaliation" as a sole nuclear strategy, or the President may believe Mr. Carter would reduce conventional deployments to a point where early use of nuclear weapons would become necessary in a war.

Both Carter advisers and administration defense planners, it can be said, argue for strengthened conventional forces to make use of nuclear arms less likely.

Regarding the B-1 bombers, which Mr. Ford wants to put into production, Mr. Carter has said he does not favor production yet. "We ought to keep the B-1 bomber as a potential weapon," he has said, "and not authorize its construction until it is obviously needed."

Mr. Carter has more spelling-out to do on precisely how he would achieve his $5 billion to $7 billion savings. He has spoken of changes in military deployments, cuts in overseas troops, changes in personnel policies and "elimination of unnecessary functions of the Defense Department." Some of these could produce grief for him in Congress.

Mr. Ford plainly means to go to the mat on his overseas arms sales policies, arguing as he did to B'nai B'rith that most sales go to "key countries like Israel and Iran." In dollar volume, Pentagon figures show, Saudi Arabia fits between Iran and Israel.

Mr. Carter says sales should be reduced. He says: "If we think the sale of arms can better preserve peace in a portion of the world and carry out our committed foreign policy, then let the arms sales be made on that basis alone."

Mr. Ford could probably go along with that as a policy, but obviously there are considerable differences between the candidates on its implementation.

# Aspin says tests show F-14 fails

Washington (AP)—Representative Les Aspin said yesterday that secret tests had shown a new Soviet plane can shoot down the Navy's new F-14 Tomcat jet fighter, but the Navy said Mr. Aspin had his facts wrong.

The Wisconsin Democrat released a previously secret General Accounting Office report that the F-14 had done poorly in 16 simulated air battles with a vertical take off and landing plane (V-STOL) like one the Russians now have.

The tests were against the U.S. Marine Harrier, which Mr. Aspin said was similar to the Soviet Yak 36. He said about 25 of the planes were on the Soviet Union's first aircraft carrier, the Kiev.

The GAO report concluded: "The F-14 has not demonstrated air superiority over the AV8 Harrier in close in, air-to-air combat."

The Navy blamed the test failures on the F-14 crews' inexperience and said the tests proved the F-14 could defeat the Soviet Yak 36 or any other vertical-take-off-and-landing plane.

# Ca er of er ca d c,

# sometimes not so candid

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
*Sun Staff Correspondent*

Jacksonville, Fla.—When Jimmy Carter asked a shopping center crowd here how many people have a family member who had been jobless in the last year, only a relatively small number raised their hands.

"Well, some of you are not telling the truth," declared the Democratic presidential nominee, noting that 30 to 35 per cent of American families have been hit by unemployment, rather than the 15 to 20 per cent who raised their hands here.

The response was an interesting one from a candidate who had made a deliberate point of the need for truthfulness, yet has found his own candor under constant question throughout the campaign.

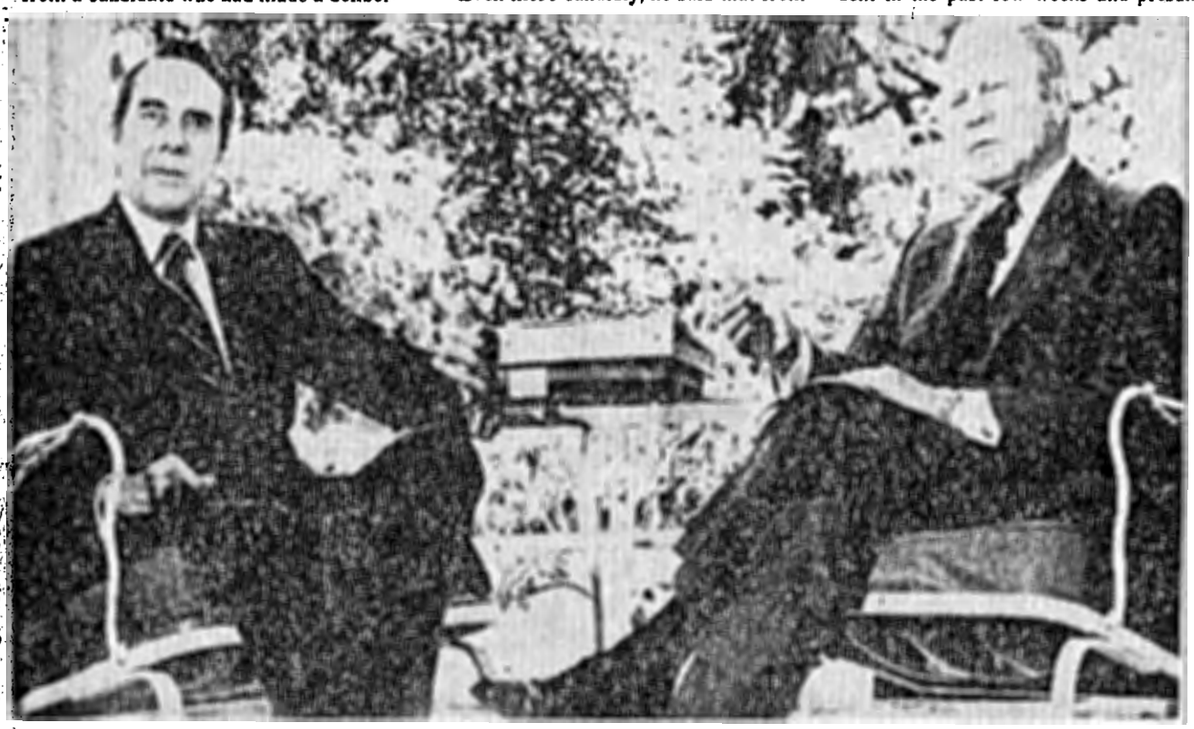
Indeed, before his final day of first-week campaigning had finished Friday, Mr. Carter had given a fascinating display of the way he can often be unusually candid and of the manner in which he sometimes, needlessly, can fall short of the standards he had set for himself.

In reviewing the week, Mr. Carter told reporters on his campaign plane that, yes, he had deliberately employed more conservative themes to avoid Republican efforts to tag him as a big-spending liberal.

Even more candidly, he said that from a tactical political standpoint, it might have been a mistake to become embroiled in a dispute with President Ford over whether Clarence M. Kelley should have been fired as FBI director.

However, the candidate, who rarely says anything accidentally, insisted he hadn't meant any change by talking in recent weeks about the need for a national health program, rather than national health insurance. Indeed, he denied having made any change at all and said he had always included insurance as part of his overall health program.

The change, however, had become evident in the past few weeks and presumably relates to the fact that the heavy costs of health insurance mean Mr. Carter would only begin it very gradually.



**President Ford and his running mate, Senator Robert J. Dole, confer on GOP campaign strategy outside the White House.**

He also rejected a reporter's suggestion that he had been tired at the end of the long week of campaigning, although, in Chicago Thursday night and in Milwaukee Friday, he had garbled his syntax to a degree that even one member of his staff said he sounded "a bit like a buffoon."

His acknowledgement of the move from his more liberal course of the summer came just a week after he tried to persuade three interviewers that, in fact, there had been nothing calculated in a press conference earlier that day in which he had given unusual stress to the need for a balanced budget and the importance of curbing inflation.

"I didn't come out with a prepared speech or anything. I didn't have time to think about it," he said.

In fact, the need for the change in emphasis had been discussed by Mr. Carter and his top advisers the previous night, and according to one aide, some proposed language had even been put down on paper.

This sort of response from Mr. Carter has often mystified those who follow him carefully since there is so little need for it. It denies the obvious and has the effect of undermining his candor in discussing both positive and negative campaign development—an area in which he may even surpass President Ford, who is prone to making sweeping generalizations that deny any negative factors.

Like Mr. Ford, Mr. Carter has an ability to simplify his memory of the past, such as the way he responded in Brooklyn, N.Y., last Tuesday to a question about whether he regretted his past support for the Vietnam war.

He said the United States made "a terrible mistake" in going into Vietnam but added that, once in, "we should have gone ahead and tried to win."

Then, he noted in 1971 he had called for U.S. withdrawal without mentioning the fact that, a year later, he opposed calls by some Democrats for an immediate pull-out and, in 1975, thought some additonal U.S. aid might help to facilitate a final withdrawal.

This effort to put behind him his past support for the war is scarcely different from the way in which Mr. Ford, who has never called the war a mistake, portrays himself as the man under whom the United States extricated itself from Southeast Asia.

In doing so, Mr. Ford conveniently overlooks his role as one of the chief congressional supporters of the war and opponent to efforts for withdrawal, not to mention the fact that the final U.S. pull-out was hardly an example of brilliant statecraft but was forced upon the United States by the victorious North Vietnamese Army.

# McCarthy stays polite

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
*Washington Bureau of The Sun*

Washington—Wouldn't it be a good idea, asked the newsman of the presidential candidate, to drop the polite and intellectual approach and come out really fighting?

Eugene J. McCarthy, liberal former senator, anti-war banner carrier, published poet and now almost-ignored independent, pondered the point, looked at the dozen political correspondents sharing breakfast with him and said with a wry smile: "I was just accommodating myself to this audience."

Unfazed and unflattered, a reporter responded: "I haven't heard you, [being aggressive] with other audiences."

"I haven't been able to get another audience," countered Mr. McCarthy. And therein lies his problem. He is a candidate who does not quite know where his constituency is. Nor, apparently, does anyone else, which particularly bothers Ford and Carter campaigners who see the maverick from Minnesota bleeding potentially vital support from each of their ranks.

The polls show him possibly getting 5 or 6 per cent of the vote. Only this last week Robert S. Strauss, Democratic national chairman, acknowledged Mr. McCarthy's vote-pulling capacity was attracting "more than a little interest."

The prospect of being "a spoiler" is not one that troubles Mr. McCarthy too much since he has scant regard for President Ford and even less for Jimmy Carter.

"I can carry it on my conscience," he says, adding: "I would find that burden much greater if [Senator Hubert H.] Humphrey, a fellow Minnesotan, was running against Ford. I have pretty neutral feelings about Carter."

Those "neutral feelings" can find surprisingly sharp expression. During the newsmen's breakfast he accused the Georgia peanut farmer of running the sort of campaign he would expect from a bad candidate for Congress, of talking nonsense, of being demagogic, of seeming to be "Richard Nixon speaking."

He let Mr. Ford off with an acid aside: "The case against Mr. Ford everybody knows." Then he scornfully added:

"I don't see much overall that would lead me to see Mr. Carter as a better president. . . . Ford has demonstrated a fairly good sense of what the presidency is. . . . It just seems to me that Carter has no real idea of what the presidency is all about and he doesn't know much about Washington, or the issues."

Issues, of course, are what Mr. McCarthy is all about. He knows by rote the message he wants to deliver, and anyone who has been paying attention to him for the past eight years will know it too.

Hasn't he been challenging excessive defense spending since the 1960's? Wasn't he talking about work redistribution (meaning shorter working periods to create more jobs) back in 1970? Didn't he propose tax reform in 1972? Didn't he, again in 1972, warn of the looming energy crisis before the Arabs precipitated it with their oil embargo?

The answer, is, "Yes, he did all that," but his words today are attracting so little interest that he "finally gave up putting out press releases because it was expensive and wasteful since no one printed them."

This is as frustrating for him as it is annoying. He feels he is addressing the right subjects, and the other two candidates by default are allowing such "bad issues" as busing and abortion to dominate such "good issues" as defense and the economy.

"What is the difference between Carter and Ford on defense? As far as I know, the only issue that has developed is whether or not the National Guard is adequately armed. . . . I don't know why they ought to be better armed. They might be better off with pipes and spades. They were certainly well enough armed at Kent State," he says.

Or recalling his 1972 call for energy conservation, he said, "No one is saying that now. . . . There is no energy program in either party. . . . Oh, there is probably something in some Carter statement saying, 'I worry about the cold in winter.' "

With such waspish whimsy, Mr. McCarthy continues to try to make his point. If being generally ignored is not frustrating enough, he is also having a hard time getting official recognition. He has had to seek court orders in 30 states just to try to get his name on the ballot.

"There's a lot of 'Catch 22' stuff," he complains.

"It's easier to get married in Vermont than it is to get recognition as an independent presidential candidate."

If nothing else, he finds consolation in the fact that his candidacy will "straighten out a lot of state laws."

It is an effort that John C. Armor, his Baltimore lawyer, believes would have cost $1 million if fair legal rates were being paid. But Mr. McCarthy is a man who attracts a degres of selfless dedication, and Mr. Armor puts the total legal outlay at about $15,000.

Mr. McCarthy is also in a legal fight over the Ford-Carter presidential debate. He wants part of the action.

"Someone ought to be in there saying that the Humphrey-Hawkins act [part of the Democratic party platform to reduce adult unemployment] is 80 per cent fraud, a deception," he argues.

Or on defense spending, he remarked, "There might be a case for Russia to have more arms than we have because they have more enemies. . . . This is the kind of thing I would like to debate with them that you can debate only in confrontation."

*Garry Wills*

# Carter, Forget Bishops

Jimmy Carter should get acquainted with Catholics. They will teach him not to pay attention to their bishops.

Look at John Kennedy. He led poor old Cardinal Cushing around by the nose, as a way of fending off Cardinal Spellman. Cardinal Spellman, traditional host at the Al Smith Dinner, was reduced to watching Mr. Kennedy one-up Richard Nixon, who was the cardinal's kind of man. Cardinal Spellman and J. Edgar Hoover thought they were the only two real Americans left.

Mr. Carter, told to cultivate Catholics, went to see bishops. He must think Cardinal Bernardin is the George Meany of the parishes. Compared to a bishop, even a king like Mr. Meany is accessible to his subjects. American bishops are trained not to know anything at all about their "subjects." They still think priests are talking nonsense about contraception in the confessionals. They even think Catholics still go to confession. They are the only people in the world who do think it.

When Al Smith ran for president, Ku-Kluxers said the Pope would take over America. The Pope cannot even take over Rome, at a time when Romans are trying to give it away.

The Catholic Church looks very despotic on paper—Paul Blanshard, by reading Catholic rules no Catholic ever reads, made a good case that Catholics were all intellectual slaves. He described a beautifully repressive machine that had only one flaw—nothing in it worked. The best argument for the divine commission of the papacy is that scripture describes St. Peter as a holy klutz. Given simple rules for walking on water, he quickly sinks.

Mr. Carter's education on Catholics should start with the story of Hilaire Belloc's visit to a French cathedral. Mass was in progress, and a verger tried to show him to a pew. Mr. Belloc waved him off. The verger said that tourists must go to a side gallery during mass. Mr. Belloc rumbled, "Go to hell!" The verger backed off with a wink: "Oh, sorry; I didn't realize you were Catholic."

Mr. Carter, to make things worse, went to talk with bishops about abortion. That is not a subject any presidential candidate is going to shed light on. Mr. Ford is President. Has he done anything about abortion, one way or the other? No. Nor will his successor. The subject is too serious to be left around mere political candidates.

Not all Catholics agree with the bishops on abortion. And many of those Catholics who are opposed to abortion (as I am) think the bishops are the last persons to make a credible case against it, so dishonest have their "natural law" arguments been on the subject of contraception. Only bishops still believe those arguments or say they do. My own bishop told me he would resign if he found he could no longer believe them—but he believed the protestations of the Pallottine Fathers, long after the nature of their con game was clear to every other observer. He can obviously out-believe Lewis Carroll's queen any morning before breakfast (or Communion).

Catholics have, in the past, been almost too anxious to "belong" in America. They feared the nativists' intolerance and became superpatriots. But only the bishops thought the way to belong was to start handing out rules to other people, telling them what movies they could not see or books they could not read.

Mr. Ford's staff has said its strategy depends on the Catholic vote. These people, too, must have bishops on the brain and be thinking that bunglers ought to get together. I would like to offer some nonpartisan advice to all politicians this year. Stop looking around for bishops and get to know some Catholics instead.

*Mary McGrory*

# We Have to Pick Someone, and Debates Might Help

*Washington.*

Where I was, in the Monadnock region of southern New Hampshire—where the first primary was fought what seems like a century ago—the weather pre-empted much of the discussion. We were waiting for "a good drying day" at the Maplehurst Inn.

George, who once worked for Howard Hughes and has theories about the will, had been painting the front porch—when he paused midway to do the screen door in a dark green paint that we figured was as old as the Maplehurst (founded 1820) because it had the consistency of glue and clung to the touch.

George strung a rope between two posts to warn people against the wet paint. Some of us wondered if a nighttime arrival might not fall over the rope in the dark.

Mrs. Danforth, the proprietor, who never sleeps—her husband says she can hear an ant breathe—would hear the crash and be nimble to the rescue and bind the wounds. "All things uncomely and broken, all things worn out and old" are welcome at the Maplehurst, and one more would make little difference.

We might have gotten around to politics, but the cat had kittens. She had them in Mrs. Parsons's room. Mrs. Parsons has lived in hotels all her life and she takes things in stride. But then the cat took the kittens elsewhere.

Mrs. Gage, who dotes on mysteries and fancies herself as a sleuth, actually got up from the lunch table to search. She began by questioning the cat. "Kitty, what have you done with your kittens?" The cat took the Fifth. I had to leave with the mystery unsolved.

Then George the dishwasher—known as George II to distinguish him from George the painter—quit. He never actually did the dishes. But Mrs. Danforth said he had "agreed" to do them, which to her way of thinking was about the same thing.

George told me one night when he was contemplating a trip to the sink that he had worked in the primary for Birch Bayh. When Bayh dropped out, George did, too. He does not expect to vote.

Two nights later he had dropped out of the Maplehurst. He had retrieved from the trash a vital part of an ancient Silex coffeemaker—inadvertently dispatched by George I—and I suppose he wanted to leave on a high note. Thereafter, we talked much about a replacement. My cousin predicted that Mrs. D., with her affinity for broken wings, would recruit from nearby Nathaniel Hawthorne College someone with an allergy to dishwater.

One night in the kitchen we had the beginnings of a political discussion, but it was local in nature. Clarence Cottrell wanted to put a sign for Gov. Meldrim Thomson, Jr., on the front of the inn. Mrs. D. informed Clarence that she would hit him over the head with it.

One of the governor's minions had questioned one of Mrs. D.'s submissions, and she had fired off a letter to Governor Thomson in which she made comparison with the beautiful mock-orange bush, harboring under its blossoms creepy, crawly things. My brother thought it was worthy of William Loeb, editor of the Manchester *Union-Leader*.

The walk along the road to Lake Gregg offered an opportunity to think about the great electoral drama, but there were distractions. I speak of stone walls. I am not like Robert Frost in that something in me likes a wall—at least as built by a Yankee artisan. There is doubtless a science, and surely an art, but whimsy should not be ruled out.

Why else put a miter-shaped stone on top of a curved boulder and then casually strew little round stones along the sides. It makes no sense, but it stands. Why?

At the beach the young doctor from Boston, having a farewell look around, said he didn't think Mr. Ford should be president and didn't like Mr. Carter. He might vote Democratic because of the platform. Maybe the debates would help, he said.

There was a debate going on above us between the sun and the clouds, and we stopped to watch it. It was a fierce contest and could have gone either way. The sun staggered free of a great black mass, and we then studied the patch of the wind on the water and the cloud patterns on Holt's Hill.

Now that I am back and looking at familiar things like sidewalks and traffic jams, I find that things have been happening. Gerald Ford stayed in the White House being "presidential." Jimmy Carter was being outraged because Bob Dole showed up at a stock-car race that Jimmy Carter was asked to first.

I guess it was all pretty important.

As the doctor said, maybe the debates will help.

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# Ford faces an uphill fight in Penna. and N.J.

*This is the first of two articles on the presidential candidates' campaign organizations in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.*

By Laura Foreman
*Inquirer Staff Writer*

"Pennsylvania is the key to this whole election," says President Ford's state campaign chairman, Drew Lewis.

And indeed, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with their pool of 44 electoral votes, are important to Ford, who must add some industrial northeastern or mid-Atlantic states to his hoped-for support in the Republican heartland if he is to beat Democrat Jimmy Carter.

In both states, Ford will be fighting uphill, trying to overcome Democratic voter-registration edges of more than 580,000 in Pennsylvania and 700,000 in New Jersey.

But his staff people think Ford can win if he utilizes tight organization, capitalizes on the possible disaffection of traditionally Democratic ethnic voters and presents himself as a known quantity, a steady and reliable leader.

Lewis quoted the President as saying, "Pennsylvania (27 electoral votes) is one of the key states, as far as I'm concerned. If you have any problems, don't hesitate to call on me directly."

So far, says Lewis, the problems have been minimal.

Pennsylvania Republicans in recent times have tended to be far more organized, more disciplined and less faction-ridden than their Democratic counterparts.

That appears to hold true this year, despite the Democrats' national veneer of party unity, and despite a residual bitterness among Republicans left over from Sen. Richard Schweiker's abortive run for the vice presidential nomination on a ticket with Ronald Reagan.

The Ford campaign plans to have a paid staff of 18 to 25 persons in Pennsylvania, which, according to Lewis, "is all you need to do the kind of job you want done."

Martin Hamburger, formerly an administrative aide to retiring Sen. Hugh Scott, will coordinate day-to-day details of the Pennsylvania campaign, overseeing seven regional directors.

Ford campaign offices have opened in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Scranton and Erie, with smaller, storefront offices going into operation elsewhere.

The GOP also plans to set up telephone banks to reach 85 percent of the state's voters between now and the Nov. 2 election.

The budget for the state, exclud-

(See CAMPAIGN on 4-A)

# Ford organization hopes to win an uphill fight in Penna., N.J.

CAMPAIGN, From 1-A

ing allocations for advertising, will be in the neighborhood of $150,000 — comparable to Carter's. Lewis said the media outlay would be planned by Ford's national staff in Washington, but would probably be "in excess of $1 million."

Lewis, who was privately critical of Ford's national staff prior to last month's GOP convention in Kansas City, Mo., says the campaign is "much better organized now," wryly adding, "It's about time.

"They're extremely cooperative," he said, "not like the Nixon bunch in '68 and '72, who were difficult to work with, arrogant and uncooperative."

## 'Calling most shots'

The state of the national Ford staff was of maximum importance, Lewis indicated, because the "so-called pros in Washington will be calling most of the shots" in Pennsylvania.

One of those pros is 26-year-old William A. Russo, who until recently has been responsible for the campaign in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Delaware and who now has other duties with the national campaign. (William Kendall, deputy director of congressional relations for the White House, is taking on that job this week.)

Russo said the Ford organization had located about 2,000 "swing precincts" in Pennsylvania, earmarked for intensive attention prior to the election.

"They are scattered across the state, but clustered in certain areas," he said, naming among them Erie, Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, the Philadelphia suburbs and the southern half of Allegheny County.

The target precincts, Russo said, "have a high number of split-ticket and swing voters, and work there could mean the difference of getting 45 percent of the vote or 55 percent in each precinct."

Swing areas are, of course, critically important for overcoming Democratic voter registration advantages.

"As of yet, we haven't coordinated our precinct data with some of the demographic data as far as ethnic data and religious data that are very important," Russo said. "The Catholic vote is very important to us. I think we'll do very well in that community.

"The ethnic population — in particular the Catholic population — has some serious reservations about Carter and feel very comfortable with President Ford."

## Opinion surveys

Russo said Ford would also be wooing the state's sizable Jewish vote, but it was clear that Catholics — many of them angered at Carter over the abortion issue — were the prime targets of Ford operatives in Pennsylvania.

Partly to carve a path toward that pool of votes, Ford pollster Robert Teeter has been doing voter opinion surveys in the state, trying to gauge Ford's strengths and weaknesses and Carter's liabilities. Results of those surveys have not been made public.

Russo said Ford expected to run well in western Pennsylvania, traditionally a more Republican area than the eastern half, and one that contains many of the state's hunters, who comprise a sizable bloc vote. Gun-control is expected to be a key issue there.

In 1972, problems developed between Nixon operatives working in Pennsylvania and the regular party structure, whose members often felt excluded and overridden.

That situation is expected to improve this year.

"This is not a 1972 operation in terms of cooperating with one another," Russo said. "Our people will be working with the GOP county chairmen."

Cooperation notwithstanding, Ford's national workers will have to augment the local organizations significantly, since the GOP in Pennsylvania has been on a steady decline for years.

Lewis said Ford planned to spend at least three days in the state between now and the election, probably two days in the east and one in the west. That time does not include Ford's Sept. 23 appearance in Philadelphia for the first of the televised debates with Carter.

The GOP vice presidential candidate, Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas has scheduled visits to Erie, Johnstown and Williamsport, and more stops are expected to be added to his Pennsylvania itinerary.

"We're behind in Pennsylvania," Russo conceded. "It's a matter of catching up."

## New Jersey

The same could be said of New Jersey, with 17 electoral votes. Once regarded as more conservative than its neighboring states, New Jersey is now in political flux and becoming increasingly Democratic.

Ford's New Jersey campaign chairman is State Rep. Thomas Kean, the Assembly minority leader, who said his efforts would be circumscribed by this year's tight money situation.

This year both candidates are laboring under the new federally-imposed national spending limit of $25 million. Excluding advertising, the Ford camp will spend only $40,000 to $50,000 of that in New Jersey, Kean said. That is about half of what Carter plans to spend there.

"We're getting away from the traditional forms of campaigning with the strict spending limits," Kean said. "We're spending less this year than we did with Ike in 1956."

Kean said his state organization would be small, working out of an office in Woodbridge and relying heavily on coordination with county and local Republican leaders.

So far, he has hired an executive director, two regional coordinators (one for the north and another for the south) an da few staff members.

Kean said the key to the New Jersey campaign was getting Ford, Dole and other top Republicans to visit the state. Ford surrogates expected to go there include Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, former Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton and members of the cabinet and Congress.

Aside from that, Kean said he planned to rely on "volunteers and enthusiasm."

"You've got to have a candidate and enthusiasm and volunteers," he said. "If not, all the money in the world won't help."

Ford may be able to exploit New Jersey's Catholic vote, as he hopes to do in Pennsylvania. Catholics make up 37 percent of New Jersey's population.

But barring major defections from the Democrats there, Ford will still be laboring against a Republican registration that amounts to only about 20 percent of the state's vote.

Kean said, however, that the President could win in New Jersey "by convincing people of what Ford has already done in two years and showing them his plans on what the country should be in the next four years, and pointing out the contrasts between Ford and Carter in terms of experience and judgment.

"Among the issues," he said, "unemployment will be big here, and foreign policy, which has always been important to the East Coast. Ford has done a fine job in that area."

## Delaware

Delaware, with only three electoral votes, is not a prime target of either candidate, which could explain why the Ford campaign has been so slow getting off the ground there.

Only this week did the GOP name G. Thomas Sandbach, a Wilmington lawyer, as Ford's executive director for the state, and no headquarters has yet been opened.

The national Ford camp is setting up a telephone bank to be manned six hours each day with a staff of 300 volunteers, and the state will also have a speaker's bureau and a system of headquarters in private homes.

The big event for the state will be a visit by Dole at an unspecified time next month.

# Ford is encouraged by results of state polls

*From Inquirer Wire Services*

WASHINGTON — President Ford and his running mate, Sen. Robert J. Dole of Kansas held a White House strategy session for the campaign against Jimmy Carter, the Democratic nominee, and expressed pleasure at some new state poll results.

As the Republican ticket posed for photos on a porch outside the Oval Office, Ford told reporters, "We just had a poll in Michigan — in the Detroit News — that shows us six points ahead. I think it was 41 to 35.

"Before the convention, we were three to four points behind there," he said.

In an hour-long meeting, Ford and Dole reviewed the campaign so far and discussed plans. The strategy has been for Ford to remain in the White House and be "presidential" while Dole stumps the country.

Appearing on NBC's "Meet the Press" before the meeting with Ford, Dole defended that strategy.

"It might be good politics to stay in the White House," he said. "Let's face it. The President, whoever he might be, has an advantage if he uses the presidency properly, and I think the President is doing it that way."

Dole said a late poll in his state of Kansas shows the GOP team ahead by three points — "while earlier we were behind by six. And in Illinois we're ahead," he added.

Dole also said he is "extremely hopeful" after returning from a campaign trip to Texas and Arkansas.

"When you talk to the people, you sort of get a feeling, and I have a good feeling," he said.

Appearing on CBS' "Face the Nation," Ford's campaign manager, James A. Baker 3d, said the President is leading Carter in a "dozen to 14 states." He declined to identify them beyond saying that they were "traditional Republican states in the Midwest and far West."

Baker also said his poll-takers had reported good results from several of 18 states, including Pennsylvania and New jersey, identified as "swing" states. He indicated, however, that the polls did not show Ford catching up in all 18 states.

In New York, the leaders of both the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the National Education Assocatoin (NEA), whose groups have long been at odds over representing teacher interests, both said that it was time for a change in the White House.

Albert Shanker, president of the AFT, announced earlier in the week that his organization would be "working very hard for the election of Jimmy Carter."

John Ryer, president of the NEA, appeared with Shanker on the ABC-TV "Issues and Answers" program and said that "within a few days" his organization would also be announcing for Carter.

In Plains, Ga., meanwhile, Carter attended Sunday school and church and rested for another week on the camaign trail.

After covering more than 5,000 miles and 20 cities in the South, Midwest and Northeast last week, Carter will fly to Alabama, Oklahoma and Arizona. He will campaign later in the week in Montana, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Maryland and the District of Columbia.

*Nostalgia in the future*

# A campaign lacking in substance

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — At a lectern adorned with a portrait of FDR, and using rhetoric borrowed by the bushel from JFK, Jimmy Carter launched his campaign by emphasizing that he is a man of the future. A fisherman of man.

On that first day of campaigning, he went to the stock car races and invited the drivers to the White House for dinner. It was like Feb. 27, 1970, in Bloomer, Wis., when Kennedy told 75 farmers that "the American cow is the 'foster mother' of the human race and a great asset to the nation."

Back at the White House President Ford countered Carter by putting on a vest and golf shoes (not at the same time, of course). Political cognoscente translated this as "acting presidential."

Ford is running as Eisenhower against Carter running as Kennedy.

And so as we (in the words of Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley) "look with nostalgia at the future," it is reasonable to wonder if American politics ever changes. But of course some things have changed.

Mr. Ford's campaign, if he decides to have one, almost certainly will resemble Mr. Carter's campaign in one particular, it will reflect the diminished preoccupation of American politics with production. Roger Starr, a gifted student of politics, explains the transformation this way:

"Production politics have been primarily concerned over the years with whether the nation should favor agricultural over industrial production; slave-labor over free-labor production; unionization or management prerogatives; production by cartel over freedom to compete . . . But a large and growing fraction of the American population has passed beyond the consummate interest in production that once preoccupied it . . . The 'sides' in politics may be shifting from an identification with conflicting producers' interests, to an identification with consumers against producers generally. . . ."

Mr. Carter's central campaign promise is to make the government as good, decent, honest, compassionate, etc. as you and I are. His is a free-floating politics of virtue, cut loose from (among other things) the traditional moorings of a politics preoccupied with "production" rivalries. His idiosyncratic idiom may be appropriate for addressing an electorate in transition toward new preoccupations.

More Americans work in service industries than in manufacturing and agriculture. One in six working Americans works for government. Most of these people do not have the sort of concerns that are traditional to our "production" politics.

Mr. Carter and Mr. Ford are both groping for new ways of gripping this electorate. Mr. Carter's latest suggestion, that FBI Director Clarence Kelley should be fired, is part of his strategy of turning the election into a referendum of righteousness. (He's for it). That has almost nothing to do with the problems of government, but then neither does Mr. Ford's vest.

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# Battle Over Urban Ethnics Key to Presidential Race

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

Democrats like to talk about how they are restoring "the Roosevelt coalition" but it really hasn't existed since Franklin Delano Roosevelt died 30 years ago. This year, however, Jimmy Carter seems to have a genuine chance of achieving such a coalition.

And the way he is going about it — and the way President Ford is responding — have defined what may be the principal battleground of the 1976 presidential election campaign after only a single week.

The darlings of the year are the urban ethnics — the Irish, the Southern Europeans, the Eastern Europeans — who are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.

**THE ORIGINAL** Roosevelt coalition included, in addition to these same groups, Southerners of both races, Northern blacks, Jews, labor and intellectuals.

But it was shattered by a strange combination of Dwight D. Eisenhower's extraordinary popularity and, more important in the long run, the race issue. In the elections of 1948 through 1956, the Democratic "solid South" was cracked, and throughout the 1960s the South grew increasingly Republican because of the Democratic party's commitment to civil rights.

Then, four years ago, the break came in the big cities of the Northern industrial states as longtime Democratic voters turned away from George McGovern, a candidate who failed to reflect their new conservatism, and supported Richard M.

See CAMPAIGN, A-4

# CAMPAIGN

Continued From A-1

Nixon. The marriage of the Republican South with blue-collar Northern voters produced a Democratic debacle.

But the nomination of Southerner Jimmy Carter has redefined the context of presidential politics, and the Republicans, who have been growing increasingly dependent on the South, have been forced to look elsewhere. And the obvious elsewhere to find a place to block the re-establishment of that coalition is among these urban, working class Catholics who demonstrated four years ago that they can not be taken for granted by the Democratic party.

**THIS IS CLEARLY** no news to the professionals in either camp. The Democratic awareness was evident last week as Carter went out among the Italians of North Philadelphia, the Poles of Pittsburgh, the Slovenians of Cleveland and the Serbs of Milwaukee. And the Republican strategy was equally apparent in President Ford's determined emphasis on the one issue that may have the greatest potential for volatility among these groups — abortion.

Nor is there any mystery in the reasons each side is attaching so much importance to these groups.

With the South largely, if not totally, out of Ford's reach, the Republican nominee must make a major breakthrough in the industrial belt — from Wisconsin east to New York and New Jersey — to have any chance of survival. He cannot win on the Far West and Farm Belt, even if were assured of a sweep there, which he most assuredly is not.

And Carter, even with the South apparently assured, cannot forfeit the traditional Democratic base in the big cities and be certain of the 270 electoral votes that are needed Nov. 2.

Even by the most cautious estimates, the co-called "ethnics" may account for one-fifth of the vote in Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Ohio, one-fourth in New Jersey, almost one-third in New York, more than one-third in Massachusetts. It is, in short, a balance of power not only in those states but in the electoral college.

**CARTER BEGINS** the campaign on this front with imposing advantages over Gerald Ford, not the least being simply that he is the Democratic candidate and these are traditionally Democratic voters. As a woman on Polish Hill in Pittsburgh put it the other day when a reporter asked if Carter were popular there, "What do you think, mister, we're Democrats around here."

Moreover, the conventional issues seem designed for Carter in these communities. Unemployment is higher, and the impact of inflation is felt more keenly. These are, by and large, union neighborhoods, and Carter is being given labor backing that George McGovern could only wistfully imagine four years ago.

But political campaigns, even for the presidency, do not always turn on either historical loyalties or conventional issues. Both of those factors were clearly put aside four years ago when the notion spread like an epidemic that McGovern was some kind of dangerous aberration in Democratic clothing.

And it is just such an epidemic the Republicans hope can be started against Jimmy Carter this year. Indeed, it is more than the Republicans' hope; it is the Republicans' only chance of winning.

**WHETHER THE ABORTION** issue has the potential to be the agent of this infection is impossible to determine now. The consensus among politicians in both parties all year has been that the number of voters who would make their decisions principally on the abortion question was too small to determine the outcome.

Another woman watching Carter walk down Polish Hill the other day was one of them.

"Sure, I'm against abortion," she said, "but my husband, he was out of work three weeks last spring and that's what I'm worried about."

And a friend of hers, watching two right-to-life pickets trailing Carter, was disgusted.

"What are they doing here," she asked rhetorically. "That hasn't got anything to do with politics."

But the abortion issue is one that operates on more than one level. And the fact that the Democratic nominee is against it and also against a constitutional amendment to forbid it may be less significant than how he handles the question over the seven weeks remaining.

For one thing, the controversy over Carter's position on abortion, no matter how explicitly and repeatedly he expresses it, seems to add weight to the idea that he is ambivalent on touchy questions.

And, beyond this, the continuing attention given the abortion argument seems to give corresponding attention to the so-called "religious issue" — meaning nothing more than the fact that Jimmy Carter is a deeply religious Southern Baptist facing an electorate unaccustomed to that breed.

**CARTER IS**, of course, aware of these implications. That is why he told audience after audience last week that "this is not a church issue" between him and the Roman Catholics, that abortion is just as much anathema to many Southern Baptists and Lutherans as it is to Catholics. And it is why his running mate, Sen. Walter Mondale, was making the comparisons between Carter and John F. Kennedy as politicians forced to overcome cultural prejudices in their campaigns.

But these are the logical arguments, not necessarily the most compelling ones in the politics of 1976. What is most important in any campaign is the picture the voters finally draw in their minds of the two candidates — simply, which one seems "right" for the four years ahead. And those pictures can be formed as much on an issue such as abortion as on where the two candidates stand on how many troops we should have in Europe these days.

Abortion is not, of course, the only weapon in the Republican armory.

The President is making an effort, too, to paint Carter as dangerously inexperienced on foreign policy, as he did in his speech to B'nai B'rith last week, and a wild spending liberal on domestic policy.

But it is doubtful that either of these approaches has the emotional potential of abortion and religion among the prime targets of the moment in Pittsburgh and Cleveland and North Philadelphia.

# Ford Calls Carter Inconsistent

Associated Press

Answering Jimmy Carter's charge that he is "hiding in the White House," President Ford said yesterday that only a few weeks ago Carter was accusing him of campaigning too much.

He called his Democratic opponent "inconsistent" in his accusations.

"A few weeks ago, in August, he was complaining because I was campaigning too much and not spending enough time on government business," the President said in response to a question during an informal meeting with reporters.

**"NOW THAT I'M** spending virtually 100 percent of my time being President, he demonstrates his position of being inconsistent, as he has in many cases," Ford said.

"The President ought to be president and get that job done and campaign if and when he can on the side," Ford said.

Carter said on Thursday, "We have a President who's not campaigning among the people. I'm not hiding. I'm out meeting people." It was a theme he hit more and more often during the week.

Ford's strategy so far has been to be "presidential" and stick close to the White House, but he will formally launch his campaign Wednesday night with a speech at his alma mater, the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

**HE IS WORKING** this weekend on that speech and is also preparing for the first of three debates with Carter. Their first head-to-head confrontation will be Sept. 23 in Philadelphia.

The preparation includes debate simulations with members of the White House staff well versed on Carter's views.

The President spoke with reporters yesterday after he held an hour-long meeting with Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger on Kissinger's upcoming Africa trip.

Ford said while there was no guarantee of success, Kissinger's effort is "worth the risk, I think, for world peace, on a continent that is vitally important to all of us."

"It's a very important mission," he said. "It has many complicated elements. It has risks. But my feeling is the United States can plan a constructive role in helping the parties work out the complexities."

# The Battle of the No. 2 Combatants

## MONDALE

**NEW YORK** (AP) — Sen. Walter F. Mondale said yesterday President Ford failed to act to end what Mondale called the "vicious, racist" oil boycott by Arab nations.

The Democratic vice presidential candidate said the Ford administration refused to act against American business firms which tacitly took part in the boycott in which oil-producing nations withheld their products from the U.S. market in the winter of 1973-74.

Now, Mondale said, President Ford and GOP vice presidential candidate Robert Dole are falsely accusing the Democrats of being soft in their support for Israel.

"If anything shows a lack of comprehension of the requirements of peace in the Middle East," he said in a speech to New York's Liberal party, "it is to try to use Israel as a pawn in election year politics."

Mondale was making a one-day swing through New Jersey, New York and Connecticut.

**THE MINNESOTA** senator singled out Ford's campaign manager, James Baker III, a former undersecretary of Commerce who Mondale said was "the chief administration apologist for the boycott."

Mondale said Baker, in testimony before a Senate committee, refused to support efforts to expose American business firms which at the time were quietly assisting the Arab oil producers.

He quoted Baker as saying that U.S. companies with interest in the Middle East "should be free to make a choice" whether to quietly support a future oil boycott.

Mondale said U.S. firms should be required not to comply with any such boycotts in the future.

## DOLE

**AUSTIN, Tex.** (AP) — Republican vice presidential candidate Bob Dole attacked Jimmy Carter yesterday for waging a "position a day candidacy," and said the Georgian's philosophy was alien to the conservatism of the South.

Speaking to the convention of a divided Texas Republican party, Dole called for unity behind the Ford-Dole ticket and said conservatives of both parties in the South should support the GOP candidates.

He accused the Democratic presidential nominee of being a Southern turncoat — "a scalawag . . . he speaks with magnolia-scented tones but he does not represent the South," Dole said.

**DOLE FOUND** himself in the middle of what may be the last major contest between Ford backers and supporters of defeated presidential contender Ronald Reagan.

But Dole declined to take sides in the battle for the chairmanship of the state party between the incumbent, Ray Hutchison, a Ford man, and Ray Barnhart, chairman of the campaign that brought the former California governor a strong Texas primary victory over President Ford.

Dole's trip was in part a mission to try to heal the split. He told a news conference after his address to the convention, "The facts are, this party is united."

Dole also said he considered Texas, with its 26 electoral votes, a key state. "I think we must win Texas," he said, but in order to capture it and other parts of the South the Republican ticket must attract "conservative Democrats and independents. We can't win the election in Texas with just Republicans."

# MARY McGRORY: We Might Have Gotten Around to Politics, But...

It is possible to think about the presidential campaign over Labor Day — possible, but not easy.

People have other things on their minds. The weather, for instance. There is, I am convinced, no ideal weather for that last weekend with summer. If it is rainy or cold, it is unbearable, because of what it might have been. If it is brilliant and beautiful, it is equally unbearable because of what it was.

Where I was, in Antrim in the Monadnock region of southern New Hampshire — where the first primary was fought what seems like a century ago — the weather preempted much of the discussion. We were waiting for "a good drying day" at the Maplehurst Inn.

George, who once worked for Howard Hughes and has theories about the will, had been painting the front porch. He paused midway to do the screen door in a dark green paint that we figured was as old as the Maplehurst (founded 1820) because it had the consistency of glue and clung to the touch. George then knocked over the paint can, leaving the porch with a spackled look.

Mrs. Danforth, the proprietor, who is philosophical to a fault, said that George wasn't the first man in New Hampshire to spill paint, and George had strung a rope between two posts to warn people against the wet paint. Some of us wondered if a nighttime arrival might not fall over the rope in the dark. We knew Mrs. D., who never sleeps — her husband says she can hear an ant breathe — would hear the crash and be nimble to the rescue and bind the wounds. "All things uncomely and broken,/ all things worn out and old" are welcome at the Maplehurst, and one more would make little difference.

We might have gotten around to politics, but the cat had kittens, something she does with such frequency as might cause censure in other precincts. She had them in Mrs. Parsons' room. Mrs. Parsons has lived in hotels all her life, and she takes things in stride. But then the cat took the kittens elsewhere. Mrs. Gage, who dotes on mysteries and fancies herself as a sleuth, actually got up from the lunch table to search. She began by questioning the cat. "Kitty, what have you done with your kittens?" The cat took the Fifth. I had to leave with the mystery unsolved.

Then George the dishwasher — known as George II to distinguish him from George the painter — quit. He never actually did the dishes. But Mrs. D. said he had "agreed" to do them, which to her way of thinking was about the same thing. George told me one night when he was contemplating, over coffee and a slice of Mrs. D's superlative apple pie, a trip to the sink, that he had worked in the primary for Birch Bayh. He wasn't terribly devoted to his candidate, but when Bayh dropped out, George did, too. He does not expect to vote.

Two nights later, he had dropped out of the Maplehurst. He had retrieved from the trash a vital part of an ancient Silex coffee-maker — inadvertently dispatched by George I — and I suppose he wanted to leave on a high note. Thereafter, we talked much about a replacement. My cousin morosely predicted that with her affinity for broken wings, Mrs. D. would recruit from nearby Nathaniel Hawthorne College someone with an allergy to dishwater.

One night in the kitchen, we had the beginnings of a political discussion, but it was local in nature. Clarence Cottrell wanted to put a sign for Governor Meldrim Thomson on the front of the inn. Mrs. D. informed Clarence that she would hit him over the head with it. One of the governor's minions had questioned one of Mrs. D.'s submissions, and she had fired off a letter to Thomson, in which she made comparison with the beautiful mock orange bush, harboring under its blossoms creepy, crawly things. My brother thought it was worthy of William Loeb, the editor of the *Manchester Union-Leader*.

The walk along the road to Lake Gregg, abloom with wild asters and thistle, offered an opportunity to think about the great electoral drama, but there were distractions. I speak of stone walls. I am not like Robert Frost in that something in me likes a wall — at least as built by a Yankee artisan. There is doubtless a science and surely an art, but whimsy should not be ruled out. Why else put a mitre-shaped stone on top of a curved boulder and then casually strew little round stones along the sides. It makes no sense, but it stands. Why?

At the beach, the young doctor from Boston, having a farewell look around, said he didn't think Ford should be president and didn't like Carter. He might vote Democratic because of the platform. Maybe the debates would help, he said.

There was a debate going on above us between the sun and the clouds, and we stopped to watch it. It was a fierce contest, and could have gone either way. The sun staggered free of a great black mass, and we then studied the path of the wind on the water and the cloud patterns on Holt's Hill.

Now that I am back and looking at unfamiliar things like sidewalks and traffic jams, I find that things have been happening: Gerald Ford stayed in the White House the whole weekend, being "presidential." Jimmy Carter was being outraged because Bob Dole showed up at a stock-car race that Jimmy Carter was asked to first. I guess it was all pretty important.

As the doctor said, maybe the debates will help.

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THE SUNDAY SUN

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—No. 37—B

BALTIMORE, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1976

# *Carter stumps Midwest; Ford curbs politicking*

## Carter

By CARL P. LEUBSDORF
*Sun Staff Correspondent*

East Peoria, Ill.—In Norfolk, Pittsburgh and Groton, Conn., and outside the Caterpillar tractor plant here in southern Illinois, they came under sunny September skys last week to listen to Jimmy Carter.

With the exception of two Southern stops, a union convention and the rally that Mayor Richard J. Daley manufactured in Chicago, there was no wild enthusiasm for the former Georgia governor who heads the 1976 Democratic ticket.

But the turnouts were good, particularly for September, and like those undemonstrative but attentive audiences that Mr. Carter faced all spring, last week's crowds stayed, they listened and at the end they cheered.

When the Democratic nominee returned to Georgia Friday night, he was convinced, as he told reporters aboard his plane, we "got off to a good start" in a week that concentrated on states that gave him decisive primary victorys last spring and could be crucial this fall.

At the same time, Mr. Carter got a civics lesson in the difficulties in challanging an encumbent. He observed that while he was visting 16 cities in 10 states, "President Ford can walk into the Rose Garden and recite a 1½-minute statement" and get equal national television exposure.

In an unusually candid response, he said his dispute with Mr. Ford on whether Clarence M. Kelley should have been fired as FBI chief had "sidetracked us," and he expressed some concern over being placed

See CARTER, A3, Col. 1

## Ford

By MURIEL DOBBIN
*Washington Bureau of The Sun*

Washington—President Ford, accused by Jimmy Carter of hiding in the White House instead of being out on the campaign trail, said yesterday that a chief executive should concentrate on running the country and politick "on the side."

Responding to comments made by the Democratic presidential candidate that Mr. Ford was not willing to face the American people, the President told reporters at the White House that this was another example of his opponent's inconsistency.

"A few weeks ago, he was complaining because I was campaigning too much and not spending enough time on government business. Now I am spending virtually 100 per cent of my time on being President; he is being critical of the fact that I am not out politicking," asserted Mr. Ford.

He added, "The President ought to be the President and get the job done and politick if and when he can, on the side."

The President also denied a Carter charge that Mr. Ford was "exploiting" the touchy issue of abortion, which already has caused the Democratic candidate problems with the Catholic Church.

Mr. Ford, whose position on abortion met with qualified approval from a group of Catholic bishops Friday, said, "My position on this very emotional and very vital issue has been well known. I have not brought it up. It is a position that the American people are interested in, and his

See FORD, A3, Col. 2

# Carter campaigns in Midwest

CARTER, from A1

in the position of having to respond to the President's claims that his policy would prevent United States defense of Israel.

"I would be a little more reticent in the future about responding," he said, lest he appear on the defensive.

These issues inevitably capture some of the national media attention from Mr. Carter's effort to take the offensive against Mr. Ford, and the persistent, week-long anti-abortion demonstrations occupy some of the local media. But Mr. Carter was also able to get considerable local attention for his scheduled campaign events, which perhaps are more important at this early stage.

And in spite of some tactical foul-ups that created some labor grumbling in Cleveland and turned the stop in Scranton, Pa., into a nightmare, the Carter campaign "accomplished the main objectives of the week," as an aide put it.

These were to cast the outsider from Georgia as firmly in the Democratic tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy, to demonstrate a concern and an awareness for the problems of urban, ethnic Catholics—a possible "soft" spot in Mr. Carter's coalition—and what the candidate admitted Friday was a deliberate effort to veer away from the more liberal course of the summer and return to the themes of the primaries, such as the need for competent management of government and the candidate's own independence from political bosses and special interest.

In a speech with which he is still tinkering, the best applause getter of the week was Mr. Carter's claim that "I don't owe special interest anything; I owe the people everything."

# Ford defends Rose Garden campaign, says incumbent should curb politicking

FORD, from A1

views and mine ought to be set forth on the record."

The President opposes a constitutional amendment banning abortion but favors a "local option" amendment allowing states individual control on abortion. He is also in favor of restricting federal funding for abortion.

Mr. Carter personally opposes abortion but also opposes the proposed anti-abortion constitutional amendment.

The President made his responses to his Democratic opponent while continuing to campaign from the Rose Garden of the White House.

Mr. Ford made yesterday's slaps at Mr. Carter while seeing off Henry A. Kissinger, the Secretary of State, on his mission to Africa. The President then signed a bill marking a victory for environmentalists.

The legislation signed into law preserved the New River in North Carolina as part of the national wild and scenic rivers system.

It was, said the President, the "people's will" that this ancient and majestic river should be saved for future generations.

Last month Congress blocked a plan to build a two-dam, $845 million hydroelectric plant on what geologists consider the oldest free-flowing river in the Western Hemisphere and the second oldest in the world, after the Nile.

The river takes a picturesque course throught gorges in the mountains from western North Carolina through southwestern Virginia into West Virginia.

The bill will place 26.5 miles of the New River under the protection of the scenic rivers system. The congressional decision to save the New River was the climax of a 14-year battle that environmentalists finally won over the Federal Power Commission.

TRB

# Could the debates decide the election?

I don't think the public realizes yet what's ahead of it in the Ford-Carter debates.

The outrageously long 1976 campaign has dragged on for nine months, benumbing the nation to near-stupefaction. Neither candidate has turned on the voters despite all the efforts of the media. Estimates are that half the voters wouldn't vote if the election came tomorrow. The Gallup poll says 52 per cent would take a chance on Jimmy Carter, the Stranger, compared to 37 percent for President Ford, plodding and likeable. That could change with a bang, however, after the first debate.

That's what happened in the Kennedy-Nixon show in 1960. The election, I thought, was decided in a 10-second interval in the first debate — not when anybody was saying anything but when the camera turned on Richard Nixon and caught him listening to Kennedy, wetting his lips nervously, jowls sweating, and apparently near collapse. It was a brutal exposure.

It happened again in the fourth debate when one of the panel of reporters somehow raised the fact that Harry Truman had uttered the awful word "hell" right in public and Kennedy smilingly responded that he couldn't control Truman's language and that probably nobody else could except maybe Mrs. Truman.

Nixon unwisely tried to strike a moral pose about bad language in politics and again the camera cut in to Kennedy. His calm, cool, Irish patrician face broke into a smile that conveyed relaxed derision and contempt.

In 10 seconds an audience of 75 million or so, representing two-thirds of America's adult population, learned a lot about Mr. Kennedy's identity, guessed at Nixon's and felt its emotions rise. Nixon led Kennedy on the Gallup poll before the debates, 50 to 44 per cent, but the election result was Nixon 49.5 to Kennedy 49.7 per cent—a fantastically small popular margin of 120,000 out of nearly 69 million! The debates did it.

The debates changed the character of the campaign 16 years ago and will do so again now. They are going to pump adrenalin into the battle.

It seems to be taken for granted that Carter has the verbal advantage. I am not at all certain. Mr. Ford graduated from Yale Law School in the top third of his class, practiced debating 25 years in the House and was minority leader nine years.

Last January I watched him put on a remarkable performance in the annual budget seminar for the press and TV in the big State Department auditorium. Cabinet members lined up beside him as his aides passed out pounds of documents, and staff members were ready to supply answers to reporters' questions if he faltered. But he didn't. He knew his stuff. Only a couple of times in the big extravaganza did he call on an assistant for statistics.

Mr. Ford is a plodding speaker (with the single exception of that acceptance speech at Kansas City which he had practiced for days) but he holds his own in general debate.

*TRB is the traditional signature on a weekly column appearing in* The New Republic *magazine, written by Richard L. Strout, Washington correspondent for* The Christian Science Monitor.

We have seen Jimmy Carter once or twice on panels in primary contests with other Democrats where he didn't distinguish himself, and we heard him speak here the other day before the chiefs of the AFL-CIO. His delivery is poor; he mumbles; he swallows his words; it's hard to understand him sometimes on radio or TV. It's not a Southern accent, it's his articulation.

The speech here was a good one — the prepared text, that is — dealing with basic economic differences with the Ford administration which are deep and vital. The election should turn on them. The text was without eloquence, humor or memorable phrases but there were sentences in it that we could imagine Franklin Roosevelt, with a lift of his chin and that tremendous way of his, belting right out of the ball park.

Carter had an eager audience, it is hard to think of a more committed one, and George Meany, bald, elderly, in dark-framed glasses, promised him the support of labor's political adjunct, COPE, which he called "the best political machine in the country."

It was the moment for a stem-winder of a speech but it didn't come, particularly as the candidate didn't follow the text. He lapsed back into his pre-convention style of sequential generalities, delivered with love and compassion, and in a kind of falling cadence. The tough labor barons looked at each other inquiringly.

The first debate comes Sept. 23, dealing with domestic affairs. It would seem made to order for Jimmy Carter.

By a coincidence it was just two years ago that the newly installed President, one of the most conservative in modern times, was making his choice of fighting inflation by cutting back the economy. Two years ago representatives of the poor, the aged, the handicapped, minority groups and consumers were holding a pre-"summit" meeting Sept. 19-20 here with administration leaders to discuss the worsening situation.

Delegates charged that the new administration planned to undertake fiscal restraint by making cutbacks in the Health, Education and Welfare Department's social service programs. Why should the poor make the greatest sacrifices? they demanded.

Mr. Ford's chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Alan Greenspan, patiently explained, "Everybody is hurt by inflation. If you really want to examine percentage-wise who was hurt most in their income, it was Wall Street brokers."

Catcalls drowned out his remarks.

That was two years ago. Mr. Ford was a brand new President and can be excused in part for following poor advice. But he had picked, or continued, the advisers, whose conservative instincts re-enforced his own. Very soon he reversed his position (but retaining his advisers) and instead of asking for a 5 per cent surtax and a slash of government expenditures (no military) he was demanding stimulative tax cuts which liberal academic economists like Walter Heller, James Tobin and Otto Eckstein had urged from the start.

"The hurry-up tax-cut process in early 1975," recalls Heller, "was the occasion for one of those exercises in political irony to which the U.S. system of divided powers lends itself." In short, a by now thoroughly alarmed President berated the legislature for not acting faster in reversing the course which he had just urged: "These charges were directed at a Democratic Congress that had been virtually hooted down for its timely efforts to mount a modest fiscal offensive against the gathering forces of recession in 1974."

Wonder if Jimmy Carter will recall this odd anniversary, as Mr. Ford arrives for the debate on domestic affairs with his 55 vetoes in his pocket?

rtly cloudy today, ndy and not so warm, gh in upper 60s to er 70. Low tonight in per 50s to near 60. tails: A-7.

The Washington Star

SATURDAY MORNING FINAL

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# Machinists' Greeting: 'We Want Carter'

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

HOLLYWOOD, Fla. — Jimmy Carter was given a boisterously enthusiastic reception by an influential labor union here yesterday as he completed his first week of campaigning against President Ford.

Some 2,500 delegates to the quadrennial convention of the International Association of Machinists cheered and chanted, "We want Carter" when the Democratic nominee arrived.

And they cheered again, repeatedly, as he derided Ford for his record on the economy and for refusing to campaign.

This is the time, Carter said, for presidential candidates to get out and debate the issues.

"But he's not out," Carter said, "he's hiding in the White House, not willing to face the American people and defend what he has done."

**CARTER CONCENTRATED** his fire on Ford's record in managing the economy — ridiculing the President's claim that he is "turning the economy around" when the number of jobless workers has risen from 5 million to 7.5 million in the last two years.

"He's turned it around all right," the Democratic nominee said to applause from other union leaders, "that's a 50 percent increase in unemployment in two years."

And Carter, referring to the IAM members and himself as "us working men," said the rise in inflation under eight years of Republican administrations had negated the value of all their wage gains.

The warm reception obviously buoyed Carter, who had appeared fatigued when he visited a plant gate in Milwaukee shortly after 7 a.m.

The IAM, led by Floyd (Red) Smith, is a politically aggressive and effective union with almost 1 million members. And the membership is concentrated, so the union wields disproportionate influence in several areas critical to Carter such as Southern California, Texas, Florida and Connecticut.

**THE IAM HAD** supported Carter in some primaries along his route to the Democratic nomination, but some of the union leaders had preferred other candidates. Sen. Henry M. Jackson was particularly strong with the union's aerospace division, which prizes politicians who advocate high defense spending. But there were no signs of divisiveness among IAM leaders when Carter appeared here yesterday.

Carter later flew north and, after a brief stop in Jacksonville, returned to Plains, Ga., for the weekend. He had covered 17 communities in 11 states in his first week on the road. Next week he will concentrate on the Far West and Midwest on a similar schedule.

By yesterday morning, after several 16-hour days, the Democratic candidate seemed groggy. Speaking to a gathering at Serb Hall in Milwaukee he misspoke himself several times. But he took a nap on the flight to Florida and appeared refreshed by the time he arrived at the union convention.

# President's Fund-Raising Nears Campaign Limit

By Stephen M. Aug
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford's re-election campaign has raised nearly all it is entitled to spend this year, records filed with the Federal Elections Commission yesterday indicate.

The President Ford Committee, in its Aug. 31 report to the FEC, said it had raised nearly $12.8 million this year. Combined with about $215,000 left over from last year, it gave the committee more than $12.9 million in cash. (The Ford committee raised nearly $1.7 million in 1975).

Under federal law, the committee is allowed to spend $10.91 million plus 20 percent for fund-raising, or about $13.1 million. Those funds were for the primary election. Ford and Jimmy Carter each will receive $21.82 million to finance their general election campaigns, and no private funds may be used for the campaign, except for up to $3 million from each party's national committee.

**THE FORD** committee reported that as of the end of August it had $588,291 cash on hand and debts of $71,417. The committee raised $434,318.97 during August.

During the primary campaign, Ford received about $4.6 million in federal matching funds. Federal law requires a proportional return of matching funds if a campaign finishes in the black. Thus, perhaps a third of the surplus — slightly more than $500,000 — may have to be returned to the federal government by the Ford committee.

The latest report also includes a relatively complete state-by-state rundown of how much the Ford campaign spent in primary elections. The most expensive state campaign for Ford — $1,039,263.77 — was Texas, which he lost.

Substantial expenditures were also made in California, $817,061.62 (which he also lost); $771,711.42 in Florida and $767,665.73 in Illinois, both of which he won.

**THE DOCUMENTS** show also that during August, the Ford committee spent more than $373,000 on buying television and radio time and space in publications.

# Mondale Likens Carter To JFK, Citing Similar Regional Problems

**By Walter Taylor**
Washington Star Staff Writer

SOUTH BEND, Ind. — Sen. Walter F. Mondale sought yesterday to assuage concerns of some Roman Catholic leaders about his presidential running mate, Jimmy Carter, likening those suspicions to those that some voters had about John F. Kennedy in 1960.

Although never referring directly to Carter by name in a speech at Notre Dame University, the Democratic vice presidential nominee recalled that Kennedy, like the former Georgia governor, had carried a backgroind into the 1960 presidential battle that was alien to many Americans.

Kennedy "was unknown in my part of the country," the Minnesota Democrat told the large student audience. "He had all kinds of funny accents. He came to Minnesota and called it 'Minnesoter.'

**"HE CAME FROM** a different region; he had a different religion from that of the citizens of my state. Some of them worried about it.

". . .There were many Minnesotans who were looking at irrelevant things: region, accent, religion, dress," said Mondale. "They were not looking at John Kennedy, at what he was saying and what he thought of this country."

Mondale's remarks, included in a speech devoted primarily to an attack on the foreign policy of the Ford administration, were seen as part of a continuing effort by the Democratic candidates to settle the uneasiness thought to be felt by Roman Catholics about the fundamentalist theme of Carter's presidential campaign.

Apparently by coincidence, the address came as President Ford sought support from bishops of the church at a meeting at the White House.

The comparison of Carter to Kennedy, the only Catholic ever elected president, was the only effort by Mondale to take advantage of his campaign forum.

**THERE WAS NO** mention at all during the speech of the subject that is at the heart of Carter's dispute with some Catholic clerics, his refusal to support any of the currently proposed Constitutional amendments to prohibit abortions.

Rather, Mondale sought to address the questions of social justice and moral leadership in other terms, those that both he and Carter have made the theme of their campaign.

In perhaps his most forceful attack on Republican foreign policy to date, he charged that the "government of Richard Nixon" had engaged in "a diplomacy that put expedience before principle."

"Unless we have a just and decent society at home, we cannot hope to stand for those principles abroad," he said, attempting for the time in his campaign the issues of foreign policies and the skeleton of Watergate hanging in the Republican closet. "I don't think anything shows this more clearly than the government of Richard Nixon.

"It is no accident that some of our worst foreign policy in recent years . . . was a mirror image of the lawlessness of the Watergate era," he said.

**CITING U.S.** involvement in domestic struggles in Chile, Pakistan, Greece and Angola, Mondale added, "We still have a government that does not recognize that power alone is not enough, that principles must govern our action overseas."

He pledged that a Carter-Mondale administration would not use its intelligence agencies to intervene in affairs of other nations, would end what he called "indiscriminate" arms sales to "every country that seeks them" and would "press for human rights" in Communist-controlled countries.

# Bishops Have Kind Words For President

By Fred Barnes
Washington Star Staff Writer

President Ford, succeeding where Democrat Jimmmy Carter failed, has won kind words from a group of Catholic bishops for his stand on the abortion issue.

The bishops, who represent the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, said they were "encouraged" by Ford's support for a constitutional amendment that would permit individual states to decide if abortions should be allowed or banned.

And they also appeared to be pleased with Ford's pledge to study ways to "restrain" the use of federal money to finance abortions.

Ford met yesterday with the six bishops — they comprise the executive committee of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops — for 72 minutes in the Oval Office.

**AND THEY** emerged from the session with an expression of qualified approval for Ford's views on abortion that was in stark contrast to their downbeat statement last week about Carter's abortion position.

After their Aug. 31 meeting with Carter in Washington, the bishops said they were "disappointed" at the Democratic candidate's refusal to endorse any constitutional amendment that would upset the 1973 Supreme Court ruling which made abortions permissible nationwide.

What political effect the bishops' reaction to the two candidates will have is unclear. But at the very least, it should not hurt Ford in his efforts to woo the Catholic vote.

However, there is no firm evidence to suggest that the abortion issue, which has suddenly become a focal point in the Ford-Carter race, will be pivotal in the campaign.

In fact, the contrary may be true. Public opinion surveys have indicated that a candidate's position on whether abortions should be allowed or barred is a matter of overriding concern only to a small fraction of the voting population.

**TALKING TO** newsmen after conferring with Ford, the bishops declared they were "encouraged" because the President supports a constitutional amendment to overturn the high court's decision, even though that amendment is not the one that they prefer.

"In saying we are encouraged, this is not to say we are totally satisfied," noted Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin of Cincinnati, the president of the bishops' organization.

"We urge the passage of a constitutional amendment that will give the maximum protection possible to the unborn," Bernardin said. Such an amendment, which would ban abortions outright, has been proposed by several members of Congress, and it is also favored by most foes of abortion.

Moreover, the Republican platform's plank on abortion gave vague support for that sort of amendment. The plank advocates "a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life of the unborn child."

**ACCORDING TO** Bernardin, Ford said that a states' rights amendment is a "legitimate interpretation" of what the plank was advocating, though this kind of amendment would not guarantee that any state would enact an anti-abortion statute.

Instead, it would merely return the situation to what it was before the 1973 court decision, with each state free to allow or ban abortions. And this had resulted, before 1973, in a melange of differing state laws, varying from ones that put virtually no limits on abortions to ones that barred abortions almost completely.

The bishops professed to have no concern over the apparent inconsistency between the Ford-backed amendment and the one suggested in the GOP platform.

"I'm not concerned with what the platform says," Bernardin told reporters. "I'm concerned with the way the candidate interprets the platform."

**WHILE ENCOURAGED** by Ford's position, Bernardin said the bishops "believe there is a better approach than what is commonly known as a state's rights amendment."

Besides seeking Ford's views on an amendment, the bishops complained in the meeting about "the substantial increase in the federal government's funding of abortion in recent years."

Since Ford became President, military hospitals have begun providing abortions. In addition, abortions are available under the Medicaid program, and the government pays a portion of the cost of abortions under the medical insurance plan for federal employes.

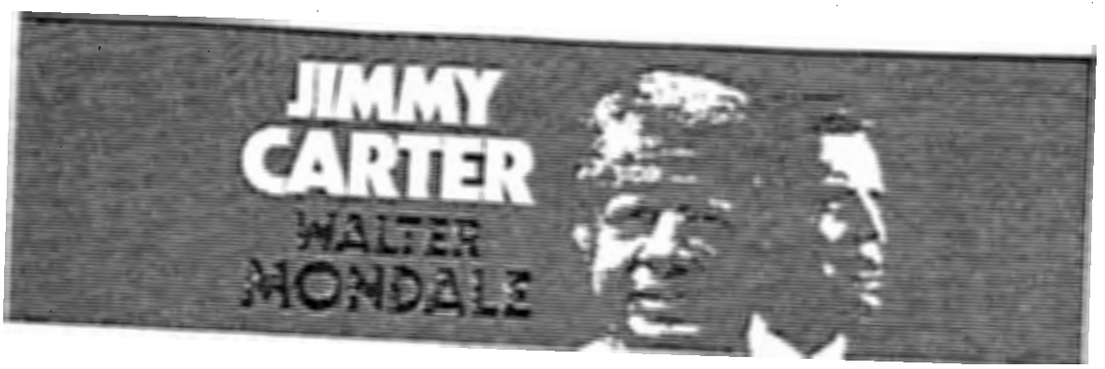
"It is not clear to us how much he (the President) is personally responsible for this," Bernardin said, and Ford told the bishops that some federal agencies have gone beyond his wishes in financing abortions.

Ford "indicated that his personal position is against government funding (for abortions)," Bernardin said. "He acknowledged that at times, some of the departments go beyond what he feels should be done."

**IN RESPONSE TO** the bishops' complaint, Ford promised that he would begin a study "to determine what should be done on his part" to curb federal payments for abortions, the archbishop said.

Ronald Nessen, the White House press secretary, explained later that Ford "wants to make sure that spending (for abortions) is restrained to no more than the minimum required by the Supreme Court ruling." The study will be conducted by the Domestic Council and the White House counsel's office.

At this point, Nessen said, Ford is not ready to support legislation that would flatly bar the federal government from providing any funds for abortions.




Leaders, for a change.

What The Press Had To Say.

9/15

Newsweek, 9/20

Time, 9/20

New York, 9/20




By MacNelly for the Richmond News Leader

# Carter Campaign Working to Stockpile Hill IOUs

By Stephen Isaacs
Washington Post Staff Writer

Much of Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter's campaign is being geared toward collecting political IOUs from next year's Congress.

In the past, the nominee of the out-of-power party at this stage would be scrambling to raise money, furiously incurring political debts to business interests, unions or politicos.

This year, because of the new, post-Watergate campaign finance laws, Carter's relationship with the moneyed and with other candidates for office is the old relationship stood on its head.

For the first time, 1976's presidential candidates will not be competing with other candidates for campaign funds. Carter and President Ford each have accepted $21,820,000 in public funding for their fall campaigns. Having accepted public money, they cannot accept even a single dollar more in private money.

Candidates for the Senate and House are under no such prohibition, and literally hundreds of members of Congress and prospective members have been begging Carter's campaign scheduling aides to arrange a Carter visit to their district.

"The big difference," says Robert Lipshutz, Carter's campaign treasurer, "is that we're not competing with any of them anymore for money. That's a dramatic change that can have great benefit."

Carter and President Ford are apparently taking different approaches to the congressional campaigns.

Mr. Ford has assumed a "presidential stance," and therefore probably will not be available for much campaigning in others' behalf.

In fact, only one event has been planned so far that would involve the President in raising money for others, a Washington dinner Oct. 7 to be televised over closed circuits to 20 or 30 other cities.

Further, the weak state of the Republican Party, with a paltry registration percentage nationally and the aftershock of the Watergate scandals still in evidence, is causing many Republican candidates to attempt to appear as little Republican as possible.

Some candidates in New England and in the South are using campaign literature and billboards which omit mention of their party affiliation.

The reverse is true for the Democrats, and Carter is performing almost as if he, not Ford, were wielding the power of incumbency.

He is viewed as expert at tapping people for money. One Southern political veteran says that people at the Democratic National Committee were "awed by how good he was. Here they'd been trotting out all the superstars all these years, and here he's raised fund-raising to the level of an art."

"He's dynamite," says Louisiana Sen. J. Bennett Johnston Jr., chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

"He never ceases to amaze me at how good a candidate he is," says Johnston. "He's very good at everything he does politically, including raising money."

"He has been very effective," says Lipshutz, who adds that Carter was not always good at raising money and had to overcome a strong dislike of it.

Since the law prevents the presidential nominees from accepting any private contributions, a congressional candidate cannot fly the presidential or vice presidential candidate to his district to campaign or raise money for him and then pay the bills. Doing so would amount to a contribution, according to the Federal Election Commission.

Thus the limit under which the candidates will be working—the $21,820,000 and an additional $3.2 million from their party's national committee—will circumscribe the amount of help the presidential candidates will be able to give to others.

Rep. James Corman, D-Calif., chairman of the Democratic National Congressional Committee, says that he is "making every effort to let them [Congressional candidates] know what Carter's doing for the committee and for individuals."

Carter began collecting such political IOUs in 1974, when he chaired the campaign committee of the Democratic National Committee.

"We figured it all out in 1974," says Frank Moore, who was executive secretary to Carter when Carter was governor of Georgia and who now heads a seven-person paid staff here that is working on "congressional liaison."

Moore and his staff "service" members of Congress and help the Atlanta scheduling office determine which candidates need help the most from Carter.

What he is planning to do this year will—if he gets elected—give him a leg up on Hill support for his programs.

*Marquis Childs*

# A Close Election

A great deal has been made by Republican strategists of Jimmy Carter's drop of 13 points in the polls following the Republican convention. It was undoubtedly a thumping fall, putting a new light on Carter's chances of defeating an incumbent President. But it seems to me that, in this era of television politics, the polls are likely to swing wildly.

More than had seemed possible only a few weeks ago, this promises to be a close election. There is a lesson in the fluctuation of the polls in the closest presidential contest in this century.

That was the contest between Richard Nixon, then Vice President, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey in 1968. The Republican convention in Miami Beach was a comparatively tranquil affair. But the Democratic convention in Chicago was one of the most disgraceful episodes in American political history. Hippies and yippies from around the country engaged in pitched battles with Mayor Richard Daley's police. From the upper floors of the Conrad Hilton, the convention hotel, enemies of Humphrey, among them followers of Sen. Eugene McCarthy, dropped filth on the crowds in the street.

The climax came with National Guard troops ringing the hotel, command posts set up and armored jeeps in place. In Grant Park across Michigan Avenue, the frustrated rioters with bull horns chanted obscenities attacking Mayor Daley and Humphrey, who seemed certain of the nomination.

Humphrey has since claimed that the television cameras ignored important aspects of the convention, including certain of the seconding speeches, to focus on the uproar in the streets. He believes this was one explanation for the dramatic change in the polls.

Certainly it was dramatic. Following the convention, Humphrey lost 22 points. What followed as the campaign progressed was equally dramatic. Immediately before the election, the Harris poll called Humphrey the winner by a single point. The Gallup poll called it for Nixon by a point and a half. In the ballots cast, Nixon won by four-tenths of one per cent in the popular vote.

The late James A. Farley, Franklin Roosevelt's campaign manager and a master of the craft of politics, promulgated what is known as Farley's law: Nothing that happens in the last two weeks of a campaign changes the outcome.

That was before television developed and came to have such a pervasive influence on the whole political process. With the red eye of the TV cameras focused on the candidates, what happens in the last few days can influence the result.

Whether television has helped to breed disillusionment with the political process is an interesting speculation in light of the extended national study by Peter Hart and associates showing that, in November, perhaps fewer than 50 per cent of eligible voters will bother to cast ballots. The prospect, according to the study, is for the lowest turnout ever. And the reason is not difficulty over registration or the techniques of voting; it is disillusionment with the whole business. More than half of those interviewed said it makes no difference who wins since nothing can be done to right the wrongs of the system.

Carter is fully aware of the threat of the non-voter. In Beverly Hills and New York he talked at fund-raisers, with the money to be used for the sole purpose of registering voters and getting them to the polls on Nov. 2.

Active support of the trade unions could mean a lot in this connection, as they have shown in the past. But the candidate will have to fire them up to pursue the laggards and the indifferents. This is particularly important in the age group below 35 and among the blacks.

The Republicans have an advantage here. Their voters are for the most part in older age groups and they are dedicated party men and women who maintain their allegiance—and registration.

As he starts on the incredibly demanding campaign trail, this is one of the problems Carter faces. In many parts of the country he is an unknown. In the next two months he must identify himself and his views with what, as the recent study showed, is an indifferent if not a hostile electorate.

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More Sun
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The Washington Star

CAPITAL SPECIAL

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# Shifting Themes—Carter On Responsibility, Trust

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

PHOENIX — After an opening campaign week that was largely dominated by the abortion issue, Jimmy Carter is trying to get attention focused on his claims to fiscal responsibility, Republican mismanagement of the economy and his primary election themes of trust and good management in government.

In Birmingham, Norman, Okla., and Phoenix Carter promised to balance the federal budget in his first administration, to streamline the federal government through reorganization and "zero-based budgeting" and to provide an effective, efficient national defense. He admits that this is partly to counter Republican charges that he is a big-spending liberal who would bankrupt the country with social programs while letting the military establishment go to pot.

IN PHOENIX HE WAS critical of the recent Medicaid scandals and blamed them on Republican administrations. "They are one more example of how this Republican administration has failed to provide tough, competent management in Washington," he said. The loss to

See CARTER, A-7

# CARTER

Continued From A-1

fraud and waste in the Medicaid program may range from $4 billion to $7 billion a year, he estimated.

In his first-day swing through the Sun Belt, Carter was troubled by antiabortion zealots only in Phoenix, where a group bearing signs were in the back of the crowd. At the end of his speech at a rally at the state capital, Carter used them as an excuse to restate his position on abortion.

As he will throughout the campaign, Carter opened the week and will close it with campaign stops in the South aimed at maintaining his base of support there. After continuing on to Montana, North and South Dakota, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Baltimore and Washington, D.C., he will wind up the week in Gulfport, Miss., and Hot Springs, Ark.

A regional poll yesterday showed that he holds substantial leads over Ford in all the states of the Deep South except South Carolina. The pollsters contended, however, that there were indications that Ford was cutting into Carter's lead in the South because it showed that 53 percent of the independent voters in the region support Ford. The pollster, Claibourne H. Darden Jr., contends that shifts of independent voters precede more significant shifts.

**CARTER, HOWEVER,** is concentrating on his major message — that he can manage the economy more efficiently and with more compassion than the Republicans can.

"I operate my peanut farm and my warehouse with a balanced budget and I promise a balanced federal budget in four years," he told his audiences.

This was received enthusiastically in Alabama, Oklahoma and Arizona, but in the Northern cities where Carter has problems with urban ethnic voters this has been a source of trouble. Normally Democratic Catholic voters in the Northern cities complain that Carter sounds too much like a Republican with his promises of fiscal responsibility and a balanced federal budget.

Carter pounded constantly on his contention that Ford and former President Richard M. Nixon are responsible for the current high rates of inflation and unemployment. "Under Harry Truman inflation was 1 percent and with Kennedy and Johnson it was 2.2 percent," he said. "Now it's 8 percent."

At the same time, Carter points out that the unemployment rate, which was 4 percent when Lyndon Johnson left office, is now 7.8 percent and has been higher in the past under Nixon and Ford. He admits, however, that much of the inflation rate in those administrations was due to the Vietnam war.

**CARTER ALSO IS** stressing his primary election promises to reorganize the federal government by cutting the current 1,900 agencies down to about 200 and to institute "zero base" budgeting to review and evaluate federal programs.

This emphasis, he admits, is partly because the Republicans — since his nomination — have tried to paint him as a liberal spendthrift. "When I got to be nominee of the party, and when I chose Sen. Mondale as my running mate, and when the Republican convention was devoted to a substantial degree to describing me as a spendthrift, irresponsible and ultraliberal candidate, I thought it was good to re-emphasize my basic themes of balanced budget, strengthening local government, maximum personal privacy, minimum of government secrecy and that kind of thing," he says.

"In the primary season I was contrasted with other candidates and was sometimes stigmatized by being called a conservative candidate in the Democratic party. After all those events took place I thought it was time to reassert my basic commitment."

**HE IS ALSO EMPHASIZING** his primary theme that the American people are good and deserving of a better government, one that lives up to the greatness of the American people.

"Our greatest resource is the American people, who have the same courage, compassion, high moral standards, intellect and commitment to the work ethic," he says. "It is a great resource which will be tapped again if I am elected."

He is repeating his primary theme that the American political system is also the best and that it has not been damaged by Nixon, Watergate, the Vietnam war, the FBI and CIA revelations — and lately the revelations of the Medicaid frauds — because of the strength and nobility of the American people.

He repeatedly cites Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson because of his desire to place himself in the stream of recent Democratic presidents. In his promises to balance the budget and reorganize the federal government, Carter cites Harry Truman as the man who exerted leadership and took final responsibility.

**"YOU ALL KNOW** what Truman's motto was, don't you?" he says to his audiences. They invariably respond: "The buck stops here!"

Carter smiles and continues with his point. "That's right, and in Washington today the buck keeps running around looking for a place to stop because there is no presidential leadership."

In the South and the West he did not encounter many proabortion pickets, but in Phoenix he went out of his way to address the sign-holders in the back of the audience in order to spell out again his position on the issue.

"I see some right-to-life advocates in the background," he said. "I think abortion is wrong and government should do nothing to encourage abortion or to pay for abortion," he said. "But I do not support a constitutional amendment on the issue. I think we should do everything we can to prevent abortion, which is evidence of a failure to prevent an unwanted pregnancy."

People in the front of the crowd vigorously applauded his statement opposing an antiabortion amendment while those in the rear booed. The abortion issue probably breaks even and Carter appears to be determined to state his position on it whenever his audiences raise the issue.

# Mary McGrory

## *Setting a New Level Of Tastelessness*

If the exchanges between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter over the valances of Clarence Kelley are a fair sample, the campaign is going to set a new level of muddiness and tastelessness.

It is, in fact, a little hard to choose between the two in the absurd dialogue. The President accused Carter of heartlessness in saying he would fire the FBI director because the valances were installed — at government expense — while Mrs. Kelley was dying.

Carter's rejoinder that he cannot be charged with lack of compassion because Kelley apparently "has found a new loved one" was equally wide of the mark and cheap besides.

That Ford should miss the point about Kelley came as no surprise. He has defended the bureau through thick and thin, and supported Atty. Gen. Edward Levi in his refusal to disclose FBI "embarrassments" to the Senate. And he was right in refusing to cashier Kelley for the trifling matter of accepting goods and services from the bureau he was supposed to lead into a new era of decorum. Kelley's folly was not in a class with the grand larceny of the Nixon White House, with which Carter originally compared it.

**CARTER MAY HAVE** been looking for a way to close with Ford, to show they have deep differences, except of course, on abortion, where he hopes they are blurred. And he may well have lashed out because of his frustration with "pro-life" pickets who were harassing him at the time.

Carter subsequently retreated from his fine fury and said that while candidate Carter would have fired Kelley, he isn't sure whether President Carter will or not, adding mystification to the stew. It was not until Thursday that he got around — in an aside — to bringing out the real point about Clarence Kelley, which is maladministration.

Carter prefers to speak in code — it was the secret of his success in the primaries — but if he wants to convince people that he knows what's going on, he will have to speak more clearly. He could have trusted the country to grasp the central fact about Clarence Kelley, which is that he is a goldfish among the sharks of the Hoover leftovers at the bureau.

**KELLEY IS NOT** an evil man. He was a good, tough, efficient Kansas City police chief. He was chosen by Richard Nixon, in June of 1973, for his limitations. Nixon wanted someone malleable in the FBI to succeed the equally unwary and eminently malleable L. Patrick Gray. And it takes something more than an honest cop, as Nixon well understood, to reform the imperial FBI of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI of Cointel, break-ins and black-bag jobs, of sycophancy and corruption.

Poor Kelley told the Senate Intelligence Committee that those lawless activities had been discontinued in 1966. That was not true, as Kelley discovered to his chagrin. In his most hapless hour to date, he assured the country that he would track down "those who lied to me." To date, he has not.

The hope that the FBI would go back to chasing criminals instead of those citizens whose views offended the director of the FBI is all but dead. Kelley, a former agent himself, and anxious to reassure the old guard, surrounded himself with Hooverites who continued to do business in the same old way.

**AS RECENTLY AS** last July, it was revealed that an FBI informant, Timothy Redfearn, had broken into the Denver headquarters of the Socialist Workers party, an organization which was offensive to Hoover since its founding in 1937.

Kelley can claim ignorance of all that was done before his time, but it was difficult for all but the most unwary not to notice what the FBI had perpetrated against the SWP, which is currently suing it.

In December 1974, the SWP went to court seeking an injunction against FBI informers attending its Young Socialists Alliance convention. The judge, who refused the injunction, pressed the government to cite examples of the party's illegality. Although 1,600 informants had infiltrated the 2,000-member group since 1960, the government could give no instances.

It was a perfect time for Kelley to show that there was a new hand at the helm. It was a moment for him to say, "Why are we doing this?"
He did not.

**AND THAT IS** the scandal — not that he made himself beholden to his subordinates by accepting goods and favors to ease his sick wife's household cares but that he didn't question the basic premises of the bureau's mission.

Jimmy Carter had a chance to show something other than copybook morality, but he didn't. About the only thing he got out of the messy encounter was the chance to say he was sorry he got into it. He said it had diverted him from the main issues between him and Gerald Ford. But it did something worse. It raised questions about his ability to ride the rapids of a national campaign, where it is important to demonstrate knowledge of the real issues that underlay a brouhaha over valances.

John P. Roche

# Why Jimmy Carter should run a bit scareder

History may not repeat itself literally, but certain political behavior patterns tend to recur. For example, both Barry Goldwater's candidacy for president in 1964 and George McGovern's in 1972 received the kiss of death at the party convention because they were perceived as "radical."

This year I have been getting ominous flashbacks to the Kennedy campaign of 1960 — apprehensions shared by veterans of that cliff-hanger.

For many readers, 1960 was somewhere in the Middle Ages and John F. Kennedy is a candidate for canonization or defamation. Victims, all, of the myth of "Camelot," a fairy-tale concocted after Kennedy's murder.

Kennedy was not as popular as his legend; his poll ratings were sagging in the fall of 1963. Indeed, reacting to the unexpected warmth of a Texas crowd — the day before his death — he ironically observed to Lyndon Johnson that in 1964 at least they would carry Texas and Massachusetts!

In 1960, despite the optimism he generated, Kennedy was in real trouble. Part of it was caused by the tendency of a substantial chunk of the populace to operate on inertial guidance: nothing much had happened while Ike was president, many people are happy when nothing much happens, and Nixon had been Ike's vice president.

Second, there was the religious question. As our permanent, floating poisoned-dart expert, Gene McCarthy, noted, it was paradoxical that Kennedy, who (in his judgment) was about as religious as a fire hydrant, had to take the heat for being Catholic. Kennedy tackled it head-on in Houston in a superb al fresco discussion with a group of Protestant ministers — but he made the mistake of thinking this rhetorical triumph settled the matter. It remained potent underground.

Finally, there was his campaign organization, led by Bobby Kennedy and Ken O'Donnell. During the primaries, this team did an extraordinary job. Recall they were running against the Democratic "Establishment" personified by Adlai Stevenson, Eleanor Roosevelt and Hubert Humphrey. Organized labor was suspicious of Kennedy because he had been a sponsor of what became the Landrum-Griffin Act, limiting aspects of trade union behavior. Americans for Democratic Action was still in love with Adlai.

In short, Jack Kennedy's "Irish Mafia" won the nomination all by themselves. With understandable, but dangerous, egotism, they thought they would win the election the same way. Since the locals had been unreliable in the primaries, outside proconsuls were appointed to manage state campaigns.

Ted Kennedy, Viceroy of the West, succeeded only in Nevada, with a 2,500 vote edge, and Hawaii, which went Democratic by 115. Bobby Kennedy's undisguised contempt for liberal Democrats was not helpful: liberals have intellectual quirks, but Bobby's complaint was we lacked "machismo," were bleeding-hearts and losers. But then, they didn't need us — hell, they didn't need anybody.

So much for medieval history. The point is that Jimmy Carter's operation presents singular parallels. Carter and his close associates (who, I hear, make the Irish Mafia look like Good Humor Men) won the nomination on their own and apparently see no point in broadening their political base. Ship proconsuls into "foreign" states to run the campaign. Meanwhile sit around Plains, Ga., deciding who will be secretary of state.

I don't know if Carter plays poker, but I lost all faith in a sure thing when, in five-card draw, my 4 natural kings lost to 4 natural aces. It was an invaluable political lesson.

# Bishops and elections

The Roman Catholic bishops who have pressed the presidential nominees on the abortion issue should retire to their dioceses and ponder what they have done and what they are trying to do.

After their successive interviews with Democratic standard-bearer Jimmy Carter and with President Ford, Archbishop Bernardin and his colleagues have reported being "disappointed" with Mr. Carter's stand and "encouraged" by Mr. Ford's.

Both of the major-party nominees personally oppose abortion. The rest is tactics — or a matter of the government's proper role, if any, in enforcing such opposition.

Mr. Carter has won the prelates' "continuing disappointment" by declining to endorse a constitutional amendment to ban abortion and negate the Supreme Court's pro-abortion thrust. The former Georgia governor instead backs other government action to reduce the frequency of abortion.

Mr. Ford favors an amendment that would give the states power to regulate abortion (the Court in 1973 pre-empted much of the states' right to decide the question). He also embraces the Republican plank calling for an ammendment "to restore protection of the right to life of the unborn child," with no contradiction intended between that and the states rights course. The bishops, still, are not "totally satisfied" with the Ford brand of anti-abortionism, as preferable as they found it to Mr. Carter's.

It is no secret why the presidential contenders have been willing parties to this hierarchical excursion into presidential politics. (Mr. Carter sought out his meeting with the bishops, and the President invited them to the White House.) The "Catholic vote" supposedly is at stake. Having gone as far as they have to encourage this notion, the bishops should ask themselves some questions before taking the next step.

Can they go any further, in questioning and publicly comparing the candidates' anti-abortion positions, without endorsing one or the other, which they disclaim any intention of doing?

Do the bishops really want to have their ablity to speak for their flocks tested at the polls every four years or so? Since there is not a monolithic "Catholic vote" that any leader, temporal or spiritual, can throw either way to decide an election, the election results could embarrass those who claim such influence.

Even if the bishops could decide the election, would they want to? Isn't that the perfect way of reviving Protestant nativist fear of overbearing Catholic influence in American society? Anti-Catholics long have questioned Catholic commitment to the separation of church and state — a doubt that John Kennedy was at pains to put to rest in his 1960 presidential campaign.

Does the American Catholic hierarchy truly want to stress the mechanics of anti-abortion policy (not even the principle, on which Messrs. Ford and Carter agree) to the virtual exclusion of all other issues in the presidential campaign? Surely most of the bishops have not forgotten their other concerns about justice and the alleviation of misery. And the presidency is only peripherally concerned with abortion law — the President has no direct role, even, in the constitutional amendment process.

Perhaps the problem about the bishops' recent dealings with the presidential nominees has been a matter of emphasis and unintentional heavy-handedness, combined with the White House's anxiety last Friday to play up President Ford's apparent victory in the competition for ecclesiastical hearts and minds. There still is time for the Catholic hierarchy, possibly with a spokesman other than Archbishop Bernardin, to strike a more sensible pre-election posture.

The Weather
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Details and Map, Page C2)
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THE SUN

BALTIMORE, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1976

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# Carter opposes obstacles to prosecution

By GILBERT A. LEWTHWAITE
*Sun Staff Correspondent*

Phoenix, Ariz.—Jimmy Carter, striking a firm law-and-order note, yesterday said he favored the removal of legal "technicalities" introduced by the Supreme Court that prevent the successful prosecution of criminals.

Giving his first assessment of the court since he won the Democratic party nomination, Mr. Carter told local government officers in Oklahoma City that he basically supported past civil rights legislation but felt that in some criminal judgments the court had gone "too far."

He said: "I think the civil rights ones were proper. I would not want to undo, for instance, the rulings for one-man, one-vote or providing indigents or poor people with legal counsel.

"I do favor a shifting back toward the removal of technicalities which obviously prevent the conviction and punishment of those who are guilty. I believe the Burger court is moving back in the proper direction.

"We went too far and it got so that sincere, honest, dedicated, competent law enforcement officers found it almost impossible to comply with all the technicalities that might be raised in court or on appeal, and obviously guilty people were released unpunished and society in the process suffered."

Mr. Carter met with the local government officials, including sheriffs, in a bus trip from a campus rally at the University of Oklahoma to the city's airport. On the way to the university, he rode with a group of farmers, and accused Earl Butz, the Secretary of Agriculture, of releasing crop estimates that have "not been completely factual and objective."

"I think at times they've been released quite often to artificially lower prices," he said.

Earlier Mr. Carter became the first Democratic presidential candidate ever to campaign in the previously taken-for-granted state of Alabama, a politicial innovation of significance. He traveled to the conservative domain of Gov. George C. Wallace primarily to reinforce his Southern electoral cornerstone, threatened with erosion due to suspicious local reaction to his recent liberal inclination.

He also went to Birmingham to underline his constant campaign warning against overconfidence, even in a state with a 100 per cent Democratic legislature and in which, according to polls, he currently has an overwhelming lead over President Ford.

At the other end of the day in which he almost spanned the nation geographically and the party politically, he attended a fund-raiser last night in Phoenix for liberal Representative Morris K. Udall, one of the candidates he defeated in the primaries and whose support he now enjoys.

Mr. Carter, continuously presenting himself as the political legatee of Roosevelt, Truman, Johnson and Kennedy, noted at a public rally in Phoenix last night that the last time the Republican outpost of Arizona voted for a Democratic nominee was when Harry Truman ran in 1948. Mr. Carter said: "He was a common man, yes, but he was an uncommon president . . . He had a slogan on his desk in the Oval Office: the buck stops here. Now there is a complete difference. The buck is all over Washington, D.C., and never finds a place to stop."

In the heavily Spanish-populated city, he ran into a fresh anti-abortion demonstration, but it was restricted to the orderly display of posters such as "Moral Cowards Permit Abortions."

Mr. Carter repeated his personal opposition to abortion, his anxiety to do everything to minimize the need for it and his political opposition to a constitutional amendment.

Challenging President Ford's support

See CARTER, A10, Col.3

# Obstacles to prosecution opposed by Carter

CARTER, from A1

for a constitutional amendment to allow the states to set their own abortion standards, he said a liberal state permitting abortion on demand would attract rich women from across the nation.

"I think it ought to be uniform throughout the country," he said.

Mr. Carter's first appointment yesterday was to be welcomed to Alabama by Governor Wallace, another presidential hopeful whose ambitions he thwarted in the Florida showdown, and whose handshake yesterday bridged the South's political past and present.

Governor Wallace, who has promised to campaign in the South for Mr. Carter, told a meeting of small businessmen in Birmingham that Mr. Carter was the first Deep Southerner to win the Democratic nomination since Zachary Taylor in 1848, and said: "This has been a dream of most people in the body, a dream of mine and a dream of Governor Carter's. I think the nation is going to be better off . . . I assure you this means we have all come together again."

Mr. Carter, reacting obliquely to Southern suspicions of his post-nomination leftward tilt, was at pains to remind his Alabama audience of fundamental differences between Democrats and Republicans, characterizing the first as "the party of the people" and the second as "the party of special interests."

He told the small businessmen's meeting that under the Republicans bankruptcies have doubled, interest rates have risen 50 per cent, unemployment was up 100 per cent, and budget deficits "increased grossly."

"This is the kind of improper management that really grates on the consciousness of a businessman," he said, accusing the Republicans of paying "lip service to small business and big service to big business."

Of President Ford he said: "I can't recall a single thing that our incumbent President has done in a two-year period indicating a capability for leadership."

## *Mondale says Ford, Dole, have no time for elderly*

West Palm Beach, Fla. (AP)—Senator Walter F. Mondale campaigned among cheering old persons in a condominium complex yesterday and said the Ford administration has proven "it doesn't have time" for the interests of the elderly.

The Democratic vice presidential candidate from Minnesota said both President Ford and his running mate, Senator Robert J. Dole, oppose federal medical assistance for the elderly, although they now profess to support a strong Medicare program.

"If they [Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole] had their way, there would be no Medicare at all," Senator Mondale said.

He opened a four-day campaign swing in Alexandria, Va.

## He assails political 'gifts'

# Agnew agrees 'system is corrupt'

Crofton, Md. (AP)—Former Vice President Agnew says big campaign contributions are often given with strings attached and adds that he agrees with those who say "the system is corrupt."

Agnew resigned the vice presidency in the midst of a federal investigation of his financial dealings with special interests.

"Sometimes this [contributions] did bear on the relationship to the person involved getting work," Agnew said, "because nobody gives these big contributions unless they get one of two things: access to the principal when they need it, or favorable consideration for work they want to get from the county or state."

Agnew made the remarks in a taped interview shown on WJZ-TV.

In the interview, Agnew did not elaborate on what he termed favorable consideration. But the former Vice President conceded that the use of political gifts to gain leverage in contract awards or other areas is wrong.

"I think I did something wrong because the whole system is wrong," he said. "I agree with those who say this is a corrupt kind of system."

Agnew has steadfastly denied allegations of bribery and extortion contained in a 40-page document filed in federal court here by the Justice Department October 10, 1973, the day he resigned the vice presidency and pleaded no contest to a tax evasion charge.

The document outlined what prosecutors said was a pattern stretching back to Agnew's years as Baltimore county executive and governor of Maryland, and continuing into his vice presidential years, in which he accepted money from contractors in exchange for favorable consideration on government work.

In the interview, he strongly denied that he put any campaign contributions to personal use, saying that, "Everything that was paid as a campaign contribution was used in a political context."

He said his quick change of mind over whether to resign the vice presidency came because "something happened—something very shocking and shaking to me happened."



SPIRO T. AGNEW
... system is corrupt

He declined to elaborate, but has said in other interviews that the story surrounding his resignation will be told in his upcoming memoirs.

On this year's presidential election, Agnew said he endorses President Ford but feels more of a personal kinship with Democratic candidate Jimmy Carter.

"Mr. Ford's style is a style of consensus, amelioration, compromise," Agnew said. "My style is admittedly more abrasive. I think in some ways Mr. Carter's style is more closely akin to my style than Mr. Ford's is."

Agnew, who has formed a consulting business heavily involved with Arab investments, denied that he is anti-Semitic.

At the same time, however, he again blasted Israel, saying it is not a democracy but rather "a government based on a Talmudic concept."

"I do feel that Israel is a nation and not a religion and not a race, and as an American I have a right to make criticisms of my country's posture vis-a-vis that nation," he said.

# Are the debates really such a good idea?

By William A. Rusher

NEW YORK — The forthcoming debates between President Ford and Democratic challenger Jimmy Carter will attract an enormous national television audience and almost certainly have a major impact on the outcome of the election.

Moreover, it is not hard to foresee, as television clamps its iron grip ever more firmly on our national life, that we are very probably witnessing the birth of a tradition. Henceforth, the pressure on presidential contenders to engage in this sort of thing is going to be immense, and a candidate's refusal to do so will be scored as a very black mark against him.

Whether all this is for better or worse is, I think, a distinctly open question. To be sure, anything that induces voters to consider the issues of a campaign carefully, and to reach a conclusion judiciously, is all to the good.

So, too, is the opportunity to see and hear the candidates themselves in a quiet setting, at the same time, and to observe how they behave under circumstances of considerable pressure.

But there is, as there usually is, another side to the coin. The temptation to treat these three debates (there will be a fourth between Dole and Mondale) as the whole campaign will be severe.

The American television audience will be encouraged to focus all of its attention on these three 90-minute programs, and to score them rather like Golden Gloves boxing matches.

Did you see Ford fumble his answer to that first question? Did you notice how slickly Carter evaded in answering the next one at all? Yes. But didn't Ford knock the third right out of the ball park? It sure didn't seem to bother Carter, though, did it? Look at him smile.

Anyone who has had much personal experience in the field of television debating knows that the odds in these contests don't necessarily favor virtue, or even the side with the best-marshaled arguments.

Even in a 90-minute format like that projected for the Ford-Carter debates, the time available for answering a particular question is bound to be severely limited. That gives a major advantage to the man who is quick to identify the most attractive response (not, please note, necessarily the most truthful one) and can condense it into a few plausible sentences.

I was once asked to intervene with a senatorial candidate who was driving his research staff crazy with demands to be briefed in detail on every conceivable subject in advance of some television debates.

"Remember," I told him, "you simply cannot learn everything there is to know about urban renewal (let alone everything else) between Labor Day and Election Day. Fortunately, you don't have to. All you need to learn is what can be said about urban renewal (and other major topics) in 60 seconds." Sound advice — indeed, the only possible advice.

But what is truth, on urban renewal or anything else? Jesting Pilate, we are told, wouldn't stay for an answer. On TV he wouldn't have to leave; his opponent's time would be up.

The seven famous Lincoln-Douglas debates in the Illinois senatorial campaign of 1858, which focused on the question of extending slavery into the Territories, brought Lincoln to national attention as a spokesman for the anti-slavery cause. But it should be remembered that Douglas won the election, even though history would hardly argue that he was the better man.

The sheer intensity of the attention focused on the Ford-Carter debates is going to affect, and not necessarily for the better, our overall judgments on the two men.

Details that would rightly be disregarded in a longer, less intimate perspective are bound to loom disproportionately large: the size of a smile, the mispronunciation of a word, a moment's hesitation, the tremor of a hand, the sweat on a brow.

Let us try to cushion the inevitable impact of such things with a more spacious consideration of questions that seldom get raised, let alone properly answered, under the conditions of a television debate.

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Historic Philadelphia's Oldest Daily—The Bicentennial Newspaper

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15 CENTS

# Carter's outsiders have trouble with local factions

(Second of two articles)

By Laura Foreman
*Inquirer Staff Writer*

In this early stage of the presidential race, Democrat Jimmy Carter goes into key states—Pennsylvania and New Jersey—with some built-in advantages.

In both states, Democratic voters outnumber Republicans, and in both there are powerful party organizations to help turn out those voters. But in Pennsylvania, the Carter forces are having trouble straddling the cracks of local party factionalism, and in New Jersey, the campaign is getting off to a slow and halting start.

"So far, I don't think Carter's got his act together," said a well-connected Democratic source in Harrisburg who asked not to be named. "At least his people in Pennsylvania don't. They've manged to offend big labor, big county chairmen and a number of elected officials by not observing even the minimum protocol.

"For instance, in the Scranton trip (Carter visited Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Scranton last week), some leaders in Harrisburg and Philadelphia started getting calls from labor guys in Scranton saying, 'Why didn't you tell us Carter was coming so we could hold a rally for him?' And the answer was, 'We didn't know.' "

As a matter of policy nationally, Carter has named out-of-state coordinators for almost every state. In Pennsylvania, the state coordinator is Massachusetts State Sen. Joseph Timilty. In New Jersey it is John Billett, an import from Maryland.

"He's done that throughout the country," said Tom Menino of Boston, a Timilty associate who is Carter's field coordinator in Pennsylvania. "He's put somebody from out of state in each state to cut down the problems with factions. That way, everybody starts out on an even keel. We're working with everybody at face value."

The problem with the strategy is that the outsiders lack a thorough knowledge of the local politics in the state they are sent to.

"Timilty comes in from Massachusetts and he doesn't know anything about anybody," the Harrisburg source said. "So he ends up kind of standoffish and offending everybody."

One example was Carter's recent visit to Philadelphia, in which he visited an area in North Philadelphia represented by City Councilman Louis Johanson. Johanson, who was not in-

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telephone banks and other campaign paraphernelia in Pennsylvania. That figure does not, of course, include the budget for mass-media advertising, which will be much higher but has not yet been set by his campaign headquarters in Atlanta.

Despite its early problems, the campaign seemed to have reached a point last week where tightening up and leveling out appeared likely.

Plans call for a paid staff of between 18 and 25 persons, and many of those people had been hired by last week. Eight field coordinators will be responsible for an organization based on the state's 25 congressional districts.

State campaign offices have been set up in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Smaller offices will be located in Harrisburg, Scranton-Wilkes-Barre, Altoona and the Bethlehem area, and more are coming.

"I think in the next day or so everything's going to fall into place," the Harrisburg source said. "I think Timilty and those guys are going to realize they need somebody to guide them through the jungle. It's not an irreparably lost situation by any means."

A top operative of the Carter campaign in Pennsylvania conceded that there were complaints of frustration from many party professionals, who felt the Carter organization was ignoring or circumventing them.

"This is just growing pains of getting an organization into place," he said. "Statewide, there is tension and exasperation, but as things do get settled down, I think these people will be happy and satisfied."

The number of registered Democrats outstrips Republicans in Pennsylvania by more than 580,000, a bulge that is cause for some comfort, no matter what the problems are in the Carter camp.

## New Jersey

In New Jersey, with 17 electoral votes, the Democratic margin is about 700,000 voters, but there, too, the Carter effort is off to a stuttering beginning.

The campaign budget for the state, excluding advertising money that will go mostly to buy television time on Philadelphia and New York stations, is estimated at $100,000. In contrast, the George McGovern campaign spent well over $300,000 in losing New Jersey in 1972.

As a result, the kind of presidential campaign the state is used to — filled with buttons, bumper stickers, storefronts, leaflets and billboards — will not exist this year, a fact that irritates some local Democrats.

"New Jersey is a newspaper and radio state, not television, and it (TV advertising) may not be the best allocation of money for us," said Thomas O'Neill, the party's state executive director. "We would like to see the money spent in the usual ways."

Part of the state budget will go to pay a staff of about 15 people working for coordinator John Billett. Headquarters will be located in Springfield, Union County.

Those staff members will coordinate activities in the state's 15 congressional districts and will also work with the 21 county party charmen.

"We won't create a monolithic structure," Billett said. "It's a cooperative effort with the county chairmen. We won't have people in each county."

O'Neill would prefer an organization structure along county rather than congressional districts lines.

"People here don't have a congressional district identity," he said. "They are residents of particular counties."

He also said state Democrats were unhappy with what they perceived as a lack of campaign activity and "direction" so far.

"There's a strong feeling that there ought to be more activity at this point," he said.

## Should do well

Nevertheless, Carter is expected to run well in areas having strong party organizations. These include Hudson, Essex, Camden and Mercer counties — the big-city counties housing the bulk of the state's population. This is true despite his poor showing in New Jersey's June primary, in which Mercer was the only key county he carried. He was beaten statewide by an uncommitted slate of delegates led by James P. Dugan, the state party chairman.

As in Pennsylvania, Carter could suffer over the abortion issue in New Jersey, whose population is 37 percent Catholic.

He should benefit, however, by the presence on the Democratic ticket of U. S. Sen. Harrison Williams Jr., who is running for re-election and who is the most popular politician in the state.

Beside lending his prestige, Williams is spending close to $500,000 on his own campaign, which should benefit the entire ticket.

But if Carter is to win comfortably, O'Neill says, he must tighten up his organization and plan to spend a significant amount of time in the state.

"This is a state where personal appearances count," O'Neill said. "He should come and speak to the issues here, like keeping open our military bases, unemployment, energy, abortion and urban problems."

Moreover, he said, county chairmen "want to know when the candidate is coming, and all Billett can tell them is he'll know 10 days in advance.

"Usually you sit down at the beginning and say you'll spend so much time here and there, and it gives you time to put together rallies. Carter is not doing that. It's understandable from Carter's viewpoint, but for the county chairmen it's not so easy to understand."

Another potential problem for Carter in New Jersey is the bitter feud between Dugan and Democratic Gov. Brendan T. Byrne, an early Carter supporter. Efforts are being made to patch up their differences, at least for the fall campaign, and the outlook is hopeful.

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Carter's running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, met in Elizabeth, N.J., Saturday with the party's state leaders and received assurances that all factions would cooperate in the Carter campaign.

Dugan, who had been unhappy with Carter for designating an outsider to run the campaign in the state, spoke with the candidate last week and now appears mollified.

"The split in the party tends to be exaggerated in terms of this election," O'Neill said. "Dugan and Byrne are jockeying in trying to find ways to best help Carter, but nobody's going to walk away from the ticket."

Billett contends the election will be won or lost in New Jersey on the basis of personal appearances.

"If Carter and Mondale can spend sufficient time here and are properly presented to the voters, it will be a determining factor," he said. "I expect both to be here on several occasions."

Carter's campaign headquarters in Atlanta has not made firm schedules for either Pennsylvania or New Jersey. Given the importance of both states to the outcome of the election, it is probable he will spend considerable time in both.

Of far less importance is Delaware, with only three electoral votes.

There, campaign aides are gearing up for a nuts-and-bolts campaign, concentrating on telephone and door-to-door canvassing and appearances by second- and third-string Carter surrogates.

Carla Reames, on leave from a job as aide to Arkansas Congressman William Alexander, arrived in Wilmington Sept. 1 to take over duties as Carter's Delaware coordinator. There are two other paid staffers operating out of the main campaign office in Wilmington. Other offices are planned for Dover and Georgetown.

*This article is based on the reporting of Laura Foreman, Larry McCrary, Andrew Wallace and Paul Critchlow.*

CAMPAIGN, From 1-A

formed of the visit ahead of time, was reportedly quite miffed by the breach of political etiquette.

"That was the only instance you'll see of us antagonizing anybody," vowed Menino, who blamed the communications problems on the fact that "we're just getting organized in Pennsylvania."

Evidently mindful of his problems, Timilty met with Philadelphia's ward leaders yesterday, vowing closer cooperation with the organization.

"I do not have the knowledge of the terrain here that I should have," he said. "Some people have been offended by what we've done ...obviously our first attempt came up short."

"Gov. Carter can't win in Pennsylvania without a large margin in Philadelphia. That can't be done without the people who want a large margin cooperating with the people who have carried the large margins here before," he said.

## *City is divided*

Some of the problems seem likely to persist — especially in Philadelphia, where the electorate is divided into antagonists and protagonists of Mayor Frank L. Rizzo.

Carter was critical of Rizzo during the Pennsylvania primary in April. Carter's victory here was widely viewed as the turning point, virtually assuring his nomination. Since that time, the mayor and the former Georgia governor have settled their problems, but some appear to remain.

Carter operatives quickly and firmly deny that their candidate is trying to avoid Rizzo, but it is obvious that Carter is not exactly trying to embrace him, either.

In Pittsburgh, Carter was escorted by Mayor Peter Flaherty, an ally dating back to the primary. He repeatedly spoke warmly about Flaherty.

On the other hand, Carter did not appear with Rizzo in Philadelphia, nor did he ever mention him, although he did telephone him. Carter aides did keep in close touch with Democratic City Committee Chairman Martin Weinberg, Rizzo's chief functionary within the party.

"We've sat down with Marty Weinberg," Menino said. "He knows where we're coming from. No, we're not avoiding Rizzo. He's the Democratic mayor of Philadelphia."

The Carter organization also found itself in difficult straits last week over whether to appoint a local coordinator for the campaign in Philadelphia. The Carter forces were looking for someone who could operate effectively without antagonizing either faction. City Councilman Mel Greenberg, State Sen. Henry J. Cianfrani and attorney Vincent T. Fumo, former patronage chief of the Democratic City Committee, were all considered for the job, but at week's end the tentative decision was to operate without a local coordinator.

"It's like walking on eggs," Menino said of the Philadelphia situation.

The Carter forces are going to have to make sure those eggs do not crack to get Pennsylvania's 27 electoral votes in the election Nov. 2.

## *Necessary margin*

They say they need a majority of from 250,000 to 300,000 votes in Philadelphia of offset Republican strength in the western part of the state, even though Flaherty's support is expected to help pull Carter to a comfortable majority in Pittsburgh.

A high-ranking source in the party's city committee in Philadelphia said the party planned to print more than a million sample ballots for Carter in the city, spending $200,000 and putting 20,000 workers on the streets on election day. He predicted that the Carter margin in the city would be in excess of 225,000 votes and quite possibly as high as 250,000, although he said 300,000 was unlikely.

One factor in the margin could be the Rizzo recall, if it appears on the November ballot.

The city committee source said, "The whole Democratic ticket could be hurt" in that event because "people's attention will be diverted from Carter."

The abortion issue could also hurt Carter in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, where there are large minorities of Catholics. He has said he personally opposes abortion but would not support a constitutional amendment to outlaw it — a position that many Catholics have found unsatisfactory.

Carter is also hampered by the federal spending limit of $25 million imposed on each candidate this year. Carter will be spending a meager $150,000 on staff salaries, supplies,

(Continued On Next Page)

*Abortion issue*

# Catholic vote isn't bishops

By Garry Wills

Jimmy Carter should get acquainted with Catholics. They will teach him not to pay attention to their bishops.

Look at John Kennedy. He led poor old Cardinal Cushing around by the nose, as a way of fending off Cardinal Spellman. Spellman, traditional host at the Al Smith Dinner, was reduced to watching Kennedy one-up Richard Nixon, who was Spellman's kind of man, Spellman and J. Edgar Hoover thought they were the only two real Americans left.

Carter, told to cultivate Catholics, went to see bishops. He must think Cardinal Bernardin is the George Meany of the parishes. Compared to a bishop, even a king like Meany is accessible to his subjects.

American bishops are trained not to know anything at all about their "subjects." They still think priests are talking nonsense about contraception in the confessionals. They even think Catholics still go to confession. They are the only people in the world who do think it.

When Al Smith ran for President, Ku-Kluxers said the Pope would take over America. The Pope cannot even take over Rome, at a time when Romans are trying to give it away. The Catholic Church looks very despotic on paper — Paul Blanshard made a good case that Catholics were all intellectual slaves, by reading Catholic rules no Catholic ever reads. He described a beautifully repressive machine that had only one flaw—nothing in it worked.

Carter's education on Catholics should start with the story of Hilaire Belloc's visit to a French cathedral. Mass was in progress, and a verger tried to show him to a pew. Belloc waved him off. The verger said that tourists must go to a side gallery during mass.

Belloc rumbled, "Go to hell!" The verger backed off with a wink: "Oh, sorry; I didn't realize you were Catholic."

Carter, to make things worse, went to talk with bishops about abortion. That is not a subject any presidential candidate is going to shed light on.

Ford is President. Has he done anything about abortion, one way or the other? No. Nor will his successor. The subject is too serious to be left around mere political candidates.

Not all Catholics agree with the bishops on abortion. And many of those Catholics who are opposed to abortion (as I am) think the bishops are the last persons to make a credible case against it, so dishonest have their "natural law" arguments been on the subject of contraception. Only bishops still believe those arguments, or say they do.

Catholics have, in the past, been almost too anxious to "belong" in America. They feared the nativists' intolerance, and became superpatriots. But only the bishops thought the way to belong was to start handing out rules to other people, telling them what movies they could not see, or books they could not read.

Ford's staff has said its strategy depends on the Catholic vote. These people, too, must have bishops on the brain, and be thinking that burglers ought to get together.

I would like to offer some nonpartisan advice to all politicians this year. Stop looking around for bishops, and get to know some Catholics instead.



'All right, Mr. Carter, let's try that abortion question one more time!'

Newsweek

# Courting the Catholics

They were waiting for Jimmy Carter at the airport in Scranton last week, angry opponents of abortion chanting "Life! Life! Life!" And when the born-again Baptist candidate arrived at his hotel in town, the demonstrators were there as well; they mobbed and jostled Carter and forced his Secret Service bodyguards to surround and then hustle him inside after barely a single flash of his smile. Next morning in Pittsburgh, Carter got a far friendlier reception when he slipped on a stenciled T shirt presented by the heavily Roman Catholic Polish Hill community—and bent to receive kisses on both cheeks from the local Catholic priest. The two incidents dramatized the critical importance of the Catholic vote—and the emotional controversy over abortion—as Carter and incumbent Gerald Ford finally joined their battle for the Presidency.

Not since John F. Kennedy's "Protestant problem" in 1960 had religion appeared to play so important a role in a Presidential race. Ford is making a special effort to win Catholic votes: at the weekend he met with six members of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops—the same six who had interrogated Carter a fortnight earlier and announced themselves "disappointed" with his position on abortion. After their White House session, the bishops said they were "encouraged" by Ford's stand on the issue. Just how influential the bishops might be with the nation's 49 million Catholics was uncertain, but the importance of the Catholic vote itself was clear to both candidates.

**Targets:** Catholics now constitute about 23 per cent of the population and fully 40 per cent of the traditionally Democratic electorate, with even higher concentrations in Northern urban ethnic centers (map, page 18). Increasingly conservative on some issues and often voting Republican in recent years, they are precisely the people Jimmy Carter must reassure if he is to restore a winning Democratic coalition. They are also prime targets in Ford's effort to bring key Northern states such as Pennsylvania and New York into the GOP fold this November.

Appealing to Catholics was consequently the most prominent element in last week's formal opening of the fall Presidential campaign, a week in which Carter and Ford demonstrated their distinctly different strategies. Carter carried the attack in a hectic 4,000-mile foray through traditional Democratic precincts from FDR's retreat at Warm Springs, Ga., to the subways of New York and the sidewalks of Chicago, where Mayor Richard Daley arranged a mammoth torchlight parade to promote Carter and Democratic state candidates. Concerned that his post-convention image was a trifle too liberal, Carter moved back to a centrist position on a number of economic and social issues, emphasizing a balanced budget instead of new Federal programs. Ford, meanwhile, stuck to his "Presidential" script—signing bills and making statements for the benefit of network TV cameras, often with the White House itself as an effective backdrop.



Lester Sloan—Newsweek

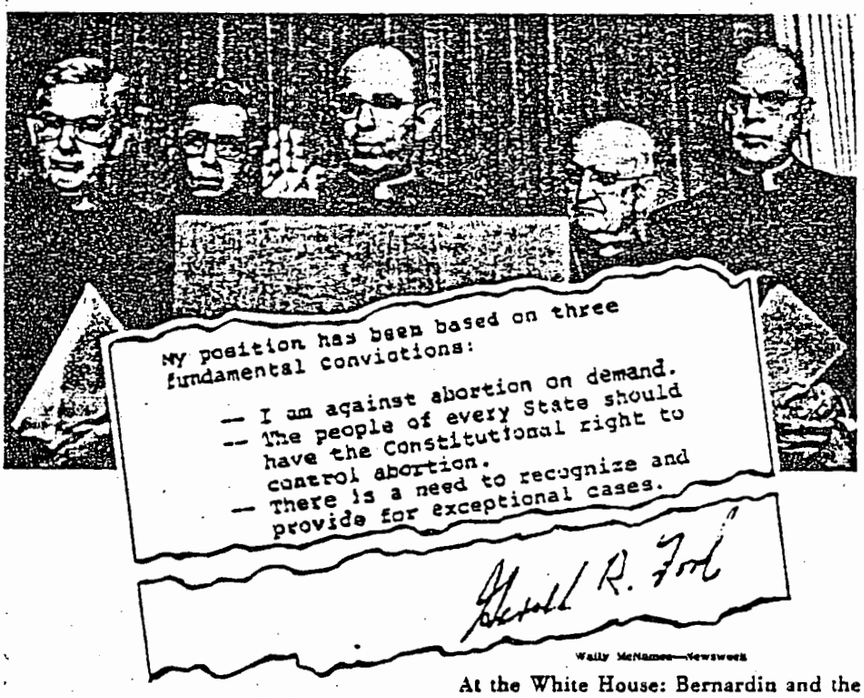
On Polish Hill: A battle for the hearts and votes of 23 per cent of the population

At almost every stop Carter made during the week there were protesters with signs that read: MORAL COWARD and WHERE WOULD I BE IF MOM ABORTED ME? Carter's problems with Catholics did not stem entirely from abortion; some of his critics believe he is insensitive to a number of other issues that concern the largely middle-class, urban Catholic community: high taxation, affirmative-action plans for racial integration (which opponents see as "reverse discrimination" against white Americans) and the decay of city neighborhoods. "Carter," argues Father Andrew Greeley, a syndicated columnist, "represents the old tradition of Southern populism which was fundamentally and often viciously anti-Catholic."

Carter's people deny any such bias. The meeting between Carter and the bishops a fortnight ago was set up by the Carter camp specifically to demonstrate the candidate's agreement on Catholic concerns—if not on abortion, at least on other issues over which all parties could agree. Instead, the bishops emerged to continue earlier criticism of Carter's position on abortion: he is personally opposed to it, but does not favor a constitu-




In Scranton: Carter meets the protesters




At the White House: Bernardin and the bishops were 'encouraged' by a letter from the President

tional amendment to restrict abortions. "We were sandbagged," complained one top Carter aide. "We had assurances beforehand that the meeting would not degenerate into an abortion debate. It looks like raw politics. They [the bishops] are pretty exposed on this thing."

**Surprised:** The bishops may have cast themselves in a more politically aggressive role than they intended or than rank-and-file Catholics would support (box, page 18). "A sign of Carter's naïveté is that he took the bishops so seriously," says Catholic writer Michael Novak. A survey on abortion—financed largely by the bishops in 1974—showed that only 10.9 per cent of the Catholics questioned supported Federal action that would make all abortions illegal. Last week, for example, a woman stormed up to Carter's running mate Walter Mondale in Platte County, Mo., and surprised him by saying: "Let me tell you something, Mondale. We're Catholic, we have a family of eight children and we don't think there's anything to this abortion issue."

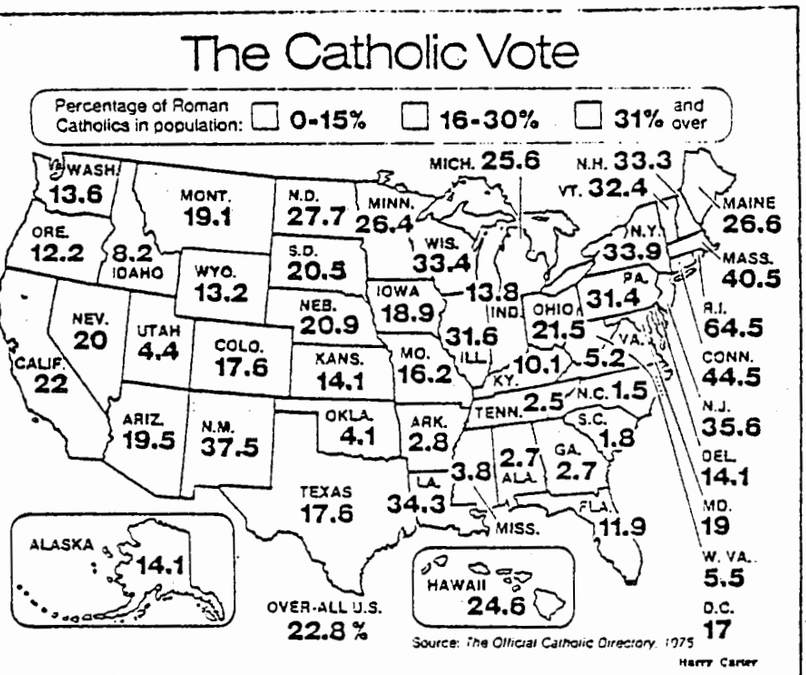
After an appearance at Notre Dame later, Mondale himself said he thought the issue was "terribly exaggerated," although he was not sure how it would affect Catholic votes. Spokesmen for the bishops, moreover, were beginning to suggest that the clerics had actually meant to de-escalate their criticism of Carter and the Democratic platform—from "morally offensive" at convention time to simply disappointing at their recent meeting.

Carter's own polls show the abortion issue ranks 25th out of 25 issues that voters were asked to rank in importance—even Catholics rated it last—but they have begun to take it more seriously nonetheless after all the publicity. "If we're not sensitive to it, a lot of Catholics are going to see it as a sign that we don't give a damn about them, whether they agree with the demonstrators or not," said one aide. Carter has recently signed on two staffers from Catholic organizations: Sister Victoria Mongiardo, an ethnic organizer, and Terry Sunday, a former mid-level aide at the bishops' conference. His triumphant visit to Polish Hill was coordinated by new "trip director" Jim King, an ebulliently Irish former member of Sen. Edward Kennedy's staff. Carter promised not to change his own position on abortion, but he also began criticizing the use of Medicaid funds and other Federal money to finance abortions for the poor. "I think I'll just have to weather this out," the candidate told reporters later. "But I hope I can retain my equanimity, make [anti-abortion demonstrators] feel welcome and not arouse their additional animosity."

The President, too, was fine-tuning his stand on abortion. Ford, who originally opposed an anti-abortion amendment, said that he now supported the GOP platform plank calling for an amendment "to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children." But the White House, which had helped shape the plank, argued that it could be interpreted to cover Ford's more recent support for simply giving each state the right to set its own laws. The Ford position, outlined in a five-page letter from Ford to Cincinnati Archbishop Joseph L. Bernardin, head of the bishops' conference, drew a favorable reaction from the visiting clergy although they were not "totally satisfied." The White House subsequently launched a study aimed at reducing the number of abortions paid for by Federal funds. And Ford aides privately acknowledged that they would try to make the issue a key element of their campaign. "It won't be just abortion," predicted one. "The cultural combativeness between Baptists and Catholics [also] will be exploited."

**'Compassion':** Ford was also trying to turn other Carter positions to his own advantage. After the Democrat talked about morality in foreign policy to a Jewish group—and about cutting down U.S. arms sales—Ford told the same group that Carter cuts in defense spending might put Israel in danger. When Carter said Ford should have fired FBI director Clarence Kelley for various improprieties—but refused to say if Kelley should be replaced—the President accused him of flip-flopping again, and said he lacked "compassion" for the fact that Kelley's wife was dying at the time bureau personnel did some construction in their apartment (NEWSWEEK, Sept. 13). Carter staffers, who had been surprised when their candidate brought up the Kelley matter, were even more dismayed when he answered Ford's charge with the flip remark that at least Kelley had "found another loved one" and announced he would marry again.

Aides said that Carter's brittle tone was the result of an exhausting, overbooked and underadvanced campaign schedule that they promised to winnow down in the days ahead. The candidate himself said he had some doubts about his quick comebacks to Ford. "It may have been better had I not gotten involved in the Kelley thing at all," he told reporters. "But that's how I felt and I went ahead and said it." The prevailing mood at the Ford White House, by contrast, was almost smug over the way the President's stay-at-home game plan was




# IS ABORTION REALLY AN ISSUE?

*Despite all the talk about Jimmy Carter's "Catholic problem," NEWSWEEK reporters in three urban, Roman Catholic neighborhoods last week found little concern among voters about Carter's religion in general or his stand on abortion in particular—even among Catholics who personally opposed abortion. Interviews were conducted in Cage Park, a quiet, middle-class neighborhood on the southwest side of Chicago, Boston's Hyde Park section and working-class Woodside, N.Y., a ten-minute subway ride from Manhattan. The results:*

Almost without exception, Catholic voters insisted that religion was not—and should not be—an issue in the 1976 Presidential election. Like most other middle-class city dwellers, they said the issues foremost in their minds were unemployment, inflation, taxes, health-care costs and, in some cases, busing. "Why should I be concerned about Jimmy Carter's religion? I wasn't concerned about Ford's—and Ford is no Catholic," said Chicago cabdriver Cora Smith, who also said she attended Mass every Sunday. "His religion doesn't concern me—as long as he's a good man," explained Irish-born Jane Savage, now retired in Woodside. A few of those questioned, however, expressed doubts about the way Carter has publicized his born-again Christianity. "Sometimes when people harp on a subject it makes you suspicious," said one Boston woman.

The Catholics surveyed were split on the abortion question—with younger people predictably taking a more liberal position—but few cited the issue as a specific reason for opposing Carter. "It's a moral issue; to make abortion legal is gross," said Mrs. Rita Divver of Boston. But even though she found Ford's stand on the issue more to her liking, Mrs. Divver reported she was leaning toward Carter. His ticklish meeting with Catholic bishops a fortnight ago "has no bearing whatsoever on how Catholics will vote," she said. "I think an abortion is a woman's right," declared 22-year-old Paul Bergen of Chicago. "I really don't think it's an issue and those people who do are religious fanatics." Mrs. Mary Ann Wolak, 27, of Woodside, was equally fervent. "Abortion is very personal," she said. "I disagree with the church on that—and I think I'm a good Catholic."

**Fuzzy:** Many Catholic voters had not decided whom they would vote for. Even among those Catholics who said they supported Carter—or were leaning his way—there was often a noticeable lack of fervor, and some annoyance that his positions still seemed purposefully fuzzy. Others thought the Southerner's problem with abortion was being exacerbated by the way he tried to finesse the issue. "You can't straddle the abortion issue—either you're for it or against it," said John Padden, 73, of Boston. "Speaking out of both sides of his mouth on it," Padden suggested, was a sure way for Carter to alienate voters of *all* persuasions.

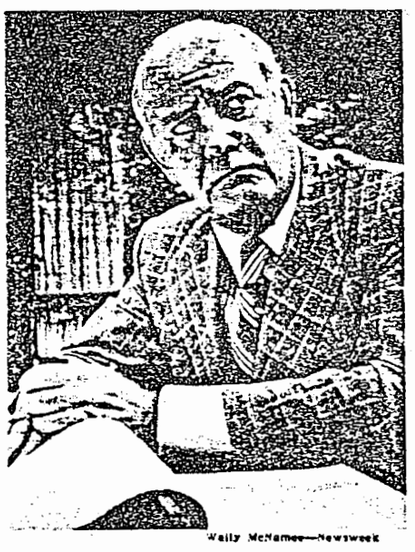
playing. "He's just going about the people's business," chuckled one top aide. Some second-guessing, however, seemed to come from GOP Vice Presidential candidate Robert Dole, who said the front-porch approach "makes some sense . . . as long as Congress is in session" but felt Ford should "be out campaigning . . . as the campaign heats up."

Yet on both sides there seemed to be a growing sense that personal campaigning—whether in ethnic neighborhoods or on the South Lawn of the White House—was now little more than sparring before the main event: the first of three TV debates between the two main contenders. Although former Sen. Eugene McCarthy and other minor-party Presidential candidates have begun legal action to block the TV debates, their efforts seem likely to fail—and aides to Ford and Carter were boning up on past Presidential debates and the positions of the current contenders. The League of Women Voters, meanwhile, was moving ahead with its preparations as sponsor of the debates. As the site of the first encounter next week, the league chose Philadelphia's Walnut Street Theater, built in 1809 and said to be the oldest theater in continuous use in the English-speaking world. Whether the debates would prove as historic as the theater remained to be seen, but the spectacle they offer of the two candidates pitted against each other may turn out to be far more important than abortion, religion—or any other issue—in Campaign '76.

—DAVID M. ALPERN with ELEANOR CLIFT and JAMES DOYLE on the Carter campaign and THOMAS M. DeFRANK and HAL BRUNO in Washington

## Gulf and Dole

Republican Vice Presidential nominee Robert Dole intended to put in another long stretch of campaigning—but for a good part of last week he spent less time shaking hands than fielding



Wally McNamee—Newsweek

Wild: An issue for the Democrats?

# HOW TO SHAKE THE NEW MONEY TREE

The slogans, the TV ads and even the candidates may look the same as in any previous election. But despite the appearance of routine, Campaign '76 is an election with an important difference: it is cheap.

As a result of the 1974 Federal Campaign Spending Law, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter must finance their efforts with only $21.8 million in Federal subsidies, plus $3.2 million from their respective national committees (by contrast, Richard Nixon spent nearly $60 million in 1972). Congressional candidates can spend as much as they raise, but individual contributions are limited to $1,000. The new regulations have made for tight budgets and meticulously organized campaigns; more importantly, they may have reduced the corrupting influence of money on politics. "This will be a fundamentally different . . . election," says Fred Wertheimer, vice president of Common Cause. "It's the end of the big-money system of electing [candidates]."

Carter and Ford have already noticed the differences. At Carter headquarters in Atlanta, the campaign budget, created with the help of a Harvard Business School professor and bound in a black notebook, allocates expenditures down to the number of lapel buttons, bumper stickers and phones per state, and sets aside a nest egg for a last-minute push in October. To save money, staff salaries were slashed by a full 10 per cent last month.

At the President Ford Committee, employees have been directed to walk to the White House—since the committee has only one car. When they travel, they go tourist class, and they are reimbursed at a flat rate of $50 a day even if their expenses exceed that amount. In scheduling campaign appearances, the PFC tries to tie in with local community programs, rather than plan more expensive events of its own.

**Priorities:** Roy Hughes, the PFC's deputy chairman for administration, is convinced that whichever candidate "manages his resources better should have the advantage"—and both campaigns have established careful priorities. As the challenger, Carter will outspend Ford on field organization ($4 million to $3 million) and travel. Ford, who intends to do little personal stumping until October, will rely on a $10 million media advertising budget (compared to $7 million for Carter). Significantly, for the first time in many years, the Republicans will have no more money to spend than the Democrats (in previous years the GOP could rely on wealthy business interests to expand its war chest). The new law also liberates both candidates from the burdensome chore of fund raising, since private contributions—except to the national committees—are prohibited.

Fund raising for Congressional candidates, on the other hand, has become more time-consuming. With individual donations limited to $1,000, it frequently takes ten donors to contribute what one did before. Another effect of the new campaign law has been to limit the influence of wealthy donors. In previous elections, fat cats such as financier Norton Simon and General Motors heir Stewart Mott gave hundreds of thousands of dollars to their favorite candidates. In return they frequently became intimately involved with the campaigns. Affluent contributors can still contribute a total of $25,000 to political-action committees (which in turn channel a maximum of $5,000 each to House and Senate candidates)—but they can no longer put a huge stake in a politician.

—SUSAN FRAKER with JANE WHITMORE in Washington and bureau reports

questions about two campaign contributions he was said to have accepted several years ago from the Gulf Oil Corp. Dole denied ever receiving the money, and Claude C. Wild Jr., a former Gulf lobbyist who allegedly made the donations—one of them illegal—later issued a partial retraction of his story. Washington prosecutors have no evidence that Dole ever personally received any such gifts. But even though the immediate political damage appeared minimal, the on-again, off-again statements and the vague testimony of a former Dole aide were not entirely convincing—and could become a campaign issue for the Democrats.

News of the Gulf contributions became public early last week after The New York Times reported that Wild, testifying under a grant of limited immunity last January, told a Federal grand jury that in 1973 he had made an illegal donation of $5,000 to $6,000 in corporate money to William A. Kats, Dole's administrative assistant. Kats, 68 and now retired, said he testified a month or so later that he "could not remember ever having received anything from Wild." In March, Dole revealed last week, he himself had voluntarily appeared before the grand jury to deny any knowledge of the money.

**Limitations:** The Watergate special prosecutor's office is still investigating Gulf's illegal contributions to U.S. politicians. However, even if it could be shown that Dole received Gulf money (there appears to be no written record of the transaction), it is probable that the donation falls outside the three-year statute of limitations on campaign-law violations.

Wild's other alleged contribution to Dole was a perfectly legal one from Gulf's "good government" fund—money composed of contributions from executives and employees rather than corporate funds. Last week, Wild matter-of-factly told reporters that in 1970 he gave Dole $2,000 from the fund to pass along to Republican candidates for office, and said he had a letter from former Utah Rep. Laurence Burton thanking him for sending the money via Dole. (The McCloy report on Gulf last winter also said that this $2,000 had gone to Dole.)

But apparently unknown to Wild, who thought he was doing Dole a favor by discussing his legal contribution (the two men are acquaintances), Dole had previously denied receiving the money. Shortly after he discovered this, Wild retracted his story and apologized to Dole. He explained that a check for $2,000 made out to cash on Oct. 9, 1970, had not been delivered to Dole after all, despite a handwritten notation in his checkbook—"Given to Dole for dis-

bursement." Instead, Wild maintained, he put the money in a safe-deposit box, where it was later given to another senator. After a search of his files, Wild was also unable to produce the Burton letter. "I probably appear the world's biggest fool," said Wild last week, "... but that's really the story ... A terrible injustice was done [to Dole]."

Dole accepted Wild's apology and said he intended to "move ahead" with his campaign. "I am not concerned that anything more will surface," Dole told NEWSWEEK, "because I did not do anything wrong." The White House also seemed convinced that Dole was in the clear. Early last month, deputy counsel Edward Schmults discussed the Gulf contributions with Dole when he was under consideration as Ford's running mate. "The senator raised the subject voluntarily," said Schmults. "We were completely satisfied in what [he] said." Another Ford strategist declared that the Gulf issue had "already played out"—and that the Republicans had not been hurt by it. Public discussion of the alleged contributions had indeed subsided. But if the Presidential race gets close, the Democrats might very well try to revive talk about Bob Dole and Gulf.

—SUSAN FRAKER with ANTHONY MARRO in Washington and JOHN J. LINDSAY on the Dole campaign

## The Wallace Tapes

While his Presidential hopes still flickered, they appeared an affectingly devoted campaign couple: the crippled Alabama governor giving 'em hell from his wheelchair, his dark-haired wife lending mute, comely support at his side. Once the limelight sputtered out, however, it appeared that George and Cornelia Wallace were something less than inseparable. Wallace was seen dining in unaccustomed solitude at some downtown Montgomery restaurants, and at one public reception they arrived—and departed—separately. Early last month, a TV station in Mobile broadcast a report that Cornelia had been locked out of the governor's mansion. There was even talk that the governor's bedroom telephone had been bugged.

Last week, pressed relentlessly by reporters, Wallace testily confirmed that a bugging device and some tapes had been found at the mansion. He had ordered them destroyed, and that was that. "This happened in my bedroom between me and my wife. As long as it doesn't affect the State of Alabama or my service as governor, it remains the business of me and my wife." But inevitably the tales of the Wallaces' domestic trouble soon found their way into print; their falling-out, it developed, seemed to have led them to the brink of divorce.

According to the general account, the gregarious Cornelia had been traveling frequently on her own, attending political meetings and making promotional trips for her autobiography, "C'nelia." Twenty years younger than her husband and uncommonly good-looking, she had undergone a face-lift at a Birmingham hospital this past July. Wallace, partly paralyzed by a would-be assassin's bullet in 1972, grew fidgety about his wife's absences. His jealousy is a characteristic problem of the wheelchair-bound. "He would worry if she went to the drug store," said Harold E. Martin, publisher of The Montgomery Advertiser. Some time ago, Wallace had her placed under "surveillance," and reportedly when Cornelia learned of it, she retaliated by rigging up an amateur phone tap.



Roger Wentowski—The Montgomery Advertiser

The Wallaces rejoined: A tap in the bedroom

Early last month, acting on a tip from one of his aides, Wallace had security officers check out the governor's mansion for wiretaps. In the basement, the officers found $2,000 worth of recording equipment hooked up to Wallace's bedroom phone and a business phone. In a mansion safe they discovered more than 200 reels of tape. Apparently, they had faithfully recorded Wallace's conversations since September of 1975, reportedly including calls to women staffers at the state capitol in which he confided his suspicions about Cornelia.

Cornelia, according to the account, was barred from the mansion when she returned from a Washington visit on Aug. 9. Not long afterward, both the Wallaces talked to divorce lawyers. (By one report, Wallace was considering a divorce even before the tapes were found.) Then, at the governor's 57th birthday party on Aug. 25, they seemed suddenly on a cozy footing again. Cornelia cut a slice of cake for her husband, looked after the gifts and called him "dear."

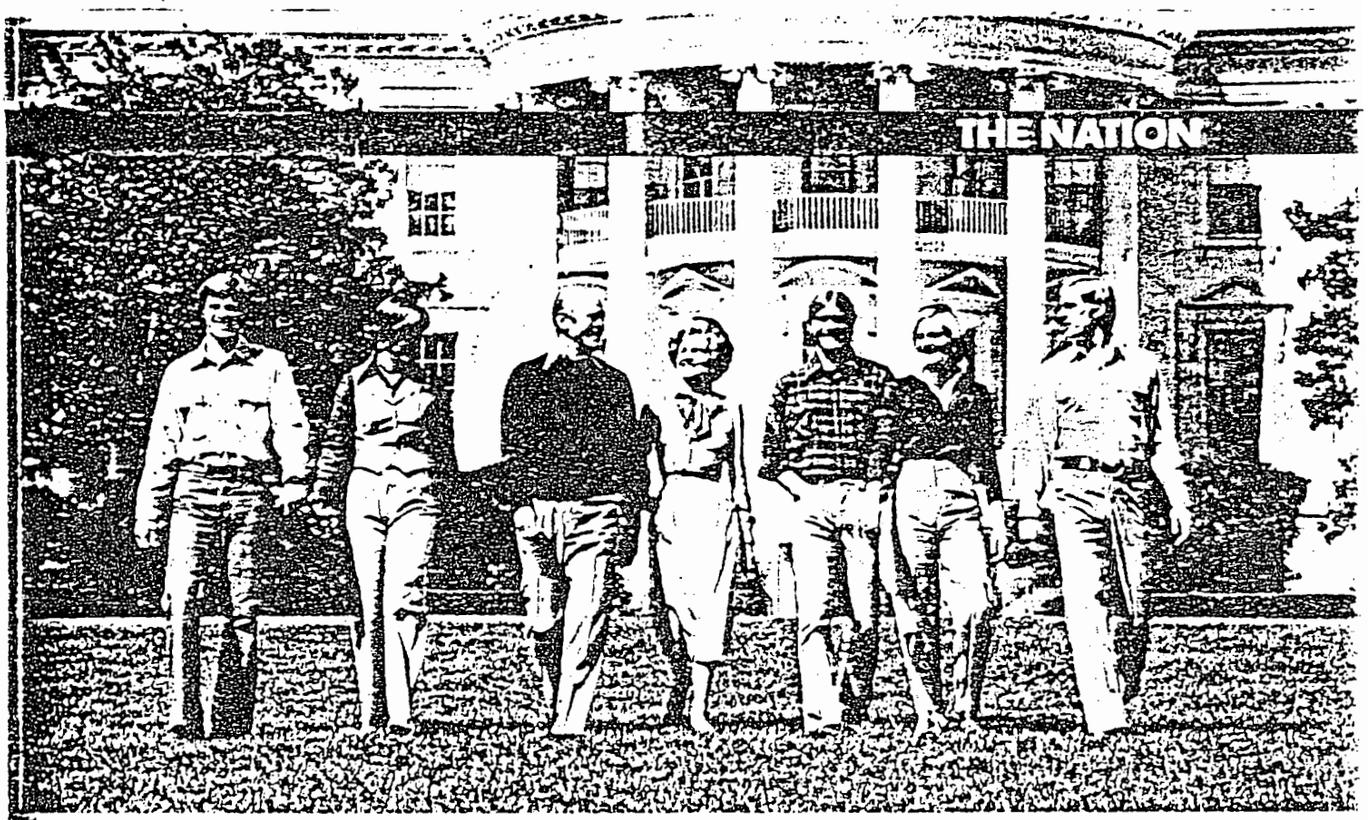
That left the situation somewhat confused. Plainly, things had gone amiss at the mansion, though Cornelia had moved back in and Wallace urged reporters last week to accept it all as "purely a domestic matter." Asked if he would support a bid by Cornelia for the governorship, he said he would "be as strong for her as I was for my first wife."

Wallace's wife Lurleen died of cancer in 1968, after serving fourteen months in the Statehouse. He married Cornelia in 1971. A niece of former Alabama Gov. Jim Folsom, she is said to have Statehouse ambitions for 1978, when Wallace's term expires. Reportedly, the idea does not sit well with the governor's aides, who see it conflicting with his own plans for a Senate race that year. One published speculation on the reasons for the Wallaces' reconciliation is that Cornelia feared reprisals if she pushed the rift further. U.S. attorney Ira DeMent said pointedly on Thursday that, at the governor's request, he would not pursue an investigation of possible illegality in the tapings "at this time."

**Interview:** Over the weekend, The Washington Post quoted an interview with Cornelia last May in which she accused Wallace's brother, Gerald—rumored to be a staunch opponent of her political plans—of spreading "rumors that I had slept with every state trooper around." (Gerald denies the charge.) Since her husband was paralyzed, she has several times hinted that she and George still have a sexual relationship.

Last week, after refusing to discuss the tapes controversy, she told the Post's Myra MacPherson, "All I was ever trying to do was to hold this marriage together under very difficult circumstances." At a reception in the mansion for Rosalynn Carter the day after Wallace's press conference, reporters were kept at a distance. But they could still view a familiar scene—the governor in his wheelchair, cheerfully greeting guests, with Cornelia positioned placidly, patiently at his side.

—DAVID GELMAN with JOSEPH B. CUMMING JR. in Montgomery, Ala.




THE FORDS LINE UP DURING FIRST CAMPAIGN WEEK (FROM LEFT): MICHAEL, HIS WIFE GAYLE, GERALD, BETTY, JACK, SUSAN, STEVE

THE CAMPAIGN

# On Abortion, the Bishops v. the Deacon

The first week of the election campaign was dominated by a delicate, emotionally charged issue that scarcely fitted into presidential politics. The issue was abortion. Almost everywhere that Jimmy Carter went, small but disruptive bands of right to lifers trailed him, hectoring the Democrat because he refuses to support a constitutional amendment outlawing such operations. Meanwhile, President Ford invited six Catholic bishops into the White House and, in a 72-min. meeting, reiterated his support for a constitutional amendment that would allow each state to decide whether or not to ban abortion; Carter opposes this states' rights option too. Later, the White House announced that Ford had ordered a study of how to cut abortions paid for by Medicaid, military or other Government funds.

**Clear Signal.** The bishops said that they were "encouraged" by Ford, while they had been "disappointed" by Carter, who had invited them in a week before. There was, however, still room for improvement in Ford's position. Declared Archbishop Joseph Bernardin, president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops: "Saying we are encouraged is not to say that we are totally satisfied. We feel there are better approaches than states' rights."

Though muted, the bishops' statement was a clear signal of support for Ford. That would not cut deeply with many Catholics: the polls show that a majority of them oppose a constitutional amendment on abortion. But the bishops' statement might well make a difference with some of the urban, blue-collar, largely Catholic voters in the industrial states who are soft on Carter for other reasons, including his Southern Baptist evangelicalism. The abortion dispute could also profoundly influence the other right to lifers, many of whom are non-Catholics. Though they include fundamentalists, Orthodox Jews, Mormons and others, they are a small minority in the nation. But, like the gun enthusiasts, they are passionately interested in one issue, and they seem intent on voting against anyone who does not agree with them. Indeed, in such crucial, closely contested states as Illinois, Ohio and Missouri, the right to lifers are already mounting massive drives to get out the vote on Nov. 2.

Time and time again as he swung through 17 cities in ten states last week, Carter was confronted with truculent anti-abortionists who hurled epithets and waved angry signs. Sample: ABORT CARTER and CARTER SUPPORTS MURDER OF UNBORN BABIES.

The worst encounter occurred in Scranton, Pa., when Carter stepped out of his car expecting to greet a friendly crowd. Instead, he was suddenly swallowed up in a stormy sea of right to lifers fiercely chanting: "Life! Life! Life!" Carter's startled Secret Service contingent cut a path to the hotel door and hustled the candidate inside.

Next day in Pittsburgh, Carter fared better. As he passed by the Immaculate Heart of Mary Church in the Polish Hill district, he was met by smiling, flag-waving parochial school youngsters. Clad in a T shirt emblazoned POLISH HILL, the candidate bowed as he was bussed on both cheeks by a parish priest—a gesture that may be worth 1,000 angry placards. Some bystanders admitted they were unhappy with Carter's stand on abortion, but they still intended to vote for him. "You have to look at everything as a whole," said one woman. "You can't just pick out one thing and say, 'I'm not going to vote for him because of that.' "

**Sympathy Backlash.** This attitude confirmed Carter's belief that he can reach Catholic voters over the heads of the hierarchy. Under the bishops' pressure a week ago, Carter had wavered and suggested that he might support some future amendment limiting abortion. Last week, however, he said that he "certainly would not change my position to try to get votes."

Indeed, his aides reckon that there may be a sympathy backlash among voters who resent the right to lifers riding

Carter so hard. Moreover, many people, including Catholics, might well feel that the church hierarchy has every right to discipline the ethics of its own faithful, but not those of people with other faiths and principles.

But Carter did shift on the broader area of the economy and spending, moving closer to the ideological middle, where he had begun his primary fight. Aides were worried that his image had become too liberal since his populist-leaning acceptance speech and his courtship of his party's left wing. His wife Rosalynn, Press Secretary Jody Powell, Political Counselor Charles Kirbo and others had urged him to return to the theme of fiscal responsibility and the need to fight inflation.



BETTY FORD AT LITHUANIAN FESTIVAL



ROSALYNN CARTER IN NASHVILLE, TENN.

*A particularly delicate and emotionally charged issue that focuses on women.*

The challenger took their advice when he kicked off his campaign at Warm Springs, Ga., Franklin Roosevelt's favorite vacation spot. While he compared himself to F.D.R. and Ford to Herbert Hoover, he coupled his call for some new social programs with a pledge of "tough management and careful planning, leading to a balanced budget."

When he went north to ethnic areas, he continued to stress fiscal and social prudence. Though he avoided the "ethnic purity" phrase that got him into trouble in the primaries, he vowed to maintain the "heritage of ethnic neighborhoods," which made much the same point in less inflammatory words.

**Signing Bills.** Ford also made the ethnic pitch, receiving Polish-American leaders in the White House and sending Wife Betty to a Lithuanian folk festival in Chicago. But, in contrast to Carter, the President tried to give the impression of moving very little, either physically or ideologically. Staying in the White House, he was at pains to show that he knew where he stood and that his experience could be counted on. He was determined to convey a presidential aura—and he did so again and again, turning normally private ceremonies into carefully orchestrated public affairs before the TV cameras.

A desk and chair were set up in the Rose Garden, and out marched the President to sign a bill providing $200 million in compensation for the victims of the dam disaster in Idaho last June. An hour later, another White House door opened, and Ford emerged from another camera angle to sign still another bill: a $240 million appropriation for day-care centers. This gave him the opportunity to explain why he had vetoed an earlier day-care bill and, by implication, why he had vetoed 55 measures in two years. "It is a better bill because my veto exercised a balancing influence on the deliberations of Congress." He had used this "constitutional check and balance" with one concern in mind: "To protect the American people from unrealistic responses to their very real needs."

Ford also played up the presidential role in foreign policy, casting even Henry Kissinger into the shade. Showing up grim and unsmiling in the White House briefing room, he castigated the Vietnamese Communists for being "callous and cruel." Of the 795 U.S. servicemen listed as missing in action in Southeast Asia, Hanoi had released the names of only twelve who had been killed. Ford pledged that until all the M.I.A.s were accounted for, there would be no normalization of relations with Viet Nam and suggested that the U.S. would continue to veto the admission of Viet Nam to the United Nations. He also responded to a charge by Carter that the widespread sale of U.S. arms is "as cynical as it is dangerous." Ford replied that most American weaponry is sold to Israel and Iran. "I assume he is not proposing to cut off Israel."

After meeting with his Cabinet and Vice-Presidential Candidate Robert Dole, Ford made clear that he—not Kissinger—would determine the next step in U.S. efforts to mediate between whites and blacks in southern Africa. Said Ford: "I will decide whether further progress can be made through a visit by Secretary Kissinger to Africa." Later, the White House announced that Kissinger would again go to Africa this week.




**Extra Mileage.** Obviously, the President got a big bang for no bucks in last week's campaigning. By staying put in the White House, he was given the mileage he needed at no cost to his campaign committee. Carter, meanwhile, spent more than $200,000 on his extensive travels, including trips in his chartered jet, dubbed "Peanut 1." Some Republicans, including Dole, wonder whether it is enough for Ford to be presidential; they want him to get out to the people often and soon —rather than later, as planned. But last week, at least, Ford lost no ground, while Carter—on the move and on the defensive—seemed to have slipped a couple of notches.

# The Other Side of the Waffle

*Waffle.* v.t. & i. *To flutter: to flap.*
*—Webster's New International Dictionary*

Determined to pin the label of "waffler" on Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford's campaign strategists are raising quite a flap over the Democratic candidate's widely reported inconsistencies, contradictions or obfuscations (TIME, May 31 *et seq.*). They accuse him of waffling on matters as disparate as abortion, grain embargoes, repeal of the right-to-work law and whether he would fire FBI Chief Clarence Kelley if Carter becomes President. Yet as Carter's forces are getting ready to counterattack, there is plenty of ammunition available.

Ford has changed his position quite a bit on matters of presidential policy. He had once dismissed the possibility of pardoning Richard Nixon because "I do not think the public would stand for it"—but he did just that. He reversed ground on economic strategy, first passing out WIN (Whip Inflation Now) buttons and urging tax increases; then, as the recession worsened, he called for a large tax cut and wound up with a 1976 budget deficit of almost $66 billion. He vowed not to sign any bill extending those tax cuts beyond 1975 unless Congress agreed to an equal cutback in federal spending, but when Congress failed to do so, he signed an extension nevertheless.

A President with the full responsibility of governing, responding to shifting circumstances, is not in a comparable position with a candidate waffling under the political pressures of a campaign. Yet many of Candidate Ford's flutters have been essentially part of campaign tactics. Some examples:

**ABORTION.** Ford's position on the question of amending the Constitution to outlaw abortion, first expressed in a Walter Cronkite TV interview last February, was that "a constitutional amendment goes too far." Later in the same interview, he indicated he might accept an amendment giving each state the right to enforce whatever abortion laws it wishes. But last week Ford insisted, "My position is that of the Republican platform, and I will stick with it." Without explaining why, he seemed to see no distinction between his states' rights stand and the platform's, which supports "the efforts of those who seek enactment of a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children." This "right to life" plank says nothing about letting each state go its own way on abortion.

**ENERGY.** Ford began last year with a sensible program to conserve energy, reduce oil imports and expand development of domestic energy sources. Trouble was, it called for raising the price of oil by temporarily imposing import fees and ending domestic price controls. The President abandoned his position late in the year under a crossfire of political pressures. He signed a bill retaining price controls on both new and old oil supplies in the U.S., which has discouraged growth of domestic production and contributed to increased U.S. reliance on imports. One reason for his change: the bill was popular in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, where people burn great amounts of oil—and where the first two primaries were held.

**DAY-CARE CENTERS.** Last April, in the midst of his battle against Ronald Reagan, Ford vetoed a $125 million bill to improve health and safety standards of day-care centers for children of welfare mothers; the bill had been popular with most of the public—but not with the Republican right-wingers. Last week with the nomination safely in hand, he called in TV cameras to record his signing of a $240 million compromise measure, in which the differences were mostly cosmetic.

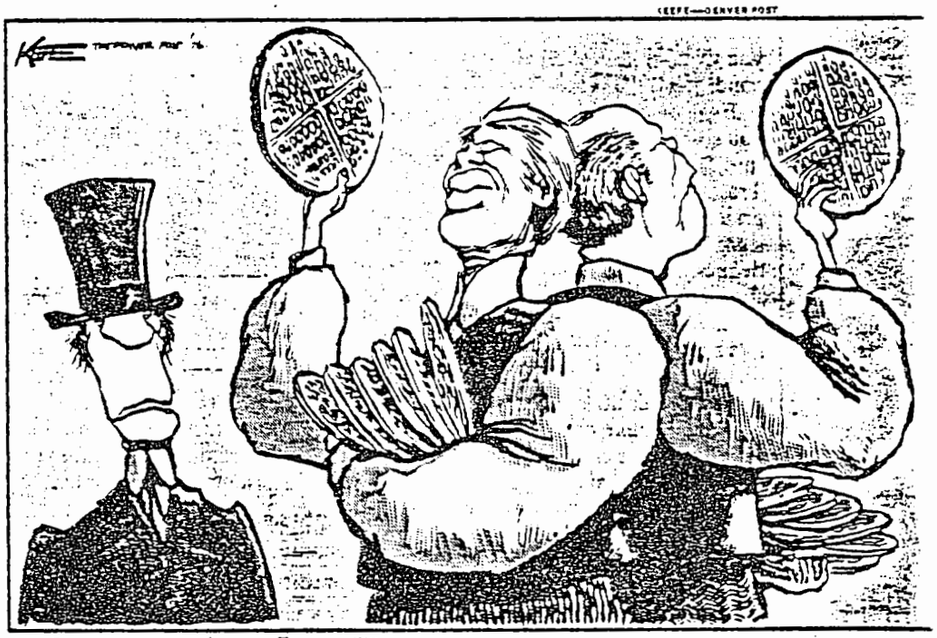
**THE PANAMA CANAL.** Stung by Reagan's accusation last spring that Ford was "giving away" the canal, the President promised, during a campaign visit to Texas, that the U.S. "will never give up its defense rights . . . and operational rights." That was a flat contradiction of instructions that Ford had given to U.S. diplomats, including Ambassador-at-Large Ellsworth Bunker, who was negotiating with the Panamanians. Later the White House was forced to issue a "clarification" that amounted to a retraction of Ford's remarks in Texas.

**COMMON SITUS.** In 1975 Ford gave public promises and firm private assurances to his Labor Secretary, John Dunlop, that he would sign the "common situs picketing bill," which would permit a single construction union to shut down an entire building site. But he gave in to great pressure from construction contractors and Republican leaders and vetoed the measure. With that, Dunlop resigned.

**GRAIN EMBARGOES.** Ford ordered moratoriums on grain sales to the Soviet Union in 1974 and in 1975. In his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, he pledged, "There will be no embargoes." Yet, as Running Mate Robert Dole has conceded, embargoes on sales of food abroad might have to be considered if there were a national emergency, like a serious domestic food shortage. Carter has made essentially the same comedown on the issue.

**NATIONAL PARKS.** As attendance at national parks soared, Ford's Office of Management and Budget consistently refused to let the National Park Service spend more to meet the demands. But two weeks ago, bidding for support from park lovers and conservationists, Ford posed before Yellowstone National Park's Old Faithful geyser to propose a $1.5 billion, 10-year parks improvement program.

Certainly, consistency is not always a virtue in a politician. It becomes a vice if it means that a candidate or officeholder will never amend his judgment, never compromise on issues or respond to the shifting pressures of democratic government. For both Ford and Carter, each switch on an issue has to be examined on its own merits to determine whether it shows an unsure, vacillating nature, a yielding to short-term political expediency—or perhaps a sensible change of mind.




*". . . Ten paces, turn, then waffle at will!"*




DOLE CHATTING WITH RACING DRIVER RICHARD PETTY AT THE SOUTHERN 500

# Dole: The Caustic Comedian

*The presidential contenders have assigned much of the day-to-day campaigning chores to their running mates. Republican Robert Dole and Democrat Walter Mondale. Accompanying Dole last week was* TIME *Correspondent Dean Fischer, who filed this story. It is followed by* TIME *Correspondent John Stacks' report on the Mondale campaign.*

Waving Confederate flags, emitting Rebel yells, and sipping beer from paper cups, spectators at the big raceway in Darlington, S.C., waited with genial impatience last week for the start of the Southern 500, a classic stock-car event. They barely noticed the tall, lean man whose neat blue and white seersucker suit contrasted sharply with the bib overalls, T shirts and baseball caps in the crowd. Then the stranger in town stepped up onto the platform erected temporarily on the edge of the track, approached the microphone, and desperately tried to create an instant rapport with his audience. "I'm more of a stock-car fan today than I was yesterday," shouted Senator Robert Dole, the Republican vice-presidential nominee and Jerry Ford's vote-hunting emissary to alien lands.

**Light Heart.** Dole's brave try to win favor by kidding his own predicament aroused only scattered applause. For a few minutes, the Senator signed autographs, chatted with Ace Driver Cale Yarborough—a folk hero in the South for his lead foot and light heart—and smilingly posed for photographs with Miss Cindy McDowell, Miss Southern 500. Suddenly a roar swept through the crowd. Jimmy Carter was emerging from a green Chrysler, grinning with delight, totally at ease in familiar surroundings. When Carter reached the stand, the Republican vice-presidential nominee edged toward the Democratic presidential nominee. Smiling, Carter edged away. Finally, Dole maneuvered himself into a position next to the Georgian. "Glad to see you," said Carter.

Now it was his turn to address the crowd. Declaring that he had been a stock-car fan for 25 years, Carter promised that if he was elected President the drivers would be invited to the White House. Standing ten feet away, Dole remarked to anyone within earshot: "It's going to be a busy place."

The performance at the 500 was Bob Dole at his best: trying gallantly to cope with an awkward situation, kidding himself in the process, and doing his damndest to win support for Ford and the Republican ticket. As the vice-presidential candidate, Senator Dole sees his role in the campaign as that of "the lead dog," seeking new and promising territory for the G.O.P. He also has the job of carrying the fight to the Democrats, at least early in the campaign, while the President follows the strategy of staying put in the White House and acting "presidential."

Barnstorming through Dixie, Dole insisted, "We're not writing off the South. We're saying 'right on' in the South." To a group of supporters in South Carolina, he declared: "Carter may be your geographic neighbor, but we want to be your philosophic neighbor." Inevitably, Dole got in a sharp dig at what he calls Carter's "equivocation." A common line: "He has taken so many stands on 14B [the right-to-work law], the next time they ask him, he'll probably say it's his shoe size."

**Adult Game.** Dole was temporarily distracted from his assigned role last week when former Gulf Oil Lobbyist Claude Wild Jr. claimed he had given the Senator a $2,000 campaign contribution in 1970. Dole insisted he had no knowledge of any such transaction, and after a flurry of activity by reporters scenting scandal, Wild lamely admitted that he was sure he had been "in error" in making his charge. Wild did not comment on the allegation that he illegally gave Dole's administrative assistant $5,000 to $6,000 for the Senator's 1974 campaign—a claim Dole has denied. The headlines were painful for Dole. "I'd forgotten how tough the press was," he said. "I just haven't had that intense scrutiny before. This is different. It's an adult game we're in."

In the weeks ahead, Dole will be stumping through Florida, Alabama, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah, California, Missouri, South Dakota and Kansas, "making points for the President" by sniping at Carter in the North, and concentrating his fire in the South on Senator Walter Mondale, the Georgian's running mate. Hoping to claim the middle of the road for the Republicans, Dole will be pointing to the liberal voting record of Mondale, whom he calls Mr. Busing.

Dole will also be trying to play the adult game of presidential politics for some laughs—at his and the Republicans' expense. "Half the people don't know my name," he likes to say, "and the other half think it's something to drink." As for the parlous state of the G.O.P., Dole told a crowd in Carbondale, Ill., "I'm very proud to be here. Being a Republican, I'm proud to be anywhere."

# Mondale: Hard-Driving Optimist

At the Democratic National Convention, Fritz Mondale rashly promised to put in more hours politicking each day than even his indefatigable running mate, Jimmy Carter. Last week, after rising before the sun, Mondale formally began his part of the Democratic campaign at Washington's National Airport, enthusiastically shaking every proffered hand—and even a mechanic's leg that was dangling from an airplane's cargo hold. Then he boarded a chartered Boeing 727 to begin a week-long, dawn-to-midnight campaign swing that took him to 14 cities in eleven states. But at midweek, when his speeches began going flat, aides had to insert rest periods in his fatiguing schedule, and Mondale admitted defeat. Said he: "Nobody gets up earlier than Jimmy Carter."

Even so, Mondale's energetic campaigning erased any lingering doubts about his drive and stamina. The questions had been raised because, in dropping out of the race for the Democratic presidential nomination in November 1974, he said he lacked an "overwhelming desire" for the office. Aides attribute some of Mondale's new zeal to the



FRITZ MONDALE PLAYFULLY GREETING AN AIRPLANE MECHANIC IN WASHINGTON
*The standard stump speech became laced with Carterisms.*

fact that his partisan appetite has been whetted by the chance to go after Gerald Ford and Robert Dole instead of fellow Democrats. Then, too, Mondale has a sense of impending victory—an optimism that was missing during the primaries. Says he: "The issues are cutting with us. The Ford Administration isn't going anywhere. It's dead." The party's new unity was tonic as well. As Mondale noted during a flight from New Mexico to Iowa, "The hostility, bitterness, rudeness, vulgarity—you don't see that this year."

For so young a campaign, the Mondale effort seemed surprisingly well organized. Rather than aiming just for large crowds last week, schedulers set up a variety of small group meetings. One morning, for example, Mondale saw no more than 150 people at three labor hiring halls in Los Angeles, then went on to San Diego, where he talked to a handful of workers and officers at the U.S. naval base. Mondale called this low-keyed approach "listening and learning," explaining that it was patterned after Carter's early efforts to get in touch with the American people. Indeed, Mondale frequently told his audiences that Ford is "sitting behind his desk practicing being President. He should get out and earn it." The small, more intimate settings have another advantage that Mondale did not mention: they make for good television.

**No Writer.** Mondale delivered his speeches with ease and with humor that was often directed at himself. He lacks a good gag writer, but got off a few zingers of his own. Sample: "President Ford says he wants more national parks. Well, I've checked his record, and the only park he has supported is the President of South Korea." Throughout the week, Mondale struggled to blend the liberalism that he learned at Hubert Humphrey's knee with Carter's politics of moral leadership. At times Mondale seemed to forget that inflation now comes first in Carter's list of problems to be solved. In city after city he stressed unemployment, claiming that "counting discouraged workers, there are now more people out of work than the entire population of Ohio." To a largely working-class audience in Barberton, a suburb of Akron, he declared: "Any Administration that can't promise jobs shouldn't be in office."

As the week progressed, however, the standard stump speech became laced with Carterisms. At a Democratic Party rally in Albuquerque, Mondale urged a new Government "close to the values we have learned in church." He added: "Washington seems distant, isolated, out of touch with the American people." Touring a 1,700-acre farm in Missouri, he described the family farm as "our most sacred institution" and blamed farmers' problems with some Government programs on "unknown, unelected, faceless bureaucrats."

Like Carter, Mondale stayed clear of personal assaults on Ford. About as close as he came in a speech was to suggest lack of leadership. Said he: "The country needs someone in charge. [Republicans are] nice people, but they are tired and need a rest." It is still too early to gauge how much Mondale's unabrasive, uncontroversial campaign will contribute to his party's ticket, but clearly he is fitting in well with Jimmy Carter's campaign scheme. In the final analysis, the race is Carter's to win or lose. Thus if Mondale simply continues to avoid hurting the ticket, that may be contribution enough.

POLITICS

## Arizona Shootout

Under the hot Arizona sun, the two bitter enemies circled each other like battling scorpions, stingers at the ready. Jabbed Representative John Conlan: "We are both conservatives, but our style is different. He uses a meat ax and I use a scalpel." Riposted Representative Sam Steiger: "John thinks of himself as a scalpel. I prefer to think of him as a Roto-Rooter." So it went in perhaps the year's most vicious political contest, the fight for the Arizona Republican nomination to succeed retiring G.O.P. Senator Paul Fannin. Last week that contest ended when Steiger, by a margin of about 10,000 votes out of a record 195,000 cast, captured the nomination. He may well have won a Pyrrhic victory.

**Fast Lip.** Steiger, 45, is a New York-born Jew who headed west 28 years ago and worked successively as rodeo bulldogger, airplane wing-walker, horse-race broadcaster, rancher and —since 1967—U.S. Congressman. He frequently sports lizardskin cowboy boots, silver belt buckles and pearl-buttoned shirts. Endowed with the brashest and fastest lip in Arizona politics, he once angered fellow Congressmen by observing that many of them were usually too drunk to be trusted pushing a wheelbarrow. More recently, he made headlines by shooting two burros that he claimed attacked him on a neighbor's ranch near Prescott.

His defeated adversary, Conlan, 46, a two-term Congressman who often wears white patent-leather shoes and white socks, is equally aggressive, but somewhat more polished. A former Fulbright scholar and Harvard-educated

STEIGER ON HORSE FARM IN PRESCOTT



The Capitol Letter/Seymour Martin Lipset

# THE 1976 ELECTION IS NOW A CONTEST

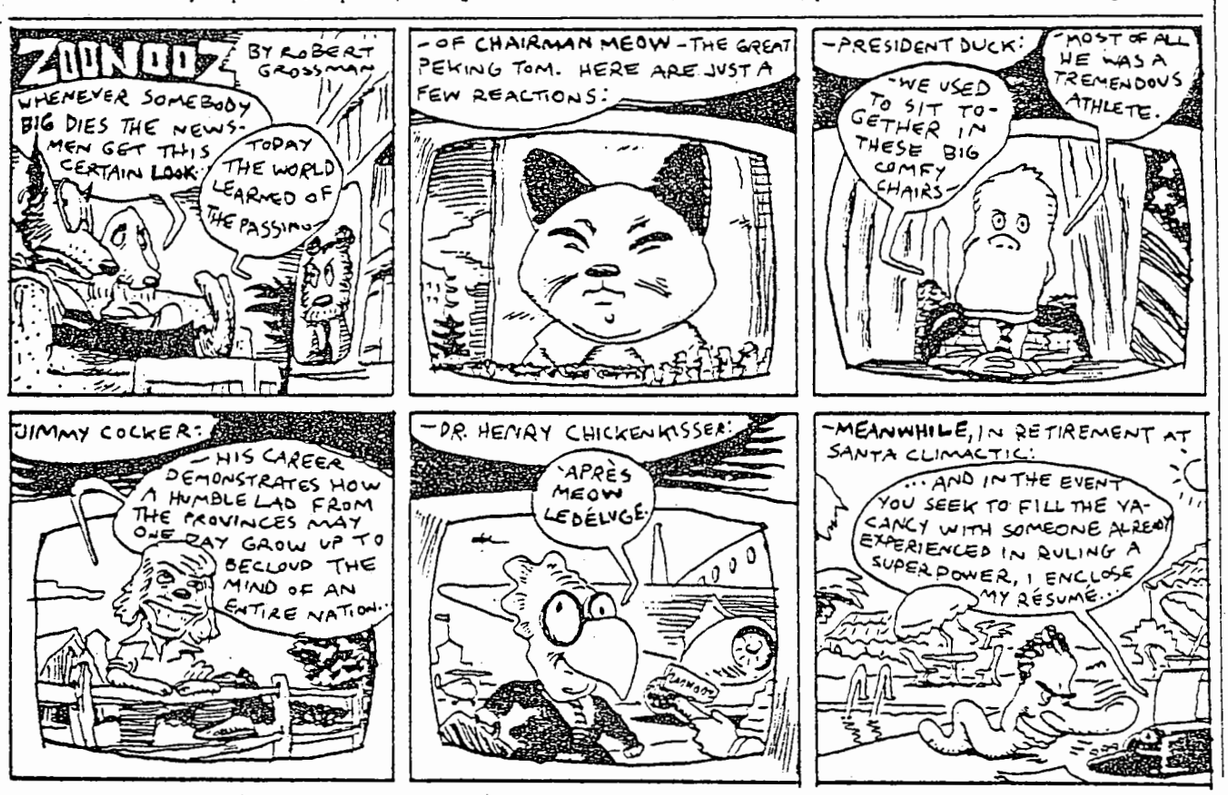
The 1976 election is now a real contest. Since the modern age of polling began in 1933, no other presidential candidate experienced so rapid a decline in his standing as Jimmy Carter did in the period surrounding the two nominating conventions. In polls taken in early and mid-July, Gerald Ford was far behind among registered voters—32 percentage points behind according to Peter Hart, 39 percentage points behind in the Lou Harris survey, and 33 points behind in George Gallup's. By the second week of August, just before the GOP convention, Carter's lead in the Gallup Poll had fallen by ten points, to 36 to 33. A week and a half later, Carter's advantage was down to 9 to 10 percent in surveys conducted by the Opinion Research Corporation, the Sindlinger organization, Gallup, and Pat Caddell, Carter's own pollster. Carter hit his low point in the summer surveys in a poll of 1,544 registered voters conducted by Daniel Yankelovich between August 20 and 24, which found a bare six points separating them, 46 for Carter and 40 for Ford.

Nominees usually experience a post-convention lift in the opinion polls, but the magnitude of Ford's gain is unprecedented. In large measure it reflected the intensity of his bitter nomination contest. Once the Kansas City convention was over, however, Ford regained the support of the large majority of those Republicans who had preferred Ronald Reagan, many of whom had told pollsters before the nomination that if Ford was the candidate they would vote for Carter.

Carter's precipitous drop in support halted at the end of August. In polls taken in the final days of the month, both Gallup and Harris found that the gap had widened slightly from its low of 6 to 10 percent. Gallup reported a 13 percent difference, 52 to 37, while Harris's estimate was 13 percent, 52 to 39. The latter's results for a three-candidate race were Carter 49, Ford 38, and Eugene McCarthy 6.

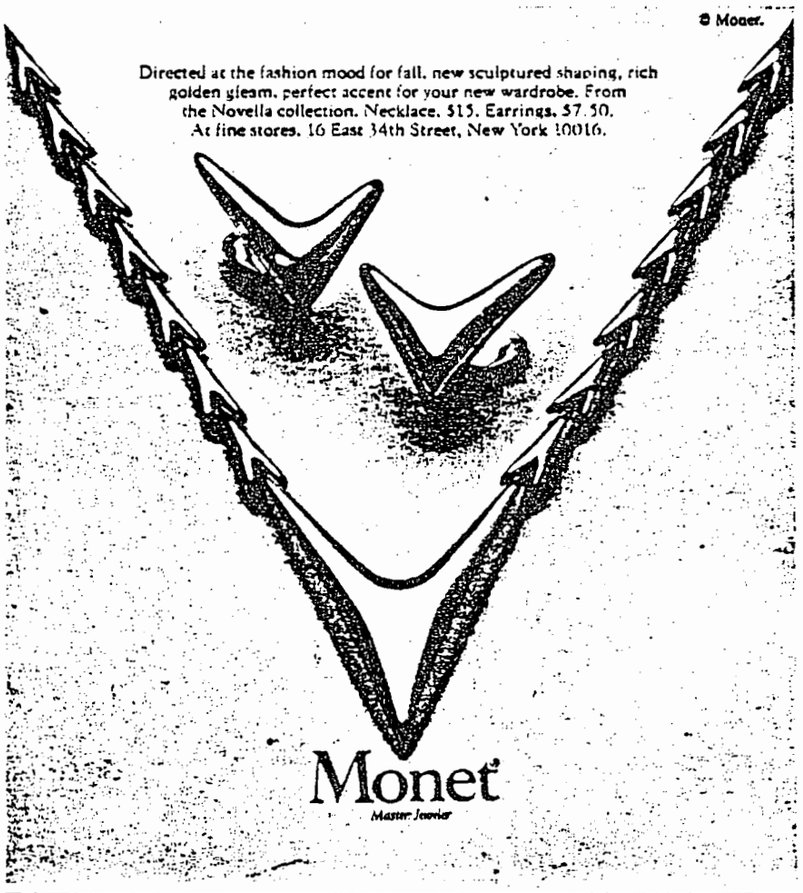
Previous campaign polls have witnessed fluctuations between September and November greater than the difference now separating the two nominees. The presence in the race of two well-known minor candidates, Eugene McCarthy and Lester Maddox, adds to the potential volatility. But it is unlikely that either will wind up with even 2 percent of the vote. Almost invariably, minor candidates lose most of their supporters to a "lesser evil" major-party contestant by November. In a close race, McCarthy is the more likely to affect the outcome. His appeal is largely to liberal nonsouthern voters, most of whom would otherwise vote for Carter. McCarthy could deny Carter the electoral votes of some northern states. Maddox's votes will largely come from the South and are unlikely to affect the results in any state.

More important than the impact of minor candidates is the way the regional distribution of the votes will affect Electoral College votes. All the polls agree that Carter's August leads were greatest in the southern and border states, which once more resemble the solid Democratic South that existed before 1948. Gallup's August 20–23 survey put Ford 36 percent behind in the South but tied with Carter in the rest of the country, which contains two thirds of the population. Harris's end-of-the-month poll reported Carter 32 percent ahead in his home region, but



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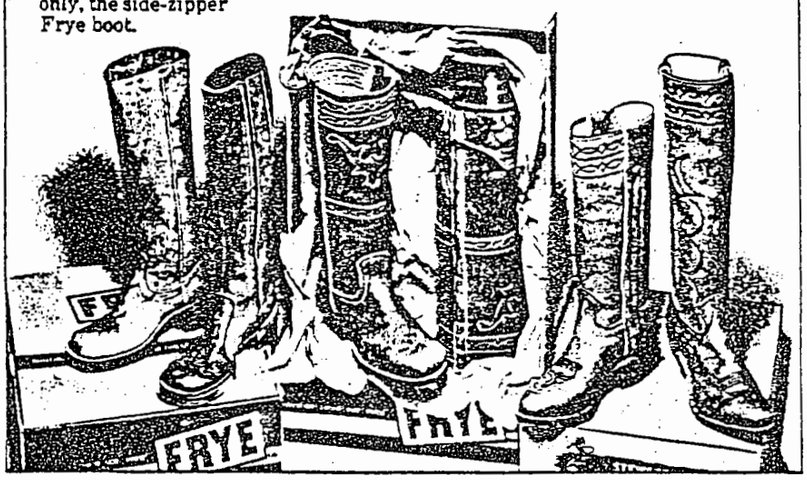
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behind by two points in the Midwest, and leading by about ten in the East and West. The president's pollster, Robert Teeter, found Ford behind by only 4 percent in New York State. Ford clearly must aim to sweep most of the North and West. Carter, with a safe lead in the South, could win the election with considerably less than half the electoral votes in the rest of the country, e.g., by carrying the mid-Atlantic and New England states, plus a few others.

The August dropoff in Carter's support was also not uniform among social groups. He retained his overwhelming majority, over 80 percent, among black voters. More surprisingly, he gained greatly among Jews, who had largely opposed him in the primaries and remained dubious after the Democratic convention. Both Yankelovich and Caddell reported that the Jews had largely returned to their Democratic loyalties by late August, preferring Carter to Ford by 70 percent to 20 percent or less. Harris, however, indicated a closer division: 48 Carter, 31 Ford, and 14 McCarthy. The other major traditionally Democratic group, Catholics, also are still in Carter's camp, but by a smaller plurality, approximately 45 to 35, and with considerable misgivings.

Carter's major loss over the summer came from the ranks of people like himself, white Protestants living in rural and nonmetropolitan areas.

Ideologically, Ford, not unnaturally, gained most from middle-of-the-road and conservative voters, many of whom had identified with Carter during the primary campaign when he was perceived as a moderate or conservative running against liberals. As the Democratic nominee, endorsed by a variety of liberal spokesmen such as Ralph Nader and advocating populist and welfare policies, Carter lost heavily among less liberal voters.

The Republican effort to hang the label of "liberal" onto the Carter-Mondale ticket is clearly linked to their awareness that, although identified Democrats outnumber Republicans by over two to one—approximately 45 percent to 20—all the polls agree that when people are asked to identify themselves as liberals or conservatives, conservatives are well in the lead. In late August, according to Harris, 31 percent identified themselves as conservative, 18 percent as liberal, 41 percent as middle of the road, and 3 percent as radical left. The Democrats who call themselves conservatives are drawn largely from the ranks of the less privileged who are bothered by many of the social changes of the last decade in (*Continued on page 17*)

(*Continued from page 12*) the areas of race relations, sexual permissiveness, legalization of abortions, increased use of drugs, and the like. But it should be noted that Harris surveys in July reported that a large majority, 75 percent to 15 percent, felt that the "trouble with Congress is that it thinks too often that it can solve problems just by throwing money at problems," and that a slightly smaller majority, 62 to 26, had the same opinion about "liberal Democrats."

In this now more wide-open race, the debates may well be decisive. Ford is at an advantage as a prospective beneficiary who cannot lose much and may gain a great deal, since the polls, including those of Pat Caddell, indicate that the president will go into the debates perceived as a thoroughly decent man who is not likely to do things that threaten the values and interests of most Americans, but who has not been an effective leader. Ford could destroy the latter impression. He is not quick, but he is thorough and knowledgeable, qualities which may show up well in question-and-answer sessions.

The prevailing image of Jimmy Carter is of a bright, dynamic leader of a brilliantly well-organized campaign. However, his obvious driving ambition, his intensity, make him a potentially threatening figure, an unknown man who as president might press for undesirable domestic changes. Carter's ability to give clever, glib responses could turn off voters mindful of past strong presidents.

The importance of the debates is emphasized by the fact that neither Ford nor Carter arouses passionate feelings, either positively or negatively. Gallup reports that both have low favorable ratings as compared to previous successful candidates.

Finally, it should be noted that elections may be decided by variations in turnout rates. A Peter Hart poll, conducted for an academic group interested in nonvoting, suggests that only about 50 percent of the eligible electorate will vote in 1976, which, if true, would be the lowest percentage in history. Normally, the Democrats suffer most from greater apathy since heavily Democratic groups such as blacks, Chicanos, underprivileged whites, and young people are least likely to vote.

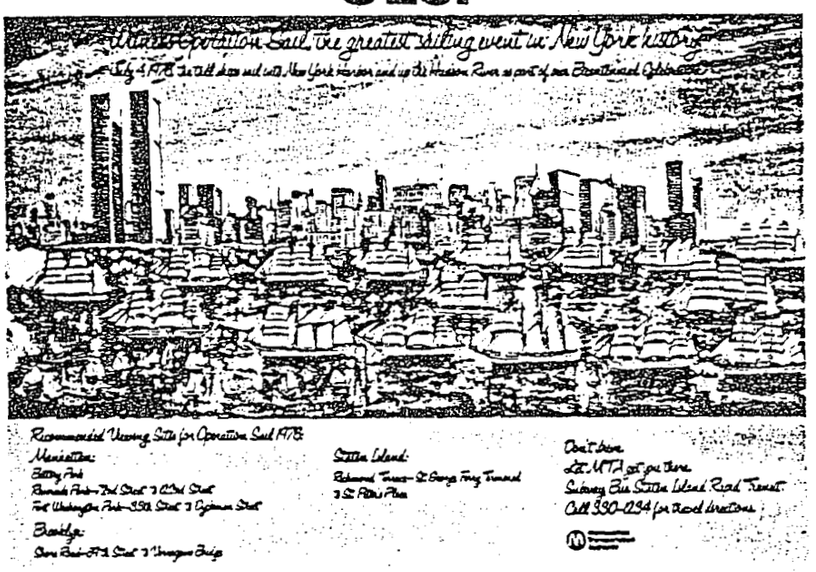
Jimmy Carter still has a substantial advantage, and if the debates and other things go well, he could even increase his lead. But Gerald Ford is president, a tremendous advantage as past experience demonstrates, and people are not afraid of what he might do. Holding his own in the debates could enable him to overcome Carter's lead. ■


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