Morris Udall

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Introduction

NO UDALL DOMESTIC

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Conservationists working on federal legislation probably owe more to Rep. ~~Morris~~ Udall (D-Ariz.) than to any other candidate running for President. There are two principle reasons for this. The first is Udall's deep interest and broad understanding of environmental issues and their relationship to population, economics, and energy policy. Ten years before Earth Day, Udall warned his more short-sighted colleagues of the urgent need for a stable population and responsible land use policies to prevent depletion of the nation's resources. He is still stressing the same issues in 1976.

The second reason for Udall's importance is his critical position on the House Interior Committee, where he chairs the Subcommittee on the Environment. Udall was first appointed to the Interior Committee in 1963, and throughout the 1960s he was a leader in many legislative battles to protect the public lands and create new parks and wilderness areas. But his power was limited by the crusty Committee Chairman, Rep. Wayne Aspinall (D-Colo.) who was hostile to [redacted] conservation legislation. When Aspinall was defeated in 1972, Udall seized the opportunity to expand the jurisdiction of his Subcommittee and gain more control over environmental policies. During the last session, he was a co-author and a leader in the fight to pass badly needed legislation on strip mining, land use planning, non-nuclear energy research and other issues.

Udall sees himself as a negotiator, willing to listen and learn from both sides. He always keeps his mind and his door open. Environmentalists consider ~~him~~ Udall one of the most accessible of all the Congressional leaders, But they also find [redacted] frustrating to work with on legislative strategy. Although he has attracted a very good staff, ~~he~~ Udall doesn't always pay enough personal attention to the details that are necessary to launch an aggressive legislative campaign. He is also too quick to compromise his positions, and sometimes ~~even~~ backs off in anticipation of trouble that has not yet materialized. Thus Udall tends to give away too much in return for too little, and sacrifice provisions that would seriously undercut his programs in the hopes of attracting broader support.

As a result, other members of the Interior Committee sometimes take tougher positions than Udall, who is worried about selling his bills to the rest of Congress and getting them past the President's desk. This is no easy task. The strip mine and land use bills were highly controversial and the White House lobbied heavily against them both, working to undermine the bipartisan support that Udall and other Congressional leaders had worked so hard to put together. Neither bill was signed into law.

As a legislator, Udall is not nearly as powerful as Sen. Henry Jackson, Chairman of the Senate Interior Committee. But Udall's positions on critical energy issues covered by the two Interior Committees are much better than Jackson's. Udall's greatest weakness has been his promotion of destructive water projects for irrigation and public power. He has a good voting record on pollution, wildlife, pesticides, and other issues outside his committee jurisdiction when they come to the House Floor.

Udall relies mainly upon negotiation and persuasion to influence his colleagues, and doesn't care for the ~~high-pressure~~ arm twisting tactics which are used to advantage by some other senior Congressmen. ~~Twisting arms~~ This is not Udall's style. He is an idealist, a reformer, and a long standing critic of the seniority system who has antagonized many of the old guard House Democrats. Udall was one of the first Congressmen to make a complete financial disclosure of his assets. Years ago he worked to strengthen regulations of the franking privilege, which provides free postage to incumbents and can be abused to give them an unfair advantage over under-financed challengers. More recently he pushed for stricter federal election campaign laws.

Udall has been re-elected eight times as a liberal from a conservative state, demonstrating that he knows how to campaign and that his convictions are more than a reflection of his consistuency. He has worked for tax reform since 1963 and has been talking about the need to break up the oil companies for a long time.

He spoke out against the Vietnam war in 1967, sooner than any of the other ~~@@@@@@@~~ Presidential candidates now running this year.

Udall is now devoting nearly all his time to the Presidential campaign, and in some ways he makes a better candidate than he does a Congressman. He does not get tangled up in compromises, but uses his skill as a spokesman to convince the voters that a strong environmental platform is not only compatible but essential to a healthy economy. More important, he can back up his statements with hard statistics. Udall cites studies by the Council on Environmental Quality which show that environmental restrictions have cost only 12,000 jobs since 1971, while new environmental programs have created over 1,000,000 jobs. "These are jobs for every kind of worker; not just for the highly trained research scientists, but for factory workers and construction workers to build the facilities, for technicians to run them, and for the whole supporting cast needed to run any enterprise of this magnitude... every responsible economic study on this question concludes that environmental protection has saved us from even worse recession than we have today." Udall offers many other statistics to show that full employment does not need to depend upon high energy consumption, and that measures to save energy through conservation programs and changes in priorities would create more jobs than costly energy production schemes. (See Energy strategy section for details.) Thus Udall has probably done more than any other candidate to dispel industry arguments that the environment must be sacrificed in the name of energy production and economic growth.

Udall's appointments of his brother Stewart Udall, as his chief fundraiser and advisor is seen as a mixed blessing by environmentalists. While serving under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Stewart Udall worked diligently to secure protection for wildernesses and endangered species. Yet, under his direction, the Department of Interior turned over billions of tons of federal coal to major oil companies and began diverting agricultural water supplies to industrial programs thus setting the stage for western strip mining and energy development.

The only candidate to rival Udall's environmental credentials is former Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia. Although Udall is better known nationally as an environmental spokesman, Carter is highly respected by conservationists who worked with him as Governor of Georgia and has taken good positions in his Presidential campaign. The two candidates have faced such different circumstances that it is difficult to make an objective comparison or to judge which would make a better President on energy and the environment. (See Carter profile for a more detailed comparison.)

In sum, Udall has earned a national reputation as an active and early advocate on many environmental causes. Although he has sometimes had trouble implimenting tough programs, his priorities, his experience, and his broad understanding of the issues all make him an excellent choice for President.

Nuclear

Until late 1973, Udall voted with the nuclear industry on every controversial amendment to restrict the Atomic Energy Commission's programs; but since that time he has reversed himself and taken a much more critical attitude toward nuclear power.

Some of his early, pro-nuclear votes include the following:

—In 1971, Udall opposed delaying the project Cannikan blast despite risks of earthquakes, leakage into the ocean and dangers to sea otters on the Amchitka Island Wildlife Refuge.

—In early 1973, Udall opposed amendment to allow states to set stricter radiation standards than those set by the AEC. ~~Thus~~ Environmentalists considered this provision crucial. Scientists have not agreed on what constituted a safe level of radiation—if there is any.

—Udall rejected an amendment by Teno Roncalio to delete $3.8 million from the Project Plowshare ~~Program~~ budget to set off nuclear explosions to release underground natural gas. Conservationists had opposed the project because of contamination to the natural gas, underground water supplies and risks of radioactive leakage. But since 1973, Udall's nuclear record has vastly improved.

Environmentalists speculate that it was Udall's involvement in the non-nuclear energy bill that prompted his change of heart. For more than a year, Udall fought against the Rules Committee, in the Interior Committee, and even ~~against~~ the Senate to establish a clear mandate for non-nuclear energy research and provide enough funds to implement more than superficial efforts in solar, geothermal, and other alternative energy sources. (See Energy Strategy section for more detail.) By 1974, Udall was supporting amendments to cut Project Plowshare, to restrict international proliferation of nuclear plants, and to shorten the extension of the Price Anderson Act, which subsidized the nuclear industry's insurance costs thus reducing their incentive to act with caution.

In 1975, Udall held four days of hearings to allow both critics and defenders of nuclear energy to present their cases. The event was well publicized in advance to assure ample TV coverage, and did much to expose the severe economic and safety

problems of nuclear power.

After taking the lead in these hearings, environmentalists were disappointed that Udall failed to show up for the key votes to prevent funding of plant equipment for the breeder nuclear reactor, which produces plutonium---one of the most toxic substances known to man. Environmentalists feared that such funds would constitute a commitment to development of the breeder, despite serious environmental safety, and technological problems. (For more information on the breeder reactor, see the Ford profile, nuclear energy section.) Udall did "pair" on behalf of the amendment with another member of Congress and issued a statement in the Congressional Record indicating reasons for his opposstion to the breeder reactor. In answer to the League of Conservation Voters questionaire, Udall, did not support a moratorium on construction and licensing of new nuclear reactors. Instead, like most other Presidential candidates, he supports structural improvements to provide better safeguards.

COAL

~~Federal Surface Mining~~

Udall was the co-author of the Federal Strip Mine Reclamation Act which was ~~passed~~ vetoed twice by President Ford. This was one of the most heavily lobbied bills ever considered by the Congress. On the basis of his public record, Udall's positions appear to be excellent.

Udall fought consistently and successfully against Republican efforts to weaken the reclamation requirements. Amoung other things, Udall:

—Opposed a weaker ~~substitute~~ substitute bill;

—Insisted on adequate provisions for public hearings and input from citizens;

—Supported a ban on strip ~~mining~~ mining in the National Forests;

—Favored strict requirements for soil stabilization, water quality, and ~~and~~ other reclamtion procedures; and

—Opposed the ~~automatic renewal~~ automatic renewal of strip mining permits, and other procedural loopholes for the coal industry.

Udall also earned praise from environmentalists in 1975 when he supported a long series of strengthening amendments to the strip mine bill to provide leverage to bargain against weaker provisions in the ~~Senate~~ Senate legislation.

But Udall supported a number of weak compromises and used procedural tactics to block passage of several amendments considered crucial by environmentalists lobbying on the bill.

For several months, Udall opposed the "surface owners consent" provision, to give landowners the right to block strip mining on homesteaded lands—where the surface is privately held and the underlying coal is federally owned. Without the provision landowners could be thrown off their property while strip mining was underway, with little assurance that their land would be adequately restored to again support farming and ranching. Udall charged that the amendment would "make wealthy surface owners at the expense of the consumer" and opposed it until it became apparent that a deadlock over the section jeopardized final passage of the bill.

On the House floor, Udall supported efforts to protect underground aquifers and streams from disruption by strip mining. But when this language was weakened in the Conference Committee, Udall accepted the changes and blocked Rep. Melcher's attempts to reconsider the provision. He did this despite environmentalists' complaints that the new version would not give adequate protection to farmers' and ranchers' water rights.

In 1972 Udall opposed a ban on strip mining on steep mountain slopes where the damage is greatest and reclamation the most difficult. This was a great disappointment to many Appalachian Mountain people and conservationists. In 1974 and 1975, Udall did work hard for many tough reclamation requirements to prevent the worst abuses of mountain strip mining; but the bill still does not include a ban.

In response to a League of Conservation Voters questionaire, Udall indicated that he prefers deep mining to strip mining because it is less destructive to the environment. However, during the drafting of the bill he opposed certain provisions that would help make the deep mining industry more competitive with strip mining. Stripping is now cheaper largely because it avoids the heavy costs required to meet the Deep Mine Health and Safety Act. Thus, Rep. Seiberling introduced an amendment to charge a $2.50 per ton reclamation fee to strip miners and a $1.50 fee for deep mining. Deep miners would be permitted to write-off some of the fee to pay for black lung benefits and other health and safety costs. Udall initially opposed this amendment but finally agreed to a more modest reclamation proposal charging strip miners only 35¢ per ton and deep miners 10¢ per ton.

Udall has urged federal subsidies for the deep mine industry to insure the viability of the deep mining industry which must meet the nation's long term coal requirements". The strip mine bill provided funding for research and development to improve deep mining methods but these provisions disappeared from one of the many drafts of the bill. Only after heavy prodding from environmentalists and others did Udall agree to restore these provisions.

Udall-Continued

When President Ford again vetoed the strip mine bill, conservationists joined with Rep. John Melcher in an effort to combine it with a coal leasing bill that stood a better chance of getting the two thirds majority necessary to override a veto. The coal leasing bill would legitimize and regulate the renewed leasing of federal coal reserves that were previously protected by a moratorium, and public power interests were eager to get the bill passed. Originally Udall opposed this strategy, but after lengthy discussions he agreed, and worked with others to combine the two measures. Unfortunately this effort was not successful.

Despite his many conflicts with conservationists over certain specific provisions in the bill, overall Udall has been a major positive force in the effort to draft a strong, meaningful strip mine reclamation bill. Conservationists are pleased and impressed that despite the heavy demands of his Presidential campaign, Udall and his staff are still working to win votes to pass the bill on the House floor and are making a major contribution in the effort to get the bill enacted into law.

In his campaign, Udall has insisted that he does not support a strip mine bill "as a backdoor method to discourage development." Rather, he favors a bill " to insure that the true costs of western (strip) mining are reflected in the price of coal."

While a strong reclamation bill will help achieve this goal, environmentalists are skeptical that the true costs of coal production will ever be reflected in the price alone, particularly in the West, where huge federal subsidies will be required to provide water and other public services to support new cities and transport the coal back east to be burned. (For more on this issue, see Carter profile.)

Udall should be congratulated for being one of the few candidates to criticize federal subsidies for synthetic fuels and to speak out on many of their most devastating environmental impacts. Oil shale development and other synthetic fuels development would severely deplete western water supplies and require huge amounts of energy capital and land. (for more information see Ford energy section).

COASTAL ISSUES

Although he is from the arid, landlocked State of Arizona, Udall is a member of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Outer Continental Shelf, which was formed by the House to draft proposals to regulate offshore oil and gas drilling. Udall has not been active on the Committee, but his positions on offshore oil are generally good. Basically he supports OCS development under the following conditions:

-- maximum safeguards to protect the marine environment from oil spills;
-- public, not private exploration to determine where offshore oil is located and whether it can be safely drilled;

-- federal officials should accept state recommendations regarding lease sales and development plans, unless the federal government can demonstrate that this will threaten national security;
-- generous financial aid to the state governments, to help them absorb the damage caused by coastal energy development.

Environmentalists favor a strong state role in decision-making, because several Governors have shown an inclination to resist the more destructive oil development schemes pushed by the Ford Administration. But environmentalists are concerned that the federal government will now try to "buy off" the states by reimbursing them for damages, rather than trying to prevent these damages in the first place. Thus we agree with Udall's first three conditions, but not the fourth.

Udall should be congratulated for his stand on oil tankers. He was one of only 95 House Members to support requirements for double bottoms on all tankers transporting oil from the Port of Valdez in Alaska.

Energy Strategy

Many Democratic candidates pay lip service to the need for cleaner, safer alternative energy sources, but Udall has shown the most substantial commitment to the same sources which are favored by environmentalists. This is mainly because Udall has had the opportunity to draft specific legislation to increase funding for solar, geothermal, wind and other promising energy sources.

In 1973, Jackson pushed a bill through the Senate to create five giant corporations to develop energy resources. The House Government Operations Committee responded with its own bill to split up the old Atomic Energy Commission and make it part of a new Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) to promote all energy sources. Udall realized that the new agency would still be dominated by the ghost of the AEC, and offered several amendments on the House Floor to broaden ERDA's mandate. Most of these failed.

But Udall persisted, and fought for Committee jurisdiction to draft his own legislation to provide funding and promotion for energy conservation technologies and alternate energy sources such as solar and geothermal power. In 1974, the House passed his Non-Nuclear Energy Act, a major triumph for Udall. He successfully fended off the efforts of nuclear zealots in the House Interior Committee and Science and Technology Committee to subvert the purpose of his bill.

Although ERDA still has a pro-nuclear bias, Udall has helped to push it in the right direction.

¶ Udall also puts a high priority on energy conservation as the best short term solution to the energy shortage. He says, "contrary to the scare tactics of those who are wedded to an economy of waste, a well designed program of energy conservation will strengthen the economy and provide more jobs, not fewer." While many candidates advocate energy conservation, Udall can back himself up with hard statistics showing that the energy-consuming industries create less employment than other sectors of the economy.

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He maintains that we could limit our growth in energy consumption to 2% a year without losing jobs, and actually decrease our per capita energy consumption.

¶ On the League of Conservation Voters questionaire, Udall supports nearly all the energy conservation proposals.

His campaign literature urges an end to the wasteful burning of natural gas as a boiler fuel,

strict efficiency standards for appliances, better home insulation and conservation techniques in factories, requirements for smaller cars with better gas mileage, and a massive infusion of federal funds to help develop mass transit. Most of these proposals are also popular with other liberal candidates.

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Udall favors giving the federal government a large role in future energy development, and advocated the creation of a National Authority for Energy Management to do exploratory offshore oil drilling, manage U.S. petroleum reserves, be a catalyst and possibly a yardstick for development of fossil fuels and alternative energy sources. Environmentalists are skeptical of the yardstick idea because past examples of federal efforts to produce energy, such as TVA and Bonneville, have turned out badly and their tax exemptions and federal subsidies have inhibited comparisons with private utilities.

(see Harris profile, Energy Strategy section for more details.)

Yet, Udall does not go nearly as far in this direction as Senator Jackson, who has called for giant public/private energy development agencies that would virtually eliminate any real distinction between the private corporations and the federal government.

Moreover, Udall has emphasized de-centralized energy sources, which are inherently more efficient, less polluting, and less likely to give a few corporations monopolistic control. In this, he is miles apart from Henry Jackson's energy schemes which would give increased emphasis to nuclear research and development as well as large operations for coal gasification and liquefaction. (see Jackson profile for more details)

¶ But Udall understands that we must also be conservation-minded in promoting only the more efficient forms of energy production. He has opposed large federal subsidies for wasteful and grandiose energy schemes to produce synthetic fuels. When questioned about oil shale and coal liquefaction in Louisville, Kentucky, Udall replied, "We've got to pay more attention to this whole concept of net energy. It does you no good to use two or three barrels of oil to produce some new exotic sources where you get only one barrel of oil." He went on to say that we needed a crash program to find cleaner, more efficient ways of burning coal directly. "We get one-third of the energy out of coal, we ought to learn how to get two-thrids out of it. Clearly over the next ten years, conservation is the first and most available form of energy and coal is the second."

¶ On oil pricing and natural gas regulations, Udall generally agrees with Democratic party positions. He is strongly opposed to Kissinger's policies for using artificially high prices to control oil imports, and he has supported legislation to provide short term price relief.

¶ Yet Udall understands that in the long run the best way to achieve fair and realistic energy prices is to break up the huge energy conglomerates. Not only does their monopoly power hurt consumers, but it gives them far too much control over future priorities in energy development. The oil conglomerates already own four of the biggest coal companies that produce over 35% of the nation's coal. Thus Udall has introduced legislation to break up the oil companies, and prohibit them from owning competing energy sources. In Congress Udall has not been active on anti-trust legislation because his Committees don't have jurisdiction over this issue, but he appears to speak from a sincere conviction.

Water Projects and Rivers

Like many Western Democrats, Udall has supported numerous dams to irrigate arid land or to generate public electrical power. This causes frequent conflicts with environmentalists.

His first controversy as a freshman Congressman concerned the Glen Canyon Dam on the Colorado river. The canyon was much loved by conservationists who fought against the project, but the debate focused on in Congress the issue of public versus private power. Udall voted accordingly and supported the dam. This remained his pattern for many years; only recently has Udall begun to question most water projects.

Udall is best known for his avid support of the Central Arizona Project, to build a series of dams and canals to divert water from the Colorado river to Arizona. This was an important issue in the state, and for five years (1963-1968) Udall fought tooth and nail to get it through the Congress. His chief enemies were the conservationists. When they realized that two of the dams would flood 130 miles of the Grand Canyon, conservationists mounted one of their most aggressive campaigns against the project. David Brower held some famous debates with Udall on the rim of the Grand Canyon. Despite Udall's efforts, the dams were voted down. But the rest of the Project was finally approved in 1968, after Udall and his brother, who was then Secretary of Interior, devised a way to build it without the Grand Canyon dams. This neutralized conservationists opposition to the project temporarily, but has not deterred them from denouncing the project in recent years. Several of the small dams remaining threaten valuable wilderness and eagle nesting areas.

The Central Arizona Project dominated Udall's activites on the Interior Committee for several years. He had to overcome opposition from Aspinall and from California Congressmen who wanted the water for their own states, and there is speculation that Udall went along with several destructive projects elsewhere in order not to jeapardize support for his own.

Udall's support for public water power projects often put him in awkward conflict with efforts to protect the environment. In 1963, Udall supported the Knowles Dam on the Snake River, even though it would displace 1,000 people and destroy 9,000 acres of farmland and a natural bison range. Said Udall: "unless we set about to develop the resources of this country to their ultimate extent, we are not going to be able to provide the jobs and prosperity that this nation needs". Through the years, Udall has led in efforts to promote the Dickey-Lincoln dam on the St John River in Maine-- a project that would provide New England's only source of public power. The dam would flood 140 square miles of wilderness.

But there are indications that Udall's attitude on water projects is changing with the times. In 1975, he announced he was changing his stand on Dickey-Lincoln. And, when Rep. Sam Steiger recently tried to resurrect the dams in the Grand Canyon, Udall would have none of it. He has also supported study of the New River for designation as a Wild and Scenic River, which would prevent a dam and power project there.

Environmentalists were pleased that Udall voted with Rep. Henry Reuss for a moratorium on new stream channelization projects, and opposed some stream channelization in Arizona. (Channelization turns streams full of fish into straight, sterile ditches. It kills all bottom life, and frequently invites erosion and flooding downstream. Once channelized, a stream never fully recovers.)

[redacted] Public Lands

Udall's record is good. He has led countless battles to create new parks and wilderness areas, and to correct abuses of the nation's public lands. Throughout the 1960s, Udall was heavily involved in efforts to pass such landmark conservation laws as the Wilderness Act, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the North Cascades National Park, the Point Reyes, Padre Island and Assateague National Seashores, and many others. He didn't begrudge time and effort spent on areas that were far from his district, and would probably bring him little political credit back home. Indiana conservationists owe Udall a special debt for his work in enlarging and funding the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, despite heated opposition from industry and from powerful members of the House Appropriations Committee.

Udall supports all the additional proposals for wilderness and wildlife refuges now advocated by conservationists, and secured passage of the Pine Mountain and Sycamore Canyon areas as additions to the Wilderness System. Udall's behavior on the San Rafael Wilderness was confusing, however; he fought on the House Floor for the maximum boundaries, but gave his proxy to the other side in the House-Senate Conference Committee.

Udall's performance on the Redwoods National Park shows how he can sometimes undercut conservationists by trying to compromise far too much. Isolated stands of trees often cannot survive logging and flooding all around them, and so the conservationists were trying to preserve a large tract along Redwood Creek. Yet the Committee Chairman Wayne Aspinall called for a much smaller park. Conservationists believe that Udall had enough votes to overrule Aspinall in Committee, but he chose instead to go along with him and accept a smaller park. The California Congressman pushing for the park (Rep. Phil Burton) complained that "this was not a fair compromise!" Udall replied that the acreage could be increased in the House-Senate Conference. It was -- but not nearly enough. Experts say that the Redwoods are in danger, and a bill to expand the park is back this year. Now that Aspinall is gone, Udall supports the maximum acreage.

¶ More than one third of the nation's land is owned by the federal government, most of it in the West, and much of it badly abused. Perhaps the greatest threat to these lands is the archaic 1872 Mining Law, which allows anyone to file a claim to mine on the public lands, regardless of its impact upon other land values. As a member of the Public Land Law Review Commission, Udall was one of only three dissenting members to object to these provisions. He has sponsored a bill for a five year moratorium on mining in six threatened national parks and monuments.

¶ Udall believes that the federal government should retain ownership of nearly all its public lands, and not give any more to the states or to private interests. Yet most attacks on the Public Lands are more subtle than outright transfers of ownership. The Interior Committee Chairman Aspinall drafted a bill (HR 7211) to accomplish much the same purposes by making the federal agencies helpless to prevent excessive mining, grazing, or timbering. He then wrapped the bill in a thin layer of land use planning provisions, like icing on a cake. Environmentalists repeatedly tried to get Udall to oppose the bill outright, but Udall was evidently more attracted to the icing than afraid of the cake. He did succeed in amending the bill in Committee to include some genuine planning provisions, and intended to try to remove some of the giveaway provisions on the House floor. But the bill died when Aspinall was defeated in the 1972 elections, so we will never know if Udall's gamble would have paid off.

It took him awhile to get the message, but finally Udall stood up to pressure from industry & labor to open up vast areas of Alaska to mining & logging. The Udall amendment to the Alaska Natives Claims Act set aside 100 million acres for possible parks and wildlife refuges, and created a land use planning commission for the State. Like most environmentalists, Udall did not really begin pushing for a Canadian alternative to the Alaska pipeline until it was too late. But he was very active in the House floor debate, offering an amendment to study the Canadian route and speaking out against provisions in the bill that exempted the pipeline from the National Environmental Policy Act. "This is a test of whether we are going to give in to the demands of the oil industry or give due process to the environment," said Udall.

Wildlife [redacted]

¶ Udall has a very good record on wildlife and grazing issues, even where this conflicts with the demands of some of the ranchers in his district. This is in marked contrast to other Congressmen from western states.

¶ Udall has stated that he supports the Executive Order banning the use of [redacted] poisons for predator control on federal lands, and would like to see the ban extended to private lands.

These poisons have often caused the slaughter of [redacted] non-target animals and severe disruption of predator-prey relationships; yet ranchers are furious that the federal government has restricted them. In the early 1970's, Udall [redacted] attempted to help the ranchers by sponsoring legislation to reimburse them for predator losses, but he did not pursue the measure. While it would be difficult to guard against fraud in such a program, some environmentalists have welcomed this idea as a way to reduce the political pressure for predator control programs.

¶ Grazing fees on public lands are set way below their fair market value, which encourages overgrazing. Udall has opposed efforts to give ranchers tenure, i.e. a vested right to lease the lands indefinitely at the same low cost. At the request of the Sierra Club, Udall offered and passed amendments to the BLM Organic Act to clarify that these lands still belong to the public, not the ranchers who are leasing them. But Udall would still give the ranchers at least a ten year transition period before requiring them to lease at market prices.

Udall was a leader in the House Floor debate on the Marine Mammal Protection Act in 1972. The bill reported by the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee advocated a management approach and did not include the 10-year moratorium on all killing that was sought by animal welfare groups.

Udall was successful in passing an amendment to create a five year moratorium, with some exemptions for Alaska natives and tuna fishermen. The animal welfare groups were delighted. One leader remarked that "Udall really carried the ball for us on this key amendment."

Unfortunately, the Act has not done as much as environmentalists had hoped to stop the slaughter of porpoises by the tuna industry.

On the League questionaire, Udall indicated that he favored additional funding and measures to enforce quotas on porpoise mortality, but only if it didn't cripple the tuna industry. He also said he favored subsidizing increased production of jojoba beans as a substitute for sperm whale oil, to discourage the killing of whales. Yet he has not yet responded to a request by Friends of the Earth to introduce legislation on this, although the Indians in his district would benefit.

Rep. Udall co-sponsored a bill in 1975 to give full control of three national wildlife refuges to the federal Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. Previously, control of the refuges was shared with the federal Bureau of Land Management, which spends less than one percent of its budget on wildlife and almost 60 percent on energy production. One of the refuges, the Kofa Game Refuge, is in Rep. Udall's home state of Arizona.

Agriculture

Udall's district once included parts of rural Arizona which are dominated by agribusiness corporations. But Udall is not a member of the House Agriculture Committee and has not been active on these issues. Except for his efforts to provide irrigation water, he does not seem friendly to agribusinesses and is inclined to side with the consumer and small farmer.

Udall has urged investigations of food oligopolies and has supported tax reforms to make it easier for family farms to be handed down without having to be sold to pay taxes. He also has advocated measures to protect farmland from development and urban encroachment.

Udall has consistently supported efforts to restrict the use of pesticides. In his own state, Udall helped eliminate the spraying of herbicides in areas where honey bees were being raised. In 1971, Udall voted for all three strengthening amendments to the pesticides bill: one which would give citizens standing to sue against violations of the Act. Another amendment allowed EPA to restrict pesticides uses that were not essential. The third amendment would eliminate indemnification payments to pesticide manufacturers who were forced to take their product off the market.

Udall has also indicated that as President, he would oppose any further encroachment by the USDA into decision-making on pesticides. The Agriculture Department has advocated legislation to give it veto power over all EPA regulations on pesticides, despite their pro-pesticide bias and dismal past record on regulating the use of even the most hazardous pesticides. In 1974, Udall also supported efforts to prevent transfer from the Labor Department to the Agriculture Department authority for regulating applications of pesticides to protect farm workers.

Land Use Planning & Population

Chaotic development and abusive land use practises are at the root of many environmental problems. In the House, Udall is the undisputed leader in efforts to encourage land use planning and reforms. In 1974 and 1975, he authored legislation to provide federal grants to the states to develop and impliment their own land use planning and management programs. The land use bill was one of the most controversial pieces of legislation ever considered by the Congress, and was defeated both years by a widespread, well-financed campaign of distortion and misinformation run by the National Chamber of Commerce and conservative interest groups such as the Liberty Lobby and the National Alliance of Businessmen. The Chamber branded the bill as a "national zoning ordinance", although they later admitted that this was not true.

Udall has always been a firm believer in the principle that half a bill is better than none, and his bill was hardly the punitive measure that developers painted it to be. By the time it came to the Floor, Udall had removed Many of the controversial provisions in an effort to gain support. Gone were the tough restrictions on second home developments, and the sanctions against states that refused to develop their own land use plans. Udall also agreed to the Dellenback amendment, which was opposed by conservationists and promoted by real estate interests, and was designed to streamline and expedite state and local review of new development projects. But other rock-bottom environmental provisions were retained, including the protection of agricultural lands from urban sprawl, the protection of critical environmental areas, and public participation in local development decisions. As amended, the bill represented the absolute minimum that environmentalists could support. The bill had grown so controversial that it is doubtful whether anyone could have steered it through Congress without making it so weak as to be almost worthless. Udall deserves praise for his efforts and his hard work even though he did not succeed.

[redacted]

Udall was aware of the dangers of overpopulation long before most of his colleaques. [redacted] Ten years ago, he made a speech calling unchecked population growth a "Time Bomb" that must be defused. In 1969, he offered a bill to create a Commission on Population and the Environment, to research and publicize the impact of population growth on the environment. In 1970, Udall supported legislation to provide additional funds for family planning services and contraceptive research. He was the original sponsor of the Population Stabilization Resolution, but this year indicated he wanted to take a back seat and let another Congressman be chief sponsor.

Udall has indicated that he will support the Supreme Court ruling on abortion, but his votes in the House on the abortion issue are ambivalent. He has opposed a measure to let women use federally-funded legal aid to obtain abortions from hospitals that refuse them, but he supported measures to permit the use of family planning fund for medical expenses connected with abortions.

Transportation

Udall's Committee assignments don't give him the opportunity to participate actively in transportation matters that come before Congress. However, unlike many of his colleagues from the southwest Udall has consistently supported increased mass transit and criticised the highway trust fund. He says that our devotion to concrete which has resulted in massive deterioration in air quality, thousands of fatalities, and millions of injuries, severe overutilization of land, wasting of scarce and expensive fuels, crumbling mass transit systems and erosion of city tax bases."

-- In 1971, he supported two measures to eliminate blocks to mass transportation for the District of Columbia.

-- In 1973, Udall supported busting of the highway trust fund to permit localities to use a small portion of the funds for mass transit

-- In 1974, Udall opposed a move to kill mass transit operating subsidies, and opposed fudding reductions in the comprehensive Mass Transit Legislation

- More -

Udall has voted against funding for the SST in 1970 and 1971, and he wants to reform the lopsided federal transportation subsidies that have given the truckers and the barges an unfair advantage over the railroads. To equalize federal subsidies, Udall proposes that all transportation modes compete for funds from the same comprehensive transportation trust fund. Environmentalists are highly suspicious of all trust funds, because they tend to encourage wasteful overbuilding and are invulnerable to public scrutiny and oversight. Yet conservations bitterly oppose barge subsidies and share Udall's goal of helping the railroads. Udall would support user charges as well as subsidies to revitalize deteriorated railroad track lines and purchase new equipment. His proposed user charges on barges could generate between $100 million and $500 million annually.

Many of Udall's proposals would require reforming the regulations of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Many Democrats are afraid to question the ICC, believing that its regulations on prices and mergers are necessary to prevent monopolies. But environmentalists agree with Udall that reforms are badly needed. Studies have shown that the ICC has blocked attempts by the railroads to lower their prices during slow periods. As a result rail cars stand idle 93 percent of the time and are only used at peak periods--when crops need to be transported.

In sum, Udall would give heavy emphasis to restoration of railroads, a change to smaller cars and diversion of the highway trust fund monies into mass transit programs as key elements to acheive energy conservation and increase employment opportunities in the future. Udall deserves high praise for his far reaching policies as well as past efforts to encourage expansion of efficient transportation programs.

Pollution

Although Udall's Committees have no jurisdiction over pollution legislation and he is thus not a leader on the issue, Udall has consistently voted to strengthen both air and water pollution bills when they came to the House floor. For example, Udall had voted:

-- For a $1 billion clean water appropriation for sewage treatment plants in 1969. (This was a hotly contested issue at the time.)

-- For all the strengthening amendments to the 1972 Water Pollution Control Act.

-- For the Safe Drinking Water Act of 1974.

-- Against amendments to weaken and delay the EPA's authority to enforce the Toxic Substances Control Act in 1973. This bill required pre-market testing of new chemcials to show they were safe before they could be sold commercially. Unfortunately, it has not yet become law.

-- Udall was absent for several important Clean Air votes. However, he was one of only 90 Congressmen to vote against Rep. Jamie Whitten's amendment to remove EPA's authority to restrict shopping centers and other indirect sources of pollution if they would cause a violation in a city's air pollution standards.

-- Udall has spoken out against efforts to weaken the auto emission standards in the Clean Air Act, despite the fact that these efforts are led in large part by the United Auto Workers, a powerful union.

An early advocate of solid waste legislation, Udall favors a tax on non-returnable bottles, and would require the federal government to use recycled materials whenever possible. He also favors increased funds for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. He feels that regulation of fluorocarbons now used in spray cans can wait until the National Academy of Sciences publishes its findings on their effects on the ozone layer this spring.

Udall Interview 4/8/76
Portion Agronsky Show transcript on which Udall gives his views on housing integration.

UDALL FILE

Q. As a practical political matter, can you get away with proposing high-rise, low rent, public housing projects in these suburban neighborhood:

A. No, I don't advocate this as a general policy. I would see a more natural type of intermingling that you see in Greenwich Village and Manhattan and places of this kind.

Q. Are you willing to use the federal government as a device, as an authority for breaking down that economic integration? Are you willing to put, for example, a high-rise public housing project in Bethesda?

A. No I'm not willing to charge in and say to an established neighborhood, "the federal government is coming in here friends, and we're going to put high-rise, low income things in your neighborhood."

Q. Are you willing to use the federal government as a tool to put a public housing project in a predominately eastern European neighborhood of Pittsburgh?

A. No, not the large kind of Forest Hills things that we had in New York and caused all of that controversy...

Q. You're really quarreling with the use of language though, rather than the policies. You don't want to do the same things he doesn't want to do, right?

A. I share the respect for ethnic culture and neighborhood value. I don't think you want the federal government going in intruding and breaking neighborhoods up...

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Udall-
Gen.

Dear Fellow Democrat:

We in Massachusetts have a unique history in Presidential politics. In 1968, we rallied behind Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy and helped to change the course of the war in Vietnam. But--we failed to win a nomination or the Presidency. In 1972, a courageous liberal carried Massachusetts but was defeated by a campaign of deceit and corruption. Now is the time to ensure that in 1976 we nominate and elect a President capable of leading this country through the troubled times ahead.

Here in Massachusetts, we will face a March 2nd primary. It will be the second primary in the nation, following New Hampshire by one week, and the first in a large, diverse, industrialized state. Moving the Massachusetts primary to an early date will focus national attention on the selection made by the Massachusetts voters. It is therefore of critical importance that we avoid the reform forces of this state being made helpless through fragmentation. Now is the time for us to settle on our choice for a nominee.

We have learned that the central test of a candidate and national leader is not a television performance or how a single issue is handled, but rather what, in the course of a public career, has been the candidate's response to the major issues facing the nation. We believe Mo Udall should be Massachusetts' first choice. He alone has shown a consistent ability to state, campaign for and communicate to his very conservative state the right positions on the key issues we in Massachusetts have fought for over the years. For example:

1). On Vietnam: Mo Udall broke with the Johnson Administration in 1967, with a brother in the Cabinet. In a speech to his constituents in Arizona, he said, " A great falacy of our present policy, as I see it, lies in the assumption that stopping this 'war of national liberation' will prevent any and all future wars of this type... We are only due for more frustration and anger in the years ahead if we spend more blood and treasure to get some kind of 'significant' victory in Vietnam."

2). On the military budget: In the current fiscal year, Mo has endorsed putting a stop to exorbitant defense spending. He supported

Paid for by the UDALL '76 Committee Stan Kurz, Treasurer. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election

the following proposals: an amendment to delete $46 million authorized for the conversion of the Civil Reserve Air Fleet; an amendment to delete $108 million authorized for the procurement of the B-1 Bomber; an amendment to preclude funding of a new ballistics missle system; an amendment to place a ceiling of $24.65 billion on authorizations for procurement, research and development of new weapons systems-- a reduction of $1.89 billion. Most important, he voted along with just 94 other Members for the Dellums amendment mandating the withdrawal of 70,000 troops from overseas.

3). On the current economy: Mo Udall supports the federal guarantee of a job to every American, a proposal which is spelled out in the Humphrey-Hawkins Full Employment Act of 1975. A broad program of labor intensive public service jobs is needed including rebuilding the nation's railbeds and rehabilitation of decaying innercity housing. The federal government must make a full commitment to; relieving the crushing burden of public assistance payments carried by the states; supporting the Reuss effort to drive down interest rates; and removing the distorting effect of multi-national corporations on our economic system. "We are not going to build another interstate highway system or another ring of suburbs. We are going to rebuild our cities and our railroads, under public ownership if need be."

4). On George Wallace: Based on a long career of commitment to civil rights, including the Civil Rights Act of 1964 for the Democratic Study Group, Mo Udall was the first major contender to "flatly reject George Wallace on my ticket, or on any ticket I would support."

5). On energy: As chairman of the Subcommittee on Energy and Environment, Mo Udall has recommended programs designed specifically to make the oil companies responsive to consumer needs: a) a Federal Gas and Oil Corporation; b) the legislative break-up of big oil and the elimination of cross-control in more than one energy sector. "Exxon will have to choose whether it wants to explore and retrieve or refine or distribute or retail; it will have to choose oil or coal or solar. It cannot do more than one under my program."

6). On the Mayaguez; "It is clear that the Administration's response was too soon, too much and consistent with a mistaken belief that the United States ought to make object lessons of small Asian countries to maintain our national influences."

7). On tax justice: Mo Udall believes we must thoroughly comb our corporate tax laws to weed out or revise any provisions which encourage economic concentration. "If the days of inefficiency, cheap resources and unlimited unplanned growth are over, as I believe they are, it is

essential that we use the tax system to redistribute wealth. You start with the change in our present regressive Social Security payroll taxation, capital gains favoritism and by putting teeth in the minimum tax."

8). On equity: "No amount of lip service to equal opportunity or glib references to the limits imposed by a mismanaged economy can mask the steady six year retreat of the Nixon and Ford Administrations in the area of equal political and economic justice. We simply cannot abide the continued absence of moral leadership, full funding and unwavering enforcement required to assure all Americans full access to the centers of power in America."

Mo Udall has demonstrated that he understands that basic change must take place if a real federal attack on poverty, energy shortages, pollution, racial discrimination and economic concentration is to occur. He has not only held the right positions, but possessed the personal strength and conviction to follow through on his commitment to the issues.

We hope that you will give his candidacy serious consideration. If you believe, as we do, that Mo is the kind of man who fits our needs for the future, please give us your help.

Sincerely,

Senator Chester Atkins	Acton
William Carmen	Newton
Gerald D'Amico	Worcester
Representative Barney Frank	Boston
Kathleen Houton	Dorchester
Senator Allan McKinnon	Weymouth
Peter Rousmaniere	Brookline
Senator Alan Sisitsky	Springfield
Representative Karen Swanson	Brockton
Margaret Wood	Lincoln
Irving Fishman	Waban

Fred and Mo—The Democrats' Better Ideas

By James Barron and Marjorie Arons

It was a political auto show. Several '76 models were on display, and potential buyers were looking for the right Presidential candidate to be their vehicle for the new year. While some had already made up their minds, most weren't ready to buy. They were still at the browsing stage, trying to narrow their choices before opening their checkbooks. The participants also came to look at each other, to see who was wearing which pins and what the "in" slogans, issues and solutions were going to be this season.

"I came here with an open mind," said a veteran of the political marketplace. "I still haven't made a decision, but I've narrowed the choices."

Even those who had preferences for the sounds of one or the comfort of another were in no mood for impulse buying, but wanted to be sure they had a model with sufficient horsepower to beat Ford.

But why on earth hold the show in Springfield? Organizers of the New England Democratic Regional Conference (Americans for Democratic Action, auto and communications workers unions, and the Women's Political Caucus) selected Springfield because it was accessible to both New York and the New England states. But they also selected Springfield precisely because it was not Boston. If they held it in Boston, the organizers reasoned, the rational forum they envisioned might be upstaged by an antibusing demonstration, an advocacy group protesting the Governor's human services cuts, local Boston pols seeking to boost their own municipal candidacies or some other persons intent on creating a media event.

The conference organizers meant business. The meeting was not designed to be fun. They sought participants seriously interested in discussing regional and national economic and energy issues, not just folks who wanted to kill a Saturday. They didn't want to make things easy, but Hurricane Eloise wasn't part of the game plan. The flash floods and torrential rain which inundated western Massachusetts Friday night sorely tested the commitment of the delegates and almost prevented four of the candidates from coming. For a while it appeared that the only people to show up would be some of the panelists and a covey of loyal Democratic matrons who would have attended the conference if it had been held in a sauna in the Sahara.

But ultimately the lousy weather and long distances didn't discourage many, and by mid-afternoon on Saturday more than 2000 persons crowded the Springfield Civic Center for the second in a series of five such regional conferences.

What was least dampened by the weather were the spirits of the supporters of former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris. He spent Friday stumping western Massachusetts campuses and Friday night ran a beer-and-pretzel rally at Springfield VFW Post 70. On Saturday, local Harris enthusiasts poured into the Civic Center along with supporters from eastern Massachusetts, Vermont and other Harris strongholds.

As expected, Congressman Morris Udall of Arizona also saw the conference as an opportunity for a show of strength, but unlike Harris he tried to be more selective in bringing out his troops. In addition to a strong New Hampshire operation, Udall is best organized in western Massachusetts (his area headquarters is a block from the Civic Center). He was successful in bringing out his hard-core supporters, local ethnics and, to a lesser extent, labor representatives.

The Jimmy Carter, Birch Bayh and Sargent Shriver campaigns similarly reflected their lower levels of regional organization. Former Georgia Governor Carter's people came mainly from New Hampshire, and Bayh's were largely from New York.



Ken Kobre

Harris and Udall: A winning team—except they're rivals.

Harris, who has been described as "the best pied piper since Hubert Humphrey," led off the program and was a hard act to follow. With the messianic zeal of a Baptist preacher, he hammered away at the theme of his campaign ("The Issue is Privilege") and denounced the inequitable distribution of wealth in the United States. His supporters have been described as "purist McGovernites." While many said their hearts were with Harris on the issues, others appeared to agree with a conference organizer's assessment that "people would like to believe that Harris would do what he says. But a lot of people don't believe it. The average person says Harris is saying everything he wants to hear about tax reform. But he's heard it so goddamn long he feels Harris is not going to be able to do anything differently."

MIT economist Lester Thurow, a panelist assigned to quiz Harris on his economic proposals, was asked after the conference about Harris's program. Answered Thurow, "If everything Harris is for is costed out, it is greater than the Gross National Product. The problem is that you have to decide what you're going to have to leave out of our program. Harris hasn't begun to make any of these choices." Thurow adds that none of the other Democrats has done this sorting out process either. "But," says Thurow, "Harris has more of these wonderful things in his program, so he has a greater credibility problem than the other Democrats."

In spite of this gap, a poll of 210 conference participants conducted by us for the *Newton Times* indicated that Harris was the plurality choice (37.6 percent) for Presidential nominee.

Although Udall came in second as a first-choice nominee in the poll (with 21 percent), he was the overwhelming second choice among those whose first choice was Harris, Carter, Bayh or Kennedy. Indeed, Udall appeared to be a consensus candidate, one who had the respect of most delegates.

Invoking the spirit of his hero Adlai Stevenson and paying tribute to the wisdom of Massachusetts, "the one state where people saw things right in 1972," Udall stressed the need for an expanded federal jobs program, federal assumption of welfare, national health insurance and long-range energy planning. Several panelists commented that Udall appeared comfortable in the format, being the most relaxed of the candidates, and fielded questions well. Asked to explain his vote of confidence in Rep. Lucien Nedzi, former chairman of the House CIA investigating committee, Udall replied that he is a close friend and supporter of Michael Harrington but that the Nedzi support was necessary to ensure the re-creation of an active committee. Harrington, said Udall, does not hold the vote against him.

Many liberals came to the conference with feelings against former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, never having heard that his positions on amnesty and gun control are perhaps stronger than those of both Bayh and Udall.

Coming after Harris's emotional pitch, Carter's soft-spoken discussion of a managerial approach to government programs turned off the faithful, especially those unaccustomed to listening to any deviations from standard left-liberal catch phrases. Carter, who claimed that "our tax system is a disgrace to the human race," shocked some listeners by saying "it is not fair for the rest of the nation to pay off the bonded debt of New York." "Taxpayers in Springfield, Atlanta and Boston," he said, "should not have to pay for New York students to attend college tuition-free while their own sons and daughters have to pay tuition in their own home states as well." He did, however, recommend a revised revenue sharing plan which would give aid directly to cities, bypassing the states.

Continued

(Barron and Arons are freelance political writers for the Newton Times.*)*

Democrats

Continued from page 16

Carter's staffers were disappointed that their candidate didn't do better in Springfield: "he never established a rapport with the audience," they noted. (Many members of the audience moved about and talked through his presentation.)

Carter and Bayh ran substantially behind Harris and Udall in the *Newton Times* poll. Most of Carter's votes came from his New Hampshire contingent, which probably reflects his people's uncertainty over how much effort they'll expend in Massachusetts. After New Hampshire their candidate's top priority is the Florida primary, March 9, in which he will attempt to stop George Wallace.

If he ever declares his candidacy, Indiana Sen. Birch Bayh will definitely run in Massachusetts. He is planning to announce in October, and his organization is getting off to a good start. Bayh told the conference of his recently filed legislation to break up the vertical monopolies of oil companies and made a pitch for the federal government to step in and save New York City. His New York contingent sported Big Apple buttons reading "New York for Bayh" and "I'm Bayh-Partisan." At the conference, Bayh was forced to spend much of his time explaining inconsistencies in his voting record, especially in the areas of civil liberties, amnesty and mass transit. Excusing himself because of a commitment to meet with the black caucus in Washington, Bayh left the Springfield forum in the middle of a mid-day press conference, leaving other questions unanswered.

As for Sargent Shriver — the pretender to the Kennedy legacy — many delegates stayed to the end of the day's activities solely to hear him, but he disappointed them both on issues and entertainment. Sounding like a combination of Hubert Humphrey and a polished Elmer Fudd, Shriver was snickered at when he claimed to be the only non-politician running and was hissed when he came out strongly against unconditional amnesty. Even Milton Shapp's supporters seemed better organized than Sargent Shriver's.

Shapp himself, however, was the major casualty of the weather. The Pennsylvania Governor was forced to cancel campaign activities to oversee flood bail-out operations back home. Since more than a few participants expressed interest in hearing his pitch and responses to questions, Shapp, by tending to his duties, lost an important opportunity to get his newly announced candidacy off the ground. But if he had shown up in Springfield, there were those ready to criticize him for irresponsible politicking.

No one seemed to miss Terry Sanford. The former North Carolina governor was back at Duke University at a meeting of the board of trustees. Given the problems in his national organization, Sanford, president of Duke, may be taking steps to protect his academic incumbency.

Also among the other missing candidates was Texas Senator Lloyd Bentsen, who, though invited, accurately gauged the conference organizers to be too far to his left to merit the trip. His national campaign also is faltering, and he seems to be concentrating more on his re-election to the Senate. State Senate President Kevin Harrington was also absent. He is supposed to be chairman of Bentsen's campaign in Massachusetts but says he hasn't really been asked to do anything and now questions whether Bentsen even intends to run in this state's primary.

Following a whirlwind swing through Massachusetts last spring for about a day and a half, Senator Henry Jackson's campaign here has faded into near oblivion. But three supporters, his state coordinators, showed up at Friday night's ADA cocktail party in Springfield, promising to resurrect the local Jackson effort.

So five months before the primary, the contest in Massachusetts among liberals is largely one between Fred Harris and Morris Udall, with Bayh, Carter and the others trailing far behind. This point is underscored by the poll results of Massachusetts respondents, separated from the Northeast region as a whole.

Both comments by conference participants and the results of the poll suggest an increase in flexibility on the Democratic left, a recognition perhaps that "the Democratic Party is larger than just the liberals," that a standard bearer must be secured for all.

(Safety Nets)
(Overdoses)



By tax on gasoline & line up city price gasoline a)

→ 25¢

vertical integration → more capital relationships.
economies of scale → more power

Aramco → 4 separate pots

had a good profits

1) price mechanism
2) subsidies → let price take care

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MORRIS K. UDALL
ARIZONA

Dear Friend:

Do you <u>really</u> mean it when you tell elected officials, like me, that you want to be told the truth?

Do you <u>really</u> want us to give you the cold, uncompromising facts without sugar coating?

Because... if I become President, I'm going to tell it exactly like it is. And for starters, I'll tell you right now that the only way you and I and all America will ever overcome our current economic and energy crises is to acknowledge the painful truth that <u>we must change our way of life</u>.

We must face up to the truth that our golden era of headlong postwar expansion is over. The time has passed when all 'growth' could be equated with 'progress,' and 'bigger' necessarily meant 'better.' Fundamental changes must now be made in our lives. Changes in our attitudes. Changes in our life styles. Changes in governmental policies. For example:

* No longer can we continue our blatant waste of the world's limited supply of raw materials. Conspicuous consumption must be eliminated from our lives, if we are to survive the long haul.

* No longer can we as a nation afford the energy waste of gas-guzzling automobiles and meaningless mobility.

* No longer can we overindulge ourselves with frivolous electrical appliances and gadgets cluttering up our kitchen counter-tops and our homes.

* No longer can we rape the land and our environment to satisfy unlimited greed and desire for luxury.

* No longer can American workers complacently sit back, content with former successes. We must bring our productivity back up to what it once proudly was.

* No longer can we serve as the police force of the world. An oversized military establishment is now an unaffordable luxury.

Those are some hard facts -- facts that we all have to face. No one, no matter who is our next President, can alter them. And

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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

if anyone tells you they can be altered, he is simply not telling you the truth, perhaps not because he is purposely deceiving you but rather not telling the truth because he doesn't believe you can face it.

Well, I do. I'm convinced that Americans are fed up with gimmicky non-solutions to real and complex problems. I firmly believe you and most Americans are sick and tired of WIN button tactics to combat our worst economic crisis since the '30s.

I am just as certain, however, that you not only want the undoctored truth about what we all must do, but also what you can expect your next President to do. Here's what I would do.

The first step our government must take to revitalize our ECONOMY is to restore the principle of competition -- real competition. We Americans pride ourselves on having a free enterprise system in which producers compete freely for the consumer's dollar. Through vigorous competition, this system stimulates innovation and discovery and promotes efficiency.

But... the sad fact is that an enormous gap exists between the competition philosophy we preach and the business we actually practice. In truth, in broad sectors of our economy, free enterprise has all but disappeared. Industry after industry is dominated by a handful of giants. Although we have 400,000 manufacturing firms in the United States, a mere 200 control two-thirds of all their assets! Consequently, much of the cause of our staggering increase in retail prices can be laid directly on the doorsteps of Board of Directors rooms of many major industries where prices are raised because they know they will not be undersold.

> Did you know that 2 to 4 supermarket chains sell the vast bulk of food in our metropolitan areas? Little wonder, then, that a giant such as Safeway reported profits up a whopping 51% last year! And Amstar, which dominates the sugar business, increased its profits by an incredible 250%!!

Therefore, what we must do is break up the giant conglomorates. We must correct the tax codes to remove built-in favoritism to big corporations over smaller ones.

We must also drastically restructure the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), whose reason for existence has long since passed and now stands firmly in the way of trucking competition, causing truck rates to rise higher and higher.

> Did you know that approximately 40% of the trucks you see traveling our highways are empty? Why? Because ICC regulations often force truckers to drive hundreds of miles

(continued)

out of their way due to route restrictions. Obviously, the ICC hasn't gotten the message yet about our energy crisis. And who do you think pays for the needless costs of those empty extra miles? You -- in increased trucking rates which are added onto the cost of the products they carry!

Unless these actions are taken, there is little hope for a speedy solution to our crippling inflation.

In the area of ENERGY, we must remove the threat of another disastrous oil embargo on our imports from the Near East and secure our independence from unreliable foreign sources as quickly as possible.

This can be accomplished by first taking the importation of oil out of the hands of 'Big Oil' and placing it in the hands of the government, which can then regulate the amount imported and use its full bargaining power to negotiate the most favorable prices for consumers.

Furthermore, a National Authority on Energy Management should be established and empowered to initiate exploratory drilling on the remaining offshore frontier areas of the Atlantic and Pacific. This same agency would also determine the feasibility of large-scale oil shale development and its impact on our environment.

Another step is to disperse Big Oil's domination of our economy and resources. One avenue is to prohibit these mammoth oil companies from engaging in more than one phase of the petroleum business -- either exploration and production, or transportation, refining and retailing. This would provide a cutting edge that will sharpen the needed real competition in the domestic oil industry.

New legislation should also be passed to prohibit multiple ownership of competing energy sources.

Did you know that Big Oil controls 35% of our domestic coal output and over 30% of our nation's privately held coal reserves?

To eliminate energy shortages in the years ahead, we must reopen all our energy sources to a healthy competition that produces innovations and fair price levels to the consumer.

These are just a few of the initial steps I would take to get our country back on the road to economic and energy well-being.

Yet... without the full cooperation of the people, no one can do anything. Changes in human nature cannot be legislated.

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That is why I wanted to tell you the absolute truth... because it is only through truth that we can begin the changes we must make.

You know, this situation didn't just suddenly dawn upon us. It has been a long time in coming. However, most people did not want to see it -- if we don't talk about it, it'll go away. Well, it didn't go away. Tomorrow began yesterday.

Back in 1967, I wrote: "... at this moment in history, we need to realize that: bigger is not better; slower may be faster; less may well mean more." However, at that time, the public was tuned into a philosophy of endless growth and reckless waste as expressed by Richard Nixon. As late as November 1973, he proclaimed: "There are only 6% of the people in the world living in the United States, and we use 30% of all the energy. That isn't bad; that's good. That means we are the richest, the strongest people in the world, and that we have the highest standard of living in the world. That is why we need so much energy, and may it always be that way."

Well, Richard Nixon was wrong, dead wrong.

That wasn't good. It was bad! It didn't mean that we were strong or rich or great. It meant that we had become inefficient, wasteful energy gluttons.

And now we must change all that.

Americans can change... and change we must if we are to survive. We can and will do it if we all know that the burden will be shared equally by all... if we know that no one, no matter how rich or powerful, will be exempt from his or her share of the adjustments which we as a nation must make.

As a people, we have faced many discouraging times. But we have proven over and over again that when the going gets tough, we can get tough. And as our country moves into the future, we desperately need a President who is tough. Tough in telling the people the truth even though the truth may hurt a bit, and tough in taking the strong corrective steps needed to solve the problems we face.

I believe I possess that brand of toughness. During my 14 years in Congress, I have fought many battles -- some I lost; most I won. I fought against the stifling seniority system in the House. I waged a campaign against tired leaders who had outlived their useful years. This was the first wedge which eventually broke open the antiquated seniority system in the House and led to further reforms to revitalize our government.

One of my toughest victories was the passage of the "Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974," popularly known as the "clean elections act." Along with Congressman John Anderson (R-Ill.), we fought hard and long because we believed the best way to

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start liberating our government from the domination of big money and special interests is to clean up the way we choose our President.

As a result, in 1976 you will have a bigger say than ever before in choosing your President. With strict limits ($1,000) on the amounts anyone can contribute to a Presidential campaign, in addition to public funding for the Presidential election and restrictions on how much can be spent -- the 1976 election will be a lot cleaner than those in the past. No more Maurice Stans type fat-cat donor lists and $50 million campaigns mean no select few with vast power and wealth can purchase the candidate of their choice and force him upon you as your choice!

That is why I am asking for your personal help, now. Although the primaries and party convention seem far off, your contribution is imperative for me to begin building a national organization in order to conduct a broad grass-roots campaign, now. My principal opponents (Senators Jackson and Bentsen and Governor Wallace) raised over $1,000,000 each last year before the new campaign law took effect and its provision of the $1,000 limit.

However, because I felt both the spirit and letter of these fundamental election reforms should be adhered to, I did not conduct any major fund-raising in 1974. This leaves me with a $1,000,000 disadvantage at the outset. But I welcome a good fight and with your help, I can take my case to the American people.

From the beginning of this letter, I have told you the uncompromising truth because I believe you want it that way and because that's the only way I can talk. I ask for your help. And I ask for it now. We can win <u>if</u> we do not lose one more day, and <u>if</u> I have a full opportunity to bring my message to the nation. Please mail in your contribution today.

Sincerely,

Morris K. Udall

MKU/js
Encs.

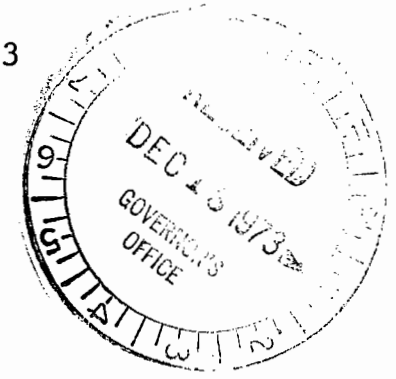
URGENT P.S. In recent days it has become apparent that George Wallace will probably raise from his supporters the 5 million dollars he needs to receive 5 million dollars additional in federal matching funds early next year. This means that those who believe in the Wallace viewpoint are rallying to his support with their dollars. However, this new system will not really function as intended unless thousands of citizens like yourself give equal support to progressive candidates for President.

LAW OFFICES
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SUITE 804
4400 EAST BROADWAY
(602) 325-9598

December 11, 1973



The Honorable Jimmy Carter
State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Dear Governor Carter:

Unfortunately I was not able to make our Democratic Charter Commission meeting in Atlanta which I had hoped to attend and perhaps have a visit with you. Our Arizona Democrats are most enthusiastic about having you return and give them another shot of enthusiasm.

My old friend, Mo Udall, Congressman from Arizona's Second District, has long been justly celebrated for his incisive letters home. He has just written a piece for the New Republic which, although primarily directed at party affairs, contains such lucid perception about our national predicament that I want to share it with you by enclosing a copy.

With best wishes for a happy Christmas.

Sincerely,

Sam Goddard

Sam Goddard

SG:rd
Enc.

Where Do We Go from Here?

The Democratic Party

by Morris K. Udall

"I belong to the increasing body of Americans who cannot forget that parties are instruments." – Felix Frankfurter

"I belong to no organized political party, I'm a democrat." – Will Rogers

It is a mistake to think that grim news for the Republicans is good news for Democrats. I don't believe that Republican troubles *guarantee* Democrats the two-thirds congressional majority in 1974 needed to override vetoes, or a Democratic take-over of the White House in 1976. Unless the Democratic Party can get itself together, it will be no better able to pick up the political pieces than a man with a broken back and no hands.

As we turn the corner into 1974 we Democrats are getting along better than we did a year or two ago, but we're still arguing over party rules and assigning guilt for previous defeats. And meanwhile a gathering storm that threatens the stability of the nation goes almost unnoticed. Consider:

► The climax of an 18-month attack in the international market which left that worldwide symbol of value and stability – the US dollar – minus 30 percent of its purchasing power in foreign countries;

► A President who, glimpsing light at the end of the tunnel, released the economy from controls only to find, instead of light, another tunnel. Inflation is running amok; this year's price rise could by itself exceed that of the five-year period 1961-66;

► An administration that in the last five years has allowed us to stumble into an energy crisis that will close factories and schools and leave millions of homes unheated this winter – and, in all likelihood, produce gas rationing, more inflation and further devaluations of the dollar in the months ahead;

► A new war in the Mideast that shook liberal (and now Nixon) theories of détente, at a time when worldwide shortages of basic materials raised serious concerns about future relations with our traditional allies;

► The possibility for the first time in our history that the two highest offices in the land could in close succession be vacated by incumbents under fire, resulting in the speaker of the House succeeding to the presidency. All that, plus near collapse of confidence at home in the honor and competence of the highest officers of our government – a collapse that inevitably undermines the confidence of governments abroad in the leadership and stability of the United States.

Buried in the debris of 1973 is a political system that has been corrupted by money, a bloated economy that has been tranquilized into a false sense of security by a drug named "growth," a high level of technology and leisure that has run out of cheap energy, and a foreign policy that still innocently assumes that Americans can impose conditions on other nations that we ourselves will not accept. I have no doubt of our national resilience. But it must be said that by the fall of 1973 the ingenuity and optimism that within three decades helped save the world from Hitler, rebuilt Europe, and opened the frontier of space are less visible than at any time since the Great Depression.

I don't claim to have the answers, but let me suggest, in necessarily sketchy fashion, the dimensions of a national dialogue that must begin immediately.

In 1972 about 45 percent of all eligible adults failed to turn up at the polls, the worst showing in 25 years. There were more eligible voters who failed to register an opinion than those who cast ballots for President Nixon. To their ranks we must now add a new group: actively *cynical* voters turned off by the hypocrisy of the last decade and now repelled by Watergate and the Agnew scandal. These are educated, independent, opinion leaders; their votes have often determined the outcome of elections. If they bail out of the system – and the indicators are more ominous than most politicians want to believe – representative government will be in worse shape than it is today. At a minimum their cynicism could spell the end of the two-party system, opening the door to splinter parties and bitter ideological rifts. I seriously question whether America would be governable under such conditions.

The immediate Democratic response ought to be twofold. First, we ought to press the Congress for at least some modest public contribution to campaign financing, and we ought to limit the clout of private donors (labor as well as corporations), and put an end to election by television commercials. The failure of the Democratic leadership to seize this issue would be a historic blunder, but it hasn't grabbed it yet. Earlier this year the Senate put public finance on the back burner, while approving reforms in the current system that opponents claim favor incumbents. The House

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MORRIS K. UDALL *is the US representative from the second district of Arizona.*

Betty - Place in Udall file DBP

MORRIS UDALL

THE RECORD OF A LEADER

> I think, as life is action and passion, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of his time and the peril of being judged not to have lived.
>
> — *Oliver Wendell Holmes*

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Morris Udall has been out in front of every major issue of the decade. He was among the first to recognize the Vietnam War as a national mistake and to urge its end. He was among the first to talk about the links between energy, the environment, and the economy. He pushed for Congressional and campaign reform long before they became fashionable – risking the enmity of powerful, entrenched leaders.

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In the words of Speaker Carl Albert, Morris Udall "has written one of the most remarkable legislative records of all time."

CAMPAIGN REFORM:

Morris Udall's efforts to clean up and improve the processes of democracy have won him widespread recognition and respect. For years he has fought for better election laws, public financing, and campaign spending limits.

Since 1966, he has introduced no less than a dozen major bills relating to campaign and election reform. Among them were measures to provide for direct popular election of the President and Vice President; to establish a commission to study the presidential nominating process; to grant 18-year-olds the right to vote; and to regulate State presidential primary elections.

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meet
mo
udall

CALIFORNIA LEAGUE OF CONSERVATION VOTERS

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Kent Gill
Vice President
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William J. Collins, III
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Dwight Steele
Tiburon
Patricia D. Weinberger
Ojai

STAFF:
Nancy Pearlman
Los Angeles
Carl Pope
Oakland

January 20, 1976

Hamilton Jordan
Carter For President
PO Box 1976
Atlanta Georgia 30301

Dave-
copy for yourself
then give this to
Chip to file under Udall

Dear Hamilton:

The January 13 Washington Post quotes Mo Udall as saying "there is no magic in shuffling departments around." In 1969 and 1970, however, Mo put forward legislation to do exactly that, creating a cabinet level Population and Environment Department by consolidating and reshuffling other agencies, and said some strong things about the good this would do. The bills were referred to the Gov Op Committee, and you should be able to get their numbers from the Committee Calendar. If not, the DC office of Zero Population Growth should have the bill numbers listed in old copies of their National Reporter.

Congratulations on Iowa. In addition, I was quite surprised while visiting my family and my wife's in suburban Maryland over Christmas that all four were leaning to Carter on the basis of media coverage in the Post and Times. All four are thoughtful, liberal, and politically committed, but otherwise very different in theissues that concern them. You are clearly doing a lot of things just right!

Best wishes,
Carl Pope

Los Angeles Office: reply to ☐ 2315 Westwood Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90064 (213) 475-1893

San Francisco Office: reply to ☐ 529 Commercial Street, Suite 300, San Francisco California 94111 (415) 392-2093

udall
president UDALL FOR PRESIDENT ☐ 530 Seventh St. S.E. ☐ Washington, D.C. 20003 ☐ 202-546-3500

Issues of
Concern to
Women
July 1975

SUMMARY OF POSITIONS ON ISSUES OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO WOMEN

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In the last few decades, the United States had made substantial progress toward equal rights and equal opportunity for all citizens regardless of race, sex, color, religion or ethnic origin. But there is still a long way to go. Good laws are only a good beginning; now they must be interpreted and enforced in the spirit in which they were written.

While the economy was booming, minority group members were able to find jobs, but in the current recession, most can find nothing, while many others -- at the bottom of the seniority ladder -- find themselves the first to be laid off. There is only one solution to this problem -- full employment. I support the Humphrey-Hawkins bill now before Congress, which would provide the national policy and the machinery to guarantee a job to all adult Americans who wish to work.

Public service jobs provided by Federal, state and local governments must include affirmative action programs providing: job training to help women re-enter the job market, upward mobility for minorities from entry-level jobs, active recruitment programs for professional and managerial jobs, a variety of jobs with flexible working hours, and strict enforcement of the non-discrimination clause in the awarding of all government contracts.

CHILD CARE

Forty percent of today's work force is female. With two-thirds of these women single, separated, divorced, widowed or married to husbands earning less than $7000 per year, child care is no longer a luxury. Many programs exist at all levels of government to provide social services after a family has failed, but there are very few designed to avoid family problems or to solve them before they become unmanageable.

For these reasons, I support the proposed Mondale-Brademas Child and Family Services bill which would provide free child care to poor and low-income families (this should extend up to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' lower living standard budget -- $8200 per year for an urban family of four) and a sliding fee schedule above that. The program should be locally controlled with parents involved in the decision-making process the with opportunities for parent and community groups to run their own programs.

EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

I strongly support the ERA and have used what influence I have on state decisions in Arizona to urge ratification there. I will continue to support ratification in Arizona and elsewhere and I would support a resolution to hold the next Democratic convention only in a state which has ratified the amendment.

RAPE

Due to the vigorous efforts of women's rights lobbyists, numerous states have recently changed rules of evidence and other provisions of their laws to make rape trials less discriminatory and less painful to the victim. I welcome these changes and I support Federal legislation to create a National Center for the Prevention and Control of Rape, including provisions for LEAA funding for local rape investigation squads staffed by women, funds for operation of rape crisis centers, and demonstration projects in prevention (self-defense) programs.

MILITARY

I supported and voted for the Stratton amendment to ensure that admission to the military service academies be made without regard to sex.

EDUCATION

It has been three years now since the landmark enactment of Title IX of the Higher Education Act. Regulations have finally been issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and while they are not perfect, they should be adopted and tried out without further delay. If strongly enforced, these regulations should achieve the goals of Title IX -- to put an end to sex discrimination in higher education; in admissions policies, faculty hiring and salaries -- and to provide women with equal opportunities in all phases of the education process.

SEX DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND CREDIT

The 93rd Congress made substantial progress in this area. Title V of the National Housing Act was amended to prohibit discrimination in Federal mortgage loan procedures and to require lenders to consider the combined income of both husband and wife when making credit evaluations. Also, the word "sex" was added to the anti-discrimination provisions of the National Fair Housing Law of 1968 in another important amendment. Although mortgages are probably the worst case, single women generally have more trouble obtaining credit than single men. Under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, many of these practices would become illegal. The proposed regulations recently issued by the Federal Reserve Board under this Act would also prohibit the discounting of a wife's income when issuing credit, and the securing of information about a family's means of birth control. If these regulations are issued substantially unchanged in their final form, and are vigorously enforced, they should end discriminatory credit practices.

PENSION AND INSURANCE REFORM

Passage of the Employment Retirement Security Act of 1974 represented a great step forward, but some further changes are necessary. In many pension plans women receive lower benefits than men because of sex-based actuarial tables, which give averages for the entire female population. This is an outdated practice which should be eliminated. The law should also be amended to provide for pro-rata benefits for part-time workers, and for a fair system of portable pension credits.

Similarly, I support Federal legislation to broaden both the scope and the availability of insurance coverage for women.

SEXUAL PREFERENCE

In recent years our social, religious, medical and legal attitudes toward homosexuality have been undergoing change.

The American Psychiatric Association once listed homosexuality as a mental disorder. It no longer does and association trustees formally declared that homosexuality, per se, implies no impairment in judgment, stability, reliability, or general social or vocational capabilities.

As a matter of general philosophy, I believe that citizens should be entitled to lifestyles of their own preference, and that such choices should not interfere with equal opportunities for careers in the private or public sectors or be used as a basis for discrimination or denial of equal rights in any way. Any individual ought to have the right to make the most of his or her talents without regard to personal lifestyle or sexual preference.

ABORTION

I support the Supreme Court decision on abortion. We know from years of experience that strict abortion laws do not stop abortions; they simply drive abortions from hospitals and doctors to back alleys and quacks, and they create a wealth test, depriving poor women of any choice at all.

I do not believe that medical personnel should be forced to participate in abortions in contravention of a religious or ethical belief.

The abortion controversy boils down to a question of freedom of choice for all citizens; the freedom to choose an abortion when faced with an unwanted pregnancy, and the freedom to shun them. Neither right can be compromised.

Paid for by the Udall '76 Committee, Stan Kurz, Treasurer. A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

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This paper made from recycled fibers

tive economy—but only a first step. There are several other major changes that would have to be made. Let me touch on some of them briefly.

We have got to ferret out and correct the myriad ways in which the tax code favors big companies over small ones.

The corporate income tax is riddled with concessions, exceptions, loopholes, and just plain give-aways. Except for the first $25,000 in earnings, corporations are supposed to pay a flat 48% tax. But in 1973, the average for the 143 biggest corporations for which data was available, was less than 24%.

There are many reasons: Export tax subsidies, foreign tax credits, and an investment tax credit based on the size of a company's earnings. Then of course there is the oil depletion allowance, which is based on the amount of oil produced, rather than the number of new holes drilled, and therefore helps the giant firms more than the small wildcatter who shoulders much more of the risk.

These sorts of tax provisions—as well as many others, including the estate tax and various excise taxes—are helping to push the whole economy towards bigness and away from competition.

Yet another source of trouble is the patent system. Originally designed to promote progress by encouraging inventors, today the system frequently allows big companies to get bigger by keeping inventions—often ones that are not properly patentable—out of the hands of their smaller competitors.

That is one of the ways that GE, AT&T and Xerox came to dominate their industries.

Part of the problem is in the Patent Office. The Office has a two and one half year backlog. Its staff is overworked and relies heavily on what applicants allege. Fully 70% of the litigated patents are eventually held invalid. But such challenges are time-consuming, costly, and risky, and few small companies can afford the cost.

The Patent Office should be given the resources it needs to streamline its procedures and improve its investigations. Applications that should be denied, should be denied quickly.

In addition, we should consider shortening the period of patent protection.

And we should look for ways to prevent patent holders from stifling competition by putting greater limits on restrictive licensing.

Anti-competitive policies pervade the Federal Government, but probably the worst culprit of all is the regulatory agency.

Government policies have protected concentration—not competition—in many of the regulated industries, often they have erected impenetrable barriers to any company which seeks to enter the field with better products or lower prices.

Transportation economists estimate that price fixing and waste allowed by the three regulatory agencies in this field—the CAB, the ICC, and the Maritime Commission—the cost consumers between $8 and $16 billion a year.

From its creation, the CAB has restricted competition in the airline industry. It has not approved entry of a new trunk carrier since 1938.

Just last fall it rejected an application by Laker Airways, a private British carrier, to fly regularly scheduled New York to London flights for $125 each way—less than half of the present fare.

The CAB does not have jurisdiction over flights within a single State. As a result, there is vigorous competition, for example, on the Los Angeles to San Francisco route. That competition has driven the price down to $21.

The Washington to Boston flight is only a few miles longer, but is regulated by the CAB. Result?—The fare is $45—more than double.

That's the good news. Now, for the bad news—the ICC.

This agency divides up the country and allocates each area to just a few trucking firms. In other words, it creates oligopolies.

One ambitious firm—Gateway Transportation—is trying to compete on the route from Pittsburgh to Jacksonville, Florida. Because the ICC has awarded the direct route to someone else, Gateway's truck must make the trip via Cincinnati, Ohio—more than 200 miles out of the way.

The ICC, in fact, is so busy preventing competition in interstate trucking that it forces truckers to travel empty about 40% of the time. Somebody over there still hasn't gotten the message about the energy crisis.

We need to limit the authority of the regulatory agencies—to get them out of the business of regulating competition—whenever and wherever possible.

We should end the CAB's authority to set fares and restrict routes. I think you would be amazed at how the airlines could discover ways to reduce rates if they had to compete for their business.

As a matter of national policy, we may want to maintain service on low-traffic routes to small cities, and that may require some kind of subsidy, but the savings would far outweigh the cost.

As for the ICC, the time has come to abolish it. The Commission was established in 1880's to prevent price gouging by the monopolistic railroads, but the railroads lost their monopoly when the truck arrived on the scene, and the ICC lost its function. Since then, the ICC has stood firmly and steadfastly—in the *way* of competition.

I have taken you on just a quick tour of the field—but I hope I have been able to make my case. If we are to strengthen and preserve our free economy, we must act. We must take the power from the board room and return it to the market. We must replace concentration with competition to keep prices down, efficiency up, and economic power responsible.

The vitality of competition comes from the desire of business to grow and prosper. There is no villainy in that instinct—it is essential to a vigorous economy.

But when businesses get too successful or too big, they may begin to strangle competition.

Then Government must intervene. It must act as a referee, to limit and redirect growth when it threatens competition. This creative tension between business and government means litigation, which cannot displease you. But it also means an economy able to meet the challenges of the last quarter of the 20th century—an economy which truly serves its true masters—the American people.

Paid for Udall '76 Committee, Stanley Kurz, Treasurer.

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House of Representatives

CONGRESSMAN MO UDALL CALLS FOR PROTECTION OF COMPETITION IN AMERICAN ECONOMIC LIFE

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, Mo UDALL of Arizona, recently addressed the American Bar Association Conference of Bar Presidents on the evils of economic concentration in American industry and the heavy cost caused to society and the free enterprise system by the absence of vigorous competition in the business community.

In his speech, Mo UDALL set forth a progressive program to cope with the dangers of economic concentration. He proposed the creation of a congressionally authorized commission to analyze the performances of a number of key American industries to determine whether Government should be taken to assure productivity, efficiency and competition. In addition, he called for other reforms, such as strengthening the enforcement of antitrust laws by the Justice Department and the FTC, the possible breaking up of food and energy conglomerates and the abolishment of the ICC.

Mr. Speaker, Mo UDALL has presented a significant plan to prevent a few behemoths of industry from dominating the economic life of our Nation. I commend to the attention of our colleagues his remarks to the Chicago conference of ABA Bar Presidents on February 21:

THE FUTURE OF ANTI-TRUST

(By Representative MORRIS K. UDALL)

Our economy is in deep trouble. We are in the worst recession since the '30's and things aren't going to get any better for a while. We are suffering from inflation and rising unemployment at the same time—a combination economists used to think impossible.

We face shortages of raw materials. We face really serious environmental problems. We face sagging productivity.

These difficulties are serious, but they are not fatal.

What can be fatal is our continued reluctance to face the issue squarely—to admit that the economy has fundamental problems and that it needs fundamental solutions.

Instead, what we are getting is blind flailing. Last year the President told us we were going to whip inflation and passed out WIN buttons. This year he proposes energy taxes so heavy and so broad that the price of absolutely everything will go up. Maybe he'll soften the blow by passing out LOSE buttons. I believe that our economy is basically strong. It can provide jobs and a decent standard of living to all Americans.

But it will do so only if we have the vision to look at the long-range problems, and the courage to undertake the necessary reforms.

We Americans pride ourselves on having a free enterprise system in which producers compete freely for the consumer's dollar. We believe that through vigorous competition this kind of system stimulates innovation and discovery, promotes efficiency and best distributes resources to serve consumer desires.

I agree with that philosophy. I believe in free enterprise. But I am afraid that there is a wide gap between the philosophy we preach and the business we practice, for the vigorous competition on which our system is based has disappeared from broad sectors of the economy.

We have 400,000 manufacturing firms in this country, but a mere 200 control two-thirds of all their assets. Industry after industry is dominated by a handful of giant companies. Whether the concentration takes the form of monopoly or oligopoly, the result is the same. Competition is stifled, and the foundations of the free enterprise system are undercut.

We all know the cost. We see it in lack of innovation, in inefficiency, and in higher prices. And we see it in the loss of markets to foreign competitors and in the inevitable government intervention and regulation.

Let's look at a few examples.

With four firms controlling nearly half the market, price competition has always been sluggish in the steel business. Each company

knows that if it cuts prices the others will match it, and nothing will be gained, and that if it alone raises prices, it will lose its shirt. So in steel we have follow-the-leader pricing. Not a conspiracy—but the effect can be the same.

Moreover, lack of competition has led to sluggishness in the industry. The basic oxygen process—the most important technological breakthrough in this century—was perfected by an Austrian company in 1950. Why, then, did it take American companies a decade or more to make the switch? Hundreds of millions of dollars were wasted as a result. In fact, even though we have the biggest steel industry in the world, almost all the major advances in the business for the last two decades have come from abroad.

Take an industry of more immediate concern to the consumer: food.

Food prices have gone through the roof—up 35% in the last two years, but Secretary Butz tells us that the amount the farmer gets has barely changed.

The middlemen and the supermarket chains, which collect ⅔ of the American food dollar, tell us that higher costs are to blame. What about lack of competition?

In 1966 the National Commission on Food Marketing recognized the anti-competitive effects of excessive concentration in the food industry. Yet, today, three companies sell 82% of our cold breakfast cereal. Four sell 70% of our dairy products, and 80% of our canned goods. And just one sells 90% of the soup in the country.

At the retail level, 2 to 4 chains sell the vast bulk of the food in almost every one of our metropolitan areas.

Last year Safeway's profits went up 51%; DelMonte, 43%; American Can, 52%; and Amstar—which dominates the sugar business—was up 250%.

We know that when companies don't compete on price, they tend to compete on other things—particularly advertising. Food processors and distributors spend over $4 billion a year on advertising—much of it on new products that no one wants.

The Federal Trade Commission has attempted to estimate the cost of concentration in this industry. In just 13 food lines the FTC estimates that overcharges amount to $2 billion per year. A yet-to-be-released staff study concludes that if the food oligopolies were broken up, prices would drop by 25%. Now *there's* a way to whip inflation.

Or, look at automobiles. In 1921 we had 88 firms in this industry. By 1935 there were 10 left, and you know where we are today: the big 3 make 97% of the cars manufactured in the United States. Even counting imports, they control 83% of the sales.

That doesn't just mean high prices—it means limited choice. It took the big 3 years to come up with the small cars—they might never have done so if it hadn't been for increasing competition from abroad.

To a certain extent they also control our future choices, for they control all research into alternative engines, auto safety, and emissions control.

The same big 3 that control the car industry also dominate the production of buses and trains. Last year, GM manufactured more than half our city buses, 90% of the bus engines, and 80% of our rail locomotives.

This kind of control has had disastrous effects on our transportation system. Since a bus or train can carry many more people than a car, GM had every incentive to push car sales and discourage mass transit.

Testimony to a Senate committee last year indicated that over the years GM bought and tore up electric railway systems in 56 cities throughout the country—including New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Los Angeles. Some riders switched to GM buses—more bought GM cars.

The fact is that the big 3 shape America's ground transport system. And the system they have produced—roads clogged with millions of cars and trucks, pouring out pollution and consuming vast amounts of oil, while mass transit remains virtually nonexistent—that system simply won't do.

The Federal Government may have to reorganize the rail and bus equipment industries, building new plants and selling them to private investors if necessary, to increase capacity and promote competition.

The energy industry poses even bigger problems. A few huge corporations dominate the oil and natural gas businesses from the ground to the refinery, and for gasoline, of course, all the way to the pump. While the industry is not statistically very concentrated, it has hardly behaved in a competitive fashion. The oil majors are tied more subtly together through a complex network of overlapping directorates, joint ventures, and product exchange agreements.

We all know about the price rises in the last year. But did you know that in the ten months of 1973 before the Arab boycott and the cartel, the price of refined oil went up 40%?

The major oil companies control most of the supplies of crude oil. That has made it hard for independents to build badly needed new refineries. The main pipelines have been routed for the convenience of the majors, putting the independents at a competitive disadvantage.

The majors commonly engage in joint ventures in exploration and development, making competition with each other unlikely or impossible.

The Trade Commission has alleged in a current suit, that the majors manipulated the prices they charge at each stage of production to freeze out competitors.

The Federal Government is auctioning off vast areas of off-shore land for oil and gas exploration. Unfortunately, the way the system works, the winning bidders have to put out large amounts of cash—as much as $200 million—for each tract. And they must do so before they know whether they will find any oil. That is too risky and expensive for small companies. So the same big oil companies are buying up most of the oil lands of the future—making the industry even less competitive.

Moreover, the oil majors now have heavy holdings in alternative fuels—natural gas, coal, shale, and nuclear power. The oil majors are now in a position to limit future energy supplies and new energy technologies to maintain their profits.

From automobiles to cigarettes to chewing gum to soap, the story is repeated over and over again—concentration is now a prominent, perhaps a dominant, characteristic of our economy.

Concentration means high prices. That is a burden at any time. It is a burden we simply cannot afford at a time when spiralling inflation threatens both progress and prosperity. Concentration can also mean inefficiency, lack of innovation, and stagnation. That, too, is a burden we cannot afford. With raw materials getting scarcer and the environment getting dirtier, the free ride of the last century is over. But we can always afford the kind of growth that comes from efficiency—from the ability to produce more from less, and from the ability to innovate.

We must increase productivity if we are to meet the rising challenge of foreign competition, and if we are to restore economic growth.

Finally, concentration means power. It means too much control over our lives in the hands of corporate executives answerable to neither the public nor the marketplace.

Is concentration the cause? Is it the source of our economic maladies? Of inflation? Of slumping productivity?

In some industries, the answer is clearly yes. But in many cases we just don't know. Simple rules can often be powerful tools for understanding a complex situation, but often they will prove to be inadequate.

That there are two or three companies which share the bulk of the market and make substantial profits, does not necessarily give us the answer we need.

A commitment to a free enterprise system means a commitment to competition; and when there is competition, there are always some who lead the race, and some who win it. Indeed, the opportunity to lead is the incentive we count on to get competitors in the race, and, once in, to encourage them to compete hard, to take risks, to get in front and stay there.

We choose to play the game by not telling each competitor exactly how fast he can and must run, what his style should be or what course to follow. Our free enterprise view has been that each competitor does best and the public benefits the most if we act merely to prevent obstacles and hindrances to their forward motion.

We don't allow those in the lead to put up barriers behind them or to trip those who want to take the lead away. Each competitor must depend on moving forward himself—rather than on slowing down those behind him.

And we prohibit the front runners from agreeing to bunch together to prevent those behind from breaking through their lines. If the front few happen to come together on the track when all are moving forward at top speed, they are within the rules. But not if they do so deliberately.

The trouble, of course, is that it is very hard to tell whether the four steel companies or the three automobile or two bleach companies out in front are still racing, or whether they have all slowed down at the same time to block the others on the field.

But when you see prices and profits going up, and innovation going down, it's not hard to believe that they decided it was easier to coast along together than to compete alone.

And when you look out across the economy and see many races slowing down and the racers in front getting fat and sluggish, it's hard not to conclude that the rules don't work well enough any more.

Our racing rules have always been the anti-trust laws. Enforcement of these laws is the responsibility of both the Federal Trade Commission and the Justice Department.

Both have shown increasing vigor in the last two years, and I hope that trend continues. Their efforts will be aided by new legislation passed in the last session of Congress, which stiffens penalties for price fixing and expanded the Trade Commission's authority to protect consumers from unfair practices.

We must do more, however. These two agencies need a greatly enlarged staff if they are to adequately meet their responsibilities, and we must seek ways to keep politics out of anti-trust cases—to guarantee that there is no repetition of the ITT case.

Better enforcement will help, but it is not enough. We may have to rewrite the rules.

The Clayton Act prevents anti-competitive mergers regardless of intent. But when a giant grows more gigantic without merger, the only way to attack existing monopolies and prevent new ones is through section 2 of the Sherman Act. That statute makes it unlawful to try to monopolize an industry, but again the issue is usually intent—as inferred from behavior.

As trial lawyers, you can appreciate that analyzing the behavior of a huge corporation to prove its intent is a massive undertaking—often an impossible and generally an unrewarding one. Should intent really be the only touchstone for effecting structural change? I don't think so.

Six years ago the Government charged IBM with monopolizing the computer industry. In the discovery that followed, IBM produced 40 million documents. The anti-trust division of the Justice Department was making little headway with this mountain of paper until it obtained access to the retrieval and data bank system Control Data set up for a parallel civil suit. Control Data apparently spent three million dollars on that system. That compares with the anti-trust divisions' entire yearly budget of $15 million.

Obviously, the Government cannot police the whole economy this way.

We must recognize that the existing rules are not adequate for the task ahead. We all wish for easy formulas—a list of ten do's and don't—you turn the key and presto! economic propriety. That has not worked and I don't think adding a few more such rules will work either.

The answer, I believe, lies in approaching the problem industry-by-industry, determining what ails each critical sector, and prescribing the precise remedy that it requires.

This is not a difficult undertaking if the commitment is there. The number of really critical industries in our country is small—ten, perhaps twenty at the very most, dominate our economic health. First we must look at how each economically crucial industry is performing, considering criteria of efficiency, innovation, price and profit. If it is performing well, then it is of no consequence whether there are two or two hundred competitors in the field.

For those which are not performing well, we analyze the peculiar factors which contribute to the problem and prescribe a set of remedies tailored to the specific conditions. These might take any of several forms: Government subsidies of a new competitor, changes in Government procurement practices, regulation, deconcentration, and many others.

This job can be performed by an *ad hoc* commission created by the Congress with a limited life-span and a clearly defined goal. Congress then must be prepared to consider and act on the commission's recommendations.

The procedure I have just outlined would be a giant step towards a healthy, competi-

misunderstanding of its causes to hold that the energy crisis the direct offspring of the environmental revolution of the Sixties. And yet, to an incredible extent, that is the belief in the White House and in the boardrooms of some of the country's largest corporations. It is indeed a corrupting lie, for on the issue of natural resources the conservationists have been largely right and their message of husbanding resources has been timely. But the lie is in circulation, and it must be fought by the conservation community with a reasoned, enlightened, cooperative approach in the months and years ahead.

The second big dose of medicine I recommend for the conservation movement is in the organizational area. Conservationists are notorious individualists who get their intellectual heritage from great iconoclasts like Muir, Twain and Thoreau. Will Rogers said, "I belong to no organized political party. I'm a Democrat." Many in this room could say, "We belong to no organized social movement. We are conservationists." But there is one compelling fact that the conservation movement had better come to terms with: in this democracy the key to political success is organization.

Common Cause does it. So do the doctors, organized labor, the homebuilders, the women's movement, and every political party. What do they do? They meet; they have annual conventions; they elect officers; and for five or six days fight each other for the centerpiece of a platform which their entire movement will support. "In politics," John Kennedy counseled, "there are no friends, only allies." People walk away from these annual internecine wars knowing that if they haven't won any friends, they have at least trapped reluctant allies into a common effort.

This is the uncomfortable part of democracy, but it is the most important part. And in the conservation field it is desperately lacking. Conservationists have no central policy institutions, no annual convention where they are packed into a room and forced to work out their differences, no place where they produce unified policy and emerge knowing they share priority goals in the year ahead. In my opinion, this the conservation movement must do or perish as an effective agent of political change in this country. For the truth is the conservation groups are right now involved in self-destructive competition for headlines and a limited pool of members and dollars.

The price of membership expansion for many groups during the Sixties was chaos. Larger membership gave them the budget for expanded Washington staffs, to put out beautiful magazines, and so on—each of these developments wholesome—but too often they felt the price of membership drives was to adopt every policy and fight every fight dictated from the armies in the field. For a while it worked but, as I say, we are now at Valley Forge.

Conservationists have to get organized, limit their legislative targets, and consolidate their limited resources of money and manpower. And all of this has to do with the final dose of medicine I am suggesting.

It has to do with getting back to the basics. In a real sense the conservationist has been the fireman of this cruise ship we call earth, but as the lessons of the energy crisis begin to come home it looks like we have been putting out fires on a sinking ship. For the questions are really much larger than those with which we have traditionally dealt. The issue is not merely whether we will have human life. It is not whether we will pass on to our descendants isolated plots of wilderness or parks or a few clean fishing streams, but whether they will inherit anything like what we knew as civilization.

Some years ago my brother was thought radical when he wrote the following lines: ". . . at this moment in history we need to realize that: bigger is not better; slower may be faster; less may well mean more." Those lines look pretty good today. And it seems to me that this is the central message of the environmental movement—that there are indeed limits to growth, to speed, to luxury.

But those limits are not an indictment against all growth, against all science; it is not a call for a return to the rigid and uninteresting lifestyle of the Spartans or to the negative historicism of Malthus.

It is a balanced approach.

And it is a call—a national appeal—for a more sensible lifestyle, one free as much as possible of waste and despoilment, so that our children and their children can live to experience the magnificence of life. For the conservationist believes above all else that life is worth living, and the possibilities of man living in harmony wth nature are endless.

Conservaton is not a piece of wilderness here, a wildlife refuge there. It is a celebration of life in its totality. It can be found at Yellowstone and in Jacksonville, at the Grand Canyon and in Brooklyn. It is, as Russell Train recently said, the kind of diversity where people are given choices. The more we exploit nature, the more those options are reduced until we have only one, like the conservation groups at this Valley Forge, to fight for survival.

And so I've engaged tonight in some loving criticism. Lest there are those who would twist my words or misread my intention, let me reconfirm my belief that this conservation movement, of which the Federation is an important part, is itself a symbol of national health and hope. I treasure the award I have received tonight as I treasure few honors I have received in public life.

And I believe that the conservation community will rise to the challenges I have outlined. I believe that like the wise sea captain the conservation movement can use this new current known as the energy crisis to refill its sails and to redirect the course of this society. For the end to cheap energy may bring on hardship, but it will also end abuses like this wild explosion of rural land development and put the speculators out of business. It may cause us temporary economic pain, but it will force an end to urban sprawl and maybe give the races more incentive to learn to live together. It may force us to redefine leisure and luxury, but it will teach us to better conserve the riches of the earth and thus to enjoy life more. And so we have a mission, you and I and the entire conservation community, to carry on and to work harder for the things in which we believe. In the words of Robert Frost:

"The woods are lovely dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep."

Paid for Udall '76 Committee, Stanley Kurz, Treasurer.

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Senate

THE ENVIRONMENT AT VALLEY FORGE

(Address by Representative Morris K. Udall)

Mr. NELSON. Mr. President, recently a distinguished colleague, Congressman MORRIS K. UDALL, was honored by the National Wildlife Federation as the "Legislator of the Year." He has been a Member of the House since 1961, and is chairman of the Environmental Subcommittee of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

Few men on the Hill or in the country, for that matter, are as knowledgeable about the real implications of environmental degredation or resource depletion as "Mo" UDALL. And few men are as vigorous in the cause of "Mother Earth."

Once again Representative UDALL has demonstrated keen insight into the cause of the environment in a thoughtful speech he delivered accepting the award.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. UDALL's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ENVIRONMENT AT VALLEY FORGE
(Address by Representative MORRIS K. UDALL)

John Gardner once noted that the trouble with America was its uncritical lovers and unloving critics. What we needed were more critical lovers.

I come before you tonight both as a lover and a critic of the conservation movement, as one who is at once proud of our past accomplishments and disappointed by them, troubled about the future of the movement and hopeful for it. I stand here to receive this award with great pride, and yet my pride is tempered by my concern for the future of this fine movement. I catch myself wondering if future historians will say that our time was the beginning or the beginning of the end of the environmental cause.

And where could it be more appropriate to consider this question than in the great cathedral of nature known as Colorado? For this is a cathedral under seige. Before the 1930's there was another Colorado known as Appalachia with wooded mountaintops, wildlife, clean and plentiful streams—the kind of outdoor paradise that this Federation fights for. In Appalachia today there are muted mountains, gutted valleys, and nearly 10,000 miles of fishing streams deadened by industrial poison. Once a natural playground, it is now a natural graveyard. And there are people in industry today who would take Colorado down this same miserable road.

And so tonight in this period of transition, in this magnificent state, and in this gathering of conservation leaders, I will not mince words. I want to talk frankly about the problems of the conservation movement, for they are substantial. I want to be critical, for I believe a dose of loving criticism and analysis is badly needed.

As we meet here to celebrate the environmental achievements of the year, we find if we are truthful that the pickings were pretty slim. 1974 has not been a good year for the environment; nor was 1973. Yes, we can take solace in the addition of a few thousand more acres of wilderness, parks and refuges, in a few court decisions that went in our favor, in the election of a new crop of city councilmen and mayors across the country who believe in the conservation ethic and who are trying to implement the ethic on a local basis.

But on the big national issues that will decide the shape of life in the tlecades ahead, we are not making headway—on energy, clean air and water, land planning. Four years ago in the Congress when the word "environment" was attached to legislation it virtually assured passage; four weeks ago I went before the Rules Committee with my land-planning bill and found that the same word stirred resentment and contributed to defeat. Three years ago Congress would have voted 2 to 1 to resist any attempt to override the basic provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act; when the vote came last year on the Alaska Pipeline, a majority stampeded not merely to overide NEPA but to gut it. And apparently the judges are reading election returns and thermostats, and are waiting in lines at gas stations. Gone are the heady days when environmental lawyers could storm the courts with NEPA lawsuits in the knowledge they had a fighting chance to change major national policies. If you haven't noticed, the batting average for environmental lawsuits is slumping with judicial tolerance for NEPA injunctions having apparently worn thin. Worse, all of this is a reflection of waning public interest in the

environmental movement; not by any means the public abandonment of the issue, but a general feeling that the movement must take a back seat to pressing natural resource shortages.

And this environmental slippage comes at a bad time. The nation faces now as never before an agenda of environmental decisions whose historic importance will rank with the American Revolution itself. I suppose you could say we are hunkering down at the environmental Valley Forge.

What do I mean?

Call it the energy crisis, or Mr. Nixon's politically comfortable term, the energy problem, it is the first in a series of stark realizations that will shock this country in the months and years immediately ahead. And life will never be the same. For despite the admistration's false optimism, America is running out of oil and a whole list of other crucial non-renewable natural resources as well. Historians of the future will, I suspect, write that the last thirty years were the golden age of American growth and luxury, but increasingly they will write about it as a time when Americans of one generation unwittingly skimmed the cream of this country's most precious resources. For the age of abundant natural resources is over, I assert. And in the years ahead we will have to dramatically restructure our economy and resource policies. It does not mean the end to prosperity or happiness, but it will necessarily require fundamental changes in what many of our countrymen now view as "the good life."

Historian C. V. Wedgewood wrote: "History is lived forwards but it is written in retrospect. We know the end before we consider the beginning and we can never wholly recapture what it was to know the beginning only." I want to suggest that fate has cast us as witnesses and participants in one of history's briefest, most traumatic transitions—from the last whimpers of an age of abundance to the first painful groans of a new age of scarcity. But, as Wedgewood suggests, the perspective is distorted by our habitual allegiance to the policies of the past.

Faced with the scarity crises of 1973 and 1974, the country is not moving steadily toward enlightened new policies, but rather to a re-assertion—a disastrous one—of the old, discredited natural resource policies of a different age based on a different set of imperatives and a different list of assumptions. And if those policies are not turned around—and turned around during the next 36 months—it may be too late.

And so we're at the moment of decision—decisions whose consequences will pervade life for the last third of this century and beyond—and we find the environmental movement with less clout in national policy councils than it's had in a decade.

I want to suggest three reasons why this is the case, leaving aside for a moment the current concern over energy supplies.

1. The first reason is that the environmental issue has on the vital questions been substantially abandoned by the White House. And in our presidential system, that is to say it has been altogether abandoned by government. Congress and the courts can obstruct, they can delay, they can snipe and fight and sometimes have an impact, but the fact is if the weight of the presidency is thrown against you foursquare, you lose in this democracy.

I don't want to add to the travail of a wounded President, but someone ought to say that Richard Nixon is doing this nation a disservice by caving in on environmental issues for the sake of his impeachment politics. Someone ought to call him on his backtracking and, yes, double-crossing on basic policies such as land use reform. There is simply no decent rationale for such behavior, and we ought to let him know it.

There are good and noble men in this administration—men like Rogers Morton, Russell Train and Russell Peterson—but these men are finding when the crunch comes, they are left frequently, to borrow a notorious phrase, "twisting slowly, slowly in the wind." Those who have watched Richard Nixon turn his back on the conservation ethic ought to take this as a lesson. The President abandoned the conservationists because he never counted on them in the first place.

Your movement is essentially non-partisan, non-political, and there is much to be said for this approach. But in this system, policies are not pursued unless there is political pressure behind them. The conservation community really played no substantial role in the 1972 presidential campaign on either side. Crucial natural resource issues were never discussed. Never again should that be allowed to happen. As we go down the road to 1976, conservationists of all political stripes should be united in their insistence that candidates address these issues, and that the next American to occupy the White House—whether Republican or Democrat—be a responsible conservationist.

2. A second crucial weakness of the environmental movement is that it hasn't yet made the transition from a negative effort to a positive one. This is because, during the great membership growth period of the Sixties, the effort took form basically as an insurgency. It was geared to "halt outrages"—and there were many—and "to defeat anti-environmentalists." This is a logical way to begin any effort; it provokes needed publicity and stirs the adrenalin of an outraged public. But the problem is that once the monsters were slain—and mostly they were—we did not know quite what to do with ourselves. You can defeat a hostile politician, impose an environmental review process on the agencies of government, even stop the SST, but if that is all you have achieved, it is far from enough.

After the insurgency succeeds you must govern. You must have positive, compelling programs, and we have offered far too few of them. There are still millions of Americans who view the conservation movement as a group of anti-everything fanatics who care more about bird life than human life. And to borrow a phrase from John Ehrlichman, that won't sell in Peoria, or for that matter in Brooklyn, Pittsburgh or Seattle either.

A measure of this criticism is unfair. Enlightened conservation leaders have for the last few years fought for good, positive programs like land planning, but the hard fact is that the engine for such an effort is still lacking. And part of the solution lies in my third reason for the weakness of the movement.

3. That reason is that the movement is still infected with a subtle form of elitism. The conservation effort is not perceived, as it must be, as a humanitarian effort keyed to sound stewardship of the long term future. The truth is it is the most basic of humanitarian causes: the cause of physical and spiritual health, decent communities, clean air and water, sufficient food and natural resources. And with the shortages crisis upon us, the environmental cause is inexorably tied to economic stability, jobs, housing—the gut issue of American life. This critical relationship—the direct tie between the three "E's"—energy, environment and economy—must be spelled out to the policymakers and the public with a massive new re-education effort which advances abroad and humanitarian themes.

The elitism to which I refer is a subtle and not at all the vicious kind. It was born of a time when environmentalists found it both possible and comfortable to avoid delving into the gut, controversial issues—racial harmony, jobs, etc. I say that day is gone. For if this society fails to face up to the problems of the cities, then it cannot begin to solve the energy problem. And if urban sprawl is to continue, no economic group, no section of the country will escape the consequences. An equally frightful price will be paid on the beaches of the Atlantic and Pacific coasts and on this great western plateau that houses the coal and shale oil of the future.

I remember one of those old patriotic movies when Bing Crosby defends the American flag against a cynic by asking others "to say what Old Glory stands for." A Southerner talks of red clay and pine trees. A Westerner describes sunset in the Rocky Mountains. But it's an old Brooklynite who gets the biggest cheer when he says: "Hey, Mac, ever seen steam comin' out a sewer in Flatbush?"

My point is, where is that environmental constituency in Flatbush? Can we long exist without it? The fact is most Americans will never see a wilderness area, park or wildlife refuge, and unless they are brought into the fold when the crunch comes they can be expected to opt for power, light and heat at any cost—even if the price be wall-to-wall power plants and refineries in Montana, Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.

Emerson said that "the only way to have a friend is to be one." Part of the reason the environmental movement finds itself in trouble today is that we failed during the heady years of the Sixties to make friends and forge alliances with groups that might be largely with us now: blue collar America, enlightened industry, the minorities who inhabit our rundown cities. But in those days, environmentalists were not in a mood to compromise or to play a role in "their" issues, and we predictably find few friends around to sustain us during the dark days of the energy crisis.

And so we have labor joining the oil industry to cut the throat of NEPA during the Alaska Pipeline debate, and they should not.

We have civil rights groups in Jacksonville, Florida, joining with development-oriented industries in a coalition against wildlife groups who didn't want important spawning waters destroyed by a facility producing "floating nuclear power plants"—a concept not even approved by the AEC. And the blacks shouldn't have been there, siding against NEPA.

So my criticisms are that we have been too negative, too elitist, too self-centered. Well, what's my prescription? It comes in about three doses.

The first has to do with common sense, that elusive concept called reasonableness, and facing, as Casey Stengel said, "the conditions what prevail." The principal condition that prevails is an energy shortage that can cause high unemployment in blue collar America and in the neighborhoods of the poor. Our most immediate task as a nation will be to keep these millions of families on their feet through the worst moments of the economic downturn. The first line of attack will be on the energy supply front (energy conservation is meaningless to people without money or jobs) and here are some facts you and I will soon be facing.

The nation is going to insist on substantially increased coal production. While I and others wish it were not so, I believe we had better accept this fact and help the nation make the right decisions. I believe we can have an expanded coal program and one that is not destructive to the environment, but we'd better get cracking. The support of the National Wildlife Federation has been the key to our efforts in the Congress to get a balanced coal program underway this year with a responsible strip mining bill.

The American public is going to insist on drilling off the Atlantic coast and stepped up efforts elsewhere. I believe we should say we are not opposed to a careful program which is well conceived and is not a crash effort to ransack what's left of our oil reserves. Instead, we should insist that drilling procedures, environmental impact statements, and government oversight give every protection to the environment.

A MacKenzie Valley gas line, in addition to the Alaska oil line, is going to be built. The MacKenzie route might house that oil line as well if we had gotten behind the idea earlier, and fought *for* it instead of *against* the Alaska line. We ought now to say we will support a second line, but we will insist on the best environmental route and every practicable safeguard.

And then there is the matter of shale oil. Should we put our foot down on early efforts to explore the development of this new resource? The temptation will be there, but I say we can't. But we must insist that these initial efforts are truly prototype programs, not camouflaged commercial developments; that the environmental costs be carefully weighed and that the water supply, which is life and death to the West, be protected and fairly apportioned among competing users.

While I'm suggesting hardheaded compromise, I am also recommending that where basic values involving irreparable damage are involved, we will not yield. And let me give some examples:

Increased coal production does not mean stripping every last acre of the West. The new emphasis has to be on deep mining, because while cheap extraction is on the top, the massive reserves the country needs and can have with the least environmental damage are underground.

The mysteries of nuclear power may yet be solved to the benefit of this nation and the world, and we will not inhibit responsible development. But we ought to draw the line on this liquid metal fast breeder reactor program until its many designs and safety problems have been brought into the open, discussed and solved. We must insist further that there be a much more satisfactory solution to the problem of radioactive waste disposal before any reactor construction program is speeded up.

Recognizing the controversies brewing over the technology of auto emission controls, we will nevertheless keep the heat on Detroit to build the smaller cars and better engines which are the real solution to the auto exhaust problem, and part of the answer to the gasoline shortage. The Wyman amendment and other attempts to simply relieve the auto industry of this responsibility will be fought.

We will bow our backs if this or any administration attempts, as the Nixon administration is hinting, to turn over to its energy office the duties and responsibilities of the Environmental Protection Agency. We will not allow the political panic of this administration to bring on the dismantling of the nation's fledgling environmental program.

George Bernanos said, "The worst, the most corrupting lies are problems poorly stated." It is a misstatement of the problem and a

III. MORRIS UDALL

Can a congressman from a small state out West . . . ?

by Arthur Hadley

Who is the six-foot-six roughhewn man with the ready grin striding off the airplane in St. Louis, Madison, Denver, Salt Lake City, New York, Phoenix, White Plains, as he seeks the Democratic presidential nomination? Is it a senator? a powerful governor? a general? a major national figure?

No.

Who is it, then?

A congressman from the small western state of Arizona, a divorced Mormon, in favor of voluntary zero population growth, a man beaten out for Speaker and Majority Leader of the House: Morris Udall. The man whose major legislation on land use has just been defeated. Is someone kidding?

No one is kidding. "The country is definitely looking for new faces," Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said recently. He had long been urging his friend Edward Kennedy to withdraw, as he subsequently did. Commenting on Democratic hopefuls, Mansfield remarked ". . . Mo Udall, a congressman, is a man of promise, integrity and intelligence."

Senator Barry Goldwater, not normally a Udall fan, believes: "Udall might well be the answer to the Democrats' troubles in finding a presidential candidate with a new face." (Udall's sardonic response: "Look how well we Democrats did the last time an Arizonian ran for the presidency.")

This is not to say that Udall has arrived on stage to nothing but cheers. Congressional leader Wayne Hays of Ohio, a fellow Democrat noted for tart observations who had opposed Udall's efforts at campaign spending reform, remarks, "I have as much chance of being King of England as Udall does of being President. His record in the House is spotty. The Post Office bill [which made the Post Office semi-private] he elbowed through turned out a farce and a disaster. As a human being, he is a very attractive guy. But as a political strategist, he leaves a great deal to be desired."

Bernie Sisk, a senior Democratic congressman from California who has also crossed swords with Udall, believes: "He is trying for a middle-of-the-road image. A working relationship with Middle America. But I have the feeling that some of his positions are not too acceptable there."

Three major forces propel the Udall candidacy: Udall himself; the fear of many Democrats that the party will destroy itself in yet another left versus right shoot-out, giving the White House to the Republicans for another four years; and a new power rivalry between the House and the Senate.

Udall's ostensible reason for running, the cover for his campaign, is that he was asked to test his chances by twenty-nine Democratic congressmen. They were not just the usual petition signers, but rather a solid cross section of the middle management of the House: men who, while not yet senior enough to chair committees, run important subcommittees. They included Henry Reuss of Wisconsin, Thomas Ashley of Ohio, Frank Thompson of New Jersey, and Otis Pike of New York. In their petition to him last May, these congressmen wrote: "Barely twenty-six months from convention time the public is presented with a short exclusive list of 'leading contenders.' Almost every name on that list is a U.S. Senator. . . . We think it is important to look in other places including the House. . . . Historically the House—more than any other place—has produced broadly acceptable, unifying leaders. . . ."

Republican Congressman Lawrence Hogan of the House Judiciary Committee put it more succinctly after the televised impeachment hearings: "Everybody is used to seeing those clowns from the Senate on TV. The House operates with real dignity." Udall himself states: "There is great resentment in the House over the way senators' views get priority." The leading senatorial hopefuls he calls "self-anointed candidates."

Like so much of politics, perhaps too much, the statement urging Udall to run came about mostly by chance. Last spring Congressmen Reuss and Obey, both Wisconsin liberals, were standing together on the floor of the House. Obey was lamenting the factionalism in the Democratic party, and what then seemed to him to loom as "the possibility of a Kennedy-Jackson shoot-out in which everyone will get hurt." Reuss agreed. Both men fell to talking about the lack of good candidates and the Senate monopoly on media attention.

"If we could just get someone like Udall to run . . . ," began Obey. "Let's ask him," said Reuss. They walked over to Udall and asked.

Udall mentioned his star-crossed political record (defeated in the 1970 House leadership contest), and habit of backing unsuccessful candidates (Stevenson, Robert Kennedy, Muskie, a mayor of Tucson who is now an insurance salesman), and suggested they look elsewhere. He finally agreed that if they could get 10 percent of the House Democrats to ask him to run, he would. Reuss and Obey contacted friends, and within a week were back with a carefully constructed list. Udall was off. "When I first went out on the road I was a bit embarrassed. I wasn't sure anyone would show up for the press conferences."

sists of a long-past, probably irrelevant interlude as a congressman, and a very recent, very relevant half-lifetime as a businessman. Those years in Houston—when Bentsen aged from thirty-four to forty-nine, when he was transformed from the hollow-cheeked boy of the congressional campaign photos into the elegant champion of the boardroom, when he began as a millionaire's son and finished as a millionaire himself—must offer many clues, but the clues are hidden.

From the limited evidence of Bentsen's public record, a few tentative conclusions can be drawn. Fifteen years ago, in a discussion of the Kennedy–Nixon race, a writer named Robert Fitch said that both candidates exemplified the politics of the "cool cat." "The essence of the cool cat is that he is controlled rather than committed; that is, he is self-controlled, rather than controlled by ideals to which he has given himself." As it turned out, of course, he was wrong about Nixon, who gave over his control not to ideals, but to inner demons; but he was close to the truth about Kennedy, and even closer about Bentsen. If there is a single way to characterize Bentsen's actions in public life, it is to say that at each point his decision has been the *smart* thing to do. Not necessarily the principled thing, or the brave thing, or even the conservative thing—although each of those terms may apply in certain cases. Ideology, emotion, even personal pique, have taken subsidiary places to the dispassionate logic of this modern "cool cat."

Bentsen's personal bearing is in keeping with his political philosophy; it is absolutely lucid and absolutely cold. His first words to me, as I settled down next to him in the airplane and started asking him questions, were, "How long is this going to take? Can we get it over with as quickly as possible?" In public he is less abrupt: Both friends and enemies agree that on a platform and in a crowd he is far more graceful, far less strained since he went to the Senate than he was in the 1970 campaign. Still, as a member of his staff put it, "I think everyone realizes he won't ever have John Connally's gift of charming the man in the street, or Lyndon Johnson's delight in pressing the flesh." In the course of an admittedly limited exposure to him, the one evidence of "human" frailty I observed was his decision, after some hesitation and with apparent regret, to have a dessert helping of cherries jubilee. The comments of his friends—such as they are, for he is not a man who has intimates—suggests that this impression was not far wrong. "Lloyd never unwinds," says a Texan who has worked with him in politics (and who, like nearly all of Bentsen's associates, refused to be quoted by name). "He relaxes, of course, but his mind never loses that pitch." Another man, who has worked with him in Congress, says, "He is *unencumbered*, by people, ideas, anything."

Bentsen's self-control is almost palpable. He does not smoke. Since coming to Washington, according to his press secretary, Jack DeVore, he "generally restricts his drinks to sherry." Even in his recreations—tennis, raising roses, collecting *objets d'art*—Bentsen does not go slack. The same Texan who says Bentsen never unwinds recalls that during the 1970 campaign, Bentsen would scrupulously set aside his Sunday mornings for a tennis match. "He was a ferocious competitor. He was going to beat the pants off you or know the reason why. Now that he's in politics, he has the same determination to be the best, to rise to the top. But if he doesn't make it, it's not going to wound him. He knows who he is, and doesn't need political power to survive." "He has very few hangups," says another political associate. "He doesn't judge things on the basis of who he is supposed to be, or what his family was, or what everyone else expects him to do. He really does judge on the facts."

Such dispassion has its attractions, especially for a presidential candidate. A man not shackled to ideology might have an easier time cutting his losses than Johnson had in Vietnam. ("Lloyd can get angry about mistakes, but he is the first one to admit his own errors," says a member of his staff.) A man less interested in symbolic showcases than in tangible results might pass fewer pieces of "landmark" legislation, and instead find out how to make the laws on the books work. A man with managerial experience as extensive as Bentsen's might be a less easy victim of the corrupting influence of the White House culture than previous Presidents have been. A man with as firm a sense of his own identity and competence as Bentsen's might not be tortured, as was Nixon, by enemies real and imagined, or distorted, as was Johnson, by notions of how a Texan should handle the Ivy League advisers around his table. "Is it difficult," I asked him, "to run as a Texan, when memories of LBJ are so fresh in the public mind?" Bentsen replied, "When people meet me, they see I'm very different."

But the "cool cat" has his shortcomings too, not least because some small, foreign element of illogic, of *character,* remains beneath even the most controlled exterior. Kennedy and Nixon demonstrated this in their different ways; Kennedy with his defensive, he-man reactions in foreign policy, Nixon in fashions too obvious to mention. It is reasonable to assume that Bentsen, too, has a heart, that he believes in something more than he has revealed, that we cannot judge him solely on his logic. We may not need to know what our Presidents make for breakfast, or what clothes their children wear, but we do deserve a look at the moral baggage they carry.

No one should imagine, Bentsen says, that this amounts to a calculated drive to the center: "It's some of those fellows out in left field who had to move." I asked him whom he meant. He wouldn't say. "Gary Hart?" I asked. He gave me a small grin—a rare departure from his customary noncommittal caution. Still, it is interesting to compare Bentsen's positions on these well-publicized issues with some of his less famous votes. Ronnie Dugger of the *Texas Observer* has done just that, and last September listed a dozen recent votes in which Bentsen lined up with the other senator from Texas, the extremely conservative John Tower. The votes included restoration of the death penalty (both senators for) and opening up the FBI's files (both senators against). "We know why Tower casts such votes," Dugger concluded, "but he is not running for the Democratic nomination for President."

Bentsen's smart, carefully balanced performance has not only put him in the running with a national constituency which might otherwise have considered him an uptown version of Russell Long, but also helped him to a position of some respect within the Senate. Bentsen has not, in four years' time, become a backstage titan at the Capitol, but he has won compliments from the likes of Majority Leader Mike Mansfield ("an extremely impressive senator with a bright future"), Minority Leader Hugh Scott ("a heavyweight"), and Spencer Rich, congressional reporter for the Washington *Post,* who has written several flattering stories with headlines like "Soft-Spoken Bentsen Gains Wide Respect In the Senate." The most tangible evidence of his influence occurred last summer, with the passage of the most important legislation protecting the pension rights of employees of private companies ever enacted. For years, similar bills had been approved by the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, and for years they had died in the Finance Committee, but this time Bentsen—as an insurance man, a master of the bill's actuarial minutiae—nursed the bill through Finance to passage. In mid-1973, Bentsen's reputation as a "workhorse" was beginning to spread among some of his fellow senators, and he began entertaining the notion that 1976 might be his year. To conduct his one-year trial heat, Bentsen had two preliminary arrangements to make. The first was to find the money—$365,000, all of it raised at a $200-per-plate affair in Houston late in 1973. The second was to hire a campaign staff, now working under the direction of Ben Palumbo, a former aide to Senator Harrison Williams. With the machinery ready, Bentsen began his test campaign, setting himself four goals to reach by Election Day, 1974:

The first, according to Palumbo, was to "make the senator a familiar personality to the Democratic party structure nationally"—to expose him not to the voters, but to the party regulars. In this effort, Bentsen has made good use of his position as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, which gave him an official reason to speak in each of the thirty-three states where Democrats were running for the Senate.

The second was to have the senator taken seriously by the national press. Outside his home state, Bentsen has received almost no critical coverage; recently he has been mentioned quite favorably in the Boston *Globe,* the New York *Times,* the Chicago *Sun-Times,* and many others.

The third was to "have him become a familiar face and personality to the regional print and electronic media." To this end Bentsen has appeared on talk shows across the country and has met for informal discussion with the editorial boards of several major papers.

Finally, Bentsen hoped to identify himself with economic issues—not in the gadfly's role, like a Galbraith or a Proxmire, but as a solid, serious policy-maker, and as a party spokesman. Bentsen's important breakthrough in this area occurred last July, when he convinced the Senate Democratic Policy Committee that he should give the party's televised rebuttal to President Nixon's economic message. It was a tub-thumping attack on Republican management of the economy, and variations on it have become his standard speech. "I want to talk about the price of food, about the cost of buying a house. About good times and bad times. In short, about our national economy, and the way it affects your household." And so he does, conjuring up the traditional specter of the Republicans as the party of depression.

As Palumbo and his staff see it, Bentsen not only hit all four of his targets, but did so months before the deadline. Unless Bentsen is weighing factors he has not revealed, the go-ahead is certain. While none of his campaign strategists say he is *going* to win, several suggest how he could: Scoop Jackson will keep putting his foot in his mouth and continue to lose support; the George Wallace camp will realize that their man is a nonstarter, and will see Bentsen as their next best hope; the Kennedy voters will disperse among the candidates rather than swinging en masse to Mondale; the Mondale campaign will not catch fire; and, in the middle of a split and tumultuous convention, all eyes will turn to the cool and confident man from Texas.

Perhaps. Perhaps. Bentsen does have several undeniable advantages—his proven access to big money, the demonstrated efficiency of his campaign organization, and the propitious timing of his emergence as an economic wise man. But his several disadvantages suggest another, which is as unlucky in its timing for Bentsen as the economic issue is fortunate. That is the vague quality known as "character."

Judgments in this area are clearly speculative and should be labeled as such. But as our presidencies have become reigns rather than administrations, making guesses about the character of potential Presidents seems a risk worth taking.

The difficulty in Bentsen's case is that he offers precious little for examination. Apart from his four years in the Senate, his record con-

years later, in 1948, he was elected to Congress, and, at age twenty-seven, was the youngest member that year.

The second of Bentsen's burdens is his strong identification with the big-money, Texas-Tory branch of the Democratic party, dominated by John Connally before his Republican conversion, and associated (though never contentedly) with Lyndon Johnson. Although Bentsen has supported Johnson and Connally, and in turn been supported by them (Connally urged him to make his 1970 run for the Senate; in 1971, Johnson went so far as to say that Bentsen might be "the greatest senator Texas has ever had"), it would be a mistake to take either of them as a model for how Bentsen might perform in or around the White House. Connally and Johnson both made themselves into rich men, but both of them were born poor, Connally poorer than Johnson. Like Connally, wheeling and dealing, Johnson often radiated with a "joie de con." But even during his darkest days in the White House, no one could accuse Johnson of being merely a manipulator. There was too much of the elemental man in him to justify so simplistic a label, and he retained his commitment to the New Deal to the end. All of these ingredients—passion, ideology, and the hustler's glee—seem absent from Bentsen's managerial makeup.

In his brief service in the House, Bentsen was a consistent if unsophisticated conservative, with a generally unremarkable record. He must live today with one of the few remarkable statements he made, his recommendation on July 12, 1950, that the United States give the North Koreans one week's warning and then hit them with atomic bombs. Although he was unopposed in all his races for re-election, Bentsen decided to leave the House in 1954 "to establish financial independence" for himself and his family—his wife, Beryl Ann (nicknamed B.A.), and his children, Lloyd III, Lan, and Tina, whose ages now range from thirty to twenty-three.

He accomplished his goal quickly in the insurance business. By the time he ran against Yarborough, he was president of Lincoln Consolidated, a large holding company with extensive insurance interests, and his personal worth was $2.3 million.

Bentsen remained on the periphery of politics during these years, but was clearly affiliated with the Connally camp. He supported Connally in his various races for the governorship, and at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, Beryl Ann Bentsen sat between Connally and Jake Jacobsen in the Texas delegation. Connally urged Bentsen to run for the governorship in 1968, and two years later played an important part in his successful race for the Senate. Indeed, Bentsen was the last Texas politician Connally successfully anointed before going on to Republicanism and disgrace.

The 1970 election is the third and most inflammatory item on Bentsen's critics' list, not because he beat George Bush, then a Republican congressman, in the general election, but because he eliminated the incumbent senator, Ralph Yarborough, in the Democratic primary. Yarborough had left fences unmended, and might well have fallen to Bush, but he was the Texas liberals' hero, the only one of their number to hold major office, and as such, a perfect candidate for martyrdom. Bentsen played his role in this martyr's drama to perfection, running an expensive, slick campaign which made heavy use of TV spots, and taking a gloves-off, Agnewesque position on all the divisive social issues. He pounded Yarborough on busing, school prayer, and—in what Bentsen's own men called the "World War III" spot—antiwar protest. This last commercial, which has entered the mythology of Texas politics, depicted civil disorder and generalized mayhem, followed by Lloyd Bentsen's calm voice reminding the voters that Yarborough had supported the moratorium, and asking whether this was the kind of representation Texans really wanted.

The ads were not so much dishonest as they were demagogic, and on Bentsen's side it may be said that Yarborough engaged in a little demagoguery of his own about the Bentsen family history. After the primary, Bentsen engaged in enough reconciliation to enlist such liberals as Barbara Jordan, the black congresswoman from Houston who was then a state senator, to his side. He beat Bush by a 53 to 47 margin. Nonetheless, such was the residue of the primary campaign that the Nixon Administration, which had sent its big guns to Texas on Bush's behalf, embraced Bentsen after his victory in the fall as part of its "ideological majority."

As soon as he arrived in the Senate—as soon, that is, as his record as a national politician began—Bentsen took pains to rid himself of the right-wing image the campaign had given him. In one of his first speeches as a senator, he formally rejected the Administration's embrace, saying that he was an "establishment man" who believed in four establishments: the United States of America, the United States Senate, the State of Texas, and the Democratic party. This was the first step in a dance Bentsen has been practicing ever since: a flattering *pas* toward his partners on either side, a coy step back from the extreme. On nearly every issue of symbolic importance to the liberals, the constituency farthest from his natural base, Bentsen has taken a "correct" position. In his first few months in Congress, he voted to restrict the right to filibuster, one of the few Old South senators ever to do so; shortly thereafter, he fought Senator John Stennis to reduce funding for the Trident submarine. He voted against the SST, he has sponsored mass-transit legislation, and he has even taken his distance from big oil, sponsoring a variety of proposals to restrict the major companies in favor of the smaller, independent operators.

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has spent a great deal of his time as he spent it that afternoon—in transit between one public appearance and the next. By Election Day, 1974, Bentsen had appeared in thirty-three states, and had delivered some one hundred and thirty speeches. On the weekend he flew to Texas, for example, he spoke in Indiana on Saturday, spent half an hour on national TV on Sunday morning appearing with Senator William Brock on *Face the Nation,* landed in Austin on Sunday evening, and on Monday morning was a major speaker at the Southern Governors' Conference; there he walked over to George Wallace's wheelchair to shake hands as the TV cameras rolled. He can please a crowd, and did on this occasion. But in his speeches, and even more so in his private conversation, he foxily avoids the specific commitment or the revealing observation (on or off the record) that might prove embarrassing.

During the first week in October, Bentsen spoke in Lansing, Michigan, on Friday, in Wichita, Kansas, on Saturday, in San Antonio on Sunday morning, and in Dallas on Sunday night; he flew back to Washington on Monday, departed that night for Atlanta, taped another debate with Senator Brock on Tuesday morning, and on Tuesday afternoon addressed a meeting of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Miami.

Through this year of physical and financial depletion (at one point in late summer, Bentsen's advance calendar showed a total of five free nights before the election; and much of a special $365,000 campaign fund has gone into the year's effort), Bentsen was not technically "running." What he was doing, he said, was deciding whether to run, conducting a sort of test marketing that would enable him to make his final decision at the beginning of the new year. If, as has seemed certain since the withdrawal of Teddy Kennedy, Bentsen becomes a starter in this year of the dark horse, his campaign will be one of the more fascinating. Its fascination is not that Bentsen is a probable—or at this moment even plausible—victor, but that his type of presidential politicking recalls something fifteen years past. Different inheritors have appropriated different portions of the "Kennedy legacy"—the looks and style passed on to the two brothers; the reputation for social concern taken over by assorted liberals; the tough-guy outlook on world affairs a tragic bequest to Lyndon Johnson. But at least one part, the part evoked by phrases like "tough-minded," "hard-boiled," "pragmatic," is riding with Lloyd Bentsen this year.

The predominant fact about Bentsen's national campaign is that he lacks a national identity; in mid-1974, the Harris Poll gave him a name-recognition figure of about 2 percent. But the problem is more profound than simply not being well known, for Lloyd Bentsen's past is private. Before he was elected



Lloyd Bentsen

to the Senate four and a half years ago, Bentsen had spent the greater part of his adult years in the closed world of Houston high finance. Unlike Scoop Jackson, who has been in Congress for thirty-four years, or Walter Mondale, who won statewide office in 1960, or even Morris Udall, who entered the House in 1961, Bentsen's record is a short one indeed. Save for his geographic identity as a Texan, no great advantage so soon after the Johnson years, Bentsen carries the handicap of anonymity—and the corresponding advantage of being able to create an identity *ex nihil.*

The way in which national anonymity can be an advantage is illustrated by Bentsen's position in Texas, where his well-known background is actually his greatest handicap. Bentsen's modest senatorial prominence has made him stronger at home now than he has ever been before, but there are still those who bear him an abiding mistrust. Generally they cite three reasons.

The first is his family background, for like a hard-boiled candidate of another day, John F. Kennedy, Bentsen first entered politics backed by his father's fortune, the accumulation of which has been a matter of public controversy. The elder Bentsen, Lloyd Sr., moved with his brother Elmer from South Dakota to the Texas Valley (the state's southern tip) in the 1920s, where the two soon made a fortune in the "immigrant land business." In theory this meant nothing more than selling land to people from far away, but in practice it often involved greeting a trainload of Minnesotans, escorting them through acres of sunny citrus land, and then selling them land identical in every respect save a lack of water rights. Virtually worthless land, that is to say. In 1950, dissatisfied customers began filing the first of several dozen lawsuits against the elder Bentsens, alleging conspiracy and fraud. The plaintiffs in the first test case, a couple from Iowa named Polmateer, claimed that they had paid $525 per acre for land worth, at most, one fifth that amount. The judge ruled in their favor, and ordered the elder Bentsens to refund the Polmateers in full. In another case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the elder Bentsens could properly be sued to determine whether they had violated a federal statute. Shortly thereafter, the Bentsens began settling most subsequent cases out of court. At no time has anyone accused Lloyd Jr. of involvement in his father's and uncle's affairs, but his first excursion into politics was financed by his father's money.

After attending the University of Texas Law School (he has no undergraduate degree) and receiving decorations for flying fifty missions as a pilot in World War II, Bentsen returned to what had become the family's political fiefdom, and in 1946 was elected county judge. Two

concern for humanity." Blatnik, who was bitterly disappointed when Mondale, rather than himself, was picked to succeed Humphrey, adds, "But I think he lacks the self-confidence or the guts to stand up and fight when things really get rough. When the wind is blowing hard against him, he likes to wait for a little more favorable tide. We had a lot of tough fights back there, but somehow, Fritz always managed to slip out and disappear."

Blatnik's criticism may be colored by his personal feelings, but Mondale's penchant for political caution and for avoiding controversy is well known in Minnesota, where the news that he had his appendix removed in 1967 caused some Democrats to say they hoped the surgeon had inserted some guts before sewing him up. Another Minnesota Democrat who has been intimately involved in party affairs since the late 1940s and who thinks Mondale has most of the strengths of Humphrey, Freeman, and McCarthy, and few of their weaknesses, echoes Blatnik in kinder but no less damaging words.

"Fritz Mondale's biggest weakness is that political success has come too easy for him and that he's never been tested in a really tough campaign," says the individual, who will not speak for the record because he is in a sensitive government job. "You've got to give him credit because he has made the most of every opportunity he's had and has never let himself get into a position where he's politically vulnerable. But the fact remains that he hasn't gotten out in front on any hard, tough issues. He's never had to go to a legislature or to the people and recommend a tax increase like Freeman did and he's never had his friends desert him over an issue like they did with Humphrey over Vietnam. With Fritz, I think you have to ask yourself the basic question—what's he going to do when the chips are down?"

Some Mondale-watchers wonder if the man, having never endured political defeat or the kind of personal tragedy that makes a man look deeply into himself, possesses a self-identity strong enough to inure him against the pressures that are brought to bear on a presidential candidate. Far less charitable critics see him as a kind of Scandinavian Sammy Glick, a political opportunist in populist clothing who has all the markings of the great midwestern progressives of the past, but little of their fire and feeling. That judgment was given early expression by Mondale's then senior colleague, Eugene McCarthy, who once described Mondale as "the new brand of Senate liberal. He's like that toothpaste that comes in a plastic bag with a brush—you get it all at once." A more succinct criticism of Mondale is embodied in the campaign slogan that Republicans are waiting to unveil if Mondale wins the Democratic nomination—"If you liked McGovern, you'll love Mondale." Still other critics of Mondale point to his espousal of what they call "cheap" issues, easy targets like child abuse and drug control, which no human being would be against anyway. "Mondale never puts any real chips on the table," says one such critic, "only funny money."

Mondale undoubtedly will have plenty of opportunity to refute—or reinforce—those criticisms as he heads down the long, lonely, treacherous path toward the presidency in 1976 or some future year. When the going gets rough, as it undoubtedly will, Mondale may well recall what he told a group of reporters in 1970. It is important for liberal senators to stick to their Senate duties, he said, and not listen to the siren song of presidential politics. "The one big problem most liberals have when they get down here is that when they get their first big national news story, they're off and running," said Mondale, who obviously has changed his mind. "I think some of us have got to stay around here and do the work. I do believe liberals are inordinately susceptible to the presidential bug."

II. LLOYD BENTSEN Can another Texan apply?

by James Fallows

Braniff Airlines' flight number 11, a.k.a. the LBJ special, leaves Washington's Dulles Airport each afternoon at 5:35 on a nonstop trip to Austin. The flight, which Braniff introduced with some reluctance during the heyday of the Pedernales, is now a steady earner, and it makes Austin the smallest far-off city with such direct connections to the capital.

On one Sunday afternoon last September, the day that Gerald Ford pardoned Richard Nixon, a lean, distinguished-looking man in his early fifties waited to check in on flight 11. From the cut of his brown glen plaid suit and the detached, slightly impatient look on his face, he might have been a banker from Connecticut on his way to discuss investment possibilities in the computer industry, or an executive of the Rockefeller Foundation preparing for a conference at the University of Texas. He received no more attention than any of the several hundred other passengers in the terminal, which was unusual only because he, unlike anyone else in the building, was at work trying to become the next President of the United States.

Since the end of 1973, when he decided to spend a year finding out "whether a moderate from Texas has a shot at the Democratic nomination," Lloyd M. Bentsen, junior senator from the Lone Star state,

working to safeguard young campers, more parents would feel safe in permitting their children to attend a camp.

So the Youth Camp Safety Act has been supported by the Girl Scouts, the Boy Scouts, the American Camping Association, the National PTA, the National Safety Council, and a host of other respected organizations.

But it has gotten absolutely nowhere in the Congress.

Why? Because a few camp operators—those who feel safety standards would force them to change their present mode of operation—have contributed to the campaigns of a few congressmen who have thereafter taken pains to block youth camp safety legislation. It is as simple as that.

When the 94th Congress convened a few days ago, Rep. Dominick V. Daniels (D-N.J.) reintroduced the Youth Camp Safety Act. It was cosponsored by long-time supporters Rep. Marvin L. Esch (R-Mich.), Rep. Peter A. Peyser (R-N.Y.) and 47 other members of the House from both sides of the aisle.

A select subcommittee held hearings on the bill in the 90th Congress. More hearings were held in the 91st Congress. Opponents were heard again in the 92d Congress. And when calls for action were voiced in the 93d Congress, it was decided to hold more hearings.

But even the Congress eventually wearies of these exercises in futility. Subcommittee Chairman Daniels says:

"We do not intend to hold any more hearings on this bill. The need has been proved. We have a responsibility to protect our children, and I intend to have this legislation enacted before the camping season."

Is Rep. Daniels overstating the case? Judge for yourself. Among the 50 states, 22 have no regulations whatever relating to youth camp safety. If you want to, you can hire convicted sex offenders and drug addicts as counselors.

An HEW study made last year showed that 45 states have no regulations regarding camp personnel; 24 have no health regulations that apply to youth camps, nor any requirement for medical services—not even first aid. Transportation to and from camp is covered by legislation in only five states; 45 leave that area of activity wide open. Camp operators can hire drivers convicted of reckless or drunken driving if they want to.

Yes, the need exists, and parents have been waiting so long for this simple legislation that pressure for action is building up. My guess is that there is a good chance the House will pass the bill, and that the Senate may even bestir itself and pass a bill. But parents should not be misled by developments of this kind.

The real test will come when the two bills go to "conference." At that point, a quiet knife in the ribs can—and often does—kill legislation.

All the great statesmen who voted "aye" can tell their constituents they did their best. But the fact will remain that the Congress has failed in its responsibility to safeguard the interests of the people.

This time around let's zero in on the foot-draggers and make sure we know whose interests they're representing—and why.

FORD INTRODUCES LEGISLATION

HON. WILLIAM D. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. FORD of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, today I am reintroducing legislation to give locally elected school board officials a voice on the Advisory Commission for Intergovernmental Affairs—ACIR. Once again I am joined by my colleague the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. PEYSER) in this effort. We first introduced this legislation 3 years ago, in 1972.

As presently constituted, the ACIR consists of 26 members—three of which are appointed from the Senate and three from the House of Representatives. The remaining 20 are appointed by the President as follows: three must be officers of the executive branch and three must be private citizens; four are appointed from a panel of at least eight Governors submitted by the Governor's Conference; three are appointed from a panel of at least six members of State legislative bodies submitted by the Council of State Governments; four are appointed from a panel of at least eight mayors submitted jointly by the American Municipal Association and the U.S. Conference of Mayors; and three are appointed from a panel of at least six elected county officers submitted by the National Association of County Officials—representatives from the whole spectrum of governmental units—with the exception of school boards.

A primary activity of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations is to evaluate general revenue sharing payments for the Federal Government. It is estimated that approximately $4 billion in general revenue funds are spent on elementary and secondary education each year. It therefore seems logical that educators from local school districts should be represented on the ACIR.

The legislation which we are introducing today would accomplish this—by giving locally elected school officials a voice in the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

We urge our colleagues to give this legislation the favorable and prompt consideration which it deserves. By adopting this bill we will be extending the same privileges to elected school officials that are now enjoyed by elected officials from virtually every other level of government and we will be making the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations a more effective advisory body as well.

PATRICIA C. HOLT: LAWNDALE'S WOMAN OF THE YEAR

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, "What do we live for, if it is not to make life less difficult for each other?"—George Eliot.

Honored as Lawndale, Calif.'s, Woman of the Year on January 17, Patricia C. Holt has an impressive background of community service. Ever since she moved to Lawndale 18 years ago, she has devoted herself to the betterment of life around her. From her first experience as an active member in her children's school PTA, she has found time from her real estate business to become involved in virtually every aspect of civic service.

One of Mrs. Holt's prime concerns has been improving the quality of health care, and she has served as chairwoman of the Diabetes Clinic, the Nurses Scholarship for El Camino College, the Red Cross, a Christmas party for retarded children, the Cancer Society, and the March of Dimes. The roster of her other activities comprises almost the entire spectrum of Lawndale community life as she is a member of the Lawndale Democratic Club, YMCA, Breakfast Club, Chamber of Commerce, Citizens Goals Committee, and Picnic Committee.

In 1965, Pat was elected first vice president of the Lawndale Women's Club, a post in which she so excelled that she was elected president in 1966. Again, in 1973 and 1974, she was voted president of this organization. Always concerned that women play an active role in civic affairs, she has served as chairwoman of commissions on family living and the status of women.

The Great Western Savings and Loan recognized Pat in 1973 with a Civic Achievement Award for the outstanding woman in community service. And, because of Pat's efforts to beautify the city of Lawndale, last year she received a Certificate of Merit Award in honor of her efforts to make Lawndale a better place to live.

Devoted to her family and therefore understanding of the needs of young people, Pat has helped high school students who need counseling to seek help through the Lawndale Community Center. And she is now in the process of adopting a teen-age girl who is without a home.

Because Pat has been generous with her time, talents, and money to work for the greater good of the community, she is well deserving to be named Lawndale Woman of the Year. Pat Holt is a living example that "charity—is love in action."

RESPONSE TO THE STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last week we gathered to hear the President's report on the state of the Union, and his legislative program for the 94th Congress. Like all Americans, I was hopeful that my friend and former colleague would offer us a sensible, progressive plan for attacking the demons that plague our Nation.

While I found some specific points on which I could agree with the President, I conclude with regret that, overall, his grand design is a design for failure, one which would yield growing unemployment, deepening recession, and a self-inflicted inflation of staggering proportions. His proposals would bring chaos in the short run and, I fear, collapse in the long run.

But criticism is cheap. The people deserve more of their Congress than an echo of the Executive, but they also deserve more than an assembly of carping spectators. Therefore I offer today a specific, constructive response—a program for the country that can work, that can turn the United States in the direction of prosperity and stability.

The foremost fact we must face is that the absolute prerequisite to economic recovery is substantial and immediate energy conservation. We import nearly 40 percent of our fuel, and the proportion, as well as the absolute quantity, is still increasing. The President's stated goal—reducing oil consumption by 1 million barrels a day this year—is simply inadequate, representing only 5 percent of our oil consumption and just 3 percent of our overall energy demand. The harsh fact is that we must double this cut—save 2 million barrels per day—if we are serious about moving toward stability.

But how can we achieve this? The President has chosen a clumsy, unjust, and economically disastrous route. He would force energy prices sky high, then have the Government turn its back on the problem and let the forces of the marketplace cut energy use across the board. Wasteful and essential uses, uses which create jobs and those that do not, economically crucial uses and totally dispensable ones: All will be affected without any regard to economic consequence.

Let me detail what this means to each American—what the picture would look like if the Congress enacted all the President's proposals:

The price of gasoline would rise at least 10 cents a gallon. That is an increase of 20 percent;

The price of electricity would rise by at least 15 percent;

The price of home heating oil would go up 20 to 25 percent, depending on the region;

The price of decontrolled domestic crude oil would more than double, rising from the present $5.25 a barrel to the $10 uncontrolled level, with a $2 excise tax on top of that; and

The price of decontrolled interstate natural gas will soar to many times the current level—no one can predict exactly how high—with a new excise tax on top of that.

The President's program would raise the Nation's energy bill by $40 to $50 billion annually. His tax package—including the inadequate windfall profits tax—would recapture only $30 billion of that, with the rest—up to $20 billion—remaining in the hands of the energy suppliers.

We need a totally different approach.

First, we need gas rationing. We have skirted the issue long enough. Every economist has a different guess as to how much the President's price increase would save, and we all know that the real burden would fall on those least able to afford it. Rationing is cumbersome; it is a headache. But it can be made to be fair, and more importantly, we know that it will do the job.

Second, we must enact immediate, mandatory energy efficiency standards for industry. The Department of Commerce has concluded that as much as 30 percent of the energy used in industry is wasted and could be eliminated quickly and without loss of jobs.

Third, we must enact an appliance efficiency labelling law, appliance performance standards, and tough thermal stndards for new buildings as the President proposed—these I applaud. To this package I would add a new utility pricing system which rewards rather than discourages energy conservation. I would also urge a program of federally guaranteed loans to provide the necessary cash for home energy conservation improvements instead of the tax credit proposed by the President. Finally, Government and industry must cooperate to find a way to improve automobile fuel economy by 40 percent by 1980, and to do it without postponing the emission control standards set by the Clean Air Act. The industry's own 1975 emission control devices demonstrate undeniably that emissions can be controlled without decreasing fuel economy.

I recognize, as does the President, that ending energy waste is not enough. We must expand our domestic energy sources to meet the inevitable rise in demand that will come with the end of the recession. But, where the President's conservation goals are too modest, his production goals are excessive and unrealistic. He ignores land shortages and siting problems, severe water shortages in the West, the overwhelming environmental problems associated with oil shale development and the many serious problems which must be solved before nuclear energy can be depended upon. Above all, the President ignores the enormous burdens such development would place on our already overstrained capital market.

I believe that the President and Congress must put the emphasis on cutting the rate of growth of energy use, rather than climbing back onto the old treadmill, trying to satisfy an unrestrained appetite for cheap energy. Nearly a year ago I introduced legislation to make an explicit commitment to cutting the rate of growth from nearly 5 to 2 percent per year. Since then, two major studies, the Ford energy policy project and the Government's Project Independence blueprint, have concluded that such a limited rate of energy growth can be achieved without economic harm. It is time to stop deluding ourselves, to stop thinking we can bring back the good old days of cheap and abundant energy. They are gone—at least for a generation—perhaps forever—and we must adjust our habits accordingly.

A sound energy program is the biggest single step we could take toward renewed prosperity, but it must be coordinated with a full range of economic measures. Here again the President's program, despite some admirable features, is ultimately misdirected.

The flat 12 percent tax rebate—with a $1,000 ceiling—is welcome, of course, but unfair. We need instead a scaled, progressive program of rebates that will return the most money to those least able to withstand the crippling effect of inflation, rather than the other way around. This is not only more socially just, but it will exert far greater leverage for economic recovery.

The President also proposed a ban on new Federal spending programs. Such a decision would be unrealistic and shortsighted. New programs specifically designed to meet the challenge of serious recession compounded by continuing inflation will be necessary. For example, Congress should consider a large-scale public works effort to rebuild the Nation's railroad system, providing jobs, stimulation to construction industries, and returning its most energy-efficient component to the Nation's transportation system.

Some of the costs of these programs can be recouped through the elimination of some major tax loopholes. The time for a thorough reform of the Federal tax structure is long overdue, and action now could go far toward righting the inequities of our current economic difficulties. I would propose an end to the oil depletion allowance, a windfall profits tax stiffer and more comprehensive than that proposed by the President, tighter tax treatment of foreign income, an end to export subsidies, and the abolition of preferences which benefit only the very wealthy. In addition, we need energy conservation excise taxes. Unlike the President, however, I would aim these at specific wasteful or unnecessary forms of energy use, such as new cars which get less than 20 miles per gallon, not at all oil and gas regardless of the use to which it will be put.

I find myself unable to support the proposed limitations on cost-of-living increases in social security payments and the food stamp program to a level less than half the current rate of inflation, for I believe these will inflict unacceptable hardships.

Finally, I want to say a few words about a crucial issue the President did not mention. The coutry is bleeding—losing $25 billion each year to pay for oil imports at an artificial and intolerable price. And yet we have given almost no attention to the vast economic and political power we could wield to prevent future embargoes, to minimize the strains of concentrated oil wealth on the international financial system, and to curb the power of the OPEC cartel. The hard fact is that we are more vulnerable to an oil blockade now than we were a year ago. We have not played our economic cards at the bargaining table, and have thereby failed to show the OPEC nations that we will not endure punitive and arbitrary oil prices indefinitely. This failure may well prove to be one of the most damaging lapses of Presidential leadership of our time.

Mr. Speaker, I do not intend by these remarks to be a nitpicker or naysayer. I recognize the agonizing deliberation the President devoted to formulating his proposals, and the courage it took to admit the magnitude of our problems and the failure of his previous approaches. I stand ready to work with the administration and with my colleagues of both parties, to seek a way out of our present straits. But we must approach this task with care, we must direct our solutions precisely, and we must

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Issues

THREE MORE BAD VOTES FOR UDALL ON AGRICULTURE

--4/26/66 Udall voted against a Congressional agricultural appropriations bill for fiscal 1967. Had the House voted with him, it would have cut off all funds for all farm programs. The entire Wisconsin delegation voted the other way.

--11/29/67 Udall voted to kill a bill that would have made farm cooperative credit systems more competitive with non-farm banks by allowing them to invest in the same kind of securities that other banks invest in. The entire Wisconsin delegation voted the other way.

--In 1968, Udall voted against a bill prohibiting unfair trade practices affecting farmers and farm coops. Majority of Wisconsin delegation voted the other way.

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Issues

Text of Statement by
Rep. Morris K. Udall
Cleveland City Club
May 28, 1976

I come here to Ohio to take part in what may be the most important primary of the year. I am here to talk about what the choice of 1976 means to the average American. Not to the Nelson Rockefellers who pay no income tax. Not to the giant oil companies which have quadrupled oil prices in the last three years. Not to the few who can afford our system of national health care for the rich. I do not speak to any of these.

I am here to speak to the family whose household budget has been strained to the break point by seven years of Republican, trickledown economics. I speak to the Ohioan whose cousin is out of a job, and whose best friend is worried about losing his. I speak to the mother who knows that her children are not seeing a doctor when they should, and to the father who knows that he will never be able to send them to college if things go on as they are.

I am here in Ohio to talk about these things because this is the choice that Ohio makes this year -- not in choosing between Republican and Democrat -- but in deciding whether the Democrat who faces Ford or Reagan in November will be more of a choice than an echo.

For I beleive that Jimmy Carter's economic policies -- his lukewarm support for full employment, his refusal to work for the working man's right to organize, his opposition last fall to a tax cut for 1976 (even Jerry Ford saw the light on that one) and his proposals for more business tax credits, all these promise -- not change -- but more of the same. And Jimmy Carter's reluctance to tell us what he beleives on issue after issue, after issue, that reluctance speaks for itself.

This is the decision the people of Ohio will make. It wasn't made for them by the 90,000 Democrats who went to the polls in New Hampshire, or by the 900,000 who went in Michigan. Nor has it been made by the commentators and the experts. What is at stake is whether we want to make some big changes that will improve the lot of the average American, or whether we choose to go on in the direction we have been going. That is the question. It has been getting clearer and clearer through this primary season, and as it has gotten clearer -- so has the answer.

I am here because I believe that when the people of Ohio get the chance to find out what lies behind the smile, and the talk of love and trust, and all the press attention, they will decide that its not enough to do the job they want done.

I think their answer will be clear and resounding. But that's their choice, and that's what this campaign is all about.

Now if ever is the time to go beyond vague assurances and fuzzy answers, and to talk about the real world - about right and wrong - about the tough, hard decisions that will make the difference between better times or worse.

more

The key to a brighter future is jobs -- meaningful jobs, rebuilding our blighted cities; honest jobs, providing care for the sick and the elderly; jobs with a future, restoring our environment and recreating our wealth.

The truth is that in the last decade, jobs have been steadily leaving the cities of the north and midwest, moving to the suburbs, and moving to the right-to-work states of the south. Since 1963, Cleveland alone has lost nearly 90,000 jobs. That is nearly four times as many jobs as there are unemployed men and women in this city today.

A job for every American is not the impossible dream the Republicans tell us it is. They tell us that full employment is impossible, but how can they do otherwise when under their leadership, unemployment rates have doubled and trebled and even quadrupled. When the Republicans took office in 1969, the unemployment rate in Ohio was 3.5%; today it is 9.1%. And in the cities -- in Cleveland Dayton, Youngstown, Toledo, Columbus and Cincinnati - in every one, the rate was less than 3%. Today they range from 7% to more than 10%.

I say that full employment without high inflation is <u>not</u> a dream. We have done it before -- under Truman, Kennedy, Johnson -- and we can do it again. It's a question of tough choices... and I choose to put America back to work.

That is why I was one of the earliest and strongest supporters of the Full Employment Act -- legislation that will dramatically change federal economic policies so that a job for everyone, becomes the central, overriding goal.

It takes a slick politician to come out on both sides of important issues. And they don't come any slicker than Jimmy Carter. There is only one candidate this year who has been both for and against breaking up the oil companies so that we can resurrect some plain old-fashioned competition. There is only one candidate who still isn't sure what he thinks about whether the private insurance industry should continue to skim the cream off the top of what we have to pay for medical care. There is only one candidate who took more than a year to be dragged into reluctant, half hearted support of the Full Employment Act. There is only one candidate who says in public that he might use highway funds for mass transit, and says in private that he might not.

And after our terrible experience with Richard Nixon, there is only one candidate who offers us, not one, but several secret plans for solving our nation's problems. For months Jimmy Carter promised us comprehensive tax reform. Jimmy Carter said he couldn't reveal his plan until after he was elected. But Jimmy Carter offered us a glimpse -- and it certainly didn't look reassuring. He said he would repeal the home mortgage deduction that makes it possible for middle and low income Americans to own their own homes.

Mr. Carter also talks about his plans to lighten the corporate taxation that sounds suspiciously like the plan put forward by Secretary Simon - the man who told us that the recession was hurting stockbrokers worse than anybody.

And Jimmy Carter has another secret plan -- to abolish nearly all the agencies of the federal government. He calls our government a "horrible, bloated, bureaucratic mess". One might expect from his rhetoric that the names of dozens of these horrible, bloated agencies would be trembling on the tip of his tongue. Governor Carter boasts that he has devoted four full years to planning his Presidential campaign down to the smallest political detail. And yet, he is still unable to name <u>even one</u> of the agencies he thinks should be terminated.

There is nothing new about attacking the federal bureaucracy. It's an old political ploy - nearly as old as the government itself. Once in office, many presidents - mostly Republicans - have wasted alot of time and effort trying to reorganize the government. But the truth is that when our government has good leadership, then it is a good government. And when the President drifts, or when his policies serve the interests of the wealthy and the powerful, then the bureaucracy drifts or serves those same interests. And so my hope is that the next Democratic President won't copy the Republican example and devote himself to straightening out the lines on an organizational chart, but will spend his time straightening out people's lives, giving them jobs, and health care, and hope - for themselves and for their children.

Solving our problems and improving our lives, demands real leadership. I say, with all the modesty so characteristic of my profession, that I am running for President because I think I can provide the kind of determined, farsighted leadership we need.

Back in 1967, I made one of the momentous decisions of my political career when I came out against the Vietnam war. At that time my brother was serving in Lyndon Johnson's Cabinet, and there were very few voices raised against the war back in the Goldwater country I represented. I went home to Tucson to announce my decision. I said:

> "I suspect that silence would be the best personal politics for me. But waiting for things to happen is not leadership, and steering a safe political course is not the highest order of public service..."

That is still my guiding principle. I still believe that the job of a leader is to tell the truth as he sees it, even if it costs him a few votes. To admit mistakes, and to make the hard choices. To call upon the highest qualities of the people, not their fears. To look for positive change, not to avoid it. Above all, to seek out the future, not to stumble over it.

This is what I have to offer you in my quest for the Presidency. This is what separates me from my opponent. It is on this basis that I ask for your hand and your help. Thank you.

MORRIS K. UDALL - Member of Congress from Arizona (2nd District)

Morris Udall is the decendant of a distinguished Arizona family. After graduation from law school, he went into practice with his brother, Stewart. In 1954, Stewart ran for Congress and won. Mo had originally wanted to run for Congress, but his first wife refused to go to Washington.

At the time, the Udalls' father was on the Arizona Supreme Court. The senior Udall had planned to step down at the end of his term so Mo could run for his seat. Instead, the elder Udall died in office, and the Governor appointed the Udalls' uncle, a Republican, to the seat. Since he did not want to run against his uncle, Morris Udall settled down to life as a lawyer. He even wrote a book on the Arizona law of evidence. In 1961, John Kennedy named Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior. Mo Udall ran for Stewart's seat and won. Mo Udall came to Congress ready for business. Unfortunately, he was unprepared to cope with the seniority system. In his frustration, he wrote a long, rambling letter to Speaker Sam Rayburn about the trouble with being a Freshman.

Although he constantly gets over 80 on the ADA and COPE ratings, and gets labor support in every election, his legislative record is limited.

One of the areas in which Udall made his mark is on Congressional procedure, performance and seniority. In 1969, when Joh McCormack retired in disgrace over the Voloshen affair and Carl Albert succeeeded him, Udall ran for Majority Leader against Hale Boggs, who was later lost in a plane in Alaska, and lost 95 to 69.

Udall has also been one of the leaders in the fight for federal financing of elections and for stricter reporting standards. He once

Hugh L. Carey, (d), Governor of New York

Elected Governor of New York, 1974, term expires Jan. 1979, born April 11, 1919, Brooklyn; St. John's U. J.D. 1951; Catholic

Career: Army WWII; Family petroleum distribution business, 1947-51; Practicing atty, 1951-61; U.S House of Reps. 1961-75.

Carey was Congressman from the fifteenth district of New York, which lies in western Brooklyn: blacks, Irish, Norwegians, and Italians are all represented in the fifteenth.

He was assigned to the Ways and Means Committee in 1970, and was strongly associated with the Social Security Amendments of 1971, HR1. He proposed, along with Edward Koch of New York, an alternative to Pres. Nixon's revenue sharing plan; their plan would have allocated funds on a "stress" or need basis, and would have required an audit on the use and implementation of the federal revenues and grants. He publicly supports national health insurance, and has spoken of the need to reorient the emphasis to preventive and outpatient care.

In 1974 Carey challenged Howard Samuels for the Democratic nomination for Governor. Bankrolled by his brother Ed, polished by David Garth and a "media blitz", Carey solidly defeated the "machine candidate" Samuels and went on to smash Malcolm Wilson, Rockefeller's Lieutenant Governor for 16 years, by a 58-42 margin. (See attached article by R. Reeves. NYT Mag. Oct. 26, 1974).

Carey was beset by problems from the start. He has valiantly kept New York City out of bankruptcy; but in so doing he has tied the state's future to the city's.

He has damaged his reputation by attempting to replace Maurice Nadjari in December, 1975, the N.Y.C. anti-corruption special prosecutor. Nadjari's record was not impressive; however, Attorney General Lefkowitz would not remove him. Nadjari responded to Carey's move with a blunt assertion that the Governor was seeking to avoid embarassment - he later accused Carey's handpicked state party chairman, Patrick Cunningham, of various charges, including the selling of judgeships.

Nonetheless, Carey's record as a vote-getter is remarkable. His House district had been realigned time and again by the Republican legislature; he increased his margin every time until a particularly bitter battle in 1972. Carey was a liberal in Congress from a largely working-class cistrict; he has been successful because he is honest, hardworking, and, some say, because "he looks like an Irish cop".

Two areas of possible trouble, Carey's 1972 campaign, and his 1974 financing, are covered in the attached Reeves article.

Carey was an active supporter of Israel in Congress with good ties to the New York Jewish community. He is a supporter of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment to permit free emigration of Jews from Russia to Israel.

ing ambassador, Commerce Secretary-designate Elliot Richardson, who stayed only ten months. Whether she does depends largely on the American voters this November.

—SANDRA SALMANS with JANE WHITMORE in Washington

WATERGATE:

ree Loose Ends

Seventeen months after Richard Nixon's resignation, the tangle of legal actions generated by Watergate is still not resolved. Last week, Federal courts handed down three new judgments:

Richard Nixon lost another legal battle when a three-judge panel ruled against his attempt to regain his Presidential tapes and papers. Although he was granted virtual control of the documents at the time of his pardon, an angry Congress passed a law giving the government the right to screen the materials and decide what should be made public. Nixon took his case to court, arguing among other things that the law violated his privacy and the equal-protection clause because it applied only to him. The judges, however, pointed out that he had left office "under extraordinary circumstances." Congress, they said, had "adequate basis for concluding that Mr. Nixon might not be a wholly reliable custodian." Since the former President plans an appeal to the Supreme Court, the documents must remain untouched in government vaults.

hen H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlich-John Mitchell and Robert Mardian were convicted last year in the Watergate conspiracy trial, they vowed to appeal the verdict all the way to the Supreme Court. Taking the first step in that legal journey, their lawyers made their arguments last week before the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington. John J. Wilson, Haldeman's lawyer, contended that "virulent publicity" had made a fair trial impossible, while Ehrlichman's attorney, William Frates, stressed the failure to call the then ailing Nixon to testify. Peter Kreindler, arguing the government's case, replied that Nixon's testimony "couldn't change" the evidence on the White House tapes. The court is not expected to rule for three months or more.

Ralph G. Newman—Lincoln scholar, president of the Chicago library board and appraiser of historical documents—was fined $10,000 for his role in illegally backdating Richard Nixon's gift of personal papers to the National Archives in 1970. Although he could have been sent to jail for up to eight years, U.S. District Judge Frank McGarr said that Newman had played only a "minor role" in the fraud that enabled Nixon to claim a $450,000 tax deduction on the gift. It was hment enough, McGarr ruled, that nan should "have to stand before the court a convicted felon."

A Puzzle Named Carey

There were moments in his annual "state of the state message" last week when New York's Democratic Gov. Hugh Carey might have passed for a fundamentalist Republican. He talked about loosening environmental and consumer regulations and beefing up tax incentives to promote economic growth—and warned that "the government and the people it serves cannot afford to solve all the problems of society." "Jesus, it sounds like Jerry Ford," the governor himself reportedly remarked at one point while working on the speech.

But Carey also struck traditional Democratic themes, promising not to forget the state's neediest citizens and tossing in a few unmistakably liberal proposals—including a tough gun-control law and the decriminalization of marijuana. Said GOP state chairman Richard Rosenbaum later: "He spoke some of the speech like a true Republican, some like a true Democrat and some like someone running for President."

Hugh Carey is hardly running for anything but his New York-to-Albany shuttle flights these days; his major concern is still keeping New York City, the state and assorted independent agencies from bankruptcy. "There is no politics to this, only pain," he said last week. But the governor and his advisers realize that Carey's performance in the long-run default melodrama has won him national attention. And in his message Carey himself noted that, historically, the nation's "leaders emerge from the crucibles" of crisis and hard decision.

The question for Carey's political future is whether his reputation will be made or melted in New York's financial crucible. Certainly the fiscal crisis could not have been better designed to show off Carey's strong points: a quick mind, computerlike memory and solid experience with economics on the House Ways and Means Committee. "He has great ability to grasp complex financial issues and speak persuasively about them," says veteran State Controller Arthur Levitt. And bargaining behind the scenes, Carey has won high marks as a mediator. "He doesn't engage in browbeating or rhetoric," concedes investment banker Edward Kresky, a GOP appointee to the Municipal Assistance Corp. that Carey set up to bail out New York City. Unlike California's mantra-minded Gov. Jerry Brown, another spokesman for government retrenchment at a time of reduced resources, Carey gets along with working politicians—when he isn't twisting their arms for support. "He descended on us like a plague during the city crisis," recalls one Congressional aide, "but nobody resented it."



'Cash and Carey': The governor takes time out for an evening with Anne Ford Uzielli

Team: Some of the governor's biggest fans, however, wonder whether in his second year in office he can move beyond the role of fiscal fire fighter. "The real test of Hugh Carey," says one financial adviser, "is whether he is superb in crisis but bored by daily administration." Becoming a full-time supermayor for New York City has had its price. State officials

blame the governor for taking too long to assemble his administration, failing to delegate authority and losing touch with his own legislative leaders. "I had only two hands all year, and one was holding [New York Mayor] Abe Beame's," Carey cracked to a reporter recently—but he has finally fleshed out his leadership team and appointed an operations director with eleven years of Albany experience.



Cunningham: A charge of his own

"There's just a lot more consulting in advance," reports Assembly Majority Leader Albert Blumenthal.

Carey's messiest political problem now stems from his abortive attempt to replace special prosecutor Maurice Nadjari, the controversial attorney former Gov. Nelson Rockefeller named to investigate corruption in the New York City court system. Under pressure to defend himself and his often questionable tactics, Nadjari last week filed an unusual fourteen-page public affidavit containing more or less unsubstantiated charges against Patrick J. Cunningham, Carey's handpicked Democratic state chairman. Cunningham is trying to quash a grand-jury subpoena, and his own lawyer further muddied the water by charging that Nadjari had offered leniency for Cunningham in exchange for "the goods on the governor." At the weekend, Carey agreed to broaden Nadjari's authority somewhat—so the matter might be "vigorously and lawfully prosecuted," he said—and Cunningham signed up noted defense attorney Edward Bennett Williams, whose previous clients include James Hoffa and John B. Connally.

Despite such problems, Carey manages to enjoy himself these days. With fiscal expert Felix Rohatyn, the MAC board chairman, he hobnobs at Manhattan restaurants like Elaine's and 21. Carey, a widower, also dates auto heiress Anne Ford Uzielli—the twosome has been dubbed "Cash and Carey"—and croons old Irish ballads late into the night at the home of former New York City Mayor Robert F. Wagner. It is unlikely, he tells friends, that the Democratic Presidential nomination will come his way. But aides admit they are working to build "the strongest position we can" for what is assumed may be a brokered nominating convention in July. As a moderate, ethnic, Catholic, Democratic governor of the nation's second largest state, Carey is "clear-eyed about the long odds of lightning striking," says one Albany insider, "but that isn't to say he's not aware of the basic logic."



Nadjari: A questionable affidavit

—DAVID M. ALPERN

FLORIDA:

Operation Conch

Harry Truman made it famous by vacationing there, and Ernest Hemingway used it as a hideaway for drinking, writing and fishing the Gulf Stream. Ever since, thousands of tourists have made their way over the ribbon of bridges connecting the Florida mainland with Key West, lured by the island's tropical ambience and good-time reputation. Lately, however, times in Key West have been anything but good. An outbreak of New Year's Eve violence spawned a grand jury investigation into alleged police brutality. And to make matters worse, last week the city manager became the third top Key West official in recent months to be indicted for corruption or drug dealing.

Despite the continuing drug crackdown, it was the New Year's riot—and its potential damage to the state's lucrative winter tourist trade—that worried Florida officials and prompted The Miami News to complain of "the breakdown of law and order in Key West." According to eyewitnesses, the traditional teen-age revelers kicked off the action with a round of rock-and-bottle throwing, while the cops were allegedly guzzling beer at an on-duty party of their own in the town's fire station. When the street crowds grew rowdier, the cops charged out to break it up—with billy clubs, firehoses and tear gas—arresting 110 people and sending eight to the hospital with minor injuries. The police steadfastly denied that they had acted under the influence. "I had one beer in my hand," protested police chief Winston (Jimmy) James, "but I never had a chance to take the top off the bottle."

Pie: Even as city manager Ronald Stack was investigating the New Year's Eve fracas, Stack and a police detective were indicted by a grand jury that was looking into charges of drug dealing and official corruption. Narcotics trafficking in the Keys is nothing new; it is common lore that "cocaine is as easy to get in town as a piece of Key Lime pie." But when Florida state agents began their investigations nearly a year ago, they found a close-knit drug network that operated with little or no interference from the town's higher-ups. The Florida Department of Criminal Law Enforcement launched "Operation Conch"—named after the sea shell and the slang for native islanders—as "the first step in the wholesale cleanup of the city of Key West."

From the beginning, Operation Conch was a cautious, dangerous venture. Last summer one supposed informant, an ex-junkie, was found dead in a bathtub—shot twice in the head and injected with a mixture of Drano and battery acid. Despite such setbacks, the probe climaxed one morning last fall when flamboyant fire chief Joseph (Bum) Farto was busted in his eagle-emblazoned, customized lime-green sedan. Nearly twenty more people were hauled in that day, including the police chief's son—who is also the city attorney—and the town's leading bondsman.

This round of arrests and the earlier riot have stirred some Conchs out of their somnolence, but many locals appear confident that they—and the tourist industry—will survive the latest scandals. "It may even help," winked hotel manager David Wolkowsky. "Intrigue, you know, is what Key West is all about."

—DENNIS A. WILLIAMS with WILLIAM SCHMIDT in Key West, Fla.



Confrontation at the Cathedral: After mass on a recent Sunday, the candidates meet outside St. Patrick's with Archbishop John J. Maguire.

Carey vs. Wilson

And in each corner—Nelson Rockefeller

By Richard Reeves

Jimmy's is a restaurant on West 52d Street that specializes in lousy food, good drinks and better conversation, if you like better political conversation. People do say the damnedest things there. One night—it was March 18, 1973—a bunch of overaged adolescents who practice or observe the political arts were there laughing about Nelson Rockefeller's latest, his attempt to resurrect Robert F. Wagner as Mayor of New York City. One guy even cracked up everyone by saying, "He's already planned the next election for Governor—Malcolm Wilson against Hugh Carey."

One thing has to be remembered about the recent politics of the Empire State: Nelson A. Rockefeller. Political New York could be viewed as a circle with Rockefeller at its center. The web radiating from Rockefeller is tangled, bipartisan and sometimes barely visible, but it is there, woven through the fiber of the state's four parties—Republican, Democratic, Liberal and Conservative—and their public minions. "People will think someday it was an exaggeration to say Nelson Rockefeller owned New York," said Russell Hemenway, the national director of the National Committee for an Effective Congress and a very sophisticated practitioner and observer of state politics. "But he owned the Republican party and he owned the Democratic party. You simply could not touch the man in New York."

The outsiders might not think it's an exaggeration. Consider what has happened to the six most dangerous politicians outside the Rockefeller circle since the death of Robert F. Kennedy in 1968: Mayor John Lindsay was replaced by Abe Beame, a regular Democrat elected with undisguised Rockefeller help; State Senator John Marchi, the official Republican candidate for Mayor in 1973, was demolished by the Beame alliance; Senator Charles Goodell, the Republican-Liberal candidate for the Senate in 1970, was jettisoned for an unofficial Rockefeller-James Buckley ticket in 1970; Representative Mario Biaggi, a onetime Rockefeller aide, had a real shot at the Democratic nomination for Mayor in 1973, before grand jury testimony about his personal finances mysteriously began appearing on the front pages of city newspapers; Assembly Speaker Perry Duryea, a potentially strong candidate for the

Richard Reeves has written extensively about New York politics for newspapers and magazines. He is currently at work on a book about the Presidency of Gerald Ford.

Republican gubernatorial nomination this year, was indicted for violation of a state law that had twice been declared unconstitutional; Howard Samuels, an erratic and ntrusted Democrat who med close to the Democrat- gubernatorial nomination, was wiped out by Carey, who has been Rockefeller's favorite Congressman for 10 years.

So, with Rockefeller in Washington nervously awaiting confirmation as Vice-President—nervously, because some of the invisible power lines are coming into focus—and maneuvering toward his last shot at the Presidency, his circle still seems secure at home. Beame, an insider, is ensconced in City Hall and the next Governor will be Malcolm Wilson, a Rockefeller invention, or Hugh Carey, a Rockefeller friend and insider of good standing.

Not that it makes no difference whether Wilson, the Republican - Conservative incumbent, or Carey, the Democrat-Liberal candidate, wins on Nov. 5. It does make a difference, but it also means that Nelson Rockefeller's works and reputation will not be torn apart by an outsider. And his most magnificent work is not a building; it's a system of radially distributed power and favors to people and institutions that sometimes look as if they are fight- g a lot harder than they are. r the years, with Rocke- er as the stabilizing, generous center, they have all survived in prosperous balance—Rocky's trained Republican leaders and the Democratic "bosses," the big banks and the big unions, people who seem as far apart as Alex Rose of the Liberal Party and James Buckley of the Conservative party.

The center is holding. And from the center this seems like a safe election between Wilson, dull beyond description, the Lamont Cranston of politics with power to cloud men's minds, and Carey, a dependable, lively piece of proof that only the Irish should be allowed in politics.

Wilson was elected Lieutenant Governor with Rockefeller back in 1958, which gives him the distinction, in the words of Albany Mayor Erastus Corning, "of spending 15 years playing second fiddle in a one-man band." The Rockefeller-Wilson ticket was consciously designed as a moderate-conservative duplicate of the successful Eisenhower-Nixon team. Some state Republicans, however, thought "reactionary" was a better description for Wilson, who in the State Assembly had earned a reputation as a superb legislative technician, debater and representative of Francis Cardinal Spellman.

Wilson, who became Governor when Rockefeller resigned last Dec. 15, describes himself as "a fiscal conservative and a human-rights liberal." He is also boring—when you ask him what time it is, he not only tells you how to build a watch but also recites the history of chronology—and one recent night in Lake Placid he greeted a friendly crowd with: "It's been a very interesting day for me. Under the felicitous concatenation of circumstances I've had a day where I've seen the microcosm of all New York State—what makes the state tick."

My favorite Wilson campaign stop came that same day at the 41st annual convention of the New York State Conservation Council—a euphemism for the state organization of 250,000 rod and gun club members—at the Stevensville Country Club hotel, 100 miles north of New York City. The Governor spent two hours there demonstrating why he probably will not be the Governor after Jan. 1.

First, he spent 10 minutes in the hotel lobby chatting and whispering — he whispers a lot — with two aides. Then it was on to the Carnival Lounge, and Wilson began by saying, "I know most of the people in this room"—which was apparently true, because he introduced or reminisced about almost every one of the 150 people there. He took six minutes introducing the seven council officers and legislators sitting at the head table. He saw someone from Shirburne and told about the time "Janet Hill Gordon took me up to see Mr. Gaines and the factory where he makes 'Burger Bits.'" Then he talked about how Mike Petruska had died, and how, in memory, he had held up appointing a replacement for Mike on the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Commission for five months, but today he was naming "one of your own, he's right here, Stan Spisiak." Then he began a roll call of "those who aren't with us today" . . . "gone on to his reward" . . . "left us" . . . "called away" . . . "on to another and, we hope, better world than this vale of tears in which we live."

"Malcolm Wilson sure is close to a lot of dead people," said Jack Kole of The Milwaukee Journal, as Wilson got down to the business of saying he would reduce the minimum age for free senior-citizen hunting and fishing licenses from 70 to 62, and he would never make sportsmen line up to register their rifles and shotguns like common criminals. It was smoky and surreal in the lounge, and things seemed to happen in slow motion, but finally the Governor accepted a gold medal, spoke a couple of minutes about it and went on to a press conference under the heads of the state record black bear (469 pounds) and white-tailed deer (248 pounds).

It was not a happy meeting of candidate and reporters—Wilson does not enjoy the game, and he avoided eye contact with his questioners. He was testy when pressed and took up a good part of the 45 minutes rummaging through his pockets for three-by-five file cards noting things like the fact that the state's share of Federal jobs decreased from 8.1 to 6.6 per cent during the 14 years Hugh Carey has been in Congress. "It's all right; we believe you," said Judith Michaelson of The New York Post, as he flipped through the cards for a number. "No," Wilson said, "it's important that you get it right."

Carey, as fate would have it, visited the Conservation Council the next day. For him, the hunters and fishermen were unmoved, a Grant Wood group picture. The man from Brooklyn was desperate to make some connection with these people—he is essentially a small-time Hubert Humphrey, very anxious to please—but he never had a chance after telling some bad duck-hunting stories and ending, gamely and lamely, with, "I'll tell you, nothing compares to being in this state in the autumn . . . Smokey the Bear can't do it all himself, he needs your help."

The Democrat was more in his element, and more himself, a few nights earlier at a party rally in Tonawanda, near Buffalo. There were only a hundred people in Carey headquarters, a storefront on South Main Street, but five of them were "The Tamburitzan Boys—Music for all Occasions" pounding out "Happy Days Are Here Again" and "The Sidewalks of New York." With "Matt Murphy for Assembly" balloons dancing over his head, town Democratic chairman George Hanratty exuberantly kicked off the festivities by introducing candidate Robert Abrams as "the next Attorney Gentleman of the state of New York."

Carey was introduced by Assemblyman John LaFalce, a candidate for Congress with a perpetual Jaycee grin and a habit of greeting people with "H-e-e-e-y!" and leaving them with "O-k-a-a-a-y!" "A guy named Carey," LaFalce began in a hushed tone which quickly escalated into hysteria. "Names. When you read the history books certain names make you tingle. Put chills in your spine. Goosepimples. Al Smith. Herbert Lehman. Franklin Roosevelt. Bobby Kennedy . . . We have got it back again! We have a great man! Hugh Carey!"

"I came in here tonight wondering whether it was the appropriate time to endorse John LaFalce," Carey began. "I've decided. I'll endorse him. I'll endorse his mother. His uncles. Anyone who has anything to do with John LaFalce, I'll endorse."

The guy's a pro, and he has a sense of humor. The rest of the speech was nonsense, of course, but politicians and political reporters are among the chosen few who spend their adult years going to pep rallies. Later on in the Tonawanda speech, Carey showed that he had mastered a basic Humphrey-ism—realizing that you've gone too far or said the wrong thing, then turning a thought around and loading it with hyperbole to try to bury the original sin. This time Carey began talking about Ramsey Clark, his Senate running mate, by saying, "He came to New York from another state"—oh, oh, shouldn't say that!—"He lives here with his wife and child. He has a sister in Amherst. He's a real New Yorker in heart and spirit. Remember the only original New Yorker was the brother of the king, the Duke of York."

Carey should be considered in detail before Wilson not only because he's a more interesting man, but because he's probably going to win, and his links to Rockefeller are more complex and more illustrative—and more vulnerable. He is, after all, the *Democratic* candidate and has finally stopped saying that he thinks Rockefeller was "a good, if not great Governor." Now he says, as Frank Skeffington might have, that all along he meant "all human beings are good."

Hugh Leo Carey was a good Congressman who was also smart enough to be bored in Washington—"It was drudgery, and I wasn't about to sit there and vegetate for the rest of my life"—and he became the "independent" candidate for Governor in a rather traditional and fortuitous way: He was rejected by "the bosses." The Democratic leaders of New York

Wilson was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1958, which gives him the distinction, one observer says, 'of spending 15 years playing second fiddle in a one-man band.'

City's four largest counties endorsed the unpredictable Howard Samuels because they miscalculated — they thought Samuels's visibility ("Howie the Horse") as the city's Off-Track Betting chief made him unbeatable in the Democratic primary.

In many ways, the bosses are a pathetic bunch who for 15 years have done more following than leading, more guessing than bossing. The seemingly Byzantine patterns of New York politics have often been nothing more than their twisting efforts to keep their small duchies within the Rockefeller empire while trying to appear to be part of potential rebellions. Anyway, Carey did want their shaky anointment, and before Samuels got it, the Congressman consulted daily with Brooklyn leader Meade Esposito, Bronx leader Patrick Cunningham and even with the old Tammany Hall boss, Carmine De Sapio, whose public bossing was cut short by a term in the Federal penitentiary at Lewisburg, Pa. (New York reform Democrats, the kind who believed George McGovern was right from the start, are institutional outsiders who can be charmed by a Carey and ignored by a Rockefeller.)

Not enough people outside

(Continued on Page 116)

suggesting that the modern drift from the country to the towns—or to the cities of Western Europe, where a half-million Turks are now at work—is having the same effect as in many other developing countries of raising expectations and heightening political awareness.

So Ecevit may calculate that he is riding a rising national tide which will continue to favor those principles of modernization and reform that Ataturk inaugurated. But Turkish emotion over Cyprus is of a totally different order, confirming the emergence of a specifically Turkish nationalist renaissance in which the country's older, instinctive loyalties are sometimes united with and sometimes opposed to Ecevit's own rational formulations. Even if Ecevit does secure an undisputed majority in the new elections, he cannot ignore such deep emotions. Nor, probably, will he want to, for in the current era of détente and superpower stand-off, nationalism for Turkey has growing attractions—and other countries nearby have already shown how it may be exploited. There is no doubt, for example, that Turkish actions in Cyprus have been influenced both by Israel's past success in ignoring external pressures in her dealings with the Arabs and by the Arab demonstration in last October's war of how a long and frustrating diplomatic deadlock may be broken by bold military action in defiance of the superpowers.

The Greek gesture in leaving NATO in disgust over America's alleged partiality for Turkey is also relevant. By underlining Turkey's superior strategic value to the alliance, both as the sovereign power of the Black Sea straits and as the possessor of the largest NATO standing army after the United States, it also enhances the Turkish bargaining position both with her allies and the Soviet Union.

This, in turn, suggests a fatal weakness in the latest United States Congressional threats to suspend military aid to Turkey because of its use in Cyprus. The last such threat, over the opium poppy issue, really had no perceptible effect except to inflame Turkish feelings. This new one may appease American politicians who see yet another former client state behaving in ways they do not approve, but it is hardly calculated to change Turkish policies—except perhaps in the direction of greater independence and closer relations with the neighboring Arab world, and possibly with the Soviet Union.

A deep suspicion of the Soviet Union remains in many Turkish quarters, from the peasantry to the senior ranks of the armed forces. But there is also an awareness that the Soviet Union needs Turkey's acquiescence, if not her friendship, to maintain passage for her ships through the straits to the Mediterranean—easily the most important of her seaborne outlets.

At the same time, the value to the Western powers of Turkish bases may be diminishing. There is a growing belief that permanently sited, land-based nuclear weapons, for instance, are a military nonsense as well as a political liability and in the event of full-scale nuclear war few strategists would expect to see the U.S. Sixth Fleet left in the Mediterranean for longer than it takes to steam through the Straits of Gibraltar into the open waters of the Atlantic.

Nor does Turkey's role in NATO seem to have much significance for the possible "regional" conflicts of which Western, and especially American, military planners have made so much until now. Cyprus was a regional conflict par excellence, but there was nothing NATO could do to prevent it. Nor was Turkey willing to be drawn into support of America's role last year in the equally regional conflict between Israel and the Arabs. After these two experiences, it is far more likely, if there are to be more regional conflicts of this kind, that they will be settled by the regional powers; and it is significant that Turkey has already begun to plan a separate national strike force outside NATO's framework.

With Arab power waxing steadily on the prospects of the Middle Eastern oil industry, the resurgence of Islamic feeling in Turkey will probably be maintained. Even before the Cyprus crisis, there were clear signs that the new Government was ready to follow the National Salvation party some of the way in this. For the first time in modern Turkish history, it sent a Cabinet minister to a summit meeting of Islamic countries in Lahore. During the crisis, this new sympathy was extended to practical matters, through some quick horse-dealing with Turkey's Arab neighbors to ensure continuity of oil supplies in case the United States tried to cut off fuel. Iraq, Libya and Saudi Arabia all guaranteed oil and Libya's Colonel Qaddafi, enthused as ever by what he took to be an Islamic cause, is believed to have supplied ammunition and military spare parts as well.

In short, a sense of growing independence has already taken root in Turkey, and seems likely to grow, fed by opportunity as well as national instinct. At a superficial level, it may appear to be nothing more than a reflection of the instability common to many countries as they haul themselves out of traditional poverty toward the comparative affluence of our Western world. But in Turkey it goes deeper, to tap the roots of people's whole identity. "Barbarians" the Turks know very well they are not—at least, no more than most other people. But what are they? That's what the Turks are now trying to discover—and a disturbing process it may well be, to the Western world as well as to themselves, for many years to come. ■

'Visitors to Ankara or Istanbul may be impressed by the veneer of urban sophistication. But veneer is all it is. Behind the new cars and hotels, the chic boutiques and sidewalk cafes lie a thousand unpaved alleys and a million homes without piped water or sanitation.'



Under their own new flag: Turkish-Cypriote girls in Nicosia.

Carey vs. Wilson

Continued from Page 103

Bay Ridge and environs really knew much about Carey. At least professionals didn't know enough—their evaluation of him might have gone something like this a year ago: a smart, lace-curtain Irishman who was the class of the New York Congressional delegation, which isn't saying much; a buddy of House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur Mills who got along with Rockefeller; a Kennedy liberal who had to hide it sometimes to survive in redneck Brooklyn; a quitter who dropped out of the 1969 Mayoral race to support Robert F. Wagner and ended up losing his own primary for City Council president, and something of a dirty fighter. In sum, he was categorized as a talented regular who might end up as borough president of Brooklyn or a senior Congressman. "Portly" was political reporters' favorite adjective for him—words like that don't attach to statesmen or comers.

All of that was true, but there was obviously much more. Most important, the "pros" didn't know that "Hughie" was very, very ambitious or that the Careys were Kennedy-rich. Carey politicked his way onto the House Ways and Means Committee, but once he had been blocked from the leadership ladder by the rise of another Eastern Catholic, Tip O'Neill of Massachusetts, he realized there was more to life than kissing Wilbur Mills's amendments—he was in a hurry, and when Rocky stepped out of Albany, Carey began looking into it.

Politicians were vaguely aware that the Careys were not poor—"They have an oil business, you know, delivery trucks." It's an oil business, all right. Edward M. Carey, Hugh's brother, is the sole owner of New England Petroleum Corp., one of the largest private companies in the world, grossing more than $800-million a year — and that's only one of his 17 companies. Because NEPCO is not publicly owned, relatively little is known about it except for information required by Massachusetts corporate laws and Edward Carey's testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this year after State Department objections to a $40-million cash deal between NEPCO and the

Libyan Government during the Arab oil embargo. (Edward Carey refused to be interviewed about his business or his brother. Calls to his New York office—he is officially resident of Puerto Rico—are accepted by a Mr. O'Hara, who said he had been authorized to say only: "We are a private company and it is our policy not to grant interviews.")

Brother Ed does own trucks, the Burns fleet that fills a lot of the fuel oil tanks in New York, and he owns ships, 30 tankers. NEPCO is an integrated oil company controlling crude oil from Arabian wellheads to its own refineries and on to its own gas stations, at least 250 in Canada alone, and to customers like Long Island Lighting Company, of which it is the sole oil supplier, and Consolidated Edison, which gets 45 per cent of its oil from NEPCO. Keeping things in the family, brother Hugh has been on the NEPCO payroll for years as a consultant, and his Brooklyn law firm is NEPCO's counsel.

Whatever it all adds up to, Edward Carey met last spring with David Garth, perhaps the best political media consultant in the country, to talk about making Hughie Governor. Garth asked how much money was available and Ed Carey answered, according to a witness: "Whatever it takes."

It took $1,297,500 of Ed's money—and that figure may be on the low side. The brothers Carey drove their oil trucks around, under and through New York State's shiny new "campaign reform" law. Ed started by lending his brother's campaign $950,000 before the law took effect on June 1. The money kept flowing after that until Samuels — whose biggest blunder was taking Carey lightly because he believed the Brooklyn Congressman could not raise enough money for a major campaign—began screaming that Ed Carey's post-June 1 contributions and loans were exceeding the law's $105,000 limit on family contributions. O.K.—Hugh began paying back his brother with loans from his brother's business associates—$250,000 worth miraculously came in one day. The new lender-contributors were such concerned New Yorkers as Pierre Senecal ($31,500) of Chambly, Que., and the Quebec Oil Co., a unit of the Carey Energy Corp., and K. K. Tse ($10,000) of Hong Kong.

It was a joke, but Samuels was never really able to make it an issue, partly because he had put a lot of his own money ($261,000) into his campaign and partly because Carey could talk circles around him. Samuels tried to make it "oil interests" and Carey said, "Stop picking on my family." When Samuels pointed out that Edward Carey was trying to build an oil pipeline across New York to carry foreign oil picked up in Rhode Island, Hugh Carey answered that was because "my brother so loves the state of New York that he's built the first refinery here in 15 years." Yeah, like Aristotle Onassis so loves the state of New Hamsphire—that's what Samuels should have answered, but he didn't and, anyway, polls indicated that New York Democratic voters generally believe brothers should help each other. "What's a brother for?" was an answer regularly received by both Samuels and Carey pollsters. Perhaps New Yorkers have been conditioned by the way the Rockefellers financed campaigns for brother Nelson.

(Did Hugh Carey favor family oil interests as a Congressman? Hard to say. Until recent months, the interests of foreign oil importers and "good government" liberals were roughly the same. When Representative Carey voted to end the oil-depletion allowance for domestic producers, a "good" vote, he was also voting to improve the competitive position of his brother, a dealer in foreign oil. The same is true of "good" air pollution votes—clean air requires low-sulfur oil, which means Arab oil, which is what Ed Carey distributes. The one issue the Congressman may be vulnerable on is water pollution control—he has voted against controls, which might be interpreted as voting for oil slicks, an occupational hazard for tanker owners and offshore oil well advocates, and Ed Carey is both. But Hugh Carey personally opposes offshore drilling—advocating it on Long Island would be political death.)

Even with NEPCO employes now working at his headquarters as "volunteers," candidate Carey seems to have turned his campaign financing into a rhetorical asset: "New Yorkers have seen enough of the influence of private money over public policy — an influence that forces every major candidate, including myself, to reach out to sources of campaign financing. . . . This will be the last campaign fought with private campaign funds. New York will have public financing of campaigns."

But this time, anyway, he could afford Garth — and Garth is both expensive and good. Carey paid him a $10,000-a-month retainer for nine months, plus a 15 per cent agency commission on media buys, which totaled $687,668 in the primary and will match that in the general, plus 17.62 per cent of production fees, plus two Garth employes on the Carey staff at more than $1,000 a week.

He got his money's worth. He even looked better: Garth persuaded him to lose 30 pounds and a "new" Carey suddenly-appeared around town with dyed hair, contact lenses, a Dunhill's wardrobe and no drinking except for a little wine with meals. He learned to walk with his chin up—hide the folds, good for lighting—and in eight brisk, newsy commercials, he was anything but portly. He was a vigorous 54-year-old man, an ex-war hero striding along with his 12 children.

"This year, before they tell you what they want to do . . . make them show you what they've done," was the message, and it got across as Carey outspent Samuels 8-to-1 on television. Maybe it got across too well—you sometimes think Dave Garth could take any of us (with a rich brother) off the streets and win a Democratic primary, especially since New York television news has downplayed political coverage because their viewer surveys tell them people prefer light news programs with teams of cute little Dick-and-Jane reporters. Newsday on Long Island quoted a voter, a Republican woman from Elmont who obviousiy gets her political news from Garth: "Carey's on television a lot. He's a man—so masculine and sincere. I don't know much about Wilson. I saw Carey working in his district, helping people. The publicity he gets is why I guess I like him."

When he's winning, as he has with John Tunney in California and Dan Walker in Illinois, Garth plays down his influence. He emphasizes that Carey *is* a good Congressman and a good personal campaigner and that Samuels blew it. All true, although it's also true that Carey ran just as well in parts of the state he never visited as in the parts where he campaigned heavily. "Television isn't that important," Garth said over and over again, but then, finally, he said, "Remember, Malcolm Wilson could still win this." How? "If we're off the tube another 10 days!"

Carey is good, not quite the combination of Henry Clay and Sam Rayburn that appeared in the commercials, but head and shoulders above most city Congressman. He is bright and quick, glib and scattermouthed—"He's an encyclopedia without an index," one friend said—and he never, never stops talking, thinking, free-associating, insisting on dominating any conversational group that doesn't include Wilbur Mills or other senior Congressmen. "I finally figured it out," said Clay Felker, the publisher of New York magazine after a lunch with Carey. "He's reciting for the nuns; he has to get it all in before they call on someone else."

With Mills and the others who have outlived Congressional anonymity, Carey is deferential to the edge of obsequiousness. He's also deferential when it counts—he has voted against every effort to reform the House of Representatives by upsetting its hallowed seniority system. But that's the way Congress works, and Carey was effective because he played the game and worked for Hale Boggs and with worse men to angle his way from the Interior Committee up to the Education and Labor Committee and finally, in 1971, up to Ways and Means, the Mills committee that passes on all money matters and assigns House members to other committees.

Congressmen who have worked with Carey describe him as "well informed, a guy who knew what was going on" or "influential." There is a world of difference in those terms—friends use the latter, but both friends and enemies agreed that Carey was the fourth or fifth most effective member of Education and Labor, where he spent most of his Washington time. He was a principal author of the Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965 and chaired the Subcommittee on Education for the Handicapped, which he practically created and which was responsible for a dozen laws making it possible, for instance, for deaf people to get the education and training to become working, productive citizens.

All of that was proclaimed by the Garth commercials. They also announced that Carey "got" the Brooklyn Navy Yard reopened as an industrial park—he didn't do that, but he was one of the key New York figures fighting for the yard as far back as 1964. That was when he and Rockefeller began a relationship that sometimes included daily phone calls and meetings, especially when they worked effectively as a team to push for Federal Revenue Sharing with states and localities. It became law in 1972. (Rockefeller has said from the beginning that the original revenue-sharing idea came from Malcolm Wilson.)

The Rockefeller-Carey relationship was rarely publicized but was well known in their offices, and staff people on both sides characterized Carey as an important, if secret, advisor who would talk by telephone with Rockefeller or Rocky's political agent, James Cannon, on an almost daily basis over long periods of time. "It was a rather useful relationship on both sides," Carey says now. "I had a sense of the Congress and they had something I wanted: access to the White House. And, up until the end of 1972, Rockefeller wanted people to look upon him as much as a Roosevelt as a Rockefeller."

Except for their occasional mutual admiration, only one instance of Rockefeller help for Carey has ever been overt enough to be obvious. And that incident, shrouded to the point that it may be shady, was supposed to be covert.

In the 1972 election, Carey was in trouble in his own district against John Gangemi, who had the Republican nomination for Congress and whose name was already printed on Conservative party nominating petitions. But Gangemi never got the Conservative nomination — somebody named Jones was put on the ballot at the last minute, and Carey was re-elected with 52 per cent of the vote.

What happened? William Wells, then the Brooklyn Conservative leader, says his party got "certain promises" from Rockefeller's man Cannon, and from Carey. George Clark, then the local Republican leader and now the county chairman, was publicly backing Gangemi. But he says he agreed to set up a meeting between Carey and Wells, at Carey's request, and: "They met in my real-estate office and I was there. Carey told Wells that he wanted him to pull the Conservative backing of Gangemi . . . 'We can't

do that. We can't back a liberal so-and-so like you,' Wells said. Carey said he didn't want support, just another candidate to cut Gangemi's vote. 'Let's talk absolute specifics,' Carey said, and I knew they were going to talk money and I didn't want to be there. Carey came out smiling later and said Wells was 'reasonable.' . . . Wells told me later that Carey gave him $10,000."

Wells, who is supporting Carey this year, says that Clark, who is close to Wilson, is lying. "I didn't get a dime," he said. "Rockefeller and Carey got what they wanted and I just don't want to say anymore." Carey says that it's true that Rockefeller helped him through Cannon and that Wells did ask him for money or for legal advertising for small newspapers Wells owned. "I gave him nothing," Carey said, "I don't handle money in my campaigns."

Stories and denials like that are the plasma of Brooklyn politics, and Hugh Carey has been in Brooklyn a long time. Phil Tracy, a Village Voice political writer who once worked for Carey, describes his ex-boss as: "A mean bastard who plays politics as dirty as anyone I've ever met in the profession, but don't deny Carey his streak of idealism. It's there and he honestly believes it." Carey charges in 1969 about New York Fire Department inefficiency — charges that the Congressman knew were untrue — particularly got to Tracy. According to Tracy, Carey told him: "What harm did it do? Who knows? Maybe the city really is burning up. Lindsay would never tell us. In the meantime, we get some publicity, and that's what counts in this game."

What counts most to Hugh Carey, I think, is the game itself. He loves running for Governor, but gives absolutely no indication of having thought much about being Governor. The Carey primary campaign against Samuels, in which Carey rolled up 61 per cent of the vote, consisted of little more than the quick candidate, the rich brother, the sage Wagner and the talented Garth. While Samuels ground out reams of detailed position papers and deployed hundreds of field workers, Carey went on television proclaiming "independence . . . independence . . . independence."

"I'll admit that I don't have an intimate knowledge of state government," Carey said. "I think I have a better grasp of how it *should* run, then of how it *does* run."

It is very possible that after Carey finds out how boringly it does run, he'll just keep campaigning. There is very little excitement in wrestling with a state budget that is about 95 per cent precommitted to community aid, debt service, salaries and pipeline projects.

Will he move into the national game, as candidate in 1976 or power broker? "I'm going to have a voice in 1976," he answered. "But mainly I'm going to work, to lead and stay close to my family. I'm not a Kennedy. I'm a guy who worked his way from the freshman team to the junior varsity to the scrubs. *This* is my big play."

Maybe. But what happens when Carey reads that he might be the stuff of the '76 All American team? There are two ways he could actually become "independent." He could go national, leaving New York power within the circle that has hardened during the Rockefeller years. Or, he could plug away at home, an ingrate insider remembering something that Fiorello LaGuardia once said: "The best guarantee of independence is monumental ingratitude."

On paper at least, there are great similarities in the lives of Hugh Carey and Malcolm Wilson. Both are the products of middle-class Irish homes a few miles from Manhattan in the World War I era; both were educated only in Roman Catholic schools. Carey is from St. John's University and St. John's Law and Wilson is from Fordham and Fordham Law. (Both, incidentally, have spent a lot of their time amending bills to channel Government money to nonpublic schools.) Carey's father was in the coal and oil business in Brooklyn, and his mother was once Nellie Bly's secretary. Wilson's father was a patent attorney in Yonkers, and his mother was something of a power in local politics: She got her son his first Assembly nomination when he was just 24. Carey was a major in the infantry in Europe during World War II. Navy Lieutenant Wilson commanded a gun crew during the Normandy invasion.

The difference, according to men who know both of them, may be greater than the similarity. Both are serious Roman Catholics, but Carey is an anticlerical Irish Catholic. The Democrat, something of a Kennedy worshipper, has also had his share of tragedy—two of his 14 children, his oldest sons, were killed in an automobile accident in 1969, and his wife, Helen, died of cancer earlier this year at the age of 49.

Wilson, who is half Irish, has boasted that he has never tasted whisky, wine or beer. Maybe he grew up too fast. He was a prodigy, graduating from college at 19 and going to Albany at 24. His religion and his politics have always been mixed—at least in the eyes of beholders—and in 1948 he was pushing legislation to ban "obscene movie advertising." Although he tells it differently now, he was often ignored, even forgotten, during his years as Lieutenant Governor, and Rockefeller affectionately called him "my hack." After Rockefeller prepared his first inaugural speech in 1959, someone remembered that no one had consulted Wilson. He was shown the speech just before Rockefeller gave it and panicked the second floor of the State Capitol by intoning: "The Governor cannot give this speech." What? "There is no mention of the Deity in this speech."

An "under God" was written in, and Wilson pronounced himself satisfied.

A couple of weeks ago when executives at WINS radio in New York City asked him about the major problems facing the community, he listed inflation, jobs and crime, then added: "A society that condones anything will soon believe in nothing. I'm talking about dirty pictures . . . I really get uptight . . . pornography . . . Forcing a school or a Boy Scout camp to hire sex deviates. I'm against that."

If he was invisible as Lieutenant Governor, he seemed visibly indecisive after Rockefeller resigned last Dec. 15. His stewardship and election prospects got stuck almost immediately in the long gasoline station lines that clogged the grand roads Rockefeller had built all over the state. One of the reasons for the lines, a reason that never became public, was that Wilson did not understand that he had control over releasing and distributing millions of gallons of emergency state allocations held at refineries, awaiting his order. It waited 20 days until Federal officials asked him why he was letting the gas sit there.

What was public was that the new Governor wasn't doing anything, in fact had no intention of doing anything, even anything symbolic. Pressure mounted on him to institute mandatory odd-even days for gasoline sales, especially after Governor Brendan Byrne instituted that system in New Jersey and it seemed to make life a little easier for drivers. Wilson's response: "I have a visceral reaction against Government directing people what to do."

Finally, The New York Daily News, the state's largest newspaper, published short profiles of Byrne and Wilson on the same page under the headlines: BITE THE BULLET BYRNE; WAIT AND SEE WILSON.

Wilson is a modest man, loyal and thoughtful to friends, but he is no campaigner. On the surface, his effort looks something like a Rockefeller campaign with familiar faces like state campaign director R. Burdell Bixby and press secretary Harry O'Donnell — capable men who began their careers with Thomas E. Dewey — and city campaign director Fiorvante Perrotta, who handled the five boroughs for both Rockefeller and Richard Nixon. But the difference is that there is no super-metabolic campaigner out front — "Let's cut this short, I want a nap," Wilson whispered to O'Donnell one 11 A.M.—and Wilson makes the decisions in the back room as well. There is also no $7.2-million, the amount Rockefeller reported spending on his 1970 campaign, and many people believe the report fell about $5-million short of what was actually spent. The former Governor has, however, contributed the legal individual limit of $46,000 to his successor's campaign.

The fact is that despite his 35 years in public life, Wilson has no real public record since 1958 and has studiously avoided discussing the Rockefeller record, good and bad. "The people," he said in announcing his candidacy, "are looking for experience, calmness and a lack of confrontation."

Perhaps they are, but Wilson seems viscerally incapable of confronting the fact that he is running for his political life. Only his television commercials seem calculated to win votes and influence people and, perhaps because of the public barrenness of his recent years and the indecisiveness of his 10 months as Governor, those commercials seem shabbily deceptive. Wilson is not a bad television performer, coming across as low-key but sincere as he takes credit for "cutting your taxes by $138-million" in his first year as Governor, taking credit for tougher rape laws and for reinstating the death penalty for certain crimes.

Well, he didn't cut my taxes. Of that $138-million, $85-million is a one-year extension of the already-suspended state income tax surcharge and the rest was tax cuts for business. He did sign the rape and capital-punishment bills, but he also refused to discuss them while they were being debated in the Legislature—he just waited and saw.

Wilson is a very conservative man, and his conservatism goes much deeper than his teetotaling and the narrow, 20-year-old ties he wears with puritan determination. Before World War II, he was the favored speaker at Young Republican conventions that passed resolutions saying things like: "We shall fight with every means at our disposal the efforts of foreign agents to destroy our American way of life . . . but we are aware that the greatest threat to our liberties comes not from without but from the New Deal trend toward dictatorship."

Two years ago Wilson told me: "This is a conservative state. New York is a conservative city, except for some parts of Manhattan, that is . . . People have been going along with programs they didn't really like for a long time. They were only talking their true feelings in the golf club locker rooms, or on the street — wherever they talk. The conservative feeling broke into the open about June of 1970 — you could almost feel it — people could see what was happening in their own lives . . . Public housing was supposed to be 'pass-through' housing — a place for the deserving poor until they earned enough to afford some place else — but exemptions after exemptions were put in until working people could come and see the new cars around public housing projects. I think we need public housing, but for the *deserving* poor."

In 1974, of course, the deserving poor and a lot of the working class in New York are on unemployment insurance. Even though Wilson did raise those benefits this year, unemployment, inflation and Watergate make it just about the worst time for a Republican like Wilson to face the electorate. Each day, Carey and his Democratic running mates pound away at the fact



The New York circle

The greatest work of Nelson Rockefeller (above right) is a system of power and favors to people and institutions "that sometimes look as if they are fighting a lot harder than they are." Some of the people (clockwise, from above left): Alex Rose, Malcolm Wilson, Abraham Beame, Meade Esposito, Robert Wagner and Hugh Carey.

that 250,000 manufacturing jobs in New York have disappeared during the Rockefeller years. Wilson can only counter: Yes, but those jobs were all lost in New York City and crime is the reason—he favors phrases like "urban jungle."

But Carey isn't the easiest guy to run a law-and-order campaign against because, in the words of Frank Russo, a Democratic leader on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, "my people will never believe Carey is soft for a very simple reason: He looks like an Irish cop." In fact, Wilson never believed he would have to run against Carey — like almost everyone else he thought he would be facing Howard Samuels, and had planned a campaign labeling him soft, permissive and a bit radical.

"We figured Malcolm had 3.2 million votes in his pocket and just had to add 400,000 to win," said a Rockefeller aide. "God, it looks like he can't even get the 400,000." The depression and panic of Republicans, particularly upstate Republicans, is reflected in an editorial in a Massena newspaper that Carey carries in his wallet — the newspaper warns that unless Wilson wins, Democrats will shift $2-billion of state money from upstate to New York City and that in St. Lawrence County "not a highway will be repaired, snow-plowing will be suspended."

With visions of Massena abandoned under three feet of snow, the faithful follow their Malcolm. It may turn out like a scene at the state A.F.L.-C.I.O. convention in Kiamesha Lake: 50 leaders of construction unions, which support Wilson, closed ranks behind their candidate to escort him to the podium, then marched through the corridors of the Concord Hotel as Wilson confidently led the front ranks into a Men's Room.

For the Democrats, there are euphoric visions of state jobs and judgeships. At a party rally in Buffalo, Carey's running mate for Lieutenant Governor, State Senator Mary Anne Krupsak, straightened 200 spines with one oblique reference to what politics is often about: "I'm thrilled when I look out and see the talent in this room."

Miss Krupsak, the first woman to run for statewide office since a female Secretary of State went to jail for misuse of public funds 40 years ago, is one of the stars of the interesting casts supporting Carey and Wilson. A serious, all-work-and-no-play liberal from the Schenectady area, she knocked off two male opponents in the Democratic primary and is getting inordinate media attention for a candidate for an office with few duties and less power. Wilson's Wilson is Ralph Caso, the county executive of Nassau County, who is noted for total loyalty to the powerful Nassau Republican organization and for wearing white, patent-leather boots. (Lieutenant Governors, like Vice-Presidents, cannot be voted for separately in New York, and their primary function is to succeed the Governor in case of resignation, disability or death.)

Lieutenant Governors, and even U.S. Senators, have very little to do with power in New York. The two centers of political power in the state are the corner offices on the second floor of the State Capitol in Albany and the ground floor of City Hall in New York — the Governor and the Mayor.

Nelson Rockefeller made his first attempt to bond the two offices inside his circle in 1965 when he put up $500,000 of his own money to start the campaign of a young Republican Congressman for Mayor. The Congressman, of course, was named John Lindsay, and he was so monumentally ungrateful as to deny that he ever got the money from Rockefeller—so the Governor lost half-a-million dollars and eight feuding years.

By 1973, Rockefeller was ready to try again, and by then, he had solidified his ties to regular Democratic leaders like Meade Esposito of Brooklyn and Patrick Cunningham of the Bronx the "boss" closest to Carey. Esposito, particularly, was proud of his relationship with Rockefeller, bragging about judgeships, clerkships and a Picasso etching the Governor had given him while Brooklyn Democrats were providing critical

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votes in the Legislature for the Governor's bills.

Suddenly, while Esposito was talking about a "one-shot Mayor," Rockefeller proposed the same thing under a different name: a "fusion Mayor." Esposito's choice for a one-term Mayor was Abe Beame — the Brooklyn leader has always had personal problems with Hugh Carey, who was the Governor's first choice for a save-the-city Mayor. Rockefeller, who realized a fusion Mayor would have to be a Democrat, let it be known that two other Democrats were acceptable to him—Beame and former Mayor Robert F. Wagner, who became a Rockefeller consultant on governmental relations.

"Saving the city" (and getting rid of Lindsay) was very much the mood of insiders in that spring of 1973. Leaders of the new Association for a Better New York, basically a coalition of the city's biggest landlords, were calling for a "four-year Mayor" to clean up crime and protect their investments—as business moved out of the city, the vacancy rate kept climbing in the city's commercial towers, including Rockefeller Center. In fact, the president of Rockefeller Center, Alton Marshall, former secretary to Governor Rockefeller, was a leading voice in A.B.N.Y. along with former Mayor Wagner and Howard Rubenstein, a public-relations man who became the *de facto* manager of the Beame Mayoral campaign.

Although events—including pressure on John Marchi not to run and the discrediting of Mario Biaggi—seemed to be leading inevitably to a Beame victory in November of 1973, Rockefeller made one more startling move: He proposed Bob Wagner, his onetime Democratic foe, for the Republican nomination for Mayor. If he had pulled that one off—Wagner backed out when conservative Republicans like George Clark rebelled — the Governor would have had the pleasure of sitting back and watching two friendly insiders contest for Mayoral power: Wagner *vs.* Beame.

It didn't happen, of course. Marchi, with the support of Clark and the Conservative party, won the Republican nomination without opposition. But without Rockefeller's support, Marchi was broke and hopeless—"I got nothing, absolutely nothing from the party," Marchi said. "It was very lonely." Beame was elected and he and Rockefeller immediately and publicly proclaimed an era of good feeling between Albany and City Hall.



David Garth: In his hands, Carey was anything but portly.

The emergence of Al Marshall, whom many people think is Rockefeller's most capable lieutenant, as a factor in city politics seemed to be a signal of just how concerned the Rockefellers were about the future of Manhattan Island—and their substantial investments from Hell Gate to the Battery. Marshall, with $306,867, was the second biggest receiver on the Nelson Rockefeller gift list released by the Senate Rules Committee. William Ronan, chairman of The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, who topped the list at $625,000, is also directly involved in Manhattan development as landlord of the new World Trade Center, which happily dovetailed with David Rockefeller's master plan for the development of Lower Manhattan.

There is more to the gifts than meets the eye — money may not buy happiness, but it can buy silence. One reason Nelson Rockefeller's public reputation was so pretty was that no one who has ever served him has ever turned and attacked him or even provided unflattering anecdotes to nosy reporters. It would have been nice if someone had walked up to me in 1970 and said, "Hey, you know that book about Arthur Goldberg — the one that takes him apart? Why don't you check and see who paid for it?" Things like that happen in almost all other campaigns, but not when Laurance Rockefeller is paying for an unflattering biography of brother Nelson's opponent.

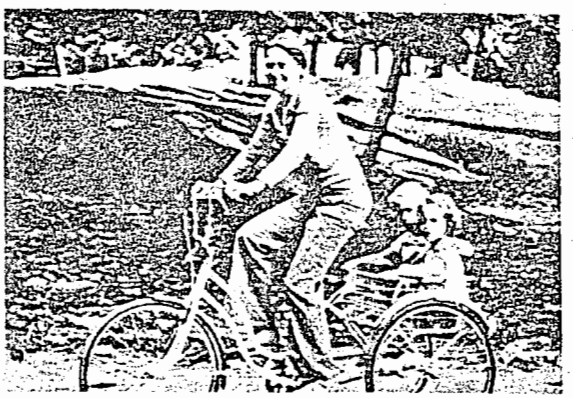
The power of the money can be irresistible—in Charles Goodell's case, for instance, Rockefeller was able to cut off Republican contributors during the 1970 campaign, and soon enough Goodell was out of the Senate and out of the way. And, after James Buckley had won, Rockefeller arranged the paying off of hundreds of thousands of dollars of Goodell campaign debts.

Whether or not there really are conspiracies behind my theories, Wilson *vs.* Carey (with Wagner in the background) is the succession race that realizes Rockefeller's best fantasies. Duryea *vs.* Samuels, for instance, would have been a disaster for Nelson A. And the fact is that in New York, Rockefeller fantasies have a way of becoming reality for the rest of us.

"Hugh Carey was Nelson Rockefeller's man in Washington," said Russell Hemenway. Would he be a Rockefeller man in Albany? The answer is no, but . . . he would be a man the Rockefellers are comfortable with. It is not every Democrat who can go through a campaign for Governor without saying more than 10 bad words about a Republican who had just totally dominated a state for 15 years. The 10 bad words Carey occasionally uses, by the way, are: "Rockefeller spent our money as if we had his money."

Instead, Carey happily beats the drums of change, singing slogans: "The process of Government has been run behind closed doors; the people have been shut out, and behind those closed doors the forces of private wealth and political power have spun a web of privilege and are immune from accountability or challenge . . . I want the word to be heard loud and clear . . . New York's Government is not for sale."

New York's Government, it seems to me, hasn't been for sale for 16 years—it's been owned by Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. And Hugh Carey was well within the web of privilege and influence. It all reminds me of a slogan I once heard: "This year, before they tell you what they want to do . . . make them show you what they've done." ■



The tricycle grows up

Continued from Page 104

cheap transportation. But they're scared of learning how to ride the standard bike. Or maybe they know how to ride, but their balance is not as good as it use to be. The tricycle is the answer."

Although all trike manufacturers offer special features, the standard three-wheeler has 20-inch wheels and a seat which can be adjusted so the rider's legs will rest comfortably on the ground when he pauses to chat with a neighbor. A basket between the rear wheels is big enough to hold a couple of large grocery bags or a case of beer. Unlike the child's trike, which is pedalled by the front wheel, the adult tricycle operates more or less the same as the standard bicycle, its pedals connected to one of the rear wheels by a chain. Two-wheel-drive trikes are available, but they require a more elaborate mechanism, and most manufacturers feel the extra expense isn't worth it. Trike models are either standard, three speed or three speed with coaster brake (which is considered more reliable than a hand brake, especially in wet weather). Most trikes can be taken apart easily and packed in a car trunk. This makes them popular with people who live much of the time in mobile homes or campers attached to their cars or trucks and who need handy transportation for errands to the shopping center and post office. Trike prices range from $125 to $175.

The trike boom is part of the current bicycle boom. Today three times as many bikes are in use as there were 15 years ago; bike sales have more than doubled since 1970. Starting in 1972, Americans have been buying more bicycles than automobiles each year—if projections for 1974 hold up, 45 million bikes will have been sold in the three-year period. By comparison, the 150,000 trike sales predicted for this year are small potatoes, but everybody in the industry assumes the boom is just beginning.

Adult tricycles were in use in both England and America in the 19th century. Today in the United States the greatest interest in them has been manifested in senior-citizen communities in Florida, Arizona and California. Now the boom is beginning in the North. Stuyvesant, a major New York City bicycle distributor, has sold 300 trikes so far this year. "I just had a retired doctor come in and buy a three-wheeler," a Stuyvesant official reported. "He told me, 'I need the exercise, and I don't have the balance anymore.' We've shipped a lot out to Fire Island, which is great for them because it's flat."

Old people aren't the only buyers of trikes. In New York City, a 33-year-old mother of four children explained her purchase of a trike recently. "I'm a separated parent," she said. "I have two boys, 8 and 10, and 4-year-old twins. My boys like to ride in Central Park, but I never like to have them out there unless I'm with them. What do I do with the twins? I went to five bike shops and finally was able to get one to fix me up with a special three-wheeler It has little seats on either side of the big one. I can strap the twins in on each side of me where I can see them, and off we go. I can take the twins with me when I shop, and I use it to drop them at the day-care center, but mostly we use it for fun. We'll all bike down to the Natural History Museum—they let me bring it inside there—and in the summer the whole family bikes pretty nearly every day in the park. I love my trike. It's absolutely safe. The only problem I have with it is getting it into the house—it

MORRIS K. UDALL - Member of Congress from Arizona (2nd District)

Morris Udall is the decendant of a distinguished Arizona family. After graduation from law school, he went into practice with his brother, Stewart. In 1954, Stewart ran for Congress and won. Mo had originally wanted to run for Congress, but his first wife refused to go to Washington.

At the time, the Udalls' father was on the Arizona Supreme Court. The senior Udall had planned to step down at the end of his term so Mo could run for his seat. Instead, the elder Udall died in office, and the Governor appointed the Udalls' uncle, a Republican, to the seat. Since he did not want to run against his uncle, Morris Udall settled down to life as a lawyer. He even wrote a book on the Arizona law of evidence. In 1961, John Kennedy named Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior. Mo Udall ran for Stewart's seat and won. Mo Udall came to Congress ready for business. Unfortunately, he was unprepared to cope with the seniority system. In his frustration, he wrote a long, rambling letter to Speaker Sam Rayburn about the trouble with being a Freshman.

Although he constantly gets over 80 on the ADA and COPE ratings, and gets labor support in every election, his legislative record is limited.

One of the areas in which Udall made his mark is on Congressional procedure, performance and seniority. In 1969, when Joh McCormack retired in disgrace over the Voloshen affair and Carl Albert succeeeded him, Udall ran for Majority Leader against Hale Boggs, who was later lost in a plane in Alaska, and lost 95 to 69.

Udall has also been one of the leaders in the fight for federal financing of elections and for stricter reporting standards. He once

made an extremely sarcastic speech on the ways a Member of Congress could lie on the disclosure of assets statement under the 1925 reporting act. He also wrote a strong article in Playboy in favor of public financing of elections.

Udall found himself in a complex situation in the case of the late Representative Adam Calyton Powell of New York, after it was discovered that Powell had kept his wife Yvette on the payroll while she had been spending most of the time in Puerto Rico. Somehow, this issue caught fire in Udall's home district, and he was bombarded with mail against Powell. He also get plenty of mail from other Members' constituents, too.

Udall put himself smack in the middle of the two Congressional factions in the Powell case. One side wanted to strip Powell of his seat (Wayne Hays was a prominent member of this faction), while the other wanted to do little. Udall suggested a compromise: that POwell would be stripped of his Chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee, but keep his seat in Congress until an investigation coul be made. Powell was kicked out of Congress (the Supreme Court later said that this action was wrong beyond the powers of the House under the rules in effect at that time) but he was unable to see Udall as anything but an enemy. From then on, Powell called Udall that "Racist Mormon". Udall is one of the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, was one of the ramrods for the changing of the Post Office from a public agency to a quasi-public corporation. He blames the failure on the two underwriters of Postal Service bonds, Dillon and Reed and Kidder, Peabody and Co., and the bound counsel (which brought the underwriters in), Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander-Mitchell and Nixon's old law firm. Bonds in the amount of $250 million were issued, and Mudge, Rose collected commissions on the sale.

Udall concentrates much of his efforts on the environment. He was responsible for the passage of the federal pay raise bill, a very sensitive measure, since it involved a pay raise for Congressmen. He has also been one of the leaders in legislation to curb indiscriminate use of the Congressional frank, and has crusaded for limiting the ability of the Executive Office to create new government agencies.

Udall's Presidential bid came from several sources. Not since the election of James Garfield in 1880 has a Member of Congress been directly elected to the Presidency. Congressmen resent the attention given to Senators, and this seemed like a good opportunity to make some Senators, at least, eat some crow.

Congressmen David Obey and Henry Reuss of Wisconsin, who had been set to support Walter Mondale for President went to Udall, who they considered a better (and obviously wittier) speaker. After putting out some feelers, Udall got 29 commitments of support from his colleagues and announced.

It may be said that Udall is popular in the House. His dry wit amuses almost everyone. But his rather self-deprecating humor is a maks for ambition, not a coverup for feelings of inferiority. Many Representatives also know this, and therefore, Udall was not able to get much more support from Members outside of the original core of 29.

Through the years, Udall has helped literally hundreds of new Members to learn the ways of Congress. He was the first sponsor of seminars for new Members. His book, The Job of the Congressman, is both bible and roadmap for new Representatives. Many Representatives who should have been in Udall's debt did not support his candidacy. Udall is viewed favorably by the American Jewish community. They

acknowledge his lack of experience in foreign affairs, but say his votes have been supportive of Israel. He recently visited Israel and met with its leaders.

In 1966, Udall and his first wife were divorced. He later married a secretary on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee staff.

However, rumors of his promiscuity keep turning up. In the June 7, 1976 issue of New York Magazine, there is a story that Washington Post gossip columnist Maxine Chesire was ready to publish a story that Udall was enjoying "extracurricular activities" on the campaign trail, based on reports coming from Secret Service members, when Executive Editor Ben Bradlee killed the story. (See attached article). When confronted with this by New York gossip writer Nigel Dempster, Bradlee said "we could see no way that this (Udall's behavior) was interfering with his public functions. That is our rule. The story is reasonably well known in Washington. Maxine was in no hurry to print, and a decision was made after we talked it over." When confronted by Dempster, Ms. Chesire denied knowledge of Udall's misbehavior or Bradlee's statement.

One From the House:

UDALL: A LONG CAMPAIGN FOR RECOGNITION

Morris K. Udall of Arizona would like to perform a feat accomplished by James A. Garfield in 1880—and by nobody else before or since. He wants to go straight from the House of Representatives to the presidency.

Udall, 52, has spent the past 15 years in the House. During those years he has developed a reputation as one of the chamber's most thoughtful liberal Democrats, a serious legislator free with suggestions for change but ready to revise them when compromise is politically necessary. Udall's career in the House is more than incidental to his campaign for President; his political life and growth have been grounded in the complexities of the legislative process.

Despite the admiration Udall has won from colleagues in both parties, his House career has been marked as much by failure as by success. He sought to become majority leader in 1971—and was beaten decisively. He has spent more than five years working for strip mine control and land use planning legislation—and neither has become law. He was instrumental in the passage of a 1971 bill creating a Postal Service Corporation—but concedes now that the plan has not worked.

After every legislative or leadership defeat, Udall has plunged back in with a new bill or a new proposal for reform. The years after his loss for majority leader were among his most productive. But some observers feel the mounting frustration of his setbacks helped turn his attention away from the politics of the House—and toward national office.



The Campaign

When Udall announced for the presidency in 1974, skeptics said that, too, was certain to end in disappointment. Udall entered the campaign without a national reputation, a middle-level member of a legislative body that provides few big names and less presidential speculation.

A year after the announcement, Udall's campaign still stood somewhere between success and failure. The Arizona Democrat was still the choice of only a small fraction of his party's voters, and money was short, but there was at least an element of hope that one early primary would give Udall the momentum that would carry him to the nomination.

Udall often has focused his self-deprecating style of wit on the long-shot image of his candidacy. He has told audiences of the time he entered a New Hampshire barbershop, announced who he was and what he was running for, and was told by a customer, "Yep, we were just laughing about that yesterday."

But much of Udall's campaign is dead serious. He has approached outright anger when it comes to the subject of George C. Wallace, Alabama governor and competing candidate for the Democratic nomination.

In June 1975, Udall devoted an entire speech before a union audience to his denunciations of Wallace. Calling him the "politician of negativism," Udall said he would not serve on any ticket with Wallace, would not support a ticket with Wallace on it and would not deal with Wallace to win the nomination for himself. In October, Udall went to Birmingham, in Wallace's home state, to repeat many of the same attacks.

Udall's anti-Wallace views brought him some badly needed national attention in 1975. But the Udall campaign was concentrating most of its effort on a quieter job, organizing for the first primaries. In New Hampshire, site of the first primary Feb. 24, Udall's organization "is unquestionably the best and is in place," boasted Jack Quinn, the candidate's political director. The campaign also has targeted primaries in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, New York and Ohio.

Udall has three offices in Iowa, where delegates will be selected at party caucuses starting in January. He expects to do well there, although he fared poorly in a straw poll taken at an Iowa Democratic fund-raiser Oct. 27. Jimmy Carter, former governor of Georgia (D 1971-75), came in first in that survey, with 23 per cent of the vote. Udall finished a distant fifth. His aides disputed the significance of the non-scientific sampling.

During the early delegate-selection process, Udall does not plan a major effort in the South. He is almost certain to stay out of the Florida primary, said Quinn, because he feels that Carter should be given a chance to show his strength against Wallace there.

Udall has a paid staff of 32, half of them in his national headquarters in Washington, with the rest in offices in New Hampshire, New York, Massachusetts, Wisconsin and Iowa. He is operating on a monthly campaign budget of $50,000. At the start of the election year, he will count on

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matching funds made available by the campaign finance reform act of 1974 to keep him going. In October 1975, he was running a deficit of $80,000, but aides explained that these were obligations not due for payment until after the matching funds were awarded in January. Meanwhile, they said that he had raised about $600,000 since the inception of the campaign and that between 85 and 90 per cent of the dollars would be eligible for matching funds.

There is irony to the idea of the campaign finance act bailing Udall out, because Udall played a key role in its passage. He helped originally to draft the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (PL 92-225), the first substantial revision of campaign finance laws since 1925.

That law required candidates for federal office to file detailed reports on the money they raised and spent, and limited amounts that could be used for political advertising. Its disclosure provisions helped expose the Watergate scandal in 1973.

After Watergate broke, Udall joined in the chorus of complaints that the 1971 law was not enough. He and Republican Rep. John B. Anderson of Illinois drafted a proposal to use public funds to help pay election expenses for both Congress and the presidency. "Surely today," Udall argued, "the American people are ready to put up a dollar or two a year to have a clean, decent, brand-new system of House and Senate [publicly funded] elections in this country."

The proposal to use federal money for congressional elections did not survive on the House floor, but the Udall idea of "matching grants" was implemented for presidential candidates during the pre-nomination period.

Udall's Interest-Group Ratings

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)—ADA ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the ADA position on selected issues.

National Farmers Union (NFU)—NFU ratings are based on the number of times a representative voted, was paired for or announced for the NFU position.

AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE)—COPE ratings reflect the percentage of the times a representative voted in accordance with or was paired in favor of the COPE position.

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA)—ACA ratings record the percentage of times a representative voted in accordance with the ACA position.

Following are Udall's ratings since he entered the House in 1961:

	ADA[1]	COPE[3]	NFU[3]	ACA
1974	65	100	100	8
1973	84	82	90	8
1972	100	100	86	0
1971	81	82	100	4
1970	76[4]	83	100	0
1969	67	80	93	0
1968	92	100	93	0
1967	93	100	85	4
1966	82	85[2]	90	8
1965	74	85[2]	88	12
1964	100	82[2]	100	0
1963	75	82[2]	94	6
1962	62	88[2]	93	18
1961[5]	100	88[2]	50	0

1. *Failure to vote lowers ADA score.*
2. *Scores listed twice indicate rating compiled for entire Congress.*
3. *Percentages compiled by CQ from information provided by groups.*
4. *ADA score includes some votes from December 1969.*
5. *Udall did not serve the full year, taking office May 17, 1961.*

The Leadership Challenges

Udall's role in the campaign finance debate reflected a style that his supporters see as one of his strongest assets—a willingness to go beyond protest and criticism and into the patient search for constructive legislative solutions. But he has also been willing, on occasion, to buck the entrenched ways of doing House business.

Udall was an early advocate of a stronger House Democratic caucus and a consistent opponent of the seniority system. On both fronts, he won a victory in 1967 as the House Democrat who introduced the caucus resolution that stripped Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D N.Y. 1945-71) of his chairmanship of the Education and Labor Committee. But Udall opposed the successful House vote to deny Powell his seat.

In a far more brash challenge of the House Democratic leadership, Udall defied custom and ran for the speakership at the start of the 91st Congress in 1969 against John W. McCormack (D Mass. 1928-71). McCormack, then age 77, had been speaker for seven years, nearly as long as Udall had been in Congress.

In a letter to his House colleagues before the vote, Udall offered himself as a replacement for the aged McCormack, a symbol of the old guard, because of "an overriding need for new directions and new leadership."

He also said that if he beat McCormack on the first ballot, he would move to reopen nominations for speaker "so that other candidates can be considered with me on the final balloting."

That strategy failed. In the Democratic caucus, McCormack defeated Udall 178-58 on a secret ballot. But the challenge was not without impact. After his easy victory, McCormack endorsed a proposal for monthly caucus meetings at which all Democratic members could speak freely on party procedures and public issues, a pet proposition of the liberal Democratic Study Group (DSG), of which Udall was a leader.

Six years later, Terry Bracy, Udall's legislative aide, told Congressional Quarterly that Udall had made the challenge "because nobody else would take on John McCormack and because young Democrats had no influence in the House, and yet they had to go home and campaign as Democrats." The aide further described the challenge as "symbolic" and another attack on the House's "system of feudal fiefdoms" that precluded a representative from making his mark "unless he was 70 years old and had 30 years of service."

When McCormack retired from Congress in 1971, Rep. Carl Albert (D Okla.), the House majority leader, offered himself for speaker and drew no opposition. Rep. Hale Boggs (D La. 1941-43, 1947-72), who had served nine years as majority whip by appointment of McCormack and Albert, announced for Albert's job. Udall and three others entered the lists against Boggs.

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Despite his reformist reputation, Udall courted votes by playing down the idea that he would radically alter the House seniority system if he gained power, saying rather that he would support "significant but not drastic reforms." His hard core of support was again in the DSG.

Boggs' candidacy, based on House business as usual, was appreciated by the more conservative southerners and old-line Democrats. Although no Dixiecrat himself (he had supported the national Democratic Party on most major issues in recent years), Boggs made no commitment to reforming the procedures and the distribution of power in the House.

On the second ballot in the caucus, the traditionalists won, giving Boggs 140 votes to 88 for Udall and 17 for Rep. B. F. Sisk (Calif.). The other two Democrats had dropped out after the first round.

Udall analyzed the collapse of his drive as resulting from a combination of defecting freshmen, pro-labor members and liberals with 10 to 15 years of service in the House—in effect, those moving into senior seats on committees. He also ran into lingering bitterness over his challenge to McCormack two years earlier, especially among New England representatives. A magazine article quoted Udall as saying, "The leadership ladder bit—tradition, promotion, seniority—was stronger medicine than I originally thought. This House apparently just insists on people getting in line, serving time."

Personal Background

Until the 1976 campaign, Udall's search for votes had been limited to his 2nd Congressional District in southern Arizona. But his political experience in his home state dates back to the 1950s, and the Udalls are one of Arizona's best-known political families.

Udall was born June 15, 1922, in St. Johns, Ariz., a remote county seat located between the Petrified Forest and the Fort Apache Indian Reservation. His father, Levi S. Udall, the son of Mormon pioneers who founded St. Johns, was a farmer and lawyer, a believer in the frontier ethic of hard work. The father became a justice of the Arizona State Supreme Court, serving on the tribunal for 16 years until his death in 1960. Morris' mother, Louise, a civic affairs activist, became interested in Indian life and culture. In 1970, she published a book, *Mine and Me*, the story of a Hopi woman's life.

When he was 6, Morris Udall lost his right eye in an accident, and it was replaced with a glass eye. He was salutatorian of his St. Johns High School class and entered the University of Arizona in 1940. World War II interrupted his studies. He entered the Army Air Corps in 1942 as a private and was separated as a captain in 1946 after serving as an intelligence and personnel officer in the Pacific.

Back at the university, Udall was president of Associated Students, captain of the Arizona basketball team and an all-Border Conference forward. He played one season of professional basketball with the Denver Nuggets. He passed the state bar exams with the highest grade scored in January 1949 and entered private practice with his older brother, Stewart.

Morris served as chief deputy attorney of Pima County, Arizona, for two years, then was elected county attorney for another two. Brother Stewart was elected to the U.S. House in 1954, resigning from the post in 1961 when President Kennedy appointed him secretary of the interior, a post he held for eight years.

Udall's Background

Profession: Attorney.
Born: June 15, 1922, St. Johns, Ariz.
Home: Tucson, Ariz.
Religion: Church of the Latter Day Saints (Mormon).
Education: University of Arizona, LL.B., 1949.
Offices: Chief deputy Pima County (Arizona) attorney, 1950-52; Pima County attorney, 1952-54; U.S. House since May 17, 1961.
Military: Army Air Corps, 1942-46; discharged as captain.
Memberships: Arizona State Bar Association, American Bar Association, American Judicature Society, American Legion.
Family: Married Ella Royston Ward, 1968; six children by his first marriage, which ended in divorce in 1966.
Committees: Interior and Insular Affairs: chairman, Subcommittee on Energy and the Environment; Post Office and Civil Service; Democratic Steering and Policy Committee.

Morris ran for Stewart's House seat in a special election which drew national attention. Some interpreted the race as a test of Kennedy's first 100 days in the White House, with Udall campaigning for such Kennedy programs as federal aid to education, medical care for the aged and an increased minimum wage.

Udall won with only 51 per cent of the vote. At the time, he said a statement by Stewart nearly cost him the election—that farmers squatting on federal lands along the Colorado River would have to be evacuated. The statement was less than popular in Arizona's Yuma Valley.

Since that close contest, Morris Udall has been returned to the House seven times by solid majorities. His victories over Republican opponents have ranged from 58 per cent to nearly 71 per cent in a state that has swung sharply rightward since the 1950s. In response to skepticism among some urban Democrats about whether Udall would be tough enough to win the presidency, one of his aides said: "Udall has won consistently in a state as conservative as any in the country, and that is tough." He has been helped, however, by having the University of Arizona in his district.

Positions on Issues

Udall's campaign has emphasized the "three E's"—energy, environment and economy—as the issues of greatest importance.

Udall has been a member of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee since 1963, and this has shaped much of his legislative concern. It is an assignment well suited to his district, the desert country of southwestern Arizona, in which politics is largely a matter of land and water. Udall is chairman of the Interior Committee's Energy and Environment Subcommittee, and he has been at the center of nearly all recent House debate on these issues. Often, however, the final decision has not gone his way.

Energy

Udall's advisers describe strip-mining legislation as the centerpiece of his energy proposals. The Arizonan was in the forefront of that effort in the House for four years, only to see President Ford pocket-veto one bill (S 245) in 1974 and veto another (HR 25) in May 1975.

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Udall's CQ Vote Study Scores*

	1974	1973	1972	1971	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966	1965	1964	1963	1962	1961[3]
Presidential														
support	42[1]/46[2]	38	43	23	62	64	83	76	81	80	88	96	90	89
opposition	45[1]/39[2]	57	41	63	26	34	6	9	6	9	2	3	7	7
Voting Participation	85	91	85	85	89	92	87	82	84	90	88	98	96	94
Party														
unity	78	82	85	85	75	85	79	82	90	85	90	93	84	90
opposition	7	12	7	3	14	13	5	4	1	7	5	5	14	7
Conservative Coalition														
support	9	19	5	5	11	11	8	7	3	10	8	13	25	12
opposition	70	74	88	82	77	82	78	81	84	86	92	87	75	82
Bipartisan														
support	77	82	70	69	84	80	84	69	74	81	76	85	88	84
opposition	8	7	12	13	6	8	4	12	5	6	4	13	5	5

* *Explanation of studies, p. 107.*
1. *During President Nixon's tenure in 1974.*
2. *During President Ford's tenure in 1974.*
3. *Includes only part of the 1961 session; Udall was seated May 17 after special election.*

"The history of this thing is that nothing satisfies him [Ford] unless the coal industry writes it," said Udall during debate on the 1975 bill.

In an address to the National Press Club in Washington April 22, 1975, he detailed a six-point proposal for restructuring the energy industry. Posing the "naked question of who will determine America's energy future," he made it clear that a President Udall would challenge energy decisions in the corporate boardrooms of New York, Pittsburgh and Houston.

"By any reasonable criteria of what constitutes a concentrated industry—high prices, inefficiency, lack of innovation and exploration, bloated profits and the power to control and direct the economy—the energy industry qualifies and is in clear violation of the intent of antitrust laws," he said.

Asserting that conventional antitrust proceedings are too slow with so much at stake, he called for legislation that would break up the energy conglomerates so that separate companies would explore, produce, transport, refine and market oil.

Environment

The strip-mining bills dealt primarily with preventing waste and repairing damage to the land caused by landslides, erosion and water pollution. Another energy-environment battle on which Udall was on the losing side was over the trans-Alaska oil pipeline. "The issue here," he said during floor debate in August 1973, "is whether we are going to cave in on the demands of the big oil companies or whether we are going to give due process to the environment." The final bill granting the pipeline construction permit did not incorporate Udall's environmental concerns.

Land-use planning has been another favored Udall legislative target. He has introduced bills that would make federal grants to states that establish land planning agencies to guide the use of lands, with special attention given to areas of critical environmental concern. Udall broadly defines those lands as ones where uncontrolled or incompatible development could harm long-range water conservation, food and fiber production, wildlife habitats, scenic values or scientific, historical and educational values. Also included are needs for housing, highways, airports and recreational and industrial development that is related to energy resources.

In 1974, Udall's land-use bill (HR 10294) lost by seven votes on a procedural step on the House floor. He fared no better in 1975, after the Ford administration stated that overriding economic and budget problems had forced a reconsideration of earlier support. Udall commented, "The administration evidently believes it is too costly to do something about the cost of sprawl, urban blight and the increasing misuse of our urban lands." The 1975 land-use bill (HR 3510) died in the House Interior Committee. Udall blamed intense lobbying by groups such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

For his militant support of environmental protection and various national parks bills, Udall was named legislator of the year in 1973 by the National Wildlife Federation. In a friendly-warning address to the federation in Denver March 30, 1974, Udall said environmentalists must rid themselves of "elitism" and learn the art of "hard-headed compromise."

On occasion, Udall has broken with the environmentalists. One such occasion was the fight over the Lower Colorado River project, vital to Arizona. The Sierra Club, an influential conservation organization, waged an intensive campaign against the building of two hydroelectric dams near the Grand Canyon, claiming they would back up water 130 miles into the canyon gorge. In a House floor speech, Udall accused the Sierra Club of a "flagrant hatchet

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job." The dams were dropped from the legislation (PL 90-537).

Economy

Udall's positions on energy and the environment are inextricably linked with his economic proposals. As early as 1963, he cosponsored a major tax-reform bill calling for adjustment in taxes and exemptions. He has supported Internal Revenue Service amendments to double the "inadequate" personal exemptions allowed each taxpayer.

As a member of the special House task force to produce a Democratic alternative energy-economy program, Udall, in addition to restructuring the energy industry, would urge strong domestic energy conservation measures. He would seek a mechanism to limit oil imports in order to break cartel prices and stem the "petrodollar" drain; make a commitment to a 2 per cent energy growth rate, compared with the 4.5 per cent figure of recent years, and levy special taxes on "inefficient" automobiles.

Postal Legislation

Assigned to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee after his first election to the House in 1961, Udall chafed under the chairmanship of Tom Murray (D Tenn. 1943-66), who called meetings infrequently and ruled without rules. Udall and other younger liberals fought for and won regular meetings and orderly procedures on the committee.

After a few years, Udall began to use the seemingly innocuous committee as a vehicle for advancing his own ideas about subjects as important as postal service, congressional pay and the use of the frank.

A Udall-sponsored bill to reform the congressional franking (free mailing) privilege became law (PL 93-191) in 1973 after he had introduced it in three sessions of Congress. The law was the first modification of the mailing privilege in the 20th century. One provision prohibited mailings of more than 500 pieces of identical franked mail during the 28-day period before an election by incumbents seeking another term.

Through the Post Office Committee, Udall has been involved in the perennial debate over salaries and pensions. He has generally backed efforts to take the congressional pay raise issue out of the hands of the members, giving it to a federal commission that could deal with the issue outside the political pressures that members face.

Udall has also been involved in the issue of the pensions under which members retire. Critics have argued that Udall always has made his pension proposals excessively generous in order to extract retirements from members he considers to be deadwood littering the House. Udall allies never have denied this.

In 1970, Udall wrote the bill that created a new Postal Service Corporation in place of the financially ailing Post Office Department. In the bitter battle over the measure in Congress, he was allied with the Nixon administration, which wanted an independent postal service, supposedly free from congressional and other political influence.

Soon after the new system went into being in 1971, Udall broke with the administration's implementation of the bill. The Postal Service marketed a $250-million bond issue, hiring Nixon's former New York law firm, which specializes in bonds counseling, to handle the issue. Five underwriting firms were given the bond business. Udall, chairman of the Postal Service Subcommittee, made public an investigative report Sept. 21, 1971, which questioned the qualifications of two of the bond underwriters and the propriety of engaging the President's onetime law partners.

By the fall of 1975, the Postal Service had lost $2.9-billion over the preceding three years. There was a strong movement in Congress, highly critical of the service, which sought to revoke its financial independence and require it to go before Congress each year for appropriations—a partial reversal of the clock.

An aide said Udall now favors another restructuring, because he feels that the corporation has become part of the White House patronage system. "Udall believes the whole thing was fouled up by the Nixon White House," the aide said.

Udall Staff, Advisers

Campaign manager: Stewart L. Udall, Washington attorney and former secretary of the interior and Morris Udall's brother.

Financial director and treasurer: Stanley Kurz, a New York City lawyer and certified public accountant.

Legislative assistant: Terry Bracy, eight years on Udall congressional staff, and his major speechwriter.

Political director: Jack Quinn, a former staff member for Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy (D Minn. 1959-71) and for the Democratic National Committee.

Campaign administrative director: Ed Coyle, who worked in the 1972 presidential campaign of Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D Maine) and later in the vice presidential campaign of Sargent Shriver.

Fund-raising coordinator: Marcie Kripke, who served as an aide in the successful Senate campaigns of Colorado Democrats Floyd K. Haskell in 1972 and Gary Hart in 1974.

Press secretary: Bob Neuman, former press and legislative aide to Rep. Jerome R. Waldie (D Calif. 1966-75).

Issues coordinator: Jessica Tuchman, who worked on Udall's Energy and Environment Subcommittee.

Director of scheduling and advance: Ron Pettine, who worked for the national Humphrey-Muskie staff in 1968 and for Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania.

Primary states field coordinator: Ken Bode, who worked for the delegate-selection commission of the Democratic National Committee, headed by Sen. George McGovern, and in the South Dakotan's 1972 presidential campaign.

Labor

Organized labor has not always bestowed its unqualified blessing on Udall. In 1965, he voted against repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act section that permits state right-to-work laws. Repeal of those laws has long been a cherished labor objective.

His vote was cast on the grounds of political survival. Udall explained his 1965 position to two dozen labor leaders at a luncheon in Cleveland April 12, 1975. He said he had fought in Arizona to repeal its right-to-work act, but that after repeal failed twice, he and Arizona labor leaders agreed that he would not be bound to vote for repeal of the Taft-Hartley proviso while in Congress.

In 1965, Udall explained, he was seeking to consolidate his congressional constituency in a state that was becoming increasingly conservative. "But if I'm President, I'll be leading the fight with labor to repeal it," he told the Ohio leaders.

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Civil Rights

Udall's Mormon religion has raised questions in the presidential campaign, as it did for Republican George Romney, also a Mormon, in 1968. The church prohibits blacks from entering its priesthood.

Udall has issued a brief position paper on the subject.

Since World War II he has not been active in the Mormon church. "For more than 25 years I have held and expressed a deep-seated and conscientious disagreement with the church doctrine on the role of blacks.... I continue to hope that in its own way in good time the Mormon church will find a way out of the dilemma which distresses me and many other Americans both in and out of the church."

Defense, Foreign Policy

In 1967, in the midst of the Vietnam war controversy, Udall went home to hawkish Arizona and declared that U.S. involvement was wrong and should be ended. In April 1975, as South Vietnam crumbled, Udall said, "There is no time for recrimination and bitterness about who lost Indochina. It wasn't ours to lose in the first place."

In a July 1975 position paper on the Middle East, Udall stated "that there is no more powerful imperative in American foreign policy than the need to do everything in our power to help build a stable framework for peace in the Middle East." He would base that policy on a firm commitment to the right of the Israeli people to live in peace in their homeland and to the right of the Palestinians to lead a "normal life" in the region, and to recognize "the understandable concern and self-interest" on the part of the Soviet Union in having some say in future crucial events in the Middle East. ▮

—By Ed Johnson

Reagan Declares

Ronald Reagan made his presidential candidacy official Nov. 20, starting the day with a speech and press conference in Washington and following it up with repeat performances in the key primary states of Florida and New Hampshire.

In his Washington announcement, the former California governor repeated the anti-government message on which he has built much of his political career.

"It is difficult," he said, "to find leaders who are independent of the forces that have brought us our problems—the Congress, the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, big business and big labor."

Reagan criticized what he called the "buddy system," a partnership he said existed among the legislative and executive branches in Washington and the clients their programs create.

The 64-year-old candidate declined to criticize President Ford, saying such criticism violated the Republican "11th Commandment," which warns against speaking ill of any fellow party member.

The only signs of uncertainty came when Reagan was asked for specifics about his views on the defense budget. He said he did not have the information at hand, but would provide it during his campaign. *(Reagan Background, Weekly Report p. 2479)*

CANDIDATES '76

Nebraska

Rep. John Y. McCollister (R Neb.) formally announced Nov. 10 that he would abandon the House seat he has held since 1971 to seek the Senate seat of Republican Roman L. Hruska. Hruska, who has been in the Senate since 1954, announced earlier this year that he would not seek re-election in 1976. He endorsed McCollister's candidacy. McCollister, like Hruska, is from Omaha. He is likely to take advantage of the Nebraska tradition dictating that one senator represent Omaha and one the western part of the state. ▮

California

The Republican Senate primary got a new entry Nov. 10 in former Rep. John G. Schmitz (R 1970-73), a colorful conservative and a member of the John Birch Society, who formally declared for the seat of Sen. John V. Tunney (D). Schmitz lost a bid for renomination to the House in 1972 from conservative Orange County. After losing the House primary, he accepted the nomination of the American Party as its presidential candidate and received over 1 million votes.

Already in the Republican race are Rep. Alphonzo Bell and former Lt. Gov. Robert Finch (1967-69). S. I. Hayakawa, a noted semanticist and former president of San Francisco State College (now San Francisco State University), stopped just short of a formal announcement of candidacy, indicating that he would declare in January. Rep. Barry M. Goldwater Jr. is also considered a possible candidate.

In the Democratic primary, Tunney faces opposition from Tom Hayden, a former antiwar activist and defendant in the Chicago 7 trial. ▮

Pennsylvania

Arlen Specter, Philadelphia's Republican district attorney from 1966 to 1974, announced Nov. 17 that he would seek the Republican nomination for the Senate seat held by Hugh Scott (R), the Senate minority leader. Specter said he did not expect Scott, 75, to run for a fourth term in 1976. Scott is expected to reveal his plans Dec. 4.

Specter, 45, has often been mentioned as a statewide candidate in Pennsylvania, but his political fortunes have fallen in recent years. A strong candidate for Philadelphia's mayoralty in 1967, he lost to Mayor James Tate and lost his post as district attorney in 1973 to a virtually unknown Democrat, F. Emmett Fitzpatrick, despite a strong endorsement by the city's Democratic mayor, Frank Rizzo. The defeat derailed a potential Specter candidacy against Democratic Gov. Milton J. Shapp in 1974.

Other Republicans running in the race thus far are George Packard, former executive editor of the *Philadelphia Bulletin*, and former State Rep. Francis Worley. Another possible entrant is Rep. H. John Heinz III.

The only announced Democrat is State Sen. Jeanette Reibman, 59, who entered the race Nov. 16. Reibman, the only woman in the Pennsylvania Senate, is currently serving her third four-year term.

"I am running for a simple reason," Reibman told an Allentown audience, "to help get government back to the basics." ▮

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NEW YORK INTELLIGENCER

By Nigel Dempster of the London Daily Mail

Burton's Barmaid's Husband's Offer



Harmonizing: Suzy Hunt and friend.

With sometime model and netime Marbella barmaid Suzy Hunt, 28, harmoniously billeted in Beverly Hills with Richard Burton—filming *The Heretic* at Warner Bros. —I have news of the divorce offer husband James Hunt made *before* she moved in with her superstar.

In January Suzy's brother-in-law Peter arrived in Marbella with a proposal. James wanted a divorce and was willing to pay her $10,000 and an air ticket to "anywhere." Suzy, who had spent New Year's with her husband in Gstaad (where she met Burton), naturally refused, no doubt feeling that the sum was insulting.

The reason for the timing of the curious offer—they had been going their own ways since last July—became apparent a few days later when James signed a $200,000-a-year contract to drive for Marlboro-McLaren (for whom he won the Spanish Grand Prix last month, only to be disqualified). Any future divorce settlement will have to take into consideration his new financial status —say, $150,000? Suzy is not talking.

Powder Puff Parade: Raffin May Replace Hutton in Cosmetic Change

If Richard Avedon is anyone to go by, then Deborah Raffin is a shoo-in to be the Revlon girl to succeed Lauren Hutton, whom the company plans to phase out gradually.

Declining to comment on reports that the move follows his refusal to continue working with Lauren, Avedon is deep in negotiations with Deborah's husband, Michael Viner.

The problem with Lauren, a Revlon exec whispers to me, is that she has never bothered with the periphery business of factory tours and has also disdained interest in the corporate side.

Another problem is Lauren's age—32. Deborah, at 23, falls right into Revlon's "focus market" of 18 to 28.

The phascout will have to be gradual, as Lauren has a clause in her $200,000-per-year contract that if she is bounced, the company will be able to use her work for only a further 90 days.



They Get a Thrill From Cocaine

The hottest film now on

Udall Hanky-Panky Won't See Light Unless Washington 'Post' Says Go



No hurry: Morris Udall . . . Maxine Cheshire . . . Ben Bradlee.

A funny thing happened to Morris Udall along the campaign trail when the story of his extracurricular activities—based on Secret Service gossip—led to a high-level conference at the Washington *Post* between executive editor Benjamin C. Bradlee and columnist Maxine Cheshire.

In the event, a decision was made not to publish and when I called Bradlee, he explained: "It wasn't the fact that Udall was less of a front-runner than the others; it was that we could see no way that this [his behavior] was interfering with his public functions. This is our rule. The story is reasonably well known in Washington. Maxine was in no hurry to print, and a decision was made after we talked about it."

For an award-winning "investigative" reporter, Ms. Cheshire appears to have an appalling memory. When I asked her for her recollection of events, she told me: "I have never had any story about Mo Udall misbehaving on the campaign trail. I don't know what Bradlee is talking about."

Udall has six children by his first marriage to the former Patricia Emery, which took place in 1949 and was dissolved in 1965. She has subsequently married a further three times, without success, and now lives in Boulder, Colorado, with her younger children.

In 1968 Udall, who will be 54 on June 15, married Ella Royston—known as "Tiger"—who has a son by her previous marriage.

Doc Hemingway's Montana Split



a showdown with his wife of ten years.

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The atmosphere the pressroom at these days is strain the least, owing to domestic arrange New York *Times* c Barnes.

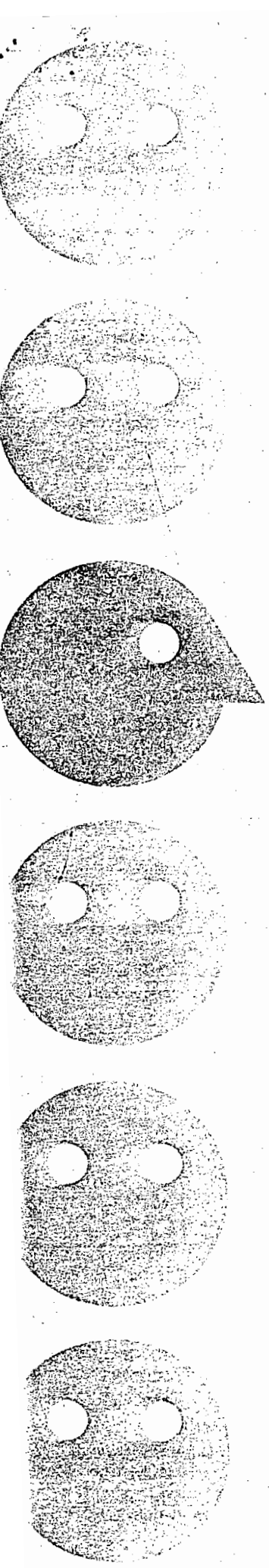
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Meetings with Trish—they have dren, Chris, four twelve-year-old M now limited to room, which Mr uses as a writer fo azine *Dance and*

"The situation difficult, but so fa come across his an," Mrs. Barnes know we'll have some time, but I confront her yet. a lot more moral

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Ralph Nader Congress Project
Citizens Look at Congress

Morris K. Udall

Democratic Representative
from Arizona

written by Daniel Epstein

Introduction

Congress at full capacity is composed of 535 members, 100 of them in the Senate and 435 of them in the House of Representatives. This is a profile of one member of Congress. It is part of the largest study of that institution ever conducted--an effort to share with citizens a better understanding of how the members and committees of our national legislature operate both among themselves and in relation to outside forces working on the Congress.

So important is the stake which Americans have in Congress that, like other fundamentals, it is rarely examined. Although small, in comparison with the giant Executive branch, Congress is the preeminent branch of our government under the U.S. Constitution. It is, in a phrase, the "go or stop" branch. Federal agencies and departments in the Executive branch grow in number and power because Congress has provided them with the funds and authority to do so. If the federal courts are to have more judges and facilities to meet their responsibilities, it is again the Congress which must provide them with the funds and the laws to interpret. Taking the Constitution as written, only Congress has the authority to declare war, impose taxes, provide for the public health, safety, and welfare, and allocate what presently is an annual budget of some $250 billion taxpayer dollars. Indeed, the federal legislature should be the fountainhead branch of the federal government.

But Congress has other distinctive realities. The Executive branch has been increasingly dominating Congress, taking away its power and seizing the legislative initiative. The White House and the federal agencies and departments systematically manipulate or block the Congress from monitoring what they are doing. In addition, such factors as powerful special interests, influential campaign contributions, archaic rules, secrecy, understaffing, and inadequate information contribute to a Congress which does not lead but is led as it continues to abdicate its constitutional authority and leadership role.

With public skepticism about politicians at somewhere near an all-time high, the challenge shifts away from politics to citizenship and its assertion toward greater involvement and self-government. High on this agenda must be a more equitable, responsive, and productive congressional performance. Nothing remotely compares with Congress as the institution which can articulate the values and launch the energies and resources to advance the course of justice and happiness for all Americans. It can be the practical pulse of the American dream on its way to a speedier reality.

The first step toward bridging the gap between promise and performance in Congress is for citizens to obtain information about the men and women who make up this legislature. Taken together they are the most important group in the country. But most people have never heard of 95 percent of them. What little information about these lawmakers that reaches the general public usually comes from the members themselves or their opponents. These profiles provide information about the legislator which can help the reader make pertinent judgments, ask more meaningful questions, and seek more detailed facts and evaluations about the performance of these members.

The profiles are one portion of the overall Congress Project. In addition, there will be forthcoming numerous volumes of readable and precise materials on the major congressional committees and key topics such as campaign financing, lobbying, rules and procedures of the Congress, relationship with the Executive branch, and a citizens handbook on Congress for people to use. Hundreds of volunteer field researchers in 50 states gathered data and conducted interviews, while about three hundred researchers, writers, editors, and typists prepared the many thousands of pages of individual profiles and committee and topic reports. While acknowledging the dedicated assistance of others, the individual authors of these profiles assume full responsibility for their contents and their attributions.

The Congress Project has worked in a strictly non-partisan manner as a citizens report to the people. We hope that many people in every state will continue to keep us informed about members of Congress as part of an ongoing program to encourage the development of a Congress worthy of the highest efforts and the greatest ideals of the land.

Ralph Nader
Robert Fellmeth

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Morris King Udall is the only Arizona Democrat presently in Congress. He represents the second of Arizona's three congressional districts, composed of five counties in the southern part of the state, and including the city of Tucson.

Arizona has been Republican territory since the rise of Barry Goldwater. Goldwater, Arizona's senator from 1952 to 1964, was defeated in the Presidential election of 1964, and re-elected to the Senate in 1968. Republicans in Arizona have lost only one major race for statewide office since 1962 (the governorship in 1964 which they regained two years later).[1]

In light of the state's political tendency, Udall is somewhat out of place as a Democrat, but his district has traditionally been Democratic and Udall is a very popular congressman. In the 1970 election, Udall received 69 percent of the district's votes.[2] His opponent in that election, Morris Herring, is unwilling to run against Udall in 1972, according to a local political writer, who added that "Republicans are having a hard time getting someone to challenge Udall."[3] So far, the only candidate they have is Jack Ledford, a retired brigadier general and state representative, despite the contention of John Rawlinson of the Arizona Star that the Republicans are willing to spend $100,000 to get their man elected. And Ledford has recently withdrawn. The Almanac of American Politics predicts: "In any event, he (Udall) will not likely lose an election in the 2nd."

Udall owes part of his popularity to his family, for "Udall" is an old, respected political name in Arizona. His brother, Stewart, was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Kennedy in 1961, after having served in Congress since 1954. Their father, Levi Udall, was Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court, a post which Morris once coveted.

Udall "had really wanted to be in Congress all (his) life", and when he was elected prosecuting attorney for Pima County in 1952, he was still thinking of it. In 1954, when the incumbent representative from the second district retired, Udall considered his chances. "I very much wanted to come to Congress," he said later. "My brother hadn't even been in elective political life. I was the logical candidate."[4]

It is unclear whether elder brother Stewart "claimed his right as elder son to grab the only available congressional seat," as Larry King suggests,[5] or whether Morris simply deferred to his wife, who was "opposed to it in some respects." Mo, as his friends call him, summarized it very simply, "So I didn't and Stew did." He also added, "It looked to me like he (Stew) would make a career here--he loved it--and that I'd never make it to Congress."[6]

Udall spent the years between 1954 and 1961 practicing law in the Udall & Udall law firm, writing a textbook on Arizona evidence law, fighting to modernize the court system, and rising through the ranks of the state bar.[7]

In a May 12, 1961 article, Time magazine reported that as the election approached, Republicans and Democrats alike were grumbling about some of Stewart Udall's speeches, made after he was appointed Secretary of the Interior. Both parties "were fussing about (Stewart) Udall's apparent attempt to shift part of the blame for the Bay of Pigs invasion to the Eisenhower Administration." Stewart also created trouble with a ruling he made at the Interior Department

which invalidated "squatter's rights" and dispossessed farmers who had been squatting for year along the Colorado River in Yuma County. This ruling may have influenced the election results in Yuma County, which went to Udall's rival, Republican, Mac C. Matheson. Time said "Mo found himself in trouble when the returns gave Yuma County to arch conservative Matheson. Only by scoring heavily in Tucson's Pima County did Mo go on to win by the squeaky margin of 51,318 to 49,263."[8]

In retrospect, Udall said in a magazine article: "In May and June of 1960, it occurred to me that I was never going to have a public career, and I accepted that fate. Ten months later I'm sitting here in Washington, a congressman."[9]

A magazine article in Harper's by Larry L. King, which Udall reprinted and gave out to people "because of your special friendship and interest in my career here" described Udall, when he was first elected:

> He was then a month short of thirty-nine and looked something like a rodeo hand in short burr haircuts, bowties, and a wide leather belt studded with ersatz stones and a silver buckle; there was about him a disconcerting combination of painful country-boy shyness and a bawdy cowlot humor.

King added that Udall "could not have been pure green gourd and hayseed," and pulled off the switch of Arizona delegates from Johnson to Kennedy, but relates Udall's display of naivete in writing to then-Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn an extremely long and complex letter symptomatic of the freshman's common misconception of his status and power in Washington politics.

Udall took his politics seriously in the House. He became a student of the roles men play in Congress, and sought to facilitate new members' entry into legislative responsibilities by organizing and conducting orientation seminars for freshmen on a permanent basis. The seminars led him to co-author a handbook for freshmen, The Job of the Congressman, with Donald G. Tacheron. Subtitled "An Introduction to Service in the U.S. House of Representatives, the book includes topics ranging from historical evaluations of power in Congress to such mundane matters as where to obtain plants for hanging in one's office (the Botanic Gardens). Most of it, however, deals with the basics freshmen need to know about the many facets of service in the House, and is essentially a guide to getting things done. Seminars for freshmen are still held today, and the book's foreword says "particular credit is due Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, whose initiative led to the establishment of the seminars on a continuing basis.

Udall took some initiative when he joined the Democratic Study Group, an organization of House members which researches position papers, analyzes votes, and publishes roll call tallies. He became an activist in the group with some of the House liberals who felt stifled by inertia in the House and old and rigid committee chairmen. He took to heart the statement made by Everett Burkhalter, a 67-year-old freshman from California who resigned in 1964 with this statement:

> I could see I wasn't going to get anyplace. Nobody listens to what you have to say until you've been here 10 or 12 years. These old men have got everything so tied down you can't do anything. There are only about 40 out of the 435 members who call the shots. They're the committee chairmen and the ranking members and they're all around 70 or 80.[11]

Udall wasn't 67, however. When he entered the House he was 39, and it was conceivable that he might reach a position of leadership in it. Upon arrival, he was named to the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, not because he had special expertise or even interest in its problems, but because the committee had a Democratic vacancy, and the new congressman needed an assignment. He also got on the Interior Committee, a post about which he was more en-

District Voting History

	1966			1968			1970		
	Name	%	Vote*	Name	%	Vote*	Name	%	Vote*
House Democratic Primary	Udall	Unopposed		Udall	Unopposed		Udall	Unopposed	
House Republican Primary	McGinnis	Unopposed		McGinnis	--	19	Herring	Unopposed	
				Pierce	--	8			
House General Election	Udall (D)	60	67	Udall (D)	70	102	Herring (R)	30	38
	McGinnis (R)	40	45	McGinnis (R)	30	43	Udall (D)	69	87
							Other	1	1
Senate General Election	No election held			Goldwater (R)	50	74	Fannin (R)	47	60
				Elson (D)	50	74	Grossman (D)	52	67
Gubernatorial Election	Williams (R)	46	54	Williams (R)	45	68	Williams (R)	39	50
	Goddard (D)	54	63	Goddard (D)	55	83	Castro (D)	62	80
Presidential Election	No election held			Nixon	50	73	No election held		
				Humphrey	42	61			
				Wallace	9	14			

figure in thousands

Sources: "1966 Elections", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XXIV (November 11, 1966); "Complete Returns of the 1968 Elections by Congressional District", Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, XVII (June 6, 1969); Politics in America, IV (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1971); Richard M. Scammon, America Votes (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1966, 1968, and 1970).

thusiastic because of an Arizona water project he might have a chance to influence.

Larry King describes Mo Udall's first years in the House:

> He slowly earned laurels as a serious legislator and witty speaker who knew the parliamentary backwaters. If perhaps a shade brighter or a touch more ambitious than the average junior, he was not yet atypical; he paid deference to his elders and kept his institutional nose clean.[12]

When the 1962 elections came around, Udall was unopposed in the primary, but ran against Richard G. Burke in the general election. Burke, a conservative Tucson attorney, attacked Udall in a newspaper story, calling him "a captive of the New Frontier, talking one way in Arizona and voting another way in Washington."[13] Udall said later in Arizona, a Sunday magazine of the Arizona Republic:

> Well, I hear that old story every two years. My opponents traditionally have made that argument and I answer would they kindly show me just one time where I have said one thing in Tucson and voted another way in Washington. I've never yet had anyone come up with a bill of particulars. In fact, my staff and some of my colleagues back here think I don't play it safe enough.[14]

In 1962, when the regular congressional elections came around, Udall was re-elected with 58.3 percent of the vote.[15] The second district of Arizona, larger than some states, had been reduced to five counties: Yuma, Pinal, Pima, Santa Cruz, and Cochise. The Arizona Journal analyzed: " (reorganization) , coupled with the powerful Udall name and the top-heavy registration advantage gives the Arizona freshman reason for confidence."[16]

Arizona's statewide Republican tendency is offset somewhat by the second district's Democratic leanings. Its largest city, Tucson, holds nearly half of the second district's total population--260,000 of 556,949 in 1970. Seventy-five percent of the people live in urban areas such as Tucson, Douglas and Yuma.[17]

Udall sees his district as compared with the rest of the state as

> a little bit different ideologically. Not much, but a point or two on the scale. Sam Grossman (Democratic candidate for Senator) beat Paul Fannin (Republican incumbent) in my congressional district, very narrowly as I recall (a margin of 7,200 of the total 127,000 votes). The University of Arizona, the Mexican border, a little more enlightened--from my standpoint--constituency, the traditional Democratic orientation of these places has helped very much.[18]

Udall is very much a local man; there is his family, long-time area residents, his brother, who achieved national prominence, his education locally (he received an LL.B. in 1949 from the University of Arizona), his career (based mainly in the district), and his stint as a professional basketball player with the Denver Nuggets in 1948-49. He only left Arizona to serve in the U. S. Air Force from 1942 to 1946 in the Pacific.

After practicing law with his brother Stewart for three years, Mo was elected prosecuting attorney of Pima County in 1952. He continued his law practice and wrote a book, Arizona Law of Evidence (West Publishing Co., 1960) which is required text for all Arizona law students. He also wrote various articles on legal subjects, and became vice-president of the Arizona State Bar Association in 1961.[19]

According to his colleagues and staff, Udall is one of the most ethical members of Congress. He resigned from the Udall and Udall law firm upon election to the House in 1961; he was one of the first to make a complete disclosure of his assets;[20] and he cosponsored and fought for creation of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In a statement in the Congressional Record, Udall made public his assets as revised for 1970, and pointed out how inadequate the financial disclosure forms were:

> The disclosure sheet I am filing with the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct is in two parts, A and B. Part A of my report--the only part which can be seen by the public--is highly misleading. One reading it could discover only one minor fact about my private interests and dealings; namely, that I own stock exceeding $5,000 in value in Catalina Savings & Loan Association of Tucson. That's all... The actual value of my Catalina Savings stock is not $5,000; it is $32,000. And, as far as the public is concerned, it could just as easily be $50,000 or $5,000,000.[21]

Udall also wrote critically of rising campaign costs, the problems they caused and possible solutions in an article for Playboy. In it, he attacked the law governing elections at

District Facts

	1960 District	1970 District	1970 State	USA Avg.
Total population	440,415	443,117	1,772,482	478,070
White	92.7	94.4	91.1	87.5%
Negro	3.4	2.8	3.0	11.1%
Other	3.9	2.8	6.0	1.4%
Total foreign stock	22.9	23.3	16.7	19.0%
Mexico	12.5	11.7	6.4	1.0%
Canada	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.8%
All other foreign stock	9.1	10.0	8.8	
Median age	25.6	26.6	26.4	28.3
Median school years	11.4	12.3	12.3	12.2
Civilian labor force	92.8	93.0	94.9	96.2%
Civilian unemployed	5.8	4.1	4.2	4.9%
Total employed	139,819	144,100	614,604	187,926
Professional, Technical	NA	26,091	102,152	
Clerical	NA	23,659	105,515	
Craftsmen	NA	21,336	85,870	
Service workers	NA	18,256	74,795	
All other occupations	NA	54,758	246,272	
Armed forces/1000	11.5	12.9	25.8	15.6
Median family income	$5,402	$8,832	$9,188	$9433
Occupied housing units	124,184	136,448	539,639	
Median value, owner occupied	$10,700	$16,138	$16,551	$17,000
Median monthly rent	$68	$103	$110	$90

Sources

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data Book: Districts of the 88th Congress (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1963).

U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data for the 93rd Congress, A Computer Profile, by state and district (Springfield, Virginia: National Technical Information Service, 1972).

that time:

> ...the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, is a farce. Despite regular violations of its letter and spirit, there has never been a candidate or a political committee prosecuted under its provisions.

This law, now replaced by the Federal Election Campaign of 1971, had several large loopholes. It didn't cover primaries, which in many states are the real fights; it didn't require that candidates report expenditures of a candidate for Congress Campaign Committee, with the justification that the candidate was not responsible for the actions of a committee supporting him; and it didn't apply to expenses for many "extraneous" items like travel, printing, postage, or telephones. As Udall said, "This is like telling your wife that her use of the department-store charge account is limited to $100 per month except for hats, dresses, fur coats and shoes--on which there is no limit."[22]

Udall is a legislator who tries to see both sides of issues. This essential fairness is reflected in his newsletter, sent out monthly to his constituents. Though the postage for the 22,000 copies Udall sends out each month is paid for by the government under the franking privilege, members of Congress are required to pay for printing costs; in Udall's case this comes to about $250 per issue.

The congressman's staff consider the newsletters one of the best such publications in Congress. Dealing with one major issue each time, they are written painstakingly by Udall himself.[23] They differ from many other congressional newsletters in that they do not feature lists or photographs of recent visitors to the office. Instead, Udall gives honest, full, and simple in-depth treatment to both sides of a variety of questions, including explanations of the workings of Congress. One of his earlier newsletters,[24] in 1963, dealt with the Rules Committee of the House, and explained:

> The Rules Committee has an almost complete power to determine on important issues whether the rest of us can vote at all. (emphasis Udall's)

The newsletter also criticized the Rules Committee, giving examples:

> In recent years, particularly before its expansion to 15 members, the Rules Committee has flagrantly violated democratic principles, even to the extent of killing bills which had been passed by BOTH the House and Senate.

The example Udall gave was HR 10128 (86th Congress), an Eisenhower bill to give federal aid to states for school construction. He explained, "The committee accomplished this seemingly difficult feat when it refused to send a House-passed bill to conference to work out differences (between it and the Senate version.)"

Even in 1963, the date of this newsletter, Udall was citing what he thinks is the greatest fault with Congress today. "Congress", he said, "is losing steadily its initiative and its powers to the Executive... Nearly everyone who studies the workings of Congress (concludes) that its archaic, time-consuming procedures, its rigid seniority system and other weaknesses must be remedied."

The shift in power from Congress to the executive branch has been one of Udall's greatest concerns, and he says he is specifically worried about the Executive Office of the President. A study of the growth in the staff of the Executive Office of the President was recently prepared under Udall's direction for the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

The report traces the history of the EOP, beginning with its creation under the Reorganization Act of 1939. It compares staff sizes, and salaries, when data are available, between the administrations from 1955 to 1973. The report states that the President's budget for fiscal 1973 shows a total of 2,206 permanent EOP positions (excluding Special Projects and Council on International Economic Policy personnel), a 24 percent increase over 1970 positions and a 57 percent increase over 1955 positions.

Udall is not solely concerned with numbers of employees, however; he charges that the nine new satellite offices created since 1970 "have become independent bureaucracies potentially duplicating many policy considerations of the existing cabinet departments and independent agencies." He cites as examples of the "bureaucratization of function" the Domestic Council, the National Security Council, and the Office of Telecommunications Policy. In salaries, the report cites increases of $4.45 million annually under the Nixon Administration, as compared with increases of $1.9 million during the Johnson era. The report charges that high-level "ungraded" positions are being filled with anonymous high-level policy makers, not subject to normal Civil Service control. Originally, Udall contends, ungraded positions were restricted to housekeeping functions in the White House, such as a French chef or a groundskeeper. Under the Nixon Administration only 21 percent of upgraded employees work in the White House; the

rest are distributed in office buildings and other executive quarters.[25]

In a letter to Thaddeus Dulski, chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Udall made his own comments on the study's conclusions, which he found "troubling". Of the unprecedented growth in Nixon's "personal entourage," Udall said:

> It is a sorry, inexcusable record. It is evidence of the prevailing attitude of this administration: sacrifice is demanded of those who can least afford it while the rich and the powerful increase their numbers, peddle their influence and make a mockery of our treasured ideal of government of the people, for the people, and by the people.[26]

These are strong words, illustrative of the fact that Udall is not afraid to say what he thinks. Back in 1967, he made a speech in Tucson on the Vietnam war, giving a remarkably lucid treatment of the involvement of the United States in Southeast Asia. In this speech, later included in a collection of Representative American Speeches, 1967-68, Udall announced that he had made a mistake in supporting the President's policy in Vietnam two years earlier, and he urged that the President make a major policy change.[27] The speech made national headlines and stimulated many comments admiring Udall's courage and willingness to admit he had been wrong. Udall reminisced on the speech in a 1971 article:

> Obviously if I were interested in my political future the thing to do was to shut up, even though I had misgivings. There was hardly a dove to be found in Arizona when I took that position...what I tried to do on the Vietnam war and a number of other issues (was) to lead out a little bit. I think people expect leaders to lead.[28]

Apparently Udall succeeded in "leading out" on the Vietnam issue in his district; he has been re-elected twice since then even though his opponents saw his stand on Vietnam as one of his main campaign promises.[29] The percentage of votes Udall received in the 1966 and 1968 elections, in which he ran against the same opponent, went from 59.6 percent in 1966 to 70.3 percent in 1968. (See Table 1)

His voting record (See Table 5) reflects his "change of heart" on Vietnam. In 1966, he voted for a bill to provide $13 billion in supplemental appropriations to the Defense Department, most of which were intended for the continuing support of the Southeast Asia war. In 1970, he voted in favor of the Cooper-Church amendment to limit presidential authority to conduct military operations in Cambodia (actually a motion to instruct House conferees to agree to the Senate's Cooper-Church amendment).[30] Udall also voted for most subsequent attempts to limit the war by withholding funds for it. He did not cast a vote on the motion to table (and kill) a bill to require the State Department to furnish Congress documents on intelligence, military, and mercenary operations in Laos.

Another issue which brought Udall national headlines was the case of Adam Clayton Powell. A great hue and cry arose when it was discovered that Powell had been keeping his wife, Yvette, on his payroll while she vacationed in Puerto Rico.[31] Udall offered a compromise between extreme positions when he proposed that Powell be stripped of his chairmanship of the House Education and Labor Committee and at the same time introduced a resolution to allow Powell to retain his seat in the House, pending an investigation by a select committee. Powell was very popular with his Harlem constituents, who had elected him for eleven terms, and after the session in the House, in front of busloads of angry constituents, he called Udall "a Mormon racist".[32]

Udall saw the Powell case as yet another reason to press certain House reforms. He outlined three lessons from the Powell affair in a February 1967 newsletter:

1. A standing committee on standards and conduct is needed.
2. We should have a system of public disclosure of members' outside business and financial interests.
3. The seniority system needs revision.

Udall added, "In my judgment, the Powell case would never have occurred if he had not been protected all these years by the shield of rigid seniority rule."[33]

In 1968, after Nixon had been elected, Udall made an active attempt to begin reform on the issue of leadership in the House of Representatives. He sent out a six-page letter to each "Dear Democratic Colleague" which came right to the point; its first lines were: "I want you to know that on January second, my name will be placed before the Democratic Caucus as a candidate for Speaker."[34] Udall had telephoned John McCormack the day before, Christmas Eve, to tell him that he would run against him for Speaker, an action unheard of. As Larry King put it, "Speaker McCormack had long been criticized for ineffectual leadership, but the House has never been noted for killing its kings. Few dreamed that anyone might challenge the Old Speaker."[35]

Udall was not motivated by personal ambition. In the letter to his colleagues, he noted that there were many other Democrats who might, by virtue of seniority or tradition, have more claim on the Speakership than himself, a House member for a mere eight years. To this end, he pledged in his letter:

> If on the initial balloting on next Thursday I should prevail, I will treat that vote not as a decision that I should be Speaker; I will deem it only a vote that a change is desired. And, at that point I will personally ask the caucus to re-open the nomination procedure so that other candidates can be considered with me in the final balloting.

His candidacy was, in effect, a symbolic one; he was almost certain he could not win the Speaker's chair, and a New York Times editorial the day of the ballot seemed to sum up his intentions:

> It is much better for House liberals to test their strength openly against the leadership than to engage in underground grumbling and dissidence...(Udall's) progressive convictions make him an authentic spokesman for the younger men of his party in the House.

Larry King reported that Udall went to the Democratic caucus counting on "a respectable 81 votes, the number he interpreted as honorably pledged." The voting, by secret ballot, went against him 178 to 58.

Udall continued with his work in the House, compiling an impressive record. According to the Congressional Quarterly, he voted either "yea" or "nay" in 85 percent of the 478 roll call votes of the 90th Congress (1967-68), and made his position known on 99 percent of the votes, either by pairing, announcing his stand, or answering a Quarterly poll.[37]

He sent out well-informed and thorough newsletters on the electoral college, in which he argued for direct elections of the President, on the environment, in which he talked about difficulties with funding for national parks and smog-free automobiles, and a six-part series called "Preparing for Peace."[38] They were carried religiously by his district's newspaper[39] and did much to bolster Udall's image as an articulate and thoughtful representative of the district. Arizonans fuming about waste in Congress were glad they had someone in the House who was seeking reform, who wanted to get things done, and eliminate foot-dragging procedures. They appreciated his honesty when he wrote about campaign costs in Playboy magazine, and detailed how he spent both the taxpayers' and his own money. They read his eight-page newsletter

on the fight over Colorado River water with California, the text of an aggressive speech made to the Town Hall of California in Los Angeles.[40]

The Colorado River speech detailed the long history of the water needs of Arizona as they had been frustrated by California, beginning with the compact of 1922, when the flow of the Colorado River was divided roughly on a 50-50 basis between the three Lower Basin states and the four Upper Basin states. The bill to authorize the Central Arizona Project was originally introduced in Congress in 1947, and passed by the Senate in 1950 and 1951. In the House, the bill was taken to the Interior Committee, which deferred action on it by a narrow margin. Arizona filed a Supreme Court suit. The trial lasted from July 14, 1956, to August 28, 1958, invoked some 340 witnesses, and produced 25,000 pages of testimony. In 1963, the Supreme Court handed down its decision, substantially upholding Arizona's claim to 2.8 million acre feet of water and agreeing that Arizona had just as much right to that share of the river as California had to their 4.4 million acre feet. In 1965, the Central Arizona Project received a favorable vote in the House Interior Committee, but, according to Udall's newsletter, there was a "secret decision of California's water leaders who helped block that bill in the House Rules Committee, thus preventing it from ever coming to the House floor for a vote."

This issue was used by G. Alfred McGinnis, Udall's opponent in the 1966 and 1968 elections, who criticized Udall for holding out false hopes, and declared, "I am convinced that CAP will not pass this session of Congress, nor the next, nor during any other session." McGinnis was only partly right; the bill was signed into law on September 30, 1968, by President Johnson.

Udall said in a newsletter after the bill was signed: "My days and nights (and many Sundays and Holidays) for the past five years--the busiest and most satisfying time of my life--have been filled with the problems of the big, muddy, Colorado River."[41] Udall's opponent in the 1970 election, Morris Herring, agrees that one of the major benefits Udall had brought to his district was the Central Arizona Project.

Herring adds that he believes Udall took credit for contracts which Hughes Aircraft's plant in Tucson received. Defense is big in Arizona's second district; there is an army base in Douglas (Ft. Huachuca), an Air Force base in Tucson (Davis-Monthan), and army proving grounds in Yuma. Hughes Aircraft builds missiles for the Armed Forces, for which it got $92.1 million contract in 1970. Forsberg and Gregory have a $5.4 million contract to build housing units for Davis-Monthan Air Force Base in Tucson.[42] The total federal expenditure in the district from the Defense Department during fiscal year 1971 was $348.9 million, or about $625 per person as compared to the national average of $285 per person.[43] To some extent, the high average can be attributed to the pressure of large industries in an area of low population (556,949 in 1970).

The only other nine-figure federal outlay in the district comes from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for $148.8 million in 1971. Total share of 1971 federal outlays for the second district is $731.5 million, or about $1,310 per person as compared with a national average of $1,010.[45]

Udall has been a strong proponent of environmental legislation, even when it adversely affects his district. Though there is copper mining on federal land in the second district, Udall has introduced legislation which would end the wide open mineral exploration allowed by an archaic 1872 mining law, written in the spirit of the Gold Rush in California. He doesn't think the mining reform bill will seriously jeopardize his seat, though he says,

> Some hackles have been raised and I think some money will be raised for my next opponent on this basis. But I think it's interesting to see how far we've come on environmental awareness and concern, the fact that today some Arizona guy can propose a bill of this kind and get about as many letters of praise as of condemnation.[46]

Writing to your congressman is one thing Udall does his best to encourage; his Septembe 15, 1971 newsletter was titled "Some Suggestions On Writing Your Congressman." In it, he out lined lists of do's and don'ts on writing, and said, "On several occasions I can testify that a single, thoughtful, factually persuasive letter did change my mind or cause me to initiate a review of a previous judgment."

The newsletter giving these instructions has been very popular, according to Udall. Civic, business, veteran, and labor organizations have asked him for permission to reprint it in their publications. As with many of his other newsletters, this one was printed in the Arizon Daily Star.

As chairman of the Postal Service Subcommittee, Udall had a major role in the Postal Reorganization Act. Although the chairman of the full Post Office and Civil Service Committee, Thaddeus Dulski, had introduced a bill to reform the Post Office, Udall preferred creation of a corporation and he was supported by the Nixon Administration.

The committee voted, the tally split down the middle, thirteen to thirteen, so the victory went to Dulski's bill. In December 1969, the Administration turned the situation around by converting James Rademacher, president of the 210,000 member National Association of Letter Carriers (AFL-CIO), largest of the nine national postal unions, to their point of view. With the help of organized labor and vigorous lobbying by the Administration, the bill creating a posta service corporation passed the House on June 18, 1970, after an 18-month battle in the Post Office Committee.[47]

Udall thinks that the Postal Service' performance has been very good, and commended Postmaster Winton Blount on his non-partisan role in its founding, with one exception: he thinks Blount should have resisted pressure from the White House to select certain firms to participate in the establishment of the Service.

Udall contended that Peter Flanigan, formerly vice-president of Dillon and Reed, used his position as assistant to the President to influence selection of his old firm to underwrite the $250 million bond issue which financed the new Postal Service. Udall also believed that politica considerations had been involved in the selection of President Nixon's old law firm, Mudge, Ros Guthrie and Alexander, as bond counsel for the transaction.[48] As bond counsel, Mudge, Rose could charge for their services about one percent of the total value of the bond, or $2.5 million dollars.

The Postal Service Subcommittee, chaired by Udall, initiated an investigation into the matter and concluded that political influence had been used in the selection of Dillon and Reed as bond underwriters and Mudge, Rose as bond counsel.[49] Udall was quoted in a Wall St. Journal article as demanding that the Postal Service "fire two of its underwriting firms, Dillon and Ree and Kidder Peabody, and its bond counsel... Mudge, Rose, Guthrie and Alexander."[50] The firi never came about, but Udall keeps close watch on the new corporation. "Mo has a general interest in the Postal Service. He does a very thorough job of overseeing them, despite having a good relationship with them," Udall's aide, Terry Bracy, explained, adding, "(Udall) tends to offer federal agencies voluminous guidance on bills."

Udall supported the Federal Pay Comparability Act, which provided for federal salaries commensurate with private salaries for performing similar duties. After it was passed, Udall said: I am 90 percent satisfied with the Act, except for one thing--Nixon's twist which allows him to delay pay raises." Udall added that one of the benefits of the act was that "we can avoid the annual pay fight, and the bi-annual rate fight for the Post Office Service."

Udall sees Nixon's actions in reserving power to delay pay raises as indicative of the growing power of the executive branch. He lamented Congress' lack of staff to deal with issues that fall within its jurisdiction.

Voting Patterns

		90th Congress (1967-68)	91st Congress (1969-70)	92nd Congress (1971)
THE PRESIDENT	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	79	65	23
	% Average Democratic support	56	51	47
	% Highest Democratic support	94	72	100
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	7	29	63
	% Average Democratic opposition	18	33	41
	% Highest Democratic opposition	65	64	77
MAJORITY OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	81	80	85
	% Average Democratic support	63	59	61
	% Highest Democratic support	100	93	93
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	5	13	3
	% Average Democratic opposition	21	24	24
	% Highest Democratic opposition	89	85	77
BIPARTISAN MAJORITY	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	76	82	69
	% Average Democratic support	71	70	70
	% Highest Democratic support	98	97	96
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	8	7	13
	% Average Democratic opposition	9	11	14
	% Highest Democratic opposition	29	35	44
CONSERVATIVE COALITION	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	8	11	5
	% Average Southern Democratic support	65	68	63
	% Highest Southern Democratic support	100	98	97
	% Average Northern Democratic support	13	18	22
	% Highest Northern Democratic support	83	87	86
	% MEMBER VOTED AGAINST	80	80	82
	% Average Southern Democratic opposition	22	18	20
	% Highest Southern Democratic opposition	94	78	87
	% Average Northern Democratic opposition	75	69	67
	% Highest Northern Democratic opposition	98	100	100
SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	8	11	7
NORTHERN DEMOCRATS	% MEMBER VOTED WITH	82	81	77
TOTAL FLOOR VOTES	% MEMBER VOTED	85	90	85
	% Democratic average	84	85	84
	% Highest	100	100	100
	% Lowest	31	5	20

Sources: Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92d Cong., 1st Sess., 1971 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1972), p. 81 - 110; and Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 91st Cong., 1st Sess., 1969 (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1970), p. 1037 - 1070. Bipartisan majority recorded votes are votes on which a majority of voting Democrats and a majority of voting Republicans agreed. Conservative coalition refers to a voting alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against the Northern Democrats in Congress.

> Responsibility for oversight of the Postal Service is an increasingly difficult problem, principally because of the lack of understanding of the other members of Congress...secondarily, (there is) a lack of money to provide adequate oversight of the $11 billion a year operation, employing 700,000 people. It is the second biggest business in this country and yet we have an oversight staff of three people for it.

Congress has less ability to solve contemporary problems than it had a generation ago, Udall says, giving as reasons: "executive encroachment on congressional authority, largely brought on by the weaknesses of the seniority system and the willingness of congressional leaders to depend upon the executive as their principal source of information."[51]

Lack of timely information sources is another serious problem in Congress, he says. "We badly need an information retrieval system; it would revolutionize the legislative process."

Some changes have been made in recent years to reform the House and its procedures. Most of them occurred, Udall noted, in connection with the Congressional Reform Act of 1970, and on his party's side, in connection with the establishment of the Hansen Committee on Reform of the Democratic Caucus. The Hansen Committee recommended the system in which no member could hold more than one subcommittee chairmanship on a legislative committee. It also led to adoption of a rule making it feasible to challenge the appointment of committee chairmen who normally are appointed solely on the basis of seniority.

Open voting by tellers with clerks (recorded teller voting) "has transformed the House as an institution. I consider it the single most important reform in the last three decades," Udall said.[52]

Udall notes that Congress still needs major reforms: the leadership need to work more closely with the caucus in the Democratic party, The Corrupt Practices Act (1925) needs further reform, and the Speaker and Majority leaders need a larger role as top spokesmen for the national Democratic party. He would like to see a four-year term for representatives instead of the present two years, and a mandatory retirement of age 70.

Udall feels strongly about congressional ethics. "We need to end the practice of law by members (of Congress) and involvement in outside businesses to the highest extent possible,"[53] he said. He explained that he was the father of the bill raising congressional salaries from $22,000 to $30,000 because he believed that it was necessary to reduce the indebtedness of congressmen to large donors and to enable them to cope with the semi-official expenses attendant upon being a congressman.[54]

Ratings given Udall by different political pressure groups reveal, to an extent, his ideological orientation. Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) annually rates the "liberal quotient" of members of Congress on a scale from 0 to 100. ADA favors social welfare legislation, voting rights, and reduced defense budgets. It has opposed surtax extension, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations to the Supreme Court, and the oil-depletion allowance, among other things. On a cumulative scale, using votes selected by ADA since 1947, Udall voted "right" 82 percent of the time.[55]

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA) at the other end of the political spectrum, "is firmly convinced that if a significant number of dedicated and determined constitutional conservatives are elected...they will retard , and eventually reverse, the massive movement of our Nation into Socialism and a regimented society."[56] On ACA's scale, Udall was rated zero in 1970, and his cumulative rating on 253 selected votes since 1957 is five. (See Table 4).

One of the best-established lobbying groups is the Committee on Political Education (COPE), the political action arm of the AFL-CIO. COPE endorsed Morris Udall in the 1970 elections, despite Udall's 1965 vote to retain the "right-to-work" provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows states to ban union shops. In the 91st Congress, COPE rated congressmen on their votes on issues crucial to the labor movement. Udall voted the right way from labor's

Interest Group Ratings

Interest Group	Member's Rating (%)	Year(s)
Americans for Constitutional Action	4	1971
	5	Cumulative*
Americans for Democratic Action	81	1971
	82	Cumulative*
League of Conservation Voters	76	1970
American Security Council	44	1969-70

	# Pro	# Con	
Friends Committee on National Legislation	9	2	1971
Chamber of Commerce	2	7	1969-70
National Associated Businessmen	1	10	1969-70
Committee on Political Education	9	2	1971
	48	7	Cumulative*
National Farmer's Union	27	1	1969-70
Consumer Federation of America	7	1	1971

Interest Groups

Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA). A political action organization dedicated to the principles of "constitutional conservatism" and opposed to socialism and regimentation. Based on 29 votes in the House and 24 votes in the Senate in 1971. 955 L'Enfant Plaza S.W., Suite 1000, Washington, D.C. 20024.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). A political action organization of "liberals and the politically aware" dedicated to international cooperation, economic security and freedom. Based on 37 votes in the House and 27 votes in the Senate in 1971. 1424 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

League of Conservation Voters (LCV). An organization which compiles information about congressional votes in cooperation with the Friends of the Earth; both organizations are dedicated to the preservation of the earth's resources from exploitation and irreversible damage. Based on 10 votes in the House in 1970 and 17 votes in the Senate from 1955 to 1970. 324 C St., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

American Security Council (ASC). A coalition of former military leaders, defense industry executives, and concerned citizens advocating a strong defense posture in order to deter war. Publishes the National Security Index (NSI). Based on 10 votes in the House and 10 votes in the Senate in 1969-70. 1101 17th St. N. W., Washington, D.C.

Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL). A Quaker pacifist group dedicated to the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. Based on 12 votes in the House and 13 votes in the Senate in 1971. 245 2nd St. N. W., Washington, D.C. 20002.

Chamber of Commerce (CC). A representative of the numerous Chambers of Commerce throughout the nation composed of oil, construction, retail trade and the entire spectrum of business and industry; an advocate of a strong economic system. Based on 10 votes in the House and 10 votes in the Senate in 1969-70. 1615 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

National Associated Businessmen, Inc. (NAB). A coalition of financiers, bankers and businessmen dedicated to fiscal responsibility and minimal federal spending in government. Based on 12 votes in the House and 12 votes in the Senate in 1969-70. 1000 Connecticut Ave. Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20005

Committee on Political Education (COPE). A political arm of the largest federation of labor unions in the nation, the AFL-CIO. Based on 12 votes in the House and 12 votes in the Senate in 1971. 815 16th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.

National Farmer's Union (NFU). A coalition of operators of small farms. Based on 30 votes in the House and 31 votes in the Senate in 1969-1970. Suite 1200, 1012 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Consumer Federation of America (CFA). A group of consumer organizations dedicated to protection of consumer rights and safety. Based on 8 votes in the House and 7 votes in the Senate in 1971. 1012 14th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

*Cumulative votes cover at least fifteen years, up to or including 1971, depending on length of service in Congress.

point of view 49 times, and wrong 7 times. Reflecting their approval of Udall's attitude toward labor, the Arizona chapter of the AFL-CIO contributed $1,000 to his 1968 campaign.[57]

The National Farmer's Union (NFU), which represents owners of small farms, rated Udall 100 percent in 1970.[58] This reflects Udall's concepts of the needs of his district, which boasts an average of 23.49 acres of farmland per person, as compared to a national average of 5.5 acres.[59]

The Ripon Society, though its ratings are based on five criteria which it contends are "central to the traditions and the rhetoric of the Republican Party," gave Udall a rating of 82 in 1969-70. Both the Ripon Society and Udall favor transfer of power from the executive branch to Congress, legal and economic equality of the races, and a free market system with no subsidies for inefficient business. In contrast, Ripon gave Representative Gerald Ford, the House Republican Leader, a rating of 59.[60]

Udall has received campaign contributions from several "reformist" groups because of his interest in reform of House procedures. The National Committee for an Effective Congress, which actively supports campaign spending reforms, gave Udall $1,000 for his 1968 campaign. The Detroit-based Committee for Good Government gave him $750.

Contributors to Udall's campaigns on a local level include such groups as the Colorado River Indian Tribes, who raised $250 in 1968, Doyle D. Willis, board chairman of the Sah Petroleum Asphalt Company, gave $250; Charles Richardson of the Green Valley Development Corporation raised $500; Joseph H. Allen, president of McGraw-Hill Publications and member of the governing board of Common Cause, gave Udall $250. The American Medical Association contributed to both candidates in the second district race, but they gave Udall only $500, while contributing $10,000 to Morris Herring, his opponent.

Of the total of $34,490 Udall raised for his 1968 campaign, $8,000 came from the Morris K. Udall dinner fund. The rest of the money was contributed mostly by private citizens, businessmen, and groups such as Educators for Udall, who raised $420. Exceptions

(See also Lloyd Bentsen and Walter Mondale stories, this issue.)



MORRIS UDALL

THREE HUNGRY DEMOCRATS: MORRIS UDALL

Can a congressman from a small state out West . . . ?

by Arthur Hadley

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Biography News

UDALL, Morris

ATLANTIC MONTHLY (Boston, Mass.)

Dec., 1974

Who is the six-foot-six roughhewn man with the ready grin striding off the airplane in St. Louis, Madison, Denver, Salt Lake City, New York, Phoenix, White Plains, as he seeks the Democratic presidential nomination? Is it a senator? a powerful governor? a general? a major national figure?

No.

Who is it, then?

A congressman from the small western state of Arizona, a divorced Mormon, in favor of voluntary zero population growth, a man beaten out for Speaker and Majority Leader of the House: Morris Udall. The man whose major legislation on land use has just been defeated. Is someone kidding?

No one is kidding. "The country is definitely looking for new faces," Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield said recently. He had long been urging his friend Edward Kennedy to withdraw, as he subsequently did. Commenting on Democratic hopefuls, Mansfield remarked ". . . Mo Udall, a congressman, is a man of promise, integrity and intelligence."

Senator Barry Goldwater, not normally a Udall fan, believes: "Udall might well be the answer to the Democrats' troubles in finding a presidential candidate with a new face." (Udall's sardonic response: "Look how well we Democrats did the last time an Arizonian ran for the presidency.")

This is not to say that Udall has arrived on stage to nothing but cheers. Congressional leader Wayne Hays of Ohio, a fellow Democrat noted for tart observations who had opposed Udall's efforts at campaign spending reform, remarks, "I have as much chance of being King of England as Udall does of being President. His record in the House is spotty. The Post Office bill [which made the Post Office semi-private] he elbowed through turned out a farce and a disaster. As a human being, he is a very attractive guy. But as a political strategist, he leaves a great deal to be desired."

Bernie Sisk, a senior Democratic congressman from California who has also crossed swords with Udall, believes: "He is trying for a middle-of-the-road image. A working relationship with Middle America. But I have the feeling that some of his positions are not too acceptable there."

Three major forces propel the Udall candidacy: Udall himself; the fear of many Democrats that the party will destroy itself in yet another left versus right shoot-out, giving the White House to the Republicans for another four years; and a new power rivalry between the House and the Senate.

Udall's ostensible reason for running, the cover for his campaign, is that he was asked to test his chances by twenty-nine Democratic congressmen. They were not just the usual petition signers, but rather a solid cross section of the middle management of the House: men who, while not yet senior enough to chair committees, run important subcommittees. They included Henry Reuss of Wisconsin, Thomas Ashley of Ohio, Frank Thompson of New Jersey, and Otis Pike of New York. In their petition to him last May, these congressmen wrote: "Barely twenty-six months from convention time the public is presented with a short exclusive list of 'leading contenders.' Almost every name on that list is a U.S. Senator. . . . We think it is important to look in other places including the House. . . . Historically the House—more than any other place—has produced broadly acceptable, unifying leaders. . . ."

Republican Congressman Lawrence Hogan of the House Judiciary Committee put it more succinctly after the televised impeachment hearings: "Everybody is used to seeing those clowns from the Senate on TV. The House operates with real dignity." Udall himself states: "There is great resentment in the House over the way senators' views get priority." The leading senatorial hopefuls he calls "self-anointed candidates."

Like so much of politics, perhaps too much, the statement urging Udall to run came about mostly by chance. Last spring Congressmen Reuss and Obey, both Wisconsin liberals, were standing together on the floor of the House. Obey was lamenting the factionalism in the Democratic party, and what then seemed to him to loom as "the possibility of a Kennedy-Jackson shoot-out in which everyone will get hurt." Reuss agreed. Both men fell to talking about the lack of good candidates and the Senate monopoly on media attention.

"If we could just get someone like Udall to run . . . ," began Obey. "Let's ask him," said Reuss. They walked over to Udall and asked.

Udall mentioned his star-crossed political record (defeated in the 1970 House leadership contest), and habit of backing unsuccessful candidates (Stevenson, Robert Kennedy, Muskie, a mayor of Tucson who is now an insurance salesman), and suggested they look elsewhere. He finally agreed that if they could get 10 percent of the House Democrats to ask him to run, he would. Reuss and Obey contacted friends, and within a week were back with a carefully constructed list. Udall was off. "When I first went out on the road I was a bit embarrassed. I wasn't sure anyone would show up for the press conferences."

He can be sardonic about his campaign. At an evening airp press conference in Salt Lake C in July, facing three reporters a two television crews plus a sm deputation of Democratic off holders, he said, deadpan, "It's gr to be in North Panguich again a see all you people—That's wher am, isn't it?

"If you all would like to kn about my campaign, I can rep that neither Fritz or Teddy Scoop has resigned in my fav Mayor Daley has yet to call. corporation has tried to corru me—though my wife is thinking installing a phone in the bathro so she can talk to reporters."

Humor is an integral part of a Udall argument or speech: he u anecdote and wit to convin people, a technique he learned a county prosecutor in Arizona. A he admires Lincoln for his consci political use of the storytelling te nique.

But the humor also raises qu tions about the seriousness and fectiveness of Udall's candida Stevenson got a lot of laughs, too few votes. "Mo has a wonderf irreverent, and lively mind," s former LBJ White House coun Harry McPherson, now chairman the Domestic Affairs Task Force the Democratic National Co mittee, "but he takes almost much of an insouciant view towa politics. Can he incant 'We must forward together again' for the tw hundredth time without laughing?

"How much does Udall want presidency?" asks Congressm Jonathan Bingham of New Yo one of the twenty-nine urging to run. "A man has to be sing minded almost to the point of sanity to run for President."

Udall knows these criticisms, a faces them: "I am not [Euge McCarthy," he told a group of c lege Democrats in Salt Lake. "I to win." Later he compared hims to George McGovern. "The big d ference between me and McGove He got beat. I want to win."

Larry King, the Texas writer w knows Udall as well as anybo remarks: "He pokes a little fun himself because he is self-consci But he is a man of real ambiti When he runs, he takes himself s ously." "One of the things we doing in this phase of the ca paign," says Terry Bracy, Uda administrative assistant and de fa campaign manager, "is finding how much Morris Udall wants presidency."

"He always was ambitious," s his elder brother Stewart, who h the same congressional seat bef becoming first JFK's, and th LBJ's, Secretary of the Interi "Anything I wanted to do, he wo try and do better. And he usua did, too. He is a better congressm

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than I was." The two brothers are close: "as close as Jack and Bobby" is the example they both pick.

Both brothers admit to a great deal of sibling rivalry as they grew up in St. Johns, Arizona, on a family farm. "Roots," or self-knowledge, is an important theme with Udall, who believes he gained from growing up poor in an isolated environment. He does not romanticize the problems. At the age of six, playing with a rope and knife, he was cut in the eye. The wound festered. "One of the reasons I lost my eye was because there was no good doctor in town."

Udall played professional basketball for the Denver Nuggets to put himself through University of Arizona law school. One time, a fan at court side was riding him unmercifully. Finally the fan yelled, "And what's more you're a lying s.o.b. No man can play ball with one eye." Udall wrenched his glass eye from its socket and thrust it at the heckler. "You try seeing with the son-of-a-bitch."

After World War II, the brothers practiced law together. In the tradition of ambitious small-towners, they turned to politics to give their energies broader outlet. Stewart remembers that he ran for Congress because his interests were broad and national, while Mo was interested in the law and ran for judge. Mo remembers that he was set to run for Congress but his wife didn't want to go to Washington, so he talked Stewart into running for Congress while he ran for judge.

Mo was defeated that time around for judge. Four years later he was set to run for his retiring father's seat on the State Supreme Court when his father dropped dead and the Republican governor appointed a Republican Udall, Mo's uncle, to fill the chair. "I couldn't run against my uncle, whom I liked. I resigned myself to being an Arizona lawyer. Then Stewart moved into the Cabinet and I ran successfully for his seat [in 1961]. You can't plan ahead too much in politics."

In 1966, a Udall cousin made a survey of the grandchildren of Mo's grandfather. David "King" Udall, the pioneer who settled St. Johns. He wrote: "David Udall's direct descendants in addition to the Washington Udalls include: 8 lawyers, 2 law students, 7 doctors, 2 med students, 4 Mayors, 1 City Manager, 5 Judges, 1 Medical School professor, 5 Harvard graduates, and to my knowledge not a single millionaire." They run hard, these Mormon Kennedys.

In Congress, Udall was assigned to a lesser committee, Interior and Insular Affairs, but there luck has worked for him. That committee handles land use and energy, two of Udall's special concerns, suddenly much in the public eye. His land use bill (defeated by five votes) and his strip mine regulation bill (which passed) haven't made his name a household word, but they have built him a following among planners and environmentalists. "He has done pretty damn well to move so much legislation," says Congressman Richard Bolling, Rules Committee power and author of *House Out of Control.*

However, Udall's concentration on what he calls the "three E's," economics, energy, and environment, plus political reform, are also part of his problem. "I can't be too serious about his candidacy," says one of his twenty-nine sponsors.

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UDALL, Morris
ATLANTIC MONTHLY (Boston, Mass.) Dec., 1974

"Does he have great expertise on foreign policy? Well, he can find the Middle East if it's a different color on the map. And health, housing, the plight of the city, he hasn't done much there."

Like all freshman congressmen, Udall bumbled and stumbled trying to learn. From his frustrations came the first political move that set him apart. The next term he organized a school that taught the ropes so the newcomers would not have to grope as he had. Congressman Jonathan Bingham, a new kid at the time, remembers, "Udall was always available to help me, no matter what my problem or what time." From this school came a batch of political friends and IOU's plus his first book, *The Job of the Congressman,* still the bible for new members.

In 1969, Udall made a more controversial move. A relative newcomer with only eight years seniority, he decided to run against John McCormack, the seventy-seven-year-old Massachusetts patriarch who had entered Congress when Udall was six, for McCormack's job as Speaker of the House. "When I came to Congress," Udall told friends, "Republicans had the old faces. Now it is the other way around." He made the race on principle, but ever the politician, he thought he had a respectable eighty-one votes. In the secret ballot he ended up badly beaten, 178 to 58. If being in Congress teaches a man nothing else, the saying goes, it teaches a man to count.

But in 1970, Mo Udall miscalculated again. He didn't run against Arizona Republican Senator Paul Fannin, who was seeking a second term, judging that Fannin was popular and unbeatable. (In fact, Fannin won only narrowly, against a political newcomer.) Instead, Udall ran for the number two spot in the House, Majority Leader. By then McCormack had retired—partly because of a scandal, partly because of age and pressure from younger members like those who supported Udall's challenge to him the previous year. Carl Albert, the Majority Leader, was set to move up to Speaker. Udall, along with some reporters, thought he had the votes to beat Hale Boggs of Louisiana for Majority Leader. But two forces tipped the scale against him. His fight against McCormack two years before had offended most of the House elders. And Boggs, through his seat on the Ways and Means Committee, could wheel and deal with one of the Committee's powers, that of assigning members to committees.

"I had it figured wrong, all wrong," Udall told me, involuntarily slapping his hand against his thigh at the pain of the remembered defeat. He figured he had 90 to 100 first-ballot votes; Boggs, around 70. But Boggs finished first, with 95 to Udall's 69. Other candidates dropped out, and by the second ballot Boggs had won, 140 to 88. Udall adds with a smile that about a hundred congressmen later told him privately, "We were with you to the end, Mo."

Looking back, Udall realizes that he didn't nail down his votes hard enough. He was content with verbal assurances of support, rather than pressing for unequivocal commitments. The episode left open the question, "How tough is Mo?" And in a House of egos, how many enemies has he made as he forced himself forward? "Mo can be very pushy. He wants to be Mr. Issue," says a senior congressman who likes him. "He can tend to denigrate the abilities of others whom he may see as tilling the same vineyard. He has a basketball player's elbows."

As he waged his political battles, Udall's first marriage, like so many in Washington, dissolved in 1966. After three years of bachelorhood, he married Ella Royston, a forthright person. She had worked for the House Post Office Committee for eight years, and understands, even if she does not always appreciate, the demands of politics.

By now, four years have passed since Udall's last leadership battle. Some of the congressmen urging him to run now supported Boggs then. Perhaps what one learns in Congress is not how to count, but how to remove knives gracefully from one's body. The common

(Continued from preceding page)

theme those backing Udall mention is his character. "It's not so much what Mo has done or hasn't done; it's what he is," says Bingham. "In an emergency he is the man you would choose to lead you," says James Symington of Missouri.

To call on Udall is to realize the advantage of running a campaign, or non-campaign, from the Senate just in terms of office space. The sign on the door of the small office in the Longworth building says UDALL LEGISLATIVE STAFF. Inside the partitioned mini-space, the pulsating disorder appears more like some frenetic TV director's dream of a campaign headquarters than an actual functioning organization: piles of yet to be opened mail, phones ringing too often for the small staff to keep up with them, calendars with three different speaking engagements penciled in for the same day and time, with question marks after each.

This is as it should be, reports Terry Bracy, a veteran of the Muskie and McGovern campaigns. "The staff should grow out of the candidate, not the other way around. You don't want to get trapped in an organization like McGovern, where you can convince yourself of anything." Bracy, thirty-two, a lean, intense man from St. Louis, refers to himself as "young but seasoned." Around Bracy swirl four or five other members of Udall's staff (or of the staff of the Environmental Subcommittee of the House), working part-time on issues, contacts, and speeches.

For a time, Udall was the congressional leader in the fight to keep postal rate increases from doing mortal damage to periodicals with small and medium-sized circulations. In the course of the fight he became friendly with several publishers of such magazines. In New York, Norman Cousins of *Saturday Review/World* is arranging for groups of his friends to meet Udall. Fund raising, that dirty but necessary chore, is handled by another magazine publisher, Robert Myers of the *New Republic*. Myers' effort began in the second week of July, in California, Arizona, and New York. He is certain he will have no trouble in raising the funds for travel, research, and advance to keep Udall going through the first of the year, when the major decision must be made.

The small size of the staff and its informality don't seem to impair efficiency on the road. On a two-day, three-night swing through Denver, Salt Lake City, Phoenix, and White Plains, New York, each visit, while lacking the detailed advance work and imposing entourage of the old Kennedy or Rockefeller campaigns, proceeded with at least the order one encounters in traveling with Jackson or Mondale: local political leaders out at the airport; private talks with other political powers in a hotel room later; press conferences and a radio or TV talk show at each stop; a list of the necessary phone calls to make; phones and hotel rooms ready.

"Jean, as you know I'm here in Salt Lake and heard you were in the hospital. How are you doing?" he asks Jean Westwood, Democratic National Committee chairwoman during the McGovern campaign. Earlier, there is breakfast with Utah's Senator Frank Moss, then a speech to the Salt Lake County Democratic Convention, lunch with the state chairman, a TV show, a radio show with telephoned questions, a talk with the governor, and finally a hotel room meeting with

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the younger Democrats and student leaders.

Not till Udall arrives in White Plains, where the details have been left to the staff of former Congressman Dick Ottinger, who is trying a political comeback, does the routine break down. No place for Udall to change, no press conference, no TV or radio coverage, no opportunity to meet the political leaders; when he finally wangles a room, Udall pours himself a drink of Scotch from a mouthwash bottle.

Earlier in the day, in his Salt Lake City hotel room, a group of younger Democratic leaders asked him what he thought his major handicaps were. Udall replied that, first, he was in wrong with organized labor, because he had voted for the right-to-work law. The voters of his district were for such a law eight to one, and he felt on that issue he had to represent them. He also felt that campaign reform, which he has pushed in the House, had made him unpopular with some of the party professionals. He was from a small state. He could be attacked as being unfamiliar with urban problems, though he felt land use planning included urban problems. And the fact that he was a divorced Mormon could hurt him, too.

Then why was he running?

"You have a sick apple tree. The extreme liberal sees that tree and says: 'Let's cut it down and plant a new one.' The conservative yells, 'Leave that fine old tree alone.' I guess the Udall position is, 'Let's prune away some of the dead branches because the tree is basically still strong and with help will grow.'"

On the flight east—all serious political questioning seems to be done on airplanes these days—I say: "Many of your friends, and I mean real friends, think your problem may turn out to be your own toughness."

"I talked that over with Muskie," Udall answers. Along with the late Robert F. Kennedy, Muskie, because of his pioneer battles for the environment, is one of Udall's heroes. "We agree, it's a question of balance. One of the reasons I am out here is to find out how much I can take. And getting used to four or five hours' sleep. . . . I would really like to return the presidency to the people. To have a President who could stroll around Washington. Put on a backpack and walk through the national parks. . . . I think a man who has roots doesn't have to act tough all the time. . . ."

For now, the first constituency Morris Udall will have to convince that he is "a viable presidential candidate" is the Washington press. Here he has a problem. The press is profoundly traditionalist; it tends to play follow-the-leader. The press has come to believe that Presidents rise from the Senate, or maybe from gubernatorial mansions, but House members? Even though Gerald Ford is before their eyes, it's hard for correspondents to take congressmen seriously; there are so many of them, some not more than mediocre by any standard, and some less.

However, for Udall, the times could be worse. The thoughtful press is concerned that it missed the strength first of Gene McCarthy, then four years later of McGovern; wrote off Nixon after his California defeat for governor; and was slow to grasp the dimensions of the Vietnam war. Also, being human, the press likes to be entertained as it works. With his mix of issues and wit, Udall makes good copy or a lively TV show.

It's ten in the evening at White Plains. Udall has been going since a political breakfast in Phoenix at 6:15. Three hundred and fifty Democrats, at a fund raiser for Ottinger's comeback try, are on their feet cheering. But there are a few negatives: He shouldn't have told so many jokes. People gather round him, telling him he looks like Lincoln, giving him their cards. "If you go, Mr. Udall, call me." □

Arthur Hadley, a Washington free-lancer, is covering the pre-convention campaigns of all the Democratic candidates.

Udall solicits auto workers' votes in bar

By Joseph D. Rice

On payday the workers at the nearby Ford and Chevrolet plants sometimes stop at Klein's Bar and Restaurant at 15275 Brookpark Rd., Brook Park, to cash their checks and toss down a shot and a beer.

Last night, after payday the bar had an unexpected visitor in Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., who is running for the Democratic nomination for president and is arduously purchasing blue-collar votes in Ohio's June 8 presidential primary.

Udall, accompanied by a number of newsmen and Secret Service agents, went through the bar with Bill J. Casstevens, Region 2 director of the United Auto Workers, shaking hands and promising union members they would have a friend in the White House if he wins.

Udall promised that he would lead the fight to repeal right-to-work laws if he is elected.

"I've been against right-to-work all my life," Udall said.

Later, Udall told newsmen that he expects to make Jimmy Carter's stand on right-to-work a key issue in Ohio.

The former Georgia governor and also a Democratic candidate told the Ohio AFL-CIO convention in Cincinnati yesterday he would sign, as president, a bill repealing right-to-work laws. However, Carter, has not indicated he would actively seek repeal.

Udall himself voted against right-to-work while in Congress. He has said he personally favors repeal but promised Arizona voters he would abide by their wishes. The voters there, in several elections, voted for right-to-work laws.

Casstevens said his office already has mailed out 170,000 pieces of literature supporting Udall. Casstevens and Joseph L. Tomasi, the UAW director in Toledo, are running as Udall delegates. Ray Ross, the UAW director in Columbus, is a Carter delegate. Leonard Woodcock, national UAW president, has endorsed Carter.

Despite Woodcock's endorsement, Casstevens said local UAW leaders will be "working their butts off" for Udall.



Associated Press

Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz., buys a round of drinks for a crowd of auto workers at a Brook Park tavern. He had a beer himself. It cost him $30.

REP. UDALL ON GUN CONTROL

The principal federal Gun Control law on the books is the Gun Control Act of 1968, which had originated as House Bill 17735. It was passed in its final form by the Senate on Oct. 9, 1968, and by the House on Oct. 10, 1968.

Rep. Udall voted YES, supporting President Johnson's position.

In proceedings leading to final perfection of the bill as passed, Rep. Udall had the following roll-call votes on record:

Udall votesd AGAINST an amendment exempting shotguns, rifles, and .22 calibre ammunition from restrictions on the sale of ammunition. The amendment was adopted, contrary to President Johnson's position.

Udall voted FOR an amendment setting mandatory prison sentences for persons using hand guns during the commission of a federal felony. Amendment adopted. President Jihnson supported it.

Udall voted FOR an amendment permitting the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice to ship guns through the mails to clubs participating in the civilian marksmanship program. It passed, against President Johnson's position.

Rep. Udall voted for the passage of the main bill, as amended, On Oct. 10, 1968. (Page 2886, Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, issue of October 18, 1968.)

Adoption of the final version, which was a conference report, was by 160-129. (Reoublicans 63 to 62; Democrats 97 to 67.) It banned most interstate shipments of firearms and ammunition to individuals and out of/state purchases by individuals, providing stiff penalties for illegal possession or use of a firearm during the commission of a federal felony, and prohibited the sale of firearms or ammunition to certain classes of persons.

Comment by CQ.: "Although HR 17735 did not include provision for licensing of gun owners and registration of firearms, which President Johnson had requested, it was nonetheless a much stronger measure than had been considered possible at the beginingof the year."

Since the 1968 act there has been no significant legislative moves to change the federal regulations on firearms, in 1975 there were efforts in the Senate to amend it in various ways. Although the Senate passed a bill by Senator McClure (R-Idaho) on the subject, when it reached the House it did not make the calendar.

Perhaps the most current position of Rep. Udall that seems available is attributed to a campaign statement by him by the Congressional Quarterly of April 3, 1976, page 792. Zerox copy is attached, showing the position also of other candidates.

P.R.

Following are the views of major presidential candidates on the kind of gun control legislation, if any, they favor:

Gerald R. Ford

Ford summed up his position on gun control in his Jan. 19 State of the Union address. "The way to cut down on the criminal use of guns is not to take guns away from the law-abiding citizen," he said, "but to impose mandatory sentences for crimes in which a gun is used, make it harder to obtain cheap guns for criminal purposes, and concentrate gun control enforcement in big crime areas."

Ford outlined specific gun control proposals several months earlier, in his June 19, 1975, crime message. These proposals subsequently were included July 22 in the administration's gun control bill.

Ford would ban the importation and domestic manufacture, assembly and sale of Saturday night specials; require a waiting period between purchase and acquisition of a gun to allow the dealer to check the buyer's identification; require a buyer to purchase guns personally; tighten requirements for obtaining a dealer's license; and require mandatory sentences for first offenders convicted of using a gun while committing a crime.

Ronald Reagan

"I am opposed to legislation which would make it difficult, if not impossible, for the law-abiding to own hand guns or rifles," Reagan said in a campaign statement. "I don't believe that such legislation is going to keep the criminal from having a gun."

Instead of favoring legislation banning guns, Reagan points to a California law which adds five to 15 years to a criminal sentence if the person convicted was found to have had a gun in his possession. "Gun control legislation of this sort is aimed at discouraging would-be criminals, not infringing on the constitutional rights of the law-abiding to keep and bear arms," added Reagan.

Jimmy Carter

"I favor registration of handguns, a ban on the sale of cheap handguns, reasonable licensing provisions including a waiting period and prohibition of ownership by anyone convicted of a crime involving a gun and by those not mentally competent," said Carter in a campaign statement. He has not endorsed any of the specific proposals before Congress.

Frank Church

"This is a field that should be reserved to regulation by state and local governments," said Church in a campaign statement. "Crime conditions vary greatly from state to state. Therefore, each state should be free to deal with its own crime problem in its own way."

"...To tell the people of my state that the federal government may step in and force them to be fingerprinted and examined by the police before they may own a gun is simply to ask for open defiance," added Church.

Church is opposed to all forms of federal control.

Fred R. Harris

"I support a ban on the private use of handguns—with a special exemption for collectors and target clubs," Harris said in a campaign statement. "Over 10,000 Americans a year are killed by handguns," he added. "Most violent crimes are committed with handguns, and statistics show that the private citizen who buys a handgun for protection is far more likely to use it on a friend or family member in a moment of sudden anger than a criminal."

Henry M. Jackson

"Persons who possess guns for legitimate purposes, such as sportsmen and collectors, should not be unnecessarily burdened with restrictions aimed at preventing criminal activity," said Jackson in a campaign statement.

Jackson has voted against banning the private ownership of handguns or requiring registration of all firearms. He has supported measures which prohibit the manufacture or sale of Saturday night specials.

Rather than ban the handgun, "we must improve our efforts in the area of criminal justice to get criminals off the streets and to deter the use of force and violence," continued Jackson. Accordingly, he has voted for requiring longer prison terms for those convicted of committing felonies where firearms are involved. He has also supported stricter licensing of firearms dealers and banning mail order shipment of firearms across state lines.

Morris K. Udall

"With millions of handguns already in private hands there is cause to doubt whether mandatory registration and licensing measures would significantly affect the crime rate," said Udall in a campaign statement. "But we should outlaw the sale of Saturday night specials—guns with no purpose except killing people. We should close the loophole in the 1968 Act (PL 90-351) that allows parts for cheap guns to be imported and assembled here."

"We should enforce the law which prohibits convicted felons from owning guns by requiring a waiting period during which sellers check with the police before turning over a weapon," Udall added. "We should impose stiff penalties for gun related crimes, and we should encourage the states to experiment with measures to control criminal use of handguns without denying them to hunters and target shooters...."

George Wallace

"Gun control laws take the guns away from the law abiding citizens and the criminals have them anyway," said Wallace in a campaign statement. He is opposed to gun control laws. "I believe our citizens are entitled to retain their constitutional rights to keep and bear arms. I will advocate such a policy as President," he added.

Eugene McCarthy

"The Second Amendment provides that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' In my judgment, this means that some gun-control proposals raise constitutional questions which should be resolved by the courts," said McCarthy in a campaign statement. Aides say McCarthy sees severe constitutional problems in the banning of private ownership of handguns.

McCarthy advocates several gun control measures, including registration of all guns with re-registration when ownership changes; laws forbidding sale to persons under 18, to the mentally unstable, and those with felony records; record-keeping requirements for those who sell heavy ammunition; and heavy penalties for carrying a concealed weapon.

—By Carol J. Ott

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To: Stan Eisenstat

Here is the Udall material.

S.

Boston Jewish Advocate
Feb. 27, 1976

Where the Candidates Stand on Israel

WASHINGTON (Special) — At a recent conference sponsored here be the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Democratic Presidential hopefuls all voiced unequivocal support for Israel, but showed differences under questioning.

Former Governor Jimmy Carter believes "Palestinian people" are a nation entitled to a separate state but predicated on recognition of Israel.

Former Senator Fred Harris emphasized opposition to arms sales to the Arabs. He charged the Administration with weak opposition to Arab moves at the UN.

Representative Morris Udall believes Israel should take risks for peace and lay all her concessions on the table. He thinks U.S. recognition now of Jerusalem as Israel's capital is inopportune and should wait for an overall settlement.

Governor George Wallace believes peace in the Middle East can best be won through a balance of power with the U.S. playing the role of moderator.

Senator Henry Jackson said Americans should denounce PLO for its war against Lebanese Christians. He hailed Israel as an outpost of freedom and said its conflict with the Arabs was "another manifestation of the struggle between America and the Soviet Union.

American Examiner-Jewish Week

DEC 14 1974

Udall stresses peace-seeking by negotiation

By JOSEPH POLAKOFF

WASHINGTON— Rep. Morris K. Udall (D. Ariz.) who has announced himself as a liberal candidate for the Democratic nomination for president in 1976 said Sunday that he would favor any Middle East agreement that has secure borders for Israel and some promise of stability and peace in that region. Appearing on the "Issues and Answers" television program, Udall said "we are going to support Israel," when asked about the quantity of conventional weapons the United States is producing and Israel's requirements. Udall also said that obviously the concern of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the refugees have got to be addressed and that he was prepared to negotiate with anybody to bring peace in the Middle East.

Asked which way he would opt if he had to decide between supporting Israel or oil supplies, Udall replied: "The squeeze will be on at some point undoubtedly. I hope Secretary Kissinger's effort bears fruit in the Middle East. We have got to grope toward a settlement there, but I don't think the American people, having brought Israel into being, having guaranteed its existence, are going to stand by and in terms of our own economic well being, let that little nation be pushed into the sea. I am against it. I think the American people are against it. When it comes to that, we are going to make the right choice."

Asked if he thought the U.S. should pressure Israel to negotiate now with the PLO, Udall, replied he was not going to second guess Kissinger. "These are delicate negotiations and they are under way," he added.

"Udall said further that "any agreement that has secure borders, that has some promise of stability and peace in that region, I am for."

JERUSALEM POST

AUG 14 1975

'Unnecessary pressure placed on Israel'

Rep. Udall ready to see Arafat —and do most of the talking

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Arizona Congressman Morris K. Udall — the first of eight Democrats to throw his hat into the 1976 presidential ring — is ready to meet terrorist chieftain Yasser Arafat. Yet unlike most of his colleagues who have done so, the pro-Israel legislator asserts that he would do most of the talking.

"It would be an intellectual challenge for me to talk to him," said the two-metre-tall candidate, "and to try to find out what makes people so impressed with him. But I'd tell him that he's wrong to sanction terrorist attacks, which are reprehensible in civilized nations."

Mr. Udall was interviewed by *The Jerusalem Post* this week on his first visit to Israel. "I have a fairly large and influential Jewish community in my district (in Tucson, Arizona), and they have been urging me to go to Israel to learn about it first-hand." He added that the Middle East problem would be an important issue in the American election campaign next year. (However, in all the 16 pages of campaign material and press clippings Congressman Udall handed me there was no mention of Israel, either pro or con.)

The Democratic congressman said that many of his colleagues in the Senate and House of Representatives were chafing under the somewhat "heavy-handed and autocratic" methods of President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger. "Henry is superb at negotiating in a shuttle situation and bringing people together, but he has a passion for secrecy and holding all the cards, and that doesn't work well in a democratic country where one party controls the presidency and one the legislature." Udall concurred with the notion of Kissinger as "someone who bends over backwards towards the Arabs because he is a Jew and who considers himself a grand architect of a new world order."



Morris Udall... "Israel should take risks."

The 53-year-old congressman doubted "that Kissinger will be the Secretary of State in a second Ford Administration," adding, with the determination of a hard-running candidate, "if there is a second Ford Administration."

Udall asserted that unnecessary pressure had been placed on Israel to make concessions in the last few months. "What to do is your decision to make, and America should support Israel's position." Still, he thought Israel should take risks in an interim settlement in Sinai because "there are risks also in not reaching an agreement. I think an accord is possible, but all this official optimism sometimes gets me nervous."

Asked why he would like to be U.S. president, the self-styled "liberal or progressive" said that America was seeing the "near simultaneous end of several eras — of Vietnam, the Cold War mentality, U.S. over-extension of military power, and an imperial presidency." Since the potential for change was so great, he would like to take a part in it.

President Ford "has not written off the Jewish vote in the next election," said Udall. He discounted the fear among some Jewish leaders that the post-Watergate reforms on campaign spending (which he himself worked hard to push through the House) would dilute Jewish financial and voting influence in 1976. "It will reduce larger single contributions and put more emphasis on the press, success in organization and amount of volunteering on behalf of the candidates. But the reforms will cut both ways; it will also reduce the influence of Republican big businessmen."

"Mo" Udall and his wife feel comfortable in Israel on their first visit. "After all," he explained, "Arizona is at the same latitude as Israel," has roughly the same climate, land and water shortage problems. It even has the same kind of olive trees."



Perspective

Published by the Zionist Organization of America

NUMBER 12 Washington, D. C. - February 1976

WHERE THE CANDIDATES STAND: At Union of American Hebrew Congregation sponsored conference, January 21 and 22, Democratic Presidential hopefuls all voiced unequivocal support for Israel, but showed differences under questioning.

Former Governor Jimmy Carter believes "Palestinian people" are a nation entitled to a separate state but predicated on recognition of Israel.

Former Senator Fred Harris emphasized opposition to arms sales to the Arabs. He charged the Administration with weak opposition to Arab moves at the UN.

Representative Morris Udall believes Israel should take risks for peace and lay all her concessions on the table. He thinks U. S. recognition now of Jerusalem as Israel's capital is inopportune and should wait for an overall settlement.

Senator Lloyd Bentsen opted for an "evenhanded" policy and criticized the UN for the anti-Zionist resolution and recognizing "terrorists" (he did not mention PLO).

Governor George Wallace believes peace in the Middle East can best be won through a balance of power with the U. S. playing the role of moderator.

Senator Henry Jackson said Americans should denounce PLO for its war against Lebanese Christians. He hailed Israel as an outpost of freedom and said its conflict with the Arabs was "another manifestation of the struggle between America and the Soviet Union."

PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE POLITICS: In a presidential election year, White House watchers are speculating that budget cut of ½ billion in 1977 aid for Israel was deliberately disclosed in advance of Rabin visit. (HA'ARETZ reported it on January 15.) Senate Foreign Relations Committee, however, cancelled the cut when Senators Case and Humphrey added $556.25 million in military ($375) and economic ($181.25) aid to 1976 bill to cover transitional FY quarter.

Pressure on Israel to make dramatic peace concession, possibly with Jordan, is not unlikely. On January 14, referring to planned veto of UN resolution on PLO, Secretary Kissinger said U. S. would "make efforts, when this debate is concluded, to begin the negotiating process in whatever forum can be arranged."

CONGRESSIONAL INITIATIVES: Provisions to control and reduce U. S. role as world's chief salesman of arms, especially to nations denying human rights, drafted by Senators Humphrey and Case, are included in current Senate foreign military aid bill. In the House, Representative Pierre S. duPont, of Delaware, recommended control of arms sale to Persian Gulf states.

S. Res. 351, introduced by conservative Senator Dewey Bartlett of Oklahoma, with cosponsors Bellmon, Fannin, Laxalt, Thurmond, Eastland and Domenici, provides for curbs to halt "international terrorist activities." It also calls for sanctions against nations that provide asylum and aid to terrorists.

THE CASH BOMB: Huge Arab petrodollar deposits in U. S. banks and the potential catastrophe if they were suddenly to be withdrawn or otherwise used as an economic weapon to sway American foreign policy are causing Congress serious concern. Kuwait

ZIONISM IS A BADGE OF HONOR
WEAR IT WITH PRIDE!

Morris K. Udall (D Ariz.) Voting Record 1970-74 UDALL FILE DOM.

This material is taken from the Congressional Quarterly Almanacs for the period. 1973 and 1974 (the 93rd Congress) were examined very closely; 1970 and 1971 less so. 1972 did not turn up anything of interest. The 1975 Almanac is not yet published. He missed most '75 votes.

Note: CQ "poll" for or against -- CQ sends questionnaires to all Members at the time of each recess so that any missing votes can be recorded. There is therefore ample time to adjust or change a position according to how the political winds are blowing.

X X X

1970 -- District of Columbia Court Reform and Crime Bill. A very controversial bill requested by the Nixon Administration. Provisions included elimination of jury trials for juveniles, no-knock search arrest and entry, extended wiretapping; and most controversial -- judges were given preventive detention powers for up to 60 days. House passage March 19; Udall yes; liberals (most of the members of the Democratic Study Group) voted no. Conference report, passage July 15 Udall yes; liberals (Lowenstein, Ottinger, Culver, Thompson (N.J.) against. In the Senate debate Sam Ervin had led a fight to drop the no-knock provisions; they stayed in the bill, however.

Organized Crime Control Act of 1970 -- S 30 was the McClellan bill, strongly supported by the Nixon Administration. It provided for 36-month grand juries in high crime areas; detention of recalcitrant witnesses for up to 18 months; changes in perjury and evidence rules Emanuel Cellar called the bill "repressive;" the ABA said S 30 contained "the seeds of official repression." It was thought that the bill was rushed through in an election year. House passage Oct. 7 Udall yess; Lowenstein, Bingham, Chisholm, Phil Burton, Eckhardt, Gonzalez, Carl Stokes against.

Gun Control. 1970 Amendments which exempted .22 caliber ammo from the record-keeping provisions of the 1968 Gun Control Act. Sen. Kennedy strongly opposed. Rep. Jonatham Bingham of N.Y. called the amendment "the first weakening of the 1968 law." Judiciary Chairman Cellar opposed the amendment. Udall yes; liberals opposed. Dec. 21

1971 Sugar Act Extension -- An amendment taking away South Africa's quota (June 10) because of its apartheid policies. Udall voted for the amendment with the rest of the liberals. It was rejected. House passage of Sugar bill; Udall voted yes; Chisholm, Abzug, Badillo voted against.

Nuclear testing -- Public Works and AEC Appropriations for FY 1972: Patsy Mink amendment barring underground nuclear test planned for Amchitka Island, Alaska on grounds that there was environmental danger and the test would jeopardize the current arms talks. Vote July 29 Udall no; liberals yes

1973 -- Abortion: Legal Services Corp. bill to transfer Oeo legal services to an independent agency. Two nearly identical amendments prohibiting poverty lawyers from aiding women to get abortions or to from forcing a hospital or doctor to participate in an abortion if it was against their policy or convictions. Abzug in debate said this had the effect of making it harder for poor women to get abortions. Udall voted June 21 for both amendments. Liberals against.

2 - Udall voting record

Internal Secury Committee Funding (formerly House Unamerican Activities Committee) A bill to authorize $475,000 in expenses for 1st session Udall March 22 voted yes; Liberals (Culver, Abzug, Holtzman) against (SEE also 1974)

Wage Price Controls -- A group of nine amendments to a bill authorizing Nixon to move into Phase III of his control plan The House leadership put up a substitute bill aimed at showing no confidence in Nixon's economic policy. The amendments reflected the leadership position and were concerned with various means of rolling back price increases and rent hikes to dates earlier in the year. The bill was heavily lobbied by labor and other interests. Udall voted no to all the anti-Nixon amendments except for one which ordered the Cost of Living Council to hold hearings before issuing an order reducing wages. The liberals voted yes. Udall also voted for the final weak bill and for the conference report. April 16.

Handicapped -- Transportation Appropriations June 20 -- amendment to add $3 mil. to the bills for research and development to alleviate problems of the handicapped on mass transit systems. Udall voted no; liberals (Sarbannes, Culver, N.Y. group) voted yes.

Nuclear underground explosions (Project Plowshare) Public Works and AEC appropriations -- Teno Roncalio Amendment to delete $3.8 mil. for Plowshare -- a program of underground nuclear explosions to release natural gas. Udall voted no; liberals yes, June 28.

Nuclear emissions -- AEC Authorization FY 1974: Podell (N.Y.) amendment allowing states to establish standards for nuclear plant emissions stronger than the standards of the federal government. June 25 Udall no; liberals (N.Y. and California groups) yes.

Cotton - Farm Program Extension. July 16 Bergland (minn.) amendment to strike cotton provisions (these included a $20,000 limit per farm on subsidies) and had the effect of restoring the standards of the 1958 bill which were more favorable to big cotton.) Udall voted yes; liberals no.

July 19 -- Conte (mass.) amendment to restore the cotton provisions above except for $3 mil to Cotton Inc. a promotional and reasearch group run by the industry. Udall voted no; liberals yess.

Sept. 13 -- Agricultural Appropriations - Conte amendment again -- limiting subsidies to $20,000 and to bar payment for cotton acreage allotments after Dec. 21. Udall no; liberals yes

Troop Cuts -- Defense procurement authorization July 13 Dellums (Cal.) amendment to "reduce troops abroad" by 322,000 and set a ceiling of 300,000 after FY 1974. Udall voted no; liberals (NY group, Sarbannes) voted yes

Defense Appropriations -- acceptance of conference report on $74-billion appropriation. Talcott motion to recommit (and kill) the bill after several attenpts during floor debate on passage had failed to cut the dollar amounts in the bill. Udall No on recommital; liberals yes. On acceptance of the conference report (completing Congressional action) Udall yes; libs no.

Dec. 20, 1973

3 - Udall Voting Record)

Coal -- National Energy Emergency Act -- amendment to exclude the coal industry from the provisions in the bill restricting windfall profits. Dec. 13 Udall yes; libs (N.Y. and Calif. groups) no.

Alaskan Pipeline. -- A bill authorizing work to begin and waiving certain rules relating to the pipe passing across federal land. Passage Udall yes. Hardcore liberals, who had been fighting the bill down to the wire voted no. August 2.

Public Broadcasting (fair employment practices issue) -- Amendment to withold grants for construction of new facilities until recipient is found in compliance with FEPC rules. Rejected 189-190 (July 20) Udall no; libs yes. Note one vote margin.

San Carlos Mineral Strip (compensation for grazing rights) Sept. 18 Attempt to pass a bill requiring the federal government to purchase private property on tye San Carlos strip in Arizona; bill included a provision, strongly criticized, compensating ranchers for loss of grazing rights on 200,000 acres of the strip. Because of controversy bill failed to pass. Udall voted for; liberals against. Later the compensation provision was dropped and the bill passed Congress in 1974

X 1974 X

Internal Security Committee Funding -- April 1 vote on authorization of $475,000 for expenses of the Committee (formerly HUAC) for FY 1975 Udall yes; liberals no -- a classic liberal issue.

Pollution -- Passage (May 1) of a bill authorizing the relaxation of several air pollution standard regulations and to require the Federal Energy Administration to collect information on the nations Energy resources. Udall yes; libs no. Udall had voted with the liberals on earlier amendments to drop or weaken auto emission controls except in certain heavy pollution areas.

Rent assistance -- Housing and Community Development (June 20) Amendment to exclude increases in Social Security benefits after June 1974 in computing income eligibility for public and federally subsidized housing and the amount of required rent for such housing. (Had the effect of ensuring that old people wouldn't be thrown out on the street if their social security checks increased on the cost of living escalator) Udall voted no; liberals yes.

Cotton -- Agricultural Appropriations -- Conte (Mass.) amendment to delete $3 mil in subsidies for Cotton, Inc -- a promotional and research group. Udall recorded in CQ poll No; liberals voted yes June 21, 1974

Freedom of Govt. information -- Agricultural Appropriations (June 21) Eckhardt (Tex.) amendment to delete provisions requiring the FTC to use data acquired in the line of business for statistical purposes only and to prohibit public disclosure of data other than in aggregate form. Udall recorded in CQ poll No; liberals (including Moss of California) yes.

CIA Funds -- Continuing Appropriations FY 1975 (Sept. 24)
Holtzman (N.Y.) amendment to prohibit any funds in the bill from being used by the CIA to undermine or destabilize any foreign government. Udall No; Liberals yes.

Broadcast Licenses - May 1 A bill extending the term of a broadcast license from 3 to 5 years and requiring broadcasters to follow certain rules to determine the interests of their audiences / Udall voted yes on the bill and on an earlier amendment inserting the 3-5 year increase provision in the bill. Liberals voted no in both cases.

Udall COMMENTS

TO: Steve Stark / Jody Powell / Vanden Heuvel

In Pittsburgh on April 7, Udall accused Carter of practicing "the politics of racial division" and of making "thinly veiled hints of racial division".

In Philadelphia on April 9, he said Carter's "comments and choice of words are revealing of basic attitudes".

In an interview with the editors of The Washington Post published on April 17, Udall said of Carter's "ethnic purity" statement, "It says to me that when the chips are down, if I'm a black person or a Jew, I would wonder where he was really going to be". (This was eight days after Carter retracted the statement).

On May 14, Udall's campaign manager Paul Tully said of the Michigan campaign, "We'll get most of the Jewish vote. Jews know what Carter meant by ethnic purity".

On April 5, Udall said he was "concerned by the arrogance as well as the harshness" of Carter's remarks, calling them unfitting "someone who preaches love and Christianity".

telecopied p.m. 5/18/76

UDALL DROPPING 'NICE GUY' IMAGE IN BATTLING CARTER

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

It's no more Mr. Nice Guy for Mo Udall, not with Jimmy Carter on the run and the crucial Ohio primary looming less than two weeks away .

In a tactical shift that has evolved since his suprisingly close second place finish in Michigan nine days ago, Udall is going on the offensive - attacking Carter head-on in a new media campaign aimed at capitalizing on voter uneasiness over the frontrunner's "fuzziness" on the issues.

No longer will the Arizona Democrat concentrate primarily on explaining his own positions on issues to the voters. The setbacks Carter has suffered in the last two weeks have convinced Udall that it's time to capitalize on his opponent's growing vulnerability.

Udall's campaign staff in Washington scheduled a press conference today to unveil soe tough new radio spots that will be put on the air tomorrow in Ohio - the scene of the Arizona Democrat's last major showdown against the former Georgia governor.

An equally pointed new tplevision spot is in the works, and Udall himself took to the tube last night for a five-minute speech directly attacking Carter which was broadcast nationwide on CBS.

"Who is Jimmy Carter?" Udall asked in last night's address. "What does he believe?

"You have the right to ask those questions of him, just as you have a right to ask them of me. That is what this campaign is all about, and that is why this campaign is not over."

Udall's strategists are convinced that Carter's close squeak in Michigan and his losses to Sen. Frank Church and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown, Jr. in Nebraska, Idaho, Oregon, Maryland and Nevada demonstrate the shine is off the Georgia peach.

Voters are increasingly aware of, and disturbed by, Carter's evasiveness on some issues and outright shifts on others, the Udall managers believe.

In Michigan, Udall for the first time used an "attack" ad on television, an animated cartoon portraying an alternately smiling and serious Carter while an announcer's voice recounted the inconsistencies of the Georgian's statements on a series of issues.

This commercial proved extremely effective and will be used again in Ohio - along with a new spot with a similar theme.

According to John Cebusi, director of the Udall campaign, a poll taken in Ohio the weekend before the Michigan primary showed support for Carter in the Toledo area - where voters had been seeing Detroit television programming, including the "two-faces" commercial - was running 20 points below Carter's strength statewide.

The Udall campaign has budgeted about $101,000 for radio and television advertising in Ohio, and Gabusi said there is "room for expansion" in that figure.

With Udall making only a "very minimal" effort in New Jersey and California, which will also be holding primaries on June 8, the Ohio election offers the Arizona congressman his last significant chance to prove he can come in first, instead of second, in a major primary.

Udall is also campaigning in South Dakota, where voters go to the polls Tuesday, but the state is too small to carry much weight even if he should defeat Carter there.

The radio spots played for reporters at this morning's press conference were produced by Joseph White & Associates, a small Washington firm that had previously worked for Udall in congressional campaigns.

Two of the three do not even mention Carter by name, but leave little doubt that he is their target. Both open with noisy calliope music; one evokes the old carnival "shell game" while the other talks of the circus "bandwagon" of yesteryear and the political "bandwagon" of today.

A third spot opens by asking, "Do you know where Jimmy Carter stands on the issue of oil company monopolies? Are you sure Jimmy Carter knows where he stands?"

All three are so-called "voiceover" spots, where the candidate himself is not heard but only the voice of an announcer speaking above the background music.

The "shell game" and "bandwagon" spots are especially pointed, unmistakably "negative" or "attack" ads, as they are known in the trade.

White defended the spots, saying, "Michigan showed that Carter's one real weakness is his fuzziness on the issues. We're just trying to hammer that in."

Noting Carter is not even mentioned in the two spots, White said, "If the voters react by thinking 'Jimmy Carter' when they hear these spots, it indicates the impression is already there in their minds. So if Carter complains, it's his problem - not ours."

Gabusi said Udall has cleared the new spots, just as he approved the "two faces" TV commercial which proved so effective in Michigan.

The candidate, Gabusi admitted, was initially "hesitant" about "the method" of attacking Carter for his evasiveness on issues, but not about the theme itself.

"We made sure the ads contained nothing he hasn't said before himself during the campaign, and nothing that hasn't been thoroughly documented," Gabusi said.

The Udall campaign director conceded the new advertising is unlikely to sit well with Carter, saying, "We know he's kind of upset with us."

L.A. Times April 30th

Carter Takes Bum Rap on Avoiding Issues

Remarks Touch All Bases From Abortion to Zero-Base Budgeting

BY ERNEST CONINE

Sen. Henry M. Jackson, ruminating on his disastrous loss to Jimmy Carter in the Pennsylvania primary, told newsmen that it's a sad commentary if a candidate can win the Democratic presidential nomination by fuzzing the issues, by being the "one with the biggest smile."

The Washington Democrat was reflecting the political cliche of the primary season—that Carter is a Dixie snake-oil salesman who steadfastly avoids taking a stand on the important issues facing the country.

Carter would probably be the first to admit that he is not primarily running an issues-oriented campaign. He talks less about specific programs than about honor, integrity and love—and the place they should have in government. It is probably true that most of the people who voted for him in New Hampshire, Florida, Illinois and Pennsylvania had only the foggiest of notions as to what he would do if elected President.

But close study of his remarks reveals that James Earl Carter Jr. has been taking something of a bum rap. He has talked a lot more about the issues than his critics allege. And on most issues, interestingly enough, he comes through as pretty much your standard Democrat.

If elected, the 51-year-old Georgian says he would take away tax breaks that make it attractive for multinational corporations to locate plants and jobs outside the United States. He favors national health insurance with heavy emphasis on preventive medicine. He would be more generous to welfare beneficiaries who are not capable of working, but would in effect tell the small minority of chiselers to get a job or starve.

Carter favors federal revenue sharing, but would bypass the states and distribute the money only to local governments. He supports decriminalization of marijuana and passage of the equal rights amendment for women.

The former nuclear submarine officer would not grant amnesty to Vietnam draft evaders, but would go along with pardons—the distinction being that the country should forgive the transgressors, but not pretend they did nothing wrong.

Carter condemns abortion as "morally wrong" but would not support a constitutional amendment to overturn court rulings which leave the decision up to the individual involved. Similarly, he opposes mandatory busing of schoolchildren, but would not support a constitutional amendment outlawing it. He supports the right of every American—black, white or purple—to live where he chooses. But his administration would not try to break up the "ethnic character" of neighborhoods as a deliberate government policy.

If elected, the Georgian promises in his richest Southern drawl to name at least one black American to his cabinet and others to the federal courts.

He supports common-site picketing legislation—strongly favored by organized labor but vetoed by President Ford. He would sign a bill repealing state "right-to-work" laws, which prohibit making union membership a condition of employment, but would not lead a crusade for its enactment.

Carter promises a tighter defense budget—specifically, he would kill the B-1 project—but gives no aid and comfort to those who imagine that savings would be large enough to finance otherwise unaffordable social spending programs.

Ernest Conine is a member of The Times' Editorial Board.

On foreign affairs, he agrees with practically everybody else that "detente must be more reciprocal," but rejects the "strident and bellicose voices of those who would have their country return to the days of the cold war." He says the United States must treat Third World countries with respect—but that any future oil embargo should be considered a declaration of economic warfare and dealt with accordingly.

On taxes, Carter would end the double taxation of corporate profits and dividends—a goal dearly beloved by businessmen—but would tax capital gains more heavily and generally crack down on tax shelters for the rich.

The Georgian would worry more about unemployment than inflation—but would rely more on stimulation of jobs in the private sector than upon using government as the employer of last resort.

Finally, as a central plank in his platform, Carter promises not smaller government but more efficient government. He vows to consolidate "more than 1,900 overlapping, uncoordinated and wasteful federal agencies" into about 200 more-efficient ones. He promises to promote a zero-base budgeting system under which the worth of government programs would be regularly and systematically reevaluated.

Obviously Carter does contrive to give a little to each side on most major controversies. He does fuzz up the issues. To the extent they can get away with it, so do almost all politicians. But the campaign process will force him to become more and more specific. The question is whether his popularity will hold up as this happens.

To regain the White House for the Democrats, a candidate must win back the disaffected Southerners, blue-collar workers and plain middle Americans who voted for Richard M. Nixon or George C. Wallace in the last two presidential elections. And he must do so without alienating blacks and preferably without driving away the party's affluent liberals and intellectuals.

That is a tall order. But in the primaries held thus far, Carter has demonstrated a remarkable ability to attract votes in North and South, in the city and country, from blacks and whites, from Catholics and Protestants, from people who consider themselves conservative and from people who consider themselves liberal or moderate.

His broad-based support could fall apart, of course, as his views on the issues become better known, or if he fails to live down the reputation of being a man who is on both sides of every issue. There is the further question of whether the American people, who proved in 1960 that a Catholic could be elected President, are ready for a Southern Baptist who talks unabashedly about getting on his knees to Jesus Christ.

As of now, however, Carter has the makings of a formidable candidate. The most recent Gallup Poll indicated that he would defeat President Ford by 6%. And the name of the game, after all, is victory in November.

"Udall Dropping 'Nice Guy' Image in Battling Carter
Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

Its no more Mr. Nice Guy for Udall not with Jimmy Carter on the run and the crucial Ohio primary looming less than two weeks away.

In a tactical shift that has evolved since his surprising close finish in Michigan nine days ago Udall is going on the offensive attacking Carter head on in a new Media campaign aimed at capitalising on voter uneasiness over the frontrunners "fuzziness" on the issues. No longer will the Ariz. Democrat concentrate on primarily explaining his own positions on issues to the voters. The setback Carter has suffered in the last two weeks have convinced Udall that it's time to capitalize on his opponents gruelling vulnerability. Udall's campaign staff in Washington scheduled a press conference today to unveil some new tough radio spots that will put on the air in Ohio tomorrow, the scene of the Arizona's Democrat last major showdown against the former Geargia Governor. An equally new television spot is in the works and Udall himself took to the tube last night for a five minute speech directly attacking Carter which was broadcast nationwide on CBS. "Who is Jimmy Carter". Udall asked at last nights, address, "What does he believe? You have a right to ask those questions just as you have the right to ask them of me, that is what this campaign is all about and that is why this campaign is not over."

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Celeste

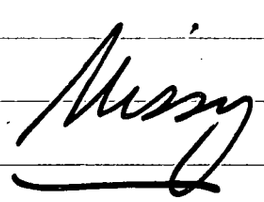
Church

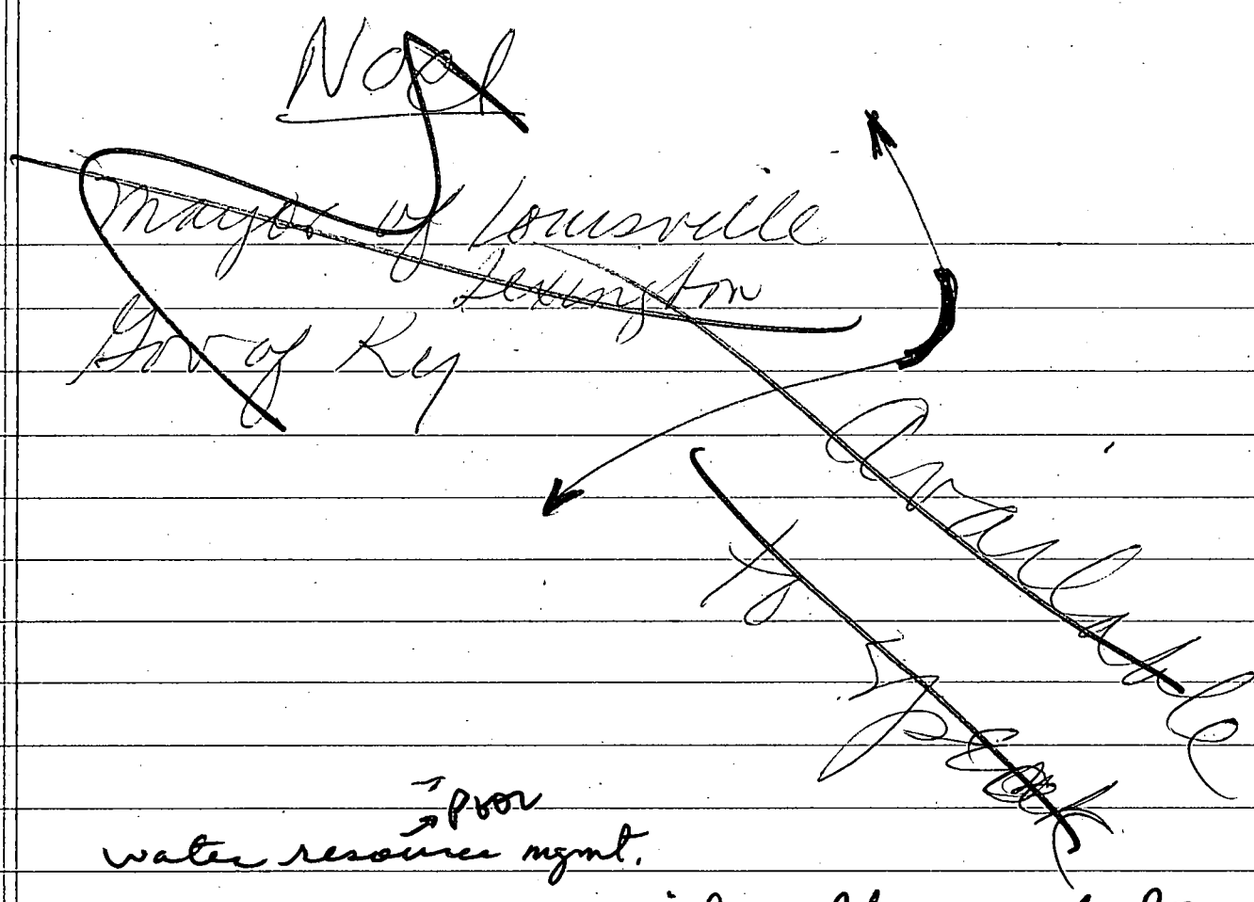
Jim Stanton

14-B
V.N. won 676869 appropriations
65' against repeal 14-B

oil co -
Iowa oil cos should be restricted
a.p. only card no divestiture

aid to cities

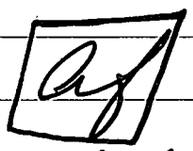




poor
water resource mgmt.

social welfare - perfect

repeal of
65' against 14B



United Alleghany

Emulate LBJ

750 5:24

who voted for right to work as a sen and led the fight to repeal it as president.

Dave Moran

LABOR VOTER FACTS ON JIMMY CARTER

Jimmy Carter
GOVERNOR

Executive Department
Atlanta 30334

January 29, 1971

Mr. Reed Larson
Executive Vice President
National Right to Work Committee
1900 L Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

RECEIVED FEB 1 1971

Dear Mr. Larson:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 13 relative to the Right to Work Law.

I stated during my campaign that I was not in favor of doing away with the Right to Work Law, and that is a position I still maintain.

Again, let me express to you my appreciation for your letter and the information contained therein.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter

C/mjp

Jimmy Carter is richest Democrat running for the Presidency in '76

Carter tried to woo working people by portraying himself as a hard-working man of the soil, a self-made man. This, like many of the other impressions Carter attempts to give, is not exactly accurate.

Carter's family has long been among the wealthiest in Sumter County, Georgia. Carter's father was a wealthy landowner and politician who made his money "sharecropping" out his land to impoverished blacks — the most exploitative labor system in American agricultural history since slavery.

When his father died, Jimmy Carter inherited a fortune, and he is today the wealthiest of the Democratic candidates for president.

Service Union Reporter

In Carter's last year as governor, Georgia led U.S. only in murder rate

Per capita income	32nd
Weekly wages in manufacturing	46th
Hourly earnings in manufacturing	44th
No. of persons below the poverty level	9th
Expenditures per pupil in public schools	41st
Unemployment insurance — average weekly benefit	32nd
Worker' compensation — maximum weekly benefit	38th
Union membership as percentage of non-farm employment	44th
Murder rate per capita	1st

Service Union Reporter

UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA
LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE



The Mo Udall Album



sunday a.m.

The Arizona Daily Star

TUCSON, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1976

SECTION G — PAGE ONE

It is better to be underestimated than to be overestimated.

David King Udall
1851-1938

By BEN MacNITT
Star Political Writer

Morris Udall stayed at campaign headquarters long after the result was known — until 3 a.m. "Until the last soldier fell," Tom Chandler recalled.

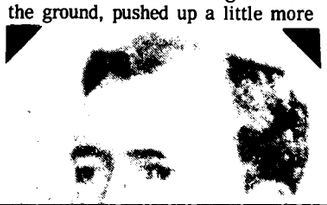
That was September of 1954 and the 32-year-old lawyer had just lost, been trounced is more like it, in the Democratic primary for Superior Court judge. The lanky 6'5" young man, who was serving his last few months as county attorney, got up and with his wife Pat, 28, went to the car to drive home.

Neither of them said much. On the way Udall saw a city garbage loader parked off the side of the road. He turned to Pat. "Shall we?" he asked. She nodded.

In the car's trunk were packets of "Udall for Superior Court" leaflets. The leaflets hit the bottom of the empty bin with a hollow metal thump.

Udall does not take losing easily. He certainly had not expected to lose that particular election. His whole life has been based on competing, on being right, on excelling, on winning. If he had won that election he probably would not be running for the Presidency of the United States today.

St. Johns, Arizona — "The land that God forgot." It's like Plymouth without the ocean. Rocks grow from the ground, pushed up a little more



joined in signing a petition to President Cleveland asking for a pardon. Additional evidence, which was not allowed in the courtroom, proved Udall told the truth when testifying for a friend in a land homesteading case.

He was convicted and began serving his sentence on Aug. 10, 1885.

On Dec. 2 he was transferred to Detroit. "While in prison I have been reading Shakespeare and reading the newspapers and studying geography," he wrote.

On Dec. 12 Cleveland signed the pardon which admitted a miscarriage of justice in Udall's conviction.

For most of her married life Ida Udall, David Udall's other wife, lived in exile from her husband to avoid prosecution.

"My grandfather went to Arizona, was persecuted because of his religion, went to jail because of his religion, was denied opportunities. I deeply understand these things," Morris King Udall says.

David Udall returned to St. Johns — "I was fired with carrying out the work of redeeming the desert." Life was difficult but the community persisted. The irrigation dam was built and washed out, rebuilt and washed out again, rebuilt once more, washed away again and rebuilt.

David Udall fathered 18 children, including Morris' father Levi.

David became president of the St. John's stake, later a Patriarch of the church, president of the Arizona Temple in Mesa and served one term in the Arizona Territorial Legislature. Lorenzo Hubbell, one of those who signed the petition in 1880 telling the Mormons to keep their wagons packed, became a life long friend. Udall admonished his kin, "Be good to the ground. It is holy. It is origin, possession, sustenance and destiny."

T

knife that he'd gotten for Christmas," Overson said, "and he said he'd hold the string up and I'd cut it. So I was cutting, and naturally the wrong direction, up instead of down, and it cut through the string and went up and hit him in the corner of the eye."

Treated with hot compresses the wound became infected and the child, after several days, was taken to a doctor in Phoenix. Within hours Morris' right eye was removed.

If he was a one-eyed lanky kid he was also fun to be around, had a good sense of humor, an early gift for organizing things and was a kid who was always busy doing something. That's how friends remember him.

There were muskrats to trap in the tall grass in the swampy portion of the farm behind the Udall house. You could send off to get the fixings for root beer and one time Morris and Charlie Anderson mixed up a batch of the stuff in an earthen crock. "I put it under my bed and it blew up, 'bout blew me out of bed," Udall said.

Then there were the rodeos and the plays and the trails and the tournaments — basketball, football, track, baseball, even golf on a course where pebbles served for a green.

The rodeos were something to do and also helped keep the kids in pocket change. During the summer the kids rounded up an assortment of calves and horses and the Udall corral became a rodeo grounds. Morris was ring announcer and rode the not-so-wild calves. To enter an event you had to pay a few cents to make up the purse for the winners. Lemonade was sold for one cent a glass and the admission price for the parents was one or two cents.

Louise Lee helped the kids put on plays in the converted Udall playhouse garage. She provided costumes and made a curtain for the

count and divided it evenly. He never did short anybody."

Whether it was pocket change from a rodeo, or later in life helping to form a bank and a savings and loan association, Udall has consistently shown an acute sense of keeping himself solvent. Not rich, but solvent.

The trait has more to it than pecuniary interest. It goes to the teachings of the church and to the life in St. Johns in the late '30s.

Richard Greer grew up with the Udalls and is now a Superior Court Judge in Apache County. He described it: "We all feel that way. We don't waste. We don't waste food, we don't waste clothing, we don't waste anything. The land, as it was developed by our grandfathers, was a difficult land to subdue. We had to dam off the Little Colorado River above town. We had to build roads with teams and scrapers. We built the early houses out of logs and mud. Everything we did was difficult. The people worked 12 hours a day, six days a week. As I say, it was a harsh land. When we were growing up we had only one pair of shoes, maybe if you were lucky you'd get some Sunday shoes. People would raise gardens and they would put fruit and vegetables in cans and can them for the winter. Kill a beef and make jerky out of it because you couldn't preserve it. It was just a difficult land. I think it creates in people a desire for thrift. I think Mo and Stewart are stingy as hell. I've never been able to understand, 'Well, they're wild eyed liberals.' They are fiscal conservatives. Go downtown (in '36 or '38) and you saw 150 men standing up against the post office."

"One learned in that environment," Udall said in a recent conversation, "that nature had first laws, that nature was bountiful and generous if you handled it right. If you planted your trees and harvested your crops and recycled your ma-

ball." Hoops nailed to garage doors or tree trunks are just about as standard as mail boxes.

The best season the Redskins had up to that time was in 1938-39 when Fenton and Morris were co-captains and kept up a nip and tuck competition for high scoring honors.

The team took 15 straight games (Morris fouling out of the Holbrook contest) and won a spot in the championship played in Tucson.

The Redskins dropped the first playoff game to Wickenburg, 33 to 26, and the St. Johns Independent News noted "Udall and Overson, the St. Johns' scoring threats, were way off form, and scored only eight and seven points respectively." Overson recalled that the team, used to playing in barn sized courts, was a bit awed by the huge University of Arizona gym. One player remarked with some wonder in his voice, "Just think how much hay you could store in here." As it was the team had a 21 and 1 season.

On the football team Udall, listed at 165 pounds, was quarterback, Overson was fullback, Charlie Anderson played right guard and Charlie Patterson was right end. "For the first time in the history of the school," the newspaper reported in '39, the Redskins were undefeated in conference play and took the title.

Athletics are part of Udall's life. Using hoops nailed to two trees outside the Udall home the boys played fullcourt games. During the fall there were pickup games of football in the field behind the house. In the spring the same field was used for baseball.

In later years, after the war, Morris was on the University of Arizona varsity basketball team, captain of the 1946-47 squad and starting center of the '47-48 team. The team was Border Conference champion. In 1949, while finishing law school at the University of Denver "he travelled with his books," as a friend recalled.

when I went off to the university and then off to World War Two I began to read widely, philosophy and history, and my mind expanded. I lost a good deal of interest in the church and really haven't been active since I went off to World War II."

Speaking about Levi and Louise Lee, Morris continued, "I think they were disappointed that I married someone who was not a Mormon. But they were — you know — there is a sense of sorrow, but they are always optimists. They thought I would always come back . . ."

In 1949 when he told Levi he was going to marry Patricia Emery of Denver, Levi asked to perform the ceremony. As Pat recalls, Morris said no to the idea and a civil ceremony was performed.

Some youthful rebellion — "He had a lot of the Old Nick in him," a high school teacher said — intelligence looking for outlet and a strong dose of mirth combined to place the son of the judge in front of the judge on three occasions.

One occured when the circus came to town with a big pipe organ built into a wagon which traveled the streets drawing attention. The pipe organ drew the attention of Udall and some of his buddies. Down the pipes went some rotten eggs. Morris was caught. Overson remembered there was a fine of $50 or $60 and a number of the boys pitched in to pay off the debt, at about $1.50 per day doing farm work.

Then there was the watermelon incident. Swiping watermelons is nothing new, but as one friend remembered "we probably over did it a little." Morris appeared before Levi and according to Charlie Patterson was fined $5 per watermelon. He had worked much of that summer knocking mortar off bricks so they could be reused and he had $90 coming to him in wages. He signed the check over to the court to pay the fine, Patterson said.

The final incident involved Broth-

changed greatly over the last 50 years although change is in the air. The house Levi built still stands, but a different family lives there. Udalls still live in the big house built by David King, directly across the street from the high school next to the church.

Levi's second farm, about a mile and a half outside town, has been sold to a subdivider who plans to build homes there for the influx of people which is just beginning with the construction of a power relay plant.

The elementary school the Udall children attended was segregated, primarily on religious grounds which were co ncincidently ethnic. That ended about 23 years ago when Judge Greer led the movement to pass an initiative to integrate the schools. The measure passed about eight to one in the Mormon portion of the town, about four to one in the Catholic community.

Greer said part of the reason he



Mo and Ella - 1972

decided to organize the initiative sprang from conversations he and Morris had. The two discussed the inequity of the situation and the fact that many Mexican-American children dropped out of high school and few went to college.

At the age of 18, in the fall of 1940,

Mo Udall—An Introduction

"Morris Udall's views, his willingness to make his position known, his actions on them, and his constant attempt to ease the legislative process to insure better representation make him one of the most respected members of Congress."

Ralph Nader's Congress Study

Born in 1922 in the Arizona hamlet of St. John's, a Mormon settlement founded by his grandfather, Morris King Udall also learned that the benefits of frontier-type life without electricity and indoor plumbing were also accompanied with inconvenience, even tragedy.

At the age of six, while playing near his home, he injured an eye. Because of the remoteness of the area, proper medical treatment was not available and he lost the eye, a handicap that did not preclude Air Force service or a later career as a six foot-five basketball star at the University of Arizona and the professional Denver Nuggets.

If he does not romanticize the setting of his youth, Mo Udall does recall it with fondness and credits the people and the environment for shaping values he later brought to public life.

"In our community," he wrote, "existence itself depended on a commitment to the conservation of scarce resources. Everything was recycled and nothing was without value."

One of Arizona's pioneer families, the Udalls have contributed heavily in the service of state and nation.

Mo's father, Levi S. Udall, was Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court. Following his death in 1960, he was succeeded on the high court by another member of the family.

His mother, Louise Lee Udall, was very active in Arizona civic affairs with an especially deep and abiding interest in Indian life and culture. Her book, *Mine and Me*, published in 1970, is a moving account of the life of a Hopi Indian woman.

Mo's older brother, Stewart, preceeded him in the Congress and later served eight years as Secretary of The Interior to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

Mo Udall has said that the force that has motivated his efforts to reform campaign laws, lobbying regulations, and campaign financing is a direct product of his father's strong opinion that politics and money don't mix. Although one of Arizona's most influential public servants for decades, Judge Udall left his wife a small pension and the family home at his death.

Discharged a captain after four years with the Air Force, Mo attended the University of Arizona where he was student body president. He graduated from the University of Arizona Law School in 1949.

Three years after law school graduation, he was elected Pima County (Tucson) Attorney. As prosecutor, Udall was instrumental in halting organized crime from making further inroads into the operation of Arizona race tracks.

After returning to private law practice, he quickly gained recognition as one of the state's outstanding trial lawyers. During this period he wrote the first of three books, *Arizona Law of Evidence*, now a standard legal reference work. He also led the successful reform effort that modernized the Arizona court system.

Although he succeeded his brother in the Congress in a 1961 special election, his margin was slim and Arizona was in the midst of a conservative political turn. Even so, Mo Udall became identified as a liberal in the House and played an increasingly important role in prodding the Kennedy Administration's legislative program through the 87th and 88th Congresses.

Never one to duck a controversial issue, Udall introduced the House's first legislation relating to the emotionally-charged population control question. In the highly active 89th Congress, he served as the Democratic Study Group's floor whip on such historic social measures as the Civil Rights Act, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Medicare, and the open housing legislation.

Though these actions led to bitter attack by the John Birch Society and other conservative organizations, he nonetheless widened his margins of victory in each succeeding election.

His record of legislative achievement in 13 years in the U.S. House of Representatives has drawn high praise, including a recent comment by Speaker Carl Albert who said, "Morris Udall has written one of the most remarkable legislative records of all time."

His years in the House of Representatives have produced two books. *The Job of the Congressman* (1966) is considered the principal "textbook" for new congressmen. A compilation of his newsletter, *Education of a Congressman* (1972), was recently called "... a splendid book, the best in years from a politician" by columnist George F. Will.

As an indication of the high esteem held for his ability, integrity, and political acumen, a group representing some 20 percent of all Democratic House members have sought him out and asked him to enter the race for his party's nomination for President.

Mo Udall—A Record of Accomplishment, A Record of Reform

Though the time-consuming demands in the House of Representatives usually afford little opportunity to work in areas outside a member's committee assignments, Mo Udall's broad interests in politics and government are reflected in his wide-ranging record of accomplishments.

Highlights of that record include:

CAMPAIGN REFORM—Mo Udall personally led a bipartisan coalition that secured passage of the historic Campaign Reform Act of 1971, the law that is directly responsible for many of the Watergate-related prosecutions. He also helped lead the fight for public financing of Presidential campaigns and the imposition of new limitations on the amount to be collected and spent on Congressional campaigns.

CONGRESSIONAL REFORMS—A student of the Congress and its procedures, Mo Udall has been at the forefront of every reform and modernization effort in the past decade. As one of the first members of the House to regularly disclose his personal and campaign finances to the public, he helped lead in the formation of the House Ethics Committee. He personally contributed to the era of reform in the House when he challenged Speaker John McCormack in 1969, one of the few such challenges of a sitting Speaker of the House in this century. Though largely symbolic, the bold move helped galvanize House reformers and directly led to the successful adoption of such key changes as the erosion of the previously unassailable seniority system, opening of secret committee sessions, partial reorganization of committees, and a tightening of the franking privilege.

THE ENVIRONMENT—As chairman of the House's principal environmental policy unit, Mo Udall has been able to reinforce his commitment to the preservation of the environment while protecting jobs and stressing the conservation and efficient use of existing energy-producing resources. His Subcommittee on the Environment has produced an impressive amount

of significant legislation including bills on land use and strip mining that have national implications. His Subcommittee has also considered and approved such innovative legislation as a non-nuclear energy research and development bill and a measure calling for conservation and reuse of present energy resources as the principal means of reducing this nation's dependency on foreign oil imports. Udall's singular role in foreseeing the inter-relationship of energy and the environment has been recognized within and outside of government. The National Wildlife Federation awarded him its highest honor in naming him Legislator of the Year of 1973. As a member of the House Interior Committee since coming to the Congress, he has taken a leadership role in efforts to expand the nation's wilderness areas and to create more national parks that are accessible to persons living in urban areas.

ECONOMICS—President John F. Kennedy called Mo Udall's newsletters about economics the best of their kind. Throughout the 1960's, Mo became one of the most vocal and articulate advocates of a new economics and of shifting national priorities to the problems of people. He was one of the early and outspoken advocates of tax and welfare reform, and he has actively sought better enforcement of the anti-trust laws, most recently by personally intervening on behalf of consumers to delay a major bank merger in Arizona.

Before most economic observers had taken note of the new energy-economics, Mo had written and spoken widely of the painful transition that would accompany "a new age of scarcity." He has proposed a long-range program to ease America out of an energy-economic-environmental crisis, and has translated that proposal into legislative initiatives on land use, strip mining, a major program underwriting new energy research and development, and the establishment of a national goal to reduce the growth of energy use to 2% a year. He has major legislative responsibilities in the energy area and is considered an expert on the subject.

Mo is also advocating a short-term economic recovery program which has the dual focus of energy conservation and strong measures to stimulate the U.S. economy. He was a member of the ten-man task force that produced the 1975 economic program for the Democratic Congress.

FOREIGN POLICY—It is unusual for a member of the House to have gained recognition on foreign policy issues. Mo Udall is an exception. At the height of the Vietnam controversy in 1967, he went to then-hawkish Arizona to tell his constituents that U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia was wrong and should be ended. He did so in opposition to the policies of Democratic President Lyndon Johnson and despite the fact that his brother was a member of Johnson's cabinet. His speech about the war was widely noted, and later included in the prestigious volume *Representative American Speeches.*

Mo Udall's legislative program to end U.S. involvement in Vietnam was ignored by the administration, and yet, six years later, a similar policy was used to bring U.S. troops home. Since 1964, his record shows that he supported foreign aid bills, voted against spending cuts that would have reduced the chances of an equitable foreign policy and urged US-USSR arms control initiatives. He has sought to check chemical and biological warfare, voted for reductions in the bloated defense budget, voted against proposals for cuts in the Peace Corps and repeatedly advocated creation of an Atlantic Union to promote peace and trade. Nearly a decade ago, he was publicly advocating U.S. initiatives to normalize relations with Communist China.

Mo's record reflects his commitment to world peace and cooperation. In June of 1974, he became the first member of Congress to express reservations about President Nixon's nuclear test ban formula. He urged in its place a reduction of tests leading to a final and total end of all nuclear explosions.

What's Being Said . . .

". . . he is a new face at a time when some Democrats think that a new face might be saleable, and he has a reputation for candor and integrity, which are counted as important political assets in the Watergate era."

R. W. Apple, Jr.
New York Times

"Morris Udall, the gentleman from Arizona, would make not just a great candidate for any party—he'd make a pick'em-up-and-run-with-the-ball kind of president. If a poll were taken on Capitol Hill among reporters who work the beat, Morris Udall would probably sweep the balloting."

Joseph McCaffrey
WMAL-TV, Washington, D.C.

"Morris Udall of Arizona is the most interesting of the 'new faces.' His voting record in the House is on the whole admirable. So far as we know he is the agent of no faction within the Democratic party and no special economic interest in the country—not oil or the banks or the defense industries or big agriculture or big labor. He is thoughtful. He writes his own speeches, which sets him apart. He has presence."

The New Republic

Paid For By Udall '76 Comm.,
Stanley Kurz, Treasurer



lot. But this inconclusive result could be conclusive if the guy with, say, 13 per cent doesn't have the money to go on to Massachusetts. Two or three guys who finish out of the money may quit."

"Are you saying that the important thing in New Hampshire is not so much to win as to survive?"

"Exactly," Udall said. "New Hampshire has rarely given anyone the nomination, and it has been the graveyard of dozens of candidates. Among six or seven candidates, the last two or three could very well get hurt."

AT THIS stage, Udall is running more against fellow liberals than the Democratic candidates of the center and right. Those struggles will come later, after each faction has chosen a survivor.

But the problem for Udall is not the election; it's getting the Democratic nomination.

Why hasn't his campaign caught on? It's a difficult question.

During his 13 years in the House, Udall has made a record as a doctrinaire liberal on the issues, a maverick reformer who has never hesitated to challenge the House establishment, and a popular politician who wins in a conservative area.

AMONG THE active candidates, he can lay claim to a constituency of his own. Environmentalists owe him for his sponsorship of a bill (subsequently vetoed by President Ford) to regulate strip mining.

On paper, Udall's weakest link is with labor, which has never quite forgiven him for voting 10 years ago against repeal of a section of the Taft-Hartley law.

As a national candidate, Udall appears to have a lot going for him. One-eyed (because of a boyhood accident), 6-foot-5 and lanky, his and his slightly shaggy hair fit his Western image, but he comes up considerably short of the cowboy stereotype.

Udall's answer to questions about his lack of progress is that liberals are reluctant to make a choice lest they wind up again with a candidate who can't win the presidency.

"Even the well-informed, liberal activists are not ready to choose," he said. "There is a great passion to win. Everywhere I go, people say, 'For God's sake, let's don't divide this time. Let's pick someone who can win.' And they're waiting."

On the issues, Udall is guided — like most of the other candidates — by the political morality of the post-Watergate era that places a premium on candor. Evasion of tough questions is no longer acceptable. The new tactic is to meet them head-on.

Standing before the senior class of the Roman Catholic high school in Nashua, soliciting votes and trying to recruit volunteers, Udall came down hard on two controversial issues. He said he opposes any attempt to outlaw abortion, because "abortion laws don't stop abortions," and that he believes birth control, by whatever means, is a matter for individual decision outside the scope of religious doctrine.

This could cost him dearly in New Hampshire, where the Democratic vote is largely blue collar, Catholic and conservative. All the liberal candidates have a problem here because Sargent Shriver, the only Catholic in the race, is expected to get enough votes to make himself look like more of a contender than he really is.

ON OTHER issues, Udall favors the so-called "full employment act" to create federal jobs and subsidize private employers who train unemployed workers. He concedes that the bill probably would be inflationary. He'd combat inflation with price controls.

Udall contends that lack of competition is the principal factor in continued inflation. In addition to imposing price controls on concentrated industries, he also would sponsor legislation to break up the oil companies.

He favors national health insurance, opposes any compromise on environmental legislation and says he would cut Defense Department spending by 10 to 15 per cent.

At this time, Udall isn't looking past the New York primary. If he still is a viable candidate at that time, he will go into Michigan. "I'd love to take on George Wallace there," he said. "Beating Wallace in Michigan (the only northern state ever carried by the Alabama governor) would be a very long stride toward getting the nomination."

Whether he could do it or not is debatable. While busing appears to be a dormant issue in Michigan now, a Wallace-Udall campaign could revive it. Udall would leave the decision on providing quality education to each community, but he makes his position clear when he says: "I believe in an integrated society. I believe than when court orders are made, they ought to be obeyed."

Page 1

'Mo' Udall aims campaign against his fellow liberals

This article continues a series of reports by The Journal Washington Bureau on the personalities and politics of those candidates who probably will run in Michigan's presidential primary

By RAY STEPHENS

NASHUA, N.H. — During the first of his presidential campaigns, Democrat Adlai Stevenson was exhorting a crowd of party workers to redouble their efforts when one of them cried out, "Don't worry, Adlai, you've got the thinking man's vote!"

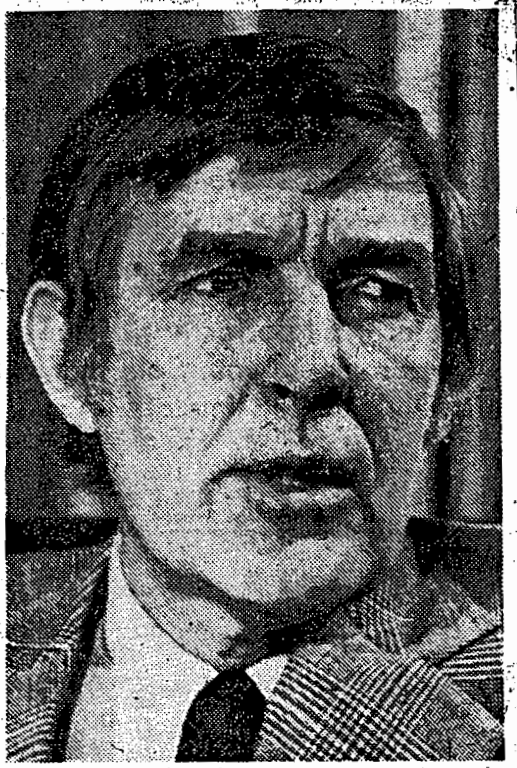
"That's right," Stevenson said, "but what we need is a majority."

Morris K. Udall likes to tell that story to workers in his campaign, but it seldom gets more than a nervous titter. That's because his workers realize that as of now "Mo" Udall would settle for a lot less than a majority in his quest for the Democratic presidential nomination.

Here in New Hampshire, as in other states where national convention delegates will be chosen early, the Arizona congressman will joyfully take a plurality, of any size, over Sen. Birch Bayh of Indiana and former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, his chief rivals for the support of Democratic liberals.

New Hampshire is the second stop in Udall's campaign strategy, which is to hang tight in the Iowa district caucuses Jan. 19 and in the primary here Feb. 24, thereby gaining strength for the Massachusetts and Wisconsin primaries that follow.

Originally, he hoped that Iowa or New Hampshire would begin the process of weeding out the liberal candidates. Udall still thinks Harris may fall in Iowa, but the late entries of Bayh and Sen. Frank Church of Idaho (Church won't be on the New Hampshire ballot) have radically changed the equation. Now Udall doesn't see Democratic liberals settling on a single candidate until after the New York primary in April.



Morris K. Udall
Hopes to survive in New Hampshire

BOTH IOWA and New Hampshire probal will wind up "in an inconclusive rat race w six or seven candidates dividing 60 per cent the vote," Udall said in an interview.

But of the two, he argues that an inconc sive victory in New Hampshire still can provi critical momentum for the leader, even if gets no more than 15 to 17 per cent of the vot

"There's a difference between caucuses a primaries," Udall said. "The primary is a apparatus of the state. It involves all the voter A lot of people who vote regularly never go ne a party caucus, so I think a primary has stature and a dignity that no caucus system c match."

More to the point, he said, "New Hampshi is going to test something that hasn't bee tested, which is money."

The congressman said he had raised almo $800,000 — "more than Bayh, Harris and Sa gent Shriver combined" — and added:

"Now, assuming the head honcho has only 1 per cent of the vote that doesn't say a hell of

2 Udall Massachusetts Consultants Head Back to Top Campaign Posts

that his firm—Martilla, Payne, Kiley and Thorne—will continue to work for the Udall campaign on an existing contract at $10,000 a month. The firm has handled such campaigns as the re-elections of Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Mo.) and Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.) and the election of Gov. Brendan T. Byrne of New Jersey.

Martilla said 10 fulltime fundraisers are being added to the campaign to try to raise half a million dollars in a four-week drive. He and other campaign leaders are to meet with them in New York Wednesday to review plans, he said.

Martilla confirmed that the Wisconsin primary on April 6, reinstated last week as a full-fledged delegate-selection primary, will be the Udall campaign's first priority now. He said the campaign would have sufficient money to make a full-scale bid to run first there.

He also expressed that sufficient money would be raised, he said, to permit "a strong Udall presence" in the New York primary on April 6 as well, including television and newspaper advertising. But Martilla said, "It's a little too early to say what we're going to do in New York."

On Saturday, Quinn had reported that any plans to conduct a full-scale campaign in New York were being subordinated to an all-out effort in Wisconsin.

Udall's prospects of scoring his first primary victory in Wisconsin are clouded by expected competition from a full field including Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, who ran well there in two previous Democratic primaries.

Jim Hightower, campaign manager for former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, said last night that Harris will run only in targeted districts in the Illinois primary on April 16 and will compete in Wisconsin April 6, largely bypassing New York on the same date.

9-7

Environmentalists Losing Battle, Udall Believes

By CHARLES SEABROOK

Journal-Constitution Staff Writer

PINE MOUNTAIN, Ga. — Four years ago in Congress, when legislation was identified as a conservation measure, passage was virtually assured.

But not anymore, says U. S. Rep. Morris K. Udall of Arizona, who is a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President.

"Environmentalists have now got their backs against the wall, and we are finding that we must compromise and not be as rigid as we were four years ago," Udall said Saturday in an address at the Georgia Nature Conservancy meeting here. Udall, whose brother is former secretary of the interior Stuart Udall, himself is a staunch environmentalist.

Udall said the main reason the environment movement is losing ground is the energy shortage. For example he said, strict environmental standards passed a few years ago are now being reconsidered and may be relaxed to cope with the problem. Critics have also blamed environmentalists for loss of jobs, at a time when work is scarce, because of their stand on strip mining and other issues.

"We find the environmental movement with less clout in national policy councils than it has had in a decade," he said.

"It was born of a time when environmentalists found it both possible and comfortable to avoid delving into the gut, controversial issues such as racial harmony and jobs," he added. "I say that day is gone."



MORRIS K. UDALL

Staunch Environmentalist

Udall accused the Ford administration of abandoning the environmental movement.

He said the movement has not yet made the transition from a negative effort to a positive one. "The problem is that once the monsters were slain — and most of them were—we do not know what to do with ourselves."

He said environmentalists now have to face up to the issues they have avoided in the past, and that compromise on environmental issues is going to be necessary if the movement is to survive.

Wa. Post 1/15

Survival Is Udall's Iowa Goal

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

DUBUQUE, Iowa—Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) stood before a small group of hardy Iowa Democrats who got up early to have breakfast with him.

The night before, Udall had been at his witty best, speaking at a large fund-raiser at the local fairgrounds, holding his own or better with six other Democratic presidential hopefuls.

At one point, he had compared the Barry Goldwater-led Republican takeover in Arizona with Custer's last stand, and said proudly that he had been the only Democratic survivor. That got a good laugh.

Now he was talking more earnestly about his prospects in next Monday's Iowa precinct caucuses, which will start the party on its long process of picking delegates to the 1976 Democratic National Convention.

"I think my campaign is catching on and doing well in other states," Udall said, "and we expect to survive here."

Survive. More than a month before the first presidential primary in New Hampshire on Feb. 24, Udall finds himself talking about survival.

He told the breakfast group that "because I'm a unifying candidate, it's hard in the early going to get intensified support. I'm everybody's second choice. If we can do well here, we can go on and do well in New Hampshire."

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But his problem, he conceded, is that he does seem to be many people's second choice.

"In the first rounds," he said, "there's an intensity factor. (Former Georgia Gov. Jimmy) Carter has an intensity of support. (Former Oklahoma Sen. Fred R.) Harris has it. (Sen. Birch) Bayh of Indiana has labor support. I've been kind of playing the field. Now I'm trying to get a first-choice constituency to get me through the early tests."

Iowa, Udall said, may clarify a couple of unknowns. One, he said, is "whether this Carter thing is as potent as it's supposed to be." There are some suggestions, he said without amplifying, "that the Carter thing may not be as deep in Iowa" as early straw polls seemed to indicate.

Another unknown, Udall said, "is how deep this Harris thing is." Everywhere, he said, one can find pockets of Harris support, but the straw polls suggest it is not widespread.

Precisely because Udall sees himself as everybody's second choice, how the other candidates fare is of extreme importance to his future.

What he has to do, he said, is hang in until some of those others with intensive but perhaps not sufficiently broad support begin to slip. The weeding-out process, he said, "will go slower than some think, maybe not until New York and Wisconsin (two primaries on April 6), but it will happen."

Some candidates, notably Carter, have said, however, that they will stay in the race to the bitter end. Is Udall among them?

"We're going to go as far as we can go," he replied, "and I feel pretty good about it. But I'm no fool. We'll reassess our position as we go along."

GOP Post

(Mich.), and John G. Tower (Tex.), chairman of the conference of GOP senators.

Asked whether he had made a deal to support either man for the top slot in return for backing for the assistant leader post, Stevens snorted indignantly and said, "No, you don't make those sort of deals on our side."

Griffin is considered the favorite of moderates and liberals for the GOP top spot.

Wa. Post 1/15

Survival Is Udall's Iowa Goal

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

DUBUQUE, Iowa—Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) stood before a small group of hardy Iowa Democrats who got up early to have breakfast with him.

The night before, Udall had been at his witty best, speaking at a large fund-raiser at the local fairgrounds, holding his own or better with six other Democratic presidential hopefuls.

At one point, he had compared the Barry Goldwater-led Republican takeover in Arizona with Custer's last stand, and said proudly that he had been the only Democratic survivor. That got a good laugh.

Now he was talking more earnestly about his prospects in next Monday's Iowa precinct caucuses, which will start the party on its long process of picking delegates to the 1976 Democratic National Convention.

"I think my campaign is catching on and doing well in other states," Udall said, "and we expect to survive here."

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CALL FOR HEARINGS ON NATURAL GAS SHORTAGE IN OHIO

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, I have called upon Chairman STAGGERS to schedule hearings in the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee at the earliest opportunity to investigate severe curtailments of natural gas supplies in Ohio.

The situation has reached critical proportions. Columbia Gas, the supplier of 60 percent of the natural gas consumed in Ohio, has cut deliveries to 1,380 large industries by 55 percent this month, posing a threat of layoffs and reduced production at a time when the economy is already in serious decline. In Toledo 189 industries are among those hit, and 1 of them has already announced that it is considering moving to Illinois, taking 150 jobs with it, because there is no natural gas shortage in that State.

Another 1,561 commercial customers, including 105 in the Toledo area, were notified of 40 percent reductions in natural gas deliveries for the balance of the winter and 15 percent cutbacks thereafter.

The impact of these curtailments on business activity could be devastating. And an immediate emergency erupted when Columbia Gas notified the public schools of the Toledo area that they would face the same 40 percent reduction in natural gas, posing the unpleasant choice between shortening the school week or running the risk to students and teachers of unacceptably cold classrooms.

I have asked the Ohio Public Utilities Commission to intercede in this matter, but clearly a solution must be found.

Mr. Speaker, at the same time that Ohio and other States are confronted with this critical problem, most States throughout the country have had no curtailment of natural gas supplies whatsoever. I believe that it is manifestly unfair for Ohio—or any other State—to bear the burden of growing unemployment, loss of industrial output, and closing of schools while neighboring States are totally unaffected. The situation is so serious in fact that a Federal Power Commission just recently urged the Governors of 12 States to declare natural gas emergencies.

I am convinced that congressional hearings must be convened as quickly as possible to explore this situation and ascertain whether there is a true shortage of natural gas and why some States have been singled out for discriminatory treatment. Representatives of the natural gas producers and distributors, State public utility commissioners, consumers and natural gas customers, and officials of the FPC and other Government agencies should be called to testify and enable us to get at the facts. If new legislation is needed, or if a change in the FPC's authority appears advisable, these and other alternatives need to be explored.

I hope that my colleagues from other States hit by this sudden crisis will join me in this call for hearings. I urge the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to expedite consideration of this emergency which threatens severe economic hardships in my congressional district and throughout Ohio.

VIEWS ON THE ENERGY CRISIS

HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, in early January the President of WTIC Radio, Leonard Patricelli, gave two editorials on the energy crisis.

Pat's editorials received an enthusiastic and warm response, and I want to share them with my colleagues and the readers of the RECORD.

[WTIC editorial, Hartford, Conn., Jan. 3, 1975]

The year 1975 could very well become the most crucial year in America's history. For the first time since we achieved independence the domestic policy of these United States is being dictated by external forces, manipulated by nations apparently bent upon bankrupting the Western World.

Since the close of World War, II, we have lived with the threat of "the bomb" . . . the ultimate weapon that could destroy us in a nuclear holocaust. Well, a different bomb has already been dropped, its inner workings consisting of oil that powers our cars and trucks, our homes and our industry. And it is resulting in economic holocaust.

In the last four years, while export prices have risen 55 percent, the income of O.P.E.C., the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, on each barrel of oil has gone up 955 percent. Translated into dollars, in just the last year alone these unfriendly O.P.E.C. nations have built up a monetary reserve of more than 25 billion dollars. If this continues, O.P.E.C. could buy out all companies on the New York Stock Exchange in nine years and all U.S. direct investments abroad in less than two years. The Western World's financial reserves will be entirely spent within—at the most—five years.

The oil-producing nations, particularly the Arab countries, are gripping our economic jugular vein and we must break that hold. At stake is not only our need for oil, but our very survival. Secretary of State Kissinger has already begun preparing the nation and the world for the possibility of armed confrontatoin if the O.P.E.C. nations are unwilling to relent in their price-gouging policies.

Other than to sink or to fight, what are the alternatives? On Monday, we'll consider them.

LEONARD J. PATRICELLI,
President, the Ten Eighty Corp.

[WTIC editorial, Hartford, Conn., Jan. 6, 1975]

When last we spoke to you of the grave consequences facing this country and the Western World as a result of the Arab oil crisis, we indicated we would explore alternatives to our economic devastation by the O.P.E.C., the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

We must begin with immediate decisive government leadership to conserve the use of oil in this country. It won't solve the problem, but it will buy time.

Let's stop talking about it—let's do it! Let us embark on a crash program, by mobilizing all of the technology at our disposal, to find new sources of oil. Let us encourage off-shore drilling, finance mass transit, and make mandatory its use wherever possible and impose heavy taxes on gas guzzling automobiles.

Again, this might well buy the time needed to harness forces of the oceans and the sun that would make us truly energy free.

Let us strongly support the statement of Secretary of State Kissinger in which he put the oil-rich nations of the world on notice that we will not permit economic strangulation of the industrialized world without taking drastic action.

One thing can be learned from our present crisis. No nation can ever be truly independent again. No one, not even the United States, has a monopoly on the world's resources, whether it be oil or other natural resources essential to our economic survival—or the very air we breathe.

We must lead the way in this fight for our very survival, and we must win. During World War II, as Hitler's stormtroopers marched across Europe, England and France were our buffers and we were their backstop. Today, there are no more buffers and there is no backstop for the United States. The Arab nations have the Soviet Union for a backstop. We have only ourselves. It is you and I—the people of America—who are the backbone and the backstop for democracy and a reasonable peace in this piratical power-hungry world.

LEONARD J. PATRICELLI,
President, the Ten Eighty Corp.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, the President of the Idaho State AFL–CIO, Bob McFarland, made a recent statement on the energy and economic situation facing our Nation. His statement needs little introduction as it speaks for itself.

I commend the following statement to my colleagues in the Congress and urge their utmost attention to its message:

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

There'll come a day when the people of this favored land will curse the Sierra Club and the Friends of the Earth and all those other ecology extremists.

It will be the day when you flip the switch and there is no light. A day when you adjust the thermostat but there is no heat or air conditioning. A day when you go to the plant or the office but there is no work because there is no power to turn the wheel or run the lathe.

This country is, indeed, facing a power shortage. It is not too far away.

Even if we started today to construct the needed facilities, it would be nip and tuck with disaster. It takes time to build a power plant; time to explore and drill for oil; time to develop new sources of energy and power.

Yet in the face of this threat, the posey-pluckers persist in battling every proposal for power plants, every effort to build an oil line from Alaska, every attempt to explore and drill for oil offshore.

They talk, these extreme environmentalists, of exotic sources of energy. They talk through their beanies. Geothermal power fully developed would provide, at most, 10 percent of our needs. Solar energy, in the present state of the art, would require a battery the size of Arizona to supply power to the city of Los Angeles.

The back-to-nature folks talk about charging more for light and gas, this to cut de-

strive to spread the burdens of recovery equitably, among all our people. I believe the proposals I have just outlined will do this, and I respectfully submit them for the consideration of the Congress and the country.

YOUNG INTRODUCES CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO CHECK CONGRESSIONAL ABSENTEEISM

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a constitutional amendment, House Joint Resolution 91, designed to check absenteeism in the Congress by requiring the expulsion by the Congress of any Member not present and voting on at least 60 percent of the rollcall votes taken during a session. The only exception would be when a Member was absent due to hospitalization because of illness or accident.

It is generally recognized that the people's faith in their governmental institutions, including the Congress, is at an all-time low. Many things are necessary to restore the public's faith in Government and an excellent place for the 94th Congress to begin is through the passage of House Joint Resolution 91.

Senators and Representatives are elected by the people to represent their interests on the national level. The election process amounts to a job contract executed by the voters. With that contract comes the responsibility of each Senator and Representative to fulfill the terms of the contract: to vote on the issues before each body, each day sessions are held. Thus, the physical presence of each Member of Congress—voting in each House's deliberations—is the only way to assure the voters that the employment contract will be fulfilled.

Voting participation statistics have not always been kept—but since 1953, Congressional Quarterly has compiled such statistics. From 1952 through 1972, the voting participation of Members of Congress has averaged between 79 and 90 percent. In 1973, the average was about 89 percent, while the average for 1974—a campaign year—was about 86 percent, or an absenteeism rate of 14 percent for the year.

Mr. Speaker, most private employers would not tolerate an absenteeism rate of 14 percent, except for extenuating circumstances. Yet, the voters who have elected each of us to the job of representing them often have to put up with an intolerable rate of truancy. The conscience of each Member of Congress should wince at unnecessary absences—absences which slow down the deliberations of both the House and the Senate—in committee work and on the floor.

These days of economic and energy crisis demand the full attention of each Representative and each Senator—more than the 60 percent requirement of my proposed constitutional amendment—a figure chosen because it usually connotes a minimum passing grade. Mr. Speaker, I urge prompt consideration of House Joint Resolution 91 by the Committee on Judiciary as another example of the willingness of the 94th Congress to fully represent the interests of the people.

A SALARY OF $82,500 FOR RTA HEAD "UNCONSCIONABLE"

HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, last spring voters in six northeastern Illinois counties voted to establish a regional transportation authority. Despite overwhelming voter opposition in five of the counties, making up the suburban area around Chicago, a heavy favorable vote in Cook County—Chicago—provided the needed majority and the RTA was established. Voters in my own county of Will voted against RTA by an 8 to 1 margin.

They seem to have had good reason. The recently created RTA board has started out spending money as if it were going out of style. The board fixed the salary of its chairman, Milton Pikarsky, $82,500 a year, which according to the following editorial in the January 23 issue of the Chicago Tribune, makes him the highest paid public official in the country next to President Ford. Even if the country were enjoying the best of times economically, the action of the RTA board would be unduly extravagant. In these times, fraught with anxiety over still climbing prices and growing unemployment, the notion that any public body would approve such a salary level for its top official is incredible and unconscionable.

The editorial follows:

$82,500—Is It Only A Beginning?

The Regional Transportation Authority board has agreed to pay its chairman-elect, Milton Pikarsky, $82,500 a year, making him the highest paid public official in the country next to President Ford.

Unfortunately for taxpayers in the six-county RTA region, Mr. Pikarsky's new salary looks like only the beginning. The RTA board also created a three-member committee headed by Ernest S. Marsh, the retired chairman of Santa Fe Industries, to determine what kind of fringe benefits should be given the new chairman and other members of the RTA staff. These fringes are likely to include health and life insurance and probably retirement benefits.

It is only reasonable to expect that when the RTA settles in to permanent quarters, the chairman's suite of offices will be lavish enough to be commensurate with a salary of $82,500 a year. And of course there will have to be a chauffeured limousine. After all, who would expect the chairman of the RTA to use public transportation?

All this does little to assuage the fear of suburban taxpayers that the RTA under Mr. Pikarsky will be a big spender. That fear was aggravated, in fact, by the report that Mr. Pikarsky went before the RTA board and suggested that his salary should be between $80,000 and $100,000 a year.

As chairman of the CTA, Mr. Pikarsky was paid $50,000 a year. Even with inflation and the additional responsibilities at RTA, it is hard to justify a 65 per cent increase in pay. And his pay will be reviewed by the RTA board every Jan. 1.

There is one way, however, for the taxpayers—at least of Chicago—to recoup something from the topheavy administrative pay burden. With RTA functioning, the next head of the CTA will not have as much responsibility as before and, as a result, shouldn't need the salary that was paid to Mr. Pikarsky. In addition, RTA eliminates the need to have an expensive board governing the CTA. By cutting the CTA chairman's salary and dropping the board, the saving would at least help to offset the cost of a well-paid RTA staff.

We hope Mr. Pikarsky will prove he is worth $82,500 a year, but he should have proved it before being paid it.

CONTINUING OUR COMMITMENT TO INEXPENSIVE FOOD STAMPS

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 23, 1975

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in this period of rising costs and unemployment, all Americans face financial difficulties. But none of us has to deal with problems as severe as those of the poor who are trying to live from day to day on a subsistence income. Surely, this is not the time to abandon our commitment to the underprivileged by charging them more for food stamps, but that is what the President would have us do.

The President's defense of added food stamp costs does not reflect any degree of sensitivity to the needs of the elderly and the poor of this Nation. For many of these people, food stamps are an essential supplement to their meager incomes. So, I strongly urge the Congress to pass the bill I am cosponsoring to block the President's automatic increase of food stamp prices to 30 percent of each recipient's income on March 1.

As an added incentive for the working poor and those receiving unemployment benefits, this bill also reduces the maximum charge for the stamps to 25 percent.

Equally important is the provision to permanently allow all social security recipients to participate in the food stamp program. Only 10 percent of all social security recipients have incomes higher than that normally allowed to qualify for food stamps so the time and effort required to remove these people from the rolls would be more costly than simply extending the program to them.

At a time when the Congress and the administration are looking for ways to stimulate the economy and return funds to the people and the marketplace, we ought not forget those Americans who have an ever-present need, those Americans who, because of inflation and rampant unemployment, are hungry and who, if the President's proposal is allowed to stand, will be forced out of the food stamp program because of higher prices.

This legislation will give them a remedy and will show that there remain a few who are sensitive to their plight. Immediate enactment of this bill is imperative.

Nonprofit Homes For Elderly Urged

Associated Press

Rep. Morris K. Udall yesterday accused nursing home operators of "trading in the economics of misery" and told a group representing nonprofit nursing homes he supported a gradual transition to nonprofit nursing homes for the elderly.

"The operator of a proprietary nursing home has a constant incentive to effect 'efficiencies' in order to protect his profit margin, which in the end mean reductions in service to the institution's residens," Udall said.

"It is intolerable for the government to continue to subsidize that kind of trading in the economics of misery," he told the American Association of Homes for the Aging.

"The transition from our current industry, in which 86 per cent of nursing homes are proprietary, to a nonprofit system will reqire time and careful planning, but it is a goal which we must set and begin moving to implement," said the Arizona Democrat, a candidate for his party's 1976 presidential nomination.



REP. MORRIS K. UDALL
. . . seeks transition

Udall Urges Break-up of Energy Firms

THE WASHINGTON POST
Wednesday, April 23, 1975

By Thomas O'Toole
Washington Post Staff Writer

In what he said would be a major theme in his campaign for the presidency, Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.) yesterday proposed that Congress break up the energy companies that produce, transport and sell the nation's oil, coal, natural gas and uranium.

"What the American people want are policies that will end special privileges and practices which stifle competition," Udall said in a luncheon speech to the National Press Club. "The American people want their government to compel competition and halt the manipulation of energy prices by all segments of the energy industry."

Udall said the energy industry meets whatever "reasonable criteria" constitute "a concentrated industry—high prices, inefficiency, lack of innovation and exploration, bloated profits and the power to control and direct the economy."

Udall said Congress should enact legislation to "break up the energy conglomerates." He said the break-up should zero in on the oil companies, which he said should not be allowed to engage in more than one phase of the oil business.

"Once this restructuring is consummated," he said, "separate companies would explore and produce petroleum, transport it, refine it and market it at retail."

Udall, who announced five months ago he would seek the Democratic nomination, urged that Congress also prohibit multiple ownership of what he called "competing energy resources." He said oil companies already own companies producing 35 per cent of the nation's coal, holding 30 per cent of its reserves and 50 per cent of its uranium reserves.

"Major oil companies which have become energy conglomerates," Udall went on, "are stifling the very competition needed to eliminate energy shortages."

Udall also said the oil import quota system should be reinstated to reduce the nation's reliance on imports of high-priced foreign oil.

"Import quotas adjusted quarterly would insure that all reductions in energy use come out of imports," he said, "rather than from reduced domestic production, as has been the case in the past year."

UDALL

Pg 2

Morris Udall Takes Aim

(Continued From Page 1-A)

nuclear deterrent." He suggested a 10 to 15 billion cut in the defense budget and said the money should be used to create jobs, schools and other domestic programming.

Udall, who like his brother was a professional basketball player, is 54. He has served in the House for 13 years. His El Paso visit was sponsored by El Paso Progressive Democrats.

Udall criticized President Ford's program to lift the ceiling off domestic oil prices. He said big inflation is the result of drastic increases in oil prices and that Ford's programs would only contribute to inflation.

On the subject of the Arab oil cartel, Udall said the United States can best deal with the situation by setting quotas on imports and using the leverage of reduced dependence on foreign oil to compel the cartel to lower prices.

Udall admitted he doesn't have a solution to the illegal alien problem along the border. He said the bracero program is not a feasible solution and that requiring Mexican nationals crossing the United States to carry identification cards is "offensive to large numbers of American citizens of Latin background."

A partial solution, said Udall, would be to separate the illegals who've "been here for some time" from the Mexican nationals who have not yet entered the United States.

He said he would "close the door on the practices of the past," regarding illegals, but also would find a way to stem the tide of new illegals.

Seeming to recognize the fact that his candidacy is given at best an outside chance of bringing him to the White House, Udall drew comparisons with John F. Kennedy's 1960 campaign in which he was a participant.

"That time we did it right." In 1968 and 1972, Udall said, "the Republicans didn't beat us — we best ourselves. I want a nomination that can pull this country back together again," he said, pledging to work with all the sometimes disunited elements of the Democratic Party.

He did, however, draw the line with George Wallace and said he would not support any ticket on which Wallace is a candidate.

He is reported by the Associated Press as tied with former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter in fourth place among leading Democratic fund-raisers.

UDALL

El Paso Times 7-5-75

Pg 1

Morris Udall Takes Aim At Business Monopolies

By STEVE PETERS

Democratic presidential candidate Morris Udall called up the ghosts of Franklin Roosevelt and John Kennedy before a crowd of supporters here Monday.

"Teddy" it was the legacy of life and evelt that he brought to business hereby took aim at the Econo monopolies of the 1970s.

nation's b concentration of the "threatens industries, Udall said, terprise i he survival of free en- he is int America," and he disclosed compel t cing legislation that will steel, auto eaking up of large oil, "I'm no drug industries."

national alking about socialism or congressn ation," the Arizona 150 gather told an audience of about Hilton Inn to receive him at the Teddy Roo I am talking about good old Udall sai elt competition."

the turn of the antitrust legislation at business the century did not hamper trust-busti th. Instead, he said, the Theodore legislation championed by brand of po oosevelt's progressive corporate les increased the value of productivi stock and increased business. and was an aid to small

He said t conglomer , under his legislation, the would be monopolies of the 70s devise a p they have three years to into numero for their disintegration a year after smaller companies, and effect. hat the plan would go into

There ha titrust legis been no significant an- and Clayto ation since the Sherman day, Udall Acts back in Roosevelt's legislation t said, and that was the 33 competing at broke Standard Oil into Udall, bro oil companies.

was secreta her of Stewart Udall who F. Kennedy of the interior in the John cited the pr administration, earlier Franklin D ograms of Kennedy and Democratic Roosevelt as examples of Applause was Party accomplishments. points, and so s especially warm at these trust-busting o it was when he spoke of style. in the Teddy Roosevelt

Udall also youth, minor pledged an effort to unite with more con rity and liberal activists Democratic p nservative elements of the big-city mayo party — such as labor and He said he st ors.

nd a reductio stands for "jobs, clean air means o ion in the defense budget as omestic prog of providing increased Udall said rograms.

e reduced b military spending should oldiers home f by bringing American "We don't e from abroad.

ermany, nor t need 300,000 troops in We need a lea or to support 57 dictators.

(Please ean, tough military and a

e Turn To Page 5-A)



MORRIS UDALL
. . . Speaking Out

Chicago Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
D. 767,793 SUN. 1,016,275

JUL 3 1975

A 'milestone' for Udall



Rep. Morris K. Udall

WASHINGTON [UPI]—Rep. Morris K. Udall [D., Ariz.] announced Wednesday he has qualified for federal matching funds in the 1976 primaries. He called it a "significant milestone" in his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Udall said he has raised nearly $300,000 since the start of the year, including at least $5,000 in donations of $250 or less in each of 20 states—the requirement for matching funds in the primaries.

Udall became the fourth Democrat to raise the required threshold money to qualify for matching taxpayer funds. All the claims are still subject to verification by the Federal Elections Commission.

OTHERS WHO HAVE raised the required money are Alabama Gov. George Wallace, who has not formally declared his candidacy, and Sens. Henry Jackson of Washington and Lloyd Bentsen of Texas, both announced candidates.

Announced candidates who have not yet raised enough money include former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford.

The government matches each contribution of $250 or less up to a maximum of $5 million for each qualified candidate.

Udall Urges Break-Up of Major Oil Companies

By REID BEVERIDGE
Of The State Journal Staff

Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) began his Wisconsin presidential primary campaign, in earnest Sunday by proposing the breaking up of the major oil companies to encourage competition and lower prices.

Udall, 52, also announced his Wisconsin campaign organization and predicted the state's primary would be crucial in deciding who will be the Democratic presidential nominee next year.

The congressman, who is the younger brother of former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, made campaign stops in Milwaukee, Green Bay, Stevens Point, and Madison during the day. His appearances here included a speech to about 450 persons at the University of Wisconsin Memorial Union and at a cocktail party-fund raiser sponsored by the Dane County Democrats at the home of Mr and Mrs. John Christianson in the Highlands.

Udall said he would like to encourage greater competition in major industries like auto and oil by breaking up the large companies.

"And we won't do it with a long anti-trust suit that takes 20 years," Udall said.

"We'll do it by passing a law through Congress. That's the quick way."

Udall proposed splitting up the four basic areas of the oil industry: production, refining, transportation, and sales.

"This way independents will be able to get into refining," Udall said. "This is as American as Teddy Roosevelt."

Udall also said he recently discovered that four oil companies own 30 per cent of the coal reserves in the United States. He said the bill he proposes also would prohibit oil companies from being in the coal or uranium business.

Udall said he would be spending considerable time in Wisconsin because he considers the state's primary crucial.

"The Wisconsin primary made Jack Kennedy," Udall said. "Before Wisconsin, Jack Kennedy was considered to be a young man who neglected his duties in Congress and whose father wanted to buy him the presidency.

"But the voters in Wisconsin saw something in him. They saw the sincerity and the qualities of leadership that we all came to know."

Among the prominent Wisconsin politicians who have endorsed Udall are five Congressmen Reps. Robert Kastenmeier of Sun Prairie, Henry Reuss of Milwaukee, Les Aspin of Racine, David Obey of Wausau and Alvin Baldus of Menominee. Also endorsing Udall and introducing him at the UW speech was Assembly Speaker Norman Anderson of Madison.

Udall said he hopes the Republicans make an issue of the Vietnam situation in next year's election. "I'm proud of what the Congress has done on Vietnam," he said.

The candidate also said, however, that he favors evacuation of refugees from Vietnam despite the high unemployment in the United States. He said this is the least to do after encouraging the South Vietnamese to support the United States for 10 years. He said he has had Vietnamese in his Washington office literally crying because of the impending death of the relatives at the hands of the Communists.



MORRIS UDALL

Udall said the U.S. should get its foreign policy objectives straight: That our interests are in the Middle East, Europe and with Canada and Japan, not in Indochina.

"We should make it clear to the Soviets and the Arabs that the existence of Israel is not negotiable," Udall said.

Election 76

Nonprofit Homes For Elderly Urged

Associated Press

Rep. Morris K. Udall yesterday accused nursing home operators of "trading in the economics of misery" and told a group representing nonprofit nursing homes he supported a gradual transition to nonprofit nursing homes for the elderly.

"The operator of a proprietary nursing home has a constant incentive to effect 'efficiencies' in order to protect his profit margin, which in the end mean reductions in service to the institution's residens," Udall said.

"It is intolerable for the government to continue to subsidize that kind of trading in the economics of misery," he told the American Association of Homes for the Aging.

"The transition from our current industry, in which 86 per cent of nursing homes are proprietary, to a nonprofit system will reqire time and careful planning, but it is a goal which we must set and begin moving to implement," said the Arizona Democrat, a candidate for his party's 1976 presidential nomination.



REP. MORRIS K. UDALL
. . . seeks transition

NYT- May 4

The Fourth Law of Politics

By Tom Wicker

WASHINGTON, May 3—"What would you do about all these Vietnamese refugees?" someone asked Representative Morris Udall just after he'd finished a brief talk to the Prince Georges County (Md.) Democratic Women's Club.

"We have no choice," Mo Udall answered without hesitation, "except to take them in and do the best we can."

Choruses of "why" and "what for" quickly rose from the attentive women—some of whom may have been aware that a job counselor in this area is giving a one-word answer—"ridiculous"—to high school seniors who are looking for post-graduate jobs.

"Gladys and I may have a different view," Mr. Udall said, smoothly taking his hostess, Representative Gladys Spellman of Prince Georges County, off the hook with her constituents. "But here's the way I see it. We get 400,000 people immigrating to this country every year. Two million of our young people reach working age every year so 70,000 to 80,000 more is not much."

(This was the day before the official government estimate of the number of incoming Vietnamese refugees rose to 110,000, with the possibility that there could be 150,000.)

"We're talking about one-tenth of one per cent of our work force," Mr. Udall went on, "and half of them are kids. It isn't a horde. It can be assimilated. This country took in 800,000 Cubans, 35,000 Hungarians. We're a humanitarian country. We got in the war in Vietnam trying to do the right thing but it was a mistake. We defoliated, bombed, made refugees—700,000 orphaned and abandoned kids. We caused great misery and dislocation and now we have to take these people in. I may have a minority view but that's my view."

This evoked scattered applause but two other things about the exchange interested an observer. The obvious hostility to the refugees of many of the women lunching in a private room of the Sam Rayburn House Office Building, as well as the practiced answer Mr. Udall had ready, suggested how quickly the refugees have become an emotional political issue—not least, surely, because of fears aroused by unemployment that reached 8.9 per cent in April.

Mr. Udall's performance, moreover, was confident and professional—protecting Representative Spellman, addressing the issue, suggesting a willingness to buck the tide. That ought to be a by-product of the kind of intensive Presidential campaigning Mr. Udall has been doing—he has been in 35 states in six months, he told the Maryland women—but some candidates never do get the knack of handling tough questions without bobbing and weaving and ducking.

Mr. Udall remains a low-keyed campaigner in an almost invisible race. When Representative Spellman introduced him to the Prince Georges group as "Stu Udall," he replied amiably: "That's my brother. I taught him everything he knows." And he likes to joke that when he told a group of New Hampshiremen that he had just announced for President, one of them replied: "We know. We were laughing about it last night."

Right now, the Arizona Congressman and brother of the former Secretary of the Interior in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations is buoyed by what he believes is a "big score" among political leaders in Wisconsin, which holds an important primary, and by a poll in the weekly New Hampshire Times that he said put him "two-to-one ahead of the next Democrat."

Nevertheless, Mr. Udall still confronts—and is constantly trying to dispel—a major obstacle in what he calls the "conventional wisdom" that none of the numerous Democratic candidates can win the nomination in the primaries, and that the national convention will have to turn to others for a "brokered ticket."

"Udall's Fourth Law of Politics," he told the Maryland women, is that if you can find something everyone agrees on, it's wrong. And the conventional wisdom is just as wrong this year as it was in 1972, when nobody believed George McGovern could be nominated and everybody thought Richard Nixon could be beaten."

Mr. Udall believes that by the time the primaries begin next year, the leading candidates will be generally acknowledged: Governor George Wallace, Senator Henry M. Jackson and himself. All other prospects, he thinks, are moving too late or offering too little.

"The brokered convention is a myth," he insists. "They aren't going to find anybody named John Fitzgerald Franklin Delano Jones. The candidate will not emerge from a cloud but from the primaries." Mo Udall well knows, of course, that the Fifth Law of Politics is that it's hard to convince people of the Fourth.

IN THE NATION

Udall's law: If you can find something that everyone agrees on, it's wrong.

Other Candidates file
Udall 9-1

Morris K. Udall

Our Responsible Ecologists

Dr. Marion Clawson's recent comment in these columns on the focus of environmentalism was thoughtful — but quite possibly misleading.

His five-fold method of analyzing environmental and related facets of government action is a sound and practical formulation. Environmentalists and industry (which has been considerably slower in responding) must view public policy in a way that recognizes the inextricable interdependence of the critical three E's — energy, the environment and the economy.

The writer is a Democratic congressman from Arizona and an announced presidential candidate.

I fear that Dr. Clawson's article may mislead some as to the level of sophistication already achieved by most environmentalists. He sets up something of a straw man by characterizing the broad range of concerned people known as "environmentalists" as narrow-minded obstructionists. Of course there are some "environmentalists" who simplistically view only the physical impacts of any issue as controlling. But it is a myth to brand the most significant environmental concepts being advanced at a national level, or the people who advanced them, as being wed to a stand-still philosophy in which human needs are ignored. I would hope that Dr. Clawson's observations do not lead less informed observers to accept the unfair stereotyping issuing from the most reactionary elements of industry and government.

Taking Exception

The heavy fire Dr. Clawson directs at the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 seems to me to overlook the context in which that law was enacted — a history of public actions which persistently ignored environmental degradation except as an "unavoidable side effect" acknowledged once a course of action was set.

NEPA dictates no particular action. As interpreted by the courts, it merely insists that government consider in good faith the impacts of its actions, and the means available to mitigate those impacts. To the extent that it is "single tracked," it is so only because it deals with the one major factor which had been largely ignored.

Examples of the multi-phase thinking Dr. Clawson advocates may be found in two major legislative efforts with which I am currently involved — strip mining and land use planning.

At the end of the 93d Congress, President Ford vetoed the product of two years of precisely the kind of interdisciplinary consideration Dr. Clawson propounds. We in the Congress were painfully careful to craft a bill which reflects social and economic realities as well as physical "environmental" concerns.

In so doing, we addressed ourselves squarely to the fact that half our coal is currently being strip mined and that we have an enormous capital investment in this technology. The regulatory bill which resulted strikes a sensible balance among (1) the very real need to develop energy sources, (2) the need to achieve such production at reasonable dollar cost, and (3) the need to leave affected lands and waters in a condition that would permit future productivity — certainly a major ecological consideration, and one within the bounds of Dr. Clawson's definition.

This attempt to promote a rational energy policy also addresses other social realities, especially the benefits to our nation of preserving the traditional economic bases of both eastern and western coal lands. Unlike some of the groups involved in developing this legislation, the environmentalists demonstrated particular concern for the human impact of suddenly shifting energy production, and with it industrial activity, from the East to the West.

Land use planning also embodies much more sophisticated concerns than the simple question of preserving unspoiled areas. Yet here, too, a myth has been fostered that the "environmentalism" embodied in this notion is a panicky "no growth" philosophy.

In fact, a sound land use planning process is rational development's greatest ally. Far from halting economic advancement, it brings to bear the full force of human ingenuity to assure maximum social productivity in such development. Yes, it would halt some projects — the kind of highly speculative, short-range enterprises which have brought us leap-frog housing development, wasteful transportation patterns and dying inner cities.

It is, in short, the very apprach proposed by Dr. Clawson.

My point is not that Dr. Clawson errs in his analytical framework, but that he is wrong in identifying environmentalists as the villains in our current problems. These problems can be corrected, and future problems avoided, if we recognize that an "environmental orientation" is nothing more than a tough and resolute analysis of the true costs — the complete costs—of any such actions.

Misinterpreting the nature of today's environmentalists encourages those who would reject our maturing ability to consider the consequences of our acts — an error whose magnitude would become clear only gradually, and perhaps too late.

The Wall Street Journal 9/16/75

an a Divorced Mormon Who Is rom Arizona Become President?

Continued From First Page

yn the importance of the how, these rvers say.

What's more, they said, Rep. Udall has ied his Interior Committee assignment beyond bird sanctuaries into oil fields, mines and nuclear generating plants, nd frills and into fundamental problems conomic growth and its limits.

"We need to adopt a new ethic," Rep. l wrote last year, "an ethic of conser-on, of saving, of using everything to the imum. We must realize that the re-ces of our tiny planet are finite. We make every bit count. This will mean nd to the ethic of waste, the 'throwaway omy,' that we have had for so many s when we thought our resources were r-ending."

hile many Americans don't agree with solutions—small cars, small homes, l families—few would deny that these asic issues and ones that Mo Udall rec-ed ahead of most of his colleagues.

nd unlike many of them, Rep. Udall t been willing to restrict his focus to reas of expertise. Instead, through letters to his constituents, he has tried hool himself and the voters in such sub-as the Vietnam war, the arms race, care, civil rights and economics.

fo isn't a dilettante, he's a generalist," Rep. Frank Thompson, a New Jersey crat.

e newsletters, which he writes himself, l several things about the author. One t he isn't ashamed to admit error. June 1965, Rep. Udall wrote that Pres-Johnson deserved "our loyalty and rt" for his Vietnam-war policy. In Oc-1967, the Arizonan told an audience in strict (and later his newsletter read-"I have come here tonight to say as y and as simply as I can that I was two years ago, and I firmly believe dent Johnson's advisers are wrong

has a way of cutting through to the of the matter, his advocates say. he says the basic problem of the envi-nt isn't controlling strip mining or se but "how can we—humanely and regard for basic human rights—stabi-e world's population."

ile Rep. Udall's newsletters indicate a rying to educate himself in a variety ues, they also indicate that night isn't as good as going to school full-Because he hasn't been involved in the construction of bills directly affecting n policy, the economy, and the cities, ers say, his grasp of these subjects is re than his grasp of energy and the nment.

help smooth out the business cycle, he in 1969, Congress might permit the ent to propose changes in income taxes up or down. Congress would bind it-vote on the proposal in, say, 60 days.

iption: Trustbusting

his other duties haven't left him time elop intriguing ideas like this. And at he is running hard for President, escription for the economy comes translates neatly into presidential success. A whiz as Senate majority leader, President Johnson couldn't bring himself to face up to reality in Vietnam. Harry Truman is accounted a mediocre Senator by many who also give him high marks for his presidency.

In the House, success seems to come to two types. Carl Albert of Oklahoma is Speaker because he never offended anyone. Phillip Burton of California is chairman of the Democratic Caucus because he memorized precinct maps, learned the strengths and weaknesses of 290 colleagues, squirreled away tiny bits of information, and worked at it 23 hours a day.

It isn't that Mo Udall is lazy. But the Burton style just isn't his. "I think maybe we'd be better off to have Presidents who aren't so intense and who don't work 24 hours a day and so on," Rep. Udall said last year. "Anyone who works that hard will lose his perspective."

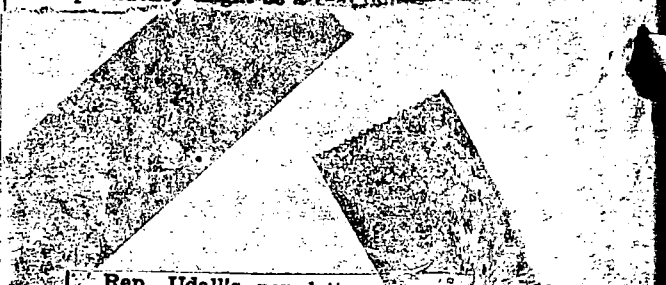
A "Symbolic" Challenge

Nor can he be accused of overcaution. When Rep. Udall broke with President Johnson on the war, Stewart Udall was a member of the Johnson Cabinet. Mo Udall won the enmity of many senior House members in 1968 for mounting a "symbolic" challenge to John McCormack's reelection as Speaker. He steered a politically unpopular congressional pay rise through the House because he believed that underpaid Congressmen are likely to be influenced by overrich interest groups. He told his fellow environmentalists last year that "we have been too negative, too elitist, too self-centered." Although he himself has six children, he was the first House member to sponsor birth-control legislation. And in 1966, an election year, he called for a tax *increase* to fight inflation.

Some would call it courage, others foolishness. Rep. Udall says he has been "tested and tempered" by his defeats in the House. In addition to these, he has had the personal sorrows of losing an eye in a childhood accident and having a marriage fail after 17 years. (He has since remarried.)

Despite the sorrows and defeats, Mo Udall remains, at 53, an optimist about other men. At a campaign lunch recently in Quincy, Mass., he said: "The American people are ready for a new surge of creative activity like Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal."

If he is right about the people, then Mo Udall might be just the man in the White House after 1976. If he is wrong—if the people have turned pessimistic and grown tired of Washington-inspired activity—then a Udall presidency might be a real flop.



Rep. Udall's newsletters and speeches also demonstrate a streak of eloquence rare in House members. In urging the House this year to override President Ford's veto of the strip-mine bill, he appealed to his colleagues to "do the right thing for our country, for the land.

"And then," he continued, "someday one will be able to drive up into West Virginia, like we have done, and into Appalachia, and they will be able to look at the mountains and the streams, and they will either be able to see poisoned streams, which used to be like those of Colorado and Idaho, or they will be able to see beautiful trout streams. They will either be able to see the tops of mountains stripped off, like they do in southwestern Virginia, or they will be able to see the land put back like they do in Pennsylvania.

"Mr. Speaker, this bill ought to be passed. A nation that does not love and respect its land does not respect itself."

The override attempt failed by only three votes. But it failed, just the same.

"Flawed by His Defeats"

Indeed, it is Rep. Udall's fate to have lost as many as he has won—strip mining, land use planning, the race for majority leader, public financing of congressional campaigns. One House Democrat who hopes that Rep. Udall makes it to the White House says, nevertheless, "My image of his abilities is flawed by his defeats."

If a Congressman isn't good at turning his ideas into laws, does it follow that he will be a poor President? "He'd have a hard time getting his bills through Congress," Rep. Hays of Ohio says.

But others doubt that legislative success

The Wall Street Journal
Sept. 16, 1975

Can Arizona Mormon Who Is Divorced Become President?

. . .

Morris Udall Believes So, And He Is Best-Financed Among Liberal Democrats

By Jules Pierson
Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

WASHINGTON—Four years ago, Morris Udall, for majority leader of the House to his surprise, lost.

Udall defeat surprised him because, as he later, he had counted on support many colleagues who had smiled said a kind word during the campaign. However, many who had only of their smiles proved stingy with votes.

Looking afterward, Rep. Udall said: "A man who gives only general expressions of high esteem should be marked on fellow's ledger. . . . I'm too naive, too egotistical . . . always want-to believe the best."

Wanting to believe the best—call it—is a classic American trait, the source of much happiness and the cause of many disappointments. When the pessimist believes things worse than they are, the optimist believes better. Attempting little, the pessimist is seldom disappointed. Attempting the optimist is often surprised when don't respond to his call to greatness.

Udall's optimism has become of more than interest because he is considering office again, this time the White What kind of President would on the issues

After his 14 years in the House, Democrat would carry his optimism the White House. He would be out front, daring his countrymen to follow. He has been, for example, on strip controls and land-use planning. The strip-mine and land-use bills passed this year. Would a President go far out front?

Political find both the question Udall presidential quest a little Rep. Udall, they reason, is a Mormon from a small state, a Democrat in an age too grim to laugh a man who once earned the much of organized labor by voting Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley which permits states to enact right laws banning compulsory unionship), a six-foot, five-inch former basketball player whose shirts pop pants in a day of perfectly tailored

the politicians wonder, can a little-member of the House—people often him for his brother, Stewart, who Interior Secretary under Presidents and Johnson — leapfrog both the the governor's mansion, where easily, and land smack the Oval Office? The last to turn the trick was James

"I have as much chance of being King of England as Udall does of being President," says Rep. Wayne Hays, an Ohio Democrat and an old Udall adversary.

There are, however, reasons for taking Rep. Udall's candidacy seriously. He is one of only five Democrats who apparently have raised enough money in small donations from at least 20 states to qualify for matching federal funds under the new campaign law. Rep. Udall is the best-financed and best-organized of those liberals who have announced for the nomination of a party whose center of gravity remains left of center.

Deep but Narrow Ruts

Like every member of the House, Rep. Udall is both beneficiary and victim of committee-assignment and seniority systems that put newcomers in particular ruts and leave them there. When Mo Udall arrived in Washington in 1961 to take his brother Stew's seat, he asked for and received a place on the Interior Committee, from which he would be able to promote a water project vital to his district. He was also ordered to fill a Democratic vacancy on the Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

Now, 14 years later, those ruts have grown deeper, but they have remained pretty narrow, too.

Thus, while other members' assignments have allowed them to become expert in "heavy" subjects like foreign affairs, arms policy, taxes and welfare, Rep. Udall has had to rest content with national parks, bird sanctuaries, postal rates and the salaries of federal bureaucrats. This relatively insubstantial fare has led some of his colleagues to write off Rep. Udall as a lightweight and a dabbler.

"Election reform, postal reform . . . a lot of people around here look on these as things an adult male doesn't do," one staff man says. "Mo has a reputation of being somewhat of a dilettante."

But others take a different view. Postal "reform," election "reform," federal pay "reform," seniority "reform" concern how things get done more than what gets done. And disclosures of secret bombing in Vietnam and secret bugging at Watergate have

Please Turn to Page 17, Column 2

Udall

MONDAY, JULY 14, 1975

The Montgomery Advertiser

REP. MORRIS UDALL, D-Ariz., and a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, claims that the party must meet what he calls the "George Wallace issue" head-on and criticized reporters for letting the Alabama governor "get away with the same old road show wherever he goes."

Udall plans Bay State primary run

By Stephen Curwood
Globe Staff

Massachusetts voters in the April 1976 presidential primary can expect to see US Rep. Morris Udall's name on the Democratic ballot, the Arizona congressman said yesterday in an interview.

"Yes, Massachusetts is high on my list of priorities," Udall said as he rested his lanky frame on a Parker House couch, but he hedged against making a formal announcement.

"I'm putting together an embryo of the organization that would work in the primary. The final decision will be made this fall."

Udall had just come from a briefing session with Massachusetts black leaders and was on his way to a fund raiser and later dinner at the home of MIT President Jerome Wiesner.

Today's part of his two day swing through the state has him scheduled to meet with Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CCPAX), a women's political group, student leaders, labor leaders and state Democrats including Mayor Kevin H. White, Secretary of State Paul Guzzi and Senate Majority Leader Joseph DiCarlo.

Udall is clearly running hard for the Democratic presidential nomination. He's raised $50,000 so far and expects to have about $100,000 in his campaign chest later this spring and thus qualify for matching Federal public campaign finances derived from the income tax check-off. Why is he running?

"If Democrats want to win in 1976, they need a new face," he said, pulling off his black-framed glasses. "I'm in this race because some 20 other congressman said I am that new face and asked me to run. They had asked why are just senators, and not governors or congressmen, mentioned as presidential aspirants."

Udall is chairman of the House Interior Committee's Energy and Environment subcommittee, and his work there is basic to his campaign.

"Economy, energy and the environment, these are the issues," he said "We need jobs, and the days of $2-a-barrel oil are gone for good."

What would Udall do if he becomes the first representative to be elected President since James A. Garfield in 1880?

"Allocation and/or rationing of gas," he said tapping his glasses against the palm of his hand," and a clear message to Detroit to stop its paralysis. We ought to have no tax for a car that gets 22 miles to the gallon, a slight tax for one that gets 18 and a whopper for one that gets only 10."

Udall then went on that he sponsored a $20 billion measure that was recently signed into law to conduct research into nonnuclear-methods of getting energy.

"Solar, wind, geothermal — we got to study these, he said. "At the same time we need national debate over the wisdom of nuclear power — is it safe enough to use?"

Udall would also seek a 10 to 15 percent cut in defense spending.

Asked about the $300 million that South Vietnam's President Thieu is seeking right now, Udall has two words: "No way."

New York Times - Nov. 24, 1974

Rep. Udall First Democrat To Enter Race Officially

By JOHN KIFNER
Special to The New York Times

MANCHESTER, N. H., Nov. 23 — Representative Morris K. Udall became today the first Democrat to open his Presidential candidacy officially.

In a low-key, often somewhat self-effacing announcement, the 52-year-old Arizona liberal said he would offer himself to the voters in the coming New Hampshire and other state primaries.

Mr. Udall's announcement came two days after Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, a candidate favored by some party liberals, withdrew from the race.

Earlier, Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts had announced that he would not run for the Presidency.

The Democratic party's liberal wing is under sharp challenge from the unannounced but expected candidacy of Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama.

New Democratic party rules that eliminate winner-take-all state primaries and allow candidates to garner proportionate shares of state delegations have also added to a party situation that is even more confused than usual. Many observers are saying that the new rules might result in no candidate coming to the convention with the votes to win the nomination, with a "brokered" slate emerging.

Asserting that he hoped to unite the Democrats, Mr. Udall said, "There's a name for a political party that can't get together — losers."

He said his major issues would be what he called the

Continued on Page 23, Column 1



Black Star
Morris K. Udall

4 PAGES OF HISTORIC INTEREST TO THE NEW YORK JEWISH COMMUNITY. SEE MAGAZINE SECTION PAGES 83-86 ADVT.

REP. UDALL ENTERS DEMOCRATIC RACE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

"three E's — environment, economy, energy." These, he said, will "dominate" his campaign and will be the most important issues for the rest of the decade.

"The test for America is whether we can adapt and change from an era of abundance, cheap natural resources, to an era of scarcity which is causing this worldwide inflation," he said, "I think that the central job of the next President is to get us through that economic transition."

People Ready to Work

"Frankly, I was a little bit reluctant," he said in making his announcement, but added that he had done so "because there are people here who are ready to go to work."

Several of the state's small band of liberal Democrats came to watch the announcement at the Sheraton-Wayfarer Motor Inn here.

Representative Udall said that he had raised between $20,000 and $25,000 thus far.

As a Congressman, Mr. Udall has been noted as a conservationist who has worked at extending and protecting national parks and wilderness areas.

He once challenged the Congressional leadership of his party, but lost his bid to become House majority leader to the late Hale Boggs of Louisiana in 1971.

Mr. Udall, who has a glass eye as the result of a childhood accident, is a former college basketball star who flies his own airplane. His campaign biography says that he is 6 feet 5 inches tall. He is divorced, has remarried and is the father of six children.

He conceded that he had previously scoffed at the notion of formal news conference-style announcements, then picked up the text of his prepared remarks and shrugged, saying, "Well, here goes."

He frequently inserted phrases into the prepared text, often of a somewhat deprecating manner, as when he ad libbed that it was somewhat of a "cliché" to say that the upcoming race "represented one of the political watersheds of this

Mr. Mondale, after a 30-day barnstorming tour, said that he, in effect, lacked the hubris for a grueling campaign. Mr. Udall was asked today if he felt a burning desire for the Presidency.

"I'm not sure that I have the desire that some have had," he replied, adding that he thought it might be a bad thing.

Mr. Udall assayed several ethnic jokes during his announcement. Asked what he would do if he lost, he replied, "I'll probably jump off a 17-story building."

However, he appeared to lack the gusto of such politicians as former Republican Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, who has been known to radiate delight when coming within 20 feet of any variety of ethnic food.

Mr. Udall used the phrase "rubber chicken" twice today to describe the political circuit and expressed worry about the future of his digestion.

Sen
11-17-76

Thurs., July 3, 1975 Los Angeles Times

Udall's Campaign Passes Milestone

BY ROBERT SHOGAN
Times Political Writer

WASHINGTON—Striving to boost his prestige in the crowded field of Democratic presidential candidates, Arizona Rep. Morris K. Udall announced Wednesday that his campaign had collected enough money to qualify for matching federal funds under the new campaign finance law.

Udall's 1975 receipts of about $300,000 still left him well behind the total receipts of three other Democratic presidential prospects—Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, Washington Sen. Henry M. Jackson and Texas Sen. Lloyd Bentsen—all of whom earlier met the criteria for qualification.

According to campaign aides, Wallace has taken in about $1.3 million this year, Jackson about $1.2 million and Bentsen about $500,000.

But these three each had collected $1 million or more before Jan. 1, when the new federal financing rules went into effect, and this gave them a considerable advantage in this year's fund raising.

Udall started practically from scratch at the beginning of the year, with less than $25,000 in contributions.

To qualify for matching funds a candidate must collect $5,000 in contributions of $250 or less from at least 20 states. The government will match gifts of $250 or less, up to a total of $5 million, in funds that will become available next year.

Many political observers have questioned whether a candidate could meet these criteria unless he had a national reputation or substantial financial resources. And Udall's decision to concentrate on qualifying at this stage of the campaign was motivated more by a desire to prove himself than by financial reasons.

"My campaign has reached a new level of credibility," he told reporters here. Noting that his average contribution was $37, he said: "I think we have driven another nail into the coffin of old-time, big-money politics."

Udall "general

Chicago Tribune, Monday, July 7, 1975

Liberal Dems pin hopes for President on Udall

By Jon Margolis

Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—After six months of campaigning, Rep. Morris Udall [D., Ariz.] has tentatively established himslef as the leading liberal candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

Still a year away from the convention, Udall's accomplishemnt is not only tentative, but modest. It only means that so far he has outdistanced former Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma and former Gov. Terry Sanford of North Carolina in seeking the support of liberal Democrats.

In the view of many Democratic politicians, Udall would quickly lose his perch on the catbird seat if Sargent Shriver or Senators Birch Bayh or Frank Church entered the race.

SO FAR, THO, they have not, and a growing number of liberals around the country feel that Udall is, as one said, "the best we've got to stop Jackson and Wallace."

That doesn't sound like much of an endorsement, but students of recent political history recall that George McGovern was getting a similar esponse about this time in 1971.

"There is no doubt," said one respected Democratic professional, "that Mo has been making progress wherever he's gone. And he's just about the only on who is making progress."

SOME OF THAT progress was evident last week when Udall announced he had qualified for federal matching funds under the new campaign finance law which provides public money for Presidentail campaigns.

Since only Gov. George Wallace of Alabama and Senators Henry Jackson of Washington and Lloyd Bentsen of Texas had qualified before, Udall became the fourth candidate and the first of the liberals to join the qualifying club.

CORRECTLY OR NOT, the Democratic contest has often been perceived and portrayed as a joke, with several inconsequential candidates running for a



Rep. Morris Udall

prize none would win. In this theory, none of the candidates will get a convention majority, and from a smoke-filled room party leaders will pick a "big name" Democrat—Senators Edward Kennedy [Mass.] or Edmund Muskie [Me.] perhaps—as the nominee.

Udall did nothing to offset this impression in the first weeks of his candidacy, during which he relied heavily—too heavily in the opnion of many—on hsi folksy ability to be funny.

But in the last several weeks, he has toned down the humor and spoken forcefully on several issues. In addition to qualifying for the federal funds, Udall has progressed by:

● Leading an attack on Wallace as a candidate who "doesn't have any answers" to the problems he outlines, a move which pleased many party liberals.

● Leading the almost successful fight to override President Ford's veto of the popular strip-mining control bill. This solidified Udall's image as an environmentalist, a selling point with a lot of liberal contributors.

● Early and effective organizing in New Hampshire, probably the site of the first Presidential primary.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 1976

Carter, Outlining Foreign Policy Views, Urges Wider Discussion

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON
Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, March 15—Jimmy Carter devoted his first important outline of foreign policy ideas today to the theme that the American course in world affairs should be charted with more open consultation with Congress and the public than it has been under Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's direction in the Nixon and Ford Administrations.

The Democratic Presidential candidate's 4,000-word speech to the chicago Council on Foreign Relations was designed to demonstrate his own familiarity with international politics and then to position himself, a newcomer to foreign policy debates, as a moderate liberal on the issues he discussed.

A repentant supporter of the American involvement in vietnam, Mr. Carter saw a need to "reassert our leadership" in the world but declared, "We have learned that we cannot and should not try to intervene militarily in the internal affairs of other countries unless our own nation is directly endangered."

He endorsed "the objective of detente" with the major Communist powers, but he argued that Mr. Kissinger, in strategic negotations with the Russians, was "giving up too much and asking for too little."

Rejects Bellicose Voices'

At the same time, he rejected "the strident and bellicose voices" — referring, according to his staff, to Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington, a Presidential rival—"who would have, this country, return to the days of the cold war with the Soviet Union."

Mr. Carter praised Mr. Kissinger as a negotiator, but charged, "Our Secretary of State simply does not trust the judgment of the erican people, but constantly conducts foreign policy exclusively, personally and in secret."

Like many Democrats in Congress and the Presidential race, he said that the United States must pay more attention than Mr. Kissinger has to its allies in Europe, its neighbors in the Western HemisPhere and developing nations aronnd the world.

At the core of Mr. Carter's speech was the vaguely populist nation that openness at home was the best check against mistakes and failures abroad.

Sees Lack of Support

"The people of other nations have learned, in recent years, that they can sometimes neither trust what our Government says nor predict what it will do," he said. "They want to respect us. They like our people. But our people do not seem to be running our Government any more."

Expanding on that theme, the former Georgia Governor said:

"Because we have let our foreign policy be made for us, we have lost something crucial in the way we talk and the way we act toward other peoples of the world. When our President and Secretary of State speak to the world without the understanding or support of the American people, they speak with an obviously hollow voice.

"In every foreign venture that has failed—whether it was Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Pakistan, Angola or in the excesses of the C.I.A.—our Government forged ahead without consulting the American people, and did things that were contrary to our basic character."

Mr. Carter's approach to foreign policy questions resembled his position on domestic issues in the sense that he was trying to show a personal grasp of complexity and at the same time to avoid harsh or specific controversy.

UDALL AND JACKSON JOIN INDIANA RACE

INDIANAPOLIS, May 15 (UPI) — Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona and Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington today became the fourth and fifth Presidential candidates to enter Indiana's May 4 Democrat primary. Previous entrants were Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Ellen McCormack, the anti-abortion candidate.

Former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and President Ford have filed on the Republican side.

Special to The New York Times

LINCOLN, Neb., March 15—The names of Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts and Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota will appear on the May 11 Democratic primary election ballot in Nebraska, Secretary of State Allen J. Beermann ruled today.

Both Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Humphrey earlier had filed with Mr. Beermann formal disclaimers of Presidential candidacy. But last Friday, the two Senators were placed on the May 25 Oregon primary election ticket.

That action, Mr. Beermann said, invokes a feature of Nebraska's primary election law requiring names of persons of Presidential candidates elsewhere to be on the Nebraska ballot, despite previous disclaimers.

Washington Post - Nov. 24, 1974

Morris Udall Enters Presidential Race

By Jackie Judd
Special to The Washington Post

BEDFORD, N.H., Nov. 23—Rep. Morris Udall (D-Ariz.) said today he is a candidate for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination. The first Democrat to announce formally, he said he would run in the New Hampshire primary, the nation's first.

Udall said at a news conference here that the major issues in the campaign are the economy, the environment and energy. All of them he said, are woven together "like a pretzel, you can't pull them apart."

He promised an "open campaign," one not bound by the rituals of presidential campaigns. He said playing "coy games" is not his style and that when major decisions are made they will be made public. Udall's announcement precedes that of other potential candidates who have been appearing in New Hampshire but as yet have not announced.



REP. MORRIS UDALL
. . . vows "open campaign"

Udall, 52, a liberal, was expected to benefit from the earlier withdrawal of Sens. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.)

See UDALL, A12, Col. 4

Morris Udall Says He'll Seek Democratic Nomination in '76

UDALL, From A1

and Walter F. Mondale (D-Minn.).

Udall has been in Congress since 1961. He is the chairman of the Environmental Subcommittee on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee and is closely associated with the development of national land-use planning.

He said yesterday that he was "a little bit reluctant" to enter the race this early, but political consultants in New Hampshire "strongly suggested" that he enter now because there "are people here ready and willing to go to work." Udall said the other candidates might have captured the support he said he's gained in the state if he "didn't go to work now."

Those other candidates, all of whom have been to New Hampshire recently, include Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen (D-Tex.) and Boston Mayor Kevin White.

Despite the crowded field, Udall calls it "an open one." He questioned his ability to "bring the party back together again," saying, "I don't know that I have those qualities, I'm frankly in doubt about it, but I'm offering myself as a possible candidate who could put this back together again."

Udall said his appeal will be to the "working man and woman in America." He said, "We've got to give them more hope, a feeling of participation in this country, and we've got to find ways of meeting the needs of ordinary Americans."

The American people want a clean environment, a decent life and the kind of economic gains this country has made in past years, he said. He called the economic transition from "an era of abundance to an era of scarcity" and the resulting worldwide inflation the central issue the next President will have to deal with.

At today's news conference Udall announced that Maria Carrier, executive director of the New Hampshire Democratic Party and a national committeewoman, who headed Sen Edmund Muskie's 1972 campaign, will work on Udall's preliminary organizing effort. Merv Weston, an advertising executive in Manchester who headed Sen. George McGovern's (D-S.D.) state presidential campaign in 1972, will also help organize support.

Udall did not say what he will do if he fares poorly in New Hampshire.

Udall said he and his campaign staff have not yet put together a national strategy. He said he has a limited aim, and that is to "make a showing in all the regions and sections in this country, try to demonstrate that I have an appeal in primary states, and that I can pick up the delegates in the various caucus states."

Udall called the 1976 campaign a "political watershed." He said he thinks the country is looking to the Democratic Party for "a new generation of leaders whose personal credibility and programs will stir new hope."

17 Hart
Sen

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Wed. March 20, '74

Strauss quizzed on impeachment

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

"I get around the country a lot and I am hearing a great deal more sentiment for impeachment [of the President] than there was 10 days ago."

So said Democratic National Chairman Robert Strauss in conversations with reporters over breakfast.

Mr. Strauss said he was also gaining this information from private public-opinion polls together with talks he has had with a number of congressmen in the last few days.

Mr. Strauss called the President's apperance in Chicago "cosmetic" but admitted that Mr. Nixon "probably has gained a few points" as a result of that appearance.

"The President will never regain his credibility," Mr. Strauss said. "He will bob up about four points and then he will drop about four points. That is the way it will be with him from now on."

Asked, "Would the Democrats run against Nixon if Ford were in," Mr. Strauss quipped: "We ran against Herbert Hoover for a long time."

Mr. Strauss said he did not think the big issue in the country today was so much Watergate as it was "presidential leadership."

He said he is finding that people are talking about "the failure on the part of Nixon to provide leadership — moral, economic, and in a number of other areas."

1-19-7
Dem

[illegible] Proposes Programs To Reduce City's Burdens

By MARTIN TOLCHIN
Special to The New York Times

[illegible] K. [illegible] hearing him- [illegible] man-oriented [illegible] the Dem- [illegible] for Presi- [illegible] an array of [illegible] ease New [illegible] burdens [illegible] night.

[illegible] that New [illegible] in a series [illegible] with the three [illegible] New York [illegible] who have [illegible] ing in almost [illegible] districts.

[illegible] the drain," [illegible] who had cam- [illegible] for Federal [illegible] in a formal [illegible] four reporters [illegible] Times during [illegible] campaign- [illegible] State pri- [illegible]

[illegible] at the head of [illegible] table equipped with microphones and surrounded by editors and reporters who came to listen and observe. His manner was direct and good-natured, his answers generally short and to the point. Secret Service agents stationed outside the room watched the proceedings through a glass wall.

A major proposal, he said, was the Federal Government's taking over the welfare system, which he called "a national problem and a national obligation." Mr. Udall said that he favored a standardization of welfare criteria and payments, adjusted only for cost of living differences in different areas.

He said he believed that New York City criteria and payments were "pretty close to what ought to be a national standard." "They're not overly generous," he said. "It's the standards in other states that

Continued on Page 24, Column 8

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

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

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

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

Carter Criticized

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

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

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

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

Sympathy for Northeast

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

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

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

NYT
3/29/76

NYT Times
3/29/76

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

By CHARLES MOHR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Boston Globe Wednesday, March 24, 1976

Udall gears up for New York race with support of ADA, other liberals

In New York, where the Morris Udall candidacy will be tested April 6 for the first time in five weeks, a series of endorsements and organizational successes has prompted his state manager to predict that he will run ahead of Jimmy Carter and a solid second to Henry Jackson.

Additional impetus is expected this morning with the anticipated announcement that some 30 to 40 Jackson delegates may lose their Jackson identification on the ballot.

If Udall does run second in New York and, as his national manager predicts, wins Wisconsin the same day, he clearly will be back on the main line.

If, however, Udall does poorly in these primaries, Carter and Jackson may be the only ones left in the Democratic race.

Udall's national campaign manager, Tom Kiley, put it this way:



REP. UDALL
. . . challenges Jackson

"We have to do very, very well, and we probably have to win something on April 6. At this point Wisconsin looks more likely."

The New York staff has expressed no hopes of catching Jackson. "He's very, very strong here," said Paul Tully, the state manager.

But Tully said he thinks Udall will beat Carter. "Yes, we think we'll do well against Carter. But it's a tough race," he said.

Udall has run second in the two primaries he has contested — New Hamp-

[illegible] the endorsements of the national board of Americans for Democratic Action and the New Democratic Coalition, a New York liberal group.

But Tully is more encouraged by the organization's success in rounding up delegates, many of whom were originally pledged to Birch Bayh, Sargent Shriver or others.

Since there is no direct vote for the candidates in New York, the outcome will be determined by the number of delegates each candidate wins in each of the state's 39 congressional districts.

New York will have 274 delegates at the national convention in July.

Udall expects to have delegate slates identified [illegible] State Marie Cuomo may leave 80 or 40 of them without identification as Jackson delegates, mostly because of late filings. Jackson has moved in Albany Supreme Court to put the identification on the ballot.

Carter will have full slates in no more than 29 districts.

Udall has scheduled his time evenly between New York and Wisconsin. Tully said the Udall campaign will spend between $250,000 and $300,000 in New York — about one-third of Jackson's budget. But Jackson's national campaign manager, Robert Keefe, said his New York budget will not exceed $500,000.

Udall

rules to help business. Do you agree with this policy?

A. Well, I think we ought to constantly review the detailed implementation in any area. We ought not to be unreasonable.

Q. What is your position on the Concorde?

A. It's a turkey, and it should never land here. It's an energy disaster. It's an economic disaster. It's a disaster for people around airports, and I'm opposed to the landing here and at Dulles, Atlanta, Plains, Ga., or at Boeing Field in Washington or any place else. It's interesting to note that we made a decision in '71 about the U.S. SST and there were those, including Senator Jackson, who tried very hard to have it built through a large Federal subsidy. That vote was very very close, and if the proponents of the SST had had their way, we would probably be landing large numbers of American SST's right now. I think it's wrong.

Q. How do you feel about offshore oil drilling?

A. Three things, maybe. I think as we're running out of oil and gas, the American people are going to insist that if there's oil out there and we can get it in safely, there is an obligation to get it out.

Q. You said you were in favor of mass transit.

A. Very strongly.

Operating Subsidies

Q. I'd like to ask you about specific programs. Do you have a response to the President's block grant programs, substituting categorical grants and welfare and health, social services with block grants?

A. Well, I'm really torn on this one because there is some merit to governors and mayors who talk about a multiplicity of 1,200 Federal programs, categorical programs. And so, yes, the concept of block grants is an appealing one. On the other hand, I think I would take a middle course. I think there is a place for some of the Federal programs, a few of them at least. They ought to be constantly reviewed.

Housing

Q. H.U.D. is now exercising its discretionary powers to guarantee Mitchell-Lama mortgages. Do you agree with this program? Do you think it should be extended or have any other ideas in the form of housing as it relates to urban areas?

A. Yes, I think this is probably a valuable program and ought to be extended. The crying need in housing today is to do for the inner cities in a massive kind of way what we did for the suburbs for 30 years under the F.H.A. program.

Congressional Formulas

Q. Many New Yorkers think that New York City—as a matter of fact, the cities of the Northeast—are discriminated against by Congressional formulas. Especially in programs like narcotics programs where New York certainly has a large share of the narcotics problem and a small share of Federal narcotics funds. Is there anything that you as President could do to help equalize? First of all, do you agree with this assessment?

A. I do agree. The inner cities have lost Congressmen in the course of the last 20 years as population shifted—the suburbs have been the big gainers and the rural people have lost Congressmen—so that the balance of power has shifted somewhat to the suburbs. And there is a tendency and self-interest for the suburban people to be for programs that will help their own constituents and to be a little less generous with the cities.

Having said that, I think the President could overcome this trend if the President understood it and appealed to the compassion and fairness, decency, of the country and its Congressmen and Senators to give some emphasis to where the problems are.

Illegal Aliens

Q. New York City is considered the illegal alien capital of the United States. How would you deal with this problem?

A. Well, we've got to confront it. World population is exploding and we're an island in a sea of poverty, and desperate people are willing to do more and more in order to get to this country. I guess there are several estimates up to seven or eight million immigrants here, most of them are taking jobs that ought to belong to Americans. Congressman Rodino and others have done a good deal of work in this area and I think maybe the best approach would be to grandfather in most of the aliens that are here now legally, and then to begin to really enforce the law.

(2)

Excerpts From Interview With Udall on Urban Crises and Other Domestic Issues

The following are excerpts from an interview at The New York Times with Representative Morris K. Udall.

Q. Do you believe that the New York City fiscal crisis is a harbinger of crises in other cities? What specific steps do you think should be taken to avert them?

A. Yes, it clearly is, and that's why I tried to step out in front when Ford wanted to push New York over the cliff. I said, "When the bell tolls for New York City in '75, it may toll for Topeka and Amarillo and St. Louis and a lot of other places." Already the bells are about to ring for Yonkers and Buffalo, just in this state. It is indeed a harbinger.

My program would be in several directions. I think you first have to get your priorities straight. You can't be for the Pentagon and be for the cities. We don't have enough for guns and butter any more. We're going to have to make that fundamental choice, and then we'll have some of the resources we need.

My over-all goal would be to give the cities a chance to cope and to survive and to solve their own problems. And I would do that through a three-point program.

The first is to federalize the welfare system. I was for that very early on. It ought to be federalized; it's a national problem and it's a national obligation.

Second is help in some employment act. So many of the city's problems are compounded by lower employment, less taxes, higher welfare and related causes.

And the third is national health insurance. If we had it, you wouldn't be closing hospitals and a billion dollars or more would be provided for New York City's budget.

If the Federal Government did those three programs and did them right, the cities could probably cope with their problems. But I would give them additional help in transportation. I've been in the forefront of trying to break up the Highway Trust Fund and give aid to mass transit. I would give them help with some sensible housing programs and stop the rot and decay and cancer that's spreading through the South Bronx and Bedford-Stuyvesant and other areas.

But if we did these three programs, relief would be on the way and the cities could begin to cope.

Municipal Unions

Q. The President has taken the position that Federal aid to the city would be a bottomless pit in that it would encourage municipal unions in their bargaining with the city, inasmuch as the Mayor and the city politicians would then be in a position of not having to pay the bills but of passing them over to the Federal Government.

A. I'm not for unlimited aid. The kinds of things I'm talking about put the obligation on the city. The loan guarantee isn't a bottomless pit. It says we'll guarantee some loans conditioned on strict management and contracts that are fair but not overly generous with the unions.

Q. Do you feel municipal unions have grown too powerful in this city?

A. I haven't studied it to that extent. Clearly they have driven a hard bargain, and they've been looking out for their members, and one can't blame them for that.

Q. Do you feel that there has been municipal mismanagement in New York City and this has brought about or contributed to this process?

A. Certainly. I can't defend the kind of financial wizardry and gimmickry that went on through the 60's.

Fiscal Plan

Q. The city's financial plan was based on certain assumptions concerning the economy that may or may not be borne out. If the city is unable to keep to its financial plan because of these problems, do you think the plan would be revised?

A. No, I think we ought to give the city any kind of a blanket assurance that they can do anything they want to and get revision. And I think it's important that New York not go under and that as events develop we take a look at how the economic situation goes and be prepared to make sensible revisions.

Q. Do you favor some federally organized municipal credit market?

A. Yes. I think we'd be better off if we went down that road. I have urged as a part of tax reform, for example, that we have, that we provide cities with an optional taxable bond, not tax exempt.

Matching Funds

Q. Should the city and state be held harmless because of their inability to provide matching funds for Federal programs that require maintenance of effort because the financial plan required cuts in the budget?

A. I wouldn't make a blanket commitment to exempting them from the matching funds, but I would be very generous while we're trying to work our way out of this difficulty.

Welfare

Q. You mentioned earlier that you favored federalization of welfare. Do you also favor standardization of welfare criteria?

A. Yes. There ought to be a cost of living factor. In areas where it doesn't cost so much as the large urban conglomerations, the welfare payment ought to be a little bit lower.

But there ought to be essentially one national system of benefits with a cost-of-living factor in there. This would not only help the cities but it would tend to keep people in their own regions and homes near their friends, where opportunities might be better.

One of the key causes of urban concentration and urban poverty—city problems has been the welfare system, which like a magnet, drew people off the farms in Appalachia and other areas into the big cities, largely or in part—or one of the main causes—was the humane level of welfare payments here and the outrageous level in states like mine and Alabama and Georgia.

Q. Would the only differential in welfare costs be cost of living?

A. Essentially, yes.

Q. Would there be a Federal ceiling on welfare?

A. I don't know that I would tell a state that when it's supplemented that you can't supplement it, but I think there ought to be a basic Federal allowance adjusted only for cost of living in different areas.

Q. Would New York rates be cut down?

A. I don't know that the welfare payments in New York would be cut. I think they're pretty close to what ought to be a national standard. They're not overly generous. It's the standards in other states that are far from generous.

Money

Q. You have mentioned a range of urban programs. Where will the money come from to do all these things?

A. No. 1, the costs now are very great. The costs now of eight million people unemployed are $20 billion in unemployment costs — it's quadrupled in five years. The direct costs for welfare and so on are very great at all levels.

Let's take a $40 billion program just as an example, because the relationships are complex and no one knows just where all the money comes from if you have a full employment act and how much the multiplier factor is. But I said, to illustrate, let's take a hard case of four million public-service jobs at $10,000 a job—that's $40 billion.

I don't advocate that. I don't think it's necessary. I think the number of public-service jobs would be much, much smaller than that. But if you spend $40 billion you would immediately get back another $10 billion minimum in increased taxes paid by these people, plus the multiplier on it. You get another $10 billion in not having to put out the direct Federal costs of welfare and so on. You would immediately get back another $10 billion minimum in increased taxes by these people, plus the multiplier on it. You get another $10 billion out of the Pentagon and you get another $10 billion out of tax reform. So you get your $40 billion back.

Cities

Q. Have the cities been demarcated in the campaign so far? Four years ago we were all talking about the crisis in the cities but it doesn't seem to have come up this time. Are you questioned on it?

A. Yes. Not as much as one might think, but it's recurring. The economic issues are paramount—jobs, inflation issues are paramount. But they relate into the city issues and so have come up.

Environment

Q. The Governors of New York and New Jersey are trying to ease anti-pollution

(1)

Udall's Hopes as a Progressive Pinned on Wisconsin

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

MILWAUKEE, March 15—Wisconsin may be the last, best hope of 1976 for the Democratic left and for its current champion, Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona.

Mr. Udall knows it. He and his supporters lobbied successfully for the Democratic National Committee exemption that will permit the state to hold a binding Presidential primary on April 6, even though state law contravenes national party rules. And the candidate flew into Milwaukee this morning to begin what he calls "an all-out three-week campaign" on which he hoped to spend $300,000 to $350,000.

"Every four years," Mr. Udall said, "the progressive forces contend with the conservative forces within the Democratic Party. Every year since 1924, the progressive forces have won. This year, that tradition seems very much in doubt."

Big Aid to McGovern

Mr. Udall, who desperately needs a primary victory after second-place finishes in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, described his two main rivals, Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington and former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, as outside "the progressive mainstream" on a number of issues —including defense spending, busing and the equal rights amendment in Mr. Jackson's case, and aid to New York City, Federal health insurance and the union shop in Mr. Carter's.

Wisconsin was the state that gave Senator George McGovern of South Dakota his most important primary victory in 1972. But he won only 29.6 percent of the vote, and since then the Vietnam War has disappeared from the political dialogue.

Absent the war and the extraordinary organization assembled here for Mr. McGovern by Eugene Pokorny, many Democrats suspect that Mr. Udall may find it hard to carry Wisconsin.

"It's a highly unpredictable situation," commented Gov. Patrick J. Lucey, who is publicly neutral but privately pro-Udall. "We've only known for a week that our primary was going to count, and I think the race is wide open. I told Mo that he had a chance, but he would need every break and a lot of hard work to win here."

"On paper, I guess Udall looks like Wisconsin's kind of candidate," said Mary Lou Burg, the vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who is also a national committeewoman from Wisconsin. "But I don't think he'll run that well. I don't see a constituency for him beyond the intellectuals."

"I don't think he can win, either here or at the convention," added Michael Bleicher, a national committeeman who is managing the local effort of former Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma, who campaigned heavily here last year.

Staying With Harris

Mr. Bleicher was in a position to help Mr. Udall when Mr. Harris , confronting an empty treasury, decided to forgo a Wisconsin drive. But at a meeting in Madison yesterday, Mr. Bleicher and other Harris backers decided not to throw their support to the Arizonan.

"The general sentiment," Me. Bleicher reported, "was, 'All right, we have no candidate and no money, but we still have an organization, so we can at least go to the plant gates and tell them about Fred.'"

A poll by The Milwaukee Sentinel of 1,689 voters across the state, taken between Fe. 25 and March 4, showed Mr. Udall running fourth with only 10 percent of the vote, behind Mr. Carter with 22, Mr. Jackson, with 13, and Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama with 11.

Mr. Udall has managed topull some of the liberal community behind him, including such figures as state Reprsentative Midge Miller of Madison, a leading feminist, and Jack rice of the United Automobile Workers union. He also has the backing of five of the state's seven Democratic representatives.

Predict Blitzes

His coordinator, Robert Bedard, has been in Wisconsin since August, and hasopened 13 headquarters offices here. But the canvassing is late in starting, largely because staff and money were monopolized by New England months. And there are signs, beyond the action of the Harris backers, of liberal reluctance to unite behind Mr. Udall. The state's liberal labor coalition, for example, failed to reach an endorsement decision at a meeting last night.

The Udall camp is making a major effort to convince local and national reporters that both Mr. Carter and Mr. Jackson are planning last-minute blitzes here and that Wisconsin, rather than New York, which votes on April 6 with Mr. Jackson heavily favored, is the valid test among the three.

Independent inquiries indicated, however, that Mr. Udall would outspend and outcampaign both of the others. Two television stations in Milwaukee esaid, for instance, that they had received no advertising requests from either Mr. Jackson or Mr. Carter so far.

Mr. Jackson, who last appeared in the state on Dec. 14, is scheduled to spend only parts of three daysb efore the primary, according to Darryl Hanson, the Milwaukee County Democratic chairman, who heads the local Jackson effort. Mr. Hanson said hehadbeen unable to get a budget approved by the candidate's Washington headquarters.

"About all we can hope for is to pick up some delegates," he said. "I happen to think Jackson could sweep this state, but not with the kind of effort they seem to be plan-

Senator Jackson's main support comes from labor, including the building trades, the machinists and the steel workers. John Schmitt, the influential president of the state labor federation, has endorsed him.

No Carter Organization

As in Massachusetts, Mr. Carter will have to rely largely on momentum advertising, if he can afford the money for it, in Wisconsin. He has no organization. Phil Wise, the 26-year-old architect of Mr. Carter's Florida victory, arrived here Friday to try to build one, with only 25 days to do so.

Mr. Carter's plans call for him to visit Wisconsin only on March 24 and 25. Asked how he planned to compensate for the lack of time and organization, Mr. Wise replied, "I'm open to suggestions."

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A Word for Udall

Church Rejects Plea for Unity

By Martha Angle
Washington Star Staff Writer

Sen. Frank Church, rejecting Morris K. Udall's pleas for unity among Democratic liberals, is going forward with his 11th-hour entry into the presidential primaries.

Church, who plans to announce his candidacy formally one week from today, said he both likes and respects Udall but sees no reason to defer to the Arizona congressman at this point.

"I'm not really in his way; he knows that," Church said, adding he has decided to stay out of the April 6 Wisconsin primary where Udall will be going all-out for his first actual victory of the season.

"I stayed out of Massachusetts. He had a full crack there. I've given him every opportunity, but he himself knows he's got to produce a win," Church said.

"You can't keep coming in second and hope to provide a viable alternative to (Jimmy) Carter and (Henry) Jackson," Church said.

UDALL HAS beseeched other liberals to abandon their own ambitions for the nomination and rally around him in order to avert a complete lockout of the "progressive" wing of the party by the time the Democratic National Convention assembles in July.

Udall maintains that the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries, where he finished second, demonstrated he is the only liberal in the field with a prayer of even surviving the grueling primary trail.

And he is acutely aware that he might well have won those elections if candidates like Fred Harris, Sargent Shriver, Birch Bayh and Milton Shapp had not fragmented the liberal vote. The last thing he wants is another progressive in the race.

Church conceded that he and Udall could wind up competing for the same slice of votes in some of the late primaries, most of them in the West, if a Wisconsin victory generates new momentum for Udall.

"We'll cross that bridge when we come to it," he said.

Church said he has not yet made a final decision as to which late primaries he will enter, although he said the list probably will include Nebraska, Idaho, Montana, Rhode Island, Oregon and California.

Ohio, Connecticut and New Jersey are also possibilities, he said, "depending on what resources we have available."

CHURCH PASSED up the early primaries on grounds that he could not campaign while his Senate Intelligence Committee was still pursuing its investigation of the CIA and other agencies.

The committee has just obtained a fresh extension of its Senate mandate to April 15, but Church said he no longer feels compelled to devote full time to its labors since the actual investigation is concluded and "we're just wrapping up our legislative recommendations."

Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D., agreed with Church that it is premature to worry about further fragmenting of the liberal vote in the remaining primary contests.

"Everything depends on Wisconsin," the 1972 Democratic nominee said. "If Udall loses there, I think his campaign is virtually over. Then we're going to need another horse to ride."

McGovern said he sees no need to choose between Udall and Church at this point, saying "I don't have to make that sort of judgment until after Wisconsin."

McGovern may be one of the few liberals still active and influential in Democratic presidential politics who believes the need for a choice might even arise.

ALTHOUGH CHURCH insists that "it's never too late to try" and believes a few good showings would make him a candidate to reckon with at the convention, it is difficult to find anyone who shares his optimism.

Several of his Senate colleagues yesterday merely grimaced when asked to assess the Idaho Democrat's prospects, while lawyer Joseph Rauh — a prominent and respected liberal adviser — bluntly suggested that Church will be "only a spoiler" in the race.

Rauh, along with a growing number of liberals, said it is becoming obvious the only hope for nominating someone to the left of Jackson and Carter rests with a deadlocked convention.

Hubert Humphrey is waiting eagerly in the wings, and many of the liberals who scorned him in 1968 now believe he is their last, best hope to keep the nomination away from Jackson or Carter.

"I never thought I'd see the day when I was praying for Hubert, but he's the only chance we've got," said one former McGovern aide. "And unless Udall can stay afloat and keep Carter and Jackson from running away with this thing, we won't even have the Humphrey option," he said.

Candidate Udall

Morris King Udall, 53, was a county prosecutor and private trial attorney before he was elected to succeed his brother Stewart in the US House of Representatives, where he has served since 1961.

A liberal activist from a conservative state, and a frequent challenger of the House leadership and its seniority system, Rep. Udall was solicited to run by several dozen liberal House colleagues. He seeks the White House as an advocate of restructuring the economy to reduce dependence on energy consumption, developing a guaranteed job program coordinated with private business, and changing foreign aid formulas to encourage recipient nations toward population control and agricultural self-sufficiency.



He gave early support to civil rights and campaign reform — he was a principal author of the 1974 act — and early opposition to the Vietnam war. But labor leaders challenge him because of his vote, early in his congressional career, for right-to-work legislation.

The changes Mr. Udall would make in our economic system are among the most sweeping proposed by Democratic candidates, and he would use antitrust laws more than any rival except Fred Harris. Rep. Udall would dissolve 13 giant conglomerate corporations and perhaps, he suggested in one interview, General Motors.

He would force oil companies to limit themselves to only one phase of production in place of their current wellhead-to-service-station control, and he would exclude oil companies from holding other energy resources.

Like every other Democrat, Mr. Udall has endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins guaranteed jobs bill, but he acknowledges the measure has not been studied carefully for its potential cost or its impact on employment patterns in private business.

He favors "counter-cyclical" revenue-sharing, which would concentrate Federal aid in areas of high unemployment. But he warns that "the pressures would be enormous" in Congress to continue the aid, in contravention of the spirit and letter of the law, even when unemployment rates dropped.

His overriding economic theme is the need for response to "scarcity" — of energy and other raw materials, and of potential tax dollars from growth. He says we must plan future economic growth principally in service industries requiring large numbers of workers, rather than in industries like power generation requiring large amounts of capital.

Rep. Udall advocates one of the most specific tax reform plans, including stricter minimum tax laws for the affluent, a phase-out of the capital gains preference, replacement of exemptions with credits to benefit middle income taxpayers, and reduction of the Social Security tax burden on low and moderate income workers.

Although he is known as an environmentalist, Mr. Udall favors coal mining and offshore oil exploration, under strict safeguards. He says he is "very close to" seeking a moratorium on future construction of nuclear power plants.

Rep. Udall would allocate gasoline by region, and ration it if necessary, and would virtually halt highway construction in favor of 100 new mass transit units including a national rail system.

He has consistently supported civil rights legislation and affirmative action hiring plans, and has disavowed the position of his Mormon Church that women and blacks must have inherently inferior roles.

In foreign affairs he calls for a 10 to 15 percent cut in the defense budget through troop reductions, and cancelation of some weapons systems. He would test detente by renewed efforts to make Russia take an active role in negotiating a Mideast peace.

Mr. Udall's political advantages include an easy wit and a history as a maverick. His major risk is his theme of scarcity, which presupposes a lowering of our national economic goals and commits us to pay for social programs out of real redistribution of income more than from rapidly generated new wealth.

(End of series.)

In Lion's Den of South, Udall Is a Liberal Daniel

By ROY REED
Special to The New York Times

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Oct. 16 — Representative Morris K. Udall, the Arizona liberal aho is running for President, plunged across the Mason-Dixon line his week in pursuit of an unusual Southern strategy.

The strategy is designed to capture the Southern imagination and, not just incidentally, whatever Southern delegates to the 1976 Democratic convention might be left after the George C. Wallace juggernaut has passed through.

Mr. Udall worked on the imagination first. He grabbed attention by marching forthrghtly, like some berserk Danel, into the lion's den.

Within an hour after he arrived here he had assailed he three most powerful interests in the area—big steel, big coal and Governor Wallace.

Then, while he had the Alabamians' attention, he elaborated a subtler appeal based on a growing assumption that race is no longer the controlling issue in Dixie.

New Deal Cited

He reminded them that it was Southerners who had fought for the economic reforms of the New Deal. Then he suggested that a "progressive" economic stand such as his could bring the south back to the Democratic party in 1976.

"He spouts some liberal ideas," an analyst for The Birmingham Post-Herald said this morning, "but gives the impression of being the down-to-earth, plain-spoken candidate Southerners will listen to if he gets the proper forum in the next year."

By midnight, when they finally finished after nine appearances, Mr. Udall and his aides were calling yesterday the best day of his campaign and laying plans to come back here.

The response varied from politely hostile to warmly enthusiastic. The negative reaction came from some of the editors of The Birmingham News (Post-Herald editors were friendly) and a substantial but not overwhelming percentage of the students at Samford University, a conservative Baptist school in a rich suburb. Many of the Samford students responded favorably.

Mr. Udall got his best reaction throughout the day when he denounced first Mr. Wallace and second the concentration of economic interests that he accuses of stifling competition and free enterprise.

"I would not want Governor Wallace on my ticket and I would not want to be on his ticket," he told the several hundred students at Stamford.

He outlined a proposal to break up some 13 giant conglomerates that he said controlled American economic life and aggravated inflation.

He said that as President he would have groups to study the conglomerates and suggest remedies for restoring competition in each group, such as the steel industry. In Birmingham, United States Steel is king.

He said it might also be necessary to break up General Motors.

He had a separate solution for the oil companies. They should be broken up both vertically and horizontally, he said.

They would be required to limit themselves to one phase of production instead of controlling all phases from the ground to the gasoline pump as some now do. And those companies owning related energy resources such as coal would have to get rid of them.

He denounced the coal companies, many of which are strong in Alabama, for charging $30 a ton for coal that costs $7 to produce.

Bedrock of Anger

Mr. Udall clearly hoped to tap the bedrock of Populist anger that underlies much of Southern conservatism.

He attached himself to the memory of New Deal Southerners such as Lister Hill of Alabama and Sam Rayburn of Texas.

He leavened his liberalism with wit and candor and thus left those who disagreed with him either laughing or shaking their heads in reluctant admiration.

Mr. Udall said he had no illusions about carrying Alabama in a race against Governor Wallace. The people he saw in small or semiprivate meetings, such as an afternoon gathering of black and white labor leaders and political figures and later an evening party at a secluded suburban home, were mostly members of the state's liberal minority.

Senator George McGovern received 28 per cent of the vote in Alabama in 1972. Mr. Udall's strategists figure that approximately the same percentage of the state's convention delegates next year will be free of Governor Wallace and uncommitted to any other candidate. One campaign aide estimates that upward of 100 such delegates might be gleaned for Mr. Udall from various Southern states.



The New York Times

Morris K. Udall of Arizona campaigning in Birmingham, Ala., yesterday.

Others Seek Liberals

Mr. Udall s not the only Democrat who has his eyes on the liberal Southern delegates. Among those vying for them are a couple of Southerners, former Governors Jimmy Carter of Georgia and Terry Sanford of North Carolina.

A feeling among some liberal Democrats here is that it is pointless to settle for a Southern moderate when they can work for a forthright liberal like Mr. Udall or Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana. Mr. Bayh seems to be Mr. Udall's main rival among those liberals.

Mo Udall, who is still sometimes mistaken in this region for his brother, Stewart, the former Secretary of the Interior, clearly made some friends here.

One was a black labor leader named Norma Powell. There was a moment when she raised her voice in anger because the candidate responded a little too eagerly, she thought, to a suggestion that the welfare system wasted a lot of money on cheats. She called his hand severely.

But when he she left, she was wearing a lapel button that said, "Ms for Mo."

CAMPAIGN COSTS COVER LEGAL FEES

Inclusion in Spending Limit Ordered by Election Unit

By WARREN WEAVER JR.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 16—The Federal Election Commission ruled today that the fees candidates pay to lawyers and accountants for political service come within the spending limits imposed by the new campaign law.

Dividing 4 to 2, the commission rejected an attempt to create another exception in the statute that sets an expenditure ceiling on the primary and general election campaigns of candidates for President, Vice President, the Senate and House.

The advisory opinion it approved held that spending for legal and accounting services was "at least indirectly made to influence the election of Federal candidates since one's election is jeopardized by conduct that may violate the law."

"Furthermore," it continued, "compliance clearly enhances one's candidacy and may, with good reason, be deemed to justify expenditures for the described professional services even if the candidate must charge them against the applicable spending limit."

The dissenting commissioners were Robert O. Tiernan and John D. Aikens, who argued that the expenditure ceilings were already to tight that a candidate could not afford to hire the professional advisors he needed to insure that he complied with the law.

The commission also advised the Democratic National Committee that it could legally set up a separate corporation to administer public funds underwriting the party's national convention.

It also authorized the National Republican Senatorial Committee to transfer $11,400 left from the unsuccessful 1972 campaign of Senator J. Caleb Boggs, Republican of Delaware, to the 1976 Delaware Republican Senate nominee, despite the statutory ceiling of $5,000 on such committee payments.

The commission agreed informally to permit Senator Charles H. Percy, Republican of Illinois, to use the $9,000 left in the Percy Committee, established in 1973 as an exploratory Presidential vehicle and since abandoned, to help finance his political activity as a Senator. An opinion to that effect will be approved next week.

The Montgomery Advertiser
Oct. 16, 1975

Udall
Wallace

Udall: Wallace Not Building Party Unity

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. (AP) — Democratic presidential aspirant Rep. Morris K. Udall, DAriz., said Wednesday Alabama Gov. George Wallace "will not contribute, in most places, to a harmonious (Democratic) party" in next year's presidential election.

At a news conference, Udall said it would be "suicidal" for a Democratic presidential or vice presidential candidate to have Wallace as part of the ticket.

Wallace, Udall said, "doesn't seem to have the answers" to questions the governor has been raising. Wallace is currently in Europe on what's billed as an "goodwill and industry-seeking tour."

The 53-year-old Udall, speaking at Samford University, said there was a basic "dissimilarity of views" between Wallace and him. However, he said he hoped Wallace would stay with the Democratic Party and not form a third political organization.

Udall added that he would enter 12 or 14 of the 32 presidential primaries next year, but Alabama and Georgia, home of presidential hopeful Jimmy Carter, would not be among them.

(3)

d recognition problems

aide, "he doesn't come from liberal New York or Massachusetts. He's from Arizona."

They are citing Udall's strong, early opposition to George Wallace as either a presidential candidate or a vice presidential candidate. "He disclosed his income tax 10 years ago, before it was fashionable," said Tully. "He gave up his private law practice 15 years ago and he was leading the fight for campaign reform before we knew what was going on in Watergate. These are the things that we use to show why he's different."

As Udall shook hands with the six elderly woman sitting at the Dorchester House this week, one of them said. "We're having a cake sale tomorrow. Why don't you come back and buy a cake?"

"I'll try to do that. I'll try to do that," said Udall.

"Thank you, senator," said the woman.

For Udall — a congressman, not a senator - it was the identity problem again.

between $250 and $300 a month."

Money, in fact, has been a problem for the Udall campaign. A few months ago, the campaign was barely solvent and Udall was borrowing from banks against forthcoming Federal matching funds.

But last month, in an effort to solve the problem of identity and to boost contributions, Udall hired John Marttila, the Boston political consultant who directed the campaigns of Mayor Kevin White and Reps. Robert Drinan and Joseph Moakley of Massachusetts.

Anticipating $114,000 in matching Federal funds this month, the Udall campaign is spending $200,000 in New Hampshire and $300,000 in Massachusetts. The advertising budget allots 50 percent for television, 30 percent for newspapers and 20 percent for radio.

An in-house poll in December showed surprising strength in Massachusetts for Bayh and a high recognition factor for Shriver — up to 90 percent. The poll also showed a large number of undecided voters, and a lot of anger, frustration and cynicism. Udall strategists are trying to decide whether to invest $10,000 to $12,000 in polling this month.



REP. UDALL
. . . hires Marttila

In Massachusetts, there are 15 salaried employees and eight headquarters: Boston, Worcester, Quincy, Springfield, Lowell, Lawrence, Newton and Fall River.

Twelve hundred volunteers handle the drudgery of stuffing envelopes, canvassing by telephone and handing out leaflets. Although the person to person contact is considered the most beneficial, there are fewer such workers for each candidate this year than there were for Eugene McCarthy in 1968 or George McGovern in 1972. The reason: there are so many Democratic candidates that there are fewer volunteers per candidate.

Udall's strategy is similar to McGovern's in 1972: to win impressively in New Hampshire to gain the momentum and money for a repeat performance in Massachusetts and New York April 6. A loss in New Hampshire defeat, on the other hand, would force Udall to withdraw.

As he struggles with the identity problem, Udall is using an old political device, the endorsement. In full page newspaper advertisements Archibald Cox, the former special Watergate prosecutor, praises Udall as a man of uncommon moral strength.

There also have been endorsements from economist John Kenneth Galbraith, House Majority Leader Thomas O'Neill, and Reps. Gerry Studds and Robert Drinan.

Why, in the first post-Watergate national election would a progressive candidate rely on endorsements? "The Cox endorsement was an enormous help," said Tully, "because he holds a very special place in people's minds." In addition, the Cox advertisements paid for themselves and helped galvanize some liberal support in Cox's home state of Massachusetts.

There are a number of factors about the 1976 race that make the experiences of 1972, 1968 and 1962 useless. "This is completely different," said Tully. "The field is so large and the voters so confused that it's a little like a City Council race.

"And there's no gut controversy like Vietnam. There are so many overlapping issues and so many candidates — why at this time in 1972, the field already had been reduced to McGovern, Lindsay and Muskie.

The hiring of Marttila so late in the campaign represents a major shakeup in strategy necessitated by a series of defeats at Democratic conventions or caucuses in New York, Massachusetts and Iowa. There have been staff shakeups. The aides responsible for television advertisements in Iowa have been dismissed. And while Tully will continue to handle scheduling, research and the news media, Marttila will take over responsibility for image, contributions and budget matters.

To separate Udall from the other three liberal Democrats, his strategists are emphasizing that he was among the first to oppose the Vietnam war. "And remember," said an



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MORRIS K. UDALL

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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Commission, Washington, D.C.
Paid For By Udall '76 Comm., Stanley Kurz, Treasurer

Realist Udall thinks Iowa bid a mistake

Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), has been a declared candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination since Nov. 23, 1974 . . . longer than anyone else. Here, in an exclusive interview with The Hearst Newspapers, he assesses the campaign and the issues following his disappointing fourth-place finish in last week's Iowa precinct caucuses. This is the first in a periodic series of articles on the major candidates.

By JOHN HALL
Herald American
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — "I'm not going to bang my head against a brick wall because it feels good when you quit."

Morris K. (Mo) Udall, the first to declare his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination and the fourth-place finisher in last week's Iowa precinct caucuses, didn't sound depressed, pessimistic or even disappointed.

He sounded realistic. It was Udall who coined the slogan "New Realism" and President Ford, shall we say, borrowed it for his State of the Union message.

For Udall, the new realism is having to contemplate the possibility of an unknown congressman running for president and remaining an unknown congressman. It is his policy and nature to discuss troublesome issues openly, and he does not shrink or lay on the rah-rah enthusiasm when the question arises when he will quit if his campaign continues to lag.

It was probably a mistake, he acknowledges, ever to have entered the Iowa race. "I should either have gone in very early and really invested some time, or I should have stayed out."

Now, in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, he will have to emerge as the front runner, at least among the liberals, in both places to stay in the race. He will "put down my head and charge for the next 42 days." He will "put most of our remaining (financial) resources into that effort" and then he will reassess the condition of his head and of the wall.

This is a unique politician. He has come off the campaign trail to attend the reopening of Congress, fighting sleep and demonstrating an uncanny ability to stifle yawns and talk at the same time.

He talks for an hour on the couch in front of the pictures of Indian chiefs and other tokens from his native southwest that decorate the walls of his cramped congressional office.

One theme sets him apart from the 10 other contenders in the race. He is willing to tell the voters that the era of abundance is over no matter who they elect and the American people will have to make major adjustments in their lifestyles.

"What I've tried to do is talk about the hard choices we face, the new time we're in," he said. "You're not going to have the kind of economic growth we've had in the last 30 years. You're not going to have the kind of have energy growth to have economic growth.

'I'm talking about newer more thrifty attitudes in life styles, burning garbage instead of throwing it away, recycling metals and cans and all the new jobs it would create. I'm trying to point out that the 70s and 80s are going to be a far different time and we have to adapt.

"But we have to adapt in ways that get jobs for people, get health care for people. It's going to be a leaner, tougher time but it's got to be done in ways that are just and fair."

Other candidates, he said, are "using the rhetoric of the 60s — let's cut taxes and give business an accelerated depreciation allowance, let's rejigger and crank up the old new deal and great society programs. What I've been preaching is that the central fact of our times is that that day's gone. That whole great period was based on cheap and inexhaustible resources and we now know we're going into another time, that resources are not going to be cheap anymore."

It is a difficult issue to sell to a political audience. President Ford, with a bit more Calvinism and appeals for a return to a simpler lifestyle, tried to sell the idea during the 1974 congressional campaign, and he bombed out.

But Udall is convinced that there is a constituency "which really cares about the resource question and is angry about strip mining and supports wild rivers and the whole range of conservation issues . . . they want leaders who will level with them . . . you can give them hope, say our lives are going to change but are going to change in ways that are fair . . . and if we handle it right, we can have more simple lives that are more satisfying.

"We've been energy wasters," he says. "You don't have to use as much energy to be happy and have good lives."

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D-Wash.), who has campaigned on a claim that there is an abundance of resources, is "just wrong," says Udall. "The age of abundance is over. You used to be able to get oil out of the ground at a depth of 50 feet. Now you've got to build a $7 billion pipeline from Alaska . . . we're out of oil and gas in 25 years. Whatever we do, we're out. There isn't going to be abundant copper . . . it takes four times the energy to make a ton of steel out of iron ore as it does from scrap. Were going to have to use the scrap."

President Ford, Udall says, is "the worst president on environmental matters since Warren Harding."

"There wasn't a word in his speech about the environment. The first time in six years. Not a word. He doesn't care about it."

Udall insists that he will stick to his conservation theme regardless of who tells him that it is unacceptable in a state like Iowa, a land of snowmobiles and pickup trucks and long drives to town.

"I'm going to be myself," he says. "Nobody's going to bend me out of shape . . . my campaign is distinct. I'm talking about the hard choices we're facing. There's nothing for nothing anymore. There's no free lunch . . . we'd better slim down and tighten up and find new energy sources."

The noticeable change in Udall after his setback in Iowa is a willingness to take the gloves off against his opponents, particularly former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter.

Udall said Carter's first place finish in Iowa, with 28 percent of the vote to 5.9 percent for Udall, was "an amazing sag" because of his appeal "to so many diverse groups which on the issues are so far apart.

"Now he's going to pay the price for all of this attention. He'll either have to come up with some straight answers or appear to be waffling and lose the kind of clean, genuine sincere image that has made his strength.

Udall said Carter has both supported the Supreme Court's decision authorizing abortion and called for a constitutional amendment to overturn it.

"He says he's going to consolidate and abolish hundreds of federal agencies. Well, which ones."

On repeal of state right to work laws, Udall said, Carter had not yet been aske to take a position but h will. "Either you go wit labor and keep the labo support Carter's got in th northeast, or (Alabama Gov George) Wallace kills you You can't have it both way any more."

On gun control, Udall sai Carter's position is still nc clear "although they'll te you he's for registration c handguns."

In Iowa, he said, som opponents of gun contro "were wearing Carter bu tons. They haven't found ou yet. They're going to fin out."

On all of these issues Udall's position has lon been on record. He favor the Supreme Court decisio on abortion, favors gu control, favors repeal of th right to work laws.

"Carter has been spare that kind of examinatio because in part he's a r freshing new face on th scene, in part because h didn't have a votin record," since he has n served in Congress.

Udall says Carter has a tracted support from peop who have no idea where h stands on "gut libera issues." Carter opposed ai to New York City "but he had this strange ability i all these months to go t Beverly Hills and Manhatta and make big inroads an attract people you wouldn expect to be with him."

Udall expects all this t change before the Ne Hampshire, Massachusett and Florida Primaries. H predicts Carter will emerg as a "right of center" ca didate, and believes his re job is to emerge as the to vote-getter among the lef of-center candidates chiefly Sen. Birch Bayh, (I Ind.), former Sen. Fre Harris and Sargent Shriver the 1972 vice presidentia candidate.

"I can imagine Carte finishing first or Wallace i one of these states, and second place finish amon the others looking dam good," Udall said. "Yo might finish third behin Jackson and Wallace i Massachusetts — one of u liberal candidates might and still demolish the othe two . . . but I've got to d well and I've got to be pe ceived as doing well. . ."

LIBERALS

Continued From A-1

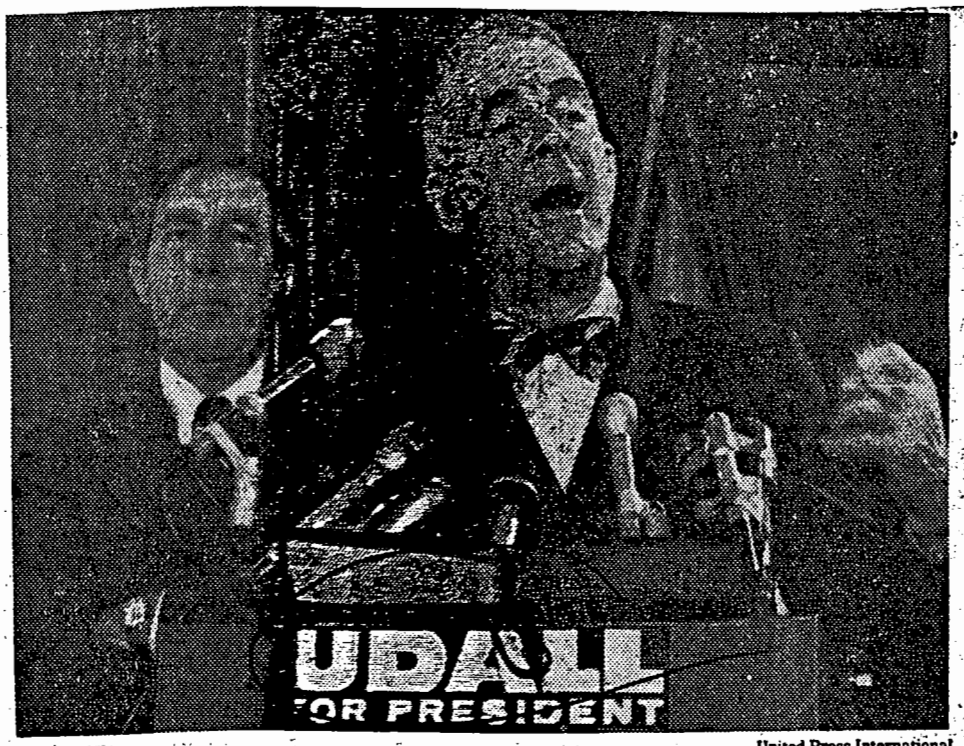
Extra staff members, both professional and volunteer, are assigned to to the two primaries. And Quinn says Udall will spend the $200,000 limit in New Hampshire and somewhere between $275,000 and $350,000 in Massachusetts, not counting expenditures before Jan. 1 or the cost of such things as national staff payroll, the candidate's own travel, advance work and the like — suggesting that the total in Massachusetts will approach, although not reach, the legal ceiling there of $631,000.

There are also signs of the kind of stress that inevitably develops in the campaign organization of an embattled candidate. In the aftermath of Iowa, Quinn fired field director Ken Levine, and recriminations abounded. Levine is convinced he was forced out because of a seven-page critique of the Iowa operation he wrote at the behest of Stewart Udall, the candidate's brother and campaign director. The memorandum criticized the candidate, the strategy and the organization, both in Iowa and at headquarters here, including Quinn. Quinn says he never read it.

WHATEVER the reasons for Levine's departure, many of the arguments he made in the memo coincide with assessments Democratic professionals outside the Udall operation have been making of the campaign.

Levine urged Udall to take more "bold, out-front positions" on issues, to be more specific in spelling out where he stood on such questions as inflation, energy, welfare. This is necessary, he argued, to compete with the perception of Harris as the most outspoken of the liberals.

Quinn argues that Udall is just as specific as Harris but "not as strident, nor as shrill" and contends that the campaign concentration in the media, both free and paid, will make this plain in the month remaining before voters go to the polls in new Hampshire.



—United Press International

Former Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox (right), endorses the Democratic presidential campaign of Rep. Morris Udall of Arizona during a Boston press conference yesterday. Udall looks on.

The most difficult problem for Udall, however, continues to be his own public personality. He is not a candidate who finds it easy to thump his chest and shout at the voters. And he is inclined to speak in the shorthand of official Washington rather than to spell out where he stands in simple terms.

PREPARING for an appearance on "Meet the Press" last Sunday, for example, Udall was urged by his media consultant, John Marttila of Boston, to concentrate on specific answers. But when school busing came up, he mentioned that he and Rep. Richardson Preyer of North Carolina have devised a legislative alternative but never described its terms.

Udall is not the only liberal feeling the pressure in New England as a result of Iowa, of course. Although Harris finished ahead of him, his just-under 10 percent hardly established that there is a silent majority out there inflamed by the "privilege" issue on which his candidacy is predicated. But there is at least reason to believe Harris has a hard core of support on the left, whatever its size, that can sustain him into the spring.

Bayh suffered serious damage, too, because of the high expectations of his showing in Iowa. The state chairman there, Tom Whitney, and others had been predicting he would give Carter a close contest, but the former Georgia governor captured more than 27 percent and beat Bayh two to one. But among Democratic politicians, Bayh is not perceived as at the critical stage yet.

SHRIVER'S pale performance in Iowa seemed to confirm suspicions in the party that there was less there than meets the eye, and similar weakness in New Hampshire and Massachusetts would doom his candidacy. He does have peculiar advantages, however, in both primaries — his status as the only Roman Catholic in the field and the superior identification he enjoys as a Kennedy in-law in New England.

The one thing that is not conjectural after Iowa is that those very first primaries are likely to be the last for at least one and probably two of the Democratic liberals of 1976.

Wash Star 1/25

Iowa Pushed Udall to the Wall

By Jack W. Germond
Washington Star Staff Writer

They held some staff meetings at Morris Udall's presidential campaign headquarters Friday. They were talking, campaign coordinator Jack Quinn reported, about such things as the Pennsylvania primary April 27 and the Michigan primary May 18.

But, as Quinn would concede, there was a large measure of bravado in it. For Mo Udall the crunch is coming in New Hampshire Feb. 24 and Massachusetts March 2. He has a month to demonstrate he is alive and well politically. If he doesn't, Pennsylvania and Michigan will be academic.

This is the principal result of Jimmy Carter's triumph in the Iowa precinct caucuses last week. The other results — 13 percent for Birch Bayh, 10 percent for Fred Harris, 6 percent for Udall, 3 percent for Sargent Shriver — have forced the liberals in the Democratic field to a critical turning point far earlier than many of them had expected. By the morning of March 3, two of the four are likely to be writing withdrawal statements.

THE PRESSURE is particularly intense on Udall, the Arizona liberal trapped between the Harris appeal to the ideological true believers on the Democratic left and Bayh's attraction for the pragmatists seeking a connection with organized labor.

The party line in the Udall camp is that the prime target is still Bayh because Harris remains a candidate who cannot be elected and, thus, will not be nominated at the Democratic convention in New York next July. The Harris support, says Quinn, "is quite limited and as time goes on, it will erode . . . it will wither."

But the problem for Udall is not quite that simple. The danger is that potential Udall supporters on the issues may decide that his weakness in Iowa was a symptom of terminal illness, so they might as well support old Fred and see what happens.

The evidence abounds that the Udall strategists recognize they have been pushed to the wall in the very first primaries. "It goes without saying," said one staff professional, "that it's make or break."

Today full-page advertisements are being published in the Boston Globe and New York Times announcing that Archibald Cox, the Watergate prosecutor, has endorsed Udall and appealing for contributions.

UDALL'S television advertising campaign is scheduled to begin by mid-week, far earlier than candidates usually start in a New Hampshire primary. Radio spots already are running.

See LIBERALS, A-9

Udall's Supporters Rally

'Good Showing' Critical in N.H., Mass. Primaries

POST 1/29

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

HANOVER, N.H. — The paradox of Morris K. Udall's presidential campaign is this: at the very moment that his chances of winning the Democratic nomination have been downgraded because of his weak fourth-place finish in the Iowa precinct caucuses, his own core constituency finally seems to be rallying to his support.

That was evident here in this college town Monday night when more than 200 people risked icy roads to meet him at a reception that raised about $3,000 for his New Hampshire campaign.

It is evident, on a broader scale, in the news from his Washington headquarters that a mailing to a list of Udall supporters has produced $46,000 in small contributions in the past 10 days — half of it since the senders had a chance to assess the Iowa returns of Jan. 19.

As a transplanted Philadelphian and League of Women Voters leader said at the reception, "What do I care about those people in Iowa? I know the quality of this man — even if they don't."

The willingness of the fervent Udall fans — largely middle-class people with an interest in the environment and governmental reform — to rally behind him in this state is critical.

As the Arizona congressman acknowledges, a "good showing" in New Hampshire on Feb. 24 and Massachusetts on March 2 is essential to his survival in the presidential race. Otherwise, Udall will have little choice but to turn his thoughts back home to a run for re-election or a try for the Senate seat that Republican Paul Fannin is vacating.

He is not competing seriously in the Oklahoma or Maine caucuses that will precede the first primary here, nor is he going to divert his energies to the newly scheduled March 2 primary in Vermont. He will spend the next month in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, committing all the $200,000 allowed in this state and probably twice as much in Massachusetts, in hopes of



REP. MORRIS K. UDALL
. . . finished 4th in Iowa

"doing well" enough to eliminate some of the other liberals and gather momentum for the later primaries.

In an interview here, Udall said that "doing well" does not necessarily mean beating Jimmy Carter, the Iowa victor, in New Hampshire.

He says he is convinced the press scrutiny of Carter will show the former Georgia governor to be no liberal. "You can't be opposed to federal aid to New York City and against busing and have the support of the Massachusetts liberals," Udall says.

But "doing well" does mean reversing the order of finish in Iowa, where Birch Bayh and Fred Harris both drew more votes than he did. And it means keeping Sargent Shriver, who finished behind Udall in Iowa, from overtaking him here.

"In New Hampshire," said Udall, "I don't have to beat Carter. But I have to be perceived as doing well vis a vis these other guys — Bayh, Harris and Shriver. And that means not finishing a bad fourth or a bad anything."

Udall's canvassing shows well over half the New Hampshire voters undecided, so the race appears to be up for grabs. But Larry Radway, the state Democratic chairman, told reporters here that "Udall is doing well in this state. He ought to be able to finish first or second."

Udall's chief asset in this state is his early start and a skilled, dedicated organization, operating from 14 local headquarters, that seems largely insulated from the upheavals that have disrupted his Washington office.

He also may be able to outspend his liberal rivals and Carter — in fact, all the contenders except Henry M. Jackson and George C. Wallace — in New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

That will certainly be true if the full-page ads last Sunday in The New York Times and The Boston Globe, heralding Udall's endorsement by former Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox, attract as many new contributors as Udall's media consultant, John Martilla, believes likely.

But even if the "intensity factor" is finally beginning to show in the Udall campaign, the breadth of his appeal remains uncertain. The successful fund-raising reception in Hanover was followed by a crowd of several hundred students and townspeople at Dartmouth College.

But turnouts in neighboring blue-collar cities were poor. In Lebanon, an industrial town of about 10,000 people, where Jan Kleck, the local Udall coordinator, and her volunteer aides had phoned and written invitations to several hundred people, Udall found only 16 adults and four children on hand for a free 5 p.m. reception. A morning event in another blue-collar town, Claremont, attracted only half a dozen visitors.

The witty, reflective Udall campaign speech — which includes only the gentlest and most indirect appeal for votes — seems to go over much better with academic audiences than it does at insurance offices or in industrial towns.

Udall himself seems aware that his appeal may be somewhat specialized, noting "with pride" that in his Iowa defeat, he did manage to win "three college towns where I campaigned personally."

He likes to compare himself to Adlai Stevenson, the favorite of the last generation's eggheads, and to retell Stevenson's story about the faculty wife who, thrilled by his speech, said, "Oh, Governor, that was wonderful. Every thinking person will support you."

"That's not enough, madam," said Stevenson, "I need a majority."

Udall apparently has finally ignited "the thinking people," but, like Stevenson, he is not sure if that will be enough.

Real Udall Rivals Are Liberals in New Hampshire

By James R. Dickenson
Washington Star Staff Writer

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Rep. Morris K. Udall made the visit to the nutritional lunch program for the elderly here that all the Democratic presidential candidates have made and he ran into Jimmy Carter's aunt, Sissy Dolvin.

She smiled up at him as she was eating roast chicken and scalloped carrots along with the old folks and her presence explained why so many of them had white Jimmy Carter pamphlets along with their blue Mo Udall ones.

Aunt Sissy, a pretty matron, is as energetic a campaigner as her nephew who along with Udall is the leader in the Democratic presidential primary, partly because of their early and superior organizational work.

UDALL AND Carter are not really rivals here, however. Carter has an almost no-lose situation. Although he may win he doesn't have to, he just has to show well in a Northern primary.

Udall's real competition is with Sen. Birch Bayh, Fred Harris and Sargeant Shriver, the other Democratic liberals. He is staking a lot on the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries and probably has to beat Bayh in one of them to stay alive.

He is also staking a lot on the endorsement by former Watergate Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox and five Massachusetts congressmen, including House Majority Leader Thomas P. O'Neill and the Rev. Robert Drinan.

If he beats Bayh in New Hampshire, on Feb. 24, it gives him a boost in Massachusetts the follwing week and Udall is giving New Hampshire his best shot. This is where he is best organized, except for Wisconsin whose primary now is just a preferential "beauty contest" and doesn't count in delegate selection.

IF UDALL LOSES to ayh here he doesn't have much of a fallback position, but Bayh does. Bayh also is placing his hopes on Masschusetts and is working hard in New York and Illinois.

Udall supporters contend that in this case the short view is preferrable. "There's no point in planning how to win the finals if you get beat in the first round," says one. "Both Carter and Bayh are spreading themselves too thin. We're concentrating on New Hampshire. If we do well here it will carry over into Massachusetts."

Udall and his campaign managers feel a recent momentum which they ascribe to the Cox endorsement. "He is a genuine hero," Udall says. "His endorsement has a ripple effect with a lot of liberals both here and in Maschusetts."

Udall supporters also believe that he is showing momentum from a candidates night on Jan. 23. They think that Carter had momentum from his victory in the Iowa precinct caucuses but that this has tailed off and some of his support is starting to diffuse to other candidates.

UDALL APPEARS to be slightly uncomfortable with the role of a frontrunner. "Your opponents build you up by ascribing to you high expectations and then they knock you down if you don't meet them," he said last night. "If you don't meet these expectations you can win but they say that you've lost. One thing we found in the Muskie campaign four years ago was that those whom the Gods would destroy they first make frontrunners."

Udall has been afflicted with a sore throat and a flu for most of the past week. So have his wife and many of his top campaign aides.

This did not keep him from meeting a rigorous campaign schedule that had him flying to Berlin, from Nashua last night to greet workers coming off the midnight shift at the Cascade Mill near Cascade Flats and then getting up for a 6:45 a.m. plant gate appearance in Berlin this morning.

IN HIS CAMPAIGNING yesterday Udall came down hard on his traditional Democratic issues of fighting recession and inflation through a national full employement bill. He also advocated a national health insurance plan such as the one Massachusetts Sen. Edward M. Kennedy has proposed.

He also was sharply critical of the Ford administration for its stand on Angola when asked to respond to Ford's charge that Congress "had lost its guts" on the issue.

"They want another Vietnam in Angola," Udall charged. "they haven't learned a thing in 15 years. They haven't learned that when two factions in one country fight, the United States should stay out. Angola is not a test of our national will, it's a test of our sanity and discrimination."

He said that Congress' refusal to appropriate money for Angola was "a triumph of common sense." He said that Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger was about to line up another "row of dominoes, including Zambia and Zaire" in the wake of Angola.

HE SAID THAT Kissinger should soon step down as Secretary of State because "he has lost the trust of Congress becauese there is s adeep seated feeling that he lied to us about Cambodia, Chile, secret agreements with North Vietnam and the wiretapping of his own people. He can no longer play a useful role because he's lost the trust of the Congress and the public."

THE NATION
By MARTIN F. NOLAN

Cox packs big punch for Udall

Morris Udall was sucking on a lozenge, battling the flu and welcoming his wife Ella, out of quarantine where she and her flu had been for five days. After greeting fishermen in the cold dawn of New Bedford, he seemed a candidate for a hospital rather than the White House.

But Udall's therapy involved a powerful antibiotic in politics, the taste of success, the sense that he was breaking through the pack of liberal and moderate candidates in the New Hampshire and Massachusetts primaries.

Maybe the Arizona congressman is delirious, but right now his seems to represent the campaign with the most momentum. Moreover, he is following the prescription of one of the nation's hotshot campaign consultants, John Marttila.

Marttila is the producer-director of television and radio commercials that feature Archibald Cox, the former special Watergate prosecutor, whose Pepperidge Farm voice extols "the uncommon moral strength" of candidate Udall.

Endorsements can be a perilous business in an age of political alienation, but Cox is clearly different, Udall thinks. "We have no heroes in this age," he says, "but Cox is a hero. He stood up to Nixon at a critical time."

A critical time for Udall, the candidate recalls through his lozenge, was late in December: "There was a general malaise in our campaign and the press was zeroing in on our troubles. We had tried and failed to get liberal endorsements in New York and Massachusetts." The hiring of Marttila and the Cox endorsement "were the two catalytic events that re-kindled this campaign."

"And the two together were important," Udall adds. "We would have taken Cox and done a little blurb in the paper and that would have been the end of it."

Instead, Marttila took the lead victim of the 1973 Saturday Massacre to a site near the 1770 ton Massacre and had Cox introd Udall to a Faneuil Hall rally, history as a prop for more TV s At that rally, Udall denou George Wallace, a strategy that help win the Massachusetts pri but which also may prove cost November.

"I understand the risks invol the Arizona congressman says, I've tried to separate Wallace his supporters. He has only a core of 10 percent or so of the r wing John Birch people. The vast jority of his voters are Democrats we've got to get them — the be cians, the barbers, as he calls them.

Ordinarily, such potential W ceites could hardly be wooed by likes of an Archibald Cox. In th stant-cynicism syndrome of po around here, Cox was perceive "another Harvard intellectual." attitude echoes Stalin's military tion: "How many divisions does Pope have?"

But on the other end of the w way line from Harvard, Archi Cox has clout with blue-collar p including a Dorchester mechanic classifies Cox as "a stand-up The endorsement is the one most eted by other campaigns, as well co-chairman of Birch Bayh's paign, State Rep. Philip Johnston knowledges, "If there was one dorsement we would have it was Archie Cox."

Bayh would be the leading victim of his ideological twin's succes and, ironically enough, a victim of Richard Nixon's mistake when he fired Archibald Cox and made him a national hero. When Archie talks, Mo doesn't mind losing his voice.

Martin F. Nolan is chief of the Globe Washington Bureau.

Wash Post 1/22

Udall Campaign Shaken Up

By Jules Witcover
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Morris K. Udall's (D-Ariz.) national campaign field director, in the job only a month, and four other field organizers have been removed in the wake of friction between national and local staff workers in Iowa's precinct caucuses.

Jack Quinn, Udall's national campaign coordinator, confirmed yesterday that he and Ken Levine, appointed field director last month, "mutually agreed" that Levine should leave.

The decision was not based on Udall's disappointing fourth-place finish, Quinn said, but rather "on what I perceived as the national staff going in there and not dealing with the local people in a harmonious way. I think things have to be handled with more finesse."

Levine's slot will be filled by Bill Garrett, Udall's Northwest regional coordinator, and Carey Caton, a national staffer who also worked in Iowa, Quinn said.

Quinn said the practice of sending national staff into state campaigns will not be used in the New Hampshire (Feb. 24) and Massachusetts (March 2) primaries, where Udall is geared to make a major effort.

Quinn said he saw one bright spot in the Iowa results, in that Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), whom the Udall campaign regards as a major foe in the early winnowing-out of the Democratic liberal field, was held in check. Bayh finished a distant second to former Gov. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, with 13.16 per cent of the vote, less than half Carter's showing of 27.63 per cent.

Quinn said that "as time goes on, I don't think Carter will be in the group regarded as progressive and liberal. I think the bubble is beginning to burst as greater scrutiny is applied to his record."

Carter vs. HHH

Carter, meanwhile, was up in New Hampshire yesterday taking the offensive against the one non-candidate many believe will be the eventual beneficiary of an overcrowded Democratic national convention to nominate Humphrey.

Caucus

Samplings of the Iowa precinct caucus results show that Carter exceeded his statewide percentage in virtually every special category tracked by the Iowa Democratic Committee.

In upwards of three-fourths of the state's 2,530 precincts,

Political Notebook

Democratic field—Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.)..

Carter said in Manchester that Humphrey has a "reputation as a loser" and probably would lose to the Republican nominee if he fails to enter any Democratic primaries.

"I think it would be inappropriate for the party . . . to go back and choose someone who has been running since the 1950s," Carter said. "I think if we did go back and choose someone as old as he, we might very well lose this year." Humphrey is 64.

Draft Suspended

On still another front, Rep. Paul M. Simon (D-Ill.) reported that he was suspending his "draft Humphrey" committee plans because of legal complications imposed by the Federal Election Commission on raising funds for a candidate who has not given his approval to the effort, as Humphrey has not. But Simon said he would continue to urge the

Carter had 34 per cent in the small towns, 32 per cent among white-collar voters, 37 per cent among blue-collar voters and 34.7 per cent in rural areas. In a handful of black-voter precincts sampled, he had 38 per cent. Only in Iowa's major cities did he slip, to 18.1 per cent.

In Dubuque, Iowa's stronghold of Roman Catholic voters, Carter won 22.7 per cent to a dismal 2.31 per cent for 1972 vice-presidential nominee Sargent Shriver, who was expected to be an attractive vote-getter among Catholics. In Carroll County, another Catholic stronghold, Carter won a thumping 46.9 per cent, to only 3.06 per cent for Shriver.

Carter's showing seemed to reflect Catholic voter approval of Carter's support for what he ambiguously called a federal "statute" in opposition to abortion, as an alternative to an anti-abortion constitutional amendment, which he said he opposed, along with most other candidates.

Carter's position quoted in the Catholic Mirror, an Iowa paper, was criticized as hazy and misleading by his foes, and as intentionally leaving the impression in the Catholic community that he was "trimming" on the issue. Shriver for one is determined to press Carter for clarification.

The GOP Side

Final figures in the Iowa Republican Committee's sampling of 62 precincts plus local newspaper polls in 11 counties of last Monday night's voting: President Ford 1,587 (54.1 per cent), Ronald Reagan 1,345 (45.9 per cent).

...And Elsewhere

Gov. Milton J. Shapp of Pennsylvania has qualified for federal matching campaign funds by raising the required $5,000 in each of 20 states in amounts of $250 or less, an aide reports . . . The National Black Political Assembly yesterday said it will try to draft Georgia's state Sen. Julian Bond as an independent presidential candidate. Bond has already withdrawn as a declared Democratic candidate.

March 1975

Candidate file

Udall Bumps Into Old Friend

By JAY LAWRENCE

Last weekend, says Rep. Morris Udall, he was sitting in the California governor's office in California paying a call and the security guard kept coming in nervously to say there was a visitor waiting in the lobby.

When Udall finished his chat, he walked out to see who the waiting dignitary was—and there sat Jimmy Carter.

"Everywhere I go I keep bumping into him," said Udall, who along with the former Georgia governor has already made the plunge into the 1976 presidential campaign.

Like Carter, Udall has been criss-crossing the country, although he says he's been doing most of his traveling on weekends.

He was in Atlanta Friday night on his way to Callaway Gardens to keynote the annual meeting of the Georgia Conservancy. From there it's on to Boston.

Former congressman Jim Mackay, who greeted Udall, said Carter was also invited to the conference to receive an award, but he was in Arizona. Arizona is Udall's home state.

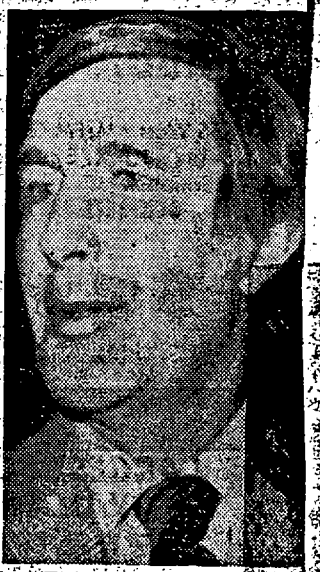
Udall, 52, admits that conservation is the issue he is most often identified with. But he says he is campaigning on "the three E's: energy, environment and economy. They're all tied in together."

He lambasts President Ford for raising the import duty on Arab oil.

"We've just had a whole year of energy inflation due to Arab oil hikes. Ford's program is deliberately designed to drive the price from $10 to $15 a barrel. This could be disastrous."

Udall says he would use "rationing and allocation" to accomplish Ford's goal of making the nation energy independent.

As to the economy, he says he favors a tax cut and a "net stimulus"—or budget deficit—of $20 billion to $25 billion.



THE THREE E'S' Rep. Morris Udall

Mightn't this lead to another round of inflation in years to come? No, he says, the economy can easily make it up under full employment.

The 52-year-old Udall, brother of former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, says he started to run so early because no one knows who he is and because the Democratic nomination is wide-open.

"If there's a short campaign, the only people who can run are the well-known. This is only the second time in my lifetime that the Democratic race has been wide-open, and both times men of fine caliber have been produced. The last was Adlai Stevenson."

Would he face Jimmy Carter in Georgia? "My inclination would be not to," he says, "because of his following here. I plan to enter a fair cross-section of primaries."

He calls Carter an old friend, identifying him as "porgressive, in the mainstream." "The time is past when you can count the South out in a national race."

But he refused to rate his or Carter's chances. "We're all longshots," Udall said.

Chicago Tribune
THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER
Wednesday, December 24, 1975

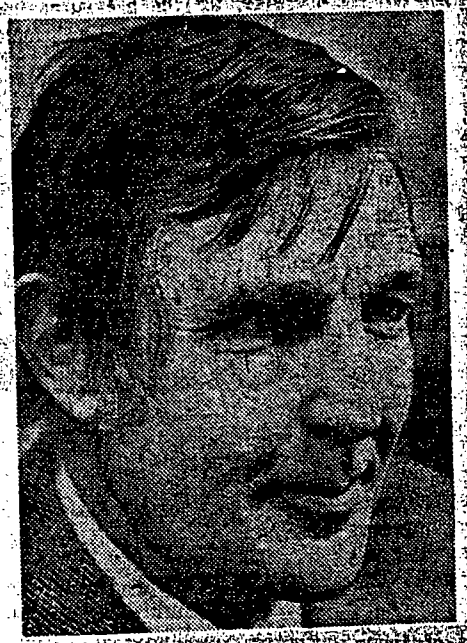
Udall 1 step up, 2 steps back

By Jon Margolis
Chicago Tribune Press Service

WASHINGTON—For most of this year, Rep. Morris K. Udall's long-shot presidential campaign made slow but steady progress, transforming its leader from an obscure Arizona congressman into a serious contender for the Democratic nomination.

But as the year ends, there are signs that Udall's progress has lagged.

Udall's two major opponents for the affections of Democratic liberals—Sen.



Rep. Morris Udall

Birch Bayh [D., Ind.] and former Sen. Fred Harris [D., Okla.] outscored him at liberal conventions in New York and Massachusetts earlier this month.

Bayh has been getting more support from union officials around the country, and Harris' fiery populist rhetoric is making him the favorite of campus liberals, whose energies can help an underfinanced candidate in the primaries.

"Moe is a good guy," said one Democratic observer, "but he's dead."

POLITICAL OBITUARIES are often premature, and as in the case of Mark Twain, the reports of Udall's death may be greatly exaggerated.

But even many of Udall's well-wishers agree that he has at least been wounded, and that his campaign needs a tonic to revive it.

Basically, what Udall needs is a victory, or at least a strong second-place showing, in the New Hampshire primary Feb. 24.

He could very well get it, according to Democrats in New Hampshire, the scene of the first primary. His campaign there is considered well-organized and well-led.

YES, I DO NEED to do well in New Hampshire," Udall said. "Whether I have to win depends on who else comes in. At this stage I'm really running against the other candidates who are generally thought to be liberals."

This means that the only candidate Udall can lose to in New Hampshire would be former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter, since the other less liberal contenders—Sens. Henry Jackson [Wash.] and Lloyd Bentsen [Texas] and Alabama Gov. George Wallace—are not running in the first primary.

Udall's main opponent, and in a sense his main problem, is Bayh, whose candidacy has attracted some liberals who think he is more electable than Udall.

"I really don't prefer Bayh to Udall in any substantial way," said a Massachusetts liberal activist. "But Birch has all that labor support and that's what's needed to stop someone like Jackson from getting the nomination."

AFTER UDALL'S poor showing at the New Democratic Coalition in New York, one politician said, "Udall's been going around all year saying he doesn't want to be the [George] McGovern of 1976. Well, he won't be. He can't even get the liberals."

But it was also clear at that New York gathering that Udall's apparent weakness masked a potential long-run strength — he was just about everyone's second choice.

This means that if he does well in the early primaries and one of the other liberals has to bow out, Udall is the likely beneficiary of the dropout's support.

Udall also has money problems, but here, too, his short-run difficulties might hide some long-range strength. His campaign is at least $100,000 in debt. But he has raised about $750,000, and nearly all of it qualifies for federal matching funds under the new campaign financing law.

UDALL SHOULD get well over $600,000 in matching money early next month. In addition, he started a new "lean cat program" to try to raise another $600,000 in small contributions by the end of March.

But whether Udall even remains a serious candidate by then depends on how well his brand of politics, honed in the dry heat of Arizona, can sell in the wet, cold winter of New Hampshire this February.

Udall: wit, pragmatism in early campaigning

By Stewart Dill McBride
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

FEB-4-75

Boston

Democratic Rep. Morris ("Mo") K. Udall is toiling on an uphill presidential campaign trail with all the determination his Mormon ancestors showed in settling on the Arizona frontier.

Armed with a Will Rogers-style wit and a wary political progmatism, the 6-5 conservationist has crisscrossed the United States for the last six months buttonholing state party leaders and "trying to get on the mentioned list."

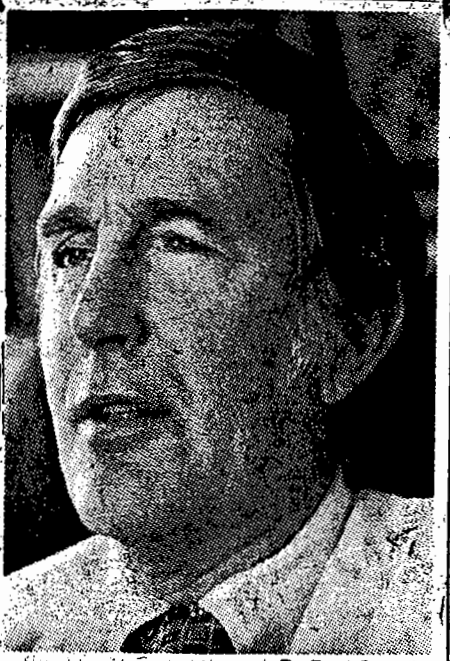
The congressman from Tucson, Ariz., is one of the three early birds in the race toward a Democratic convention 18 months away. But being a House member from a small state in what looks like it will be a large field of candidates, Mr. Udall wants to lay his organizational groundwork for the presidential primaries "before too many favorite sons get into the act."

The biggest challenge facing the liberal Democrat, who has championed protective land-use and strip-mining legislation is how to broaden his environmentalist image and gain national visibility.

As the only member of the House of Representatives to enter the race, many think Mr. Udall has bitten off a little more than he can chew.

But being the underdog is nothing new to the politician who jarred the party's inner circles in 1969 when he challenged veteran Rep. John McCormack of Massachusetts for Speaker of the House and later lost to the late Rep. Hale Boggs of Louisiana in the 1971 contest for House majority leader.

Ironically the new campign finance law, which Mr. Udall helped write and which restricts individual contributions, could be working against him and other lesser-known candidates. He admits fund-raising is tough but plans to rely on "McGovern-style direct mailing" to drum up funds while making the "talk show" circuit and "picking up free media coverage."



By Paul Conklin

Udall: early sprinter

His strategy is simple: Gather enough support in the primaries to hold his own during the convention's first ballot and then play the role of "broker" and compromise candidate around whom the divided party can rally.

"In order to be a great president you have to be two things, great and president," he said half seriously to an audience of liberal Massachusetts Democrats, at the weekend, emphasizing the need to select a candidate "who can win."

In his attempt to build a party coalition and avoid what he considers a flaw in the presidential campaign of Sen. George McGovern, he avoids detailing his platform.

In general terms, he says:

- The economy "must come first" over environmental priorities as long as "Americans are without jobs." The unrestrained economic growth, however, should be reversed as the nation enters "the age of scarcity." Coal production and offshore oil drilling should begin with proper reclamation and precautions.
- The defense budget should be trimmed by 10 to 15 percent through troop reductions and by cutting costly weaponry programs. (Mr. Udall, who broke with the Johnson administration — in which his brother, Stewart L. Udall, was Secretary of the Interior — and his conservative constituency with his early opposition to the Vietnam war, opposes President Ford's recommendation of further military aid to Southeast Asia.)
- Increased supplies of food should be sent to hungry nations that are developing population controls and increasing agricultural efficiency.

UDALL

Udall Eyes Double Campaign in 1976

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Democratic contender Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz) is investigating the possibility of a twin campaign to keep his House seat while running for the presidency.

"I haven't made a decision. I'm just floating the idea to get public reaction," Udall said in an interview.

"Goldwater could have done it in 1964 but he declined, claiming it was not the moral thing to do," Udall said, recalling his fellow Arizonan's unsuccessful campaign against President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Barry Goldwater's Senate seat also was up in 1964. Goldwater said, however, he would not take advantage of the Arizona law because he criticized Johnson in 1960 for running for both the Senate and for John F. Kennedy's running mate.

about 30 supporters gathered outside Luigi's Pizza, 462 State St., on a sunny afternoon last Friday, as owner Gary Witte agreed to recognize MIWU Local #7 as the bargaining agent for Luigi's workers.

But smiles may turn to frowns if Witte decides to close the State Street Luigi's down temporarily, as he is thinking of doing. Citing financial and health reasons, Witte said, "I'll probably close it down Monday temporarily. I don't see any other alternative at this point."

EXPLAINING THAT he was the only manager for both the State Street and Raymond Road Luigi's Pizza places, Witte said, "I haven't got time to produce and manage both places at once. I've never been in this situation before in my life." He said that he had no idea when he would open the State Street store again if he closed it down.

Union spokespersons disputed Witte's economics reasoning. "It's not proven to us," one said, "due to hour cutbacks, recent price increases, and maintenance of the same level of business."

Recognition by Witte came Friday after a brief meeting with store workers, all of whom had signed union cards. Spokespersons for the union said they were prepared to go on strike immediately if they were not recognized.

"We began organizing efforts rather spontaneously," explained store worker Biddie Webb at a press conference earlier Sunday.



photo by Brian Branagan

Luigi's worker Ray Esch prepares another of those fine union-made pizzas.

"Essentially, the need for a union was for job security and working conditions."

SHE SAID THAT since Witte purchased the State Street pizza place six weeks ago, two full-time workers had been laid off, and remaining workers' hours had been cut in half. Haphazard scheduling of hours, lack of job descriptions, late paychecks and no scheduled breaks on a ten to twelve hour shift were additional reasons for organizing, Webb said.

"We're not asking anything major in economic terms," another worker said, "just for job protection. There has to be some written guarantees for workers."

Luigi's workers expect to have some written contract proposals within a few weeks, said spokespersons for the union.

WITTE EXPLAINED that the hours cutbacks were necessary at the other local, the Spudnuts Shop at 547 State St., was understandably pleased with the appearance of a sister local. "We're really glad," she said. "We hung on, knowing that other locals would be starting. We think every place that's marginal, with unskilled, poorly paid help, that's subject to harassment, discharge, layoffs, or underemployment, is better off being organized."

Luigi's is the latest restaurant organizing drive. Two other MIWU efforts are currently underway, and Rocky Roccoco's Pizza workers will have a union election on May 1.

Hilton Hotel workers are also meeting with management for a contract, and a unionizing effort is taking place at the Edgewater Hotel, according to members of the Restaurant Hotel Support Group, backing all the unionizing efforts. The support group has received the blanket endorsements of the Madison Federation of Labor, numerous state, municipal, retail and teachers' locals, Mayor Paul Soglin, State Rep. David Clarenbach (D-Madison), City Council alderpersons Carol Wuennenberg, Rich Gross, Roney Sorensen, and the striking Yellow Cab workers.

WITH THE successful unionizing effort behind them, happy Luigi's workers invited the public to come and sample their product. As one worker exclaimed, "It's the only union pizza in town."



photo by Larry [illegible]

HOLY HANGOVER!!!! Batman and Robin deal crime a stunning setback Friday night as over 500 students gathered in back of Schlichter Hall down in Lakeshore Halls to watch the Caped Crusaders, King Kong, and Son of Flubber.

Morris Udall

(continued from page 1

and a sound foreign policy."

Environment, energy and economic problems seem to be the most crucial to Udall. He claimed a major reason for the inflation now facing the United States is "concentrated economic power." Horizontal and vertical monopolies in the American economy need to be "busted up," according to Udall, and "competition needs to be reintroduced."

Citing oil companies as part of the major monopolies in this country, Udall proposed that the energy-fuel industries be divided into four segments: production and exploration, transportation, refining and marketing. Within one year of this proposal becoming law, Udall claimed, no oil company could be involved in more than one of these areas of oil manufacturing.

CALLING FOR AN "age of reform and an era of change" Udall said, "We need an era like the 1930's where we're not going to have so much, this should be known as an era of economic justice to the people in this country."

Amid cheers from the audience Udall went on to say "We need a change in the guard of leadership. Ten years is a generation in politics." And Udall is about 10 years younger than any Republican candidate who would be fielded to run against him. Gerald Ford, Nelson Rockefeller, Ronald Reagan, all considered the Republican hopefuls are or will soon be in the 60's. Morris Udall is 52.

After sparring some questions from the floor, Udall was jetted back to Washington; leaving Wisconsin to the "Udall for President" Committee until the Wisconsin primary race gets hot next spring.

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...major assault.

MINH WAS SCHEDULED to be inaugurated Monday and was expected to call for an immediate cease-fire and to condone the withdrawal of most of the American mission, seeking to reduce it to the normal level of other diplomatic missions.

A close associate of Minh said his government "will seek by all possible means and good will to achieve a political solution with the Provisional Revolutionary Government. The government of Gen. Minh is putting all of its con-

...President Nguyen Van Thieu."

MINH, 59, was one of the leaders of the 1963 coup that overthrew the late President Ngo Dinh Diem. Following Diem's ouster, Minh served as chief of state for three months until he was overthrown in still another coup. Associates charged at the time that he was ousted by the Americans for favoring a neutralist solution to the war.

In other developments Sunday:

Hundreds of South Vietnamese militiamen dropped their weapons in a pile and fled in the path of the

...about 200 homes ablaze. Two more hit just before midnight, but police reported no causalties.

Communist-led troops cut Highway 15, the capital's overload highway to the coast, and Highway 4, its lifeline to the fodd producing Meking Delta to the south.

Radio Hanoi interrupted a musical program to announce that the Provisional Revolutionary FGovernment had captured Ba Ria, the capital of Phue Tuy province 30 miles southeast of Saigon.

Hundreds of Americans were evacuated from Saigon, leaving fewer than 1,000 in the city by nightfall, about half of them assigned to the U.S. mission. The others included contract employees, businessmen, newsmen, missionaries and employees of voluntary agencies.

A SPOKESMAN for the PRG delegation said its position had already been made clear in a statement issued Saturday.

"Those who love the country and want to contribute to the building of peace must all respond to the two demands of the PRG Provisional Revolutionary Government," the spokesman said.

The earlier PRG statement called for "an administration in Saigon standing for peace, independence, democracy, national concord and serious implementation of the Paris agreement."



photo by Robert Passell

Udall courts Madison

For '76 prez race

Morris Udall

By SHELAGH KEALY
of the Cardinal Staff

April 27, 1975, by most calendars is a little early to begin a 1976 Presidential campaign, but not for Morris K. Udall. Following the example of former Democratic Presidential hopefuls, Udall, decided to take Wisconsin by storm—early in the game.

The Arizona Democrat is one of the few members of the House of Representatives to run for President in the last years; Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) ran in the 1972 campaign. Udall spoke in Memorial Union Sunday as part of a four-stop statewide appearance to formally kick off the Wisconsin sector of his Presidential campaign.

"MY CAMPAIGN SHOULD bear the markings 'Made in Wisconsin' ", he said. Udall attributs his entrance into the 1976 campaign as part of concerted efforts by Wisconsin Congressmen David Obey (D-Wausau) and Robert Kastenmeier (D-Sun Prairie). "This is part of the friendly system that brings you the 'two year campaign,' " he added, commenting on his early start.

Udall is planning to enter the Wisconsin primary, which will be held in April 1976. Long considered one of the most crucial primaries in a Presidential election, the Wisconsin Presidential Primary is a victory Udall is counting on heavily.

"Wisconsin is a key state, the most critical state," he said. "Wisconsin made Jack Kennedy. I have no idea who the competition will be in the primary. I am running a high risk operation, and have been by starting this early."

Udall utilized his state wide appearances to announce an 81 member campaign committee in this state which includes Norman Anderson, speaker of the State Assembly and five of the state's seven Democratic Congressmen. His campaign is aimed at a decidedly grass-roots level.

SPEAKING TO A CROWD of over 300 people, mostly students, Udall addressed a number of issues. The end of American involvement in Vietnam is the "end of an era", according to Udall, for the United States and its foreign policy. He supports any humanitarian aid we can give Vietnam as "the very least we can do...We intervened in that country. There are over 700,000 orphans and abandoned children there, we defoliated that country," he explained.

One of the lessons Udall hopes the United States can learn from the Vietnamese involvement over the past 11 years lies in the concept of national security. "We've got to get a handle on this mad arms race," he said. "National security is not just an army. It is a sound economy, a people with their heads screwed on straight

Daily Cardinal University of Wisconsin 4/27/75

Net Worth Listed by Rep. Udall

Rep. Morris K. Udall, one of five declared candidates for the 1976 Democratic presidential nomination, earned nearly $80,000 last year and has real estate holdings worth more than $125,000.

The congressman from Arizona filed a legnthy financial statement Tuesday with the House Committee, on Standards of Official Conduct.

Udall's congressional salary is $42,500. He said he received interest payments of $4,995, stock dividends of $674, and other income of approximately $31,450. His total income of approximatly $31,450. His total income was set at $79,420. Adjustments of $16,742 brought it down to $62,678, deductions lowered the taxable amount to $43,168, and his federal income tax bill for 1974 was $11,555.

The statement, more detailed than the financial disclosure required by House rules for all House members, listed Udall's honoraria and travel reimbursements, bank holdings, real estate investments, and a fund he established to raise money and pay bills for a periodic newsletter he publishes.

The congressman, who declared his candidacy last Novmeber but had been running an unofficial campaign for several months before that, disclosed he received $13,452 in fees for 1974 speeches and newspaper articles. He also received $11,305 in reimbursements for travel and other expenses, including those of running his office.

Among the real estate holdings were his home in McLean, Va., 40 acres in Tucson, Ariz., a plot of land in Front Royal, Va., and four Arizona tracts totaling 112 acres. He said he net worth of the land and improvements was $128,000.

In addition, he said he had $9,000 in cash on hand and savings, and has paid $31,527 into the congressional retirement system since entering Congress in May, 1961.

The four other declared candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination are Democratic presidential nomination are Sens. Henry M. Jackson of Washington and Lloyd M. Bentsen of Texas, former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and former Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris.

Washington Post 9/10/75

Morris Udall Campaign Aide Quits

For the second time in less than a week, one of the Democratic presidential contenders has shaken up his campaign organization.

This time it is Rep. Morris K. Udall (D-Ariz.), who announced the resignation of his political director, John Gabusi, and his replacement by New York attorney Jack Quinn.

As in the case of the similar resignation last Friday of Ben F. Palumbo as manager of Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr.'s (D-Tex.) campaign, the only announced reason was a "personal decision."

But a Udall spokesman insisted that a financial squeeze was not part of the picture, as was acknowledged to be the case in the Bentsen campaign.

On the contrary, Stewart L. Udall, the overall director of his brother's presidential campaign, announced several other appointments to the staff in addition to Quinn, who was legislative assistant to Sen. Floyd K. Haskell (D-Colo.).

Among them was William Heckman as coordinator of the Udall campaign in Massachusetts. Heckman was formerly counsel to the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, headed by Sen. Birch Bayh (D-Ind.), an all-but-formally-announced rival for the presidential nomination.

The Washington Post Sept. 15, 1975

dall Leads
ormal Poll
iberals

4 Others Vie

By David S. Broder
Washington Post Staff Writer

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 14—In styles ranging from street-smart management savvy to down-home populism, five liberal Democratic presidential hopefuls competed Saturday for the support of some 1,500 Midwestern party activists.

The man who apparently came off best in the seven-hour contest was a flat-voiced westerner who said that the Democrats can win in 1976 only by scrapping the program failures of the past and "delivering on our promises."

In an informal poll by The Washington Post, Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.) was rated as the first choice of almost half of those who heard all five contenders.

He was named by twice as many people as the runner-up, former Sen. Fred R. Harris (Okla.), who drew more applause than anyone else with his speech studded with strong populist catchphrases.

Trailing behind, in order, were Sen. Birch Bayh (Ind.), Pennsylvania Gov. Milton Shapp and former North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford.

The balloting was informal and unscientific, but the impression of a strong showing by Udall was confirmed in the comments of many uncommitted elected and party officials who attended the all-day session, the first of five regional meetings of

See DEMOCRATS, A10, Col. 1

Udall Leads in Informal Po
Of Liberals at Minn. Session

DEMOCRATS, From A1

iberal Democrats this fall imed at reaching a consenus on candidates before the irst primaries.

A reporter distributed 100 lank ballots to a random ross-section of the room, sking for anonymous ratings of the five men as poential candidates and for omments on their performnce.

Sixty-two ballots were returned. The first-place votes were: Udall, 27; Harris, 12; Bayh, 9; Shapp, 6, and Sanford, 3. Five others returned ballots with comments indicating no clear first choice.

Three-fourths of those responding were Minnesota Democrats, with the others cattered among eight other Midwestern states. As might e expected, one-third of the Minnesotans took the opporunity to say they'd prefer heir own Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey to any of the five vowed candidates for Presient. Humphrey was in the ame hotel for a $100-a-person fund-raising event for is 1976 Senate campaign, ut declined to participate n the presidential candiates' forum.

The only other significant rite-ins were five votes ach for Sen. Walter F. Mondale (Minn.) and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (Mass.).

Encouraging as it was to Udall's campaign hopes, his showing here was just one stage of what appears to be a protracted battle for dominance in the party's liberal wing. At the next of the candidate screening sessions, to be held Sept. 27 in Springfield, Mass., the five who appeared here are scheduled to be joined by former Georgia Gov. Jimmy Carter and former vice presidential nominee Sargent Shriver.

Three other Democratic presidential aspirants, Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, Sen. Henry M. Jackson (Wash.) and Sen. Lloyd M. Bentsen Jr. (Tex.), have not yet indicated their intention to participate in the meeting, arranged by Americans for Democratic Action and a group of liberal trade unionists.

The comments on Udall on the Post's ballots, while ences to his leadership on environmental issues tended to focus on what one young Minnesotan called his "low-keyed, clear-headed approach to the issues" and another to as his willingness to give "straight answers and not rhetoric."

More than the other speakers, Udall coupled his criticisms of the Ford administration's policies with warnings that the country is impatient with Democratic "promises without action." His first loud applause came when he declared: "I'm tired myself of making apologies for not having tax reform or a national health system. It's time we cleared up the agenda, and delivered on our promises."

Udall also stressed the theme of generational change, saying that with the end of the era of rapid economic growth, cheap and plentiful natural resources and a Cold War foreign policy, "it's time we wiped the slate clean . . . and get the new generation to work on the problems of the '70s and '80s."

He said Democrats should "oppose waste, not just in the Defense Department but in Health, Education and Welfare as well."

"If some of the programs of the '60s didn't work," he said, "we ought to be the first to admit it, and try something else."

Notably, Udall went out of his way to condemn the policy views of Wallace and to identify himself with Sen. George McGovern (S.D.) on the issue of military spending, which became so controversial in McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign. Advocating a 10-to-15 per cent cutback in the defense budget, Udall said, "I've been rereading McGovern's speeches and they read pretty good. He didn't win, but he was right."

Harris, who followed Udall to the platform and finished second in the poll, drew more applause than the others with his heavily rhetorical attacks on "secrecy" in policy and "p[illegible]estic affairs.

"If [illegible]ich off get this country back to work again."

Those who rated Harris tops commended his "strong stand on the power structure," as an artist said, or, in the words of one professor, "the country needs someone to excite us from our lethargy . . . and take the country from the corporations and restore it to you and me."

But the reason Harris received less support in the poll than applause may be suggested by another professor: "I'm most attracted to Harris, in terms of the degree of change that's needed in the country, but I'm afraid the country isn't ready for him," he wrote. "Udall may believe in he same goals, but makes them more palatable . . ."

This Democrat wrote that he came to the forum from Illinois leaning most favorably to Birch Bayh, but "I was disappointed at his performance today. I didn't feel the breadth of vision or depth of personal commitment or even the intellectual capacity of either Udall or Harris." Bayh, who had the disadvantage of being the last on a marathon program, spoke and answered questions in a manner that several of his congressional colleagues said seemed below par for him. He was the only candidate to bypass issues in his opening talk and dwell on his own Senate record which, he said, showed he could "work within the system and get results."

Shapp, whose candidacy tends to be dismissed by other politicians, impressed some listeners despite a speech totally devoid of rhetorical emphasis. It focused on his record in Pennsylvania and his proposal for a "national investment budget" aimed at reducing unemployemnt. During the long question period, he showed some of his listeners the range of his knowledge of both international and national affairs.

Sanford, the first speaker on the program, made a strongly populist attack on the "invisible government" of the banks and the Federal Reserve Board, blaming them for most of the coun-

"Mo Udall has kept his word on issues important to working people."

"That's why I'm supporting him for President."

–Senator Phil Hart

"For the past 15 years I've had the opportunity to work closely with Morris Udall in Congress. Throughout that time, one thing about him has always impressed me:

When Mo Udall takes a stand on an issue, he doesn't change it just to win a few votes or enhance his popularity.

For instance, way back in 1967 he came out strongly against the Vietnam War, even though he's from conservative Goldwater country.

And he's shown that same integrity in the stands he's taken to turn this economy around, both in Congress and in the campaign.

Like his unflagging support for the Full Employment Act, public service jobs, and his willingness to take on the giant conglomerates and challenge them to create some real competition.

At a time when trust of public officials has fallen so low, I believe having a man like Mo Udall whom we can trust in the White House is of the utmost importance.

I urge you to join me in voting for him in the Michigan primary on May 18."

Mo Udall

Democrat for President

Vote Tuesday, May 18

Authorized and paid for by the Udall '76 Committee, Stan Kurz, Treasurer.
A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

The important difference between Morris Udall and Jimmy Carter.

CLOCK—
224-3030

When Mo Udall takes a position on the issues, he stands by his word.

Whether it's coming out for cutting waste out of pentagon spending or calling for national health insurance, Mo Udall keeps his word once he's taken a stand.

Here are just a few examples of how he's been willing to keep his word on issues important to working people:

Full support for the Full Employment Act.

When Morris Udall began his campaign, he said the Full Employment Act would be the first job he'd undertake as President.

No matter which state he has campaigned in, he has never changed that stand.

Public service jobs.

Mo Udall was one of the early supporters of the Public Service Jobs bill that Gerald Ford vetoed.

As President, he'd do what he's done as a candidate: Never stop fighting for public service jobs.

Breaking up giant oil companies.

Morris Udall has called for an Energy Competition Act which would limit each oil company to only one phase of the business — production, refining, transportation or marketing.

This is called divestiture. It will give us back some old fashioned competition and bring down monopoly prices. And Mo Udall is still all for it.

When Jimmy Carter takes a position on the issues, stand by for changes.

It takes a slick politician to come out on both sides of important issues. And they don't come any slicker than Jimmy Carter.

Here are just a few issues where his stands have changed from state to state:

The Full Employment Act — gone today, here tomorrow.

Before his Pennsylvania campaign, Jimmy Carter refused to endorse the Full Employment Act.

"I'm not in favor of solving major unemployment problems simply by creating government jobs," he said.

Then in Pennsylvania, where the support of working people was critical to his election, Jimmy Carter changed his tune and quietly endorsed the Act.

Public service jobs — no and yes.

Before the primaries in industrial states, Jimmy Carter said public service jobs were low on his list of priorities.

Then in New York, where he was being hurt by his refusal to support urban aid, he issued an urban policy paper which relied primarily on public service jobs.

When it comes to what he believes is right for the economy, it's obvious Jimmy Carter would rather switch than fight.

Breaking up the oil companies — first to oppose, last to support.

In Texas, Jimmy Carter said, "I am the only Democratic candidate who hasn't called for divestiture of the oil companies."

But he also says, "I support restrictions on the right of a single company to run all phases of production and distribution of oil."

This is called divestiture. And coming out for it also made Jimmy Carter the first Democratic candidate who had been on both sides of the issue.